Inter: A European Cultural Studies: Conference in Sweden 11–13 June 2007

Editors

Johan Fornäs and Martin Fredriksson

Copyright

The publishers will keep this document online on the Internet – or its possible replacement – from the date of publication barring exceptional circumstances.

The online availability of the document implies permanent permission for anyone to read, to download, or to print out single copies for his/her own use and to use it unchanged for non-commercial research and educational purposes. Subsequent transfers of copyright cannot revoke this permission. All other uses of the document are conditional upon the consent of the copyright owner. The publisher has taken technical and administrative measures to assure authenticity, security and accessibility.

According to intellectual property law, the author has the right to be mentioned when his/her work is accessed as described above and to be protected against infringement.

For additional information about Linköping University Electronic Press and its procedures for publication and for assurance of document integrity, please refer to its www home page: http://www.ep.liu.se/.

Linköping Electronic Conference Proceedings, 25
Linköping University Electronic Press
Linköping, Sweden, 2007

http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/025/
ISSN 1650-3740 (online)
ISSN 1650-3686 (print)

© 2007, The Authors

ii

Table of Contents

Plenary Speakers

Sessions paper presenters

Inter: The transversal Spaces, Processes and Networks of Cultural Studies

Johan Fornäs

Department of Culture Studies (Tema Q), Linköping University, Sweden

fornas@acsis.liu.se

This is an introduction to the proceedings of "Inter: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden", held in Norrköping 11-13 June 2007. The conference was organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS), whose director Johan Fornäs here gives a brief background to the event and its three primary dimensions of transgression and interrelation: the spatial flows of transnational globalisation between regions and countries of Europe and the world at large; the temporal processes of culturalisation that appear to have made culture and cultural research increasingly central to society and academia; and the networks of trans- and interdisciplinary cooperation that both enable and necessitate these kinds of events. The text is based on his plenary presentations at the conference, and at the same time serves as a preface to these conference proceedings.

Inter: The Transversal Spaces, Processes and Networks of Cultural Studies

The Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) is a national centre for interdisciplinary and international networking in the field of cultural studies, with a wide range of activities (http://www.acsis.liu.se). The 11-13 June event "INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden" is its second large conference. The first one in June 2005 was the first *national* conference for cultural studies, whose proceedings are published on the web by Linköping University Electronic Press at http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp/015/), and which also inspired us to edit a printed book on cultural studies in Sweden, *Kulturstudier i Sverige*, edited by Bodil Axelsson and Johan Fornäs (Lund: Studentlitteratur 2007).

The "INTER" keyword summarises a series of challenges and opportunities for cultural studies as a kind of borderland field, each of which will be in focus one of the three days: spatial *internationalisation*, temporal *interepochality* and organisational *interdisciplinarity*. What does the European project mean for cultural identities and cultural research today? How has the role and position of culture and cultural research changed in society? How to deal with the boundaries between academic disciplines and subfields? While the innovative sessions and papers presented here testify to the potential vitality of this research field, it must be remembered that cultural studies is no securely established category. This is not least true of European cultural studies. Many have argued that there is no such thing at all, as there is no specific theoretical canon and no strong organisational frames linking this continent and distinguishing it from the rest of this glocal field. Whereas there are some germinal local, national and regional networks, for instance in Sweden and the Nordic countries, it seems as if Europe is rarely an obvious point of identification for cultural researchers, as well as for the citizens of Europe in general. This mirrors the European Union's much-discussed difficulty finding a social and cultural basis for its collective project, combined with the fussiness of the cultural studies field at large. This conference thus had to grapple the overlapping obstacles of finding ways to construct both at least some kind of European identity and a cultural studies identity, without having recourse to any given entity or institutional framework to fall back on. How this was developed at this conference may be traced through the texts included in these proceedings. The process itself was certainly instructive in highlighting the present conditions for cultural research across spatial, temporal and academic borders.

The conference title intends to position the event in an ambivalent geographic position as European but also both globally international and Swedish as well. The European character is confirmed by the active participation of Álvaro Pina (Lisbon, Portugal), Anne Scott Sørensen (Odense, Denmark) and Mikko Lehtonen (Tampere, Finland) who together with myself form the European branch of the Board of the Association for Cultural Studies (ACS). This association was founded in 2002, inspired by the Crossroads in Cultural Studies conferences initiated in Tampere 1996 (http://www.cultstud.org/). But the conference also opens up in two other directions. The participants who have come from other parts of the world – from Canada to the Philippines – are most welcome, and the ACS itself is a global association, with a website, mailing lists, newsletter and directory that together with the Crossroads conferences offer useful resources for transnational exchange in this field. The last, 6th Crossroads conference took place last summer in Istanbul, and next summer the 7th one will be held in Kingston, Jamaica. In a third direction, the Inter conference is locally placed in the typical Swedish city of Norrköping, sometimes called "Sweden's Manchester", due to its history from textile industries to the present post-industrial regeneration, and organised by Linköping University's national centre for cultural studies in Sweden, ACSIS. It actually fills the function of a second open Swedish conference for cultural studies, since the ACSIS arranged

a similar event in Swedish two years ago, where a mailing list crystallised into a national network for cultural studies in Sweden.

This is thus in many ways an occasion to build new bridges across borders. Some of these borders are geographical: between cities, nations, regions and continents. We chose the admittedly rather general title "Inter" in order to express this interest in mediations. The plenaries were constructed in order to give each day a specific focus. The first day placed the geographic dimension of Europe in the world in focus. The "*Inter/spatiality*" theme covered two plenary sessions, one for discussing European identity and politics in general, and the other for thinking about cultural research in this rapidly changing arena.

The second conference day, the "*Inter/temporality*" theme moved into the historical dimension. Its first plenary discussed the idea of culturalisation: is culture bigger or more important today than before, as a result of processes of aestheticisation, mediatisation, globalisation etc.? The second temporal plenary more specifically looked closer at uses of history in late modern societies.

The last day then put "*Inter/disciplinarity*" in focus, with a plenary scrutinising the potentials and problems of cross-disciplinary interaction, asking how cultural research can and should define and defend its usefulness in these times of legitimation crisis for academia at large in general, and for the humanities in particular.

Besides these five plenary sessions, the conference included one evening session with the ACS, another one with the Swedish network for cultural studies, a reception at the City Hall of Norrköping, a conference dinner, and some 40 group-sessions covering a wide range of topics. The national board of the ACSIS served as a programme committee for the conference, chaired first by Inge Jonsson and now by Dan Brändström, and with its other members: Alf Björnberg (supplemented by deputy member Lisbeth Larsson, Göteborg University), Robert Burnett (Karlstad University), Peter Aronsson (Linköping University), Orvar Löfgren (Lund University), Anders Olsson (Mid Sweden University), Helena Wulff (Stockholm University), Britta Lundgren (deputy Anders Öhman, Umeå University), Maths Isacson (deputy Birgitta Meurling, Uppsala University), Gunlög Fur (Växjö University) and Per Ledin (Örebro University).

Bodil Axelsson, David Cardell, Andreas Gunnarsson and Sofia Seifarth were in various phases responsible for making it all work, assisted by several other helpful colleagues in the local ACSIS and Linköping University environment. The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Stiftelsen Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet), the Wenner-Gren Foundations (Wenner-Gren Stiftelserna), Linköping University and the city of Norrköping offered the support needed to make this possible.

The INTER conference had some 240 participants, of whom 54% women and 46% men. 57% came from Sweden (the universities of Linköping, Göteborg, Stockholm, Södertörn, Lund, Uppsala, KTH, Malmö, Umeå, etc.), 36% from the rest of Europe (UK, Finland, Denmark, Germany, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Netherlands, Norway, Austria, Macedonia and Poland), and 4% each from Northern America (USA and Canada) and the Asia-Pacific (Philippines and Australia). Some 25% of participants were affiliated with interdisciplinary academic units, while the largest disciplinary groups came from media and communication studies (18%), literature (8%), education (6%), sociology (6%), STS, language, ethnology, film, architecture and political science (3-5% each), and history, music, anthropology and geography (1-2% each).

Feedback from participants indicates that this was experienced as a great success. It is our hope that European meetings for cultural studies will become a recurrent tradition, supplementing ACS's global Crossroads events, and possibly alternating between different sites of Europe. ACSIS will definitely continue arranging a wide range of activities in this fermenting field, for the advancement of local, national and transnational cultural studies.

Peripheries and Borders in a Post-Western Europe

Gerard Delanty

Department of Sociology, University of Sussex, England

g.delanty@sussex.ac.uk

The paper explores the concept of borderlands with respect to current developments in European societies, especially in the context of the recent enlargement of the EU. It examines the changing nature of borders with a view towards offering an assessment of the notion of a post-western Europe. The thesis advanced in the paper is that Europe is taking not just a post-national form, but is also taking a post-western shape and this latter dimension may be more significant. An important aspect of this is changing relations of peripheries to the core. The aim of the paper is to offer a new assessment of the periphery which can be seen as a zone of re-bordering. In the periphery the relation between the inside and the outside is complex and ambivalent; while often taking exclusionary forms, this is a relation that can also be viewed as the site of cosmopolitan forms of negotiation.

Introduction

The enlargement of the European Union has brought about a significant change in the shape of Europe as a geopolitical entity. The significance of the eastern enlargement process goes beyond the institutional question of the membership and constitution of the EU and suggests a major reorientation in the identity of Europe. Unlike earlier enlargements of the EU, the recent enlargement processes have wider cultural implications. The earlier expansion of the EU in the pre-Cold War period differed in that it was premised on the certainty offered by the Iron Curtain and while the Treaty of Rome declared any European country could join, it was evident that there were political limits to expansion. It was primarily a western European inter-state system. Moreover it was an enlargement that was based on what was believed to be a common European political heritage. It is certainly the case that this heritage was often a divisive one and in the case of the southern European countries – Greece, Portugal and Spain – they joined the EU only after a prolonged period of military rule. Yet, despite these caveats, prior to the current enlargement the EU was a fairly cohesive entity and was able to undergo relative deepening in socio-economic integration as well as in political integration. The implications of a considerably enlarged EU have been much discussed as far as integration is concerned, but what has been given less attention is the implications for the cultural and political identity of Europe.

One the one side, the EU does not have a political or cultural identity in any meaningful sense of the term, while on the other side, the identity of nation-states has been undermined in part as a result both of Europeanization and wider processes of globalization. In this contest, it is undoubtedly the case that it has been nation-states who have been the winners, in that with few, if any, exceptions most member states have benefited from EU membership and, as far as identity is concerned, national identity is far from being in demise. But it would be too simple to conclude that in the EU of 27 members – and with more to come – that there has been a turn to the national interest and an increase in national identities. The argument advanced in this paper is that the current situation is more complicated and that a more accurate account is one that recognizes the modification of nation-states by Europeanization. Rather than look for a European level of identity over and beyond national identities or see the latter as resisting a top-down supranational European identity, attention should be focussed on the mixed or hybrid nature of national identities, which have been transformed in numerous ways by Europeanization. For this reason the logic of Europeanization has tended towards the Europeanization of national identities rather than the demise of national identity. This is evident in many spheres, in communication, in life styles, and in the many areas in which the EU has gained legal competences, as in for instance, education and citizenship.

This paper is concerned with one aspect of the Europeanization of the nation-state, namely the changing relation of centres and peripheries. This will be explored largely around the question of the kinds of borders that are being created in the periphery as a result of Europeanization. My thesis is that there is now a changed relation of the periphery to the core with the periphery emerging from marginalization to becoming a site of cosmopolitan re-bordering. However the true significance of the relation of core to the periphery is rather an inter-civilizational one than one that can be seen in terms of inter-state relations rather than one that is merely defined in terms of state-EU dynamics.

A Post-Western Europe?

My first thesis is that Europe is taking increasingly a post-western shape. Until now one of the striking features of the European project was the steady development of a post-national polity whereby the sovereign national state had to share its sovereignty with other levels of governance, which included regions and the EU itself. While this remains a feature of

contemporary Europe, there is a more far-reaching development apparent that goes beyond issues of governance. The reshaping of Europe since the end of communism and the enlargement of the EU, the prospect of Turkey's eventual membership, suggests a change in the geopolitical identity of Europe in the direction of a multiple constellation of regions. Europe today is no longer a western enclave centred around the core founding states. The earlier EU was largely determined by the circumstances of its birth in the reconciliation of France and Germany. It was a Europe centred on the Rhine and the historical territory of the Carolingian Empire with the Elbe and Danube marking its outer eastern limits. As I remarked above, the addition of other countries to this did not change the basic shape of this civilizational current; it was a Europe based on the western heritage of Latin Christendom,[1] the Enlightenment, democracy and the free market economy. The western nature of post-war Europe was consolidated in the twentieth century with the rise of the United States.

What we are witnessing today is the emergence of different civilizational heritages. These do not so much make redundant or challenge the western heritage but add to it. The richness of Europe is the richness of its civilizational heritages. Until now the dominant approach has been to emphasise the diversity of Europe in terms of its nations. Indeed, this is the main meaning of the term 'unity in diversity,' which has come to be the principal statement of its cultural and political identity. This is a unity defined in terms of the diversity of national cultural and political traditions. A broader view of the transformation of Europe suggests, I argue, an inter-civilizational perspective since the shape Europe is now assuming is one that is determined by both its civilizational context and, related to this, different routes to modernity. An inter-civilizational perspective, as opposed to a state-centric approach, is suggested by the enlargement of the EU into areas of the continent that have had different experiences with modernity.[2] The case of Central Europe is one such example of an inter-civilizational heritage, which while being part of the western European heritage has also been shaped by its proximity to eastern and western Europe. In the case of East Central Europe – where the emphasis shifts to the eastern orientation – this inter-civilizational dimension is much more significant, for the region has been considerably influenced by Russia and by the wider Euro-Asian borderland (see Arnason, 2005). The notion of borderlands, which will be discussed below, is relevant here in the context of inter-civilizational zones of overlapping identities, heritages, and experiences of modernity. Of relevance, too, is the emerging identity of what is increasingly being termed the 'Euro-Balkan' region. While the recent enlargement of the EU has tended to emphasise central and eastern Europe, the south-east region is another part of the European civilizational constellation. Much of this regions has been influenced by the Ottoman tradition and thus suggests the relevance of the inter-civilizational dimension, which in this case is less 'eastern' than 'southern.' At the present only Slovenia is a member of the EU, but this is a complicated case since arguably Slovenia belongs more to Mitteleuropa than to the Euro-Balkan region (see Vidar and Delanty, 2008).

While Slovenia might be considered to be somewhere 'in-between' Mitteleuropa and the Balkans, the case of Romania and Bulgaria are particularly interesting examples of the inter-civilizational nature of Europe. Unlike the countries that make up central Europe, in the stricter sense of the term, Romania and Bulgaria were products of the Eastern Roman Empire and, especially Romania, the culture of the Byzantine Empire made its impact as did the Ottoman tradition and, of course, later these countries fell within the orbit of Russia. The cultural specificity of these countries is not one that can be accounted exclusively in terms of national trajectories. The civilizational shaping of the modern nation-state is much in

---

1   With the exception of Greece (whose claim to the European heritage was not based on Christianity but classical antiquity).

2   For a fuller account of a civilizational approach, see Arnason (2003) and with an application to Europe see Delanty (2003) and Delanty and Rumford (2005).

evidence in terms of the model of modernity adopted and in societal structures and identities (Arnason, 2003).

From a historical sociological perspective, the emerging shape of Europe is perhaps understood as deriving from three basic configurations which constitute 'three Europe': a western Europe, a central-eastern Europe, and a south-eastern Europe. Of these the latter is the most problematic. In a classic essay, Scüzs (1988) argued Europe consists of three geopolitical units, which were formed out of the East-West divide: a western 'Carolingian' Europe, Central Eastern Europe, and an Eastern Europe, which has been closely linked with Russia and has no clear-cut eastern frontier. The fate of Europe was determined by these three historical regions. There can be little doubt that it was the first one that was decisive in shaping the European legacy, which Szüzs claimed was characterized by a synthesis of diverse elements that were assembled out of the prior disintegration of the older imperial structures. With the partial incorporation of some of the eastern region into what might now be called east central Europe, the notion of an eastern Europe might be redefined to include the southern sphere of Europe. In any case it seems incontrovertible that the old East versus West division of European history must now be modified in various of one that is more sensitive to the diversity of the central and eastern regions (see also Halecki, 1962; Delanty, 1995).

In emphasizing the civilizational sources of contemporary Europe my aim is neither to exaggerate these differences nor to suggest that what we have is some kind of a clash of civilizations. In this respect I refute the Huntington thesis that the eastern borders of Europe are zones of civilizational clashes. The seductiveness of the thesis is in part due to a core of truth in the argument: the post-1989 world is not exclusively determined by the older political ideologies and civilizational factors are playing themselves out in different ways. The error of the argument is to see civilizational differences only in terms of conflicts. My argument rather is to see the civilizational background to contemporary Europe a source of its diversity and rather than clashes we can see signs of mutual cooperation. Moreover, Hungtington's thesis is empirically false in that there is no evidence of civilizational clashes or conflicts of a cultural nature as far as the enlargement of the EU is concerned. With the single exception of the Balkans, the integration of post-1989 Europe – from German unification to post-communist transition – to the enlargement of the EU – has been remarkably peaceful. The case of ethnic cleansing in the Balkans can be seen as a product of the collapse of the state rather than resulting from a primordial cultural conflict.

Looking at Europe as a whole an unavoidable conclusion is that the Danube is replacing the Rhine as the symbolical line that marks the centre of Europe. In addition to this it may also be suggested that the gravity is shifting from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean Sea in a Europe that is steadily moving eastwards. The new axis is less that of the Baltic and Adriatic than the Baltic and the Black Sea. The notion of a post-Western Europe is intended to capture the spirit of this movement. Indicated by the term is a multiple kind of Europe, consisting of many heritages and experiences with modernity. Some of these are older than the western tradition and are coming to play a role in the making of Europe today in ways that cannot be reduced to a simple notion of a clash of cultures. The notion of a post-western Europe, too, is intended to indicate a reflexive relation in the identity of Europe as no longer exclusively determined by the relation with the United States. This does not mean anti-Americanism, for on the contrary many central and Eastern European – notably Poland the Czech Republic - countries are strongly pro-US; rather it points to a more self-problematized identity and one that does not have the same kind of self-assurance that it had until about 10 years or so ago.

The Periphery Considered

On the basis of the fore-going argument concerning the emergence of a post-western Europe in which the inter-civilizational dynamic is an important but neglected dimension, I would like to clarify the question of the periphery and its relation to the core. Obviously a periphery can be understood only in relation to a core. In the case of the European core and peripheries, I am arguing that the relation of the core to the periphery is multi-dimensional, evolving and cannot therefore be easily reduced to an one dimensional notion of the domination of the periphery by the core. My second thesis is that there is a general shift to the periphery largely as a result of Europeanization, but partly as a consequence of globalization. Clearly the core still dominates if not the periphery, at least the EU as a whole. The core western countries – Germany, France, UK – are the largest and most powerful economies in Europe and among the most powerful in the world and the terms of EU membership were not open to much negotiation. Notwithstanding these obvious objections, the point I am making is not that the periphery is not disadvantaged and now stands in a relation of equality, but that a more complex relationship has emerged as far as power and marginality is concerned.

A feature of the eastern enlargement of the EU is the incorporation of countries that were once on the margins of Europe and many of which had been in a subordinate status with respect to the major European powers. It is also noteworthy that many of these are small countries – the Baltic states, Slovenia, Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungarian, Cyprus, Malta – and those that are territorially relatively large such as Bulgaria is in demographic terms small and has been traditionally peripheral countries. Poland, with a population of approximately 30 million is possibly an exception, as is Romania with a population of approximately 26 million, but too have been traditionally peripheral. Aside from the question of Turkey, the next wave of accession countries will be those in the Balkans: Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia Herzegovina. Constituting what German historians once called an 'in-between Europe' (*Zwischeneuropa*), these countries experienced marginalization for much of the modern history of Europe and in many cases where subjugated by the totalitarian states east and west. Emerging out of this background, participation in the EU offers many advantages. A longer view of history will place the current transformation of central and eastern Europe in the context of the reinvention of political modernity.

It is arguably the case that the smaller European countries have benefited from EU membership. That is certainly the case as far Ireland is concerned. Since joining in 1973 it has been a major beneficiary. While the rapid economic growth that Ireland has experienced since the early 1990s has been due to many factors, EU membership has played a major role in economic recovery. Greece and Portugal, although not experiencing the same economic take-off, have benefited too. It is far too soon to assess the implications for the recently joined countries, but there is enough evidence to suggest that the triple transition to democracy, market societies and national autonomy has been relatively successful. In the case of German Polish relations, while some of the old asymmetries have reappeared, Spohn (2003: 137) has commented that these have crystallized in new forms: the Europeanization of the German economy and Polish economic growth have weakened the older core-periphery dynamic and the older nationalistic forces have lost their power. Furthermore, the EU itself has been an important lever of democratization in applicant countries, as is evidenced by the example of the rapid democratization of Turkey and in recent years Bulgaria and Romania.

In political terms the EU is now significantly different in that the large number of small countries have changed the balance of power. This inevitably leads to a different kind of a relation between the core and periphery. The pre-1989 EU did not experience any challenges from the small countries of the periphery, represented by Ireland, Greece and Portugal. The smaller founding countries such as Belgium, Luxemburg and the Netherlands were relatively prosperous and part of the core. This was also true of Denmark and later the Nordic countries.

Until the 1990s the EU was largely shaped by the dynamic of the core countries while today an entirely different dynamic is emerging. The crisis of the constitutional treaty in 2005 and the current hiatus is an indication of a growing uncertainty in the political identity of an union of 27 members and with the prospect of more to come. The project of deepening European integration socio-economically and politically was premised on a smaller group of countries with similar levels of socio-economic development. The societies of central and eastern Europe have put the brakes on deepening, but have not arrested the further development of Europeanization, which is currently re-adjusting to what can be viewed as the encounter with different models of modernity, some of which, as argued in foregoing, are related to civilizational contexts.

For the first time the core countries have found themselves challenged by the encroachment of the periphery. Fears of increased immigration from central and eastern Europe have been at the forefront of most countries politics and in several cases have led to a reorientation in political support for the mainstream parties of which the beneficiaries have often been the extreme right. But in many cases large scale migration, where it has occurred, has not resulted in significant challenges. In Ireland, for instance, the 2006 census reports that there are over 400,000 non-nationals resident in the country, making migrants about 10 per cent of the population. Polish immigration is a major part of this. It has been estimated that up to 300,000 Poles have migrated to the UK since 2003. It does appear to be the case that migration into western European countries is relatively stable and fears of a massive influx of migrants are largely unwarranted. Recent research suggests that the relatively large-scale Polish migration will not be repeated when restrictions are lifted against Bulgarian and Rumanian migration in the first phase after accession. The case of Polish immigration is also a pertinent example of the reconfiguration of the core and the periphery around multiple forms of migration. European migration is multi-directional with migrants moving from East to West on a non-permanent basis. Such episodic patterns of migration have already made a huge impact on the host societies as well as on the home countries and constitutes a significant dimension of Europeanization. Europe is moving to a situation in which the periphery is already located within the core and where there is no hard fast distinction between core and periphery.

With the gradual incorporation of the periphery into the core the periphery does not disappear. Rather new peripheries emerge. This is already the case with regard to the division that is now becoming evident between the countries that have joined the EU and those that remain outside. Although the older term 'Eastern Europe' is now losing its meaning in that it does not refer to a specific regional entity, the functional equivalent is taking shape with countries further to east – such as Belarus and the Ukraine – and to the south east, such as the Balkan countries.[3]

What this suggests is that the core-periphery distinction is no longer the only model available for understanding marginality and patterns of growth and change in Europe today. Europeanization and gloablization have to an extent eroded the core-periphery distinction in so far as this was a simple polarity. Rumford has argued that globalization reshapes the hierarchal framework within which the core-periphery relation has been constituted (Rumford, 2002: chapter 7). What has emerged instead is a more complicated spatial structure and which could be understood in terms of the notion of a network; a structure that is more polycentric and which entails a basic pluralization of the core-periphery relation. In this sense, then, the older core-periphery relation is one that was more a feature of the older model of Western Europe, while the advent of a post-western Europe signals a different spatial dynamic.[4]

---

3   On the idea of Eastern Europe, see Wolff (1994).
4   I am grateful to Chris Rumford for clarifying this point.

In sum, while it cannot be said that the periphery is now on an equal footing with the core, the relation has changed to the advantage of the periphery. In this respect one can be reminded of James Joyce's intention to 'Europeanise Hibernia and Hibernicise Europe.[5] Taking Ireland as a metaphor for the periphery, the task has a contemporary relevance in drawing attention to the need for Europe to find a mutually positive relationship between the core and the periphery.

Different Kinds of Diversities

A consideration of the nature of European diversity that takes into account the perspective of the periphery will have to address the reality of different kinds of diversities. In this respect the European debate is very different from the North American and Australian debate, which has been influenced by the language of race and the existence of pre-settler groups (Kymlicka and Norman, 2000). The European context is different in that the debate about diversity is not addressed to indigeneous pre-settler groups, but groups formed out of migration or groups created as a result of nation-state formation. Perhaps for this reason the emphasis in Europe has been on diversity and ethnicity rather than race.

The dominant understanding of diversity that has emerged with European integration has been the notion of a 'unity in diversity.' This has generally been understood to be a response to the multi-national nature of Europe and the fact that Europeanization is not leading to the emergence of an over-arching identity that would be a focus for unity. The trend has been towards the recognition of the diversity of Europe. While from the perspective of the EU this diversity is in the first instance national, a fuller analysis reveals a more complex picture.

The previous discussion has emphasized the inter-civilizational diversity of Europe in terms of a constellation of at least three different regional variants, the western, the central and eastern/southern. This perspective can be furthermore related to the debate on multiple modernities in relation to Europe (Blokker, 2005; Delanty, 2003a). In this regard the emphasis shifts to varieties of modernity rather than, for instance, a simplistic notion of a single, western version of modernity replacing a notion of tradition or the claim that postcommunist countries are simply catching up on the west (Habermas, 1990).[6] As Roudometof (1999) has argued in the case of south-eastern Europe, what is often regarded as a recalcitrant tradition was in fact an experiment with modernity that went wrong. His argument is that the actual or potential conflicts in the Balkan region were the result of rivalries created by the regions re-organization according to western models of modernity and not due to a primordial clash of civilization. In a similar way, Blokker (2002) has argued that rather than understand accession and convergence as the logical outcome of the transition to post-communism where the accession countries shed their 'non-Europeaness' and become normal, the widening of the EU should be seen as increasing the diversity of Europe. Moreover, as argued above, the inclusion of central and eastern European countries in the EU allows those countries to articulate different interests and perspectives. This is not only a matter of different models of modernity, but also different combinations of premodernity with modernity. Outhwaite and Ray (2006: 114-5) argue in this vein that the outcome of the implosion of communism was combinations of local traditions and practices with new developments. In this sense, then, the enlargement of the EU increases diversity rather than diminishing it.

A broader view of European diversity, I have argued, must go beyond a focus on nations in relation to the EU. The civilizational approach I have sketched suggests a broader conception of European diversity than one reducible to nations. This suggests a view of

---

5   Hiberia was the Latin name for Ireland. On Ireland and Europe, see McCall and Wilson (2008 forthcoming).

6   See Outwaite and Ray (2006, in particular chapter 5) for a discussion on social theory and modernity with respect to postcommunism.

modernity itself as multiple and the source of the diversity of Europe. If this is correct, then, we can expect increased political diversity. But what of cultural diversity beyond and below the level of nations? Here we move closer to the sphere of multiculturalism. Any account of European diversity will have to address the problem of different understandings of cultural diversity in the various parts of Europe. This is unavoidably linked to different experiences with minorities and with migration.

In Europe migrants comprise 4.5 per cent of the total population and in many countries they are the main factor in population increase. There about 24.6 million recorded foreign nationals in European countries.[7] About 83 million people in Europe who were born in countries other than the ones in which they reside. There are about 10 million foreign workers currently registered in those European states. This figure obviously does not include a large number of illegal migrants. However, estimates differ. One view is in that the wider European Economic Area hosts some 56.1 million migrants, circa 3 migrants to 1000 inhabitants.[8] This of course includes only migrants, persons born outside the country in which they are resident. It does not include ethnic communities with large numbers of permanent residents including those who have acquired the nationality of the country of their birth.

A new understanding of diversity is emerging in which the concern with diversity is excluding recognition of minorities. Kevin Robbins (2006) has argued that there has been a discursive shift in Europe generally whereby the language of 'minorities' has been replaced by a new emphasis on diversity (see also Bennett, 2001; Ellmeier and Rasky, 2006). To an extent this is positive in that the equation of 'otherness' with minorities is reduced and a more generalizable notion of diversity relevant to the vast range of social and cultural differences can be more readily applied. As Robins points out, the notion of diversity normalizes difference and facilitates a broadening of the horizons beyond ethnic categorization, working towards the 'de-ethnization of difference' and invoking a more positive understanding of difference. However, the centrality of 'diversity' today is not unproblematic since it is being predominantly being interpreted in much of central and eastern Europe as a way to relate to national autochthonous minorities. What had begun as an attempt to replace the language of minority/majority culture to take account of a wider range of diversities, is in danger of being reduced to ethnic categories. In the discursive shift what is lost is recognition of forms of diversity that are not related to national minorities.

The main difference is that western experiences are based on postcolonial immigration while in central and eastern European the main interest is in autochthonous minorities. As Robbins (2006) and Ellmeier and Rasky (2006) argue, in central and eastern Europe the language of diversity is borrowed from the western European experience, which has been heavily influenced by diasporic migration from former colonies, and is being applied to national minorities – so called autochthonous groups. In the former case, diversity is predominantly postcolonial and diasporic and has been the basis of much of multiculturalism in Britain, Belgium, Netherlands and France. A second wave of migration in western Europe can also be identified and which has had wider sphere of relevance. This can be related to an intra-European migration from the south to the north in the 1970s and which most western/northern European countries experienced and which has been decisive in shaping the transition to multiculturalism in those countries. To this can be added the current wave of migration from East to West that had followed in the aftermath of the enlargement of the EU, a wave of migration that coincided with an increase in asylum seekers and refugees.

While western Europe has had a relatively long experience with cultural diversity, the situation in central and eastern Europe is less straightforward. On the one side, it can be

7   This figures and other cited here are derived from Salt (2005).
     http://www.coe.int/t/e/social_cohesion/population/EPC(2005)K3.0%20Salt%20keynote.doc.
8   Boswell (2005) Migration http://www.gcim.org/attachements/RS4.pdf.

argued that the legacy of history has been one of greater cultural and political diversity and that this has never been successfully accommodated within the structures of the nation-state. This is an diversity that is primarily based on autochthonous minorities that have been in different ways associated with the former multi-ethnic empires (Habsburg, Ottoman, Russian) out of which the modern nation-states were created. The cultural heterogeneity of the old empires is to be found at the level of cross-national cultures and other kinds of over-lapping affiliations. Although too a feature of western Europe, it is a more pronounced feature of the cultural landscape of central and eastern Europe.

On the other side, in central and eastern Europe the experience with diasporic minorities formed as a result of migration from outside Europe is limited and consequently cultural diversity policies are generally aimed at autochthonous minorities to the relative neglect of other kinds of minorities. This is to the disadvantage of non-ethnic minorities such as refugees and asylum seekers. In addition, in the former communist countries there is the emergence on 'new minorities', i.e. as former majorities, or relatively large ethnic groups, becoming minorities (e.g. Russians in Latvia or Serbs in Croatia). As Ellmeier and Rasky (2006: 29-33) point out, cultural policy in many cases is connected with nation-building exercises and there is a general interest in maintaining the old minorities as the crucial points of diversity and identity politics.

What we have here are two different conceptions of diversity, one that is primarily based on multiculturalism and the rights of citizenship and one that is more ethnopluralist and is generally directly concerned with regional and ethnic autonomy. It is not clear how the current notion of diversity constrained as it is by national borders is able to suggest a way forward. So my third thesis is that central and eastern Europe has a long way to go in linking citizenship with diversity, while on the other side Europe as a whole will need to move beyond the currently bifurcated conception of diversity.

The problem of ethnopluralism has a direct bearing on the question of borders since much of the problem is due to fact that many national minorities are linked to a majority population group in a neighbouring countries. A pertinent example of this is Romania, where the Hungarian minority, which represents 6.6% of the population, is concentrated into locations on the Hungarian border and in parts of Transylvania. Aside from very small minorities related to neighbouring countries, the other minority, the Roma, who constitutes 2.2%, did not have any minority status until 1990 (Ellmeier and Rasky, 2006: 61) and as a transnational or transcultural group it does not fall into the category of autochthonous minorities and as a result it is disadvantaged.

Re-intepreting the Border: Cosmopolitan Orientations

The border has for long marked the rise of modernity and the geopolitical system of nation-states that is brought into existence. Although these units are still with us they have been considerably diminished, at least within Europe, in so far as they are defined with respect to their borders. Borders are no longer dividing lines akin to the traditional notion of a frontier in the sense of a line demarcating one state from another; they have become considerably weakened and are more diffuse, often sites of overlapping communities and regions. This is also the case with respect to the external relation of Europe to the wider world. The border is a networked and fluid process rather than a fixed line and is constituted in new and changing relations between cores and peripheries. Europeanization has neither eliminated borders nor created a new external frontier. New kinds of borders are taking shape in European space.[9] The present contours of the EU do not amount to a final frontier. The European external border is not a clear-cut line of demarcation that is capable of dividing an inside from an

---

9   See Delanty (2006) for an extended discussion of this point.

outside. There is no point at which an Iron Curtain is reached. The EU's system of governance now extends beyond EU space to the wider south and entails relations that cannot be understood in the traditional terms of a closed frontier. Europe's borders, both internal and external, are shaped not just by the logic of Europeanization, but by the interaction with the global context. The global, the national and the European dimensions interact to produce a complex field of borders and rebordering out of which emerges a post-western constellation.

It may be contended that the southern frontier is coming into existence and replacing the East-West divide. This North South border, with its focus on the Euro-Mediterranean area – has certainly become more salient (Suarez-Navaz, 2004), but it is not a straightforward replacement of the older East-West border. Although the EU is not likely to expand across the Mediterranean Sea in the way it has into eastern Europe, the Euro-Mediterranean region has become an unavoidable part of the wider European area. It is principally represented with the present configuration by Malta. However, despite the various partnerships arrangements, the present structures of the EU do not adequately accommodate this region, which has also been somewhat marginalized as a result of the eastern enlargement and has too become a focus of new security concerns.

Notwithstanding these qualifications around the ambivalence of internal and external borders, I would like to conclude with the final thesis that there are grounds for optimism in that there are some interesting examples of the border becoming a site of cosmopolitan reorientations in previously divided identities. It is in this respect that Europe as a whole can learn from the experience of the periphery in coming to terms with conflict and with difference. The relevant examples that can be cited are changing cross-border relations in South Tyrol, Cyprus, Northern Ireland to mention just a few examples. In such cases where there are contested borders, different and conflicting collective memories, minority rights relating to religion and language, political representation, considerable progress has been made in moving towards reconciliation and the negotiation of conflict.[10] An overall view is difficult but it might be suggested that the cultural logic of Europeanization has brought a decrease in border conflicts and a general move in the direction of more cosmopolitan orientations (see Delanty and Rumford, 2005). A cosmopolitan interpretation of such developments suggests the relevance of a consideration of Europe in terms of a borderland (see Balibar, 2004: 219). The significance of the notion of the borderland is that it captures much of the reality of European borders, where inside and outside are not easily separated and where the border is being reconstituted in numerous ways.[11] Moreover, the notion of the borderland invokes the move towards a network conception of space, which I have argued is relevant to the current dynamic of Europeanization and its interface with globalization.

In sum, the border is not just a conflict zone where a primordial clash of civilizations is played out. The border takes many different forms and includes sites of negotiation, which are illustrated by some of the examples referred to above. In such cases the periphery has moved beyond the limits of border thinking and where the simple polarities of self versus other are losing their force.

Conclusion

Fifty years ago with the Treaty of Rome in 1957 the European project commenced as a project to integrate the two major core states of the European continent, France and Germany. This venture has been successful and in more recent times, since the end of communism, a new era has begun in which the focus has shifted to the periphery and to its relation with the core. The new challenges are those of a much more complicated world of diversities and the

---

10   See Anderson et al (2003), Meinhof (2002).
11   For a further account of borders and borderlands, see Rumford (2006).

negotiation of borders and, especially in the case of central and eastern Europe, of conflict resolution between communities divided as a result of the legacy of nation-state building. The simple appeal to Europe's diversity will not be enough since many of the problems to which diversity is intended to be a solution are produced by the very national models that are regarded as the carriers of diversity. A step in the right direction would be an inter-cultural dialogue of the different European understandings of diversity and to explore ways of reconciling the divergent western and central and eastern approaches to cultural diversity.

References

Anderson, J., O'Dowd, L. and Wilson, T. M. (eds) (2003) *New Borders for a Changing Europe: Cross-border Cooperation and Governance*, London: Frank Cass.

Arnason, J. (2003) Civilizations in Dispute: Historical Questions and Theoretical Traditions. Leiden: Brill.

Arnason, J. (ed.) (2005) 'East Central European Perspectives', Special Issue of the *European Journal of Social Theory*. 8 (4).

Balibar, E. (2004) We the People of Europe: Reflections on Transnational Citizenship. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bennett, T. (2001) Differing Diversities: Cultural Policy and Cultural Diversity. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Blokker, P. (2005) 'Post-Communist Modernization, Transition Studies, and Diversity in Europe,' *European Journal of Social Theory*, 8 (4): 503-25.

Ellmeier, A. and Radsky, B. (2006) *Differing Diversities: Eastern European Perspectives*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Delanty, G. (1995) Inventing Europe: Idea, Identity, Reality, London: Macmillan.

Delanty, G. (2003) 'The Making of a Post-Western Europe: A Civilizational Analysis.' *Thesis Eleven*, 72: 8-24.

Delanty, G. (2006) 'Borders in a Changing Europe: An Analysis of Recent Trends*' Comparative European Politics*, 4 (2): 183-202.

Delanty, G. and Rumford, C. 2005 Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization London: Routledge.

Habermas, J. (1990) *Die nachholende Revolution*. Frankfurt: Suhrkamp.

Halecki, O. (1962) *The Limits and Divisions of European History*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press.

Kymlicka, W. & Norman, W. (eds) (2000) *Citizenship in Diverse Societies*,

Oxford University Press.

McCall, C. and Wilson, T. (eds) (2008 forthcoming) *Ireland and Europe: Europeanization and Hibernization*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Meinhof, U. H. (ed.) (2002) Living (with) Borders: Identity Discourses on East-West Borders in Europe. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Outhwaite, W. and Ray, L. (2005) *Social Theory and Postcommunism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Robbins, K. (2006) The Challenge of Transcultural Diversities: Cultultural Policy and Cultural Diversity. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Roudometof, V. (1999) 'Nationalism, Globalization, Eastern Orthodoxy: "Unthinking the Clash of Civilizations in Southeastern Europe,' *European Journal of Social Theory*. 2 (2): 233-47.

Rumford, C. (2002) The European Union: A Political Sociology. Oxford: Blackwell.

Rumford, C. (ed.) (2006) 'Theorizing Borders'. Special Issue of the *European Journal of Social Theory*. 9 (2).

Scüzs, J. (1988) 'Three Historical Regions of Europe.' In: *Civil Society and the State* Keane, J. (ed.). London: Verso.

Spohn, W. (2003) 'European East-West Integration, Nation-Building and National Identities: The Reconstruction of German-Polish Relations'. In: *Europeanization, National Identities and Migration*. Spohn, W. and Triandafyllidou (eds). London: Routledge.

Suarez-Navaz, L. (2004): Rebordering the Mediterranean: Boundaries and Citizenship in Southern Europe. New York: Berghahn Books.

Vidar, K. and Delanty, G. (forthcoming 2008) '*Mitteleuropa* and the European Heritage'. *European Journal of Social Theory* vol 11.

Wolff, L. (1994) Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Boundaries and Bridges in Trans-European Cultural Research

Kirsten Drotner

Institute of Literature, Culture & Media

University of Southern Denmark

Denmark

drotner@litcul.sdu.dk

Taking its point of departure in a comparative, international study on the socalled cartoon controversy and the discrepancies found between the domestic, Danish and international discourses, the article argues that comparative and interdisciplinary perspectives offer new venues for innovative cultural research. This argument is contextualised by a mapping of some of the tensions facing European cultural research in terms of substance, organisation and funding.

Boundaries and Bridges in Trans-European Cultural Research

A few years ago, the American cultural historian John Gillis published a book called *Islands of the Mind* (Gillis 2004). Here, he analyses the permutations of ways in which people in the western hemisphere have imagined islands since the Greeks and how islands have served as metaphors of thinking, of categorising and analysing things. For example, Gillis notes, the islanders of Polynesia traditionally thought of themselves as belonging to a "sea of islands" rather than to a particular territory. The Europeans and Americans, on the other hand, defined islands as discrete entitites. And so when they entered the Pacific, they introduced the concept of insularity, isolating one island from another and "turning the sea into empty space" (Gillis 2004: 2).

In a similar fashion, culture may be defined and understood in different ways. For while culture has always been generated withing processes of exchange, Gillis' anecdote serves to remind us of an important basis of cultural research: when we study culture we may focus on entities, the islands themselves, or we may focus on the connections between entities, the waterways. But, as the anecdote also demonstrates, whatever our particular focus of interest, to perform cultural research is to make comparisons – indeed, this may be true of most research in that we understand what something *is* by what it is not.

I want to draw attention to this simple fact of comparison in cultural research for two reasons: one is to counter a prevalent notion that today cultures have become so globalised that we need to analyse and understand them on a larger comparative canvas. I would argue that cultural research has always been nursed on comparative perspectives. Second, I want to highlight that the research landscape, within which most of us conduct our current research, has certainly become more internationalised, even globalised, not least in Europe. This process is to do with the ways in which we define the substance of research, with the organisation of research and with its funding.

The Cartoon Controversy: Comparative Cultural Research

In the following, I want to briefly map out some of the tensions in conducting comparative, cultural research within this wider, trans-European research landscape. I want to do so by drawing on preliminary findings from an international research project on the so called cartoon controversy. As most of you will know, the immediate background to the controversy was the publication in September 2005 by a Danish newspaper of 12 cartoons defaming the prophet Muhammed.

The project is directed by Risto Kunelius from Tampere University in Finland and involves 14 countries. The project focuses on how the issue of "freedom of speech" was articulated by newspapers in different parts of the world (with different legal, political, cultural contexts) when reporting about the cartoon controversy (Kunelius et al. 2007). The analyses demonstrate that e.g. Russia and the United States frame the crisis as a remote European incident low on their respective news agendas; Pakistani newspapers focus on what they see as a double standard between the freedom of speech discourse concerning the cartoons vs the sentencing in Austria at nearly the same time of David Erving who denied the holocaust: why should he go to jail for his public views when *Jyllands Posten* was not tried for blasphemy? Conversely, most European newspapers use the cartoon crisis as a backdrop for debating freedom of speech and its possible limits.

Why are these differences interesting when discussing ways in which we may conduct trans-national cultural research today? Naturally, the differences in themselves are not interesting. When comparing public discourses in different regions or nations, differences are bound to come up. Rather, I want to pose some rather more intriguing questions: Which contextual factors do we need in order to study socio-cultural discourses such as the ones

displayed in the cartoon crisis? What does it take to map out, not only differences, but also similarities across widely different socio-cultural spaces? What are the options and obstacles in funding trans-European cultural research such as that involved in the cartoon crisis? These questions broach key issues of the substance of trans-European research, its organisation and funding. I will deal with these three issues below. But first a note on why the cartoon crisis seems an obvious case in pointing to these more general issues.

In concrete terms, the project's framing of the cartoon controversy as a freedom of speech issue is in itself a contested matter. While it is true that most European newspapers focused on that aspect, the domestic situation looks rather different. In Denmark, the publication of the 12 cartoons immediately prompted 12 ambassadors accredited to Denmark to write the prime minister a letter listing a number of similar instances in the recent past of what they termed "an ongoing smearing campaign in Danish public and media" and asking for a meeting with the prime minister to discuss ways in which this tone might be changed (Ambassadors 2005). The prime minister refused to meet; some of the ambassadors then took action by taking the matter to political parties and groups in the Middle East, and the whole situation escalated from there.

Seen from a Danish perspective, the controversy was part of a longer process. Moreover, it sparked, not one discourse concerned with freedom of speech, but rather a number of conflicting discourses – on multiculturalism, on racism, on Euro-Islam, and so on. Indeed, the Danish author of the comparative project argues that the take on the crisis as a freedom of speech issue is the result of the Danish government's successful spin of the whole situation (Hervik in Kunelius 2007). But these conflicting discourses do not become part of the comparative project.

The cartoon controversy, then, is a prime example of more general tensions involved when carrying out cultural research across socio-cultural boundaries within today's European research area. I will try to flag up some of these more general tensions to do with substance, organisation and funding.

Tensions of Substance

In terms of substance, the primary tension today is found between research defined in terms of discipline and research defined in terms of problematics. The Austrian sociologist Helga Nowotny, vice-president of the newly established European Research Council, terms this type of problem-oriented research "frontier research", probably in order to avoid unhappy distinctions between basic and applied research. For problem-oriented, or frontier, research can be both.

Cultural studies is by definition problem-oriented research – it is borne out of disciplines within the humanities and social sciences, disciplines which were once also problem-oriented, by the way; and it has crossed many of these boundaries, thereby also helping to redefine mother disciplines. Cultural studies is therefore a strong candidate in terms of substance when conducting trans-European cultural research today.

I see two challenges here: one has to do with the still overwhelming emphasis within cultural studies on issues of representation, and issues of power. I see this very clearly for example in the articles submitted to some of the refereed journals where I serve on the editorial board. In order to be able to tackle trans-European cultural issues, both present and past, we need to develop other aspects of the cultural research agenda to do with e.g. law and political economy. To do so, we need to forge stronger ties with a broader range of disciplines within the humanities and social sciences.

But we also need to forge stronger ties to disciplines beyond the humanities and social sciences. Life sciences and natural sciences are obvious cases in point, not only because this is where the big money is – this is certainly the case – but because cultural perspectives add to

the overall quality of the research questions asked within these other disciplines. In my own experience with research funding, cultural researchers could benefit from being more active in building networks outside their chosen path and break the often self-imposed understanding that "this is not for us."

Tensions of Organisation

Naturally, cultural research develops within particular institutional and organisational frameworks. Here, the main tension is between competition and cooperation; and this goes for the local level, as well as the national and international level. For example, within a single university departments vie with one another for funding, for the best students and the best researchers. This competition often acts as a barrier against cooperation across boundaries of discipline, as I think most of us who do cultural studies research have experienced. What is, of course, more serious is the fact that existing organisational priorities operate against the long-term interests of the research communities at large in that we become worse equipped to tackle the socio-cultural complexities we wish to study.

The tensions between competition and cooperation is mirrored on a European level. For example, large countries such as Germany and France are less engaged participants in the European Science Foundation in terms of funding joint research projects than are smaller countries which do not possess a critical mass of research and researchers to guarantee quality and diversity. Thus, a Norwegian researching the history of reading needs to venture further afield to find kindred scholars than does a German scholar within the same field.

Cultural studies researchers, who do not always enjoy the institutional backing of their more discipline-oriented departments, seem to me to be among the scholars benefiting the most from trans-European research organisations; and we need to be extra adamant in sustaining professional communities that make cultural studies applications strong candidates when it comes to European research funding. I very much welcome the initiative and the thinking behind the Inter conference as a very important way in which these interdisciplinary, professional communities may be nurtured.

Moreover, the engagements of interdisciplinary research communities must be matched by similar developments by the funding organisations. Here we face a major challenge in that transnational research organisations in Europe have by tradition been geared towards disciplines, not themes or problematics. This means that so far interdisciplinary applications have been evaluated within funding agencies that are mostly geared to disciplinary funding. It is therefore very promising that the newly established European Research Council has organised itself within 20 thematic strands spanning traditional boundaries of disciplines. Also, the socalled COST funding agency within the EU has recently been refashioned into thematic strands (COST n.d).

Tensions of Funding

In terms of funding, there is an increasing political realisation that Europe needs to unite forces in terms of research. But, as we noted with the substance and the organisation of research, ideals of cooperation often conflict with the realities of competition.

Today, there are two main tensions in terms of trans-European research funding: one is between national vs trans-national funding, the other is between strategic vs researcher-driven research. Traditionally, trans-national research funding in Europe has followed two routes which are still operating: one is the EU's socalled framework programmes and the other is the European Science Foundation. The framework programmes have a common pot of money for research; they are policy-oriented and strategic and not defined by researchers themselves. The ESF is open to researcher-driven research within all areas of research, but funding is

dependent upon each member state, and so hightly ranked trans-national projects may never get off the ground if one member refuses funding.

Two new initiatives are highly promising in terms of funding because they break new ground in terms of overcoming some of the traditional limitations of funding. One, and the most important, is the European Research Council. It is funded through a common pot of money and grants are made soley on the basis of scienticfic excellence. So far, only individual grants are given – the first round had its deadline in May 2007 and resulted in over 9.000 applications.

The second initiative is research funding within socalled ERA-nets (European Research Area nets), that is networks of collaboration between particular research councils in Europe, funded partly by the EU and partly by the research councils involved. The social science ERA-net is called NorFace and offers grants for e.g. transnational research in "Religion as a Social Force in Europe" (Norface n.d.). The humanities ERA-net is called HERA, and two transnational grant schemes will be announced in the autumn of this year: one dealing with cultural heritage and one dealing with cultural industries and innovation (see HERA n.d.). In all of these areas, cultural researchers are obvious as candidates for application.

Conclusion: Conducting Comparisons

Whether we focus on issues of substance, organisation or funding, trans-European cultural research involves comparisons performed across a number of dimensions. While cultural globalisation is no recent phenomenon, it is fair to say that cultural researchers today are more attuned to the transmutations and interactions across neatly defined cultural boundaries than was the case just two decades ago. Global forms of communication and transport have been instrumental in accentuating our awareness of cultural exchange and opposition; and cultural complexity must be matched by scientific complexity. Hence, comparative research has assumed a new impetus on the international research agenda; and rightly so.

I have attempted to sketch out some of the tensions involved in conducting such forms of research in terms of substance, organisation and funding. All of these tensions are to do with boundaries, as I am sure you have noticed – defining them, repositioning them, pushing them. To conclude, we are back with the islands and the waterways: do we focus on the entities and on preserving existing views; or, do we focus on the bridges, on the processes whereby entities are connected, refashioned and reformulated? Whatever our particular research perspective, I am confident that cultural studies will provide important sailboats connecting the cultural islands of the future.

References

Ambassadors (2005) Letter to the prime minister. See: http://www.filtrat.dk/grafik/Letterfromambassadors.pdf. (Accessed 050607).

COST (n.d.) See: http://www.cost.esf.org/ Accessed 050607.

Gillis. John (2004) *Islands of the Mind: How the Human Imagination Created the Atlantic World* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

HERA (n.d.) See: http://www.heranet.info/Default.aspx?ID=102. Accessed 050607.

Kunelius, Risto et al. (eds) (2007) *Reading the Mohammed Cartoons Controversy: An International Analysis of Press Discourses on Free Speech and Political Spin* Bochum: Projekt Verlag.

NorFace (n.d.) See: http://www.norface.org/norface/publisher/index.jsp. Accessed 050607.

Wickipedia entry (n.d.) Jyllands Posten Mohammad cartoons controversy. See: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cartoon_crisis#Islamic_views. Accessed 050607.

The Politics of the Popular

Mikko Lehtonen
University of Tampere, Finland
mikko.s.lehtonen@uta.fi

The Politics of the Popular

The immediate context of this paper is a recently started four year research project, funded by the Academy of Finland and titled The Power of Culture in Producing Common Sense (POWCULT). Our interdisciplinary project of eight scholars from three universities and five disciplines examines Finnish power structures by studying the production of common sense in the fields of culture, media and art since early 1990s.

We investigate the battles over representations, agendas, values and meanings that have accompanied the political and economical restructurings of Finnish society since the economic depression and EU membership. By revising the Gramscian notion of common sense, we examine how the power of culture operates in cultural and social imaginary.

Analyzing the representational and rhetorical strategies in popular press and television, literature, theatre, visual culture and popular music, we ask how these various areas of culture produce common sense and articulate value by setting agendas for public debates, by framing them, and by exerting definitional political power (what notions, opinions and understandings count as understandable and sensible). As a part of this, we ask how neo-liberalism, individualization, non-politicization and intimization are articulated in Finnish culture. We scrutinize the power struggles taking place in contemporary culture, media and popular art by analyzing visual culture, Finnish contemporary novels, reality television, improvisation theatre, popular television and journalism.

Our project takes place in a specific context. One of the most eye-catching features of the Finnish context is the erosion of traditional cultural divisions. In 2004, 62.7 percent of the Finnish population had a degree from upper secondary school, vocational school, polytechnic or university. Furthermore, of Finns between 25-29 years old, no less that 86.2 percent had such a degree.

In such a context, where popular education is vigorously promoted, it is, of course, increasingly difficult to maintain any fictions of 'genuine common people' or 'uneducated masses'. At the same time all this also has profound impacts on the relations between 'low' and 'high' culture as many of the newly educated classes have never assumed a pure 'high' cultural identity. Democratization of education has, thus, in its part, eroded cultural hierarchies and hence undermined common notions of the popular and 'the people'. National-romantic or traditional leftist notions of the 'people' as in any sense 'authentic' in the sense of 'intact' seem especially problematic in societies that have devoted massive human and economic resources into education.

In the light of our research interests and research environment we have tried to demolish the traditional bipolar model of 'high' and 'popular' culture in the Finnish context. Instead, we have developed a model of various arenas of public address that speak with various efficacy to the whole population (see Koivunen and Lehtonen 1995). So far we have sketched a model of five such arenas of public address. These arenas are:

> the address of ordinary people and normality, speaking to the so called common people of the suburbs and countryside and highlighting normality, the "us", the Finns,
> the informative 'national' address, speaking mostly to the elites and highlighting traditional 'high' political, economic and cultural matters,
> the hedonistic address of individual pleasures, speaking to the new urban middle-classes and highlighting cosmopolitanism and pleasurable consumption,
> the address of youth and counter-cultures, highlighting alternative and resistant practices and views and, finally
> the populist address of "the forgotten people" in sensational and spam weeklies and television formats, representing itself deliberately as "vox populi".

All these arenas are multimodal. They traverse the media borders between press, literature, television, radio or internet. No television or radio channel nor a publication, such as a daily or a weekly, necessarily belong to only one of these arenas. We also assume that all Finns are simultaneously, though in varying degrees, addressed by all these arenas.

The main objective of our arena model is to find out the *mechanisms by which subjects are interpellated* in various arenas of public address. Instead of seeing popular publicness either as pure dope or a sheer field of pleasure and empowerment, we ask questions concerning *both* empowering *and* subjugating elements in popular culture. In doing so, we conceptualize the realm of the popular, first and foremost, as a theatre of constant tension, a key site where the late-modern Finnish society reproduces itself by producing common sense and gaining either willing or reluctant consent.

We have, in the Finnish context, come to question the ontological as well as the epistemological status of 'popular' and 'popular culture'. In an article to be published in *Cultural Studies*, composed together with the co-director of the project, Professor Anu Koivunen, we write that in stories we tell about the formation and circulation of cultural studies, the notion of the popular has a key role. For many practitioners of cultural studies, the notion of the popular has signaled the ethical and political rationale of the scholarly and pedagogical work: the desire and commitment, on the one hand, to question and criticize cultural hegemonies and classed, gendered and raced power structures linked to them, and, on the other hand, to 'give voice to' and to 'make visible' groups of people and areas of culture and society previously excluded from the academic inspection. In this way, then, the particular use of the notion of the popular has carried along the ethos (or at least the dream) of its etymological root, the Latin word *popularis*: 'belonging to the people' (Williams 1976, 236).

Considering the central position of the notion of the 'popular', it is, however, surprising that the notion has attracted quite little conceptual scrutiny in itself. While the notion of the 'popular' circulates as a qualifier in numerous book and article titles, its genealogies have remained largely unstudied. Therefore it is justified to ask how the notion of the popular as we know it (in the field of cultural studies) has been produced, where it comes from and what kinds of research questions it enables or disables.

As a result of these dwellings, Anu Koivunen and I argue, in the article mentioned above, that the notion of 'popular culture' has become both so ubiquitous and so fragmented and problematic that we need to rethink its heuristic and critical potential for cultural studies. In the current trans-national cultural landscape, reifying notions of popular culture, where the popular is seen as a thing, as well as fetishized notions of popular culture, where the popular is removed from its specific histories and seen as a more or less autonomous sphere, are of little value both as descriptive terms (answering the question: what is popular culture?) and as analytical devices (illuminating the question: what kind of knowledge the concept produces?).

We do not, however, suggest an abandoning but a rethinking of 'popular' and 'popular culture'. Tracing the definitional legacies of these terms and the concepts in cultural studies we ponder the uses of the notions of 'popular' and 'popular culture' as well as chart problems and blind alleys and map possible alternatives for them. As a crucial part of this, we suggest a rehabilitation and revision of the concept of 'hegemony' as a necessary tool to revitalize the questions propelling notions of the 'popular' and 'popular culture'. We like to think of this *return* to Gramsci not as a nostalgic move but as a theoretical and methodological reflection on our interests of knowledge concerning the 'popular' and various forms of 'publicness'. These questions, we argue, necessitate a rethinking of the notion of the 'political', another term and concept that often circulates as an unproblematic qualifier.

In a situation where 'the popular' is continuously at the centre of culture and cultural studies, it is axiomatic to view 'the popular cultural imaginary' as the key site where socio-

cultural norms are articulated and negotiated, where identity categories of nationality, class, ethnicity, "race", age as well as gender are constructed and contested. In this perspective, the 'popular' is the realm where forms of both agency and ideological consent is produced, negotiated and contested. In much of cultural studies from 1950s to 2007 the 'popular' is invested with various utopian wishes and political desires. As cultural studies practitioners, however, we should not think that utopian potential (Dyer 1992) of the 'popular' would realize itself automatically or *en masse*. Indeed, we may ask, whether the commitment to "popular as power struggle" is a productive approach in the context of late capitalism, global cultural industries and new nationalisms. Hence we want to ask: Does the emphasis on agency curtail analyses of contemporary forms of subjection and coercion?

Instead of repeating the dichotomy of agency and structure we want to stress the always-already structured nature of agency as well as the idea of structures as structuration and, hence, never independent of agency.

In here, we have found ourselves to be increasingly dissatisfied with un-contextualized notions of "empowerment". As Wendy Brown writes in her *States of Injury* (1995): "The language of resistance implicitly acknowledges the extent to which protest always transpires inside the regime; "empowerment", in contrast, registers the possibility of generating one's capacities, one's "self-esteem," one's life course, without capitulating to constraints by particular regimes of power. But in so doing, contemporary discourses of empowerment too often signal an oddly adaptive and harmonious relationship with domination insofar as they locate the individual feelings, a register implicitly located on something of an otherworldly plane vis-à-vis social and political power. In this regard, despite its apparent locution of resistance to subjection, contemporary discourses of empowerment partake strongly of liberal solipsism – the radical de-contextualization of the subject characteristic of liberal discourse that is key to the fictional sovereign individualism of liberalism." (22-23)

Wendy Brown is not suggesting here that talk of empowerment is always only illusion or delusion. She rather argues that "while the notion of empowerment articulates that feature of freedom concerned with action, with being more than the consumer subject figured in discourses of rights and economic democracy, contemporary deployments of that notion also draw so heavily on an un-deconstructed subjectivity that they risk establishing a wide chasm between the experience of empowerment and an actual capacity to shape the terms of political, social, or economic life." "Indeed", Brown remarks, "the possibility that one can "feel empowered" without being so forms an important element of legitimacy for the antidemocratic dimensions of liberalism." (23)

Brown's words remind us of what Raymond Williams wrote in his 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory'. Williams emphasized there that "we can only understand an effective and dominant culture if we understand the real social process on which it depends: I mean the process of incorporation." (38-39) On the basis of this, there are no guarantees for "empowering" practices not becoming incorporated into the dominant culture. "Empowerment" may form a basis of truly alternative or even oppositional practices that effectively go beyond the limits of dominant definitions. This cannot, however, be assumed beforehand but must always be shown in a concrete analysis of empowering practices in their specific historic contexts.

To conclude, then, one of the questions we need to ask of cultural studies is whether it has always distinguished carefully enough between agency and resistance. There can, of course, be no resistance without some agency, but this does not mean that all agency would be synonymous with resistance.

References

Brown, Wendy (1995) *States of Injury. Power and Freedom in Late Modernity.* Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Koivunen, Anu and Lehtonen, Mikko (2005**)** "Joskus on kiva olla vähemmän aikuinen. Kulttuurisen määrittelyvallan siirtymät ja julkisen puhuttelun areenat. *Tiedotustutkimus* 2/2005.

Williams, Raymond (1980) Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory, in *Problems in Materialism and Culture*. London, Verso.

Logic of Expansion, Logic of Being -Integrating the Dissociated Paths of Modernity in 21st Century

Gerhard Schulze

University of Bamberg

gerhard.schulze@sowi.uni-bamberg.de

Expansion and Arrival. The Two Paths of Modernity

If we trace modernity back to its origins, to Renaissance, Humanism, Protestant Reformation, Enlightenment, and organized scepticism of empirical science, we detect the idea of free development of the individual. But compared with former times people of today talk less about the idea of freedom. In western societies, freedom has become a matter of course like clean water. Nevertheless, the idea of freedom still is not fully developed.

Freedom has a double meaning: Objectively, it means systematic expansion of *opportunities*: science, technology, mobility, democratic constitutions, wealth, security, education. But there is a second, subjective meaning of freedom: the ability to make *personal sense* out of these opportunities. Modernity means building the house as well as living in it. Modernity means rationalization of means as well as coming to an end, and enjoying the fruit of ones endeavour. Modernity includes the logic of expansion as well as the logic of arrival.

Up to now, these two paths have remained dissociated. Most people have a reduced understanding of modernity, restricted to technology, science, economy, functionality, which all are organized by the logic of expansion. On the other hand, we witness an increasing salience of soft themes in the modern world, themes like happiness, sense of life, self realization, ethics, arts, religion. Those themes belong to the second path of modernity: the free use of all the options that are the result of the first path.

I will spell out the following theses:

The use of freedom which I call the second path is the essential point of modernity, while the first path, the expansion of options and opportunities, is only instrumental for the second.

The second path has not yet entered the stage of modernity; it has remained archaic and idiosyncratic – a matter of taste, hidden in privacy, beyond discourse.

But the time has come to treat the second path as a public matter, beginning with the minimal public of two persons living in an intimate relationship and ending with world society.

From Nature to Culture. The Changing Salience of Themes

Let me illustrate my third assumption by a series of examples:

Every cell-phone, I-pod, digicam, computer game or software tool is another challenge to be aware of yourself.

Broadband cable, satellite picture, wireless LAN and last-minute-check-in at the airport are giant multipliers of unknown symbolic worlds, virtual or real.

Genetics are forcing us to be philosophical: The more we are able to do and create, the more we have to talk about subjectivity. What do we want? What are we allowed to do? What are we doing?

The success of modern economy is no longer dependent only from the next step of technical perfection but from its ability of cultural self-organization, self-observation, and self-change.

The average expectancy of life in the western world is still growing two or three months every year, but what is it good for? What is happiness, what is making sense?

Mankind is starting to see itself as a world-community, but what is a good world-order?

The quintessence of all these examples is the salience of themes concerning the subject. Subjectivity is outrunning the traditional themes of modernity: natural law, machines, information processing, functional systems. This shift is not an accident; it is the inevitable consequence of modernization. To say it in only one sentence: The less people are determined by circumstances, the more they have to determine themselves.

Modern people have to face a *change of change*. To continue modern culture, they need a new technique of understanding. They have reached a level in which inter-subjectivity should

not be restricted on things, on natural phenomena, on countable and measurable topics any longer. Advanced appropriation of *nature* now is leading to the historical task of systematic appropriation of *culture*.

The Pre-Modern Way of Treating Culture in Modern Life

But on this second path, modern people are still beginners. A story of Dorothy Parker tells about Hobie and Kit, a man and a woman, who are getting on each others nerves horribly. In a sense, the story is pure sociology, because its subject is normal daily life. Dorothy Parker does a brilliant job in telling normality; her chief narrative technique is showing the rotations of a merry-go-round. She follows the scripts and patterns of her protagonists and needs a few pages only to catch everything. She describes cycles of a game between adults, as the psychologist Eric Berne analysed it decades ago. A few runs through, and the reader knows all about it.

The focus of most novels lies on the unique, singular and exceptional. But Parkers story concentrates on repetitions that happen between two people. Who does not understand what sociology is about finds a clear answer in this novel. Every existing sociological term can be reduced to this substance: repetitions that happen between people for a while.

Now the amazing thing is this: We are moving in this kind of substance day by day; we are producing it; we are transforming it; we are making it the topic of our discourses more and more – feeling prompted to do so by our still expanding universe of options. But intellectually we are touching it only on the surface. Culture is the forest that we don't see for all the trees in it. All with what we deal intuitively every day seems to get rather foggy than clear when we try to think about it or to put it into words. Hobie and Kit are key figures of the developed modern age: Human beings who intensively work on their relationship, but who hardly bring about much more than to reproduce what is getting on their nerves.

To Have or to Be? The Modernity of Erich Fromm and Herbert Marcuse

Hobie and Kid are living in New York. They use the subway and the telephone, products of the first path of modernity, to arrive at the beginning of the second path – and to fail there. In 1976, Erich Fromm, published his book *To have or to be?* This book became a world bestseller because it was sceptical about subways and telephones and focused the inner world. It appeared in a time when the Hobies and Kids of the world were shifting their interest from their circumstances to themselves.

In the western world the seventies were the time in which the mental food of 1968 was digested. It was the era of the psycho boom, of pilgrimage to Indian Gurus, of feministic resurrection, of sexualization of everyday life, all of this surfing on the emotional Tsunami of pop music.

What was the basic tectonic power that unchained such a worldwide movement? The Beatles put it into the answer "All you need is love". To say it more sociologically, finally the subject itself was legitimated explicitly. The chief cultural event of the seventies was the release of individual desires that flew together in the main stream of searching for experience, emotion, self-realization. Erich Fromm´s book was part of this flood and strengthened its power.

One of the secrets of Fromm´s success was the title, the formula *To have or to be?*, supplied with a question-mark. In the most common words of all, this title gave expression to vaguely felt ways of living, the way of self-alienation on the one hand and the way of self-appropriation on the other. Fromm connected these two ways by the conjunction "or", and by the question-mark he dramatized the tension between them to an existential dilemma. Following the principle of *to have*, you sacrifice your life on the altar of absurd accumulation, of things, of anonymous systems, of kafkaesque bureaucracies, of pure instrumental

reasoning. But there is a way out – the principle of *to be*: a way to deep sense, to rich experience, to real happiness, to yourself.

Twelve years ago, in 1964, a predecessor of Fromm´s book had appeared – the text *The one-dimensional man* from Herbert Marcuse. Interesting enough, this book became famous only in the seventies, when its time had come. Marcuse attacked the same enemy like Fromm. In the subtitle of his book he gave a name to the evil: "The ideology of advanced industrial society". But he meant the same mode of thinking that Fromm called the principle of *to have*. Like Fromm, Marcuse plead for the opposite, for *to be*.

Clash or Separation. Common Forms of Relating "to have" and "to be"

Reading the books of Fromm and Marcuse with some distance, we recognize a time-honoured, seemingly immortal pattern. The dichotomy of *to have* and *to be* is only a new metamorphosis of an old polarity. In the museum of ideas there is a room in which the variants of this polarity are exhibited, for instance: enlightenment and romanticism, technology and nature, work and leisure, system and everyday life, realism and art, man and woman in bourgeois thinking, machine and life, brain and soul, theological and mystical forms of religious practice.

Dichotomous thinking allows only two relationships between those polarities: clash or institutionalized separation. In his film *Modern Times* Charlie Chaplin translated the relationship of *clash* into pictures. The most impressive one is the machine that literally swallows up the worker. In our days, the salient example for the clash of *to have* and *to be* is religious fundamentalism, making us yearn for the harmless, almost melodious clash some decades ago which was the refusal of the Hippies to play the game of *to have*, beginning the day with a joint and enjoying the beaches of Goa.

But the normal, daily, modern form of the relationship between *to have* and *to be* is *institutionalized separation*. It may occur as separation of specialized roles, for instance between man and woman, between technical and emotion-oriented professions, between academic disciplines like physics and literature or art. Or it may occur as a separation of places between which people commute incessantly, and as a separation of times they stay in the two logics of action, between matter-of-factness or fantasy, play, emotion, joy of life, magic and religion. People commute between airports and beaches, between business partners and intimate partners, between working places and shopping malls, between information services and second life in the internet, between subway and church.

Bound to Dichotomous Thinking. The Anti-Modernity of Fromm and Marcuse

In a sense, Fromm and Marcuse were up to date and out of date at the same time. They gave a voice to the interest for the subject, but they rejected modern rationality. In the history of ideas this is a frequent pattern. There are many Fromms and Marcuses. Sometimes they appear as a pack of wolves, swelling to big movements, sometimes they remain lonely, roaming about since centuries as constant companions of modernity: mystics, romantics, pietists, esoterics, childs of nature, Ramblers, Hippies, little Rousseaus, little Thoreaus, little D. H. Lawrences.

All of them are caught in a dialectic trap. Basically, they preach anti-modernity. They claim to be "alternative", protesting against what Max Weber called "Zweckrationalität", absolute rationality of means, the "cage of steel". They are right in attacking the reduction of modernity only to the logic of *to have,* but they regularly go beyond that and attack modernity as a whole, in a double sense: Firstly, they stigmatize the world of expansion, the machine, the functional system as the realm of evil; secondly they leave subjectivity and culture in romantic darkness instead of trying to illuminate it by the light of modern thinking.

If we look at Marcuses book free of emotions, with the same cold logic which he regards to be part of the realm of evil, we detect a contradiction between title and text. If "one-dimensional man" is meant critically, it implies the call for a better alternative, which only can be the "two-or-more-dimensional man". But in the quintessence Marcuse propagates only another kind of one-dimensionality. Like Fromm, he connects *to have* and *to be* by the conjunction "or". Marcuse remains on the simple level of *dichotomous* thinking. He does not reach the level of *dimensional* thinking.

Dichotomies are like *pots* – you belong to pot 1 or to pot 2. Dimensions are quite another thing; they are not pots, they define a *field* with many possible positions. So Marcuse missed the complexity he implicitly promised in his title. He only substituted a form of one-dimensionality by another. The time was not ripe for real two-dimensional thinking – but now, I pretend, it is.

Modern people have developed a style of hopping between islands of calculation and islands of feeling. More and more, they become artists of zapping between different modes of thinking. Referring to Fromm and Marcuse, their way of life could be characterized as sequential one-dimensionality between *to have* and *to be*. Living like this represents not yet really an integration of the two dimensions but perhaps it is a step forward. Anyhow, more and more people have left behind the restrictions which Fromm and Marcuse suggested under the label of progress. They try to combine the two chief aspects of human existence, *to have* and *to be*, even though in a separated, sequential form.

The Hobbling Walk of Modernity and its Explanation

Referring to the two unequal halves of modernity by the title *To have or to be?* Erich Fromm again tried to split the whole like many other critics before him and afterwards. They misunderstood modernity as development of microchips instead of development of the individual. They constructed a dichotomy instead of a complementary relationship. And so they ended up rejecting the microchip, the factory, the system, and they interpreted consumption as slavery.

Modernity proceeded through the centuries with a hobbling walk, up to now. The strong leg is the logic of expansion, or Fromm´s principle of *to have*. The weak leg is the logic of *to be*.

How can this asymmetry be explained? Basically, it is easy to understand why the logic of expansion is stronger than the logic of being. We only have to look at it from the viewpoint of sociology of knowledge. The logic of expansion can proceed on the solid ground of objectively measurable facts. It allows intersubjective discourses, exchange of knowledge, clear definition of failure and progress, and connection of different paths of development. For instance, the worldwide technological discourse on the quality of microchips is functioning precisely and free of disturbances. It results in an industry developing units with always higher capacity of storage. These outcomes are understood by other industries, by brokers and bankers, by advertisers, and by consumers. Altogether, the logic of expansion led to a worldwide, still expanding game. In German I call it *Steigerungsspiel – game of expansion*. The logic of expansion made its way through history like a machine that reconstructs and enlarges itself continuously, a phenomenon of enormous power and of ongoing stability in the course of time.

But what about the logic of being? It is the weak leg. The logic of being was always regarded to be a private affair, a matter of taste, inaccessible for discourse. So the logic of being never was subjected to even a touch of modernization, something like rationalization, progress, expansion. It remained infantile, unripe, archaic, an occasion of shrugging ones shoulders in resignation, because the task of building a sphere of intersubjectivity was regarded unsolvable and paradoxical. It seemed an impossible project to treat the subject as if

it were an object. Isn´t it clear that subjectivity belongs to the tacit realm about which Wittgenstein stated "On what one cannot talk one has to be silent"?

A New Stage of Collective Learning

In a sense the present situation is similar to the situation at the outset of modern culture. In the youth of modern culture, people were fascinated by a big theme – the increase of options – but they still had to develop the intellectual prerequisites to work on it. The history of modern culture is accompanied by a process of collective learning in which people appropriated these prerequisites better and better.

Topics of thinking are changing. The present big shift from objects to subjects and culture is an incentive for searching new patterns of thinking, modes of interpretation, rules of discourse, paradigms, and perspectives – a search of still unaccustomed intellectual instruments to master the specific challenges of the new theme in focus. Collective learning is entering a new stage. People are putting formerly private themes in the centre of public discourses and transforming matters of taste into matters of discourse.

However, who *talks* about subjective phenomena must not necessarily be *competent* to do so. It is dramatically more intricate to construct a space of inter-subjectivity, if it is not about things but about subjects. Whether a machine is working well, whether a certain material has desirable qualities, whether a medical therapy is successful – all this can be measured objectively and does not raise problems of inter-subjectivity. But when the machine, the material, the therapy are at hand for everybody they change social reality. The consequence is Babylonian confusion. What is the case now? What new patterns have arisen? What has to be done about it – politically, economically, and educationally?

On the one hand questions like these should reduce uncertainty, but on the other hand they require the intellectual acknowledgement of uncertainty. Who tries to make a modern scientist be a follower of this idea, however, must have nerves of steel and a thick skin. The inevitable aggressions are due to the fact that the methodological permission of ambivalence, vagueness and not-falsifiability provokes the core identity of modern scientists like the toleration of cockroaches would provoke the core identity of a vermin exterminator. Uncertainty is disgusting. But the lecture of uncertainty is inevitable in the collective curriculum. So the refusal makes the impression of an infantile act of defiance. To be cross about the message means to be cross about reality.

Just imagine this: Natural science and its implementation into daily life since the 18th century would have happened without the still ongoing fascination of the public? We probably would believe that there are little manikin behind the TV-screen. But this exactly is the standard on that we communicate about culture. Cultural sciences are not yet ready to deal with this historical task. Sociology, a leading discipline in the sixties and seventies, nowadays is struggling for attention from a standing room only, mumbling comments that nobody is really interested in, while in the same time politicians, physicists, neurologists, entrepreneurs, and journalists cheerfully sociologize, only equipped with daily life know-how and ready wit.

What we can see is a swelling discourse about cultural phenomena, in which everybody can state everything. The level of modern age we have reached so far forces us to talk about culture, but we do this in anarchy. Other than in natural science, technique, and economy there is no inter-subjective sphere, there is no accepted meta-level, no obliging way of reflecting and talking. What we have is Babylonian confusion.

The Actual Deficit of Modernization

So the time has come to revise Wittgenstein´s dictum. Of course, Wittgenstein is right in a sense. Everybody feels an exclusive personal universe of meanings beyond communicability within himself. On the other hand, after a time of interaction the distance can be reduced, by

talking, observing, supposing and correcting each other. In spite of all misunderstandings, in spite of the daily flood of premature conclusions misled by false models of subjectivity, in spite of stupid typologies, most of us already have made the experience of partially being recognized and understood. Wittgenstein´s dictum is not to be applied on subjectivity as a whole. There are ways of partial approach, degrees of understanding, methods and rules to establish limited intersubjectivity concerning the subject.

To unfold this still unexplored space of discourse and self reflection could be the next big step in the process of modernization. While the logic of expansion reached higher and higher levels of perfection, people got more and more aware of a deficit. As for *to have*, they constructed an admirable logic of action, but as for *to be*, they still resemble Hobie and Kit getting on each others nerves, governed by latent psychic and social mechanisms.

For Wittgensteinians, it may sound naive to state a deficit of modernization in the realm of subjectivity. But it may be helpful to alter Wittgenstein´s dictum in the following manner: "On what one *can* talk one *should* talk." Modernization means reasonable talking. The actual deficit of modernization can be described as a deficit of reasonable talking concerning three topics: What precisely is the logic of *to be*? What do we see if we use the logic of *to be* as a point of view? How should we integrate *to have* and *to be*? If you want to see the size of the challenge, just imagine Herbert Marcuse as an industrial and Erich Fromm as his marketing manager.

The Multiple Realities of Cultural Citizenship Versus the Logic of Culturalization

Joke Hermes

INHOLLAND University

Joke.Hermes@INHOLLAND.nl

The Multiple Realities of Cultural Citizenship Versus the Logic of Culturalization

'Culturalization' as a term to me sounds pretty ominous. It makes me wonder whether culture has become a primary conduit of what Foucault called 'governmentality': the channelling of action along preconceived logics. It also incites a sense of guilt. Have I, have we as cultural studies scholars become stuck in secretly or not so secretly imagining culture as a domain of freedom and liberation? Has our enthusiasm for culture as an everyday domain of negotiation about meaning and power contributed to how culture is 'used', and is it this affecting the pluriformity and multitude of spaces that everyday culture, including popular culture for mass consumption, used to be? Quite possibly there are other ways of thinking about 'culturalization', but for now I'd like to explore this double feeling. Is culture now used as a primary channel of political control, thereby emptying the domain of the political of its democratic significance? And, secondly, what does the tradition of cultural studies have to offer in these times of obvious change in terms of understanding the uses of culture for others than governments or corporate capitalists.

Citizenship, and what has come to be known as 'cultural citizenship' will be my point of entry. I'll contrast my admittedly slightly idealist notion of the value of understanding citizenship as bonding through or in popular culture to two other realities. They are the reality of living in a global world, and the everyday reality of doing so in a wealthy Western nation-state for which I will use material from audience research conducted by my INHOLLAND research group over the past 3 years.

One: the Reality of Cultural Citizenship in Cultural Studies

Cultural citizenship has been an important theme in my own work especially because it is such an elegant notion of what popular culture achieves for us. Whereas concepts such as identity, representation and subjectivity are clearly of great use in analysing and understanding how we use the media, they don't have much to offer when it comes to questions of bonding and collectivity. My working definition of cultural citizenship points to how especially (broadly) shared popular culture offers us a sense of who we are, as well as a feeling of belonging, and what the scope of our rights and responsibilities is (Hermes, 2005: 1). It is an arena in which not just meaning, but meaningfulness, subjectivity, identity and community are struggled over and established (idem: 6). The elements of this definition derive from discussion of (cultural) citizenship in cultural studies. I am in particular a fan of the work of Toby Miller and John Hartley.

Toby Miller (1993; 1998) understands (cultural) citizenship as the disciplining of subjects in the cultural realm in capitalist social formations. Going by what he wrote a decade ago, we are long past the point at which to wonder about the culturalization of power relations – these are logics that have been in place all through modernity. He sums up his book *The well-tempered self* by stating that "culture is a significant area in the daily organisation of fealty to the cultural-capitalist state" (1993: 218). For him citizenship is a realm of subjection rather than freedom, in which disciplining and seduction both hold sway. However aware we are, in ironical or postmodern mode, that we are fooled, tied down and regulated by the different types of invitation that come our way to be included and to be belong: to be a selfless, responsible citizen or just a witness, to be a happy consumer, we also take up these invitations, enjoy them, live them. Miller concludes that: "the civic cultural subject – the citizen – is produced as a polite and obedient servant of etiquette, within limited definitions of acceptable behaviour" (1993:223).

John Hartley has a different take on (cultural) citizenship, which he calls media citizenship (1996) and in later work DIY citizenship (1999), reserving cultural citizenship for

other purposes. Media citizenship, for Hartley is grounded in his intent to undo the intellectual-made divide between "the knowledge class" and ordinary people. Intellectual and popular culture are understood as "mutual, reciprocal and interdependent sites of knowledge production"(1996:58/9). Hence Hartley's use of "reading" and "readerships" to describe media audiences as a taunt to how intellectuals like to describe themselves.

"Readerships" are the audiences, consumers, users, viewers, listeners or readers called into being by any medium, whether verbal, audio-visual or visual, journalistic or fictional; "reading" is the discursive practice of making sense of any semiotic material whatever, and would include not only decoding but also the cultural and critical work of responding, interpreting, talking about or talking back – the whole array of sense-making practices that are proper to a given medium in its situation (1996:58).

Reading, and in fact media citizenship, for Hartley is a *practice* not a subjectivity, part of the cultural repertoire of actions that people may undertake (1996: 66). Shared cultural frameworks and how they are (continuously) built and rebuilt are at stake. Rigorous investigation of what the core values in using both journalism and popular culture are, should therefore include examination of how they fascinate and bind, how media use is incremental in community-building as well as in practices of exclusion.

Following Hartley, we can recognise *cultural* citizenship as the consequence of actions and debates in the range of contexts that make up the (semi) public sphere of mass media consumption. We should neither overestimate, Hartley suggests, the public sphere of political science nor underestimate the realm of popular entertainment. I would add to that, that we might want to understand the relative autonomy of these spheres or domains. Hence my suggestion that we approach the question of culturalization via the material practices or realities of cultural studies, globalization and actual everyday media use. Of course the cultural, the popular and the political are part of one another and connect in and through us. But they organize our lives in different ways in different places at different moments. They feel like separate domains. We are meanwhile getting deeper and deeper enmeshed in this mix of culture, politics and the popular. As users and critical consumers we offer feedback on product development or services rendered which weaves us into the economy. We are much more than just end-users. We are *prosumers*, part of networks that set rules which become boundaries for others, either or not via the intervention of governments. 'Citizenship' suggests a certain autonomy and individuality, in actual practice this view is hard to sustain. The voter, the bearer of rights: how often do people feel they are in charge, that it matters what they do?

Two: The Reality of a Globalising World

   I am not Dutch, I am Amsterdammer. (Moroccan-Dutch informant, 2006).

For me globalization most of all means multiculturalism. Citizenship from the perspective of globalisation is an indelible part of our daily lives. Amsterdam, in my case, is a multicultural city, I work with the most diverse student population in the Netherlands, multiculturalism is a returning theme in the projects of my team, brought up spontaneously when it is not immediately part of interview themes. More generally, globalisation is an important reason for us to discuss citizenship because it is assumed to signal the end of "national belonging" (Castles and Davidson 2000:156). Migration and the coming into being of transnational media communities, herald a new era (Turner 1994).

Myths of a unified nation, bound by heritage, a national language, family blood lines extending back into the past and intertwined with national history, will surely at some point explode. Even if lack of empirical foundation has not stopped these myths from being produced in the past. Religion provides a similar unifying myth. It bears pondering whether

national politics too upholds a myth of its own. Is it fast becoming a realm of posturing based on precious little power to steer events and developments? Corporate capitalism, flash capital, new types of monetary piracy after all influence and indeed control local economies to a large extent. Health risks too have become a transnational phenomenon, witness Beck's arguments in *The Risk society* (1992).

George Yudice suggests in his *The expediency of culture. Uses of culture in the global era* (2003) that precisely these conditions have made the progressively minded (us, I assume) turn to civil culture and cultural citizenship. He argues that "the transition of the welfare state to the neoliberal state has generated, in the process, a new dimension to citizenship rights" (2003:165). His overall argument links the coming into being of new civil rights and the recognition of group rights, to the vast changes in the influence of corporate capital, increased immigration, the revolution in electronic media (including the internet) and the post-mass market (also known as diversity or niche marketing). Quoting Young (2000) Yudice states that "cultural citizenship cannot be understood outside of what has been happening to the welfare state, the media and the market which translate the interpretations of people's needs into legal, administrative, therapeutic and imaginistic terms, thus reformulating the political reality of those interpretations"(ibid).

I think Yudice implies that we need double focus. Diversity marketing, media utopian and dystopian fantasies of the world, and corporate political action on behalf of the disenfranchised are important but they are not 'innocent'. Although diversity marketing recognizes groups of people that hitherto were invisible in media and publicity; they do only recognize those groups that can be identified as an interesting group of consumers. The gay dollar and the Hispanic middle class in the U.S. effectively deny the challenges others belonging to these groups may be faced with. Likewise, media fantasies tend to look for happy endings or comfortable solutions. Corporate political ethics that translate into important projects (support for fair trade or for women's rights) often remain no more than a marginal part of the overall pr budget. They may not even be in line with e.g. actual working conditions. In short, Yudice convincingly shows that while citizenship and especially cultural citizenship was an obvious direction to turn in the 1980s and 90s, it is not without its drawbacks. For one, cultural citizenship is a deeply implicated part of the "society of spectacle and consumable style" (Yudice 2003: 168) that we are in today. While it promises empowerment it is channelled through what Foucault called "governmentality" (Foucault 1991), perhaps even more so than identity politics. Processes of empowerment do give all kinds of groups a voice. At the same time, by construing them as Dutch Moroccans, or 'older' women, specific representations and expectations are produced and channelled, thus, in Foucauldian terms "structuring the field of action", and circumscribing their possibilities and access to other networks of power, political action or social effectivity. (Foucault 1991; see Yudice 2003: 162). Identity politics, aimed so much more directly at the sphere of politics and political rights, offered a clearer choice. Cultural citizenship, as a mechanism of inclusion through cultural forms and practices, will also include those who are not aware that they made a choice, regardless of whether they really had one or not.

Three: Everyday Realities of (Cultural) Citizenship and Audiencehood

Over the past three years we have explored citizenship from the perspective of citizens themselves with students. The material gathered in long interviews in neighbourhoods all over the western part of the Netherlands, confirms that we are, not to put too fine a point to it, in the midst of a citizenship crisis if citizenship is defined in terms of the relation between nationals and representative government. Survey results over the last couple of years have consistently shown the same thing. We are at an all time low in the trust put in government (conceived broadly). Trust in entrepreneurship and business on the other hand, has risen and

this extends to corporate capitalism despite major scandals over exorbitant sums paid to CEOs and malfeasance at the top of a.o. the Ahold corporation in the Netherlands (Enron scandal in the States, other scandals elsewhere). Liberal individualism, promoted as much by government agencies as by other social partners and mainstream media, channels public discourse about citizenship. "Democratization under liberalism", moreover, according to George Yudice, "has transformed the public sphere in which citizenship can be effectively participatory. Institutional channelling tempers activism (-)." (Yudice 2003: 76). Although Yudice's argument pertains to Brasil and the United States, it holds, for the Netherlands as well, where a 'polder model' of consultation distances individuals from policy decisions.

While liberal individualism supports a highly formal definition of citizenship, it does not bode well for more substantial forms. An individualist perspective is not amenable to recognising group allegiances or identities. On the contrary, it reverts back to traditional views of citizenship as part of a public sphere, in which one exerts rights or makes good on responsibilities. It is based on assimilation. Gender or ethnic identity belong to a private realm that has no consequences for being a citizen in the public sphere. To approach 'the multiple realities' of cultural citizenship, this crisis of citizenship needs to be discussed. While in conjunction with the reality of living in a globalised and further globalising world, it shows the incredibly narrow window of possibility that cultural citizenship is, it also provides for a stronger case in favour of the possible role of the media in strengthening cultural citizenship, as a sense of ownership and a sense of belonging. Quite rightly, overly optimist and celebratory notions of how audiencehood might empower should be criticised (an old debate in and against cultural studies) but not to the detriment of understanding how media use may also be of real value to real people.

Intermezzo: Citizenship in Crisis and Alternative Places to Go Looking for It

In our students' interview material the hold of a traditional liberal individualism shows in the cultural means available to those they interview to discuss their feelings about their neighbourhood, the city, the city administration and government in general. Two major repertoires surface in analysis of the interviews.[1] On the one hand, there is a clearly defined citizenship repertoire. If we adhere to the rules, government agencies will treat us fairly, is its main theme. It has no political thrust. There is little sense that government is ultimately the delegated will of the people. It is an autonomous service industry that requires payment in the form of taxes and correct behaviour. In interviews for the Ministry of the Interior (Binnenlandse zaken), this was touchingly confirmed by informants telling us how 'honoured' they felt to have been approached for a citizen forum (Burgerforum kiesstelselhervorming, "Burgerschap onder een glazen stolp", Hermes and Adolfsson 2007a)

At street level, this citizenship repertoire comes with the expectation of convivial behaviour, which ranges from partaking in annual neighbourhood festivities, or being able to ask a neighbour to turn their stereo down. The city in this formal citizenship repertoire is like a village. When asked what informants themselves did for their neighbourhood or for others in their vicinity, it becomes clear that the notion of the village is a nostalgic, romanticised one that they hardly ever act upon. Although some people do engage in volunteer work, the majority of our interviewees (easily over a hundred individuals), only offer excuses for not doing anything at all. Citizenship is little more than a pleasing formula that works well as long as you don't break any laws.

---

1 See Trees Moll, 2006 for an impression of urban citizenship which is most relevant for the discussion here; Peter 't Lam, 2006, for European citizenship and Doedens , 2006, for nostalgic citizenship sentiments in small communities.

The contrasting citizenship repertoire, imagines the city as a space of freedom. No one to check on your behaviour, no social control or gossip to hinder individuals in their lifestyle of choice. Here liberal individualism is even stronger. After all, the city, from this perspective is built on a collective agreement that what we do in our private lives is our own business. Engaging in citizenship activity, is not easily part of this repertoire. Most promising, from what we could see, are corporate initiatives for volunteer work in company hours and those civil society initiatives (such as debates) that were felt to strengthen professional identities. In short, formal citizenship is hardly a lived reality despite the massive volume of public discourse that stresses citizenship. How about mediated and/or media-related cultural citizenship?

The notion of cultural citizenship follows on the poststructuralist turn in media audience studies. Rather than discuss attitudes, personality traits or media effects, "new audience studies" (Morley 1980, 1988; Ang 1985; Radway [1984] 1987) move towards an interest in the underlying cultural knowledges and resources of media audiences. A combination of ethnographic research and discourse analysis became a new way to approach media use. While individuals appear to accord idiosyncratic meanings to what they read, watch or listen to, in their reports they make use of a limited number of terms. They share cultural repertoires to express how practices of media use have meaning for them; they take their cues for practical orientation from others who share their enthusiasm, indignation or background, thus forming communities.

In audience research over the years, I have found many indications of the value of media use for a sense of belonging and a sense of identity. For instance interviews about women's magazines, showed a shared investment in imagining a perfect self (as a wise person, able to advise others; or as a practical genius who can remove stains from any fabric), or an investment in holding on to imagined families (Hermes 1995). Thriller readers find many uses for their reading preference. A particularly interesting one in this respect was a shared investment among readers of women's thrillers (often portraying feminist heroines and storylines) in holding on to traditional notions of gender by producing a conservative feminism – depoliticised, domesticated – a call for good manners and respectful behaviour. Such middle-classness for all is no less than a political contract that is hardly visible from the outside.

This is cultural citizenship because underlying practices of use and interpretative repertoires imply political contracts and often contain agendas. Clearly then, cultural citizenship is certainly not necessarily progressive, nor something to romanticise. Likewise in a small football project, I found traces of 'racist discomfort': for lack of better terms questions of multiculturalism on the fields and in top football (soccer) were addressed in outdated categories of race. Sometimes positively, as in praise for the athletic capabilities of African players, sometimes negatively as in criticism that 'they' play by instinct rather than strategy (Hermes 2005). Interviews about multicultural humour likewise were not much fun: humour tends to strengthen exactly those group boundaries that are not easily discussed.

When combined with work we did on citizenship over the past three years, Yudice's view of citizenship offers fairly little to be optimistic about. In general, for 'ordinary people' citizenship only has meaning via repertoires that exclude them from a political outlook. A public sphere dominated by a host of professional organisations prevent them from the possibility of critically intervening in politics or challenging the state apparatus. Although they recognise themselves as 'citizens', the underlying dynamic is that of relatively powerless individuals versus the anonymous machinery of the state, to which politics can hardly make a difference. Under conditions of globalization, progressive intellectuals have turned to 'cultural' citizenship to recover a sense of control in the form of rights and obligations on the part of all of us for whom a 'natural' sense of belonging is problematic. Regardless whether

we are women, gay or of a minority ethnicity. Yudice quotes Elizabeth Jelin to argue that "the concept of citizenship in a democratic culture must take into consideration symbolic aspects such as collective identity and not just a rationalized rights discourse" (2003:76). When we do so, we find that such identities can be found at many layers but that they require an intervention of some kind to become visible as the material realities that they are.

Encouraging Cultural Citizenship: a Plea for Civic Research

There is one remaining question to gauge the strength or power of the logic of culturalization: is it possible to invite, or even manipulate media audiences into cultural citizenship? And if so: how? This past year we were involved in the evaluation of a reality soap produced with financial backing of the city of Amsterdam. *West Side* (AT5 2006) is meant to encourage Amsterdammers to discuss issues to do with multiculturalism and to thus lessen tension between ethnic groups in the city. A television series used to political ends. *West Side* was made by the local public television station AT5. It was not presented as a public relations initiative for or by the city. Understanding that an invocation to co-exist peacefully would not convert a large audience, *West Side* is made as a raw reality soap, pitting 4 families from different ethnic backgrounds (Moroccan, Turkish, white-Dutch and Surinamese-Dutch) against each other. Although they are allowed to find one another by the end of the first season, lifelike problems and suspicions are given free space.

Did *West Side* work? It was, overall, a modest success. It did not find a large audience but it was sold to the national networks (NPS/VARA). Although it certainly had quality, viewers we showed episodes to were taken aback at the sharp portrayal of ethnic stereotypes. This did indeed incite them to talk about multiculturalism, but, in the interviews conducted by our students often in ways that strengthened their pre-existing notions and ideas. We did not see a new community come into being around the serial, either in the interviews, or on *West Side*'s website. The politics of hardening multicultural oppositions between groups certainly require more than a cultural approach from above.

Used differently, I do however think that serial drama could work. As part of a what we have called a 'civic research' project,[2] we are currently experimenting with another form of using media drama. Our sense is that the media can offer the ingredients for strong bonding, and for audience groups to find their way to a stronger political awareness (ie of how their views and lifestyles matter to society at large). Audience research in which audience members participate on an equal basis, may help bring such awareness about. Like civic journalism, civic research builds on the knowledges and (critical, emotional, social) intelligence of all involved. In this vein, we started work on a 'telenovela' to be aired on the web site of Marokko.nl, a lively internet community aimed at and moderated by Moroccan Dutch, including a wide group of different backgrounds. Marokko.nl is starting a news site. It will contain news that is specifically of interest to the Dutch Moroccan community. In two ways this site will try to make news come alive for young users. Students have been invited to make news items as peer-to-peer form. The second initiative is our suggestion to start making a telenovela that builds onto the stories on one of the rubrics of the web community: the story corner. High melodrama in feuilleton mode abounds. It is written mostly by young women but also by men. This group of writers has been approached to help develop and write an internet soap that links via its characters and storylines to actual news items, as in the South-American telenovela. Whether the result will be as exhilarating as the process of developing storylines

---

2   By 'civic research we mean 'new forms of action and peer-to-peer research that engage informants as co-researchers, i.e. as research subjects rather than objects' in Hermes, Joke (2006) 'Hidden debates', in *Javnost/The Public*, 2006, p. 19.

and characters (we all agreed Faycal was a name for a slightly overweight sorry character), and whether it'll strengthen a form of 'bottom up' cultural citizenship remains to be seen.

We have called what we are doing 'civic' research. It is aimed at understanding the relative (un)importance of the cultural while giving it its due. It wants to understand the value of authentic feeling, of how and when a sense of realness and connection come about. Citizenship in all its guises has been compromised: by globalisation, by the fact that citizenship rights did not produce a vast middle class, by culturalization in the form of consumerism and the politics of style and spectacle and by culturalization in the form of a shift in politics to issues of morality. John Major's Citizen's Charter in the 1990s contained a strong notion of the contract between government and nationals. It never caught on, while Major's later Back to Basics campaign did. That was based on moral injunctions. A similar injunction to behave has been part of Dutch governments since the late 1990s. The shift to individualism, became a shift to individual responsibility to be well-behaved. The village fantasy version of citizenship has turned into a how-to-become-middle-class morality play. Culture of coure is the conduit of choice for such a realignment. Recent shows such as *American Princess*, *America's next top model* and *Ladette to Lady* that are all about self-discipline, travelled widely and were remade amongst others into local Dutch versions.

But that does not mean that culturalization is all there is, or that popular culture or television for that matter are not offering a multitude of options to watch as per usual. Without claiming that pluriformity equals liberation, it is important to understand that popular culture works via an invitational logic. Aesthetics rather than ethics are its force, and aesthetics remain a powerful political field. Bonding via popular culture is a bottom up process, while morality in this day and age, is at the very least perceived as a top down regulatory force which is backed up by governmental macho talk.

That means I don't think we need to give up on culture, or on cultural citizenship. I don't think cultural citizenship is equal to the other citizenships, but it is their prerequisite. If and when we want to intervene critically, bring people together or create vital communities, culture offers means to build bridges and bond that other types of social action do not. Popular culture does this even better than traditional culture or the arts, but all, in their own way can be and are part of cultural citizenship. Cultural citizenship exists as a material practice: it comes into being in real life at particular junctions in people's biographies. Cultural citizenship to me is a 'reality'. Empirical philosopher Annemarie Mol (2002) has defined 'reality' as a shared decision to understand and act in the world. I found that that means there are at least three realities involved in how I understand the logic of culturalization and cultural citizenship as part of that: my own intellectual history; the situatedness of that intellectual history, part as it is of my life (the concentric circles of which start from Amsterdam); but also how I partake of the realities of others in audience research. Co-creation, community building, these seem to me the appropriate ethnographic tools to pursue 'civic research' of the near future.

Plus ça change, plus c'est le même chose we have never been naive in cultural studies. Culture has always been a conduit for governmentality, even if 'hegemony' was the preferred term. Recent discussion of that concept in *Theory, Culture & Society* [May 2007, 24(3)] makes clear that although the terrain is shifting towards a new materialism in which affect and emotion are given more space and indeed credence, questions of power and everyday initiatives to redefine definitions and agendas interwoven with the broad domain of culture continue to go on. Politics meanwhile is doing a good job of emptying out its own meaningfulness for citizenship. Cultural studies could do less than to continue to provide an open stage for discussion of inequality, power, bonding, commitment and rights. That is the best way that I would know of to include the different realities at stake and to recognize the pressures and forces, whether historical, ideological or political that co-shape those realities.

CP, TK, TCE & Co.: The end of Freewheeling Culturalization?

Regina Bendix
Universität Göttingen, Germany
rbendix@gwdg.de

This paper is an only slightly enlarged version of the plenary paper prepared for *INTER*: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden, by ACSIS, Norrköping 11-13 June 2007. On the basis of examples from historical docu-soaps and contemporary art involving reenactment, the interweaving of cultural knowledge production and cultural practices in the realm of experiencing and/or consuming the past are shown. Building on Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's concept "meta-cultural production", the term meta-historical productions is suggested and differentiated from a more politically motivated "culturalization" also present in heterogeneous societies. The paper further postulates that the experiential motivations inherent to phenomena such as reenacting are a major reason for the growing spectrum of meta-historical productions. They go, however, hand in hand with legitimating bureaucratic regimes such as heritage programs or efforts to bestow copyright on them, thus seeking to harness such phenomena for political, legal and economic purposes.

CP, TK, TCE & Co.: The end of Freewheeling Culturalization?

Let me begin with two related but differently lodged examples culled from Germany, 2007:

Example 1: On May 27th, German television aired the first installment of "Stone Age – the Experiment". Two families with three children each, thirteen people overall, and aged from 3 to 63, lived for two months in reconstructed stilt houses at the Lake of Konstanz. "Nothing was taken along from modern life except for tampons and tweezers to remove ticks," we can read in one of the press releases. While hunger was a new sensation to cope with initially, "none of the participants fell ill. On the contrary: afterwards, they were physically and psychologically in better condition."[1]

"What would television do without spectators willing to go to the limits of tolerable experiences?" was the commentary in Stern-magazine.[2] Time travel combined with reality TV are the two components that shape what is referred to as "docu-soaps", and as Michaela Fenske observes, despite the label "living history", "docu-soaps hardly deal with history in terms of a historically reconstructed past. Historical docu-soaps (rather) narrate how late modern individuals act in historical stage sets; they deal predominantly with needs, experiences, insights, questions and problems of the present" (2007, 2). Knowledge of diseases carried by ticks marks the boundaries of our desire to live in history; lack of knowledge how Stone Age women dealt with menstruation explains the tampons.

Knowledge and choice are crucial ingredients in the appropriation, experience and mass-mediated representation of slices of history. For the active participants in the stone age experiment, acting and experiencing are what is relevant and what constitutes a learning leap. Knowledge is what one gains; choices are what one makes, and both are modern, present-day ways of individual engagement with past and present. For producers and participants, and especially for audiences, the Stone Age experiment is then ultimately not a form of "consuming history". Rather, the program is a confrontation with the past - or those parts of it that are known - with the education one has received in the present. Even the vocabulary chosen - "the Experiment"– points in that direction, "experimentation" is hardly part of the language of the Stone Age.

Example 2: On June 9th, the exhibit "History will repeat itself" opened in Dortmund, Germany. It presents historical reenactments as documented by contemporary artists in search of understanding the phenomenon's popularity, as well as artists who seek to show historical events using the "representational mode of reenactment" (Klot 2007, 89). There are, for instance, performance art pieces and video installations of reenacted battles; but in contrast to historical battle enthusiasts engaging in reenactment of long ago wars, some artists participating in the Dortmund show have chosen recent "traumatic experiences" in their work. Jeremy Deller, for instance, invited lay actors to restage the violent altercation between British miners and police in 1984. Such an event, runs the argument, has left a deep impression on the collective consciousness and reflecting it from an artistic- aesthetic distance brings to the fore its relevance for the present. As the shows curators put it: "Artistic reenactments are not an affirmative valuation of the past (as are 'regular or popular reenactments'), but they rather serve to question the present."[3]

In other words, the artists as well as the shows initiators and curators are both utilizing and commenting on the cultural technique "reenactment", using it for new ends and thus

---

1   Report from the following online TV-magazine: http://www.satundkabel.de/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=19343&mode=thread&order=0&thold=0 (checked May 26, 2007).

2   "Dokumentation: Zurück in die Steinzeit", Stern, http://www.stern.de/unterhaltung/tv/:Dokumentation-Zur%FCck-Steinzeit/589610.html (checked June 4, 2007).

3   "Art-in.de", http://www.art-in.de/incmeldung.php?id=1418 (June 8, 2007, my translation).

critiquing the indulgence inherent to popular reenactments. Both cultural knowledge production and art are thus right on the heels of every day practice.

Reenacting has established itself as a cultural technique. It is a cultural technique, I would argue, which runs parallel to cultural heritage productions but brings forth practices and goals that are socially and politically located differently. Solemn memorial celebrations for battles lost or won, typical of the late 19th and early 20th century, have made way for experience-centered hobby reenactors who stage mega-events and/or enjoy online variants played in real-time. Factual knowledge of events and material culture are key for these activities which implicitly, yet importantly, hold that bodily experienced "facts" or pieces of knowledge permit greater proximity to times past.

As with the classical authentic music movement, historical scholarship offers data that can be transferred into action. From an initial stage of enthusiasm for participating in the restaging of past battles grows the possibility to make the experience more and more real through the addition of "authentic" paraphernalia and ever more accurate period knowledge: Authentic uniform fabrics can be commissioned, so that reenactors can feel the roughness and weight of a non-synthetic, non-water repellant uniform; eyeglasses can be made using optical technology of yesterday to insure that vision is made worse. And as for food, one might consider growing heirloom grains and vegetables for preparing the make-believe soldiers' grub.[4]

The Dortmund exhibit, however, moves us already onto a plane beyond the craving for experience. Instead, it rather reflects and thickens the layers of knowledge, past and present, and offers an aesthetic commentary on the fascination and practical implementation of cultural pasts.

In his nearly fifty year old observations on culture, technology and modernity, Hermann Bausinger observed the shrinking of horizons and the acceleration of time (1961). This contributed to the construction and celebration of ideas about closed off "cultural wholes" - "Volkskultur" or folk culture, tribal cultures – at the very moment where the mobility of people and ideas should have proven the dynamism and change of group habits inherent to cultural flows. For the early 21st century one would have to add as a further element the steady thickening of what Ernst Bloch termed the "contemporaneity of the non-contemporaneous" (1935) – a characteristic of modernity which Konrad Köstlin has claimed as an essential precondition for the emergence and maintenance of cultural research (Köstlin 1998). Hermann Bausinger also saw this as a major task for ethnographic documentation and analysis (Bausinger 1989). This thickening experience of temporally or spatially divergent "culture" results from an accelerated transfer of humanities' "knowledge production" into public discourse and cultural practice.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett might call both examples – the docu-soaps and the art exhibit – meta-historical productions. They are subcategories of what she has termed "meta-cultural operations." She considers these the basis for the creation of cultural heritage (2004). Through them "habitus is transformed into heritage and . . . local or national heritage is transformed into world heritage" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, in press).

In both examples, knowledge production and its transfer into popularized and aestheticized variants play a considerable role; scholarly consultation is the rule for historical docu-soaps. Re-enactors, too, are often very well-read and build up their own reference libraries to increase the detail of their knowledge horizons. The same is true, as Sabina Magliocco and others have shown, of practitioners of neo-pagan religions, another present-day phenomenon resulting from culturalization practices (Magliocco 2004).

---

4   See, for example, "Heirloom Vegetables" www.frenchgardening.com/p/APharv.jpg (checked June 8th, 2007).

Both of my examples illustrate what this conference labels "culturalization as retrospective and proactive reflexivity", with a capacity of "projecting accumulated historical memories into a progressing future", a point Wolfgang Kaschuba elaborated already in the mid-1990s (1996). Kaschuba, however, also discussed the transformation of culturalization into its political variant, *culturalism*.[5] In immigrant societies facing a heterogeneity previously not experienced, culturalism delivers convenient arguments to explain away behaviors that have their roots in majority cultures and their institutions. One question to keep in mind when examining culturalization practices is, then, where the lapses into culturalism reside. I would argue they lie not just in communal politics but also in the commodification of "valuation practices" in the heritage and property domain. These ultimately have both economic and political ramifications that I will take up at the end of my presentation.

I began with examples of culturalization of the historical kind to open a path into witnessing actual practices. Thinking about the motivations lying behind them opens the possibility of a comparison with heritage practices. Comparison allows one to show the different kinds of avenues individuals and collectives have been taking in bringing both pasts and cultural otherness into their present.

Heritage practices have arrived, I would argue, at a point of formalization and institutionalization that stand in the way of the fundamental human impulses and motivations for engaging with the "cultural other" and the "historical other." They have been harnessed into political and economic regimes and have, to some extent, turned into mechanisms of social control. The importance ascribed to "cultural heritage" by the major cultural arm of the United Nations, UNESCO, the differentiation into tangible and intangible varieties of heritage and memories of the world, have brought with them selection procedures. These in turn have legal and economic ramifications that focus one-dimensionally on monetary and cultural value as well as on group rights.

Yet when we observe visitors to heritage sites and shrines, visitors behave as though in church or in a museum: quietly, respectfully, honoring what they perceive as the sanctity of their environment. They tame or curtail in themselves what is overwhelmingly present among historical re-enactors: curiosity and discovery, play and the aesthetic impact of personal mental and physical experiences.

When looking at re-enactors – though well on the way to formalization and regimentation – it is possible to perceive motivations that are central for bringing about "meta-cultural practices" in the first place. Observing, for instance, re-enactors in a War of Independence staging in Kingston, NY, in October 1998, I was struck by the level of bodily energy, the smell of sweat and sheer physical tension that could be felt from these groups of men in period uniform. Not all went according to plan in this staging that occurred under the heading "The British are coming – again."

Enactment as described by Roger Abrahams is constituted by various levels of play (1977). These are part of the vocabulary of any kind of festive or ritual endeavor and are deeply ingrained in war games. In historic reenactment the bodily, costumed play is heightened by facets of historical knowledge: self-enhancement increases by a combination of physical and mental engagement with elements of past culture. Among Kingston re-enactors one could see intense moments where present and past melted together. There was a physical and mental high, a "flow" (Cskiszentmihaily 1991) where sensory perception, knowledge and experience melted into bodily action and enactment.

Pleasure and passion are perhaps the strongest motivations that carry activities of this nature. As with many make-believe activities, however, it is also a borderline, or, in Edward Bruner's language, a border zone activity (Bruner 2005), where the real and the make-believe

---

5   Paul Gilroy in his plenary paper at the INTER conference eloquently addressed this issue, albeit from a
      different angle.

seem to fuse together; in experiential terms, this fusion can be both highly desired or be cause of intensive fear. Consider this small scene along the street in Kingston:

> A mother with several children stood on the sidewalk in front of the houses lining the street among the spectators, awaiting the clash of the British and the Americans. There was excited talk of how the husband or father and other relations were to soon be seen, that they would likely be coming from the left. A little girl in a dress and patent leather shoes bounced up and down, asking the mother over again when it would all begin, before running in circles again out into the street. The excitement was rising, one could hear drums in the distance. The first regiment approached from the right, rows of four uniformed men at a time, walking in even step following the bellowed commands of the lieutenant. As he screamed "Halt", that first row of men fell to their right knee and got their rifles into shooting position. Simultaneously, the second regiment had turned the corner and become visible on the left, the echo of their booted step ringing through the street. The first salvo of gunshots rang through the air, and the little girl let out a scream. She cried and ran as far away from the curb as she could. Her siblings went to get her, trying to pull her back to the front, the father would, after all, be visible any moment. But the child sobbed and pulled away as hard as she could, her face wet with tears and sweat. "I want to go home!" she cried and while various spectators looked with concern at this family unable to keep their child in check, it seemed to me that this girl was the only human being present who reacted as one rightly ought to: With horror and fear at the destructive movements and sounds of men engaged in annihilating each other in war.

To this little girl, the experience was real; to those engaged in enactment it was – perhaps much as in the enacting of the passion of Jesus Christ, a confrontation with the inevitability of death (Bendix 2000, 265-6). In *Mimesis and Alterity* (1993), Michael Taussig has explored human impulses that bring the other into one's own present.Robert Cantwell has coined the narrower notion of *Ethnomimesis* (1993) to characterize the psychological impetus that is transformed into cultural practices while we explore the cultural or historical Other. Both scholars were concerned with understanding the motivation(s) and experience entailed in such endeavors.

Taussig sought to demonstrate the mimicking practices of non-Westerners, of the colonized, whether in rituals or in material culture, invoking or depicting images of "the white man". These are in Taussig's vocabulary instances of "mimetically" embodying Otherness. In them, one recognizes the steps of culturalization. That is, transforming new experiences and knowledge of the contemporary and non-contemporary, and incorporating it in intimate or distant, enjoyed or repelled ways into one's life-world. If we follow Taussig, the impulse "to culturalize" is not an exclusive property of the present, modern and late modern industrial societies but a deeply human strategy to activate memory as well as new knowledge.

If the need for pleasure and passion is a part of human engagement with cultural and historical resources, then the needs emanating from politics and economics are trying to address such resources from a quite different angle. This would be the moment to explain the acronyms in my title, though I suspect that they have gotten already so familiar that for many no decoding is necessary.

> CP cultural property
> TK traditional knowledge
> TCE traditional cultural expression

For good measure, IP for intellectual property must be added. These acronyms and many others are used in the labor-intensive intergovernmental committee of the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO) in Geneva that is entrusted with finding solutions helping to

identify and protect the property status of selected elements of culture. The full title of the committee is "IGC (Intergovernmental Committee) for Traditional Knowledge, Genetic Resources and Cultural Expressions". The endeavor, holding its 11th session in early July 2007, began in "1998 and 1999, (when) WIPO consulted a wide range of stakeholders, such as indigenous peoples and local communities, NGOs, governmental representatives, academics and the private sector, to identify the I(intellectual) P(roperty) needs and expectations of the holders of T(raditional) K(nowledge) and cultural expressions."[6]

The emergence of such a committee is directly linked to the political and economic dimensions of culturalization practices both within, and more importantly between, cultures and social classes. These range from the competition for cultural heritage status on the world stage, to the use of traditional or indigenous music in new aesthetic forms, to the infusion of indigenous healing (i.e. plant) knowledge in biomedical research and the development of pharmaceuticals.[7] While these phenomena differ widely and bring into focus issues of ownership, profit and protection in divergent ways, they also demonstrate the rise of regimes that seek to control the parameters and effects of culturalization. Both economic interests and political power set stringent boundaries around the human passion for enriching experience through mimetic culturalization practices. Whether we look at the highly bureaucratic UNESCO heritage selection processes or the complicated legal proceedings envisioned for granting ethnic or indigenous copyright to melodies and weaving patterns, freedom to borrow or play with selected segments of "culture" has become increasingly restricted.

The Cultural Property realm remains so complex that neither WIPO nor the World Trade Organization will soon arrive at globally agreed-upon solutions. But the effect of heritage selection on social life can already be documented. At a recent conference in Göttingen, we termed the process "heritage-ification" (Hemme, Tauschek and Bendix, in press) and pointed to how the label of "heritage" simultaneously honors and restricts the human engagement with evidence from cultural pasts.

I have selected three quite different examples to illustrate how evaluation and selection regimes alter our relationship to what is being honored, and how this in turn evokes further limiting and controlling behaviors in our present:

* After 1971, some of the most important manuscripts of Icelandic sagas were repatriated from Denmark to Iceland and became a part of the collection of the Árne Magnússon Institute at the University of Iceland.[8] While access was not completely open , visitors and researchers could nonetheless see them by appointment, at which point staff would bring them up from storage for viewing. In other words, the artifacts were integrated into research life at the institute. In recent years, a permanent exhibit was installed for the most valuable or foundational manuscripts in Reykjavík's "Culture House," a stately downtown building fancily restored for the purpose. Locals refer to this state-of-the-art, climate and light-controlled exhibit as "the mausoleum" – that is, a tomb or burial chamber. The jocular term speaks volumes about the effect of heritage practices; the artifacts alter their use value within the group, are excluded from the normalcy of every day life and open for veneration beyond one's own group. The question is whether this honor is also reducing the passion and pleasure Icelanders hold for these texts and artifcats – I would doubt it, given the joy of rhyming and the referencing to these works in Icelandic communicative culture and everyday life. Yet the impact is nonetheless one that is culturally marked.

---

6   "Traditional Knowledge, Genetic Resources and Traditional Cultural Expressions/Folklore" http://www.wipo.int/tk/en/ (last checked June 22, 2007).

7   The scholarly literature on cultural property phenomena has grown exponentially and I refrain here from further references, as this paper was intended as a means to stimulate reflection more so than a report on the status quo of research.

8   Cf. http://www.hi.is/pub/sam/main.html#ex (checked June 4, 2007).

* In 2004, UNESCO placed the Cologne Cathedral on the black list of <u>endangered</u> world heritage, because the city had plans to build high-rises in the vicinity, and one of them was already nearing completion. Opponents of this plan mobilized UNESCO and it was then argued that it was not only the cathedral that had been placed on the list, but its entire surroundings: the new buildings would compromise the visual integrity of the heritage award. [A similar controversy has arisen in 2006 over plans to build a new bridge in Dresden.] While some groups have argued that a given monument would remain famous with or without UNESCO's stamp of approval, the city of Cologne halted construction of the other planned buildings.

How do architects feel about the demand that they submit to markers of the past? More than UNESCO is at work here, though, for there are those who speak of "the crimes" of post-war architecture in urban (and even more so in "idyllic" countryside) locations. Some places even restrict the type of building materials that may be used, limit the height of buildings, insist on the contours of roof lines and so forth. The power of heritage regimes over aesthetic innovation becomes evident, though there are clear geopolitical differences in such implementations: Northerners who travel south for a holiday exclaim over what has happened architecturally to the resorts they go to on the Mediterranean -- even though those buildings were constructed precisely in order to provide affordable holiday housing for those coming from the north…

* Since 1992, the city of Goslar in Germany's Harz mountains has been on the UNESCO register. An activist group composed largely of retirees sees it as their task to cultivate this precious designation. In 2006, some members were so irritated about the accumulation of garbage in the city's environs that they threatened to alert the German UNESCO office in Bonn. The lack of concern fellow citizens showed for the beauty and integrity of the city, they said, would concern everyone if the city would end up on UNESCO's black list as a result. Communal garbage collection days were one of the initiatives that resulted.

To me, such examples are first and foremost illustrations that are available for ethnography and interpretation. In contrasting reenacting phenomena and heritage phenomena, it would seem possible to also contrast cultural essentials such as "passion" and "experience" with "competition", "evaluation" and "control".

If one was to evaluate the effects of increasing regulation and institutionalization of culturalization practices, one might point to the fact that the curiosity, passion and experience, increasingly forced into application documents, selection procedures and the like, will seek alternate outlets. As war re-enactors meet up with the measuring rod of authenticity controls, they might begin to explore the excitement of paintball. As cultural heritage sites can be visited virtually, and as informational signage offers all the knowledge necessary for understanding why they are worthy of heritage-ification, the need for passionate encounter with the auratic and unexplained might dive deeper into magic or science fiction.

We learn from the spread of culturalization options what kind of knowledge has been transferred most effectively, and how selective such transfers really are. Interesting and important to consider for cultural researchers is the following: Why is it so comparatively easy to develop or engage in meta-cultural practices? Why is there so little reflexivity that leads to meta-legal, meta-political and meta-economic practices? These are questions to continue working with, both from an ethnographic and from an interdisciplinary perspective.

References

Abrahams, Roger. Toward an Enactment-Centered Theory of Folklore. In: Bascom, William. The Frontiers of Folklore. Washington: AAAS, 1977, pp. 79-120.
Bausinger, Hermann. Volkskunde in der technischen Welt. 1961.

Bausinger, Hermann. Ungleichzeitigkeiten. Von der Volkskunde zur empirischen Kulturwissenschaft. In: Berking, Helmut and Richard Faber, eds. Kultursoziologie. Würzburg, 1989.

Bendix, Regina. Der gespielte Krieg. Zur Leidenschaft des Historic Reenactment. In: Institut für Europäische Ethnologie der Universität Wien, ed. Volkskultur und Moderne. Europäische Ethnologie zur Jahrtausendwende. Festschrift für Konrad Köstlin.. Wien 2000, pp. 253-268.

Bloch, Ernst. Erbschaft dieser Zeit. Zürich, 1935.

Bruner, Edward. Culture on Tour. Ethnographies of Travel. Chicago 2005.

Cantwell, Robert: Ethnomimesis. Folklore and the Representation of Culture.Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Csikszentmihalyi, Mihaly. Flow. New York: Harper and Row, 1991.

Fenske, Michaela. Geschichte wie sie Euch gefällt. Historische Doku-Soaps als spätmoderne Handlungs-, Diskussions- und Erlebnisräume. In: Meyer, Silke and Mohrmann, Ruth E., eds.: Referate der Hochschultagung der dt. Gesellschaft für Volkskunde, Münster, 2006. In print.

Hemme, Dorothee, Markus Tauschek and Regina Bendix, eds.: Prädikat Heritage: Wertschöpfung aus Kulturerbe. Münster, LIT Verlag, in press.

Kaschuba, Wolfgang. Kulturalismus oder Gesellschaft als ästhetische Veranstaltung? In: Ästhetik und Kommunikation 29(1998):93-98.

Kaschuba, Wolfgang. Historizing the Present? In: Ethnologia Europaea 26(1996):123-136.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara: Intangible Heritager as Metacultural Production. In: Museum 56, Nr. 1-2 (2004), S. 52-65.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. World Heritage and Cultural Economics. In: Karp, Ivan/Kratz, Corinne, Hg.: Museum Frictions: Public Cultures/Global Transformations. In press, viewable on: http://www.nyu.edu/classes/bkg/web/heritage.pdf

Klot, Kristina v. Aufklärung in Sicht. In: Mobil (Magazine of the Deutsche Bundesbahn) 5, 2007, pp. 88-91.

Köstlin, Konrad. Passion for the Whole. Journal of American Folklore, 110(1997):261-271 (German original 1995).

Magliocco, Sabina. Witching Culture. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.

Taussig, Michael. Mimesis and Alterity. New York: Routledge, 1993.

On Creole Researchers, Hybrid Disciplines and Pidgin Writing

Barbara Czarniawska

GRI, School of Business, Economics and Law,
Göteborg University

barbara.czarniawska@gri.gu.se

It has ordinarily been assumed that the strength of a scientific discipline resides in its purity and integration, in its distinctness. Recently, however, contrasting opinions have emerged: that the strength of a discipline, at least in social sciences, is connected to its richness, plurality and the flexibility of its borders. Clifford Geertz in anthropology, Richard Rorty in philosophy, and Richard Harvey Brown in sociology are among the proponents of such an attitude. This essay takes their work as a point of departure to scrutinize a case of a "creolized" professional career, a hybrid discipline and a kind of writing that could be called "pidgin".

Blurred Genres

Almost thirty years ago Clifford Geertz observed that the fashion of doing research, and especially of writing it, had begun to change – especially in anthropology, but also in other social sciences (Geertz 1980). After a hundred years of positivism, which in social sciences has been translated as an imperative to imitate natural sciences, the winds of change seemed to be stirring. Most likely it was a change in scientific fashion, as science, like any other collective phenomenon, is subject to changing fashions (Czarniawska and Panozzo 2008). This new fashion has been aided, or perhaps even led, by the methodological reflections of Winch (1958/1990), Feyerabend (1962/1997) and Kuhn (1975/1988). They were all keen to demonstrate that philosophy as well as the history of science questioned the ideal of the "true science" inherited from natural sciences. Social sciences seem to have recalled another ancestor: the humanities.

Slowly but surely, "laws and proofs" were becoming "cases and interpretations", in a movement that Geertz called "the interpretive turn", alluding to the "linguistic turn".[1] Not for the first time, analogies and metaphors from fiction became legitimate – during the new installment of the complicated history of the relationship between social sciences and *belles lettres* (Lepenies 1988). A "third culture", the one that showed interest in "how human beings are living or have lived" (Snow 1956), began to emerge. Being a mixture of the two original cultures, the third culture also mixed the genres with great gusto: philosophy blended with cybernetics and literature theory (Gumbrecht 1992), literature with empirical studies (Latour 1996), and allegories with ethnographies (Geertz 1972). It was there, in the vibrant fringe of blurred genres, that the new giants arose, all creolized personages: Michel Foucault (historian, philosopher, sociologist, political scientist); Niklas Luhmann (theorist and practitioner of administration, philosopher, cyberneticist, connoisseur of the Classics); Umberto Eco (semiologist, writer, journalist); and Bruno Latour (philosopher, anthropologist, sociologist). The examples do not have to be limited to the social sciences: Anton Zeilinger, the Viennese theoretical physicist, the designer of teletransportation, scrutinized with great interest the philosophical and rhetorical grounds of his own science (1997).

These brilliant authors are, however, rather the exceptions than the illustration of the norm in the "normal sciences". But even in normal sciences there seems to be awareness of, or even a need for "the third way", which, however filled with promises, will not be easy to chart. The present essay contains a tentative analysis of some such promises and difficulties.

Creole Researchers: The Case of "Malwina Gintowt"

I shall examine the phenomenon of creolized authors within social sciences using an actual case that has been anonymized. It is not a "sample" taken from "the population of such cases", but an illustration of what I see as phenomena typical of the "third culture". Malwina Gintowt is a scholar from Central Europe, who began her research career with a desire to understand and describe what was of such interest to C.P. Snow: "how human beings are living or have lived". The most obvious choice of the field was psychology. Malwina Gintowt entered this field exactly at the point in time when the "old" European interpretative psychology began to be pushed to the margins by the "new", scientific, quantitative U.S. psychology.[2]

After years of study, however, Malwina Gintowt came to the conclusion that psychology was not especially interested in how the majority of people live or lived. As far as Malwina

---

1   The expression "the linguistic turn", originated with the anthology, *The Linguistic Turn. Essays in Philosophical Method,* edited by Richard Rorty in 1967.
2   A fascinating study of the history of U.S. psychology has been written by Ellen Herman, 1995.

could establish, most people spent most of their lives working. Psychology, in contrast, was mostly interested in children, the elderly, or people with psychological problems – in other words, mostly in those who for one or another reason could not work. What is more, even if certain authors (mostly creolized) dared to point out that people were "social beings" (Harré 1979), "the subjects" of psychological studies belonged to another species, that of "individuals". These "individuals" could then be aggregated into "a collective" — but this was the result of a statistical operation, not of their interactions.

The right way out seemed to be in the direction of social psychology, and of organizational psychology. Both, however, were hostages to experimental psychology. Social psychology imprisoned the "individuals" in a laboratory, telling them to imagine being involved in an interaction with another individual (as in game theory). Organizational psychology isolated people from their organizing tasks, setting them in the same laboratory with an imaginary organizing task.

Years later, the validity of laboratory studies and the psychology of separated individuals became strongly criticized (Bruner 1986, Gergen 1994), but Malwina Gintowt did not wait so long. She decided that economics must be the discipline that was truly interested in activities typical for human lives.

When she decided to write a theoretical doctoral dissertation in economics (an enterprise very different from the empirical article typical for psychology), Malwina encountered a serious problem of style. While the articles in psychology were written in Past Tense ("the experiment demonstrated significant statistical differences between the experimental and the control group"), economics used the Simple Present: "the companies buy and sell", "the market behaves". Not a little surprised, Gintowt asked her adviser: "Does this mean that the companies actually behaved in this way? Or that they should be behaving in this way?" "Neither," answered her professor. "The companies behave in this way in an economic model that is not situated in time or place". Later, Malwina Gintowt learned from Deirdre McCloskey (1985) that this was a tense known as the Gnomic Present, in which the time and the place are not relevant because economic laws are universally valid.

Somewhat disappointed by this discovery, Malwina Gintowt chose to enter a hybrid discipline, organization theory. Even this hybrid discipline has its problems, to which I shall return in the next section. But the advantages prevailed. Firstly, organization theory seemed to be truly interested in human activity that is central to human lives, within and outside the world of contracted work. Secondly, organization theory, being an "impure" discipline, did not try to discipline its adherents. Formally affiliated to organization theory, Gintowt sought help in anthropology, cultural geography, literary theory, history and philosophy. Her guide was Michel de Certeau: "readers are travellers; they move across lands belonging to someone else, like nomads poaching their way across fields they did not write, despoiling the wealth of Egypt to enjoy it themselves." (1998: 174). "Border crossing" has become her motto.

Hybrid Disciplines: The Case of Management/Business Administration/Public Management/Business Economics/Organization & Management/etc.

What was this "undisciplined" discipline where Malwina Gintowt found her abode? The first problem of hybrid disciplines is their name. As indicated in the title of this section, hybrid disciplines have many names, and they are used differently in different countries and in different languages. The U.S. "Business Administration" is considered in many countries (for example Sweden) as synonymous with business economics, while in others (for example Germany and Italy) it is important to see "Business Economics" as part of economics, using economic theory and not the "soft" organization theory. In Poland it is called "Organization & Management". Such differences exist not only in different places but also in different times.

This is not the place for an exhaustive presentation of the history of management and organization studies (see Jaques 1996, Shenhav 1999). Briefly, however, it can be said that while "Scientific Management" originated in engineering (Taylorism moderated by Human Relations), "organization theory" emerged only in the 1950s as a blend of theory of administration and systems theory (Waldo 1961). In the 1960s, systems theory invaded (or rather, was invited to march into) both "organization sociology" and "organization psychology" (see e.g. Katz and Kahn 1966).

In 1979, the government of Quebec asked the French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard to prepare "a report on knowledge". Lyotard concluded: "Knowledge is not the same as science, especially in its contemporary form" (1979/1986: 18). Many tried to draw conclusions from this observation, some attempting to create a "new scientific paradigm" that would be able to monopolize knowledge once more. Others drew a different conclusion, seeing this observation as a reflection on what is being done – and not being done – in social sciences; a kind of reflection that in time could replace "the method" in the narrow sense imposed by natural sciences.

Anthropologists, for example, returned from the ex-colonies with a reflection that was both profound and bitter. Their experiences have been incorporated by organization theory in several different ways. One of those was an invention of a new management instrument, called "corporate culture"; another was an adoption of a symbolic analysis that offered a reflection of a problematizing and critical kind. Older sources of inspiration have been called into service: literature, art, philosophy, esthetics, and semiology. Systems theory veered towards the theory of autopoietic systems (for example in works of Luhmann and Weick). But the new ideas did not cancel the old ones: *collage* and *bricolage* became the most frequently used French terms. After the attempts of the 1980s, the 1990s finally produced very clear ideas – on the state of confusion. Salmon Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* has become a cult text, a manifest:

> The Satanic Verses celebrates hybridity, impurity, intermingling, the transformation that comes of new and unexpected combinations of human beings, cultures, ideas, politics, movies, song. It rejoices in mongrelization and fears the absolutism of the pure. Mélange, hotchpotch, a bit of this and a bit of that is how newness enters the world (Rushdie quoted by Hannerz, 1996:65)

The situation in the 2000s is truly intriguing. The "methodological revolution" did not take place, after all. Many organization scholars continue to apply contingency theory or open systems theory, as if nothing had happened during the last forty years. An eminent U.S. scholar from Stanford Business School, Jeffrey Pfeffer, continues to desire "integration",[3] while the vanguard British scholar Gibson Burrell predicted a pandemonium (Burrell, 1997). The hope for a "pure theory" seems to be non-existent, even if reactions to an obvious fragmentation and polyphony differ. There seems to exist, however, a certain consensus on the desirability of transdisciplinary studies (which earlier on were called "cross-disciplinary"), and an acceptance – enthusiastic or resigned – of the return to arts and humanities as the sources of inspiration and even of models to emulate. But there is also a war against the evil axes of postmodernism and immensurability (Czarniawska, 1998), and, not least, institutional inertia that makes the lives of creolized researchers unnecessarily difficult, and the existence of hybrid disciplines precarious.

---

3   A description of a public debate between Pfeffer, Van Maanen and Perrow can be found in Czarniawska, 2003.

A Spiral of Problems and Solutions

The case of Malwina Gintowt, if not exceptional, is far from typical. This is what can be called an incidental career. One can argue that all careers are more or less incidental (Vironmäki, 2006), in spite of the legitimate "grammar of motives" that presents life as a project. Nevertheless, the planning of education systems, and the attempts to meet the demand of the labor market that are at its base, must be considered with all the seriousness it deserves. A demand for "creolized scholars" emerged a long time ago, approximately when the mass university became a fact of life. Specialist modules can be easily standardized and therefore equally easily repeated in different places, but their product is a graduate who knows all the relevant modules, not an educated person. Even the U.K., relatively late in establishing mass universities, opted for such specializations. C.P. Snow commented on this in 1956 as follows:

> Somehow we have set ourselves the task of producing a tiny elite (...) educated in one academic skill. (...) I have given reasons why I think it is a disastrous process, for the purpose of a living culture. I am going to give reasons why I think it is fatal, if we're to perform our practical tasks in the world.

The new European universities created in the 1960s and 1970s (Lancaster, Karlrühe, Linköping, Bielefeld) were seriously considering Snow's words. In Linköping, which is the university I know best among those, "hybrid departments" have been created, where scholars from diverse disciplines were to collaborate on studying "themes" judged important to society. They still exist: Tema T (technology), Tema V (water) etc. Thus the problem of incidental careers of creolized scholars has been solved by the creation of hybrid disciplines, but this solution has opened the door to still new problems.

The first of those was easy to predict: the employers (that is, the very same people who tend to complain that the division of university education in disciplines has nothing to do with division of labor in practice) complained that they had never heard of people specialized in "technology" or "water". Apparently, it was much better to employ graduates in sociology or business administration and then grumble about their lack of practical skills. (The folk wisdom that claims that old problems are always better than new problems is unjustly ignored by organization theorists, but fully heeded by the practitioners). The new solutions needed time, adjustment, experience and new vocabularies in order to demonstrate the advantages of "hybrid disciplines". In the meantime, old universities, always wary of the new arrivals (Czarniawska and Wolff 1998), exploited their advantages by offering graduates educated in the old manner. The solution was then promoted one stage up, to the doctoral level. The graduates in sociology, anthropology, and business administration took research courses within "Tema T", in order to study science and technology.

The resistance came also from other elements of the dominant institutional order. Research in Sweden is mostly externally financed – by state, municipal, regional and many private foundations. Each foundation has its scientific committee, which is divided into subgroups – thematic or multidisciplinary – composed of representatives of different disciplines. I was a member of several such committees as a representative of my discipline, business administration. The procedure is usually the same: at the first round, the most interesting research projects were individuated among applications. The priorities were clear: the transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary projects were to be preferred. Indeed, those were usually among the most interesting. The second step consisted in counting money: it was usually in short supply. The third step was the decisive one: some projects needed to be sacrificed. How to make a choice between loyalty to Science, which would favor hybrid projects, or to your own Discipline, which gave you a mandate to be there in the first place? I

was often reminded of the words of Sir Anthony Blunt, the Soviet spy and respected U.K. art critic: "This was a case of political conscience against loyalty to country... I did not betray my conscience". Good for him.

The third problem was common to the members of the committee and the scholars within "Themes". How to compare an anthropological research project with an economics one? How to communicate within a project that gathers representatives of different disciplines? The solutions to these problems are at least two. One, typical for the so-called "cross disciplinary studies", is to trust the competence of the colleague from another discipline without pretending to understand it (this is how economics earned much of its advantage). The other, typical for transdisciplinary studies, is to try to find a common language, and if necessary, create a new vocabulary adapted to the project at hand.

It is obvious, however, that there is no way for everybody to learn enough about other disciplines, no matter how interesting and relevant. A practical solution to these problems consists in the specialists trying to simplify their communications, and the non-specialists attempting to learn the key terms of the specialist jargon. The result is a *pidgin*, long known as "a trade language". The purists may be shocked: is this not the way to the impoverishment of scientific language, with its subtleties and enormous efforts aiming at finding "proper names" for everything? Not according to Steve Fuller (1996), the scholar of science and technology – another hybrid discipline, where the historians, the sociologists, the anthropologists, the biologists, the philosophers and the engineers talk to each other for a long time and with great success.

Such a possibility seems exciting to some, and frightening to others.

In Search of Meaning: Social Sciences Between the Club and the Bazaar

Clifford Geertz would probably have nothing against the fact that social scientists increasingly often speak pidgin to be understood. According to him, "we are living more and more in the midst of an enormous collage" (Geertz, 1986: as quoted by Richard Rorty, 1991: 209), and "the world is coming at each of its local points to look more like a Kuwaiti bazaar than like an English gentlemen's club" (ibid.) Rorty wholeheartedly agreed that most of us spend our days on the bazaars of the global world, talk pidgin to make ourselves understood and to make a good deal, but then gladly go back to "our club", where everybody talks the same language and the nuances can be appreciated. The alternatives to this shuttling between the two worlds have been tested and found wanting: either to close ourselves up in the club complaining that the world goes astray, or else to attempt to remake the bazaar in our way, entering with the force of legal acts if not with the armed forces. What is needed is not "the perfect language", "an integrated discipline" or " the rigorous scholars", but a will to communicate with each other, even in pidgin, doing all the necessary translations.

This postulate can be formulated in the terms describing the scientific genre. The U.S. sociologist Richard H. Brown suggested that this genre is subjected to the dialectic of thickening and stretching (Brown, 1998). *To thicken a genre* means filling it with received ideas and codified descriptions; to use the rules of representation literally, strictly and redundantly, with the aim of showing a reality already in existence. The results are texts that are traditional, closed and easy to analyze, confirming the premises known to the readers.

To stretch a genre denotes a movement in the opposite direction: exploiting the polysemy of the language, looking for new meanings through a constant change of perspective, employing irony and metaphors. In such texts, reality is under continuous construction, and the texts themselves are elusive, playful, and open. The readers are producers as well as consumers of such texts, as more likely than not, both writers and readers are creolized researchers from hybridized disciplines. But can thick and stretched scientific genres coexist, and if so, what may happen at the borders between these two worlds?

Living at the Borders

Here is a cosmology that I would like to suggest at the end of my essay. The genre – let it be called "social sciences" – is large, with imprecise and permeable borders. In its center there is a mainstream (why not?), busy with thickening the genre. All around it are "peripheries", filled not only with "backwaters" (the opposite of mainstream), but also with lively streams that run much quicker than the mainstream. Some of them will run out into the sand, others will open new passages, all contributing to a stretching of the genre.
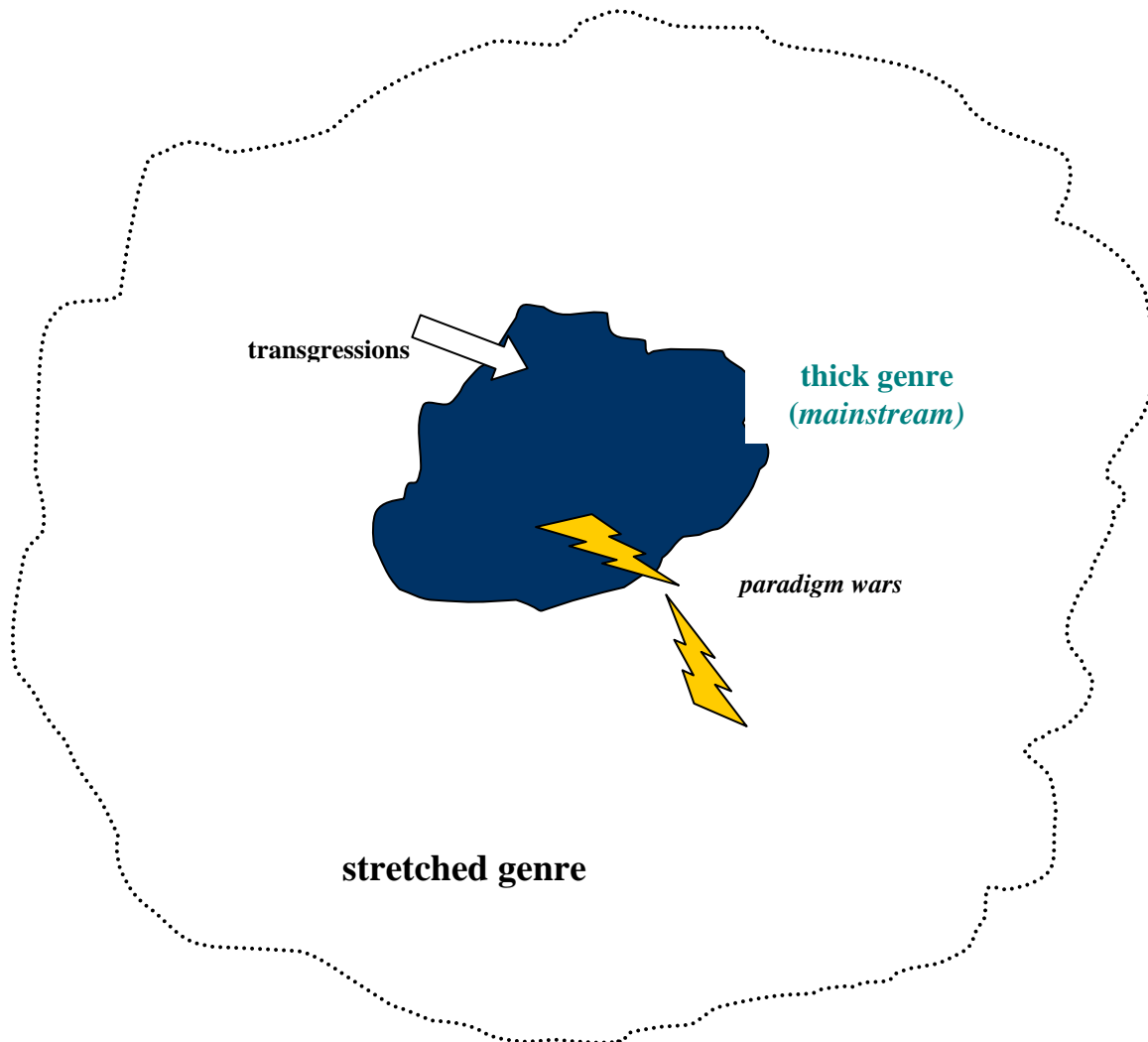
So far so good. The interesting issues concern now the relationships between the thick genre and the stretched one, and the events at the borders. As far as the first issue is concerned, there is traditionally an animosity between those who inhabit the center and those who live on the peripheries. But in this case, this spatial metaphor does not function well if taken literally. It would be better to say, using (metaphorically) the vocabulary of "needs", that the stretched genre needs the thick genre for "weight" (that is, the negotiations in the committees of research foundations). The politics and the logic of representation demand the illusion of a discipline that is "well integrated" or at least "clearly delineated". Equally, the mainstream needs the stretched genre for its renewal, for innovations: a truly thick genre is perfect but dead. While I am not sure I share Richard H. Brown's optimism in seeing a dialectics of the two movements, thickening and stretching (what would be their synthesis at a higher level?),

I am quite convinced that, even in a static picture like mine, the borders are always permeable.

What happens at these borders? At present, two types of events: "paradigms wars" and "acts of transgression". The paradigm warriors (observe the gender) fight fearlessly under the banners of "pure disciplines", as if we hadn't had enough of real wars. The alleged beauty of the "scientific debate" seems doubtful to me. A debate is not a dialogue, which is a search for new knowledge by two parties, because the first condition of winning a debate is to close one's ears to the cries of the opponent.

I am not much convinced by "acts of transgression", either. Within my spatial metaphor as represented by the picture, it is easy to notice that in order to transgress one must first ascertain that the borders exist. Applauding the heroism of transgressors, we contribute, together with them, to the maintenance of the boundaries.

What else, then? I would suggest plenty of meetings at the (moving) borders, picnics, potlatches, translations, and pidgin-aided transactions. Just as happens at the European Cultural Studies Conferences, for example.

References

Brown, Richard Harvey (1998) *Toward a democratic science: Scientific narration and human communication*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Bruner, Jerome (1986) *Actual minds, possible worlds*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Czarniawska, Barbara (1998) Who is afraid of incommensurability? *Organization*, 5(2): 273-275.

Czarniawska, Barbara (2003) The styles and the stylists of organization theory. In: Knudsen, Christian and Tsoukas, Haridimos (eds.) *Organization theory as science: Prospects and limitations*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Czarniawska, Barbara and Panozzo, Fabrizio (2008) Preface: Trends and fashions in management studies. *International Studies of Management & Organization* Summer: 1-16.

Czarniawska, Barbara and Wolff Rolf (1998) Constructing new identities in established organization fields: Young universities in old Europe. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 28(3): 32-56.

de Certeau, Michel (1984) *The practice of everyday life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Feyerabend, Paul (1962/1988) *Against method*. New York: Verso.

Fuller, Steve (1996) Talking metaphysical turkey about epistemological chicken and the poop on pidgins. In Stump, David J. and Galison, Peter L. (eds.) *The disunity of science: Boundaries, contexts and power*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 170-186.

Geertz, Clifford (1973) *The interpretation of cultures*. New York: Basic Books..

Geertz, Clifford (1980) Blurred genres. The refiguration of social thought. *American Scholar, 49 (2): 165-179)*.

Geertz, Clifford (1986) The uses of diversity. In: McMurrin, S. (ed.) *The Tanner lectures on human values*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 253-275.

Gergen, Kenneth M. (1994) *Realities and relationships. Soundings in social construction*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gumbrecht, Hans Ulrich (1992) *Making sense in life and literature*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Hannerz, Ulf (1996) *Transnational connections*. London: Routledge.

Harré, Rom (1979) *Social being*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Herman, Ellen (1995) *The romance of American psychology*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Jaques, Roy (1996) *Manufacturing the employee*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Katz, Daniel R. and Kahn, Robert L. (1966) *The social psychology of organizations*. New York: Wiley.

Kuhn, Thomas (1962/1975) *The structure of scientific revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Latour, Bruno (1996) *Aramis, or the love of technology*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lepenies, Wolf (1988) *Between literature and science: The rise of sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lyotard, Jean-François (1979/1986) *The postmodern condition*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

McCloskey, D.N. (1985) *The rhetoric of economics.* Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.

Rorty, Richard (ed.) (1967) *The linguistic turn: Recent essays in philosophical method*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rorty, Richard (1991) On ethnocentrism. In Rorty, R., *Objectivity, relativism and truth. Philosophical papers, vol. 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 203-210.

Shenhav, Yehouda (1999) Manufacturing rationality: The engineering foundations of the managerial revolution. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Snow, Charles Percy (1956) The two cultures. *New Statesman*, 6 October.

Vironmäki, Emma (2007) *Academic marketing in Finland. Living up to conflicting expectations*. Turku, Finland: Åbo Akademi University.

Waldo, Dwight (1961) Organization theory: An elephantine problem. *Public Administration Review*, 21: 210-225.

Winch, Peter (1958/1990) *The idea of social science and its relation to philosophy*. London: Routledge.

Zeilinger, Anton (1996) On the interpretation and philosophical foundation of quantum mechanics. In Ketvel, U. et al., *Vastahohtien todellisuus*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press; www.quantum.at.

Celebrated but Amusing? An Intersectional Analysis of Children's and Young People's Media Portraits

Sinikka Aapola-Kari

Department of Sociology, University of Helsinki

aapola@mappi.helsinki.fi

In this paper, the focus is on cultural representations of children and young people in the Finnish media. The research data consists of 150 articles drawn from Finnish newspapers between 2003-05. It is mainly portrayals of children and youth (ages 7-18) who have been successful in the field of sports, the arts or education. The portraits are analysed as a particular media genre, from a critical discourse analytical perspective, combined with an intersectional analysis. The focus is on cultural constructions of age, childhood, youth and gender, but connections to representations of class and ethnicity will also be explored. Five case studies – the portraits of three athletes below the age of 13, a young female rap artist and a young entrepreneur – are used to demonstrate the analysis.

While on surface the media portraits seem to celebrate the young interviewees, on a closer look, however, it seems that they implicitly convey stereotypical, and often negative understandings of childhood and youth. At the same time, they also seem to implicitly reinforce traditional gender stereotypes. Intersections of age, gender, class and ethnicity interact in particular ways in the texts and work to create particular images of young people as either 'amusing', 'threatened' or 'serious'. It seems that it is particularly the combination of masculinity with young age that creates tensions in the media portraits, while femininity does not appear equally problematic.

Celebrated but Amusing? An Intersectional Analysis of Children's and Young People's Media Portraits

In this paper, the focus is on recent media representations of children and young people. My analysis concentrates on the ways children and young people are presented in newspaper portraits, as targets of positive public attention. The aim is to direct attention to the ways media texts construct childhood and youth. These questions are relevant in relation to children's and young people's possibilities to be taken seriously in the adult society. Media has an important role in producing images for adult audiences of children and young people as actors in the public realm. My interest in these portrayals of children and young people is linked to a more general research orientation towards the changing social and cultural meanings of age in today's late modern society (Aapola 1999, 2002 and 2005), as well as their intersections with other social categories.

Currently, there is an intensive negotiation about understandings of age taking place on various levels of the society. The media is one of the major sites where different notions concerning age and stages of life are circulated and debated. Therefore, it is important to study media representations more closely. What kind of images of young people are presented, and for what purposes? Who are the young people portrayed in the media? What kind of discourses of age (see Aapola 2002) and particularly childhood and youth are evoked in the portraits of young people? And how are the media portraits of children and young people constructed from an intersectional point-of-view, looking at the intersections of age with gender, class and ethnicity?

My background data has been derived from the largest newspaper in Finland, *Helsingin Sanomat*, during the time period of year 2003 to (mid-)2005, and it consists of altogether about 400 articles about children and young people. In this presentation, the focus is on a particular journalistic genre, namely personal portraits. They represent about a third of the articles in my larger archive, namely 150 articles. Personal portraits have not been studied very often (however, see Siivonen 1999), although they have become ever more prevalent in the media in recent years, with its current trend towards intimization and personification (see Fairclough 1995, 51).

Here, I present an analysis of a sample of personal portraits of children and young people, picked from the larger data as case studies. The young people presented in these articles can be deemed as successful as they have all made considerable but different types of achievements within various fields of life, including sports championships, artistic performances, or professional or educational achievements. The ages of the young people in the portraits that I concentrate on in this paper vary from 7 to 18 years. Previously, I have looked at slightly older young people's portraits (Aapola-Kari 2006). I have analyzed the data within a critical discourse analytical framework (see f.ex. Fairclough 1995, Aapola 1999), combined with an intersectional approach. The theoretical background of the study is linked to current debates about the changing life-course and the meanings of age in late-modern societies, particularly on changing processes of growing up (Aapola et al. 2004). This analysis is part of my research project 'Young People Transgressing Cultural Age Orders'[1], where I have also conducted life-course interviews with young people about their varying processes of growing up (see Aapola 2005).

Previous Studies on Media Representations of Young People

The media has a manifold task in the society: it not only mediates information about important events, but it also names issues, categorizes and classifies phenomena, and additionally, presents moral evaluations about them, and acts as a continuation of social control. The media can also have other tasks, aiming for socialization or education, as well as therapeutic tasks. (See Hoikkala 1989; Heiskanen – Mitchell 1985.) All these aspects may come to play in media representations of children and young people, and in media's portrayals of age and gender more generally.

In journalistic texts, age, similarly as gender, is used as a significant device to help 'recognize' people (Halonen 2002, 3). Finnish media researcher Irma Kaarina Halonen (2002, 3) has claimed that people are often given particular age-labels in the media, but only the young and the old are presented as particular age-groups, while adulthood is invisible. However, age and gender are more significant categories in certain media contexts and discourses than in others. For example, in crime news, advertisements and magazines, age and gender are often presented as significant features, while in general news and factual journalism they tend to be neutralized more. Finnish ethnologist Sinikka Vakimo (2001, 181) has noted that ageing people get publicity when they break age and gender norms. The same applies to children and young people: they have a certain publicity value particularly when they transgress cultural age orders (see Aapola 2005). This can be witnessed in my data. Age surfaces particularly in such 'breakage poínts' where there are deviations from cultural expectations concerning age, as in the case of 'young geniouses', for example. (Halonen 2002, 11-12.)

There have been several well-known studies within youth research focusing on media representations of young people. They have mainly drawn attention to the predominance of negative stereotypes of youth (f.ex. Cohen 1972/1990; Wyn 2005). Young people are often presented as threatening the social order, in the context of crime and deviance, or, alternatively, they are depicted as a group to be anxious about, and having trouble in their growing up process. Similarly, old people are often depicted from a problem point of view in the media, in the context of sickness, poverty, social marginalization and economic cost (Halonen 2002, 6) There has been relatively little research about children's representations in the media (see Kivimäki – Laiho 2001), but there are similar trends in their portrayals. Media portrayals of children and young people often have great publicity value, as they are seen as symbolizing the future of the society (Hoikkala 1989).

While the prevalence of negative representations of young people in the media is well-documented, there are also other kinds of representations. Finnish youth researcher Tommi Hoikkala has, in his analysis of Finnish media texts on the topic of young people and alcohol use, demonstrated that while there is a strong trend to depict young people within the discourse of problems, a countertrend tends to idealize and/or exotize young people (Hoikkala 1989). He concludes that young people are presented as either 'angels or demons' in the media (Hoikkala 1989).

According to Johanna Wyn (2005), media constantly circulates stereotypical ideas of young people, but not all these stereotypes are negative. She has followed recent discussions about the 'Gen(eration) Y' in the Australian media, and says that while today's young people are often presented as having trouble making transitions towards adulthood, at the same time, there are also celebratory articles about young people's life-styles and priorities. In these media texts, young people' technological skills, business sense and life-style decisions are presented as an example of how to live life in the 21st Century (Wyn 2005).

There have not been very many other studies focusing on the more positive portrayals of young people in the media. However, Lesley Johnson presents in her book 'Modern Girl' (Johnson 1993) an interesting analysis of the media's role in defining modern girlhood in the

1950's and 1960's Australian context. According to her, Australian newspapers at the time wrote special 'achievement stories' about girls and young women. Central to these narratives was to celebrate and confirm a particular kind of normative femininity. These articles emphasized how girls prepared for the roles of wife and mother with the right kinds of education, where they acquired the necessary skills (Johnson 1993, 78-81). Later, in the 1960's, new kinds of consumer markets were developed and aimed for youthful 'teens', particularly within the fashion and beauty industry (Johnson 1993, 137-145). During this time period, various beauty contests and debutante balls were popular, and they were also widely reported in the media. Even during this time, the 'achievement stories' about young women were particularly feminine, and their central feature was to present the right kinds of femininity, to find the 'right' man, and from a family.

The importance of gender in media images of children and young people is still obvious. Particularly young girls are today more prevalent in the public eye than ever before, as John Hartley (1998, 51) has noted: presently, they are targets for public politics, debate and gaze in an unprecedented way (see Aapola et al. 2004). It is, therefore, of central importance to take an intersectional viewpoint into analyzing the media images of children and young people.

As the above-mentioned studies demonstrate, positive images of young people have an important role in the media, similarly as the more negative ones. They can be used to propagate certain life-styles and gender norms, and to mediate messages about the future of the society to the mainly adult audience. Nevertheless, prevailing positive images of young people, and in particular, personal portraits of children and young people have not received wide attention within childhood nor youth studies. Personal portraits as a genre itself has, in general, rarely been a subject of study within media studies (Siivonen 1999 and 2007); Barnason et al. 2005).

Personal Portraits as a Journalistic Genre

Personal portraits are a particular journalistic genre, which has become more and more popular in the media in recent years. This has been linked to the megatrends of intimization, commercialization and personification of media content, as well as to the spread of a consumer ideology within journalism (Fairclough 1995, 51; Halonen 2002). According to Finnish media researcher Irma Kaarina Halonen (2002, 5), journalistic genres gain their content more and more from 'interesting' people – human interest – as opposed to the more traditional news criteria or public interest. Personal portraits, even in newspapers, are often based on such 'human interest' criteria (Siivonen 1999, 66, 70-72).

While many articles nowadays contain at least some kind of portrayals of people to personify news events, it is the separate genre of personal portrait that is my current focus. This genre is not always clearly distinguishable from other types of media stories. However, Jonita Siivonen has in her study (Siivonen 1999, 77) created a list of its distinguishing features, which I have also adapted in my study: personal portraits have only one main character who has been interviewed, and by whom there are direct quotes in the text. Also, there is some kind of biographical material in the article. In addition, there is at least one photograph/picture, where the main character is presented as central. Another central feature of the personal portrait genre is that it presents the protagonist in a positive light, 'in a golden jacket'. The portraits also present biographical material about the interviewee, often in a rather clichéd form (Siivonen 1999, 72-3). Next, I shall present my data and analysis more closely.

Data and Analysis

During the time period between September 2004 and May 2005 I collected more or less systematically all articles on young people that have appeared in *Helsingin Sanomat*, the

largest newspaper in Finland. I have been particularly systematic in collecting personal portraits of young people. My archive consists of almost 400 articles on young people in a Finnish context. The bulk of the articles is from *Helsingin Sanomat*, but some are from other newspapers and popular magazines. The articles have been divided in ten categories – sports, the arts and culture, education and professions, health, law and social policy, consumption and fashion, free time/hobbies, family and relationships, religion and ideology, as well as crime and accidents. Articles on children (up to age 12) have been placed in their own category.

In the data, there are about 150 articles that can be classified as personal portraits, which is more than one third of the data. Thematically these are very concentrated: about half of the portraits, 70, are from the field of sports. There are about 35 portraits within the category of culture and the arts, about 20 in the theme of education and the professions, and the rest are scattered between different thematic categories. Some of the portraits have been placed as part of a larger whole, a thematic compilation of articles on a similar topic from different angles, but most of them are clearly separate and independent entities of their own.

While childhood and youth are relative concepts and can be defined very differently in different contexts, I have chosen to focus here on portraits depicting children and young people between the ages 7 and 18. However, in my archive there are even stories about slightly older people, up to the age of 24 or 30 years. In this paper, I have included all the portraits of 18-year-olds and younger people in my data, altogether 22 personal portraits.

In the overall data there are many more portraits of boys and young men than of girls and young women. However, in this age category, the number of girls and boys is almost equal; 12 portraits of girls and 10 of boys. In the overall sports category, there are about 50 portraits of young men, and only about 20 about young women. In the arts and culture-category, there are about 24 portraits about young men, while only 12 about young women. In the field of education and professions, the numbers are about equal, about ten portraits about both genders.

It is interesting to note that all the portraits of under-15-year-olds are in the sports category. It is clear that sports is the main field where 'little or young heroes and heroines' are constantly created and introduced to the audience. In sports there are countless international, national and local games and competitions in dozens of different sports on a daily basis. There are always winners and losers, and many of the competitors in the most widely reported forms of sports are young. Sports journalism has been accused of a male bias, in the sense that female athletes receive far less attention. This gender imbalance is visible even in portraits of young athletes, but in the youngest age category, girls appear in portraits almost as frequently as boys. In the field of the arts, culture and entertaiment there are also competitions, although not as frequently as in sports, but every day there are hundreds of performances and shows, new records and books come out, films are released and so on. There are thus many possibilities for new young people to come forward. Both in sports and arts journalism young people are portrayed as symbols of the future of the field. Often these stories are about promising young people on their way to become professionals.

My analysis consists of a close reading of the articles, informed by certain analytical questions that have been posed to the data. Some of the questions have been formulated as a result of my previous text analytical studies and my interest in definitions of age (see Aapola 1999 and 2005), and they are derived from a combination of discourse analytical and narrative approaches together with an intersectional analysis. Some of the questions have been adapted from Jonita Siivonen's (1999 and 2007) studies on media portraits. I have also attempted to give attention to the intersections of representations of age with those of gender and class in particular. However, I do not intend to go deeper into a discussion on the concept of intersectionality in this paper, rather I will apply it as I understand it; as an inspection on

how age, gender and class as social hierarchies together construct each other, instead of looking at them as separate systems of subordination. From an intersectional point of view, the dimensions of inequality are always intertwined in people's lives, they cannot be separated. My understanding of intersectional analysis has been affected by several sources, but most importantly by Collins (1998), de los Reyes and Mulinari (2005), Krekula et al. (2005), McCall (2005) and Staunaes (2003).

At present, I have focused particularly on these analytical questions:

- what kind of discourses are activated and what kind of positions are created in the portraits of children and young people?
- how are childhood and youth presented in the portraits?
- how is age intertwined with other social dimensions, such as gender and class in cultural representations of childhood and youth?
- how do age, gender and class intersect in the portraits?

I have written "raw-analyses" of varying lengths on each article under analysis. In this "raw-analysis", I have included a short description of the article's contents, as well as more detailed observations about them, based on the analytical questions presented above. Below, I present some findings that are based on my analysis of the portraits.

Five Case Studies

First, I present five portraits picked out from the larger sample as case studies; a 7-year-old wrestler boy, a 12-year-old gymnast girl, a 12-year-old badminton player boy, a young female rap artist (16 yrs) and a young male entrepreneur (18 yrs).

All the under-18-year-old young people's portraits have been listed in an appendix at the end of this paper.

Case 1: Clinch is Jerry's ace (HS 5.5.2005)[2]

Summary of the Article
7-year-old Jerry Grönlund won the first price in his series in his team's competition. He had been brought to the wrestling gym already as a 4-year-old. He masters several grips. His father is also involved in the sport. Father says: 'Jerry was a bit too nice when he was younger. That is why we wanted him to get into a sport where he has to get a grip of his opponent. Wrestling seemed good as there is no kicking nor hitting.' Jerry left football as he got more interested in wrestling. Jerry has already got many trophies from wrestling. He likes snow-boarding too. He no longer dreams of becoming a wrestler when he grows up. He wants to sell bicycles.
Jerry is big and heavy for his age. When he was only six, he had a 13-year-old opponent. Twice he has been rewarded as the most hard-working trainee in his team. Father: 'Wrestling is a good basis even if he wants to change to another sport later'.

---

2   Here are shortened and edited translations of the originally Finnish language articles. The translation has been done by Sinikka Aapola-Kari. The original articles are archived in Sinikka Aapola-Kari's files. Unfortunately it was not possible to reproduce the articles as photographs in this context.

Analysis

Here is a young boy whose hobby has been chosen by his parents who want his son to be more assertive, which seems like a working-class goal in upbringing. The boy himself likes wrestling, although he enjoys other sports too. The boy is represented as his father's son, under his influence, and being evaluated by him and the sports community. However, he does have his own agency too, and motivations for wrestling. He seems to value the trophies highly, as a sign of success.

He is presented as a boy who is being 'toughened' by older men in the sport in order to become more masculine. He has already had to make choices between different sports in order to excel in one, and he has already met some tough opponents. Although he is an ardent trainee, his involvement does not seem very serious. It is hinted by the father that wrestling may not even be Jerry's final choice in sports.

Age is mentioned a couple of times; first as the young age the boy started wrestling, and secondly, that the boy has had to tackle much older opponents because of his big physical size. In this story, however, the boy's childhood is not presented as threatened by the sport. His father seems to watch over him, and Jerry himself seems to have his own child-like dreams outside of the sport. His masculinity seems to be strengthened in wrestling which is represented as an exclusively male sport. The boy is presented as first and foremost a young boy, guided by his father and older men in wrestling, here and now, not making future plans in the sport.

From an intersectional point of view, wrestling could be defined as a working-class sport, and this is in line with the father's earlier worry about the boy being 'too nice' or not assertive enough. In a working-class world of masculinity, strength and stamina are important, as well as a readiness to fight whoever opponent you get. It is a highly valued characteristic, not showing fear even when faced with obvious defeat. In this story, then, implicit middle-class notions of childhood as a happy, care-free time but possibly feminine 'sissyness' are countered with a working-class culture of masculinity, where a boy has to start training early in life in order to become more masculine which is defined as 'strong and fearless'. The older men surrounding the boy direct him in the right direction. Age intersects with class in a particular way in this story, creating a slight counterpositioning between middle-class childhood and working-class masculinity, in favour of the latter.

Case 2: Emma Jousimies is a young but cool-tempered virtuoso in artistic gymnastics. Her goal for next year is to get into the A national team. (Länsiväylä 2005)

Summary

12-year-old Emma became the surprise Finnish champion of balance beam in series six, where she participated for the first time, as one of the youngest competitors. She is already part of the national B-team, but now she aims for adults' major competitions. Emma started practising gymnastics already as a 4-year-old, in the footsteps of her older sister. Emma has totally lost her heart to artistic gymnastics. Even her parents are involved in the sport. Her mother is a former artistic gymnast herself. Emma played football before, but she had to make her choice in sports early, and so she left football.

She is described as very hard-working. She goes to school in the sixth grade. She practices six times a week, four hours at a time. She also practices ballet once a week. Emma is described as a good listener, and also it is said that she can analyse her own performance. Emma herself thinks that her strength is her ability to stay cool in competitions. Her life is very busy when there are competitions every other weekend. In Sweden three weeks ago Emma got two bronze medals. Her aim is to rise into the series seven and to the national A-team at the same time. Her idol is American gymnast Carly Patterson. She has videotapes of

nearly all the major international competitions at home, and she looks at them occasionally. However, she only has a limited amount of free time. On Mondays she has some time to spend with her friends, that is her only day off.

Analysis

Emma is described as a very talented gymnast, and a hard-working trainee. She seems to be successful not only because of her technical skills, but also because she can analyse her performance and stay calm in competitions. These are clearly adult-like abilities, and they are presented as the reason why she is able to aim for the adults' series and the top-league national team. There seems to be a tension between her hard training program, her high aims in the sport and her young age. This tension is not made too explicit in the text, although the girl only has one weekday off, when to just socialize with her friends. So, Emma's childhood is not presented as threatened; rather she seems able to escape childhood into premature adulthood via her athletic skill.

The hard training schedule seems to be justified by Emma's possibilities of making it to the very top, and also because gymnastics is presented as a family matter, with both Emma's parents and sister involved too. Emma herself does not question her hard program, but seems to take it for granted. She is only happy that she does not have to practice every day. Her gender is not highlighted particularly, rather she is only referred to as a gymnast and her aim is said to be in the adults' series, not in women's series, although this is actually the case. Emma is presented as first and foremost a skilful gymnast with ambition, not as a girl or a child, even if her family is also mentioned. The discourse of age is evoked only in relation to her phenomenal success in gymnastics as a young competitor.

From an intersectional viewpoint, the story does not openly counterposition the girl's young age with her high goals in the sport nor her hard training. Gender is not emphasized either, although it is clear that it is a very feminine sport she is training for, and her idol is another young woman. Contrary to the earlier story about Jesse, Emma's interview is not framed so much as competing against other young women, but as the making of an adult(- like) athlete on the national and possibly international level. There is almost no hint of childhood left in this description of a young girl's pursuit, except for the one day off during the week that she gets to spend with other girls her age. However, neither she, nor those around her, nor the journalist seem worried about her hard training program – there is just a clear admiration for a girl who will soon escape the category of girlhood and become a full-fledged athlete on the national level, among adult women.

Case 3: Kasper Lehikoinen is being welded for the top. The sixth-grader has his own supplier and a trio of coaches. (HS 14.2.2005)

Summary

Kasper Lehikoinen, 12 years, usually beats his opponents in badminton with no trouble. For example, in the age-graded championships competition he beat his opponent in the 15-year-olds' category. He only wavered as his attention was caught by a cameraman. In 2004, he was chosen as 'the junior badminton player of the year', and he has gained the right to compete even in Denmark in the junior series. In an international competition in Singapore he came in top four out of 92 players. In Finland, he is a tough opponent even for much older players.

Kasper is in the sixth grade at school. He has no time for any other hobbies. Friday is his only day off. Weekends he spends mostly in competitions. From Monday to Thursday he practices badminton two hours daily. He thinks it has been rather tough for him lately, as he

has been to a big competition, as well as an intensive two-day-training period with his main coach from Denmark.

The coach became interested in Kasper two years ago. He comes to Finland to train with him at least once a month. Kasper sends a report to Denmark after each training session. In Finland, two trainers guide him weekly according to careful instructions. The Finnish trainers negotiate daily with the Danish coach and Kasper's father sends his video tapes of his son's games to Denmark for the coach to analyze.

It is unusual for such a young badminton player to have his own personal trainer and sponsors. His Finnish coach says that if everything goes well, Kasper will become an international top player. He has a very high level technical skill. Kasper's proud father says that Kasper was only 4 years and 10 months when he first played. He also says that the Danish coach has urged Kasper to move to Denmark to live and train. However, the father says they would like to keep the siblings together so far. Kasper has a little sister and a little brother. Kasper himself talks about badminton almost like an adult, in an analytical way. His goal in the sport is to become the world's best player and an Olympic winner.

In a separate side story, titled "Children or professional athletes?" the journalist asks what happens when younger and younger children are being trained professionally. In many families children's sports hobbies define the weekly rhythm. Also, to get to the top in a sport often requires training abroad. The question is then whether the whole family moves or if it would be better to send the child abroad alone. In many sports it is necessary to make the choice between professional and hobby-like training at an early age. Often the choice is made by parents. And ever more often, professional training wins over childhood.

Analysis

The young badminton player boy is presented as a rarity in his age-group because of the professional way he is being trained and equipped. He is also described as a highly talented player, who can beat much older opponents. He has a tight training program and lots of competitions, many of them international.

The boy himself has a very adult-like attitude towards his playing and reports all his training to his coach. There are, however, some childish traits in him, reports the journalist: his attention was caught by a cameraman in a game, which made his performance falter, and the journalist also defines his dreams about becoming 'best player in the world' as childish. However, this goal does not actually seem out of place if one looks at the way the boy's trainer talks about his talent, and his previous international successes.

The father is very involved in the boy's training, but he is not ready to treat the boy as just a skilful sportsperson and send him to live and train abroad. He emphasizes the importance of keeping the siblings together, at least for the time being. Curiously, he does not mention the parents' importance for a child this age.

The journalist seems to have serious doubts about the professional way some young players are trained in relation to their young age. She asks whether the choices about such a hard training program are actually made by the parents, and whether this is harmful to the young players' childhood. The boy's gender is not emphasized, and there are both men and women involved in his training.

From an intersectional point of view, in this text, the young player is represented on the other hand as a very skilful, almost professional player, and on the other hand as a child, whose childhood is threatened by the hard regime of training. Childhood is thus juxtaposed with the tight schedule, as well as the possibility of training abroad. These are not seen as belonging to a child's life.

There is thus a clear-cut difference to Emma's story above, where no such worries about her lost childhood are expressed, although she is of the same age and has an equally hard

training scheme. We can only wonder whether a boy's childhood is more valuable than a girl's or why this discourse of 'child protection' was raised in connection to this young boy's interview, but not in relation to the young girl's story. It would seem their situation is quite similar otherwise, but the boy's trainer is from abroad, and there is the possibility of him having to leave his family and move abroad as well. Maybe it is this 'danger' that makes his situation seem more problematic from an age perspective.

Case 4: Girl-poet raps serious stuff. A meeting with MC Dust. (HS 1.5.2005)

Summary
'MC Dust' is a 16-year-old girl who comes from a town in eastern Finland. Her real name is not revealed. She is introduced as someone who looks like a serious poetess with her fleated hair and without makeup, but who does not write about the stars and the moon, as could be expected, instead, she writes about anorexia and child labour. She is referred to as 'probably the first female political rap artist in Finland'. She is contrasted with a popular young male rap artist, 'LittleG' whom she differs from because her lyrics are 'not suitable for children's ears' – she uses swear words. Now she is publishing her first own album. She looks like a nice girl-poet according to the journalist, but her texts are serious and critical, and are not meant for children.

Despite the girl's young age, her texts are mature and thoughtful, as the reporter emphasizes. She has written down her thoughts since a young age, and she is already an experienced musician, although she is still in school. Her brother closely supports her musical career, and her school does not seem to suffer either. She listens to many kinds of music, even if her own style is rap. She compares her music with Rage Against the Machine, a political group that mixes different styles. For her, writing texts is conscious experimenting, not just a direct autobiographical outlet. She raps and writes about serious things, but she also likes to give some hope. She does not like to position herself as a model for girls, instead she hopes that she will find an audience for her message as an artist. She has not thought about her future very much. She would like to continue doing music, but she is aware that it is very uncertain.

Analysis
The young woman rejects the typical stereotypes associated with youth and girlhood: she writes 'serious' texts, not 'superficial' ones, as you could expect a young girl to do, nor does she write about traditional 'poetic' topics, such as the nature. The young artist's youth is presented mainly as something that raises suspicions, but against which her actions testify. She proves that she is not a 'typical' dreamy teen-aged girl, nor a 'nice girl'. She has some of the rebellion of youth, but she is also a professional.

From an intersectional point of view, 'MC Dust' is introduced as a 'girl-poet', which creates a tension for the story: while a young woman who writes is easily identified as a 'girl-poet', 'MC Dust' does not fit the genre neatly, as her texts and her style – rap – are not part of the traditional poetic genre, nor are they anything 'girly'. She performs serious music, which is already at least partly professional. Still, youth combined with girlhood is a negative characterization, and the artist seems aware of this, as she refuses to be a model for younger girls. It seems the protagonist receives certain respect because of her artistic achievements in spite of being a girl, not because of it.

Case 5: Eetu Hyppönen sells euros by profit. (HS 9.11.2003)
UCCE-company markets untouched coins. The CEO will be 18 years next Thursday.

Summary
A young man has started to sell coins to collectors, and his transactions have gradually expanded so much that he was forced to take his business away from his family home, and to leave school, as his business grew to such proportions. Now he lives by himself, and has got a real base for his company. He has received help from older business associates (men), because he has not been able to take official responsibility for his firm as he has been under-age. Now he will be old enough to take over. He wears a pin-stripe suit and is very busy. At home he has a pool table and two scorpions as pets. He did not finish gymnasium but now he will be taking a course for business people under the guidance of a business school director. He sees the future of his company positively, and thinks of new products and ways of marketing all the time. He is also weary to give away his business secrets.

Analysis
The portrait gives a two-layered message. On the one hand, the business idea of the young man is presented as a good one, and his company is blooming. Its products and business strategies are discussed as in any business story (the article appeared in the economy section). At the same time, however, the young entrepreneur and the first stages of his company are presented in an amused tone.

The young man himself clearly positions himself within the male-dominated business world, with other male directors. This is witnessed in the symbols of his success: a busy timetable, a traditional suit, a comfortable sofa and a pool-table. However, the journalist presents him as a bit 'macho' young boy who has only recently been under his mother's wing. In the end of the story he is reminded that his 'right place' would actually still be in school, not running a business. A central role is given to older men, who have helped the young man in his pursuits in the business-world. His youth has presented a formal hindrance for him to act fully in the world of money. Also, his actions have not been in accordance with his role as a son in the family: his mother has kicked him out of the family home because his business took too much space.

From an intersectional point of view, then, this young man's pursuit into the serious world of finance and the company of other business executives, leaving behind the world of school and his childhood home, is clearly regarded as a crossing one should not attempt at such a young age. The young man's life-style which can be defined as 'business class' macho masculinity is seen as particularly unfit with his young age, and is more or less implicitly presented as funny in the portrait.

Conclusions

Intersections of Age, Gender and Class
The five sample cases presented above demonstrate how the portraits of young people often contain implicit ideals of youth or childhood, and how tensions are created within the texts if the persons in question depart from these ideals. While the young people who are portrayed in the media, clearly represent the 'angelic' youth (see Hoikkala 1989), models for the society, their portraits can also be read 'against the grain', as conveying implicit messages to the (mainly adult) reader about other types of childhood or youth, who are deemed less celebratory or ideal.

Gender is rarely discussed directly in children's and young people's media portraits. However, in most of the young people's portraits, there are at least slight references to some gendered aspects in the interviewee's life. The portraits of boys and young men depict worlds that are unquestionably presented as masculine: they are portrayed as newcomers, even if skilful ones, to traditionally male fields, such as corporate culture or wrestling. From an intersectional point of view it seems that childish traits are particularly unsuited with

masculinity, whether it be working-class or middle-class masculinity. For the young women, by contrast, gender as a significant category is more often brought up explicitly in their interviews. For the athletes, it is nearly always reminded that they play in special competitions for girls or women. In the case of the female rap artist, there is the – erroneous – expectation that she wants to be a model for other girls in particular. The contradiction between a girl's young age and her skills are not as clearly evoked as in the stories about the boys.

While ethnicity is not explicitly discussed in any of the sample stories, it is still implicitly present at least in the sense that whiteness is taken for granted in all the sample cases, and possible minority identities are not brought to surface. Usually they are only made explicit in the portraits when a person's looks or name differs clearly from the majority of Finnish population.

It is typical for portraits as a media genre that they construct an interesting journalistic contradiction in the protagonist him/herself (Siivonen 1999). It would seem that in the portraits of children and young people, this tension is often built around the young person's age. In children's and young people's media portraits, childhood and youth are constructed as first and foremost inexperience, vulnerability, uncertainty, emotionality and possibly superficiality and immaturity, and only in the second place as a positive resource, even if only activated in the future.

The discourse of childhood is usually not evoked very clearly in the sample portraits of under-13-year-olds. However, it is present implicitly. In the wrestler's portrait (Jerry), childhood is present in the implicit discourse of parenting, which the father activates in indicating the kind of aims he has had in encouraging him into wrestling. Childhood is also present in the discourse of age where older opponents represent a particular challenge to the young athletes. This is activated in all the sports-children's portraits. In the gymnast's portrait (Emma), her cool nerves are emphasized as her special strength on her way towards the adults' series. This implies that a more typical childish – and perhaps even more particularly girlish – emotional and nervous mindset would be a hindrance. Childhood is thus implicitly labelled as emotional.

In the badminton player's portrait (Kasper), the discourse of childhood is activated explicitly, as being undermined in the professional training scheme. In the sports-children's portraits, there are several indications of phenomena usually only associated with adulthood, not childhood: hard work, strict schedules, little free time and determined, ambitious aims far in the future. In the portraits which focus on children, the limits of childhood are only emphasized in one portrait, that of badminton player (Kasper). In the others, the children are not presented as particularly threatened, although the gymnast's (Emma) training program is even harder than the badminton player's. Her portrait concentrates only on the great achievements she has made, and the writer does not seem too concerned about her minimized free time.

In all the above stories focusing on children, the child's talent is proved by the child's success against older opponents. In all these portraits, the children have also started in their particular sport at a very young age, and continued purposefully towards their success. While the youngest wrestler boy's (Jerry) portrait still holds the future open, despite the boy's good success in the sport, the two 12-year-olds are presented as on their determined way to international success and a professional career. However, the price they are paying for this ambition is treated differently in the two portraits. While the discourse of threatened childhood is evoked in one of the texts, in Kasper's portrait, it is not activated in the other one, in Emma's portrait, although the situation seems to be very similar for both of them.

Also youth often appears to be something that creates tension in the portrait of a young person. While it is usually precisely their young chronological age that has made the protagonists worth interviewing in the first place, the meanings of young age nevertheless

often appear problematic. The young female rap artist (MC Dust) is presented as a 'modern-day poetess', who, despite her young age, is 'serious' and 'critical', as if the writer would have expected to meet someone who was superficial and perhaps dreamy, out of touch with today's reality. It seems surprising to the writer that despite her young age, the young woman has written lyrics that cannot be played to children, because they contain swear words and discuss serious topics such as anorexia. In the case of the young gymnast (Emma), the girl is described as 'young but cool-nerved'. Thus the young people in the portraits appear as positive special cases, different from the rest of youth, who are presented as having many negative characteristics.

After a closer look on the intersections of age, gender and class in the portraits I claim that these social dimensions interact in particular ways in the interview texts, and work to create particular images of young people as either 'amusing', 'threatened' or 'serious'. It seems that it is particularly the combination of masculinity with young age that creates tensions in the stories, while femininity does not appear equally problematic.

Discussion

Media portraits of boys and young men and girls and young women are part of a large and ever-growing pool of media representations of young people. While previous studies have emphasized the prevalence of negative stereotypes of young people in the media, on surface the personal portraits of young people would seem to be more positive images. Portraits are also a growing genre in journalism. The young people who are portrayed are all exceptionally successful in different fields of life, and they are presented in a more or less positive light.

The young people in the analysed portraits can be seen as presented as 'media heroes and heroines', as exceptional children and young people who have done heroic deeds. They are the 'angels' as opposed to the 'devils', which young people are more often portrayed as in the media (Hoikkala 1989). However, both 'angels' and 'devils' are easily exotized, presented as far removed from the reader's everyday life. Heroes and heroines have many functions in journalism; they are ideals, something to dream about, to admire, and to discuss in everyday situations (Hultén 1993, cited in Siivonen 1999, 67). On a closer look, however, it seems that even these on the surface positive images implicitly convey stereotypical, often negative understandings of childhood and youth. At the same time, they also seem to implicitly reinforce traditional gender stereotypes, even if they do mostly not discuss gender explicitly.

Children and young people deviate from the adult norm in the society, and as such they often run into various prejudices and stereotypes, based on their age. While media texts do not necessarily explicitly aim to reproduce discriminatory attitudes towards minority groups, such as age groups, they can do so implicitly, by the way they present different issues regarding these groups (Raittila 2004).

In principle it seems possible that the growing number of personal portraits of successful children and young people in the newspapers would actually help in bridging the differentiation between 'them' (children and young people as an age-group) and 'us' (the mainly adult – and male - audience), by giving young people themselves a more direct voice in the media (see Raittila 2004, 234-236 ja 282).

But, on the basis of my analysis, it seems that this is not the case. In a similar way as women have traditionally had to represent their female gender when men's gender has been invisible, and ethnic minorities have had to represent 'ethnicity' while white people's ethnicity has remained invisible, young people in the media represent their age group when adults represent the norm whose age is not mentioned. Stereotypical notions of childhood and youth are reinforced even in positive media texts on youth.

References

Aapola-Kari, Sinikka (2006): Nuoret sankarit ja sankarittaret? Menestyneet nuoret median valokiilassa. In: Wilska, Terhi-Anna – Lähteenmaa, Jaana (eds.): Kultainen nuoruus. Kurkistuksia nuorten hyvinvointiin ja sen tutkimiseen. Nuorisotutkimus-verkosto. Nuorisotutkimusseura. Internet publication. http://www.nuorisotutkimusseura.fi/tiedoston_katsominen.php?doc_id=475.

Aapola, Sinikka (2005) Aikuistumisen oikopolkuja? Koulutusreitit ja aikuistumisen ulottuvuudet nuorten elämässä. In: Aapola, Sinikka – Ketokivi, Kaisa (eds.): Polkuja ja poikkeamia. Aikuisuutta etsimässä. Nuorisotutkimusverkosto. Nuorisotutkimusseura. Julkaisuja 56. Helsinki.

Aapola, Sinikka – Gonick, Marnina – Harris, Anita (2004): Young Femininity. Girlhood, Power and Social Change. Palgrave, Houndmills.

Aapola, Sinikka (2002) "Dimensions of Age in Young People's Lives. A Discourse Analytical Approach." Time & Society vol.21(3): 295-314.

Aapola, Sinikka (1999) Murrosikä ja sukupuoli. Julkiset ja yksityiset ikämäärittelyt. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran toimituksia 763. Nuorisotutkimusverkosto. Nuorisotutkimusseura. Julkaisuja 9/99. SKS, Helsinki.

Cohen, Stanley (1972/1990) Folk Devils and Media Panics. The Creation of the Mods and Rockers. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Collins, Patricia Hill (1998): "It's All in the Family: Intersections of Gender, Race and Nation." Hypatia vol. 13(3).

de los Reyes, Paulina & Milinari, Diana (2005): Intersektionalitet. Kritiska reflektioner över (o)jämlikhetens landskap. Liber, Malmö.

Fairclough, Norman (1995) Critical Discourse Analysis. Longman, Lontoo.

Halonen, Irma Kaarina (2002) "Sukupuolen paikkoja median ikämatriisissa." Tiedotustutkimus vol. 25(3): 2-15.

Hartley, John (1998) 'Juvenation: News, girls and power'. In: Carter, Cynthia – Branston, Gill and Allan, Stuart (eds.): News, gender and power. Routledge, London and New York.

Heiskanen, Ilkka – Mitchell, Ritva (1985) Lättähatuista punkkareihin. Suomalaisen valtakulttuurin ja nuorisokulttuurien kohtaamisen kolme vuosikymmentä. Otava, Helsinki.

Hoikkala, Tommi (1989) Nuorisokulttuurista kulttuuriseen nuoruuteen. Gaudeamus, Helsinki.

Johnson, Lesley (1993) The Modern Girl. Girlhood and Growing Up. Open Univesity Press, Buckingham.

Kivimäki, Sanna and Laiho, Marianna (2001): "Tytöt arjessa, pojat vapaalla – lasten paikka lehtikuvissa." Katsaus. Tiedotustutkimuksen vuosikirja 2001.

Krekula, Clary, Närvänen, Anna-Liisa and Näsman, Elisabet (2005): "Ålder i inter-sektionell analys." Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift 2-3: 81-94.

McCall, Leslie (2005): "Intersektionalitetens komplexitet." Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift 2-3.

Raittila, Pentti (2004) Venäläiset ja virolaiset suomalaisten Toisina. Tapaus-tutkimuksia ja analyysimenetelmien kehittelyä. Mediatutkimuksia. Tampereen yliopisto, Tampere.

Siivonen, Jonita (1999) Stor Anna, Liten Anna och tio andra personporträtt. Om innehållsliga och språkliga mönster i en mediegenres kvinnobeskrivningar. SSKH Skrifter nr. 11. Forskningsinstitutet. Svenska social- och komunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet. Universitetstryckeriet, Helsingfors.

Siivonen, Jonita (2007) Personporträttet som tidningsgenre. En närläsningsstudie med fokus på innehållsligateman, berättarkonventioner och kön. SSKH Skrifter 25. Svenska social- och kommunalhögskolan vid Helsingfors universitet. Forskningsinstitutet. Universitetstryckeriet, Helsingfors.

Staunaes, Dorthe (2003): "Where have all the subjects gone? Bringing together concepts." NORA 11 (2): 101-110.

Vakimo, Sinikka (2001) Paljon kokeva, vähän näkyvä. Tutkimus vanhaa naista koskevista kulttuurisista käsityksistä ja vanhan naisen elämänkäytännöistä. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 818. SKS, Helsinki.

Wyn, Johanna (2005) "Adult stereotypes of young people's communications." In: Williams, A. – Thurlow, C. (toim.): Communication in Adolescence. Perspectives on Language and Social Interaction in the Teenage Years. Peter Lang, New York.

Appendix: Under-18-year-old's portraits in the data

Children's portraits: sports

First-grader ski jumper (male), inofficial Finnish champion
7-year-old wrestler (male), local champion
10-year-old trial motor biker (male)
12-year-old gymnast (female), Finnish Champion
12-year-old alpine skier (male), successful in international competitions
12-year-old tennis player (female), winner
12-year-old badminton player (male), in professional training

Young people's portraits
Sports

13-year-old figure skater (female), Finnish champion
14-year-old bowler (female) who has got a medal in the Finnish championships.
14-year-old badminton player (female), aims for European Championships.
15-year-old swimmer (female), Finnish Champion.
15-year-old basket ball player (male), junior Finnish Champion
15-year-old freestyle alpinist (male), competes at World championship level
15-year-old skier/jumper (male) at World Championship level
16-year-old gymnast (male), Nordic Champion
16-year-old javelin thrower (female), in special training
17-year-old tennis player (female) who has been in an international training program and is quickly gaining speed towards a professional career in tennis.

Arts and culture, other themes

15-year-old rap musician (male), has published his first album
16-year-old rap musician (female), first album coming
16-year-old student (female), will move to Helsinki alone in order to study
17-year-old student (female), trains to be a clothing artisan, aims for starting her own firm
18-year-old student (female), is active in her own community
18-year-old CEO (male) who has started a successful company that mediates Finnish coins to collectors in other countries.

Longing and (Un)belonging: Displacement and Desire in the Cinematic City

Alev Adil

Department of Creative,Critical and Communication Studies,
University of Greenwich, UK.

A.Adil@gre.ac.uk

This paper explores the spatial conceptualisation of the themes of diaspora, displacement and desire in cinema, particularly in the work of Nuri Bilge Ceylan (Uzak) , Fatih Akin (Gegen Die Wand) and Michael Winterbottom (Code 46). All three directors explore the imagined cinematic city as a site of multiple (un)belongings and interrogate how notions of identity are displaced and disrupted by geopolitics, by the city and by cinema itself.

Both Ceylan and Akin's visions of Istanbul are haunted by Beyoglu, both as the site of Istanbul's contemporary cultural regeneration and by unspoken histories repressed by the Republic's offical rhetoric of Turkish identity. In contrast Akin and Winterbottom's heterotopias of the hotel and the hospital provide possible metaphors for these dislocated global identities.

This paper will engage with a series of questions. What is the (imagined) place created between the viewer and the screen, or is it a non-place? Do the identities/ memories created there produce a 'third space'? This paper uses Winnicot, Soja and Bhabha to ask what that third space might be and its consequences for a contemporary global Turkish identity. If these films depict a (Freudian) screen memory of dislocated subjectivities then what is being suppressed and sutured?

Longing and (Un)belonging: Displacement and Desire in the Cinematic City

This paper explores the spatial conceptualisation of the themes of diaspora, displacement and desire in cinema, particularly in the work of Nuri Bilge Ceylan (*Uzak*), Fatih Akin (*Gegen Die Wand*) and Michael Winterbottom (*Code 46*). All three directors explore the imagined cinematic city as a site of multiple (un)belongings and interrogate how notions of identity are displaced and disrupted by geopolitics, by the city and by cinema itself. All three films conjure up subjectivities marked by longing, loneliness and loss. Beyoglu, both as the site of Istanbul's contemporary cultural regeneration and by unspoken histories repressed by the Republic's official rhetoric of Turkish identity, haunts both Ceylan and Akin's visions of Istanbul. In contrast Akin and Winterbottom's heterotopias of the hotel and the hospital provide possible metaphors for these dislocated global identities. This paper raises a series of questions. What are the lineaments of that loss and can loss be liberation? Can cinema be a lieux de memoire? What is the (imagined) place created between the viewer and the screen, or is it a non-place? Do the identities/ memories created there produce a 'third space'? This paper uses Winnicott, Soja and Bhabha to ask what that third space might be and its consequences for a contemporary global Turkish identity. If these films depict a (Freudian) screen memory of dislocated subjectivities then what is being suppressed and sutured?

This article arises out of a presentation I gave at the ACSIS Cultural Studies conference at the University of Linköping in Nörrkoping, Sweden in June 2007. The paper was accompanied by a DVD of 20 minutes duration. The DVD was a 10-minute collage of moments from the three films, which was repeated. The visual accompaniment to my talk played visually with the (Lacanian) symmetrical economy of the mirror (by doubling) and the (Lefebvrean) trialectics of imageries: from the electric spaces of non-places (Auge) via the crash to broken, bloody, biological bodies and then to the Bosphorous, to the flow of water, the stasis of snow; the narratives fractured and carried away by the currents of my editing into flows of electricity, blood, water. The images take you through internal imagined spaces from the road, through the wall to the water, from the electric city to the breakable body. The element of water becomes the third space beyond the road and the wall, the city and the body, a flowing space that can contain incommensurable difference without homogenising them.

In order to understand what the cinematic city might be I wanted to recreate the praxis of 'reading' the films, their space in my imaginary. My spatial approach employs both Lefebvre 's concept of third space and what Winnicott defines as 'the potential space of play' to understand the relationship between the subject, the screen and the city. I want to explore what the cinematic city might be and how we experience desire and displacement there. I posit that the cinematic city is a place substantiated in the relationship between the represented city (film) and the viewer (and their individual rhetorics, discursive practices, memories). The praxis of my theoretical approach was to implicitly explore how digital editing has made it more possible to employ Barthesian active 'writerly' tactics in our reading of a text and also to evoke my memory of the three films. Refusing the dialectics of text/audience and suggesting that meaning resides in space created between the two, created by the electricity of the encounter.

What the third space created between these two might be, and the nature of third space itself was something I strove to explore through the talk I gave and the film collage of sequences from Nuri Bilge Ceylan's *Uzak*, Fatih Akin's *Gegen Die Wand* and Michael Winterbottom's *Code 46*. All three directors explore the imagined cinematic city as a site of multiple (un) belongings and subjectivities marked by longing, loneliness and loss. The ghost of one cinematic city, an imagined Istanbul lies somewhere in a third space between the images and my words. The talk intended to be praxis in that my method of presentation

invited the audience to see the meaning of the presentation as lying not in the words (my voice) or the images but in a third space created between the audience, the experience and myself. This third space resists synthesis, allowing the constituents to remain separate but also to become something else in the space of interrelation. Thus this democratic third space, one that calls on reverie, chance and context, rather than hierarchy. Thus it is a utopian space, and one that this format of presentation militates against. The visual dimension of my presentation is missing here but I invite the reader to call on their own remembered films to create the third spaces of the cinematic city as they read my paper. Perhaps an active readership of cinema, its reappropriation through sampling, can become a new kind of Third Cinema, of actively engaged viewing.

The Cutting Kino Eye

Cinema changed the way we see. According to Benjamin "magician and surgeon compare to painter and cameraman. The painter maintains in his work a natural distance from reality, the cameraman penetrates deeply into its web. There is a tremendous difference between the pictures they obtain. That of the painter is a total one, that of the cameraman consists of multiple fragments which are assembled under a new law." The camera's inquisitive eye revealed previously hidden spaces. "Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go travelling." Cinema creates another kind of space; a space that disrupts defined distance between the viewer and the work. With the close-up space expands, with slow motion time expands, and movement, the camera presents not only familiar qualities of movement but reveals entirely unknown gestures, "the camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses."

This unconscious optics creates a trialectics of the technology, the editor and the viewer. The editor has always been a surgeon, and many theorists, like Mulvey, have contended that the cinematic gaze is a castrating gaze. From Vertov's Kino-eye onwards, the fragmentary and cutting nature of filmmaking has been formally and thematically important for Third Cinema. The filmmaker can call upon both the visual economy of the landscape painter and the close scrutiny of the surgeon. In Ceylan's visualisation of Istanbul the auratic distance of the traditional artist, of Melling's paintings of Istanbul for instance, are reproduced in the long shots in *Uzak* but are disturbed by what Virilio calls the 'big optics' of film, by the close up, the fast edit. The aura of the painterly and the auratic intimacies created by the camera eye meet in the same imaginary space. The digital city as lived environment also shifts between large-scale projections designed to be viewed from a distance and the small screen. "The manifestations of the digital city oscillate between the dominating corporate image-screens which exist to announce its ownership and the miniscule ones which operate in intimate proximity to the body and the eye" (Barber p.156)

When Foucault speaks of the spaces of our private and collective imaginary his words evoke the Cinema. "The space of our primary perception, the space of our dreams and that of our passions hold within themselves qualities that seem intrinsic: there is a light, ethereal, transparent space, or again a dark, rough, encumbered space; a space from above, of summits, or on the contrary a space from below of mud; or again a space that can be flowing like sparkling water, or space that is fixed, congealed, like stone or crystal." Cinema, has served even in its most hierarchical and traditional mode of viewing as cinematic apparatus, offered dark, covert spaces for reimagining and thus changing the world.

Whereas when Mulvey formulated her Lacanian reading of the economy of the cinematic gaze the two kinds of cutting operated on different metaphorical and literal spheres with the

growth of accessible editing packages the viewer can also choose to be an editor too. Oudart's suture as absence becomes an act of reparation, of Winnicottian play, of Barthesian active reader-authorship, just as Balzac's' *Sarrasine* becomes Barthes' *S/Z*, these three films became my *Code/Distant/Crash*. One can, in the context of the democratisation of downloading and editing software propose that re-editing as viewing creates a not only a Barthesian viewing experience but also an Irigarian haptic visuality. The 'cutting' and displacement collapses optical distance and some of the boundaries between touch and vision, subject and object, viewer and film. The fact that I cannot include my DVD with my article indicates how even (or perhaps especially) imaginative space is regulated and mediated by legal frameworks and power structures. The laws of copyright make the enterprise illegal. Questions around this third space of active reading/meaning making and its relation to Open Source arguments are evoked but will not be directly addressed here.

The Gesture Life of the Cinematic City: Towards and Away

These three films are marked by movement, by the flickering play of projected light and by the theme of movement. Both *Uzak* and *Gegen Die Wand* narrativise movements towards, and away from, Istanbul. From West to East, from Berlin on the way to Mersin and Zonguldak, for Cahit and Sibel in *Gegen Die Wand*, from East to West for Yusuf in *Uzak*. The city is a destination of transformative possibility. Whereas the populated landscapes of the Impressionist painters visualised the world of the flaneur Cinema memorialises the wanderer. Both move aimlessly, in a dreamy fog, but the flaneur is contemplative, free of Weber's 'iron cage of rationalisation' whereas the wanderer is vulnerable, too naïve or feral to submit to the rules of the city. Sibel and Yusuf are outsiders, wanderers in the city. Yusuf cannot even begin to understand how he might find work; Sibel cannot bear the drudgery of being a chambermaid in a hotel. The camera follows them both through the hotels, nightclubs, cinemas, shops and fast-food joints of Beyoglu, alternating the aerial gaze of the cartographer and architect with the tourist and consumer gaze, none of them ways of seeing either character can comfortably claim. Their unbelonging is contrasted not with the naturalised belonging of native Istanbullus but with the cultural competences (and sense of alienation and loneliness) of the assimilated. Mahmut, Yusuf's photographer cousin and Selma, Sibel's fiercely ambitious hotel manager cousin both understand and submit to the economic 'rules' of modernity. Both have an eye for detail. Selma worries over the font of the menu, Mahmut deliberates between his photographs of the veins in marble, yet their creative energies are sharply focussed on their careers. They are both self-improvers – Selma fills her upmarket flat with expensive gym equipment, Mahmut holds rather irritable intellectual gathering. Though Mahmut is shifty about his cultural tastes. He is determinedly highbrow, disdaining Sezen Aksu in favour of Bach, choosing Tarkovsky over an old Yesilcam comedy; but he prefers porn to Tarkovsky in private.

Both Sibel and Yusuf have trouble with submission to the economic rules though Yusuf is more passive, Sibel more combative in her rejection. The city is more welcoming to the Western returnee – the German Turkish taxi driver in *Gegen Die Wand* for instance, the Eastern peasant is much more of a stranger culturally. The cultural competences these outsiders bring from elsewhere have very different exchange rates. Yusuf's loving concern for his mother's dental problems, his covert calls to her, the mechanical soldier toy he buys his nephew – his loyalty and strong sense of kinship, his naïve appetite for romance, all are qualities have no conversion rate, are a defunct currency in the city. There is a tension between the assimilated and the non-assimilated who are not so welcome – theirs is the contingent space of the guest bedroom, their only safety net the decaying bonds of familial obligation. Sibel and Cahit's urban culturally hyphenated capital does have a conversion rate; Berlin is closer than the East to the regenerated urban melange of Beyoglu. Istanbul is a site

of displacement, hybridity and cultural eclecticism. Beyoglu, now the site of cultural regeneration and tourism, was a principally Armenian then a Greek neighbourhood. Beyoglu and Taksim Square serve as lieux de memoire of Istanbul's minorities and also of mass demonstrations and political resistance. A trialectics of Displacement, Substitution, and Representation seems at work here between the Beyoglu of the minorities, commodification, and counter-cultural activity.

Implicit in Mahmut's disdain for Yusuf in *Uzak* is not only the rejection of the peasant by the urbanite but speaks of uneasiness about different and perhaps problematic Turkishnesses. The screen memory, in the Freudian sense, of these representations of Istanbul both omit, and through that omission allude to the repressed aspects of official Turkish national identity. The Armenian Genocide, Kurdish, Alevi and other minority identities and regional differences, are sensitive and strongly contested topics for discussion in Turkey today. Many writers, journalists and publishers have been prosecuted under Article 301 ' for denigrating Turkishness' under a new (EU approved) Penal Code. The murder of the Turkish Armenian journalist Hrant Dink by a fascist youth led to mass demonstrations mourning his death and proclaiming that "we are all Hrant Dink".

Imagining Cinematic Space

The cinematic city represents and creates 'real' cities, which in are after all only made real through the accretions of its citizens' and denizens' dreams. The cinematic city can be seen as a heterotopia and is drawn to the representation of them. The hotel, the hospital, bar; prison, funfair, airport, seaport; all are marked as spaces with 'precise and determined functions', some punitive, all regulatory, none offering permanent sanctuary. Domestic space does not fulfil any cosy function for the inhabitants of these films. For the wanderer all space is contingent. Sibel's attempts to make Cahit's Berlin flat homely end in its extravagant destruction. Yusuf is an unwelcome guest in the photographer Mahmut's house. In *Code 46* Maria's flat is more like a hotel. The hotel and the spare room in another's house replace domestic space, a transitive resting place, and one where we attempt to enact an active forgetting. Although as the taxi driver tells Cahit, "the hotel is haunted".

Actually the city is haunted too. It is haunted by its screen memories, histories that the films forget, Berlin by its final solution, Istanbul by the expulsion of its minorities. It is also haunted by what Said calls 'the imaginative geographies of Orientalism'; of the Istanbul imagined by 'outsiders' like Melling, Flaubert and Loti. And by the imaginaries of its inhabitants, a city built in the poetry of Yahya Kemal, the novels of Tanpinar and more recently Pamuk, the melancholy photographs of Ara Guler. Like Zoebide in Italo Calvino's *Invisible Cities*, this imaginary Istanbul is built according to the routes dreamers remember from their dream. Calvino's dreamers dream of chasing the elusive fugitive figure of a naked woman, Zoebide through an imaginary city. They meet and build a city. Each builds a tangled skein of streets according to their remembered route in their dream in order to trap their quarry. Subsequent waves of immigrants arrive. Men who have dreamed the same dream of Zoebide keep coming to the 'white city, well exposed to the moon'. "The first to arrive could not understand what drew these people to Zoebide, this ugly city, this trap."

The imagined cinematic city is not necessarily beautiful but it is not a place that can be reduced merely to Lacanian lack, the absence of the fugitive dream. It can be a politically transformative space, one created by the flow of intense and variable experiences: flows and currents created by the experience of interrelationship with people and cultural artefacts. These energies, the palpable 'electricity' generated between two people in love for instance, are generated in what Winnicott calls 'the potential space' of play between the individual (both viewer and screen figure) and the environment (the film as subject-object, the viewing

experience and the history you bring to it). For Winnicott, play is the place where cultural experience is located.

Play is not simply a question of leisure but the potential space for the individual self's creative interaction. By play Winnicott means a space of potential and actual interaction, playing the satisfying experience itself. If there is no space for negotiation or interaction and we are forced into compliance we are 'against the wall' we crash into the Reality Principle. Play here does not denote a distinction between work and leisure but between creativity and compliance, the commodified spaces of leisure in. *Gegen Die wand* shows the drudgery of the work of leisure in bars and hotels. Commodified leisure is not a potential space for play, but the wall where we literally hit the reality principle. The club leads to the wall in *Gegen Die Wand* to the desert (of the real) in *Code 46*, when there is not an adequate arena for play: for a creative interaction with the environment.

To map the cinematic city as a potential space of Winnicottian play is to metaphorise it as a mother, since Winnicott contends "in order to study the play and then the cultural life of the individual one must study the fate of the potential space between any one baby and human (therefore fallible) mother-figure who is essentially adaptive because of love." (Winnicott p.) The space of play is not a utopia, but it is a place of transition to a connected but separate sense of self, a place of reparation that can only exist if there is trust. For Winnicott trust is the location of cultural experience. Without trust there is only evasion, aggression and compliance. Trust is an ethical, and political imperative. This question of trust is a tricky one. For if the space of culture is to be a space of play, of intimate haptic visuality it must a space of trust. Yet is it not too utopian to seek to 'play' with ideologically coded mass forms of transmission like Cinema, which seek our compliance as passive consumers? How are we to create a cinematic third space?

Returning to Lefebvre's concept of Third Space is useful here. Lefebvre's trialectics spatialises the temporal framework of Hegelian/Marxist dialectics. Thus there is no inherent privileging of the three spaces. The First Space of spatial practice, 'a realite quotidienne' and the Second Space of conceived space (architecture, film) exist within and simultaneously with the Third Space of lived situations, this space "may be directional, situational or relational, because it is essentially qualitative, fluid and dynamic." (Lefebvre p.42). Lefebvre's Third Space offers a 'rapprochement' between the different spaces that exist, such as physical space, mental space and social space and in its potential for agency and transformation relates closely to Winnicott's haptic space of play.

For Bhabha it is the incommensurability of difference in Hybridity as a third space which gives rise to something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation. Located in the margins, the in-between space,

> "our existence today is marked by a tenebrous sense of survival, living on the borderlines
> of the 'present'…we find ourselves in the moment of transit where space and time cross
> to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present, inside and
> outside, inclusion and exclusion. For there is a sense of disorientation, a disturbance of
> direction, in the 'beyond': an exploratory, restless movement caught so well in the French
> rendition of the words au-dela, here and there, and fort/da back and forth…. Being in the
> "beyond" then is to inhabit an intervening space…to touch the future on the hither side
> …a space of intervention in the here and now." (Bhabha p.7)

The Water Not the Bridge

Ceylan's *Uzak* invites us to experience the Bosphorous as the key conceptual space of hybridity in Istanbul, rather than the conventional symbolisation of the bridge between Orient and Occident, and of Istanbul itself as that bridge. This fast flowing polluted waterway, the

busiest, most congested shipping lane that runs through the city is not a utopian space in film or as a lived experience. This powerful flow contains all manners of vessels from fishermen's tiny, rickety boats, the commuter ferries, and pleasure boats to huge hulking tankers. Whilst the Bosphorous contains all of them, it is a dangerous space of exclusions, conflagrations, spectacular accidents and collisions as well as a conduit for the flow of human, economic and cultural capital. This is an aesthetic of liquidity, of freeze and flow. The desert/electric binarism of *Code 46* becomes transubstantiation from solid to liquid, from the snows of the east to the city and the sea. The spectacular beauty of the beached ship highlights how the Bosphorous, Bogaz (the throat) in Turkish is viscerally as well as metaphorically powerful. It speaks of the different values and scales which meet in and are borne upon or swallowed up in the same space. Rather than synthesising and coagulating elements the water contains them all at the same time. The Bosphorous acts here as a metaphor for and an actual third space for the cinematic experience and for a contemporary global Turkish identity: a third space of rapprochement and agency, of play where film making and viewing are creative acts which sometimes obliterate but never simply replace the past and speak of the possibility of reparation and trust.

"In civilizations without boats, dreams dry up, espionage takes the place of adventure, and the police take the place of pirates." (Foucault)

References

Auge, Marc. (1995) *Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* trans. John Howe, London: Verso.

Barber, Stephen. (2002) *Projected Cities; Cinema and Urban Space* London: Reaktion

Books

Barthes, Roland. (1987) *S/Z* trans. Richard Miller, New York: Hill and Wang.

Benjamin, Walter. (1999) 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' in *Illuminations*, trans. Harry Zohn; London: Fontana.

Bhabha, Homi K. (2004) *The Location of Culture* London: Routledge.

Calvino, Italo (1979) *Invisible Cities* trans. William Weaver, London: Picador.

Foucault, Michel (1967) "Des Espace Autres," trans. Jay Miskowiec. http://www.foucault.info/documents/heteroTopia/ Accessed on 10.12.2006.

Freud, Sigmund (2003) 'Screen Memories', in *The Uncanny* trans. David McLintock; London Penguin Books.

Irigaray, Luce. (1985) 'The Blind Spot of an Old Dream of Symmetry', in *Speculum of the other woman,* trans. G.C. Gill, NY: Cornell University Press.

Lacan, Jacques (1987) *The Four Fundamental Concepts of Psycho-Analysis* trans. Alan Sheridan, London: Peregrine.

Lefebvre Henri (1991) *The Production of Space* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith; Oxford: Blackwell.

Mulvey, Laura. (1989) 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema' in *Visual and Other Pleasures* London: Macmillan.

Nora, Pierre. (1996) *Realms of Memory: Construction of the French Past* vols 1. trans. Arthur Goldhammer. Columbia University Press.

Oudart, Jean-Pierre (1977/78) 'Cinema and Suture' in *Screen* vol.18, no.4.

Said, Edward (1985) *Orientalism* London: Peregrine.

Soja Edward W. (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and other Real-and-Imagined Places* Massachusetts: Blackwell.

Virilio, Paul. (1992) 'Big Optics' in *On Justifying The Hypothetical Nature of Art and the Non-Identicality Within the Object World* ed. Peter Weibel. Köln.

Winnicott, D.W., (2005) *Playing and Reality* London: Routledge.

Films

Gegen Die Wand, 2004, (film) Fatih Akin, Germany and Turkey, Bavaria Film International.
Uzak , 2002, (film) Nuri Bilge Ceylan, Turkey, NBC Ajans.
Code 46 , 2003, (film) Michael Winterbottom , UK, BBC and Revolution Films.

Revisiting Diasporic Condition: New Patterns of Nostalgia Among Turks in Sweden

Altug Akin

Faculty of Communications, Izmir University of Economics, Turkey

altugakin@gmail.com

One of the defining principles about diaspora populations is accepted as "they have a strong sense of collective memory which relates to the distant *Homeland*". However, migrant experiences of our epoch provide a range of evidences to challenge some of the widespread assumptions about nostalgia of homeland which is supposed to be dominating diasporic condition.

On one hand, increasing synchronization between homeland and diaspora by means of contemporary communication technologies has led the migrant populations to update the rusty collective myths about the homeland. On the other hand, immigrant groups which have spent enough time in country of settlement to qualify as "early-comers", such as the Turks in Sweden, tend to replace the "nostalgia of homeland" with a brand new nostalgia: "nostalgia of the early years of settlement in the country of migration".

In this paper I will present the experiences of Turks in Sweden in order to reflect on the two-folded transformation re-shaping the nature of nostalgia in diaspora. Their story since 1966 will be utilized to illustrate these effects which necessitate a reconsideration of existing comprehension of the relationship between diaspora populations and nostalgia.

Introduction

A brief anecdote will help to provide the broader context, in which my findings regarding changing patterns of nostalgia among migrant populations can be located. It originates from my hometown Izmir, the third largest city of Turkey, situated on the west coast of country. Basmane is one of the major districts of Izmir, where considerable amount of trade and transportation related activities of the city take place. Throughout the last year, several dramatic stories originating from Basmane found place in both local and national media (NTVMSNBC.com, Milliyet.com.tr, Rohani.net). These stories were about the refugees predominantly from Somali (but also from Palestine and Ivory Coast) and their deprived life conditions in the despicable hotels of Basmane. Having left their homelands due to different reasons such as warfare, economic or political crisis, these people have arrived to Izmir by and large via illegal migration paths, acquired temporary residence permits and are hopelessly waiting for their final journey to their ultimate destinations, either Europe or North America. Not knowing if their stay is temporary or permanent, these migrants of ranging numbers from 300 to 1500, have formed a new community in the back streets of Basmane, a new culture, a new way of living, most probably not a desired one but one that arises out of obligation.

This anecdote raises several questions about new residents of Izmir, in the context of memory and nostalgia as observed in "mobile" populations: What kind of mental relationship do they have with Somalia, which they left behind? How do these migrants remember their homelands? And particularly, do they already idealize and miss Somalia, in a nostalgic sense? No answers regarding particular condition of so-called "Yeni Izmirliler", "new residents of Izmir" will be provided in this paper, although their case deserves to rank high on the research agenda. In the scope of my research, I want to contextualize their condition to a macro frame that is "increasing human mobility in the global scale."

Human mobility phenomenon has been studied in detail by various disciplines of social sciences, from sociology to economy, from ethnology to media studies. Although their focuses, theoretical basis and methods vary to a large extend, what's common in the findings of these researches is that increasing human mobility is one of the defining and underlying characteristics of our epoch.

Historically speaking, at first, mobilization of populations was studied as it occurred within *national* boundaries both as a supporting force and a result of industrial revolution and urbanization. Then from early 20th century on, both legal and illegal *trans-national* mobility was on the agenda of social scientific inquiry. Particularly this second array of human mobility, transnational migration and its consequences has been receiving growing attention not only from academic circles but also from policy making institutions and from "common people". In short, the phenomenon of transnational migration and its assorted consequences has been and will be on the agenda of contemporary societies, regardless of their geographical, social or economic position.

In this paper, the focus will be on a particular dimension of trans-national condition that has to do with *memory and nostalgia*. The changing patterns of nostalgia will be presented, as they are observed among populations living in a trans-national setting, say *migrants*. By reflecting on the emerging ways of perceiving, thinking, remembering about the homeland among the members of Turkish community in Europe, particularly among Turks in Sweden, I aim to delve further into continuously evolving trans-national condition. In other words, I want to be able to understand what kind of a mental relationship the new residents of Izmir, the migrants from Somalia, have with their homelands.

Two questions may arise in this point: 1) How members of Turkish community in Sweden and the Somalian refugees in Izmir can be classified in the same category? 2) Don't

these two groups have more differences than commonalities? Notion *of diaspora* may provide a theoretical basis for the answers to these questions.

The Concept of Diaspora

Majority of studies in the last decade regarding immigrant/migrant/ethnic minority groups, center their theoretical basis on the notion of diaspora, although it is an extensively contested term. The Word diaspora originates from the Greek speiro (to spread) and dia (over). With the broadest definition of the word, it signifies symbolic connection between 'subject' and 'land which subject left behind' (Binark 2005). Although the word diaspora has generally connoted traditional displaced groups like Jews, Armenians, Romans, it is deployed in recent discussions in a broader fashion "as a metaphoric designation to describe different categories of people – expatriates, expellees, political refugees, alien residents, immigrants and ethnic and racial minorities tout court" (Georgiou 2003).

Rather than going into the details of diaspora notion as a separate theoretical section here, necessary theoretical discussions are conducted in the following parts of this paper. At this point, the subjects of my research are introduced: a part of Turkish diaspora that is the *Turks in Sweden*.

Turks in Sweden

Migration of Turks to Sweden is a part of Turkish migration to Western Europe which dates back to the beginning of sixties when the economic and social situation in Turkey was highly complicated. Regional income inequalities were substantial, distribution of personal incomes was extremely imbalanced and unemployment rates in countryside were high. After the military take-over in 1960, the new government willingly embraced the opportunity to export man-power to West European countries which were already demanding labor, and facilitated labor emigration by explicitly granting citizens the right to travel abroad, according to article 18 of new constitution (Engelbrektsson 1995). As a result, in 1974, 650.000 workers were employed abroad while the economically active population in Turkey was 15.5 million (Paine 1974). At present about 3.5 million Turkish citizens are living abroad, partly naturalized in the country of settlement. About 3.2 million of these are residing in Europe (Abadan-Unat 2004).

Sweden, from which the data of this research originates, has not been a key destination for Turkish migrants, compared to others like Germany and Netherlands where immigrants from Turkey represent the biggest group within overall immigrant population. All in all there was about half a decade of immigration of Turkish workers to Sweden, between 1966 and 1973 (Engelbrektsson 1995). Yet, since then there have been a small but constant inflow of family members, mainly spouses and also aged parents, on average an annual arrival of 1100 persons (Theolin 2000). By 2003, this number reached to 63.000. Of this group 54 per cent were born in Turkey and 46 per cent were born in Sweden, members of so called second generation (Westin 2003). Today Turkish community constitutes to the 10th biggest ethnic minority group in Sweden which is a highly multicultural population where residents with foreign background sums up to 21% of whole population.

In the early years of migration most of the Turkish immigrants in Sweden originating from rural parts of Turkey, were employed in service sector, such as construction work, cleaning, serving, and driving. Despite their general satisfaction with living conditions in the early years of migration, most of the Turks felt that they were not respected and not socially well accepted in Swedish society. According to Westin, Turks are perceived by the majority in Sweden as ethnically distant, they are considered as the "other" which becomes the basis of the xenophobic discourse where the phrase "Turk" refers to almost all non-European migrants

(Westin 2003). The representation of Turks as a problem generating group displaying strong attachment to their background cultural identity continues (Akpinar 2004).

However, there are indications of change in economical conditions of Turks in Sweden in last decade, as well as the social ones. According to a research conducted by Turkish Youth Federation in Sweden (Ikiz 2005), by 2000, total number of Turkish employers reached to 3095, which constitutes to 0.5% of overall small-medium companies in Sweden. Number of persons employed in Turkish businesses in Sweden is 49.500, while half of these businesses are in hotel and restaurant sector (Ikiz 2005). Furthermore, there is a relative increase in the university attendance among the second generation members of Turkish community, although Turks still rank quite low among other immigrant groups in Sweden in education criteria.

After this panorama of Turkish community in Sweden, a particular focus will be devoted to a particular sphere in which the transforming patterns of nostalgia among Turkish community can be examined, that is media and communication environment of Turks in Sweden.

Media and Communication: Environment of Turks in Sweden

Diasporas are located in the midst of diverse circulations. Borrowing Appadurai's notions, it can be argued that "diaspora is the intersection point of ethno-scapes, finance-scapes, ideo-scapes, techno-scapes and media-scapes" (Appaduari 1996). For the particular purpose of this research the media-scape of diaspora or so called diasporic media is of immense importance. In order explain this significance it is reasonable to refer back to the definition of the concept of diaspora. Three essential characteristics of diasporic condition can be stated as follows:

- *Myth* and *memory of a common homeland:* "Diasporas, these people who have been dispersed to more than one country from an original homeland, share certain assumptions, ideologies and imagination around homeland",
- *Ever-present desire to affirm, and often idealize, the culture of the homeland*
- *Centrality of images and imagination in sustaining a sense of belonging in a diaspora and in shaping shared diasporic cultures:* A shared re-construction of homeland, migration history and community, has always been very central in formation of diasporic identities.

Therefore, the role of the media and communication, either as "a bridge to homeland" or more recently as "a link between the diaspora communities in local, national and transnational levels", has been increasingly vital in the diaspora experiences. As pointed out by Georgiou and Silverstone (2005), these media are contributing to the creation of symbolic community spaces in which identities can be re-constructed.

Five major types of diasporic media cultures which have been developed among residents with Turkish background in Sweden, have run through following channels, in the chronological fashion:

1) Sweden-originated print media (Euro Turk, Yeni Birlik, Prizma)
Mostly functioning as the publications of the Turkish community associations or federations in Sweden, these media have long historical traditions. Yeni Birlik (New Union), newspaper of Federation of Turkish Workers' Associations in Sweden, for instance, has been published since 1976 on a changing period base, currently on a monthly basis.

2) Broadcasts in Turkish, in Swedish Public Service Radio (Merhaba)

Within Swedish Public Service Radio, programs in Turkish have been broadcasted from 1976 until 2006. In January 2006, Turkish broadcasts in Swedish Radio are suspended, by a managerial decision.

3) Turkey-originated print media (Hurriyet, Zaman etc.)
Except Hurriyet, which is sold in Sweden on a daily basis, Turkey-originated print media could be accessed by subscription. Almost all of the newspapers have special European editions or pages, which specifically focuses on European countries inhabiting Turkish populations. Varying in degree, the content is a combination of news from Turkey and news about Turkish immigrant communities in various European countries, including Sweden.

4) Turkey-originated TV channels (Euro D, NTV Int etc.)
Similar to Turkey-originated print media, TV channels owned by Turkish media conglomerates have their specific channels targeting the Turks abroad. These channels have correspondents in various countries and they reserve quite limited time of their broadcasts to certain countries where the correspondents are located.

5) Web based media (Web pages, forums, e-mail lists, file sharing hubs etc.)
Especially popular amongst second and third generation immigrants, web-based media is relatively new in the realm. Similar to Turkey originated TV channels, web-based media have provided the unique opportunity of having an immediate synchronization with Turkey.

Out of this 5-fold diasporic media space *access to Turkey originated TV channels* had significant implications on how migrants experience their lives, and for how they think, feel about their experiences, and not least imagine about homeland, Turkey.

Access to Turkey-Originated TV Channels
In 1989 the first satellite dishes accessing Turkish TV channels appeared in Sweden. Around the same time, some of the Turkish TV channels were included in Swedish cable TV packages, such as TRT International which was international channel of TRT, Turkish public service TV, targeting the Turkish immigrants all over the world. From early-nineties on, all across the European space, Turkish-speaking populations began to tune in to the numerous satellite channels that were broadcasting programmes from Ankara and Istanbul.

By 1993, the introduction of commercial TV channels in Turkish media landscape which could also be accessed with satellite dishes from Europe, was *the* key innovation in the lives of Turkish migrants. What it inferred was the ability to routinely watch television from Turkey, and thereby to be in synchronised contact with everyday life and events in Turkey. The final complementary step to increase the synchronization of immigrants abroad, with Turkey was Internet. High penetration rate of Internet in Sweden from 1995's on, initiated another communication channel through which even faster bidirectional information flow between homeland and diaspora could be conducted.

In parallel to increasing media access, physical access of Turkish people living in Sweden to Turkey rose due to developments in tourism sector in Sweden by early nineties. Swedish travel agencies began to sell regular holiday packages in different parts of Turkey, which increased the number of charter flights to Turkey. Around the same years Turkish Airlines (THY) launched its regular flights to Stockholm, capital city of Sweden.

All these developments, both in communication and transportation sectors, lead to novel access channels for Turkish diaspora to get informed and consequently think about Turkey.

How does it relate to the memory and nostalgia, then? How did such changes impacted on the mental relationship between Turkish populations abroad and the homeland?

How "Synchronization with Turkey" Works Against the Nostalgia for a Homeland?

First of all, as put out buy Robins and Aksoy, access to Turkey-originated media was important for overcoming the migrant's experience of cultural separation (Robins, Aksoy 2002). Secondly, the new media systems worked to bridge global distances.

Thirdly, and most importantly regarding the topic of this paper, such trans-national media enabled a sense of greater proximity to the *actuality* of Turkey. Television and web-based media brought the *ordinary, banal reality* of Turkish life to the migrants living abroad. Two of the informants of Robins and Aksoy (2002) and how they perceive the role of TV puts out clearly, how Turks living abroad, including Turks in Sweden, are affected by instant access to the reality, actuality and banality of everyday life in Turkey:

> In many ways, you become almost frozen in your understanding of where your community is. The longer you are here (London) the more you are likely to have views and attitudes that are more conservative and out of date. I've seen people my age and even younger, expecting things of their children that they have rebelled against.' I wish they would watch more Turkish television. Some of their attitudes are far behind what the messages are. You turn on the Turkish television, and some of it is refreshingly modern. (Interview, Camden, London, 20 April 2000).

> It is very good to be able to watch satellite television because you too can see what's been going on in Turkey, the news… I used to think that Turkey was a different kind of place. It's bringing it [Turkey] closer. (Focus group, Islington, London, 29 March 1999).

What is emphasized here by Robins and Aksoy is the capacity of the reality dimension of television to undercut the abstract nostalgia of the diasporic imagination. Turkish viewers come to participate in the mundane and banal world of everyday television. Television is used as a kind of reality-testing device (Robins, Aksoy 2002).

How it relates to notion of nostalgia? Jankelevitch correctly points out how migrants imagine they are living double lives, carrying around within them "inner voices… the voices of the past and of the distant city", while at the same time submitting to "the banal and turbulent life of everyday action" (Jankelevitch 1974). As Robins and Aksoy argues "this is precisely the mechanism of splitting – where the banality of the *here and now* provides the stimulus for nostalgic dreams and fantasies about the *there and then*" (Robins, Aksoy 2002). What is significant about trans-national television and web-based services is that, as a consequence of bringing the mundane, everyday reality of Turkey *closer*, they are undermining this false polarising logic or sentiment. The *here and now* reality of Turkish media culture disturbs the imagination of a *there and then* Turkey. Thus it works against the romance of diaspora, against the tendency to false idealisation of the "homeland". Therefore it can be argued that trans-national Turkish television together with real-time, web-based access to actuality of Turkey is an "agent of cultural de-mythologisation" (Robins, Aksoy 2002) or "a nostalgia transformer".

A "Brand-New" of Nostalgia(?)

The label "nostalgia transformer" was chosen deliberately to connote "the real-time access to Turkey's actualities by the means of communication and transportation". What is observed throughout the research among the members of Turkish community in Sweden is, a

substitution of the nostalgia for Turkey with another kind of *nostalgia*: namely "nostalgia for the early years of arrival to Sweden". In other words, nostalgia for Turkey seems to have transformed into a nostalgia for early days of arrival, a brand new nostalgia. In order to understand this new version of nostalgia among diasporic populations, the nature of earlier version, say *conventional nostalgia* among diasporic populations, must be clarified.

The definition of nostalgia, in Oxford English Dictionary, is presented as follows:

> Nostalgia: *n.* **1** sentimental yearning for a period of the past. **2** regretful or wishful memory of an early time. **3** severe homesickness.

What can be inferred from these definitions is that nostalgic sentiments embody in two forms: temporal and spatial. As the first two definitions present "yearning" and "regretful/wishful memories" are directed to "a period of the past" or "an early time", which are spatial units. On the other hand the third definition emphasizes "homesickness", a consequence of dislocation, a temporal change.

In the case of diasporic populations the spatial form of nostalgia is the dominating one. As discussed before, *distantiation from the place of origin* is the essential action which leads to familiar themes discussed so far, such as estrangement from the 'mother' culture, processes of splitting, idealisation of the 'homeland'. Therefore it can be argued that the main axis of the *conventional diasporic nostalgia* is a spatial one rather than a temporal one. Homesickness sets the ground for nostalgic feelings. As put out by Hoffman, "Loss is a magical preservative. Time stops at the point of severance, and no subsequent impressions muddy the water you have in mind. The house, the garden, the country you have lost remain forever as you remember them. Nostalgia – that most lyrical of feelings – crystallises around these images like amber" (Hoffman 1991). Although the separation is not crystal clear, the object for which migrants yearn is *the Homeland*, rather than *the past*. As discussed before, increasing synchronization with the homeland and the cultural de-mythologisation function of transnational TV and web-based access have worked against the conventional nostalgia which idealizes the homeland, a space left behind.

If the disappearance of *conventional nostalgia*, the one with a spatial character is argued, what about its substitute: say *contemporary nostalgia* among migrant populations?

What I have observed during my research among Turkish community in Sweden is an increasing domination of a *temporal* nostalgia: a longing for the period in the past, wishful memories of an earlier period that is *the early days of arrival to Sweden*. Particularly among the first generation members of Turkish community in Sweden, this sentiment is vastly common. Almost all of my informants agree on one of theirs longing that "Sweden of 70s was something you should have seen". Emphasizing how much they were welcomed during their arrival and settlement days, and how Swedish state was supporting their attempts to establish a new life, Turks I have observed in Sweden are complaining about their current situation in a clearly *comparative fashion*. What's crucial here is the comparison is not between *Turkey* and *Sweden* but between *the past* and *the present*, both in Sweden.

As put out by Vladimir Jankélévitch (1974) "nostalgia is a melancholy brought about by awareness of a contrast between past and present, and between present and future". Such a nostalgic melancholy is clearly observed among the first generation Turkish immigrants in Sweden. Therefore my argument is that contemporary form of nostalgic feelings among the members of Turks in Sweden and particularly among the ones who have spent enough time to be able to have a past in Sweden, is a temporal one rather than spatial one. Contradicting with the common assumption in the homeland about diasporic populations, what they are yearning is not "the home they left behind" any more, but more "the days went by".

Conclusion

Throughout this paper, two main transformations taking place among the members of the Turkish community living abroad are highlighted. The First one is about the negative effect that the increasing synchronization with daily actuality of Turkey has on the diasporic populations nostalgic feelings for the homeland they left behind. I tried to present how real-time access to banality of "there" worked against the idealization, mythologisation of homeland and nostalgic feelings for it. Secondly, I tried to reflect upon the transformation of this conventional spatial nostalgia, to a contemporary temporal one, the nostalgia for the early days of arrival to Sweden.

I argue that the sum of these two transformation signal a normalization of trans-national populations. Just like a citizen in a nation-state, who is not dislocated from his/her homeland (who is less mobile compared to migrants in that sense), members of diaspora tend to yearn for *the days went by* rather than *homeland*. That's why I argue it's a process of normalization that migrants are mentally disconnecting, freeing their selves from the nation-states they left behind, in the search for a new homeland or maybe multiple homelands.

If normalization is a disturbing phrase since it infers a normal and an abnormal condition, we can call this process as *emergence of transnational communities* as put out by Portes. Through a "thick web of regular instantaneous communication and easy personal travel" he argues, "migrants are now routinely able to establish transnational communities that exist across two, or more, cultural spaces. A development in which a growing number of persons… live dual lives: speaking two languages, having homes in two countries, and making a living through continuous regular contact across national borders" (Portes *et all* 1999).

What about the nostalgia of the Somalians in Izmir, then? It was admitted at the beginning of this paper that not any answers would be provided for their particular case. However, as a pioneer group in regards of the transnational migration, the case of Turks in Sweden, and how they experience nostalgia, can offer some general insights for other diasporic populations, including the Somalians in Izmir. It seems that the more the access to the banality of the homeland increases and the more time spent in the country of settlement, the weaker becomes the mental connection between the diaspora and the land left behind, and the stronger becomes the nostalgia for good old days. This process can be named normalization or emergence of transnational communities, depending on where you stand.

References

Abadan-Unat N. (2004) *Disputed models of integration: Multiculturalism, Institutionalization* of religion, political participation presented in "Conference integration of immigrants from Turkey in Belgium, France, Denmark and Sweden" 2004 Bosphorus University Istanbul.

Akpınar, Aylin (2004). *Integration of immigrants from Turkey in Sweden: The case of women* presented in "Conference integration of immigrants from Turkey in Belgium, France, Denmark and Sweden" 2004 Bosphorus University Istanbul.

Aksoy, A. and Robins, K. (2002) *"Banal Transnationalism: The Difference that Television Makes."* ESRC Transnational Communities Programme. Oxford: WPTC-02-08.

Appadurai, A. (1996*) Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* . Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press

Bibark, Mutlu (2005) Uluslararası Türk-Etnik Yerel Medyası ve Adiyet Tasarımlarının inşaasında rolü / Trans-national Turkish Ethnic Media and its role in construction of identity design. From *Yurtdışındaki Türk Medyası Sempozyumu: Bildiriler / Proceedings from conference on Turkish Media Abroad* (ed.) Abdülrezzak Altun.Ankara University Faculty of Communication.

Cohen, R. (1997) *'Global diasporas: an introduction'*. London: UCL Press.

Engelbrektsson, Ulla-Brit (1995) *Tales of Identity: Turkish youth in Gothenburg*. Akademitryck AB, Edsbruk, Sweden

Georgiou, Myria (2003) *"Mapping Diasporic Media across the EU: Addressing cultural exclusion"* Key deliverable for EMTEL Network 2000-2003. London: London School of Economics

Georgiou, M and Silverstone, R. (2005) "Editorial Introduction: Media and ethnic minorities in Europe" Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies Vol. 31, No. 3, May 2005, pp 433-441. Routledge. Taylor & Francis group. London

Hoffman, Eva (1991) Lost in Translation: Life in a New Language, London, Minerva.

Ikiz, Osman (2005) İsveç'te Türk Medyası/ Turkish Media in Sweden. From Yurtdışındaki Türk Medyası Sempozyumu: Bildiriler / Conference on Turkish Media Abroad: Papers (ed.) Abdülrezzak Altun.Ankara University Faculty of Communication.

Jankélévitch, Vladimir (1974) *L'Irréversible et la nostalgie*, Paris, Flammarion.

Paine, S. (1974) *Exporting workers: the Turkish case*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Portes, Alejandro, Guarnizo, Luis E. and Landolt, Patricia (1999) 'The study of transnationalism: pitfalls and promise of an emergent research field', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*,

Theolin, Sture (2000) The Swedish palace in Istanbul: A thousand years of cooperation between Turkey and Sweden, Yapı Kredi yayıncılık AS. Istanbul, Turkey.

Westin, Charles (2003) "Young People of Migrant Origin in Sweden" in Migration and Labour in Europe. Views from Turkey and Sweden. Emrehan Zeybekoğlu and Bo Johansson (eds.), (Istanbul: MURCIR & NIWL, 2003)

Online References

Milliyet.com.tr accessed on 5th of September, 2007 at 14.15
http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2007/08/02/ege/ege14.html

NTVMSNBC.com accessed on May 15th, 2007 at 15.00
http://www.ntvmsnbc.com/news/405040.asp .

Rohani.net accessed on May 15th, 2007 at 15.30
http://www.ronahi.net/index.php?q=aHR0cDovL3d3dy5ndW5kZW1pbWl6LmNvbS9oYWWJlci5hc3A%2FaGFiZXJpZD0zNDQ2NQ%3D%3D.

The Multicultural Presence in Contemporary Swedish Film

Åsa Andersson

Section for Cultural Studies, University West, Sweden

asa.andersson@hv.se

In the year of 2000 four different films attracted attention and became connected due to their supposed thematic similarities as well as for being directed and/or written by persons with immigrant background. My intention is to follow up what was then said to be a wave of "immigrant films" and to investigate the multicultural presence in films produced in Sweden during the years 2000-2005. By a critical representational perspective film is seen as a medium which not only represents for example existing ethnic relations of a society, but also as a technology by which representation in the form of different kinds of narratives constitutes the multicultural society. Film is thereby seen as one of several practices which organize and give meaning to every day life where phenomenon as ethnic relations and racism is both visualized and happening.

The Multicultural Presence in Contemporary Swedish Film

This paper focuses on some issues dealing with the multicultural presence in films produced in Sweden during the years 2000-2005. The study as a whole deals with a selection of feature full length films made for cinematic release. To begin with I want to say something about the methodological perspective which motivates the research project as such and that guides the way I look at film in terms of its cultural significance.

Like other kinds of popular culture, film is here investigated as one of several practices which, besides from being objects of consumption and enjoyment also at some level may organize and give meaning to every day life. This is mainly done in the sense that the film media reflects and makes use of at the same time as it produces a shared symbolic universe. As for example Norman K. Denzin states about cinematic texts, they interact, in the same way as other fictional and non-fictional texts, with the worlds of lived experience, creating representations of experience that are interpreted and acted upon by cultural members of a society (Denzin 1995: 200). Phenomenon such as ethnic relations and racism, for example, are then visualized or represented through the media of film but the films are at the same time constructing them as phenomenon. The function of film as public arena is also central. Film is thereby seen as a kind of technology by which representation, in the form of different kinds of narratives, constitutes the multicultural society just as well as it reflects it.

When it comes to influential discourses, among which multiculturalism or the multicultural society has been one during the late 20th and the early 21th century, I would say that this function – film as public arena where public as well as private issues are reflected but also constituted – is especially evident. So to trace the multicultural presence in films produced during a special period of time in a nation is a way of tracing expressions as well as formations of a multicultural discourse that is related to many areas outside the film media itself.

How should the multicultural presence be understood in this context, whether such expression aims at the films and the stories or at the filmmakers, the directors and writers? To begin with there is the risk of reinforcing the tendency where the burden of representation falls on the Other. When stories as well as characters, that are not white or Swedish, are seen as cultural representatives more than others they become more generalised and thereby read as representing certain types more than and less then individual characters.

The year of 2000 marked a starting point of a discourse that connected several different films due to their supposed thematic similarities as well as for being directed and written by directors and writers with immigrant background. They were all together said to contribute with a new perspective of the ethnically enriched Swedish culture. For example in a book with the title *Fucking Film: The New Swedish Film* (a title which refers to a highly popular and influential Swedish film with the title *Fucking Åmål* from 1998), one of the texts states: "The generation of story tellers with immigrant background which the world of literature for such a long time had wished for, ended up in the film instead. They brought colourful and humorous stories about the lives in the suburbs and cultural/ethnical collisions in families where young people and adults live in different worlds" (Björkman et al. eds 2002:33). Of course the intended directors and writers have in varying degrees reacted to this categorising label which implies a narrowed perspective of the films as having something in common at the same time as being different from other Swedish films. Risks of biographical encodings or readings are immanent. The films are in simplified ways discussed as just statements about integration, rather than discussing several contemporary discourses by using the presence of the multicultural as a resource that creates an opportunity for this. A couple of years later though the situation is different since the directors intended made other films which were not

as easily categorised as being about ethnical collisions, and other directors made films about similar subjects.

With this in mind it is of course tricky to choose which films to observe as representing the multicultural presence more than others. What has guided me in my selection has been to choose those that are somehow explicitly addressing the issue of ethnical collisions, ethnic otherness and/or racism, not necessarily as the main theme or conflict of the film but in some way evident as being one of the narrative motors. My overarching argument is that the multicultural representation is here being produced and used as a kind of resource for dealing with central issues, significant for the (popular) cultural climate of the historical time period. I would say that these films make use of and produce the multicultural presence as a resource for dealing with contemporary issues of conflicts, for producing emotional representations and fantasies. And the depicted issues as well as the means for visualizing them are concerns not exclusively for those directly involved in their production but are to be analysed as part of a complex web of experiences, ideas and fantasies that need to be located in their historical, political and social contexts (Young 1996: 175).

What kind of emotional representations then? What fantasies? I intend to point out some of them by using examples from three movies: Josef Fares *Jalla! Jalla!* (2000), Reza Baghers *Wings of Glass*/*Vingar av glas* (2000), and Susan Taslimis *All Hell Breaks Loose*/*Hus i helvete* (2002). The themes I want to discuss in relation to this are: gender identities and their supposed state of crisis, especially the male one and the crusade of the unattached individual and the pure relation ships.

In the three movies, *Jalla! Jalla!*, *Wings of Glass* and *All Hell Breaks Loose*, a similar conflict is depicted, namely family arranged marriages and young people's resistance to this. This is a classic romantic theme which, in Swedish films during this period, finds a kind of new resonance in the multicultural milieu. The individual's right to choose how to live and who to love are contrasted with the collectivist, traditional, patriarchal but also economist qualities. These qualities are dramatized as unavoidable and "natural" but when challenged, finally conquered in the immigrant families. Whilst this evidently is a non issue for the Swedish characters who in these movies are clearly free individuals with no family attachments at all. Here the multicultural provides an exciting mixture and only in relation to this may conflicts between generations and traditions be credible. This theme I think can be analysed by using Anthony Giddens concept of *pure relations*, which is about the Western individuals supposed state of independency and thereby ability to form intimate relations that are, in using Anthony Giddens concept, pure, which means a social relation that is internally referential and fundamentally dependent only by the satisfaction or benefit which is gained by the relationship in itself (Giddens 1991). These are the kind of relationships that the young people in the films strive for and which their parents' generation is depicted as unfamiliar with but finally must learn to accept. The pureness of the desirable relation is also clarified by contrasting it to the economic dependencies and transactions that take place between the immigrant families as part of the marriage arrangements. What we see then is a celebration of this normatively pure relationship consisting of two unattached individuals kept together by nothing more than the strength of their emotions for each other. In this way the pureness becomes mystified, in the sense of naturalized, at the same time as being the unquestionable reasonable norm. This is, as already mentioned a classic more than a new theme, but what is central here is that the multicultural resource is being used for this classic romantic conflict to be retold by offering a credible context for the unattached individual to fight its unquestionable righteous crusades. These crusades are only possible as such when credible as well as serious resistance is provided, challenged and finally over won and here is where the multicultural resource is made useful.

The three mentioned films have similarities in depicting this theme and in their usage of the multicultural resource but they also differ in significant ways. Whilst the multicultural context and mixture provides a comic resource in *Jalla! Jalla!* it is mainly a melodramatic or even tragic resource in *Wings of Glass*, whilst both of these potentials are used in *All Hell Breaks Loose*, which is something of a mixture of a melodrama and a dark comedy. The differences between the movies also concern the gender aspects.

In the comedy *Jalla Jalla* the two male characters have different problems at the private/personal level. Roro, with a Lebanese background, is about to activate the just mentioned crusade for the pure relationship since he has a secret Swedish girlfriend. This becomes a problem when his father wants him to marry the daughter of a fellow countryman and after meeting this girl, Jasmine, he finds out that if he does not accept to marry her she will by force be sent to her relatives and married to some other unknown and supposedly traditionalist man in Lebanon. The films other main character, the Swedish guy Måns, has a problem which stems more from within, within himself and within his relationship to his girlfriend. He is experiencing impotence and his trouble with this state, which at the end of the film is resolved when he falls in love with Jasmine, is one of the narrative motors of the film. Måns masculinity is obviously in crisis and his different ways of trying to cure his impotence is the comic focus of the film. The problem is introduced in the in a scene where Måns and his girlfriend are acting out a sexual role play where they pretend to be strangers, as a way of arousing Måns sexual ability, something which does not succeed. This Swedish couple is obviously living in a pure relation with no constraining attachments to their parent generation, ethnic collectives or economic dependencies. There is no outer resistance to their relation and they are both obviously sexually liberated. This state seems to have resulted in a loss of romantic and sexual excitement, depicted in uninspired and unsuccessful efforts to spice up their sex life. But if the Swedish young man meets no resistance and therefore no possibility to fight for his status as an unattached individual able to enter a pure relation, the pureness of that relation risks to become demystified and the active masculinity seems to weaken. This loss of masculinity of the Swedish man is depicted as tragicomic and also as frustrating for Måns girlfriend who is outspoken and pushy in her sexual claims. The Swedish man may how ever regain his active role in relation to the immigrant young woman who is more innocent but clearly in need of someone to fight the crusade for her. Jasmine has no means to fight this crusade for her self since she is economically dependent on her male relatives and under threat of being sent to Lebanon against her will. The Swedish man is obviously independent not only of family attachments but also of economic transactions, depicted as alien and unnatural parts of the intimate sphere.

This is a theme even more dealt with in *Wings of glass*. The main character of this film is Nazli, a young woman with Iranian background, whose fight for independence is depicted in a more dramatic way than in the comic tone of *Jalla! Jalla!* Nazlis father Abbas wants her to marry her cousin Hamid and in the course of arranging this both father and daughter become economically involved with Hamid who has resources to give Abbas a loan and to offer Nazli an employment in his video shop. By referring to these economic relations but also by depicting Hamid as vulgar in his way of showing off his economic capacities, the film creates a character similar to the male relative who is prompting Jasmine into the arranged marriage in *Jalla! Jalla!*. What both of these characters from different films reflect is a kind of personified threat. Threats not only directed at the immigrant young women but also at the Swedish young men and women since these bad guys are portrayed as young male immigrants who have succeeded economically though probably not in an earnest way. In style and masculinity they have no sense of moderation, they are tasteless, vulgar, brutal and morally degenerated, especially in their relation to women and when provoked even violent (Tigervall 2005). In *Wings of Glass* this frightening characters contrast is the young Swedish

modern man. Nazli meets him in Johan who when first introduced in the story is depicted as at loss with himself, without direction in life and in severe economic difficulties. He makes a desperate, unskilled and therefore failed attempt to rob the video shop where Nazli is working. As the story develops though with Nazli and Johan falling in love with each other, Johan quickly transforms to a descent and engaged young man who tries to win Nazlis as well as her father's acceptance in his straightforward way of explaining to them that he loves Nazli and cares for nothing but her wellbeing. The pureness of the relationship the young mixed couple is about to enter at the end of the movie is strongly underlined by the young immigrant woman's active choice of loving the young Swedish man no matter what her father thinks of this. And for the Swedish man, the active part in this crusade has provided him a direction which seems to reinforce him as a responsible person who has the right to demand respect from the immigrant father, the conquered traditionalist patriarch.

There is an element of serious risk though in the young immigrant woman's fight for independence. Nazli is constantly depicted as restless and oppositional in words, acts and style. Her way of dressing in short skirts and tight tops are commented both by her father as inappropriate and by Hamid as both inappropriate and attractive. When Nazli rejects Hamids advances he tears off her clothes and tries to rape her. After that incidence she puts some of the blame on herself for her way of dressing and changes style to a more moderate feminine style. This slight but crucial change of appearance is significant for the reconciliation that Nazli is moving towards at the end of the film.

This feminine risk element which comes with the independence fight, especially for restless and oppositional young women, is one of the main themes in the third film *All hell breaks loose*. The main character of this movie, Minoo is also a young woman with Iranian background. The film begins with her returning to her family in Sweden for her sisters' wedding, after a period of escape in USA where she went after being thrown out from her home by her father as a result of her intimate involvement with a young Swedish man. There are no central Swedish characters in this film but the two who appears are two men who are the objects of desire for Minoo and her mother. These Swedish men are portrayed as offering the women nothing more than romantic and sexual pleasure. And that is what makes them attractive to the immigrant women. Especially when contrasted to the fellow country man Minoo's father wants her to marry and to the father himself, in relation to his wife, who never had the opportunity to choose him since that choice was made by their parents. For Minoo the individualistic crusade and its aftermath has been a partly painful experience. Traumatizing memory sequences from the stay in USA give glimpses of her posing in pornographic photo-sessions and performing at a strip club. Her experiences can be read as an illustration of the consequences a collectivist, traditionalist and patriarchal family and community structure may cause a young women who oppose strongly to this. Minoo and the film takes this to the extreme in the end when she as a way of punishing the hypocrisy of her father crashes her sisters wedding party by performing a strip show. As she undresses in front of the ethnic collective who are attending the party she is also symbolically undressing the authority and honour of the patriarch, her father. As the title of this film suggests, *All Hell Breaks Loose* offers no reconciliation, rather it dramatizes a chaotic state of disintegration which follows the breakdown of patriarchy that is emptied of its entire former means of authority.

To sum up what I want to illustrate by analysing these examples is that the multicultural resource provides means for celebrating the unattached individual and the pureness of intimate relations where individuality as well as the ideal separation of economy and love are secured. The gender aspects of the multicultural resource are being used for fantasies of regaining a threatened white masculinity by conquering both the traditionalist patriarch and the brutal and vulgar young male immigrant, and for depicting the risks of female sexuality.

References

Björkman, Stig, Lindblad, Helena & Sahlin, Fredrik (eds.) (2002) *Fucking Film: Den nya svenska filmen*. Stockholm: AlfabetaAnamma

Denzin, Norman K (1995) The Cinematic Society. The Voyeur's Gaze. London: Sage.

Giddens, Anthony (1991) Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Tigervall, Carina (2005) *Folkhemsk film. Med "invandraren" i rollen som den sympatiske Andre*. Umeå: Sociologiska institutionen Umeå Universitet.

Young, Lola (1996) Fear of the Dark: "Race", Gender and Sexuality in the Cinema. London: Routledge.

Films

All Hell Breaks Loose/Hus i helvete (Susan Taslimi 2002).

Jalla! Jalla! (Josef Fares 2000).

Wings of Glass/Vingar av glas (Reza Bagher 2000).

Batawa: Constructing Identity through Country Music in the Philippine Cordillera

Jimmy Balud Fong

Department of Communication, University of the Philippines Baguio

jbfong@digitelone.com

Media representations of the Philippine indigenous people Igorot continue to exoticize and freeze them in an ideal, primitive past. This paper foregrounds certain cultural products now being produced by the Igorot using modern technology and media. In these self-conscious products, where they exercise agency, how are they representing themselves? In such songs where they use their own languages, they construct who they are and what they have become. Using mostly American folk, rock and country melodies, they tell stories of how they are making sense of their experiences in an unevenly globalizing, runaway world.

The Philippine Cordillera

The Cordillera mountain range in Northern Luzon, Philippines, is recognized as the traditional domain of a people generically called the still contested name Igorot, or people of the mountains. It is generally known that the Igorot have never been colonized, but it is perhaps better to say that Spain has not succeeded in forcing them to join the tax-paying lowland communities. Because of this, they have been consigned to an inferior position for their refusal to be "civilized," and the binary opposition lowlander/highlander has since been reinforced.

The Americans made the Igorot the centerpiece of their civilizing mission when they bought the Philippines from Spain at the turn of the 20th Century. When a group of Igorot was displayed at the 1904 St. Louis Purchase Exposition, several Filipino leaders who perceived themselves as the proper Filipinos refused or resented that they were represented by primitive, g-stringed and dog-eating people from the hinterlands. The Philippine nation-state has recognized the historical and cultural unity of the people and has now consigned the Igorot into a region whose autonomy is enshrined in the present constitution but which is still not a reality.

American Country Music

When the Americans came to the Philippines at the turn of the 20th Century, they brought with them their music, both sacred and secular. It is not surprising therefore that two of the most popular melodies being used in the local songs are the hymn tunes "Love at Home" (by J. H. McNaughton) and "Amazing Grace." Based on popular recognition and use, the Bontoc Kankanaey song "Nan Layad Nenlikatan" (The love that we struggled for) sang to the modified tune of "Love at Home" is probably the Cordillera pop song.

Even when the Americans officially left the Philippines in 1946, American popular music continued to dominate the Philippine airwaves. The people of the Cordillera happen to particularly like the folk, rock and country genre which is also closely associated with the rustic "Western" and cowboy lifestyle. Today, the Mountain Province Broadcasting Corporation's DZWR claims to be the only FM station in the Philippines dedicated to the playing of folk and country music. Claiming to have pioneered the "legendary western sound" and the country music authority in the Philippines, DZWR puts on air every week ABC Radio's production of American Country Countdown produced in Nashville, Tennessee, from the Cordillera region's only city, Baguio, which is also an American construct having started as a U.S. hill station. Other pop music radio stations in the city also have country music programs.

Aside from country music, there is also a tendency in the area to follow cowboy-associated fashion: jeans, leather boots, plaid shirts, leather jackets and Stetson hats. No wonder even at the secondhand shops which the city of Baguio is also now known, there are some shops where there are collections of such fashion elements.

Stockpiling Local Versions of American Folk and Country Music

Jacques Attali (1985) uses stockpiling to refer to the phenomenon of using recording or sound technology not to record or preserve an excellent, presumably public, live musical performance but rather to produce a recording as a substitute for a live performance. Stockpiling therefore allows for the infinite possibilities of repetition of an exact, same virtual performance anywhere, anytime, on demand, without the physical presence of the musicians. The conditions of this possibility are in themselves interesting.

It was in the 1970s when Filipino musicians started to assert themselves in relation to the dominant American popular music. The category Pinoy rock began to appear and the national self-regulatory body of the Philippine broadcast industry Kapisanan ng mga Brodkaster ng Pilipinas adopted a rule about Philippine broadcast stations giving airtime for Original Pilipino Music (OPM), mostly songs in the Tagalog-based Filipino language.

The early part of the 1970s could also be identified as the period when the first big batch of country-style local songs were produced and distributed in vinyl discs mostly through record stores based in the city of Baguio. All the studio recordings were done then in the Philippine national capital, Manila. Most of the songs were in the Ibaloy language, the language of an ethno-linguistic group in the southern portion of the Cordillera region who have been stereotyped as a shy group of people. The themes of the songs revolve around the idea of unrequited love. The very first Ibaloy recorded song was an adaptation of the tune and lyrics of Hank Williams' "Blackboard of my heart."

The 1990s marked a resurgence of a new generation of local recording artists. The number of local languages used in the recordings, now in cassette tapes, has increased and the themes more varied. Some of the recording artists claim they have only been recognized as singers in their respective communities after their albums came out. Hitherto, they were not known as singers. Some of the songs produced in the 1970s in 45 rpm records were also reissued in cassette tape formats. At this point, some of the recordings were done in makeshift studios in Baguio, no longer in Manila.

Today, it has become difficult to keep track of the songs and albums being produced, remixed and reissued. Dominant in these songs is the use of popular folk, rock and country tunes or melodies. Others are even attempts to translate into the Cordillera languages American country music. "Listen to our songs/ Most of them are country, country, country/ Purely country, country, country," declares a song entitled "Benguet Country" by RJ Mero.

Music Video of Benguet "Country"

With human experiences becoming mostly visual, the trend for all music now is also to become visual. Contemporary Cordillera country music is also into the music video bandwagon. *Ivadoy Jen Country Songs* features songs popularized by Cesar Pasiw. Perhaps the most popular song in the video album is the one called *Savong Shi Bahong* which likens a beloved woman to flowers in Bahong (a village in La Trinidad town whose farmers are making it big by contract growing high-value cut flower varieties). The song's refrain goes in part: *Arig moy sabsabong/ Nay-esek shi Bahong/ Manseng-ew tan memapteng/ No kultaen sha/ Ilaw she'd Manila/ Panpipingilan sha* (You are like the flowers/ Planted in Bahong/ Fragrant and beautiful/ Once they're cut/ And brought down to Manila/ Buyers rush for them). Also part of the album is a song called *Nonta Panagbenga* (During Panagbenga), alluding to the politics-ridden Baguio flower festival. In a way, the two songs are staking claims for Benguet as a producer of flowers. Love, certainly, has always been represented by flowers.

The video CD *Kabenguetan* is interesting in the statement it makes that sounds like "This land is your land, this land is my land…" Of course, it is not "From California to the New York islands…" but from the foot of Kennon Road to the tip of the Halsema Highway in Buguias. Rio Felimon Cariño and his D' Friends Band went on location shooting in various parts of the province of Benguet including important parks in Baguio such as Camp John Hay and Mines View. The album seems to stake ownership of places which have long been given up to tourists. The team also congregates at the Benguet Provincial Capitol flagpole which has all the towns represented by gongs. By doing so, they pay tribute to the province that nurtured them and their music.

Cordillera Country Music Live

The Mountain Province Broadcasting Corporation reports that at least 300 persons auditioned for the 2005 search for the Most Wanted Singing Cowboy and Cowgirl Star. At the grand finals on February 11 at the jam-packed Benguet State University closed gym, Loryza Abanag bested 14 other country music singers with her dramatic rendition of a Dixie Chicks song, complete with braided hair, dangling earrings, mini denim skirt and boots. The series of eliminations that culminated in the final showdown broadcast on AM and FM radio and cable TV could be the biggest musical event in the Cordillera this year.

At a preliminary activity at the Baguio branch of SM, the Philippines' biggest supermall chain, the program host asked the audience what they thought the "national anthem of country music in the Cordillera" was. The Kinnoboyan band started to sing "Remember When" by Allan Jackson. Apparently, the song has achieved a status akin to that of a national anthem. But it is also indicative of a Cordillera music subculture that is quite different from the rest of the country.

But not only has country music become a major source of pleasure and entertainment, it has also been used to help people and promote certain causes. For instance, many indigent patients have been recipients of concert proceeds mostly by local country musicians. Country music has also been used to raise funds for chapels and other public buildings. This augurs well for a more cause-oriented future of the local music industry.

The members of the group of musicians who call themselves the Kinnoboyan Originals, Inc. are alumni of country music singing contests sponsored by the Mountain Province Broadcasting Corporation. *Kinnoboyan* is a word coined by locals to refer to a contemporary experience, that is, to behave like a cowboy. At the country music concerts, it may mean the willingness to sit on rough bleachers, or to squat on the floor if there are no more plastic chairs, or to wear boots, leather jackets, plaid shirts and a Stetson hat. It sounds so clear but not quite. "You can come to our house but you must be a cowboy," an invitation to the province may be so stated. It means a person should not to be too fussy about food, eating, sleeping and other domestic arrangements. It means the ability to adapt to local lifestyles, the ability to live well with other people of different folkways and dispositions.

Cordillera Musicians Sing Against Piracy

The major aim of a concert organized by the Cordillera Producers and Recording Artists Association is to raise some funds to finance what Jun Garcia, association head, calls a local anti-piracy campaign. Garcia says local piracy has so infested the local music and video market discouraging many of the recording artists and producers. Sendong Salvacio, a recording artist from the town of Bakun, Benguet and the night's emcee, also said the people's support against pirates will enable the local musicians to produce more original materials over simple adaptations. "We will be able to produce songs that speak of our own experiences," he makes the assurance.

Batawa

Batawa is a word in one of the Cordillera languages referring to the yard or space outside the house. Batawa is also the title of a song that has become popular seemingly because it deploys the catchy word. It has also been recorded by several artists. For several years, capitalizing on the popularity of the song, Batawa became the name of a country music bar in a street in Baguio where much country music singing still goes on. So while the local music producers label their albums as Igorot Country, Ibaloi Country or Kankanaey Country, these are done outside of the national capital Manila, and certainly outside of, and oblivious to

Nashville. That is why the popular song title Batawa, or outside of the house, is an appropriate carrier song for the local kind of country music production.

Appropriation of American Country

I submit that what is happening here are cases of appropriation and abrogation (Ashcroft et al. 2002). Appropriation is the use of the colonizers' musical language "to convey one's own spirit." And they create their own categories of country music: Benguet Country, Ibaloy Country, Kankanaey Country, Igorot Country. Abrogation happens in the Cordillera musicians' total disregard of copyright in the use of tunes, translated or adapted lyrics and even recorded accompaniments (minus one).

The songs then serve as forms of self-representation, as "revelations" of local, contemporary cultures. The song lyrics serve as a rich cultural resource on the contemporary life and psyche of a group of minority indigenous peoples who have also been appropriated and misrepresented by others.

History in Cordillera Songs

Rolando Tolentino (1999) says a cultural product may actually be the site of contest of at least three major periods of historical influences on Philippine life. I demonstrate that the form and content of Cordillera songs in general have been shaped and given flesh by the people's historical experiences. My main argument in relation to history is that, by drawing on and foregrounding past events as song materials, the contemporary Cordillera songs have the role of what Erlmann (1996) calls "present-ing the past." In general, the participation of the Cordillera people does not figure in Philippine national history.

Among the historical events and the peoples' corresponding responses used as materials in the songs include the following: World War II and other recent wars, the damming of rivers Ambuklao and Binga, the subdivision of the old Mountain Provinces, the Cordillera regionalization and autonomy issues, a strong earthquake in 1990, the state's punishment of crimes through the death penalty, and gold mining.

The 66th Infantry Battalion of the United States Armed Forces in the Far East (USAFFE) during World War II was composed mostly of Igorot soldiers. It is also in the Cordillera where the treasure-laden Japanese general Yamashita retreated and finally surrendered. The Cordillera region's mineral and forest resources have been mined and exploited during the last 50 years but the six provinces composing the region remain among the poorest in the Philippines.

The most significant event that has had a widespread impact on personal and community relations in my community (as well as in other places in the Philippines where soldiers were recruited and where the Japanese Imperial Army held camps) and that still lingers in the memory of community folks is World War II. Up to this time, two songs inspired by the war are still being shared and resurface during community gatherings. Two songs composed in 1945, although the recognized composers are already dead, have become the people's theme songs, a kind of repository of collective memory.

Guerilla warfare during World War II remains an important historical point in the memory of the villagers. Among the war-related experiences of the people include moving out of their homes and evacuating to other places, and to be conscious of and deal with other, foreign people. Many of the present social relations in the village have been shaped by the people's involvement and experiences during the war. Many of the elders in the community are war veterans and this contributed to their ascendance as civilian leaders. In fact, most of the present leaders in the region are scions of prominent WWII soldiers in the area. WWII has also emphasized American benevolence among the people, with some songs including lines of praise for America.

A period of reparation followed the war. The elders in my community remember reparation mostly in terms of foodstuff. They now regret not having demanded for longer lasting reparation goods. These past decades, however, the people have become very much aware of Japanese benevolence through the Japan International Cooperation Agency and other agencies which are actively engaged in assistance and development projects. Infrastructures such as school buildings, hospitals, roads and bridges as well as livelihood and cooperative assistance programs are all over the region. News of many Filipinos, some Igorot included, being sent for trainings and educational visits to Japan also figure in the local media. These, plus the popularity of Japanese technology and product brands, have possibly contributed to the production of songs more for entertainment than for the public expression of feelings of hate and remembrances of the horrors of war. Before, it may have been unthinkable to sing of the war in a fun way.

Certainly, the role of media in spreading awareness, knowledge and images of past and present wars cannot be overemphasized. Global media networks such as CNN and BBC have become the sources of images of war celebrities who are, to quote Anthony Giddens (1999), "more familiar than our next-door neighbor." By now, September 11, Osama bin Laden, the al Queda, the Abu Sayyaf, and Saddam, among others, have become household images and have immediately found their way into songs.

Space in Cordillera Songs

Tolentino says geography refers to the different spaces or locations implicated in a certain cultural product. This would mean the physical and psychological spaces that are mentioned in the songs. For instance, the spaces invoked and involved have to do with the notions of home, hometown or homeland and other places (far places, the city [Baguio], abroad). Notions of the local, national, international and global spaces then figure in many of the songs, particularly in relation to the overseas Filipino worker or OFW phenomenon.

With the creation of various levels of political boundaries by the Philippine state, including the creation of town, regional, national and international centers and cities, it has now become possible for the people to sing of moving from one space to another and crossing boundaries from one's home or *ili*. Baguio, Manila, the Ilocos, and other places abroad such as Hong Kong and Canada are implicated in the people's life map and songs. "Pride of Place" has long been a dominant theme in Philippine and Cordillera songs.

Home is often idealized in the Cordillera songs. In Josefa Ognayon's *Baley shima shontog* (Home in the mountains, to the tune of "Home on the range"), there is abundance of food at home in the mountains, there is perfect ecology. Aguilar Matsi sings, "At home in Tublay, I can find a woman who will truly love me."

With contemporary life no longer confined to one's village, the imagination of more space beyond one's place has become a possibility through travel and movement. And distance may have its effects on personal relationships, particularly love relationships, in the songs. In Ognayon's song *Karamak dibdibkanan* (Don't forget me), she says, "don't forget me wherever you may be." On the other hand, the space beyond one's community also offers other possibilities of more satisfying relationships than those that have failed in one's village. So Balag-ey sings, "I'm sorry that I may need to go to Batangas (a Southern Tagalog province) to look for a woman to marry, somebody whose language you may not be able to understand" (*Tatang ko, nanang ko*, Balag-ey, *Mr. Bisyo*).

The Igorot in/and Modernity

The pop songs show some of the ways by which the Cordillera people are confronting or dealing with change and modernity. The songs express their thoughts and feelings on education, religion, economics, marriage and the family, and the various configurations of

such institutions. The experience of change and development is often evaluated in reference to a certain past, such as when a song persona was younger, or when life was once either simple or hard. Raul Beray has two songs with such theme: "Our staple food used to be *dukto* (sweet potato) when there was no rice" (*Nonta kaootik ko* [When I was a kid], Beray, *Niman ja guara ka*).

Education

Education (*iskwida*) is sung about as very important. For poor families, it is the only inheritance that can be given to children (*Kaninin eh arem, eskuweda nin nemnemen* [Courting can wait, think of school first], Aguilar Matsi). Education is perceived as good for one's well-being (*pansigshan*) and to secure one's future. Therefore it should be earnestly pursued with utmost patience (*singsingpeten*) and must not be bungled as the biblical prodigal son squandered his material inheritance (*Nanang, si-kak gayam i nankamali* [Mother, it is I that made a mistake]*, Eskueda*, Raul Beray).

The songs also identify certain purposes of education that go beyond simply getting educated. One goal is so one can find an easy job (as against hard, manual farm labor), or for job application purposes (*Eskueda*, Beray). Another reason for getting an education, which is related to the idea of the need to travel as an aspect of living in modernity, is so one will not get lost anywhere he may go (as one may be able to read directions or ask questions in other languages). A more altruistic perception includes a social value of education. A person gets an education not only for himself but for the good of others and the community.

Education is pursued mostly in the city (Baguio) so that its pursuit can be distracted or destroyed by the other allures of the city (e.g., vices, *barkada*, peer pressure) that compete with a student's attention, allowance and tuition money.

Perceptions of the city are therefore ambivalent: nurturing the mind and corrupting character, comforting the broken-hearted and destroying commitments. The pursuit of education must also then take precedence over marriage.

Religion

Because of the potential implications of introduced religion on lifestyle, the attitudes toward it are also quite ambivalent. There are songs that advocate the acceptance of introduced, Western religion which includes getting baptized, praying and reading the Bible. There are others which advocate a middle ground: take on Christianity as a second religion, second to the traditional religion, as a form of social insurance (*Dakdake ay iyaman* [Kankanaey, Many Thanks], Joel Tingbaoen). Then there are songs that conflate the ideas of God and Kabunian (*Kedot*, Roy Basatan). And then there are ideas about sticking to the practice of tradition as a marker of identity, being Igorot (*Ogadi'n ebangonan* [Practice one has grown up with], Jinggo A. Calomente, *Nonta July 16, 1990*).

Certainly, introduced religion has not been met with full acceptance by all. The preference for and embracing one religion over another only foreground the various reasons or motivations for the choices made.

A different, Difficult Life

Many of the songs express the people's awareness of change, change in systems and modifications in lifeways. But the most noticeable change has to do with the economic difficulties that the Igorot, and Filipinos in general, are experiencing. This is not to say though that there was a time when they were in a better economic condition. In conversations with the people, anecdotes about a single centavo being worth something in times past would be compared to having a lot of money in the present but not being able to buy anything substantial.

Several songs foreground the difficulty of living in the present, and present fear as to what will happen in the future. The hard life is accepted as a valid reason for movement to other places in pursuit of gain or a better life (to meet basic needs) and thus separation from husband, wife, children and home. This resignation to overseas contract work and its corresponding personal and social costs are captured in a song (*Biyang ni enta pan-inaravian*).

The awareness of cross-cultural encounters once a person moves out of his/her own village is perceived to have some effects. In the aspect of a love relationship, this may lead to a change of heart, as in this song: "We were classmates. We used to put our lunch and papers together. When it rained, we shared your umbrella. One windy day, you even placed your head close to mine. But when you became a *marikit* [lady], you went abroad, to Canada. You came home and said you don't know me anymore. What did you eat, that you forgot me? What did you drink that washed my name away from you heart? *Ensahit nemnem ko* [my mind hurts]" (*Angsan et ngo* [That's too much], Balag-ey).

The difficult life is also offered as a good reason to doubt the practicality of and to forego the expensive traditional wedding feast (*kalun*) of carabaos, cows and pigs, or even a church wedding. Balag-ey challenges his fellow bachelors: "So men, if you like a girl, go ahead and tell her so you won't be like this old bachelor. Never mind the marriage feast because we have reached a difficult time. The registration of the marriage at the *munisipio* will suffice. For look at those who did not have a wedding feast, they have a good and happy family." Josefa Ognayon (*Rolan*) tells a man: "*No kastos mo ketekutan, niman kuno niti, eboliwan i ugadi. Angken papil basta mansinmekan kitten shili*" (If it's the expenses you fear, times/customs have changed. Even if it's just a piece of paper so long as we will love each other well). After attending an apparently expensive wedding feast, Marvin Thompson prays, "God, have compassion, return their expenses so they won't get too hard up" (*Pamahasha,* Farewell).

Aside from the economic reasons for moving or going away from one's ili, the songs also present other motivations for movement. One recurring reason is rejection by the women of interest in one's own hometown. So a guy goes to Manila, to seek comfort/consolation, in order to forget. "I'm leaving to look for a girl/ I tried looking for one here at home, but she is choosy, so what do I do? But I'm not blaming anybody, because I'm poor, and I'm not handsome either…/ I'll try Batangas/ Forgive me if I'll bring home someone whose language you will not be able to understand/ For our *kailian* (townmates) do not have mercy, they do not desire me..." (*Tatang ko, nanang ko*, Balag-ey).

The potential effect of distance, as a result of movement, on a love relationship is also expressed in another song (by RJ Mero: *No amtak ja en-aravika/ Eg taka koma sinsinmek* [Had I known that you were going away/ I shouldn't have loved you].

Reunions

The pursuit of better lives somewhere highlights the significance of family/clan reunions, calls and announcements for which now dominate the public service announcements sections of the local media. Such reunions are also now understood as the substitute for the traditional prestige feasts, but the reunion is more egalitarian because everyone contributes to the food.

For the people then, the family reunion has become a substitute for or a continuation of the expensive feast of old which was shouldered by a single person or family. Now the feast has become everybody's responsibility through a uniform (but negotiable) contribution of cash and rice. The participants are often advised during the reunion program to still attend despite the inability to give the contribution, as next year perhaps, when others are unable, then those who are able will pitch in for those who can't give.

The significance of reunions is also recognized as important at a time when people meet in the city assuming everyone is a stranger. Reunions make people realize that some persons

met in the city are actually relatives so that love relationships should be avoided, or in workplaces, infliction of violence should be avoided. Pertierra (1997) calls this the tendency to carry over village relations of personal reciprocation to the city where we deal with contemporaries and strangers, not village mates and consociates.

Family reunions have become an annual activity in many parts of the Cordillera, something unheard of (on radio) before the 1990s. The songs say it is good to have reunions. You'll get to know your kin and kindred, even from distant places. The significance of reunions is also recognized as important in a time when people meet in the city where everyone is assumed a stranger. Reunions make people realize that some persons met in the city are actually relatives so that love relationships should be shunned, or in workplaces, infliction of violence should be avoided (*Kasingsing*, Basatan). In my case community, a person reportedly boxed a cousin (as established in a recent reunion). The victim reportedly retorted by shouting, "Stop reunions!" (*Enog et reunion*).

The engagement of the people in politics has also made reunions a potential source of votes. Persons with political ambitions are now organizing reunions for the purpose of introducing themselves and courting the clan's or kin's support and votes. In my case community, however, election results have turned out to be independent of organizing or participating in reunions. This has led to comments by losing candidates to comment that reunions have no use (*enchi gayam ulog ni* reunion).

In reunions that I attended, some impromptu songs and speeches would carry these same ideas. The homecoming then becomes a song, and the song provides the rationale for the reunion. The songs about reunions capture the issues of diaspora and the need to connect to a home and people, and the sociality of individual pursuits in a modern world. And this is not an experience unique to the Igorot but to all people on the margins. Frith quotes Levine:

The blues allowed individuals greater voice for their individuality than any previous form of Afro-American song but kept them still members of the group, still on familiar ground, still in touch with their peers and their roots. It was a song style created by generations in the flux of change who desired and needed to meet the future without losing the past, who needed to stand alone and yet remain part of the group, who craved communication with and reassurance from members of the group as they ventured into unfamiliar territories and ways.

Love

There was a time when most marriages in my case community were contracted between two persons without a period of courtship. A man simply tells some elders that he wanted a certain woman, or he is asked by his peers and elders if he liked one woman, and they all go to ask or even pressure the woman to consent to a marriage. The idea of loving (*semek*) one's spouse is part of the advices usually given by the elders during the wedding feast. Every now and then this practice still occurs. Now the idea that love between two persons is the primary basis of a wedding or marriage is enshrined in the songs. Majority of the Cordillera songs are love songs. Frith (1996) says pop songs actually follow a love formula:

The pop song 'formula,' ... was indeed (as the Frankfurt scholars argued) an effect of market forces. But content analysis has consistently revealed the way in which the pop formula is also dominated by a particular sort of romantic ideology. The pop song is the love song, and the implication, putting these two findings together, is that what pop songs are really about are *formulas of love*.

One analytic strategy that can be adopted, says Frith, is "to argue that these romantic formulas (and, in particular, the way they change over time) somehow *reflect* changing social mores, and thus give us useful evidence as to how 'the people' regard love (and associated social mores)." In relation to this, Giddens (1999) says "Marriage used to be an economic phenomenon, now it's a matter of personal relationships. It means the emotional stakes in

finding a partner for life are that much higher...." The prominence of love, following Giddens, makes marriage an example of a "shell institution." "So while modern marriage can be more rewarding in terms of love shared, fragile emotions bring new anxieties that were alien to previous generations."

The Cordillera songs talk only about heterosexual love. This means the relationships desired are only those between a man and a woman, and it is the man who always initiates a potential relationship. One song complains about the burden of initiating a relationship falling on men: "Women have no problems. They don't need to worry. Men will run after them. They pretend (*mankunkunwari*, nagkukunwari) not to like you because they know it should be the men to make the first move" (Beray). This is not to say that the Igorot are not aware of homosexuality in their own community and elsewhere. I have also noticed several songs that seem to suggest that all persons, especially men, must get married, and staying unmarried is an unnatural and pitiable state.

Notice what formulas of love the Cordillera singers sing about. Some songs include metaphors used to refer to desirable women. A woman is often compared to a flower, *sabsabong* (Sabsabong, Beray, *Niman ja guara ka*; Sabsabong shi Bahong, Cesar Pasiw). Beray (*Marikit ka eshan na bee*, *Niman ja guara ka*) likens a woman to the moon that brightens the way at night, or like the sun (that warms the body, so that you will not feel cold). In *Flora, Talaw ni Karao*, Beray calls a certain woman a star that led many men astray (*shahel to inudaw*). Balag-ey sings, "Oh that you were a body of water. I'd pray to God to become a tilapia so I can swim in you…At night, you are my dreams, at work my thoughts (*Seppe, Mr. Bisyo*).

When a man gets old unmarried, it is entirely his fault. "He is unmarried because he is choosy. He is the one who changes his mind. Now he regrets not having children who will take care of him" (*Baludahin eg naasaw-an* (Unmarried bachelor), Balag-ey, Mr. Bisyo). Jacildo issues a warning with a song from a first-person point of view (*Dinivayan ko i kinabalbalo* [I remained a bachelor too long]): "I'm too old at 55. My hairline is receding, hair falling. When I try to court, they say I'm old and unable. Good if there is an aged woman who will accept me so that when December comes, I will not crouch so much. Brothers beware!"

On the idea that feelings or emotions belong to the realm of the private, the expression of private emotions in pop songs makes such emotions public. This also illustrates the idea of private feelings commercialized (Pertierra 1989). The popular song *Batawa* (yard, to the tune of John Denver's "I Walk in the Rain by Your Side") also illustrates an attempt to debate in public (through songs) these public expressions of what were hitherto considered private.

Conclusion

Although unoriginal in form, contemporary Cordillera songs constitute sign systems for several things. They point to difficult colonial experiences. The local languages used in the songs clarify the dynamic lived experiences of a people exercising their agency in an unevenly American-led globalizing world. We hear the voices of a people in the margins who cannot continue to be represented as frozen to a primitive past, even if perhaps their physical conditions still appear to be. In, other words, the songs constitute an "ethnography" of the producers' and consumers' own cultures. Hannerz (1987) says that "foreign cultural influences need not involve only an impoverishment of local and national culture. It may give people access to technological and symbolic resources for dealing with their own ideas, managing their own culture, in new ways...."

References

Appadurai, Arjun 1996 *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Mineapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.

Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin 2002 *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Attali, Jacques 1985 *Noise: The Political Economy of Music*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.

Chandler, Daniel, and Dilwyn Roberts-Young 1998 The Construction of Identity in the Personal Homepages of Adolescents (WWW document) URL: http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/short/strasbourg.html (07/07/2000)

Du Gay, Paul 1997 Production of Culture/Cultures of Production. London: Sage.

Erlmann, Veit 1996 *Nightsong Performance, Power, and Practice in South Africa*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Finin, Gerard 2005 *The Making of the Igorot: Roots of Cordillera Consciousness*. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Flores, Patrick and Cecilia Sta. Maria De La Paz 1997 *Sining at Lipunan*. Quezon City: Sentro ng Wikang Filipino, University of the Philippines System.

Frith, Simon 1996 *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Giddens, Anthony 1999 Runaway World. BBC Reith Lectures 1999.

Hannerz, Ulf 1987 The World in Creolization. *Africa 57* (4).

Lyle, Katie Letcher 1979 Southern Country Music: A Brief Eulogy. In *The American South: Portrait of a Culture*, ed. Louis D. Rubin, Jr. Voice of America Forum Series.

Maceda, Teresita 1980 Pop Music. In *International Popular Culture*. Fall 1980.

McLuhan, Marshall 1964 *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.

Pertierra, Raul 1989 The Practice of Theory and the Theory of Practice: Its Relevance for Philippine Studies. In *Diliman Review* (37).

Pienterra, Raul 1997 Global Localities: Toronto and the Filipino Diaspora. In *Australian-Canadian Studies*. Vol. 15, 2 & Vol. 16, 1.

Reyes, Soledad S. 1997 Ang Puno't Dulo ng Kulturang Popular. In Pagbasa ng Panitikan at Kulturang Popular, Piling Sanaysay, 1976-1996. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press.

Stokes, Martin 1994 Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place. New York: Berg Publishers.

Taylor, Timothy Dean 1997 *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets*. London: Routledge.

Tolentino, Rolando 2000 'Kung Hindi Ngayon, Kailan' Kung Hindi Rito, Saan Kung Hindi Tayo, Sino: Napakaraming Tanong at Isyu ng Tao at Lipunan sa Panitikan ng Pilipinas. *Linangan*. Seryeng Pampanitikan 1. Quezon City: Departamento ng Filipino at Panitikang Pilipino, University of the Philippines.

Who is European: A Case Study of The Irish Face in America

Gail Baylis

School of Media, Film & Journalism, University of Ulster, N. Ireland
g.baylis@ulster.ac.uk

This paper focuses on the transnationality of identity in terms of how Irish diasporic memory is functioning in a post-September 11th context. Here a distinction is made between Irish identity in Ireland and Irish-American identity. Drawing on current cultural studies' critiques, a further distinction is made; namely how the 'look' of Irishness is functioning as a sign for 'white' America (Negra: 2006).

In this respect, *The Irish Face In America* is an interesting text in that it exploits both the conventions of 'old' and 'new' photography. This study draws out the significance of these strategies in terms of constructions of Irish-American diasporic cultural memory as it is being currently formulated in a specific location; namely, a post 9/11 US context. Transnationality, in this instance works in two directions because a post-Cease-Fire Irish context is necessary for this re-imagining of the Irish terrorist. Through this case study of *The Irish Face In America,* I argue that photography is being employed to reify notions of roots and identity (Ireland and the Irish) that serve to obfuscate the challenges of multiculturalism in contemporary North America. European identification is, thus, refashioned to appease anxieties about authenticity and memory, and to articulate concerns about migration and integration.

Who is European: A Case Study of The Irish Face in America

Ethnicity, like many other aspects of cultural life, has become less 'rooted' in notions of Essence as it has become more commodified as a label to be a-fixed or negotiated in a global economy of throw-away signs.[1] Pierre Nora has noted how the concepts of memory and identity have undergone a radical "reversal of meaning" wherein what once referenced the individual now takes on the currency of the collectivity; the net outcome being "a way of defining *from without*" (2002, 6). The fashionable status that Irishness has acquired exemplifies this process of branding ethnicity as collective identity and cultural memory. The upsurge in Irish heritage culture has received considerable critical attention, with amongst others, Diana Negra defining Ireland as now serving as a "therapeutic heritage zone" for the US (2006, 358) while Roy Foster refers to the effects within Ireland as producing theme-park Ireland (2002, 23-36). The popularity for all things Irish precedes the attack on The World Trade Centre (September 11, 2001), and that legacy is acknowledged in this critique. Having said this, the focus of this inquiry will be a critical investigation of how the sign of Irish-American identity, and particularly photography's role in producing this, is functioning in a post 9/11 context in the US. The analysis that follows indicates that without this acknowledgement (how 9/11 is being memorialised) we fail to appreciate the utility value of current constructions of Irish-Americanism in a culture of remembering.

The speed with which images of the destruction of the Twin Towers circulated meant that the event took on a near-immediate global visuality. However, in terms of making sense of the meaning of 9/11 as 'national' catastrophe it may not be the immediate but the retrospective image that carries more weight. Susan Sontag claims that: "In an era of information overload, the photograph provides a quick way of apprehending something and a compact form for memorizing it" (2004, 19). Certainly, Joel Meyerowitz's monumental work *Aftermath* (an archive, a touring exhibition backed by the US State Department and a photo-text) memorialises the meaning of 9/11 as a heroic tale of endurance, recovery and redemption.[2] Likewise, *Here Is New York* (an exhibition, online site and photo-text) makes clear that its reference point is the destruction of the city and the human dimension in this.[3] What is notable in these two, in some respects very different forms of photographic practice (the majority of those who contributed to "Here Is New York" were amateur photographers and none had the unprecedented access to Ground Zero that Meyerowitz did), is how both ventures imply that photography is democratic. Such an equation with the medium may not be inconsequential in a context of the destabilisation of democratic 'righteousness' caused by the attack on the Twin Towers.

Marianne Hirsch notes how: "photography has emerged as the most evocative medium in our attempt to deal with the aftermath of September 11" (2002, 2). In this respect, photographs are central to the construction of 9/11 as cultural memory. But it is not only in the use of photographs that directly reference the aftermath of the destruction of the Twin Towers that negotiations are at play to invoke a collective cultural memory. For this, we also have to look at sites of popular culture and how photography is being employed to re-configure Americanism. One such text that illustrates these negotiations is the focus of this study – *The Irish Face In America* (2004). Of course, as Benedict Anderson (1983) reveals, all constructions of the nation are based on "imagined communities": such imagining is

---

1   See (Trifonas 2001) for a reading of Roland Barthes' *The Empire of Signs*. While Barthes draws on his experiences of disorientation in contemporary Japanese culture in this work, his arguments are applicable to late-Capitalist culture in general.

2   For the marketing of the work as such see (Kennedy 2003, pp315-326)

3   In terms of content, *Here Is New York* is surprisingly conventional, rarely departing from the familiar tropes of photojournalism to register catastrophe. Hirsch comments on this, noting that the photographs 'fit into well-known genres and evoke familiar tropes and symbolic motifs' (2002, 4).

concurrent on media representation. The Irish nation imagined in nineteenth-century Irish nationalism (within and outside Ireland) was, in the first instance, based on a sense of "lost unity", which gave rise "to an aesthetics of fragmentation, with debility and loss being positively valued" (Lloyd 2003, 160, 198). Diasporic consciousness, in this context, appears to be foundational for the Irish State to emerge. Where it will fracture in terms of Irish-American identity is in the interplay with another foundational nation myth (America).

Popular Culture: Negotiating Stereotypes

The Irish Face In America is a large-format, glossy photo-text, first published in the US in 2004. The inside leaf to the dust jacket informs us that there are "100 four-colour photographs", all of which are portraits. Accompanying each of the portraits is a narrative by the subject wherein they define their sense of Irish-Americanism. In some instances, the portraits are overlaid with quotes from these definitions. The portraits are further organised by the ordering of the book into four sections, each with an introductory essay by a well-known, successful Irish- American figure. In addition to this, the 'Introduction' is written by Pete Hamill (an Irish-American novelist and journalist) and the 'Afterword' by the author (herself an Irish-American writer on international business and culture) and the photographer, who though not clearly defined in terms of an Irish ancestry is supported by reference to his having taken many images of Irish scenery and as having an Irish-American wife. In short, anchorage is significant in establishing a preferred reading for how these photographs communicate: this is achieved on a number of levels - by the overlay of text on some of the portraits; by the accompanying subject narratives; by the section headings and section essay; and by the meta-frame of title, 'Introduction', 'Afterward' and sponsors (who include Kodak, Guinness, Irish Radio and numerous Irish-American organisations in the US). In all aspects, it becomes apparent; the text references its Irish-American credentials.

The Irish Face In America, as the title indicates, sets out to recognise the transnationality of identity as a current condition. Given its post 9/11 publication date its construction of ethnicity in relation to the US cannot escape some sort of acknowledgement of a collective memorising of that event, even though the photographs employed do not in overt ways recall that event. In this context, stereotypes of the Irish have little to do with Ireland but everything to do with assimilation narratives of the Irish-American. The issue, then, is not an assessment of how realistic or otherwise these representations are but to consider how stereotypes are being employed as transnational signifiers. We are presented with numerous tropes of the Irish stereotype: red hair, Aran jumpers, Irish Colleens, the Irish-American family, and so on. The cover-image condenses all of these ethnic registers into a single image of a freckled, fair-skinned, red headed, smiling young girl with hands on hips (who happens to be the author's daughter), dressed in a cotton sleeveless dress with applied fabric flower set against a slightly out-of-focus backdrop of rhododendron bushes. The fixing of the meaning of this image is furthered by the anchorage of the title of the text, which is superimposed on the girl's torso. By such means an essentialised look serves to construct Irish-Americanism as a sign of innocence and naturalness.[4] Such stereotyping, while having scant relevance to post-Celtic Tiger Ireland, is highly conducive to the needs of white America's self-definition, which, in a post-9/11 context, is preoccupied with both revisiting assimilation narratives and asserting a recovery myth as a return to innocence.[5]

The cover image offers a good illustration of the overall semiotic register of this text as a whole. The text's relation to post 9/11 discourses, however, well repays further investigation.

---

[4] The bodily stance (female hands on hips) is reminiscent of countless historical representations of the Irish Colleen. The posture serves to indicate Irish femininity as natural, rural and foremost, innocent. For an account of a photographic precursor and its continuing circulation (see Baylis 2007, 29-30).

[5] See (Negra 2006, 354-371) for an account of this occurring in a range of other popular sites.

In terms of its use of the photograph, *The Irish Face In America* is an interesting text in that it employs some of the earliest conventions of photographic portraiture and also the stylistics of current imagining technologies. In the following sections attention will focus on the effects of this use of photography and how it works to support a narrativisation of the past that specifically references the context of post 9/11 US. In this context, looking back is for the present.

Physiognomic Registers and Familial Stories: Diasporic Postmodernity

Physiognomy, the Victorian pseudo-science of facial features, served to render 'normative' categorization systems. That it was deeply embroiled in the production of racial ideologies is indicated both by the stereotype of the Irish as inferior race in British imperial rhetoric (Curtis Jr. second ed.1997) and in early representations of the history of the Irish in America (Ignatiev 1995). The 'whitening' of the Irish as outlined by Ignatiev (1995) involved a shift in representational signs. Physiognomy, then, might appear an unlikely discourse to employ in a text that focuses on the Irish-American but its utility value is clearly indicated in a number of ways: by the title of the text, the way the photograph is constructed (of which, I will elaborate on later) and by the emphasis given to it by Hamill in his introductory essay to the work. Significant here is both his recourse to physiognomic analogy and the near identical phrasing he uses to invoke this (both at the beginning and close of the 'Introduction'). This physiognomic summation is also quoted on the back dust jacket.

> Of one thing I'm certain: there is no such thing as an Irish face, yet I know one when I see one … Their faces tell us, in some mysterious way, that they are all part of the same tribe ellipsis. The Irish in America, like the Irish in Ireland, have paid all the dues necessary for such knowledge [*overcoming adversity*]. There is no such thing as an Irish face, but I know one when I see one. (Mc Namara and Smith: 2004, 7, 9)

The contradiction inherent in Hamill's characterisation is, I would argue, essential for this text to operate in the context of white identity politics in the US post 9/11. The fact that the assertion that "there is no such thing as an Irish face" and "I know one when I see one" is repeated points to its oxymoronic value.

There are two interpellations at work here: firstly, the promotion of the idea of Irish-American identity as a distinct ethnicity and secondly, and at the same time, the placement of the text as open to adoption for 'white' America. This entails drawing on ethnic stereotypes (the text, as noted, abounds with the exploitation of such physiognomic registers) but also, employing strategies that are not limited to this; not all the people photographed look stereotypically Irish. There are a few portraits that register physiognomic hybridity, but these are rare: the overarching 'look' of the text is a signifier of 'whiteness'. In this way, the text can nominally appeal to multiculturalism while offering access to a white assimilation myth. The choice of portraits in *The Irish Face In America* thus serves to be fluid enough to both construct ethnicity and mark that as an open white attribute.

And here there are certain affinities with the in-vogue notion of deterritotization. Hamill's conflation of notions of diaspora/tribe indicates the bricolage that the text attempts to produce in its rendering of diasporic status as a fashion identity accessory. James Clifford notes how this sort of appropriation has become pervasive.

> Tribal cultures are not diasporic; their sense of rootedness in the land is precisely what diasporic peoples have lost. And yet, as we have seen, the tribal-diaspoic opposition is not absolute. …In the late 20th century, all or most communities have diasporic dimensions (moments, tactics, practices, articulations). … it is possible to perceive a loosely coherent,

adaptive constellation of responses to dwelling-in-displacement. The currency of these responses is inescapable. (1994, 310)

Diasporic status can now easily slide into an equation with the postmodern citizen where its source need no longer reside in a distinct geographical a priori but in a tenet of sensibility. Arguably, what is witnessed in current post 9/11 reconfigurations of the notion of white America (that that previously did not need to define itself) is the sense of "dwelling in displacement". This sense of decentredness may, in part, explain the continuing popularity for all things Irish.

But, there is something else going on here too; diasporic status has acquired savoir-faire. The claiming of diasporic identity has come to override the classic American immigrant narrative in which "the canonical three generations struggled through a hard transition to ethnic American status" (Clifford 1994, 311).[6] The label Irish-American insists on dual ethnic identification rather than the transfer from one to the other (as in the classic American immigration narrative). Claims to diasporic identity, thus can chime well with a culture of postmodernism: "because the signifier *diasporic* denotes a predicament of multiple locations, it slips easily into theoretical discourses informed by poststructuralism and notions of the multiply-positioned subject" (Clifford 1994, 319). Diasporic identification has come to serve as a metaphor for the "modern, transnational, intercultural" cosmopolitan, postmodern subject (Clifford 1994, 319). In this climate identification with Irishness need not be based solely on strong genealogical ties but can be an adoptive preference based on ethnic cache.

In drawing on the conventions of the family album, *The Irish Face In America* both affords space for the consumerist postmodern fluid subject who adopts varying identity positions and at the same time emphasises genealogical analogues as a support for its reading of ethnicity (the family album is the picture-book of the family's history). In this way it allows access to those both with and without direct connections to Irish ancestry by its reference to the family as a universalised concept. This humanistic idea figuratively affords consoling genealogical access. That we are intended to read the text in terms of the family album is indicated in a number of ways: by the choice to adopt of the portrait format, through the stress placed on the importance of family as an ethical-ethnic quality (Irish) and in the overall format of the text. Cumulatively, the portraits serve to evoke the family album by appearing in book form rather than in electronic format. The visual and tactile quality of this text (its use of the portrait format and size) mimics the Victorian family album, which itself was based on the format of the family Bible, of which it offered a secular variant as a way of telling stories that construct a history of lineage.

What is of note in this type of adaptation is the "strikingly anodyne nature" of the way that Ireland is conceptualised, which allows Irish connections to serve as a "consoling ethnic category" and "a way of speaking a whiteness that would otherwise be taboo" (Negra 2006, 355). The family constructed in *The Irish Face In America* is highly conservative, selective and clearly white (the large, close-knit supportive unit that serves as bedrock for communal values).[7] The family portraits in this text exploit a number of tropes, of which the most notable are the emphasis on largesse and closeness. For example: Peter Casey appears with his family (five children and his wife) spaced along an impressive neo-classical staircase in a

---

6   Clifford in his account of diasporas, and revealingly in his only reference to the Irish, recognises that immigrants from Ireland and central, southern, and eastern Europe were racialised but he also notes how 'European immigrants have, with time, come to participate as ethnic "whites" in multicultural America. The same cannot be said, overall, of populations of colour …' (1994, n8, 329). What is of note in this assimilation myth is how it privileged the immigrant of 'white' European stock. The history of Irish assimilation in America avers with Clifford's reading.

7   This is implicit through textual anchorage (the accompanying narrative by the subject) even in portraits of individuals.

clearly opulent house. The portrait is backlit to emphasise the light and openness of the space, as home (this image would not be out of place in an interior home magazine). Overlaid on this portrait is a quote from Casey that states: "Being Irish is an invaluable asset in this country"; presumably this is meant to account for his success and the smiling faces of all the family members (McNamara and Smith 2004, 177). Caroline Sweeney's narrative is accompanied by a family portrait, which is headed by the text: "My husband is the seventh son, and we have seven sons" ((McNamara and Smith 2004, 209). The construction of the photograph promotes the idea that the Irish family adheres to traditional values and that it is in essence, natural. This stereotype is spatially asserted in the photograph by the symmetrical arrangement of the subjects; this serves to produce an interlocking unit (the grandparents and grandchild being positioned as the central nexus) – all smile directly to camera, indicating the conventions of the formal family portrait.

As a 'coffee-table' book, *The Irish Face In America* is, as with the family album, associable with the domestic sphere. The construction of the family, which the family album both represents and endorses, is based on the myth that it provides a space outside the political. However as Judith Williamson outlines, the formal family portrait (taken by a professional photographer) is always intended to serve as a record of the family's respectability; in this, its remit extends the private (1984, 19-22), as is evinced by these public photographs in *The Irish Face In America*. As with the process of constructing the family album, these portraits are highly coded and serve a selective purpose in producing a limited narrative of family, history and ethnic roots. The effects are to "distinctly fetishizes heritage physiognomy" and to imply a "'democratic' Irishness": the latter achieved through the "mixing of its profiles of celebrities with profiles of 'regular' people throughout" (Negra 2006, 17, n.10). By drawing on the conventions of the family album the text can both expound traditional family values and obfuscate the political dimension in its reading of ethnicity. The means by which a discourse of '"democratic" Irishness' is achieved in the photograph is through a process of isolating. These photographs are of individuals, the pair or the selected family unit. While the text can thus appear to be expansive in the number of photographs included, and in the choice to represent people from diverse occupational fields, age ranges and from across the US, there is little sense of registering multiculturalism outside the Irish signifier.

What is also of note is how social attributes are rendered within a physiognomic schematisation to function as ethnicised traits of ethical and moral stature. In this, the text is thoroughly conventional in its drawing on Irish stereotypes such as the presumption that the Irish have an innate proclivity for self-expression, which is exhibited through a love of dance, music, storytelling and sociability. These are the clichés of tourist iconography. Among those profiled are: Michael Flatley (creator of Riverdance), traditional Irish dancers, numerous musicians, actors, writers, and poets. Jim Flannery, a Yeats' scholar and tenor informs us: "In the bardic tradition, the Irish have always been artists and scholars – complete people" (McNamara and Smith 2004, 128). Flannery is located in a setting (presumably his study) that serves to endorse his cultural capital.[8] He is surrounded by scholarly works, art objects and is posed seated with arm resting on an open piano. Peter Quinn and Tom Quin (both in the literary profession) declare: "The essence of being Irish is the stories you absorb as a child, the ceaseless stream of words flowing through your brain from the first moment of unconscious perception, words sung, spoken, strung together in poems, speeches, prayers, games, and curses" (McNamara and Smith 2004, 53). Such rhetorical essentialising fits well the stereotype of the Irishman as having the 'gift of the gab'. The Quins, dressed in smart-

---

8   Bourdieu (1986) in *Distinctions: A social critique of the judgement of taste* analyses how cultural capital operates.

casuals, are posed father hand on son's shoulder in an outdoor autumnal location: the image would not be out of place in current tourist literature promoting Ireland.

Co-existing with this construction of the Irish-American as 'Celtic' is a constant emphasis on Irish-American success as stemming from hard work, motivation, a highly developed sense of equality, and a strong commitment to family and community. Such ethnicisation is given further ethical resonances by the section divisions of the text. The four sections are: 'Culture And Entertainment' with an introductory essay by Patricia Harty (editor of *Irish America Magazine*) entitled "The Irish Influence on Music, Culture, and Literature in America"; "Public Service" (essay: "The Aspiration to Serve: Irish Americans in Public Service" by Terry Golway, a journalist and writer); "Success" with the introductory essay "Succeeding through Hard Work and Education" by Don Keough, former President of Coca Cola; and "Generations" for which the introductory essay "The Everlasting Importance of Family" is co-authored by Mary Higgins Clark and Carol Higgins Clark, mother and daughter, and both novelists.

Genealogy, here, is attributed ethical and moral dimensions through recourse to traits that clearly echo the promise of the American Dream. Irish-American achievement is thus rendered the outcome of intuitive qualities and communal openness that is fostered by the 'American way'. As with the genealogical industry in general, *The Irish Face In America* works "to define a specific 'Irish Americanness' that negotiates social memory to produce a coherent and consoling sense of heritage" (Negra 2006, 4). However, stories of roots, the family and lineage are never solely private affairs. In "From Home to Nation", Annette Kuhn outlines how personal memory slides into collective retelling and reciprocally how notions of the nation implode on personal identity formation (1995: 2002, 147-169). *The Irish Face In America* exploits such procedures while not acknowledging them in its implicit acceptance of hegemonic Americanness as a mark of Irish-American identity.

The Irish Face in America as Photo-Memory Text

The aim of the text is to represent current Irish-American identity but to do this it bases its credentials on the past. The use of photographs in this context clearly accords with the "language of memory", which "seems to be above all a language of images" (Kuhn 2000, 188). To this end, it does not employ historical photographs (a common procedure in popular histories of the Irish in America) but, instead, adopts current media, namely digital technology. These photographic portraits are in high-saturation colour and are clearly posed and manipulated to create an aesthetisation of an ethnic 'look'. Although not taken in a studio, Smith's photographs clearly draw on the conventions of studio portraiture in terms of lighting, framing and overall composition. The stylistic choice of poses, props, dress codes and a range of location-backdrops serve to provide a 'modern' gloss to the honorific function of the studio portrait. While such deployment might suggest a move towards naturalness this is clearly modified by digital intervention.

Much has been said about the affects of New Media on memory and how new imagining culture challenges notions of authenticity (Baudrillard [1981] 2006; Nora [1984] 1989; Jameson 1991; Huyssen 1995). However, the effect is not that the new media takes over the old but the calling into play a "relationship across media" wherein "one media never simply replaces another" (Flew 2002, 2). This cross-referentiality of media forms may be particularly applicable to memory accounts, which are "always discursive, always already textual" (Kuhn 2000, 189). High-saturation colourisation is the hallmark of digital media: what it produces is a colourised memory. The outcome is not, however, one way. The "'mediation of memory' equally refers to the perception of media in terms of memory as well as to the perception of memory in terms of media" (Van Dijick 2004, 272). Recognising this is central to

understanding how photography is operating in *The Irish Face In America.* The outcome is affective; in that stylistics are working to produce modern memory culture.

However, the use of digital technology in the production of these portraits does not eradicate a faith in photographic realism. The portraits in *The Irish Face In America* while being clearly manipulated still look like photographs – we read them as being of real people. Where this impacts on memory is in a shift from a faith in indexicality as equivalent to the real to an acknowledgement that memory is constructed through media and reciprocally media is mediated by the dictates of modern memory formulations. The outcome is:

> Memory, as a result, may become less a process of recalling than a topological skill, the ability to locate and identify pieces of culture that identify the place of self in relation to others. The mediation of memory, in other words, is as much a creation as it is a re-creation; in a postmodern, technological culture, memory and media are intertwined beyond distinction. (Van Dijick 2004, 272)

In terms of Irish-American diasporic memory both artifice and affectiveness suit the needs of modern memory culture in that those now claiming Irish-American identity are usually either third or fourth generation descendants of immigrants (Rains 2003, 197) or of mixed white ethnicity who choose to associate themselves with the popularity of the Irish label (Rains 2006, 155-156).

These groupings, in large measure, have no direct recall to Ireland as homeland. Ireland as a geographical lived-space, in this context, shifts to a spatialisation of Ireland as a constructed idea for those who choose to claim it as part of their identity. The outcome for current constructions of Irish-American diasporic cultural memory is that: "this negotiation, and all that it entails for the construction of Ireland within the global narrative, must also take place primarily through the production and circulation of narratives and images" (Rains 2003, 197). *The Irish Face In America* clearly partakes in the production of both. When remembering can no longer be first-hand, narratives and images come to fill those gaps for memory culture. The enthusiasm for remembering, in this context, is not personal memory but the construction of memory culture. What is sought in these instances is not actuality or the authentic *per se* but tokens to negotiate present experience in a US content. *The Irish Face In America* is particularly adept in recognising this through its use of the conventions of 'old' and 'new' photography. Artifice, in this context, speaks both of an acknowledgement of temporal dislocation and also of strategies to promote a sense of spatial integration.

Post 9/11: Remembering through the Irish Signifier

One of the outcomes of 9/11 was a registering of anxiety about the, usually taken for-granted status of whiteness, for white identity groups. The problem posed by this awareness for white identity is the very basis of its privilege: in that, "white power secures its dominance by seeming not to be anything in particular"; at root its source is a void (Dyer 2002, 126). Here, Irish-American diasporic memory, through its ability to draw on a victimhood history, is particularly conducive in assuaging 'white' US's sense of trauma post 9/11. Claiming Irish connections can hold, as Negra points out, a value as a location where whiteness can be celebrated "in ways that would otherwise be problematic" (2006, 15). The ability to draw on a victim history allows Irishness to appear as both innocence and egalitarian. It serviceableness as part of a post 9/11 American recovery myth lies in its adaptive potential for constructing collective cultural memory as a story of blameless endurance and overcoming adversity.

Recourse to history in *The Irish Face In America* illustrates such appropriation. In numerous narratives that accompany the portraits reference is made to Irish history and the early experiences of the Irish in America. Terry Golway's essay for the 'Public Service' section makes this historicizing explicit. He defines Irish-American ethnicity as deriving from

having, "heard and answered a call to serve", a trait directly linked to a history of oppression: to "the communal life of days gone by in rural Ireland, where neighbor helped neighbor as each scratched out a living on rented land"; this legacy is directly linked to "an oppressed people sharing common burdens" (McNamara and Smith 2004, 68). The evocation of Famine memories and those of evictions is here not hard to find, nor is the assumption that the Irish experience is equivalent to the experiences of all oppressed peoples.[9]

Such drawing on a reservoir of diasporic cultural memory corresponds to a post 9/11 sensibility in the US that involves a re-configuration of whiteness as victim credential. Richard Daley, Mayor of Chicago, is photographed in his mayoral chambers with a commemorative plaque of the city of Chicago given prominence. The quotation that is overlaid on his portrait states: "We welcome the immigrant who comes to this country seeking the same freedoms our ancestors sought…. This is not just an Irish dream. It's the American Dream" (McNamara and Smith 2004, 75). This recall to history is an assertion of victim credentials that serves to bolster the notion that the Irish-American is naturally multicultural. Daley's rhetorical conjoining of the 'Irish dream' and the 'American Dream' indicates how such conflations can be particularly useful in a 'nation-building' recovery narrative.

The source of whiteness' "representational power" lies in its ability "to be everything and nothing"; such opaqueness allows it to operate as a signifier that "both disappears behind and is subsumed into other identities" so that "sub-categories of whiteness … take over". The outcome is that the "particularity of whiteness itself begins to disappear" while at the same time retaining its authority because of the inability to locate the source where this power emanates from (Dyer 2002, 127-8). Irish-American ethnicity is useful in a climate of political correctness because it can be employed as a bolster for white privilege through the positioning of it as an equivalent for all marginalized groups. White experience, while not announcing itself as such, thus assumes a universal signifier. This claim to multicultural authority is based on a selective recall of history where "forgetting is as socially structured as is the process of remembering" (Urry 1996, 50). It also indicates how ethnic labels can fabricate essence[10] and how such labelling "is determined not so much by the nature of its referent as by its semiotic function within different discourses. These various meanings signal differing political strategies and outcomes. They mobilize different sets of cultural and political identities, and set limits to where the boundaries of a 'community' are established" (Brah 1992, 130-131).

Terhi Rantanen (2005, 95) maintains that "diasporas challenge the way we think about nation-states and their homogeneity". The significance of victim diaspora ethnicity is, as noted by Robin Cohen (1997), a particular form of diasporic identity. This status is of relevance to how Irishness as a semiotic register is being employed currently in the US.[11] As indicated by close analysis of *The Irish Face In America,* notions of heterogeneity and homogeneity have to be looked at carefully, in order to evaluate how diasporic identification is being employed in the context of both specific cultural locations and in relation to a range of discursive enunciations. Victim diasporic ethnicity, in its current expression as Irish-

9   Here, it needs to be noted that the text produces a singular reading of Irish history, largely stemming from nineteenth-century Irish nationalist rhetoric. Alternative traditions of Irish-Americanism (Protestant-Irish-British) find scant acknowledgement in this generic historicizing.

10   Claims to European ethnicity, of which Irish is the most fashionable in the US at present, can remain 'merely a way to reassert a lost innocence and still benefit from the privilege of whiteness' (Eagan 2006, 27). Current interest in claiming ethnicity can, Gitlin proposes 'offer whites "pride and victimization, assertion without the need for defensiveness"' (Gitlin 1995, 139 quoted in Eagon 2006, 28).

11   Cohen defines a victim diaspora as a 'dispersal from the original homeland, often traumatically' (1997, 26) as opposed to 'diaspora of active colonialisation' (1997, 2). He lists a number of features that define diasporic identity: current Irish-American formulations do not fit into all of these categories (1997, 27). This is, in large part, due to the current diasporic positionality of the Irish-Americans in the US; a positioning that concurs with, what Cohen terms a 'cultural diaspora' (1997, 128).

American identity, can be a useful tool for the nation-state to recoup an identity as heterogeneous, plural and democratic while masking those attributions as being exclusively 'white'. As, Atvar Brah points out: "diasporic or border positionality does not *in itself* assure a vantage point of privileged insight into and understanding of relations of power. … Rather, there are multiple semiotic spaces at diasporic borders", and I would argue more so for third or fourth generation descendents of immigrants who are now claiming diasporic ethnicity (2007, 289). Catherine Eagan usefully clarifies how: "Memories of the Irish experience of prejudice in America, both real and imagined, have no parallel in the modern-day Irish American experience" (2006, 26) – claims to multicultural inclusivity ignore this reality. And, as Brah goes on to elaborate, "the probability of certain forms of consciousness emerging are subject to the play of political power and psychic investments in the maintenance or erosion of the status quo" (2007, 289).

The call to diasporic positionality in *The Irish Face In America* is a positioning that leaves whiteness as privilege intact; in this, this text serves to bolster the status quo by functioning as a reactionary diasporic identity, even though victim diaspora status may have been the initial impetus. The impression of range in this text is beguiling: while subjects appear in a variety of clothing styles, poses and locations, the overall impression (created by sharp focus rendition of the body) is of contained corporality. Bodily decorum, a hallmark of physiognomic structuring codes, slides here into the remit of the arena of the advertising image – physiognomic register and interpellation come to reside in the potential to partake in commodity ethnicity. Such marketing fits well a desire post 9/11, for a recovery myth that seeks to reinstate the body as a source of control. When direct references are made to 9/11 in *The Irish Face In America* these tend to be found in the accounts of those who have formally been employed in the police and firefighter services or by those who have generational links with these occupations (and predominantly these recalls voice male memory). Links are also made to the traditions of Irish-American culture in the honouring of the dead of 9/11; again the reference is one of a predominantly public, male heritage.

In contrast, those represented as currently serving in the police and firefighter sectors make no direct reference to 9/11 but it does emerge in other ways: namely, through how subjects identify their Irish-American ethnicity, through a 'white' signifier, by topographical location (all of those who are represented in these occupations are situated in New York), the use of props and the signifier of uniform to indicate strict bodily control. The portrait of Kathy Kelly, a New York police officer, is set against the backdrop of a New York skyline. This backdrop, while indistinct is clear enough to evoke memories of what is missing from that skyline. Kelly's narration of her ethnicity situates it as deriving from an inheritance of having a clear sense of right and wrong. Such ethical clarity is attributed to an intuitive egalitarianism and natural multiculturalism: "My heritage has helped me socially and, more importantly professionally. This strong intuitive sense of people also allows me to serve the community" (McNamara and Smith 2004, 93). Ethnic 'roots' are positioned as a version of 'white' multiculturalism that lays claim to ethical integrity.

Dan Meyer identifies his sense of Irish-American identity as deriving from his Irish-American family and the Irish community in New York. Meyer, like Kelly, makes no direct reference to 9/11 but it emerges clearly in the way that the photograph is constructed. Meyer appears in full uniform, smiling and meeting the viewer's gaze through the window of a City of New York firefighter wagon. The framing of the shot includes enough of a commemorative logo to include both the date 9-11-01 and the text "MEMORY OF FALLEN HEROES", and the insignia of the American flag (McNamara and Smith 2004, 99). These visual signs lead the viewer to read the image and Meyer's narrative in a context of the meaning of 9/11. The outcome is that the portrait partakes in the heroising narrative of 9/11, which involves a re-

assertion of traditional masculinity as white, blue-collar, patriarchal and Eurocentric. [12] Equally, in the portrait of Gerry O'Hara (another New York firefighter) the framing is conscious. On either side of O'Hara are two American flags affixed to the firefighter wagon. The relationship between him as central focus and these framing borders works to code Irish-American identity and American identity as implicitly white. O'Hara asserts: "My background led me to this job" (McNamara and Smith 2004, 109).

Irish-American diasporic cultural memory could not operate in this way without a corresponding post Cease Fire (1994) context in the north of Ireland. Allan Sekula in "The body and the archive" reveals how "semantically interdependent" are notions of the lawful and lawless body, and the role that photographic portraiture, from its earliest days, has played in producing these distinctions. According to Sekula, the formal portrait (family or mug shot) is mutually encoded; the law abiding body (signifying bourgeois/white containment) recognises itself in its obverse (the criminal body) – what is revealed, and must be disavowed, is "its own acquisitive and aggressive impulses unchecked" (1986, 15). The need to produce notions of lawful and lawlessness are particularly clear in post 9/11 US foreign policy. Without a corresponding post Cease Fire context in Northern Ireland, the unruly body of the terrorist (as Irish) would undermine this narrativisation of white bodily containment – in this context Irish-American identity can be seen as an antidote to the current construction of the terrorist in the West – the Islamic 'Other' body (not 'white').[13]

The field of memory studies makes clear that the past is a narrative: "what we call the past is merely a function and production of a continuous present and its discourses" (McDowell 1989, 147 quoted in Hirsch and Smith 2002, 9). Ethnic identity in a globalised culture both has the ability to be re-Essentialised and deterritorized and sometimes be combined as such. In the context of the production of such narratives, the digital image "like nineteenth-century photography … too, is western-eyed" (Robins 1996, 58). It is no longer possible to speak of media and memory as being two distinct practices and just as media partakes in processes of commodification, so too is cultural memory commodified. Ethnic identities are not fixed and static; they are transcribed by transnational flows that undergo processes of apophasis contingent on cultural needs.

This study has sought to analyse what are those cultural needs in terms of the production of a text such as *The Irish Face In America*. It has emphasised the vital role of photography in the production of a collective imagination for 'white' America post 9/11. When we acknowledge that visual culture is now our 'everyday life' (Mizeoff 1998, 3), then, the use of the photograph becomes significant. However, this is still an area that is not always given full consideration in critiques of global identification and diasporic positionality. Photographs do not merely reflect pre-given identities, nor do they offer transparent access to a past that we can remember; rather, photography is a key component in the construction of modern diasporas and current identities. Both cultural memory and identities are: "the product of fragmentary personal and collective experiences articulated through technologies and media that shape ever as they transmit memory" (Hirsch and Smith 2002, 5).

---

12 See (Negra 2006, 359-363) for an extended discussion of the role that Irishness is serving in the remasculinisation of American culture. The inclusion of Kelly (a white, female police officer) might appear to counter my reading of the re-masculisation of American culture in 'white' terms. However, Kelly's portrait can be seen as partaking of the text's avowed aim to create a sense of inclusivity. As one, token woman, she does not override what is a clear outcome of 9/11 memory in the US; namely the remilitarisation of American culture in male terms.

13 While there was notable Irish-American investment in a solution to the 'problem' in the north of Ireland, sections who may have sympathised with the cause of a United Ireland seem to have notably decreased post 9/11. This may, be in part, a reaction to the current construction of the 'terrorist without'. It would appear that in this climate that the figure of the Irish terrorist has to be recouped to afford the construction of a 'white' victim narrative post 9/11.

References

Anderson, Benedict (1983) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, London: Verso.

Baudrillard, Jean ([1981], 2006) *Simulacra And Simulation,* translated by Sheila Faria Glaser, Michigan: Anne Arbour: University of Mitchigan Press.

Baylis, Gail (2007) 'Imagined Narratives: Photography and the Construction of Diasporic Cultural Memory', in Ni Eigeartaigh, Aoileann, Kevin Howard and David Getty (eds) *Rethinking Diasporas: Hidden Narratives and Imagined Borders*, Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, pp. 20-30.

Bourdieu, Pierre (1984) *Distinction: A social critique of the judgement of taste*, translated by Richard Nice, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Brah, Atvar (1992) 'Difference, Diversity and Differentiation', in Donald, James and Ali Rattansi (eds) *'Race', Culture and Difference,* London: Sage, pp.126-145.

Brah, Atvar (2007) 'From *Cartographies Of Diaspora: Contested Identities*', in Rossington, Michael and Anne Whitehead (eds) *Theories Of Memory: A Reader,* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp.286-289.

Clifford, James (1994) 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology: Journal of the Society for Cultural Anthropology,* Vol. 9, No.3, pp.302-338.

Cohen, Robin (1997) *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Curtis Jr, Lee Perry (second edition 1997), *Apes and Angels: The Irishman in Victorian Caricature*, Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Dyer, Richard (second edition 2002) 'White', in Dyer, Richard *The Matter of Images: Essays on Representation,* London and New York: Routledge, pp.126-148.

Eagan, Catherine M. (2006) "Still Black' and 'Proud": Irish America and the Racial politics of Hibernophilia', in Negra, Diane (ed.), *The Irish in Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture,* Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp.20-63.

Flew, Terry (2002) *New Media: An Introduction,* London and New York: Oxford.

Foster, Roy F. (2002) *The Irish story: Telling tales and making it up in Ireland,* London and New York: Penguin Books.

Jameson, Fredric (1991) *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism,* London: Verso.

Hirsch, Marianne and Valerie Smith (2002) 'Feminism and Cultural Memory: An Introduction', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society,* Vol. 28, No. 1, pp.1-19.

Hirsch, Marianne (2002) 'The Day Time Stopped', *The Chronicle Of Higher Education,* 'Review Section', January 25; rpt. http://chronicle.com, pp.1-5.

Huyssen, Andreas (1995) *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia,* London and New York: Routledge.

Ignatiev, Noel (1995) *How the Irish Became White,* London: Routledge.

Kennedy, Liam (2003) 'Remembering September 11: photography as cultural diplomacy', *International Affairs,* Vol. 79, No. 2, pp.315-326.

Kuhn, Annette (1995, new edition 2002) *Family Secrets: Acts of Memory and Imagination,* London and New York: Verso.

Kuhn, Annette (2000) 'A Journey Through Memory', in Radstone, Susannah (ed.) *Memory and Methodology,* Oxford and New York: Berg, pp.179-196.

Lloyd, David (2003) 'The Spirit of the Nation', in Connolly, Claire (ed.), *Theorizing Ireland*, Houndmills, Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp.160-172.

McNamara, Julia and Jim Smith (2004) *The Irish Face In America,* New York: Bulfinch Press.

Mizoeff, Nicholas (1998) 'What is Visual Culture?', in Mirzoeff, Nicholas (ed.), *The Visual Culture Reader,* London and New York: Routledge, 1998, pp.3-13.

Negra, Diane (ed.) (2006) *The Irish In Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture,* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Nora, Pierre ([1984] 1989) 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Memoire', *Representations,* 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7-25.

Nora, Pierre (2002) 'The Reasons for the Current Upsurge in Memory', *Transit: Europaische* (Tr@nsit-Virtuelles Forum, No. 22; http://www.iwm.at/t-22txt3.html), pp. 1-8.

Rains, Stephanie (2003) 'Home from Home: Diasporic Images of Ireland in Film and Tourism', in Cronin, Michael and Barbara O'Connor (eds), *Irish Tourism: Image, Culture and Identity,* Clevedon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Channel View Publications, pp. 196-214.

Rains, Stephanie (2006) 'Irish Roots: Genealogy and the Performance of Irishness', in Negra, Diane (ed.) *The Irish In Us: Irishness, Performativity, and Popular Culture,* Durham and London: Duke University Press, pp.130-160.

Rantanen, Terhi (2005) *The Media And Globalisation,* London: Sage.

Robins, Kevin (1996) *Into the Image: Culture and Politics in the Field of Vision,* London and New York: Routledge.

Sekula, Allan (1986) 'The Body and the Archive', *October 39*, pp. 3-64.

Sontag, Susan (2004) *Regarding the Pain of Others*, London: Penguin.

Trifonas, Peter Pericles (2001) *Barthes and the Empire of Signs*, Cambridge: Icon Books.

Urry, John (1996) 'How societies remember the past' in Macdonald, Sharon and Gordon Fyfe (eds) *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in a Changing World,* Oxford: Blackwell, pp.45-68.

Van Dijick, Jose (2004) 'Mediated Memories: Personal Cultural Memory as Object of Cultural Analysis', *Continuum: Journal of Media & Cultural Studies,* Vol. 18, No. 2, June, pp.261-277.

Williamson, Judith (1984) 'Family, education and photography', *Ten 8*, No. 14, pp.19-22.

Reappropriation of an Alienated Space

Commitment to a Cultural Heritage Project
from within the Lifeworld

Håkan Berglund-Lake

Department of Humanities, Mid Sweden University, Härnösand, Sweden

hakan.berglund-lake@miun.se

During the last few years an EU-project is in progress in the former sawmill community of Marieberg, near the outflow of the Ångerman River. The purpose of the project is to preserve and protect the physical traces of industrial activities at the place, and bring them to life. The project was created and is carried on by inhabitants of the place; in other words, the preserving activities occurred, and still do, in the life-world of people living at the place. My focus is on the consequences of this preserving work. I use a phenomenological approach to elucidate how people from within their lifeworld, not only struggle to preserve the cultural heritage *per se*, but struggle to preserve the sense of the place as their own.

Reappropriation of an Alienated Space

Commitment to a Cultural Heritage Project from within the Lifeworld

Not far away from the outflow of the Ångerman River, the Marieberg sawmill was established in 1862. The place was carefully selected considering the excellent harbour condition of the place. The sawmill was founded during a period when the expansion of the sawmill industry was most intensive. In the area one of the largest sawmill district in Sweden was situated with approximately forty sawmills running at the same time, producing enormous quantities of wood products for the world market. As a consequence of the industrial production with its need for manpower, small communities were arising around the sawmills with dwellings and schoolhouses, later also with village shops, association premises, sports grounds, etc. It was a prospering community until far into the 20th century. But in the beginning of the 1970s the story came to an end when the Marieberg sawmill was closed down. The closure was an effect of the decline of the forest industry in the entire industrial district of the Ådalen valley, which Marieberg was a part of. During this time the journalist and writer Mauritz Edström, born and raised in the district, visited this area and noted in melancholy: "He who remembers the clouds of smoke [from the pulp factories and saw mills] and the swarming crowd of people in the 30s and 40s, the journey in the Ådalen of today is like travelling among ruins, in the poetry of disintegration" (Edström 1978:59, my translation). This retrogression has proceeded without compensation from any new industry establishing in the area.

Like most of the places abandoned by the industry, the majority of the buildings in Marieberg have been pulled down, and the machinery has been dismantled and carried away. Remaining at the place are overgrown foundations, sunken barges, and piles putrescent in the water left to corruption. There are only a few traces reminding of the industrial activity at the place. Depositions of the industrial activity exist in the landscape only as fragments of an epoch gone by for ever. Yet, in a comparison with other former sawmills and sawmill communities, Marieberg stands out from the rest. Here you can find, among other remains, a whole housing environment of workers´ barracks complete with storehouses preserved from the end of the 19th century. These characteristics have motivated the Västernorrland county administrative board to appoint Marieberg to a cultural reserve in the spring of 2004. However, the county administrative board did not take the initiative to preserve the buildings; there was an initiative taken from persons living at the place. A few years before, an EU project called Köjaviken Cultural Heritage was set up, with the purpose to preserve and protect the physical traces of the industrial activities at the place and bring them to life.

There are many similar projects going on in Sweden. It seems to be generally held that this commitment to the cultural heritage of the industrial society is an outcome of a feeling that we have left a historical epoch behind us. Scholars preoccupied with issues on modernity usually describe this phenomenon as a consequence of the quest for roots, permanence and predictability in a society where people experience insecurity, fragmentation and boundlessness.

However, my concern in this article is not to scrutinize whether this view offers an explanation to the causes of the increasing commitment to the cultural heritage. Thus, my aim is not to analyze what the place is as an idea, a cultural construction or as a narrative. Instead, I will illuminate what consequences the preserving work will have for people living at the place. I will use a phenomenological approach to elucidate how people from within their lifeworld, experience and treat dilapidation, erosion, and destruction of a physical environment, which they are tied to with strong feelings of connectedness and belonging. Expressed in another way, this article is not about the struggle to preserve the cultural heritage

per se, but the struggle to preserve the sense of the place as one's own, which of course should not be taken literally. It is possessions we call ours, regardless of whether they imply a legal ownership or not. As Edward Casey remarks, "it is more deeply a question of appropriating, with all that this connotes of making something one's own by making it one with one's ongoing life" (1987:191-192).

The following discussion is based on interviews with inhabitants of the place, the project leader, and members of the board of the local history association. Moreover, the discussion is also based on my own experiences of Marieberg from being there in person. In my encounter with people, things and the physical environment of the place I have tried to expose myself, through my body and senses, to the possibilities and the limitations that everyone lives with in his or her quest to sustain life at the place.

Caring of One's Own House

It is now more than thirty years since the Marieberg sawmill ceased to run. At the same time more than a hundred workers, all at once, became unemployed. Unfortunately, no other jobs appeared in exchange. Nevertheless, the village still exists; the sawmill is gone, but people are still living at the place. In fact, there are many of them, both survivors and people who have moved in.

People stick to their house and place, not under compulsion, however, but at their own options. There is always an option to move to other places where jobs are offered. As has already been noted, many choose to live at the place and make use of the opportunities that they consider exist within their reach. For example, people support themselves by combining different sources of livelihood, like casual works, long-distance commuting, jobseeker's allowance, social allowance, early retirement pension, change of work duties, and self-sufficiency (cf. Hansen 1998). There is always a matter of guaranteeing the influx of ready money to the household, and force the expenses down.

Obviously, people live in Marieberg. Most of them live in owner-occupied houses, which are situated along the lane through the village. The houses are cleaned, repaired, rebuilt, enlarged, and repainted; the gardens are looked after, and the fences kept up; things are put in order; rubbish and lumber are burned or carried away; firewood is carried home, cut, split and piled. What we observe is a constant occupation with things, which make everyday life work. However, this caring in quotidian life, as Kimberly Dovey notes, "is more than just a utilitarian concern". "It is through this concerned involvement that our world is disclosed and appropriated" (1985:37). In other words, by cleaning, moving, repairing or storing things, people appropriate the place; that is, make it one's own.

This process of making something one's own, by investing work into a place, leads the thoughts to Karl Marx' account of labour. He notes that in the process of making a material object, or cultivating land, time and energy will be put into it; the maker will experience the object "as natural prerequisites of himself, which constitute, as it were, a prolongation of his body" (Marx 1964:89). For phenomenology, this is "a kind of incorporation of the world into our selves" (Dovey 1985:37). William James discussed this linkage in a similar vein. He said that "a man's Self is the sum of all he CAN call his", which includes not only his body, but also "his clothes, and his house, his wife and children, his ancestors and friends, his reputation and works, his lands, and yacht and bank-account" (1890:291).

Thus, experientially, people are not able to abstract the physical environment from themselves. That is to say, the places one acts in and upon, like the things one uses, "merge with and become indispensable parts of one's own being" (Jackson 2002:66). In sum, the attachment to place is experienced as an extension of the self. However, this does not mean a static entity, but an ongoing dialectic. Our relationship to the place is always lived, "animated and reanimated by the presence of the lived body in the mist" (Casey 1997:241).

However, the process of appropriation is not delimited to a private sphere; it also extends to a wider area, which not necessarily is about work but still implies bodily involvements. Through the familiarity of routinely walking the same routes, and by sojourning in the public area of the community people will appropriate it. After all, much has been changed in the public environment of Marieberg, which I soon will return to. When the sawmill was running, there were lots of landmarks, nets of routes and boundaries, which people had active relationships to in their daily movements away from home and back again, in their continuous movement between private and public realms.

In these movements certain buildings or other physical objects become points of reference and orientation because of their constancy and their immobility, experienced as pre-established and inert. This substantiality and tangibility made it possible for the inhabitants to encompass their everyday world in a design of entrances and exits, borderlines and passages, between different places, spatialized in varying layers of anonymity and intimacy.

But the question is; what happens to people when they are facing the decline and erosion of the common space, a physical environment so obvious and self-evident to everybody living at the place? What happens when ties to the public space are radically changed because of the sawmill production has ceased, acquaintances have moved away, buildings have been abandoned, industrial premises have been demolished – when "all that is solid melts into air", to use a phrase from Marx (Berman 1982).

Alienation from a Familiar Space

In spite of the fact that people to a large extent stay on in Marieberg, there are more people who move out of than into the village. There is a decrease in population, which has now gone on for a long time. Only 60% of the dwelling houses are places of residence throughout the year, while the remaining are summer places. Thus, only a small number of the dwellings are completely abandoned. People with ties to the place refuse to sell. Instead they keep the houses as summerhouses, which they maintain and take care of, and in that way they preserve them.

Yet, empty and abandoned houses exist. There are houses where the facing paint flakes, the roof leaks, the railing disrepairs, and the garden becomes overgrown. However, the decay is worse in territories once owned by the sawmill company, and which at the present time are owned by persons living in some other places. They constitute a sphere in which local people have no rights or powers. Such territories make up a space where "they" don't do anything.

As a matter of fact, when a property is never used and is never taken care of, brushwood, bushes and grass will soon take over. Before the EU project was started in Marieberg, this process had gone on for a while without any measures from the owner. What we can see happen to abandoned places is that they draw rubbish and lumber from other places. Under the cover of thick vegetation, and owing to the marginalization of the territory, dumping grounds for rubbish, scraps, and garden wastes appeared at many spots in the area.

These processes of decay, overgrowing with bushes, and expanding dumping grounds, I think erode the sense of belonging to the place. The familiarity of the place where one lives is shattered. It is a loss shared with others. People feel that they have lost a familiar part of their material environment but also a vital and intimate part of their personal lives. This will be seen as an attack on places they call their own, and an insult to the self. People feel like victims of foreign forces outside their governance.

In spite of that, few people complain. The prevailing behaviour has for a long time been to turn one's back to it, avoid talking about it, and to make detours passing by. I think these are strategies to delimit the suffering from loss. People try to regain some sense of control by shutting their eyes to the fact, albeit imaginative and illusory. "This denial of reality", as

Michael Jackson points out, "is as much a coping mechanism as 'facing' or 'accepting' reality" (2005:109).

When the project was started local people had for a long time turned their backs to large areas, which they considered were beyond their opportunities to exert influences on. Typically, in such situations people tend to withdraw and retreat to their houses, as places of intimacy and privacy, which they can trust and manage.

Reappropriation of Common Space

The most impressive building in Marieberg is the former managing director's residence, in popular parlance called the Castle (*Borgen*), which changed hands in the end of the 1990s. At this point the building was in bad condition. Shortly, the new owner realized that almost every building in the village from the sawmill epoch was in great need of renovation. At the same time he received information about a possible way to get funding for projects with aims to use remains from former industrial activities in order to stimulate new businesses and spirits of enterprise. Simultaneously, he succeeded to involve members of the local history association in the matter. An application was formulated and handed in. Soon the application was accepted, and means for the project were granted. The purpose of the project was to prevent the buildings at the place from disrepairing: in the first place the old workers' barracks from the 1870s. Moreover, in the buildings the plan was to start new activities as a museum, a café, a hostel, artist studios, and art galleries, in an attempt to attract visitors to the place.

However, most of those living at the place did not seem to be particularly interested in becoming part of a tourist resort. Yet, there were always many people who attended when the project leader called them to work, to clear, to burn or carry away rubbish and lumber, and to restore – activities that demanded a great deal of work. Thousands of hours of unpaid work were put into these activities. Obviously, people commit themselves when they observe that something was done with the physical environment. As a consequence of the efforts, it is now possible to view the water from the lane through the village, to berth boats at a functional landing stage, and to be spared to witness how the buildings gradually are collapsing. My point is that the driving force for people to commit to the project is not based on an interest in preserving survivals from times gone by, nor in supporting entrepreneurships at the place, but based on the need to reappropriate the space that they for a long time have been alienated from. Hence, they want the houses and places in the communal space to be regenerated, and by that augment the space for life for those living at the place.

This is what we can see happen in the project. But just before the project was brought to a close, the people committed to the project, and also everybody living at the place, were hit by information from the authorities. It was found out that the land was polluted. The statement was felt as a backlash, as a throwback.

Backlash

The clearing of the brushwood had been done within a strip of land, 1 500 metres by 200 metres, between the lane through the village and the river. That is the area where the former sawmill production took place, and where the timber yards were spread out. Within this area there is only one building remaining from the sawmill epoch, the drying house, where the boards and planks were quick-dried. During the period of the project the drying house had been thoroughly restored and transformed from a blot, or eyesore, for the village, to a handsome building, giving room to artist studios, and art galleries. In the area footpaths and information boards had been prepared, narrating the history of the place.

Just before the period of the project came to an end the Kramfors municipality took on the responsibility for the environmental control of the area where the sawmill was once located.

With the purpose to form a basis for the future planning and use of the territory, the properties of the ground were carefully investigated. Unfortunately, the result of the investigation revealed frighteningly high levels of environmental pollution in the drying house and in the ground where the warehouse for boards, the timber yards and the sawdust dump had been situated earlier (Sweco viak 2005). Until further notice, the authorities prohibited all activities at the place, which implied that the drying house with studios and art gallery had to close, and guided tours in the area had to cease.

Undoubtedly, the ground is polluted, which all involved - authorities, property owners, associations and individuals - have to handle in one way or another. All agree that the existing circumstances require a thorough decontamination of the drying house and the ground in different spots in the area. But the question is in what way and for what purpose. Obviously, the perspective differs concerning who the observer is. From the horizon of the local residents, as has just been mentioned, the necessity to carry out the decontamination is fully realized. They can also accept that they will be prevented from the use of the area more or less permanently. Apart from the undesired consequences this will have for the enterprising at the place, the prevention from the area has no apparent effects on people's everyday life: they have no claims to be able to physically stay inside the former sawmill area, except when they need to pass through in purpose to reach the waterside. Nor do they consider the contamination as a threat; undesired of course, but not threatening. Indeed, the contamination has been a part of the place for more than half a century. People have lived with it without being affected. A previously executed sample shows no extra absorption of toxic substances in the bodies of people living at the place, and in the bodies of people who during the last twenty years have regularly sojourned in the area of the former sawmill.

In the writings of the investigators we find another emphasis. The environment of the place is described as polluted and less predictable. It is a discourse conveying a sense of environmental disaster, a continuing process of uncontrolled contamination, which may be said is given moral meanings besides its biological properties (Innerstedt 2007). The manner to term the area polluted and by that condemning it, effects how the area will be appreciated by prospective visitors and others. The local people are afraid that this attention on environmental pollution in the place will give rise to an adverse image of Marieberg which will stigmatise the village as a risky, dangerous and undesired place to stay in and to live in. This is an image that the local residents do not recognize and refuse to bear (Sahlén 2007).

Faced with the disparaging rumours, and the uncontrolled spread in other places and in other contexts, people are standing defenceless, without any possibilities indeed to do anything; they just have to treat the consequences. Thus, what is considered uncontrollable for the local people is not the environmental pollution, but the expected spreading of negative rumours that the discourse of contamination may give rise to. Today, in the encounter between authorities and the local people, there is an ongoing struggle for preferential right to speak and define concepts of reality, which we not yet can predict the outcome of. For people living in Marieberg, it is a matter of being able to exert influences on how the area is described. Ultimately, it is a matter of refusing others, outsiders from a distance, without any concrete attachment to the life lived in Marieberg, to reach a position with power to determine the destiny of the place.

References

Berman, Marshall 1982. *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. London: Verso.

Casey, Edward 1987. *Remembering: A Phenomenological Study*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Casey, Edward 1997. *The Fate of Place: A Philosophical History*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.

Dovey, Kimberly 1985. "The Quest for Authenticity and the Replication of Environmental Meaning." In David Seamon & Robert Mugerauer (eds), *Dwelling, Place and Environment: Towards a Phenomenology of Person and World*. Dordrecht, Boston & Lancaster: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

Edström, Mauritz 1978. *Mitt Ådalen*. Stockholm: Liber.

Hansen, Kjell 1998. *Välfärdens motsträviga utkant. Lokal praktik och statlig styrning i efterkrigstidens nordsvenska inland*. (With an English summary.) Lund: Historiska Media.

Innerstedt, Fredrik 2007. *Föroreningen sitter i väggarna. En kvalitativ undersökning av ett textualiserat f.d. sågverk*. (Unpublished master thesis.) Gothenburg: Gothenburg University, Department of Conservation.

Jackson, Michael 2002. *The Politics of Storytelling: Violence, Transgression, and Intersubjectivity*. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Jackson, Michael 2005. *Existential Anthropology: Events, Exigencies and Effects*. New York & Oxford: Berghahn Books.

James, William 1890. *The Principal of Psychology*. Vol. 1. New York: Henry Holt.

Mariebergs f.d. sågverk. Fördjupad förstudie. Sundsvall: Sweco viak (29 november 2005). [Cit. Sweco viak 2005.]

Marx, Karl 1964. *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Sahlén, Jan 2007. "Marieberg – bästa miljööffret i Sverige." *Tidningen Ångermanland*, the 4th April 2007.

Uniting the Two Torn Halves – High Culture and Popular Culture

Ana Clara Birrento

University of Évora, Portugal

acbirrento@netvisao.pt

In a time when an on-going process of global restructuring affects all the social, political and economic structures and processes, in an era of choices, of liquidity and of ambivalence, one critical issue emerges from all these restructuring processes: the central role of Humanities and particularly the role of literature. The aim of this paper is to relate the study of literature to the study of culture, bearing in mind that literary texts codify patterns and structures of feeling, becoming creative, ethical, aesthetic and political projects. By reading the literary texts in a practice of aesthetic and political concerns we put into perspective what seems to be the two torn parts, the two antinomies: high culture and common culture, in an inclusive process of the ideas, attitudes, practices, institutions, structures of power, economy, sociology, history, as well as the cultural practices, the artistic forms, the texts and the canons.

Half a century after the founding fathers had grounded their practices on the intellectual ferment of the New Left, interested in questions of class, culture, democracy and socialism in the context of the history of the English working class, Cultural Studies has developed as a significant new academic discipline, well established in the *curricula,* especially in the English-speaking world, where it has attained legitimacy, and has revealed an openness to a range of complex cultural and social issues, producing innovative studies on representation, knowledge, ideology, identity, gender, class, etc.

The epistemological shift to a postmodern structure of feeling with its rejection of truth and of tradition, the increasing significance of heterogenization and localization in relation to identities, to youth culture, to music, to dance, to fashion, to cite only a few, expanded and disseminated Cultural Studies, turning it into a cornucopia, using Morley's metaphor (2001), of critical agendas which have, to a great extent, revised the study of culture as a totalising, whole way of life, valuating the study of the production of cultural objects, the study of the content of these cultural objects, the study of their reception and the meaning attributed to them.

The reduction of a practice of Cultural Studies to the knowable terrain of the popular narrows in and places a lot of interesting work outside the range and the scope of the foundations of Cultural Studies. As Grossberg (2006) writes, the growing into maturity of Cultural Studies, to whose emergence and development popular culture has been central, meant the multiplication of its borders and its affection by contiguous disciplines, academic and non-academic institutions, political movements and projects and creative practices of many kinds.

Cultural Studies practitioners and theorists have argued against this reduction and inversion of values; among them, David Morley, who, in 2001, explained that the state of British culture is one of profound ambivalence

> surrounding the repeated calls for 'some' return to established or traditional cultural identities (Morley 2001: 9)

In fact, the critical turn of Cultural Studies to the popular seems to forget that in spite of the differences between Williams, Hoggart and Thompson,[1] their legacy is the stressing of ordinariness of culture as well as the creative and active capacity of people to construct shared meanings and practices, which can be found in the practices of everyday life, but also in the literary realm which has been ignored in the past years.

The diverse critical agendas seem to have been reducing the study of culture to the study of the popular, no longer centred on the signifying practices of a working class culture, on the common meanings, but constituted through the production of popular meaning located at the moment of consumption (Barker 2000:47); it is a study which, according to some authors,[2] diluted the "truly popular culture" in a populist celebration of popular forms.

The relations of knowledge, culture and power which have always been reinvented in the diverse theories and practices during these 50 years now seem to be tangled in the web of the

---

1   In *The Uses of Literacy*, Hoggart explores the character of English working class culture, first from his memories of his own upbringing, giving a detailed account of the lived culture of the working class, its authenticity; Thompson stresses the active and creative role of the English working class in the making of their own history and Williams defined culture as the everyday meanings and values as part of a totality.
2   Cf. Simon Frith. 'The Good, the Bad and the Indifferent: Defending Popular Culture from the Populists' – 'what's at stake in exploring popular cultural values is not just something out there (in the body), but involves a common culture, something in which we share, in the mind as well' Jim McGuigan. *Cultural Populism*. (1992).

popular as a radical, political project where "the symbolic experiences and practices of ordinary people are more important analytically and politically than culture with a capital C" (McGuigan 1992:4).

I am not defending an elitist, academic discourse and practice, nor am I depoliticising or aestheticising popular culture. On the contrary, as I wrote in 1999, (almost ten years ago) at the International Conference "English in the World – New Directions", in a paper entitled "The tables have been turned - academic culture and the need to turn outside" the teaching of literature in this globalized world will have to engage in a new strategy, where there is no separating out of academic culture from the personal and social agency outside. It was a proposal towards the need of changing teaching practices, methods, contents and contexts, in such a way as to give place to both the still active remains of older practices of high, academic and learned culture and to the changing cultural representations of contemporary society.

The need to write again on the re-centring of literature in a cultural studies practice arose from the recent and unexpected success of the Master's Degree in Contemporary Literary Creations, offered by my Department. This led me to think of a critical perspective in the analysis and in the teaching of literature, more specifically of English literature, which might reconcile the literary canon with cultural practices, following on the steps of Williams, who, unlike Grossberg's opinion,[3] was able to articulate the study of literature with the study of culture, because he has

> grasped the fundamental relation between meanings arrived at by creative interpretation and description, and meanings embodied by conventions and institutions. (Williams 1961:56)

At the threshold of revision, I would propose a call for some return to the founding grounds of Cultural Studies, finding a renewed future for the discipline and new profiles of hope in the tenses of our imagination, re-centring and repositioning literature, rearticulating it with the cultural analysis of all forms of signification.

In literature we find the lived experiences and contexts of a particular period, in it we find the recorded culture, the dominant and the emergent structures of feeling – the culture of a period. In literature we find all elements in solution, keeping them alive and active in human and social relationships.

In a time when an on-going process of global restructuring affects all the social, political and economic structures and processes, in an era of choices, of liquidity and of ambivalence, in Bauman's words, literary texts are still changes of presence which codify patterns and structures of feeling (Murdock 1997), becoming creative, ethical, aesthetic and political projects.

To read literary texts in a practice of cultural studies is to put into perspective what seems to be the two torn parts, the two antinomies, inaugurated in the English thought by S.T. Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle, Matthew Arnold and F.R. Leavis. In fact, it is a practice that simultaneously integrates and excludes some of the propositions contained in the pompously called discipline of *English*, in an effort of opening new perspectives and horizons to the limits imposed by this ideological apparatus which excluded all social or cultural practice from the academic context. Truly, it is a practice that considers art as a human activity that reflects society, but also an activity that

---

3   Cf. Grossberg, L. Introduction to *Bringing it all Back Home* (1997). Duke University Press, Durham and London.

creates, by new perceptions and responses, elements which the society, as such, is not able to realize. (Williams 1961: 86)

In the artistic lies the creative capacity of the author in making an experience knowable to the others and thus create a community of knowledge and power. The double articulation of literature and of culture as simultaneously the field from where analysis starts – the object of study – and the field of critical intervention enables us to understand the culture of the common meanings and the culture of the special processes of discovery and of creative effort – in other words, the arts and the learning.

The storehouse of canonical cultural and literary materials represents the regulatory, golden standard of a certain cultural currency by which the humanities and their productions are measured. But to research, in the pursuit of knowledge, should not be only contained in the pursuit of perfection, in the knowledge of the best that has been written or said, we have to be able to identify ourselves with the experience, with the ways of thinking and with the situation described by a certain author in a certain time and space.

This critical stance brings together what the historical developments of the modern thought have separated in the relation between culture and society, as if these were two antagonistic terrains, where the high, elitist culture was divorced from the individual and social experience, ignoring thus the representation of experience and of the structures of feeling – of the specific feelings and rhythms as well as of the conventions and institutions.

All forms of cultural production should be studied in relation to the social structures, as well as to the structures of power, and to the artistic, aesthetic foundations in an interdisciplinary, transdisciplinary perspective, diluting the tension between aesthetic and political or ethical and personal instances.

> (…) we find ourselves moving into a process which cannot be the simple comparison of art and society, but which must start from the recognition that all the acts of man comprise a general reality within which both art and what we ordinarily call society are comprised. We do not now compare the art with the society; we compare both with the whole complex of human actions and feelings (Williams 1961: 86/87).

In my argument, I will, briefly, refer to the narratives of literary and cultural studies, to find a possible answer to the needs and feelings showed, at the interview, by the applicants to the referred Master's Degree. Theirs was the wish to study literature as a literary creation and also as a representation of individual and social experience, a producer of meaning; theirs was the aim at researching the individual, imaginative and creative account of the writing process, and the "particular kind of response to the real shape of a social order" (Williams 1983).

Their expectations have opened the path to many questions. In a world where the image is a consciousness maker where does literature lie? I was quite surprised, I must say, to feel the need in these young men and women of a returning to the several layers of meaning of the word literature: letter, word, reading ability and reading experience, imaginative creation, discourse, representation and signifying practice, envisaging literature not only as a category of use and of condition, but also as production. They were looking forward to studying literature "in some integrated way (…) without any prior separation of private and public or individual and social experience" (Williams 1983).

Put before this reality, my question was – which paradigm was I going to adopt in my seminars? Which authors? Was there a label or a definition for contemporary English literature? Should I teach "knowing in new ways the structures of feeling that have directed and now hold us", or should I teach "finding in new ways the shape of an alternative, a future that can be genuinely imagined and hopefully lived" (Williams 1983)?

Stressing the importance of our tenses of imagination (Williams 1983), I hesitated between tenses, in the wish to bring together the past, present and future critical agendas and grammars of literary and cultural studies, embedded in the two major modern developments regarding the study of literature and culture: the aesthetic, imaginative paradigm, founded by Aristotle's notion of 'imitation' and the ethical, political one, founded on Plato's concept of representation.

The interplay between the imitation of reality and the representation of reality, together with experience, is of critical importance for creative practices; the experience of the world is given significance and is shaped by the creative act of writing, but the understanding of the world is only realised through the process of communication of experience. As Keith Negus and Michael Pickering (2004) explain, there is a need for creative experience to be recognised, because

> conceiving the experience in this way means that we cannot confine creativity to the artist or the cultural producer alone. Creativity entails a communicative experience which is cross-relational. It is an intersubjective and interactive dialogue bringing its participants together in the activity of interpretation, exchange and understanding (Negus and Pickering 2004: 23).

Without communication, without discursive alliances between author, text and reader, where the aesthetic is given the same importance as the cultural and the social, the creative process is never complete. In 1961 Williams suggested that an artist only succeeds when he conveys an experience to others in such a way that

> the experience is actively re-created – not contemplated, not examined, not passively received (Williams 1961:51).

The elevation of literature to the status of a major art in English Studies, an elevation which established it as an ideological apparatus, helped the humanist hegemony of literary studies, attributing to them a normative primacy over all other cultural expressions, becoming the kernel of modern education. It was a hierarchy formed within particular social and historical contexts, as representative of a set of aesthetic criteria.
As Williams points out

> It was certainly an error to suppose that values ar art-works could be adequately studied without reference to the particular society within which they were expressed, but it is equally an error to suppose that the social explanation is determining, or that the values and works are mere by-products. (Williams 1961:61)

Literature and by culture, viewed as the form of human civilization, as the "best that has been thought and said" (Arnold 1932) was the high point of civilization and the concern of an educated minority. This process projected literature not only into categories of selectivity, into a body of knowledge of the canon of a great tradition, with an essential English character but also as a human experience, segregating the field of expertise of aesthetics (beauty, goodness and value) from all other activities (Easthope 1991).

The cultural turn of literary studies had a future, when Williams and Hoggart brought literature outside the walls of the academy, profiting from the best of the intellectual work and bringing it to a space of discussion and confrontation; they fought against the idea that the culture of the academy rhymes with vulture or sepulture, using Williams's metaphor in "Culture is ordinary"(1958).

Literature became one of the objects of study of cultural studies, considered not as a product of elite, but rather as a reflex of a whole way of life, to which many political projects

have contributed.[4] Refusing the role of literature as an absolute value of the arts and of the culture, Williams focussed his analysis on literature as a discourse and as a form of signification within the means and the conditions of its production.

In *The Long Revolution* (1961), Raymond Williams recurrently used literary texts in order to produce meanings, in the representation of realities and of experiences considering literature and culture within the real social context of our economic and political life (Williams 1961) and showing that literature takes the reader beyond itself, as discussions about literature quickly turn into deliberations about the world they represent.

> To study the relations adequately we must study them actively, seeing all the activities as particular and contemporary forms of human energy. (…) It is then not a question of relating the art to the society, but of studying all the activities and their interrelations without any concession of priority to any one of them we may choose to abstract. (Williams [1961] 1965: 61-62)

The first story of cultural studies concerns the move from perceiving culture as the arts to seeing it as being ordinary and common. The second story concerns the place of culture as a signifying practice in a social formation and in its relationship with other social practices, namely economic and political (Barker 2000).

Understood from this point of view, it is easy to make our postgraduate students follow an agenda and research the literary texts in a dynamic process, overcoming the limits of the literary, heading towards the territories of cultural criticism, in a recognition that art and society can be articulated, mediated by the polarity of the literary paradigm and the polarity of the cultural paradigm. Discussions in the seminars evolved around and revealed the interest in literature in its simultaneous capacity of dealing with the intellectual, imaginative, aesthetic and artistic life, normally more individual, and of articulating social sensibilities and experiences. Students' creative capacity to understand that the arts are part of our social organization and that the selection and interpretation they made of the literary texts embodied their attitudes and interests made clear that we must make a turn in the methods of teaching and of understanding literature, considering it an important element in the making of meanings out of our experience, since it is through it that we achieve communicative value (Negus and Pickering 2004). By linking art and everyday life, we have to consider literature as a realm that does not transcend life, and by doing this we are grasping

> the fundamental relation between meanings arrived at by creative interpretation and description, and meanings embodied by conventions and institutions, we are in a position to reconcile the meanings of culture as 'creative activity' and a 'whole way of life', and this reconciliation is then a real extension of our powers to understand ourselves and our societies' (Williams 1961: 56).

Williams was surely right, the reconciliation of the creative activity with a whole way of life enables us to understand ourselves and our society. We can not see literature as only belonging to any canon or museum, in the abstract, as we can not lose ourselves from the sense of what connects ordinary experience and the expressive configuration of its aesthetic dimensions. There has to be an intrinsic connection between creative practice and everyday life, in a process of reconstruction and articulation of cultural power.

Are researchers and practitioners of Cultural Studies willing to bring literature to the centre, reinventing it within the cultural, the educational and the political frames and

---

4   Projects that range from Cultural Marxism, to Structuralism, *Post*-Structuralism, Anthropology, Sociology, Feminism, Postcolonialism, etc.

determining the modes how the intimate relationship between textual and cultural analysis is to be understood? It is a question of uniting aesthetic values with ethical and political components in an interpretative effort of bringing together the literary and the cultural paradigms; high and low culture should not be separated cultural realms in terms of institutions, discourses, research and practices, there should be no moving away from the theoretical high ground or from the empirical flatlands (Nowell-Smith 1987).

As Williams did (1961), what I wish to do is to describe some possible ways forward and ask for these to be considered in an open discussion in order to keep the revolution going. I would like to end by saying that my students are now well aware that scholarly literary knowledge of the aesthetic value and quality of literary works of art broadens, enriches and empowers their cultural studies practice and analysis. Mapping the geography for the new conditions of possibility in the analysis of literature and of culture, in new cultural alliances and dynamics, they become agents of change reconstructing the basis and clarifying the contradictions between the literary and the cultural paradigms.

References

Arnold, Matthew. *Culture and Anarchy*. Edited with an Introduction by. J. Dover Wilson, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932.

Barker, Chris. *Cultural Studies, Theory and Practice*. Sage: London, 2000

Bauman, Zygmunt. *The Liquid Modernity*. Polity: Cambridge, 2000

Easthope, Anthony. *Literary into Cultural Studies*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.

Grossberg, Lawrence, et al. (eds.). *Cultural Studies*. New York and London: Routledge, 1992.

—— *Cultural Studies*. Routledge, 2006

McGuigan, J. *Cultural Populism*. Routledge: London, 1992

Morley, David. *British Cultural Studies*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2001

Murdock, Graham. "Cultural Studies at the Crossroads". In *Studying Culture: An Introductory Reader*. 2nd Edition. Edited by Ann Gray and Jim McGuigan, London and New York: Arnold, 1997, 80-90.

Negus, Keith and Michael Pickering. *Creativity, Communication and Cultural Value*. Sage Publications. London: 2004

Nowell.Smith, Geoffrey. "Popular Culture", *New Formations*, 2 (Summer 1987)

Williams, Raymond. "Culture is Ordinary".(1958). In *Studying Culture: An Introductory Reader*. 2nd Edition. Edited by Ann Gray and Jim McGuigan, London and New York: Arnold, 1997, 5-14.

—— *The Long Revolution*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1961; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1965.

—— *Marxism and literature*. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 1977.

—— *Writing in Society*. 1983; Verso: London: 1991.

Skateboarding – Radical and Romantic Physical Use of Urban Architecture

Åsa Bäckström

Stockholm Institute of Education, Sweden

asa.backstrom@lhs.se

Skateboarding in an urban environment has been analysed as a creative activity where opposition to meaningless architecture is expressed. The activity becomes a symbolic challenge to the normal. To challenge the normal is also one of the most ostensible images that the skateboard media portrays. The media put forward the image of the radical skater and underground rebel who defies both order and the ordinary. Creativity takes the form of expression in movement, not only skateboarding as a physical activity but also as a movement through the city. Even if skaters stay in one place longer than other urban visitors, they move between different skating locations and therefore cover large areas. Skateboarding has a spatial and temporal aspect, but how challenging and "unusual" is this physical use of the architecture? And what conclusions can be drawn on the relation between physical activity and the architecture of the city?

Skateboarding – Radical and Romantic Physical Use of Urban Architecture

Today's society is subject to an increased importance of aesthetics and an increasing individualism.[1] New trends are adopted early by young people, which make it interesting to focus on how identity is formed and meanings are constructed in a youth culture context and in relation to ongoing societal processes of change.

This paper is based on research presented in the dissertation Spår: Om brädsportkultur, informella lärprocesser och identitet, in English: Traces. On board sports culture, informal learning processes and identity (2005).[2] This work deals with the board sports skateboarding and snowboarding. Although skateboarding is more in focus, it was, for different reasons, impossible to exclude snowboarding. Among skateboarders and snowboarders and in the media that writes about them, the terms sub-culture and youth culture have been adopted. Youth culture and sub-cultures in more general terms have been studied earlier. However, what has been lacking previously are studies of the combination of youth culture, sub-culture and sport.[3] The leaderless boarding culture revolves primarily around style and physical bodily activity, in contrast to punk for example, which is held together by style and music. Thus identity through board sports is more clearly incorporated through physical perform-ance.

In this paper I will question and reflect upon the romantic connotations that the skateboarding subculture evoke in several areas, especially in relation to the use of urban architecture. This subject is partly elaborated in the dissertation mentioned above, and therefore a brief summary will be presented. Beside my own research on this specific topic I will particularly discuss Iain Bordens work on skateboarding, space and the city.[4] Finally I will summon up my remarks in a concluding argument questioning the challenging and "unusual" physical use of the architecture.

Traces of Skateboarding Culture and Communication

The main purpose of the studies that ended up as my dissertation was to interpret and analyse the creation of meaning and identity in skateboarding and snowboarding as social and cultural contexts. In particular, the study was about the relationship between three levels, cultural – practice – and the individual. I maintain that individuals, their attitudes, actions and expressions construct board sports culture. However, the sports culture also creates individuals. I have studied the processes and practices through which individuals create themselves by living a culture. Participating in the practices is, to a large degree, about informal learning, which means that there is a social level.

The making of meaning is interesting to study because it has implication for the individual and can therefore be related to experience and emotion. On a social level where informal learning, practice and the collective are in focus, identity becomes significant on an intersubjective level. Through the practice of board-riding, meaningful actions and common values are created. The practice is, however, performed in relationship to what already exists in society and in culture, in other words in a context. This context is to a large degree

---

1   Featherstone, Mike (1991/1994) *Consumer Culture & Postmodernism*. London: Sage.
2   Bäckström, Åsa   (2005) *Spår. Om brädsportkultur, informella lärprocesser och identitet*. Stockholm: HLS Förlag. Diss.
3   See for example Beal 1995, 1996; Beal & Weidman 2003; Rinehart & Sydnor (eds.) 2003; Wheaton 2003; Bäckström 2002.
4   Borden, Iain (2001) *Skateboarding, space and the city. Architecture and the body*. Oxford: Berg.

permeated by structures that are grounded in the power relationships of society, for example, in the orders of gender and class. Studying how people make sense of things and themselves therefore involves studying and exposing power structures.

The title, *Traces*, can initially appear exaggeratedly poetic. The title alludes to four analytical themes; consumption, gender, place and identity that are reflected in different chapters. This title was also chosen because the culture leaves traces in the individual, as the individual does in the culture. Furthermore, skaters leave actual tracks in the surrounding geography on the stair rails, statue bases and benches in the city, and snowboarders may leave tracks in the snow on an untouched mountainside. These tracks communicate different messages such as resistance and the overstepping of boundaries.

Theoretically the study has a culture analysis approach with a semiotic base. Inspiration comes from several sources such as Fornäs (1995), Drotner (2003), Säljö (2000). Culture is interpreted as system of signs and signifying practices.[5] Aesthetic practice is treated as communication on three adjacent levels.[6] A socio-cultural perspective is used on learning, which means that learning is regarded as participation in knowledge and skills.[7] Knowledge for Säljö is situated in social practices and he points out that everyday interaction and natural conversation are without doubt the most important learning environments.[8]

Constructing meaning is also a question of learning, and, in my view, the definitive form of collective learning. The learning studied is informal, social and contextual. To construct meaning also means to create identity, and to communicate with others. Communication can take place through different forms of language, visual and corporal. The narratives are also in a context of some kind, mingled in with the culture. One learns the stories, the telling, the signs and their symbolic meaning in social, cultural and practical contexts.[9] Culture is dispersed by structures and patterns in society, and variables such as gender, class and ethnicity affect how we make meaning and what we consider valuable. The stories about ourselves get their meaning in the telling to someone else, in the dialogue with someone else. The telling is often performed through some sort of media.

As I was interested in the practice, it was important for me to use qualitative methods and ethnography with its expansive arsenal and flexibility distinguished itself as a method. This choice of method was made in consideration of the purpose and the research questions posed in this dissertation. To illuminate and describe, to develop an understanding, to interpret and analyse social behaviour are best done in this study with the help of qualitative instruments. The work was done in three phases that occasionally became interwoven in each other. The introductory phase covered inventory, selection and analysis of the media offering surrounding the board sports during the period 1975 through 2002. Phase two had an ethnographic approach where fieldwork consisting of participant observation and interviews made up most of the material. In phase three, the empirical material was integrated with analyses of earlier research and cultural theory.

My field consisted partly of those places where board sports are practised and partly of other places of a more transitory nature where meaning about the board sport phenomenon is created and consumed. Actual locations where I have conducted my work are primarily a shop in central Stockholm that sells board sport equipment, a youth centre in Stockholm with a skateboard arena, ski centres in the Swedish mountains and a number of streets and squares in

---

5   Fornäs, Johan (1995) *Cultural Theory and Late Modernity*. London: Sage.
6   Drotner, Kirsten (1991/2003) *At skabe sig – selv. Ungdom, æstetik, pædagogik*. Gyldendal: Copenhagen.
7   Säljö, Roger (2000) *Lärande i praktiken. Ett sociokulturellt perspektiv*. Stockholm: Prisma.
8   Säljö (2000: 233).
9   In consent with Hannerz (1992) I see culture as unevenly distributed.

Stockholm. I have also frequently visited the Internet to explore the skateboard and snowboard sports. In other words, the field has been more bounded by time than by location. Apart from the Internet, other forms of media have also been included in the field studies, and are accordingly included in the empirical material.

The empirical material on which *Traces* is based has several purposes. The multifaceted empirical material, from field studies and interviews, Swedish skateboard and snowboard magazines between 1978 and 2002, skateboard and snowboard videos, press articles, and websites, has been triangulated. In addition, there are three personal albums of skateboarder, snowboarder and surfer Ants Neo. Although the choice to include many types of material has made the empirical material extensive, some limitations had to be made. My choice of Stockholm for the skateboarding studies had practical reasons. Snowboarding, on the other hand, has received a more national treatment, although rather general. This has meant that I have focused on detail about skateboarding whilst snowboarding has served as an analytical reference in a more general manner.

Radical Results

One of the empirical chapters, "Pictures of board sports", is a chapter that aims to account for the cultural conceptions about board sports that are constructed, but also how these conceptions create impressions about what characterises board riding and the people that practice it. In my analysis I use Drotners argument as a starting point from which to interpret skateboarding and snowboarding as aesthetic practices. Drotner explains the effect of aesthetic production on three levels and characterises the individual level in terms of emotional intensity and corporality. The sensation is described as so encompassing that it becomes ones life, ones identity. The body is acutely present in these descriptions. It is the body that experiences, and it is there that the sensations of riding come alive. The experience of board riding is not without context. The corporeal perception arises in an environment and the attributes of that environment affect the experience. The ideal context for what is considered to be a perfect snowboard ride is the untouched mountain with its powdered snow, sunshine and blue skies. For skateboarding, a different ideal context applies. Here it is the urban environment with its asphalt or concrete as a surface.

Another chapter, "Place in time and space", discusses the importance of location to skateboarding and to a certain extent to snowboarding. A tour round Stockholm with a map, notebook and camera is the guide for this chapter. This chapter exposes the power relations and hierarchies, referring to social class, generations and distinctions of taste. One of the reasons why location has been given its own track is the discussion of society's view of youth. This cultural and societal conception is manifested in the way the city deals with young people. When social conflict arises, which location belongs to which group becomes apparent and rights to room in the city become the crucial point. Location and culture are un-equivocally intertwined. It is therefore of vital interest how skateboarding (and snowboarding) have become visible as cultural phenomena in certain locations and how places are formed by skateboarding (and snowboarding). The investigation into where in the city skateboarding is practiced and how it is performed tells us something about the relation that skateboarding and skaters have to the city and to society in general. In addition, the opposite is also clarified, that is, how the city and society relate to skaters and their sport. I show in this chapter how skateboarding in the city can be a creative activity where opposition to "meaningless" architecture is expressed. Perhaps it is the unusual use of the urban environment that makes skateboarding threatening, or at least worrying. The activity becomes a symbolic challenge to the normal. To challenge the normal is also one of the most ostensible images that the skateboard media portrays. The media put forward the image of the radical skater and underground rebel who defies both order and the ordinary. The image is strengthened by, fast

and tough music in the videos. Creativity takes the form of expression in movement, not only skateboarding as a physical activity but also as a movement through the city. Even if skaters stay in one place longer than other urban visitors, they move between different skating locations in the city and therefore cover large areas. Apart from a spatial and temporal aspect, the places also extend into the virtual realm. Opinions are formed about places that one perhaps has never seen, and these are vitally current and used as comparisons to actual places. In this way, the pavement curbs of Barcelona are used as everyday references by the skaters of Stockholm. It is also most likely that it is the curbs and not Sagrada Famila or some other classic architectural edifice that features as a reference. Skating becomes a way of assuming a visible place in society in one's own way and not to be included in the norms and rules of adults about how public spaces should be utilised. Simultaneously with the expression of the willingness to participate, the desire to do this on one's own premises is also expressed. It becomes a power struggle between youth and adulthood, between normal and unusual, between economics, culture and aesthetics. Locations are also allocated to this type of activity. The skating hall of Fryshuset south of central Stockholm is indoors, safe from the winter freeze and the rain of summer, but also away from normal citizens so that the disturbing activity is removed. Fryshuset is outside the city in a building for other young people. Here they can perform their activities undisturbed and at the same time without disturbing the ordinary populace in the city. Order between generations is thereby preserved.

Borden Basics

Skateboarding and architecture has been thoroughly studied by the British researcher Iain Borden. In the published version of his doctoral thesis he claims, "The urban practice of skateboarding implicitly yet continuously critiques contemporary cities" (2001:173). Skateboarders use the urban cityscape in other ways than it was built for and this is one way critique is being expressed. Not only do they propose a different use of the objects and architecture, skateboarders are not even concerned of its original purpose. "When skateboarders ride along a wall, over a fire hydrant or up a building, they are entirely indifferent to its function or ideological content" (2001:214). Skateboarders are more interested in the surface and shape of the architecture than the actual use of it. Apart from the indifference to "ordinary" use skateboarders tend to resist the urban landscape in making use of spaces that are "left-over". With reference to Henri Lefebvre (who in his turn cite Roland Barthes) Borden argues that skateboarding is resistance to zero degree architecture. Zero degree architecture, he claims, are spaces without explicit meaning. "Most obviously, they are left-over spaces of modernist planning, or the spaces of decision-making (typically the urban plaza) which symbolize not through overt iconography but through expansivity of space" (2001:188). In this aspect Borden also lifts the temporal facet of resistance to architecture without explicit meaning. "[S]katers construct a different temporal rhythm by staying longer in an urban plaza as others hurry through […] For the more contested terrains of postmodernity – such as shopping malls yet another temporal tactic must be deployed. Here, the skaters exploit the highly bounded temporality […] by skating in weekend and evening hours" (2001:198).

With a socio-cultural perspective it is of course impossible to claim any place to be meaningless. Bearing that in mind Borden's analyses give fruitful insights in how the urban landscape is divided for use, not least through time. Another of his interesting points is the embodiment of architecture that skateboarders are subject to in a larger extent than other city goers, like pedestrians for instance. "Architecture following Lefebvre's body-centric formulations, 'reproduces itself within those who *use* the space in question, within their lived experience'" (2001:214). In this way skateboarders become the architecture and the city they ride their boards on/in.

Apart from Borden's studies on skateboarding in relation to architecture, and my own Swedish studies, the ethnologist Marit Breivik (2004) produced similar results in a Norwegian setting.

Reflections on the Romance and the Radical

All three studies referred above, including my own, pinpoint skateboarding in an urban environment as a creative activity where opposition to "meaningless" architecture is expressed. The activity takes the form of a symbolic challenge to the normal. To challenge the normal is also one of the most apparent images that the skateboard media portrays. How challenging and "unusual" is this physical use of the architecture? And what conclusions can be drawn on the relation between physical activity and the architecture of the city?

My study shows that there are stereotyped notions about what boarding means and what it means to be a skate boarder. These notions both create and are created by the skate boarders themselves but are also used by advertisers for products not related to board sports at all. These notions are based on ideas of resistance and radicalism. Resistance takes concrete form in its attitude to organized sports and to multinational brands and in the unusual use of "normal" places in the urban environment. To be a boarder is, apart form the boarding skills required, to be also part and parcel of these attitudes. Even though skateboarding may symbolise different things for different people there are three points where the symbolised expressions that skateboarding communicate are comprehensive. Skateboarding has been coupled to that which is young from the time when the first skateboard appeared in Sweden. The sport is still described as young, fresh and futuristic despite the fact that it has existed for three decades. It is also the young generation that has begun to skate and snowboard. More important than youth itself, however, is the cultural and social importance that the young have in society. Boarding is combined with that which is considered youthful. In this case, it is not a special age group that bears the meaning but rather the characteristics of youth. Board sports can in other words be described in terms of liveliness, vitality, strength, newness, speed and action. Youthfulness is also highly attractive in the modern western world. A youthful paradox has become a part of the boarding tradition. To protect the free and the pleasurable is a practice that boarders in particular and perhaps youth in general pursue with the aim of distancing themselves from the conscientious norms of the adult world. This resistance is however pointless as even the parent generation has also adopted the youthful ideal. Through this paradox, youth have become role models for their parents instead of the opposite. Skateboarding and snowboarding are, thirdly, a visual event. It is important to see, to make visible and to be seen. Filming rides in order to publicly show them later is common. Furthermore, skateboarding often takes place in public spaces where it is available for all to see.

Sub-cultural expression is created in opposition to hegemony. Even if this is expressed in contrast *to* something, it can still have a message of freedom *from* something, which ties the expression to an argument for independence. Hegemony and sub-culture exist in several ways in this study. The relationship between unorganized skateboarding and organised sport is one example, the skateboard market contra the multinational sports companies is another, youth contra adulthood a third. Opposition, a practice with help of visual symbols or activity that challenges and question the current societal and cultural understanding, is conspicuous for outside observers. The radical is apparent in the boarding press, both in text and pictures as a testing of boundaries on several levels. I see boundary and freedom as two key concepts that are intimately connected. On first reflection, freedom can mean the absence of boundaries, but boundaries and limits can also mean freedom from responsibility, where boundaries are instead the basis for this responsibility. In the youth research area, it has been said that the whole period of youth is a borderland between childhood and adulthood. In the empirical

material in this study, metaphors for boundaries and freedom are distinct in several areas and levels. I have spoken of the sense of freedom through board riding and the arousal of that feeling in tune with the elements of nature. The opposition evident in the material and context at an individual level can be interpreted as a challenge of boundaries. Social boundaries are mentioned when I speak of inclusion and exclusion in the board sports community. The freedom of the game and the unorganised practice of board sports have also been mentioned. Freedom is an ideologically loaded word, excellent as a political slogan considering the increased individualism that Ziehe (1989) argues. According to such an explanatory model, it is possible to choose freely between the styles and expressions presented in the multi-faceted world. The choice becomes individual made on the basis of free will. Considering the structural influence that I have proved in this study, it becomes difficult to characterise such choices as unbound and independent, even if they can naturally be experienced as free by the individual.

My reasoning about the creation of meaning shows that this has a self-propagating aspect. I maintain that one creates oneself by creating meaning around one's activity and that the relation between identity, learning and culture is strong. The boarders included in my study show examples of how the self is constructed and maintained in relation to and in conjunction with the media products that surround the culture. Boarding is a fundamental part of life for many of my informants. In the formation of a coherent self, the Other that is the antithesis of the stereotype skater is made clear. The Other may be despised, but is also highly necessary as an opposite pole to the right and the normal. Creating one's own identity as a skater means creating your identity in contrast to the Other, but also to create an identity in relation to the ideals and conceptions surrounding the sport. This does not mean that one must become exactly like the ideal image, as no one skater is the ideal. However, one must always relate to the ideal, which, through this process becomes either confirmed or questioned. In this way, the individual becomes part of the collective, and vice versa. When skaters discuss which brands are the best and what knowledge is relevant, they are also building a community of shared values. The shared values are constructed and therefore changeable, but they still work as a reference point from which to judge right and wrong. That which is collectively considered to be right and real is a part of the collective community and a part of the communal collectivity.

To create meaning on a social and collective level means, amongst other things, creating mutual memories. Whether they consist in concrete form such as photographs in Ants' album or of tales of trips made, places to travel to, tricks one has performed or failed at, it is the memories that create meaning. Memories become after-images that support both experience and the community as such. After-images also become patterns for events to come and help structure future interpretation. The comparatively solid geographical locations with their architecture and buildings become relatively stable frameworks within which meaning can be created. In my view, skaters re-interpret the importance of places through their use of the city. I maintain that there is cooperation between people and environment regarding the importance of architecture, but it is the interpretation of people and their usage that gives meaning. The ongoing interpretation and re-interpretation of the environment can be attributed to an individual level but it is in interaction between subjects or between subject and object that creates meaning.

Finally I would argue that all resistance has a romantic undertone of being the voice of struggle against non-righteous power. Who decides what is righteous and not is of course a completely different story.

References

Beal, Becky (1995) "Disqualifying the official: An exploration of social resistance through the subculture of skateboarding", *Sociology of Sport Journal* 12, p. 252-267.

Beal, Becky (1996) "Alternative masculinity and its effects on gender relations on the subculture of skateboarding", *Journal of Sport Behavior*. Vol. 19 Issue 3, p. 204-220.

Beal, Becky & Lisa Weidman (2003) "Authenticity in the skateboarding world", Rinehart, Robert & Synthia Sydnor (eds.) *To the extreme. Alternative sports inside and out.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Borden, Iain (2001) Skateboarding, space and the city. Architecture and the body. Oxford: Berg.

Breivik, Marit (2004) Byrom for skateboarding. En studie av skateres tilegnelse av arkitetur i Oslo. Hovedfagsoppgave i etnologi. Institutt for kulturstudier. Oslo universitet.

Bäckström, Åsa (2002) "Ungdom(lighet)skultur och idrott", Engström, Lars-Magnus & Karin Redelius (red.) Pedagogiska perspektiv på idrott. Stockholm: HLS Förlag.

Bäckström, Åsa (2005) Spår. Om brädsportkultur, informella lärprocesser och identitet. Stockholm: HLS Förlag. Diss.

Drotner, Kirsten (1991/2003) At skabe sig – selv. Ungdom, æstetik, pædagogik. Gyldendal: Copenhagen.

Featherstone, Mike (1991/1994) Consumer Culture & Postmodernism. London: Sage.

Fornäs, Johan (1995) Cultural Theory and Late Modernity. London: Sage.

Hannerz, Ulf (1992) Cultural complexity. Studies in the social organization of meaning. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rinehart, Robert & Synthia Sydnor (eds) (2003) *To the extreme. Alternative sports inside and out.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Säljö, Roger (2000) Lärande i praktiken. Ett sociokulturellt perspektiv. Stockholm: Prisma.

Wheaton, Belinda (2003) "Windsurfing – a subculture of commitment", Rinehart, Robert & Synthia Sydnor (eds.) *To the extreme. Alternative sports inside and out*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Ziehe, Thomas (1989) *Kulturanalyser. Ungdom, utbildning, modernitet*. Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion bokförlag.

The Crisis of the Intellectual? Nation Building, Intellectuals and Political Contributions in Europe and Latin America, a Comparative View

Maria Odette Canivell

James Madison University

canivemx@jmu.edu

The intersection of politics and literature has a long-standing tradition in Latin America. Intellectuals in Latin America, particularly writers, have contributed to the political arena since the time of the Foundation of the Nation. As Angel Rama suggests, the might of the pen, wielded by the Spanish speaking *letrados,* is a well known fact in the political life of the Spanish American nations.

Although the role of these intellectuals as presidents, ambassadors, ministers and high profile politicians has not always been beneficial to their countries of birth, intellectuals in Latin America feel the need to actively participate in politics. In Europe and the United States, it would appear as if intellectuals feel more skeptical about their participation in public affairs, particularly when the posts imply a greater degree of public exposure. Are these differences historical, political, cultural, or is the apparent paucity of intellectuals-politicians due more to the intrinsic characteristics of the political field in Europe and the United States?

In this essay, I will explore the political connotations of the term intellectual and contrast it with the views of intellectuals in Europe, Latin America and the United States. I will attempt to explain similarities and differences in their conception of what an intellectual is, as well as give possible explanations for these sometimes diverging perspectives.

The Crisis of the Intellectual? Nation Building, Intellectuals and Political Contributions in Europe and Latin America, a Comparative View[1]

> An intellectual cannot change anything. I don't recall any revolution won with a sonnet.
> (Mario Benedetti)

In this age of cyberspace, sophisticated technologies, and mind-boggling advances in the Natural Sciences, the role of the intellectual appears to have lost the luster associated with the label. Intellectuals, all over the world, seem to be suffering a crisis of identity. Some, like Noam Chomsky, who many lay readers might characterize as an intellectual, flatly refuse to claim the title. Others, like Bruce Chapman head of the Discovery Institute, notorious for promoting the theory of Intelligent Design, do not view themselves as such.[2] Conservative and Left Wing intellectuals alike would seem to be at a loss as to how to define their role and/or declare the designation. The reasons for such hesitancy are varied. The collapse of the Left, the professionalization of Academia, the conflict of interest stemming from employment in state sponsored research venues and universities, as well as public complaints about a lack of commitment on the part of the late 20th century intellectual may have contributed to this state of affairs.

There is also a feeling, on the part of the intellectuals themselves, of disillusionment with their work and that of their contemporaries. Reading the accounts of many intellectuals, the perception that the fruit of their labor is not well received (on the part of the general public) is apparent. The reason for such malaise, however, is not as evident. Although intellectuals might share a dim outlook about their line of work, they appear to be unable to agree on what is ailing the profession. Is the intellectual in *crisis*? According to the views stated by a large number of North American and European intellectuals, the answer is yes.

The case of Latin America, however, appears to be somewhat different. Perhaps because intellectuals in Latin America have a long-standing tradition of reconciling their academic endeavors with a vigorous career in politics, both the public's perception and their own seems to be systematically different from their European and North American counterparts. Writers and intellectuals like Rómulo Gallegos in Venezuela, José Martí in Cuba, Domingo Sarmiento in Argentina or Juan Bosch, in the Dominican Republic, have been both statesmen and scholars, fulfilling, without apparent conflict, affairs of state and of the mind.

In this essay, I pose that the concept of what an intellectual is, as well as his/her role in public matters differs, in Latin America, from the role intellectuals play in Europe and the United States. Intellectuals in Latin America, for the most part, fall under the category of public intellectuals; that is their function in society is clearly perceived as belonging within the public sphere. Intellectuals in Europe and the United States are divided as to where their role should be placed. Some claim they should vigorously pursue the path of "public intellectuals", while others argue their academic obligations supersede any other type of work.

In order to prove my thesis, I will compare the perspectives of European intellectuals (mainly in France, Germany, England and the United States) with those of their counterparts

---

1   This article is part of a larger effort in mapping the activities of intellectuals in Latin America. The book, with the provisional title, *The Might of the Pen: Intellectuals in Latin America* explores in great detail the evolution of the class and the repercussions of their political accomplishments and/or lack of them.

2   I asked Bruce Chapman this question in a conversation we had at a luncheon at my house. He claimed he did not consider himself an intellectual. As for Chomsky, see bibliography.

in Latin America, analyzed within a historical framework as well as from personal comments regarding their métier. I hope to demonstrate that, according to their own judgment in the matter, intellectuals face a crisis: that of defining their own identity.

The complexity of the term may be partly to blame for the difficulty in delineating a precise map of the profession. Historically, the concept was born in France at the end of the 19th century. As Kemp Welch and Jennings argue, "by common consent, the word intellectual, used as a noun to describe a particular kind of person, enters Western European usage at the end of the nineteenth century with the Dreyfuss affair" (7). The action of intervening in politics, on the part of a group of French writers, "was constitutive of the definition of the noun" (7). At the time of the inception of the word into the French vocabulary, political action – in the face of injustice – was the defining characteristic.

For the purpose of this essay, I utilize the term intellectual following its historical precedent. I refer to intellectuals as writers (both fiction and non-fiction/academic) whose role in the political arena has been clearly demonstrated. The term, however, is applied to many other members who may not share the "political or public label". The list below shows some of the most common roles associated with the profession:

1. Intellectuals as aesthetes, and/or academics:
    i. These are men and women who dwell in matters of the spirit, often associated with the humanities. They are generally connected with the university milieu.
2. Intellectual meaning simply "intelligent people".
3. Intellectuals in the category traditional/elitist: A derogatory connotation where intellectuals are viewed as literary and/or cultural snobs.
4. Intellectuals as normative thinkers, referring to persons who *think* in depth and use abstract reasoning to reflect on essential aspects of human existence.
5. Functional intellectuals: Intellectuals who perform certain functions in/for society. Among them are cultural leadership and a secular understanding of the world.
6. Intellectuals as critics of society.
7. Intellectuals as policy-makers: Thinkers and writers who seek to fulfill a role as cultural and political leaders, bringing to society an understanding of legislative, political and social aspects of life.

Every definition stated above was collected from different sources, ranging from dictionaries to articles about intellectuals. It surprised me that there were so many different explications for the term, as well as such a wealth of apparent functions associated with the overall role intellectuals play in society. It is particularly relevant to comment on heading number 3. The appellation of intellectuals as cultural or literary snobs must be reflected upon, as it stresses another common belief regarding the class: that the intellectual is isolated in the "Ivory Tower", short hand for the academic world, and has no contact with the general population. Bertrand Russell may shed some light on why this particular category appears to carry such negative weight. The British Mathematician, scholar and philosopher stated: "an intellectuals may be defined as a person who pretends to have more intellectuals than he really has. I hope this definition does not fit me" (cited in Diggins, 91). Coming from someone who was vehemently opposed to World War I, and took political action to prevent it, this may appear strange. In Great Britain and the Anglo-Saxon world, however, the word intellectual attains a derogatory quality, seldom matched by other cultures. We will study this phenomenon, in greater detail, in the following pages.

In spite of the ambiguity of the term, product of the many features attributed to its members, there are some more complete definitions retaining most of the original 19th century

features. I believe the role of the intellectual was stated best by Vaclav Havel, who posits that, an "intellectual is a person who should disturb, question, bear witness and be provocative. Someone independent, rebelling against oppression, who is not subject to the open manipulations of power" and who is the "chief doubter of systems, of power and its incantations, (and) should be witness to their mendacity" (Cited by Karabel 205).

The case of Latin America, as I mentioned before, is somewhat different to Europe and the United States. Although the Spanish-speaking geographical mass shares with Europe a penchant for indulging in the multiplicity of meanings of the term, the role of intellectuals appears to be better defined.[3] Almost all the functions contemplated within the class are associated with the role a public intellectual plays. In addition to that, there seems to be a more favorable response from the public (and the members of the profession) regarding the subject of intellectuals. As Jorge Ibargüengóitia testifies, in a symposium convened in México in 1968 to speak about the role of the intellectual, a delegate took the floor declaring that the Latin American intellectual had not played a relevant part in the political life of Spanish-speaking countries. The reaction of the participants was immediate:

> There was great commotion. Before this declaration could be finished, fifteen Latin Americans were asking for the floor. When this was in turn conceded each spoke of the fight against oppression and named a long list of martyrs among the intellectuals" (Ibargüengóitia 225)

Even the categories described by Sanchez Gomez for the Spanish-speaking Southern hemisphere intellectual are described in terms of his/her role in terms of political and social action. According to this scholar, the Latin American *intelligentsia* may be divided as follows.

a. Intellectuals as teachers and founding fathers, best exemplified by Domingo Sarmiento or Romulo Gallegos
b. Intellectual as critics, who improve on society as a whole. This group also believes they are on a "prophetic mission" and fit into the definition of the committed writer espoused by Sartre. Among them Paz, Poniatowska and Storni may be mentioned.

c. Intellectuals as mediators. Their role is to mediate between centers of power and the periphery, more recently between insurgency and the governments. Examples may be Ernesto Cardenal or Gioconda Belli.

d. Intellectuals for democracy: Activists who make their goal to restore democracy. Among them one may cite Neruda or Skarmeta.

Perhaps it is fitting that Latin America claims its intellectuals have a greater degree of personal involvement in politics than other cultures. The degree of political volatility of the region, coupled with the low investment on education places pressure in the *intelligentsia* to devote their thinking skills to try to improve the social and political realities of the region. As Rama suggests, intellectuals in Latin America have a long history of contribution to politics. "The power of the 'grupo letrado'" he states, "can be seen in its extraordinary longevity" (29, my translation). The might of the "lettered city", a term he applies to Latin American *urbes* founded as mytho-poetic locus where "intelligence gives birth to a 'dream metropolis'

---

3   When I refer to Latin America, I am speaking exclusively about Spanish-speaking America. I am not including Brazil or the French-speaking colonies.

embodying the illusions of universal culture" (1), has endured beyond the normal cycles of its individual members. Intellectuals in Latin America, he claims, have maintained their status from the time of the Colony to our days. In claiming ownership of the 'written sign', intellectuals have "reached and fulfilled a social role (…) becoming an independent force among the institutions of (political) power" (30).

According to the author, intellectuals as a class have had an important effect on political matters from the foundation of the nation to the present time. Sommer agrees with Rama assessment, adding that there is a distinguished list of intellectuals (particularly novelists) who have held posts of importance in the area (4). Among them one may remember, vice-presidents (Luis Alberto Sanchez), presidents, (Gallego, Sarmientos, Bosch), senators, (Neruda), Ambassadors (Fuentes, Asturias, Paz) and many other intellectuals who have held appointments in education, culture, and other sensitive political areas.

In general, the intellectual in Latin America is well regarded. Even when their incursions into politics have not resulted into success (Vargas Llosa, for example), for the most part, they are still revered as public figures. The public feels represented by them. A taxi driver in Cartagena will proudly show you the house of Garcia Marquez and comment on his recent endeavors. The press will ask their opinions on matters from the general state of the economy to who is more likely to win the national soccer cup. Even if the books they write have not been read by the general population, intellectuals in Latin America have "brand recognition". The public is aware of who they are, what they do and appears to be satisfied with the role they play in the public arena.

Europe and the United States share a different experience. If one is to take into account the impressions of the intellectuals themselves, the "letrados" of the First World are in a state of discontent regarding their role, their labors and their participation in public matters. From Russell's revelation that "an intellectual is someone pretending to have more intellect than he really has", to Orwell's: "Intellectuals take their cookery from Paris and their opinions from Moscow", (cited by Heyck, 194) the general perception of the intelligentsia in the Anglo-Saxon world, France and Germany strikes readers as somewhat skewed. As Dennis Brogan comments regarding Britain's *intelligentsia*, "we British do not take our intellectuals too seriously".[4]

I will begin by examining the English-speaking world, namely Britain and the United States, as a way to showcase the differences with their Latin American peers. Some of the most common perceptions about intellectuals, in this part of the world, are that, as Orwell puts it, they are associated with the Left, a subtle way of proclaiming they are biased. As a result, their political opinions and their participation in politics is scrutinized as serving "foreign interests" (Orwell's cookery from France and orders from Moscow). Thus, right wing would-be intellectuals steer clear of the label, as they fear to be associated with socialist and/or communist practices.

The second complaint I found repeatedly stated is that intellectuals are isolated in the Ivory Tower and thus become detached from the common man. Eagleton argues this case most convincingly, stating that intellectuals:

> …live in a world of schizoid disheveled subjects whose abilities to tie their own shoelaces, let alone topple the state, would be bound to remain something of a mystery (16)

The author of *The Illusions of Postmodernism* posits that, because of the vagaries of postmodernism and the death of Theory associated with post modernity, intellectuals are left

---

4   Cited by Heyck, 192.

in a world of ambiguity, "rife with various veins of pseudo mysticism" where conference papers such as "Putting back the anus into Coriolanus' would attract hordes of excited acolytes who knew little about the bourgeoisie but a lot about buggery" (4). As a scholar generally associated with the Left, he bemoans the sudden demise of the socialist oriented ideologies, going so far as to suggest that the death of the intellectual came about with the Death of Ideology. The crisis of the intellectual, consequently, becomes the crisis of the fragmented state of theory, in particular Marxist theory.

The Palestinian born, British raised and American tenured professor Edward Said claimed that intellectuals were a class badly in need of restructuring. Like his colleagues Jacoby and Eagleton, he argued that the seclusion of the Ivory Tower (namely Academia) had made them complacent, detached from the general public and isolated from the community. Trading a precarious bohemian existence for tenure and a stable career, as Jacoby points out, has made them self-satisfied, without need or motivation to take political action. Sometimes when intellectuals feel they have to intervene, as Sontag, Didion and Chomsky did after 9/11, they are vilified for not "understanding the American public" and called unpatriotic.

Chomsky and Vidal take the former argument one step further. The linguist/political activist argues that the intellectual is dead, as his role of unveiling the truth has been taken over by "the powers that be". Power, he claims, already knows the truth; therefore, the role of the intellectual exists no more, as power will not listen.[5]

In *Requiem for the American Empire,* Gore Vidal joins the voices mourning the demise of the intellectual. Intellectuals in the United States, he argues, have played a very small role in the foundation of the "American Empire". At the dawn of the empire, some writers and academics (Upton Sinclair, for example) might have tried to make a difference in the world by attacking the excesses of the ruling class. In present times, however, their voices are silent, standing by while the American Empire starts to decline. Intellectuals, Vidal offers, are ensconced under the protective mantle of Academia. They have stopped using their voices to decry the wrongdoings of the mighty (see also Diggins). [6]

The book *Impostors in the Temple* sheds some light into the apparent distaste of right wing intellectuals for the title. The author claims that the Left has high-jacked the term, turning it into a political campaign to sway the youth of America towards their liberal biases. Little wonder that Wolfowitz, Andersen and Chapman do not want to be associated with the profession. Like Orwell and Brogan, they feel that the title is more a mark of a "politically" motivated move than a serious academic analysis of culture and society.

Intellectuals in Germany do not seem to fare much better than in the United States and Britain. According to Karabel, the problem lies primarily in the definition of what an intellectual is which, for the most part, is self-referential. A second obstacle intellectuals face, according to the former social theorist, is the "moralist" quality imbedded within the term. Although it is true that intellectuals hold a dominating status within the cultural sphere, they are not part of the upper echelons of the political or economic elite. Thus, Karabel argues:

---

5 "Overcoming Orthodoxies", Interview. December 16, 2000, http://www.zmag.org/chomskyarticles.htm.

6 It is certainly paradoxical that *The Jungle*, Sinclairs literary "socialist manifesto", failed to do what his author originally intended. Sinclair wrote the novel to show the horrifying work-conditions of new inmigrant labor in the United States. The meat-packing Industry in Chicago had the worst record of labor violations. Therefore, the novelist chose this exploitative environs to portray the plight of the laborers. The novel did produce the outrage Sinclair was expecting. The public's ire, however, was not directed at the inhumane conditions of the workplace, but rather against the unsanitary procedures for food-handling in the meat-packer plants. As a result, the Pure Food and Drug Act was passed.

> It is thus misleading to assume, as does much of the existing literature, that intellectuals will typically adopt an oppositional stance towards the existing order; most of them have, after all, attained a relatively privileged position within it, and their well-being often depends upon the acquisition of resources controlled by political and economic elites with whom they are socially and culturally linked (209)

Since intellectuals attain positions of prestige within the inner circles of power, it may be naïve to think they will argue against the hand that feeds them. On the contrary, Karabel believes that intellectuals "share" a predisposition towards reinforcing the status quo, as opposed to acting against the regime they are serving.

Werner Muller agrees. German intellectuals, he argues, share a lack of identification with the common people. When one examines the recent history of Germany, the political situation as well as the apparent submissive stance of most intellectuals advances the thesis of the failure of the intellectual. East Germany, for example, can be used to illustrate his claim. According to Muller, East German intellectuals engaged in "patterns of domination (and) complicity" within the Regime. The first by using the power they had to survive within the Communist party. The second by excusing or condoning the abuses of the regime (17). As intellectuals, he offers, they not only faced a "thinking crisis, but also an existence-threatening crisis" (18).

Jens Reich supports this contention. In his article: *Intelligentsia in Eastern Europe before and after 1989*, the author reveals a similar panorama to that of his colleagues, Muller and Karabel. The *intelligentsia* in the East, as defined by Konrad and Szeleny, were entrusted with the task to be the intellectual executors of the socialist project. In that respect they were successful. Intellectuals stood by while the rights of their citizens were trampled. In some cases, they enabled the State to carry out its policies with political, social and moral justifications based on the assumption that the Marxist policies were for the "greater good" of the people. In all Eastern European countries, Reich argues, the *intelligentsia* was conscious that, even if they were just merely fulfilling their duty as "the thinking arm of the party", they had "substantially contributed towards the functioning of the system" (319). A lovely cinematic depiction of this last statement can be found in the recent film: *The Lives of Others*, directed by Florian Henckel von Donnersmarck. The film narrates the political persecution of an East German intellectual by the Stasi, entrusted to entrap the former "golden boy" of the German *intelligentsia* merely because he lives with a woman a high ranking East German official desired.

As in many other respects, the French are a case difficult to pinpoint. On the surface, they appear to share the same distaste for intellectuals as the British, North Americans and Germans. In spite of being the country home to the origin of the term, French intellectuals claim to share Benda's distrust of the class. Perhaps the death of the French intellectual began in the 1920's with Benda's claim, in *La Trahison des Clercs*, that intellectuals had been assimilated by the political apparatus losing any hope of independent thought. Acording to Cristofferson, "war and occupation profoundly shaped the politics of French intellectuals in the years after liberation (1)". French "clerks" expected justice, had a desire for radical change and engaged in a world of Manichean politics where the Right and Left intellectuals had distinctive associations stemming from their roles in WWII. The intellectuals "vehicle" for revolutionary change was the PCF. As expected, the members of the French *intelligentsia* were wary against reacting, in any way, against other Communist regimes or the directives of the Communist party. Even late in the 70's after Solzhenitsyn's publication of the accounts in the Siberian Gulags, French intellectuals were slow to react, according to Cristofferson. During the investigation following the alleged abuses of prisoners in 1970, Foucault's led GIF refused to have any "intellectual or institutional authority" (29), arguing instead for a group *d'information* which could research, from first-hand accounts, the conditions of the prisoners.

Both Mitterrand and Regis du Bray (prime examples of French intellectuals in my view) certainly advanced a political agenda whilst in power. Their political accomplishments join the long list of political activism of intellectuals of the caliber of Merleau-Ponty, Sartre, de Beauvoir and Camus, just to name a few. The former, particularly, are better remembered, in the eyes of the public, as literary and philosophical stars rather than as intellectuals with a clear cut influence in the political dealings of their country. I must caution however, that in my personal opinion, de Beauvoir and Sartre's involvement in all aspects of political life (decrying the Algerian war, resistance to the Nazi occupation, and other important aspects of the 20th century history of France) seems to fit perfectly into the mold of the "Zolanian" intellectual.[7]

It might not have helped French intellectuals that one of their most beloved members, Malraux, took part in the suppression of the revolt of students (during his long term service as Minister of Culture for de Gaulle) as well as standing behind some controversial political measures of the government at the time. The truth is that, although French intellectuals appear to be somewhat dismissive of the title, they do, now and again, appear content to claim it. For the most part, however, their intellectuals have been chastised for forgetting their political agenda and being slow to react to the wrongs inflicted on the communities they serve.

In Latin America, on the contrary, intellectuals feel compelled to intervene in politics. At first, the impulse was born out of the necessity of giving birth to the nation, by the means of a political and economic separation from Spain. Many of the founding fathers of the Latin American nations were writers (particularly novelists). At a later moment in the history of the Spanish-speaking hemisphere, their efforts were displaced towards securing the state and cementing the political institutions needed for a country to run successfully as a nation. Finally, in the last fifty years or so, intellectuals have devoted their energy towards movements in favor of restoring democracy or safeguarding the precarious institutions of the State. It is my firm belief that intellectuals, in Latin America, hardly had time to argue against being intellectuals; nor engaging in speculation on what their role in the eye of the community might be. Academic tenure, in Spanish-speaking America, is practically unheard of. Many intellectuals have a second profession (career) as backup, and engage in writing, researching or academic pursuits on the side. The investment of GNP into education of the region, as a whole, is so minimal that the intellectuals of Latin America need other jobs just to survive economically. Oftentimes, political parties use them to "wash their image", believing that the prestige associated with their name will earn them a sure vote. Many intellectuals have fallen prey to this ruse. Naïve, perhaps, but the thinking elite of Spanish America feels compelled to intervene in politics acting under the premise that someone has to do it; as they are the better prepared elements in their communities, it is logical to assume that they would serve their nations best.

In Europe and the United States, for the most part, democracy and/or strong functional states have been a part of their recent history (hundred years, at least, for most cases). It is perhaps because of the relative political stability that intellectuals do not feel a pressing need to intervene in politics. In Latin America, the unstable situation of the political institutions coupled with the lack of viable political options may have pushed intellectuals towards firmer action. Maybe the reasons for this intervention are to be found in delicate (extraordinary) political situations; just as in the 19th century with the first French intellectuals, politics, would be the defining characteristic of the class.

---

7   Simone de Beauvoir, in particular, with her writings about gender opened up the eyes of countless generations of women and helped bring about true changes in gender policies. Sartre's view of the "committed writer" is, in my opinion, another proof of his philosophy regarding intellectual life. See also, "Why Write?", London: Harcourt Brace, 1992.

References

Anderson, Martin. *Impostors in the Temple*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1992.

Benda, Julien. *The Treason of the Intellectuals*. Aldington, Richard, trans. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1928.

Chomsky, Noam. "Overcoming Orthodoxies". Interview excerpts, December 16, 2000, http://www.zmag.org/chomskyarticles.htm.

Christofferson, Michael Scott. *French Intellectuals against the Left: The Antitotalitarian Movement of the 1970*. Oxford, Berghahn Books, 2004.

Debray, Regis. *Teachers, Writers, Celebrities: The Intellectual of Modern Day France*. London: Verso, 1981.

Diggins, John Patrick. "The Changing Role of the American Public Intellectual in American History". *The Public Intellectual: Between Philosophy and Politics*. Melzer et al eds. Lanham: Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003.

Eagleton, Terry. *The Illusions of Postmodernism*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. February 12, 2001 issue.

Heyck, Thomas William. "Myths and meanings of Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century British National Identity". JSTOR, *The Journal of British Studies*, Vol 37, No. 2, (April 1998), p. 192-221.

Ibargüengóitia, Jorge. "The Fellow-Travelers". JSTOR, *Latin American Research Review*, Vol.4, No.1, p 223-226.

Jacoby, Russell. The Decline of the American Intellectual". *Cultural Politics in Contemporary America*. NY: Routledge, 1989.

Jennings, Jeremy. Kemp-Welch, Anthony. Eds. *Intellectuals in Politics*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Karabel, Jerome. "Towards a Theory of Intellectuals and Politics". JSTOR, *Theory and Society*, Vol.25, No. 2 (April 1996), p. 205-233.

Laski, Melvin. *Voices in a Revolution: Intellectuals and Others in the Collapse of the East German Communist Regime*. Sussex: Grange Press, 1991.

Muller, Jan Werner. *Another Country: German Intellectuals, Unification and National Identity*. London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Rama, Angel. *La Ciudad Letrada*. Hanover: Ediciones del Norte, 1984.

Reich, Jen. "Intelligentsia and Class Power in Eastern Europe Before and After 1989". *Aussenpolitk* (English Edition), Vol. 43, 4th quarter 1992, p.315-323.

Said, Edward. 'Opponents, audiences, constituencies and community'. *The Politics of Interpretation*. Chicago: U. Of Chicago Press, 1983.

––– "Orientalism revisited: An Interview with Edward Said". JSTOR, *MERIP Middle East Report*, No. 150, Human Rights and the Palestine Conflict, p. 32-36.

Sánchez Gómez, Gonzalo. "El compromiso social y político de los intelectuales". Speech upon reception of the Diskin Memorial Lectureship

Award by the Latin American Studies Association and Oxfam America, Miami, March 2000. (www.mamacoca.org-sanchez_intelectuales.htm).

Sartre, Jean Paul. "Why Write?" in *Critical Theory since Plato*. London: Harcourt Brace, 1992.

Scott, Alan. "Between Autonomy and Responsibility: Max Weber on scholars, academics and intellectuals". *Intellectuals in Politics*. London: Routledge, 1999.

Sommer, Doris, *Foundational Fiction*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991.

Vargas Llosa, Mario. *El Pez en el Agua*. Barcelona: Seix Barralt, 1998.

Vidal, Gore. "Requiem for the American Empire". *Cultural Politics in Contemporary America*. New York: Routledge, 1989.

William Golding's *Lord of the Flies*:
The Failure of the Law

Daniella Carpi

Department of English Studies, University of Verona

daniela.carpi@univr.it

William Golidn's Lord of the Flies: The Failure of the Law

> If in Plato and Aristotle we find the distinction between the person who is naturally just (physei) and the person who is just out of conventions, Aristotle adds that the laws governing the states are the product of men. So here we see that man is not naturally noble and that the state cannot ingrain its laws inside the individual.[1]

Introduction

Lord of the Flies starts with a strong sense of order. The civilization the children come from is strongly rooted in order, organisation and law. The immediate clash we witness at the very opening of the novel is that between civilised society and primitive nature: apparently nature is out there, a sort of undivided cosmos, mysterious and threatening, while civilization is well structured, culturally developed and integrated. The children, well brought up, at first demonstrate an ability to collaborate and stay together for the aim of survival. The element of civilized organisation is very much stressed at the beginning: the conch that is used to call children to meetings, the idea of a democratic society based on sharing and communal decisions, the idea of hierarchy (the search for grown ups to tell them what to do, the orderly marching of the group headed by Merridew, the obedience to orders "Choir! Stand still!"), the use of names to give form to things. The necessity to have some form of law to order this newly born society is deeply felt. Therefore at the beginning the superior culture of the children seems to correspond to the superior civilization they come from.

However some jarring elements set in from the very start: the blackness of the choir children's attire contrasts with the bright and sunny colours of the island, the shrill and loud noise of the conch blown by Ralph makes birds cry and small animals scutter; the whole island reacts to the violation of this unknown sound. We are instilled the doubt from the very beginning: is this really a superior civilization that has stepped on the island? This doubt widens out when we realize that, notwithstanding the frequent exhortation to give themselves rules ("We ought to have more rules [....] We've got to have rules and obey them. After all we're not savages. We're English", p. 46-47), the law doesn't keep. In other words the superior civilization the children come from is only a disguise. Being a dying sort of civilization (according to Spengler's conception of the waning of Western civilization) not supported by real culture (which is spiritual refinement), the law is not deeply rooted within the children: it appears to be a mere strategy to keep society together and once society/civilization collapses, also the law fails. Useless is Piggy's appeal "I got the conch" so he has a right to speak, but Jack shouts "You shut up".

This paper will start with a brief diachronical assessment of the term "culture"; then will demonstrate how culture and law (which is an instrinsic part of the cultural background) in this novel fail: the individual will be left alone with his murderous instincts.

What Is Culture?

The complexity of the concept of 'culture' is remarkable. It became a noun of 'inner' process, specialized to its presumed agencies in 'intellectual' life and 'the arts'. It became also a noun of general process, specialized to its presumed configurations in 'whole ways of life'. It played a crucial role in definitions of 'the arts' and 'the humanities', from the first sense. It played an equally crucial role in definitions of the 'human sciences' and the 'social sciences',

---

[1] Luciano Perelli, *Il pensiero politico di Cicerone*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze, 1990. My translation.

in the second sense. Each tendency is ready to deny any proper use of the concept to the other, in spite of many attempts at reconciliation.[2]

> Culture can be seen, among its other senses, to describe the relationships between global and atomistic conceptions that have been called paradigms.[3]

> The term culture has two fundamental meanings. The first and most ancient meaning indicates man's formation, his spiritual refinement. Francis Bacon considered culture as the "Georgics of the soul" [...] The second meaning indicates the product of this formation, that is the whole way of life and of thinking of a society, that is summed up in the term 'civilization'.[4]

During the last years of the XVIII century and the first half of the XIX a series of words appear in language which were destined to mark epochal changes in the diachronical development of their meaning. The term "culture" is certainly one of these.[5]

If in the classical world culture stemmed from the idea of "colere", cultivate, that is spiritual refinement, and was connected to the ethical-moral sphere, in the course of time it comes to represent a series of human activities: from ontological certitude to progressive abstraction and problematization.

The keywork that first thoroughly analysed the concept of culture can be considered Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1932) where Arnold purports the idea of a common culture, the idea of sharing and transmitting the best that has been said and thought in the world. However this very famous and seminal work was anticipated by Burke's *Reflections of the Revolution in France* (1790),[6] by Coleridge's *On the Constitution of the Church and the State* (1837),[7] by Carlyle's *Signs of the Time* (1961).[8] If Arnold expresses a totalizing and globalizing notion of culture, at the end of the XIX century E. B.Tylor's anthropological perspective in *Primitive Cultures* (1871) splits up this universal model and reaches an atomistic conception of culture which he connects to ways of life. Much later Clifford Geertz in his concept of "thick description"[9] brings Tylor's views to their climax, glorifying the margins, the differences and the loss of a universal perspective, which explodes Arnold's idea of communality.

With T. S. Eliot's *Notes Towards the Definition of Culture* (1948), C. J. Powys's *The Meaning of Culture* (1930) and C. Bell's *Civilization* (1928) Arnold's socialist view is transformed into the idea of the élite, of a special group which should control culture and transmit it to the happy few. After these thinkers, with the Frankfurt School and with M.

---

2   R. Williams, *Marxism and Literature*, Oxford University Press, New York and London, 1977, p. 17.
3   R. Schleifer, R. Con Davis, N. Mergler, *Culture and Cognition, The Boundaries of Literary and Scientific Inquiry*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1992, p.26.
4   N. Abbagnano, *Dizionario di filosofia,* Tea, I dizionari Utet, 1993. Term "Cultura". .My translation.
      5 R. Williams, *Culture and Society 1780-1950*, Penguin, Harmondsworth and London, (1958) 1963; R. Williams, *Keywords*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, (1958) 1976.
6   In this work Burke does not openly mention the word "culture" but his idea of the English Constitution, his emphasis on the "historical and local community", the idea of the state as an active agent in human perfection foreruns Arnold's concept of the organic community and of national culture.
7   Here Coleridge speaks of cultivation and civilization, anticipating the split between the two terms "culture" and "civilization" which was to take place at the end of the XIX century: "a nation cam never be a too cultivated , but may easily become an over-civilized race".
8   In this work Carlyle laments the fact that man has become mechanical and that his age is characterized by physical, practical, economical concerns and not spiritual ones.
9   C. Geertz, *Interpretations of Culture,* New York, Basic Books, 1973.

Horkheimer's and T. W. Adorno's *Lessons in Sociology* (1966) the split between culture and civilization, which had been anticipated by Freud's *The Future of an Illusion* (1927), finally takes place. Culture comes to cover a semantic field totally opposed to the one of civilization: the former still represents spiritual refinement, but it is at variance with civilization, which epitomizes material, practical progress devoid of spiritual growth. Even more than so: O. Spengler in his *The Decline of the West* (1918-22) asserts that the maximum development of civilization implies the maximum regression of culture. This concept is also shared by F. R. Leavis who in his *Mass Civilization and Minority Culture* (1943) laments the progress of civilization that marks the separation of man from nature. The progressive separation of the two terms is studied also by R. Williams's many works that pave the way for the Cultural Studies anti-foundationalist theories, where the debate on the question of culture reaches its climax. Just to mention one of the latest important works on the topic, I wish to quote G. Hartman's *The Fateful Question of Culture* (1997), where he speaks of the explosion of the term under the pressure of the mass media: nowadays everything is "the culture of…" something else, thus bringing the term to such levels of inflation that any original meaning is lost.

Lord of The Flies: A Debate Between Culture and Civilization

Lord of the Flies, published in 1954 and characterised by Golding's bitter war experiences, represents a milestone in the narrative production of the XX century and perfectly epitomizes how far civilization has come from culture and how the law partakes of this general pessimistic panorama.

The law is an instrinsic element in the survival of civilization, so much so that in *The Merchant of Venice*, for example, the risk of not respecting Shylock's contract would mean the collapse of Venice as a society and a civilization. The law sustains the whole fabric of society; therefore the first action the children wrecked on the desert island try to do is give themselves rules: through the creation and application of rules they can re-create a sort of new society reminiscent of the civilization they spurted from. The conch symbolises the new code: its fragility, transparency and delicacy suggests the liminal situation the children find themselves obliged to accept, but it also stresses the idea that civilization is grounded in the law, could not exist as such if it didn't have any laws. The law therefore appears at the beginning as a guarantee for social progress: good laws make good citizens. The children are aware that there are strong jarring elements in their nature which can be kept at bay by the law.

The first reaction to the new surroundings is an attempt to keep hierarchies: "Aren't there any grown-ups at all?"[10] Having this first attempt at delegating responsibilities failed, the children have recourse to the rules they know: having names (because "nomen homen", name is identity, social creation),[11] meetings (the symptom of democracy), order (the conch establishes the right to speak), voting, electing a chief. Even *in absentia* the rules they have been reared to are still strong: the commandment "don't kill" is what blocks their first killing of the wild pig:

'Why didn't you...?' They knew very well why he hadn't: because of the enormity of the knife descending and cutting into living flesh; because of the unbearable blood". (p. 34)

The establishing of rules appears from the very start a sort of imposition or obligation: "We'll have rules! [...] Lots of rules! Then when anyone breaks 'em..." (p. 36): it becomes a symbolic force in a situation children cannot control. So much so that they think of rules as a

---

10   W. Golding, *Lord of the Flies,* Faber and Faber, London, 1954, p. 8.
11   Dating back to the Bible and to God's creation of the world through His divine Logos.

dam against annihilation: "We ought to have more rules" (p 46). The law becomes a linking factor among different individuals, a common language that unites the majority. But "if I am to bend to this law and accept it, a certain number of conditions are necessary",[12] Derrida affirms, and in fact in the novel everybody must understand the conditions of the contract: they must have meetings and names, the conch establishes the turns to speak, they must distribute duties (Jack should be the head of the hunters), some children provide food, some others direct the assemblies, they should keep a fire burning etc.

However it is evident from the very beginning that law must be enforced: the law is always an authorized force that represents a compromise between the language of the single individual (anarchic) and the common language of the crowd, of the group (where each single individual must give up some of his liberty in order to acquire a wider, more general interest). Such enforcement stands out in the many commands that characterise the first meetings of the children: "Shut up! Wait! Listen!" (p. 41); "Choir! Stand still!" (p. 21); "You shut up!" (p. 46). If on one hand the turns to speak are established by the holding of the conch, on the other hand this rule is hard to accept and turns are not respected, so that we often read the complaint "I got the conch". The subtle relation between force and form, force and signification must be found. The force is connected to a great weakness in the children. The "littluns" are afraid of the beast from darkness and the whole group is afraid they won't be rescued: therefore rules are necessary to cover up this intrinsic fear. Such fear sets itself midway between a metaphysical sort of fear (an unspecified threat from the darker side of the island) and a physical one (they will die because they won't be able to survive on the island). This is where the law becomes necessary: it will rationalize such fears, it gives the children the impression they can control the situation. The force and weakness of the law: its force consists in its reasonableness, its weakness lies in its being rooted in unspecified fears.

But the law is useless if it has no power of enforcement; in fact we see that rules are not obeyed: even if they have decided that the conch marks the right to speak, this is not respected.

The small boy held out his hand for the conch and the assembly shouted with laughter; at once he snatched back his hand and started to cry. (p. 39).

The concept that the law represents in the text one of the predominant cultural elements that inform the children as civilized individuals is epitomized by their mentioning books and by the literary comparisons they draw between their present situation and what they have studied in school:

"It's like in a book"
At once there was a clamour.
"Treasure Island..."
"Swallows and Amazons..."
"Coral Island..."
Ralph waved the conch.
"This is our island." (p. 38)

This is their upbringing: if Arnold means with culture "the best that has been thought and said in the world", the novels the children mention indicate the English tradition that gives form to the civilization they come from, to the individuals they are. The same happens with

---

12   J. Derrida, "Force of Law: the Mystical Foundation of Authority" in D. Cornell, M. Rosenfeld, D. Gray Carlson eds, *Deconstruction and the Possibility of Justice*, New York and London, Routledge, 1992, p. 5.

the rules they decide to apply: they are part of the democratic tradition, of the social organisation that typified their cultural background.

This responsibility toward memory is a responsibility before the very concept of responsibility that regulates the justice and appropriateness (*justesse)* of our behaviour, of our theoretical, practical, ethico-political decisions. This concept of responsibility is inseparable from a whole network of connected concepts (property, intentionality, will freedom, conscience, consciousness, self-consciousness, subject, self, person, community decision and so forth).[13]

Derrida's idea of responsibility is what sustains Ralph's first decisions: he feels responsible for the children's safety, he feels responsible for the burning of the fire, for the reassuring of the "littluns", for the whole organisation on the island. Therefore his actions involve a "theoretical, practical, ethico-political" behaviour, including some sort of legal jurisdiction. The law therefore is evidently part of the culture the children represent.

The ensemble of beliefs and practices that form a given culture function as a pervasive technology of control, a set of limits within which social behaviour must be contained, a repertoire of models to which individuals must conform.[14]

However we discern that a schism has already taken place between culture meant as spiritual refinement, spiritual and natural growth of the individual that is naturally noble, and civilization intended as mere material progress, as practical organisation that is not natural to the individual, but that must be enforced. Children must be obliged to stay within authority through the threat of punishment: the incomplete sentence" Lots of rules! Then when anyone breaks 'em..." quoted above is emblematic of the violence the law must exert in order to keep people within rules. This is what Benjamin means when he says that law has an interest in a monopoly of violence, which violence should protect law itself. Foucault's idea "surveiller et punir" perfectly conveys the necessary threat the law carries within itself and this is why the great criminal is particularly threatening because "it lays bare the violence of the legal system"[15]. In *Lord of the Flies* such threat to the rules is epitomised by Jack. Jack is a sadistic individual, that contests the legal authority represented by Ralph, that defies the law of obedience to the chosen chief (Ralph). He symbolises the great criminal that exerts a perverse fascination on the rest of the children, that challenges rules bringing to the forefront the hidden violence of rules themselves, that stifle the anarchic sense of freedom of each single individual.

What is interesting from our standpoint is that the law, that is inherited from the civilization the children come from, that should give order to this primitive society, is deconstructed from its very foundation. The seeds of discord are already there, lurking in the background represented by the dark cloak of the choir boys, by Jack's resistance to rules and by his setting himself as an alternative chief. He undermines the very foundation of authority on the island and demonstrates that the law has already deconstructed itself.

The Failure of the Law

If we accept Derrida's assertion that "the foundation of all states occurs in a situation that we can [...]call revolutionary. It inaugurates a new law, it always does so in violence"[16] we realize that in fact the children are the product of a civilization that is steeped in violence and by violence is being overthrown (the horrors of World War II), but also their organisation in

---

13 J. Derrida, cit. p. 20.
14 S. Greenblatt, "Culture", in F. Lentricchia and T. McLaughlin, *Critical Terms for Literary Study,* Chicago and London, The University of Chicago Press, 1995, pp.225-232, p. 225.
15 J. Derrida, cit. p.33.
16 Ibid. p.35.

the new surroundings is undermined by the symbolic act of the killing of the wild pig and by the discovery of the dead body of the aviator swinging from a bough. Moreover Jack, the violent one *par excellence*, asserts a right to violence, because he should provide food: violence appears to have a right to law from the very opening of the novel. Violence legitimates the law.

The law therefore in the text is on one hand transcendent and theological, but on the other immanent and interpretative: *Lord of the Flies* becomes an interpretative model, a hermeneutical act centring on the symbolic order of law. It also becomes an act of accusation against the damages of civilization: if civilization has resulted in such a devastating war, then the law has failed in its fundamental aim of keeping society at peace, in order. There is something rotten in law. Order therefore is not intrinsic in the human being, that is not happy in a natural state, contrary to what Rousseau purports; the individual needs the support of the law, but the text clearly demonstrates that a social contract is the result of the individuals contracting among themselves, it is the instituzionalization of conflict.

However if we accept the principle that the law is part of a people's culture, this idea of culture is connected anthropologically to the "whole way of life" of a group of people, and it does not mean spiritual sharing, spiritual refinement, but violence and deracination. Therefore the book epitomizes how far apart the two concepts, culture and civilization, have come. The degradation of the children, that fall back to primitive customs of hunting and slaughter, is marked by a slow abandonment of a law that had in any case already failed in their previous life.

According to Freud in *Civilization and its Discontents* and in *The Future of an Illusion,* civilization is something that a small minority has forced upon a recalcitrant majority. He asserts that if on one hand mankind has immensely progressed in the conquest of nature, on the other an analogous progress has not been attained in human coexistence: in fact Golding's novel poses the question whether the goals reached by civilization through progress should be really considered worthwhile. Freud has the impression that any sort of civilization is rooted in the stifling of instincts and in coercion. Freud therefore marks the passage from *Kultur* to *Zivilisation*, which stresses the split that has taken place between the two terms in the XX century. The law in Golding's text partakes of the failure of these high spiritual ideals, and rather than emphasising the superior culture the children come from and that should mark their organised coexistence on the island, it stresses the corruption, the loss of ideals and the failure of all reasonable and orderly structure. What emerges is the wild, unredeemed aspect of the individual that had been forcefully suppressed and that the law cannot keep at bay.

A particularly emblematic scene is the one described when Ralph reaches the other side of the island:

Here, on the other side of the island, the view was utterly different. The filmy enchantments of mirage could not endure the cold ocean water and the horizon was hard, clipped blue. Ralph wandered down to the rocks. Down here, almost on a level with the sea, you could follow with your eye the ceaseless bulging passage of the deep sea waves. They were miles wide, apparently not breakers or the banked ridges of shallow water. They travelled the length of the island with an air of disregarding it and being set on other business: they were less a progress than a momentous rise and fall of the whole ocean. [...] Wave after wave, Ralph followed the rise and fall until something of the remoteness of the sea numbed his brain [...] On the other side of the island, swathed at midday with mirage , defended by the shield of the quiet lagoon, one might dream of rescue; but here, faced by the brute obtuseness of the ocean, the miles of division, one was clamped down, one was helpless, one was condemned, one was... (p. 122)

What we are being described here is a paraphrase of the dichotomic war between the ego and the id, between the conscious and controllable and the unconscious and uncontrollable.

The law falls within this distinction, because the law is a conscious code rooted in reason and order, it is the Apollonian side of rationality and rules, it is the fundamental system that allows civilized society to exist. But what prevails on this side of the island, which epitomizes the other side of man, is the Dyonisian, the unruly, the unreconcilable wilderness, all that baffles any possible organisation. And the children's attempt to ground their new situation in rules fails exactly because the civilization they come from has become prey to the Dyonisian, to the savage death drive. It is them that bring chaos to the island, which was perfectly harmonious and balanced before their landing. Therefore this novel is a terrible accusation expressed by Golding against the waning of reason and of law: there is no way out, because when at the end Ralph becomes the victim of a savage man hunting but is saved by the Officer, such saving is only apparent: the society he is being brought back to is a world at war where any legal system has been turned topsy turvy.

The novel therefore ends in failure: failure of reason, of all ethical concepts (the main dictum 'don't kill' has been transformed into 'do kill'), of any orderly principle. Language itself has failed (Ralph stutters and cannot form clear sentences) which reminds me of Weisberg's very seminal assertions in *The Failure of the Word* (1984). Even language (which is itself a code based on grammatical and rhetorical rules) is twisted and made to serve unreason:

'The rules –shouted Ralph- you're breaking the rules !'
'Who cares?'
Ralph summoned his wits.
'Because the rules are the only thing we've got!'
But Jack was shouting against him.
'Bollocks to the rules! We're strong –we hunt! ' (p. 100)

Jack uses language to find new rules that may justify the return to savagery and to unreason: we kill because we are hunters. And we are hunters because we are threatened by a beast lurking in the dark. The echoes of the unprecedented and unredeemable violence veiled in apparent reasonableness which typified World War two is evident here. The law is used for illegal reason, so as to justify its violation.

Therefore if Weisberg speaks of failure of the word, we may use the same definition to describe this novel. And in fact the officer's words at the closing suggest exactly such stubborness, such blindness to illegality that marked the Vichy process:

'I should have thought, 'said the officer as he visualised the search before him, 'I should have thought that a pack of British boys – you're British aren't you?- would have been able to put up a better show than that. (p. 222)

The lack of understanding of the officer depends on the blindness to illegality, to the failure of the law that Western civilization was witnessing in those years. The law therefore is always at risk of misunderstanding and we are can never feel secure within it, Golding seems to be telling us.

Threat Awareness – Social Impacts of Privacy Aware Ubiquitous Computing

Alexander De Luca and Heinrich Hußmann

Media Informatics Group, University of Munich, Germany

alexander.de.luca@ifi.lmu.de, heinrich.hussmann@ifi.lmu.de

At first glance, privacy and ubiquitous computing seem to be highly incompatible, due to the ubicomp characteristic of being invisible. There are projects, trying to overcome this problem with different feedback mechanisms. In current literature, this approach is often referred to as privacy mirrors. The goal is to provide privacy awareness. It means making users aware about how their data is used by a specific service. However, there is little scientific work on the social impact of privacy awareness. That is, if privacy awareness is useful, accepted by the users and if it changes their usage behavior. Therefore, in this work, we examined the influence of privacy awareness on users to find the answers. We performed a user study with a privacy aware mobile service and conducted an online survey, which lead to interesting results, which we will present in this paper.

Introduction

Ubiquitous computing, more than any other technology, originates privacy risks. This makes privacy protection even more important in this field of computer science as stated in (Langheinrich 2001). One of the problems is outlined by Jiang et al. (Jiang et al. 2002). It is called the Principle of Minimum Asymmetry and describes privacy problems in ubiquitous computing that arise due to asymmetric information flows between data owners and data collectors or data users respectively. In short: data owners disclose more information than they get in return. Solutions for this problem rely on decreasing data flows from the owner or increasing them to the owner of the data, which in the second case means providing feedback mechanisms (Jiang et al. 2002). Hence, this is how most projects are trying to overcome the ubicomp privacy problems. In current literature and projects, this approach is mostly referred to as privacy mirrors like described by Mynatt (Mynatt et al. 2001) and Ngyuen (Ngyuen et al. 2001). The goal is to provide privacy awareness. That is, making users aware about how their data is used by a specific service or system.

One of the first questions that come to mind when thinking about privacy awareness is the kind of information that has to be provided to users. That is, which information is useful and which is not. The work done in (Ngyuen et al. 2001) tries to give an answer to this question. The authors Ngyuen et al. define Privacy Mirrors, a framework that describes different characteristics that have to be considered when providing privacy in socio-technical systems. These characteristics include for example history and feedback. One early approach of a privacy aware system is called Privacy for the RAVE environment (Belotti et al. 1993). It uses physical hints for users to show them what is going on in the RAVE computing system. For example they put up figures of camera men in rooms with video surveillance to make the people aware that in this room they will be filmed. It is one of the earliest works containing concrete implementations of privacy aware interfaces or better privacy hints. Privacy at the user interface level has also been addressed in other projects. In Ubi's World (Heckmann 2003), Dominik Heckmann describes a system that uses a website to configure the access rights on every possible data belonging to a user by three different criteria: Access, Purpose and Retention.

For P3P (W3C 2002), a privacy description language for websites, there are various implementations available that try to protect the users' privacy based on P3P policies. Even the Internet Explorer provides a small implementation for P3P, hidden in the options menu: A small scale that can be used to edit the amount of privacy protection regarding cookies. A more elaborate P3P tool is Privacy Bird (CMU 2006), which integrates into the Internet Explorer and signals the users whether a website's P3P policy fits their privacy settings or not. For that, it uses different colors and sounds. The Orby Toolbar (YOUpowered 2001) works very similar, but provides a so-called trust meter which allows more fine-grained comparison of policies to settings.

When speaking about ubiquitous and pervasive computing, not only invisibility but also mobility is an important characteristic. Thus, mobile devices seem to be appropriate for displaying privacy related information because users may permanently switch between locations. A first attempt on using mobile devices for providing privacy awareness is found in the PaWS system (Langheinrich 2005) by Marc Langheinrich which comes with a small PDA interface for viewing service descriptions and a list of active services in a ubiquitous environment. Additionally, it enables the users to decline services if they think they might harm their privacy. However, there is little scientific work on the influence of privacy aware technologies on the users respectively the social impact, even though it raises several questions including: Do users need and want privacy awareness? Does privacy awareness

increase the complexity of services? Will users change their way of thinking about services and service usage because of privacy awareness?

Therefore, in this work, we examine the influence of privacy awareness on users to find answers to questions like these. For gathering the needed data we created a privacy aware mobile computing system at our labs and performed a user study with it. Privacy awareness in this work is defined as providing mechanisms to make the users aware about how their data is used at service side and also to provide them with the possibility to control their data. Thus, if a service is used, be it actively or passively, users can retrieve information about the data collection practices from the service, can decide how strict services are handled, can manually cancel services etc. When conducting the user study, we noticed an effect that we called threat awareness. This will be outlined later in this paper. Additionally, we conducted an online survey which contributed to getting a basic set of interesting information.

In this paper, we will present the results of our work. Therefore, we describe the scenario of our prototype as well as the prototype itself. To see what the participants of the user study had to do and how we got the here presented results, we will outline the user study and its different tasks as well as the online survey. After that, the results will be presented in detail.

Scenario and Privacy Threats

As mentioned, the goal of this work is to examine the current state of awareness about privacy threats in ubiquitous computing and thus, the need and acceptance of privacy awareness mechanisms. Furthermore, the goal is to analyze possible social impacts of privacy awareness. Therefore, a prototype was required that on the one hand is easy to use and on the other hand relies on normal data collection practices of current services. This means that designing a service that behaves extremely badly regarding privacy laws and common practices would have been contra-productive because it would stimulate reactions that cannot be compared to state of the art services. Therefore, for our prototype, we chose a scenario, which is comprehensible and useful for the participants of possible user studies. In our case, we planned to perform the studies with students from different faculties and thus, a university scenario seemed to be appropriate. The requirements for the prototype as well as for the scenario are to confront the participants with the disclosure of their personal data and with privacy aware user interfaces.

The University Scenario

The scenario takes place at a university's facilities. Information about lectures for the running semester is available online as well as offline on small posters placed all over the buildings. These posters contain a short description of the lecture, its dates, the lecturer's name, and other information. Additionally, they are enhanced with RFID tags, which contain data for a mobile service that allows students to automatically create their timetables just by adding and removing lectures with their mobile phones by interacting with these tags. The tags themselves are not visible but appropriate icons are displayed on the posters that indicate their functionality as shown in Figure 2. Touching the "add lecture" tag respectively the "remove lecture" tag will invoke these functionalities. Furthermore, print terminals offer a service that can be used to print the timetable directly at the university building.

Privacy Threats

The here explained services contain several privacy threats. They are dealing with personal data of the users for different reasons. For using the services, the students have to be registered at a central server to retrieve a username and a password. The lectures are stored with references to the students to be able to create the corresponding lists and the timetables for each student. That is, the service providers will be able to retrieve full knowledge about

which student is visiting or interested in which lecture. To a greater extent, this means having the knowledge about when a student will be at the university and thus, will not be at home, which is an information, criminals might be interested it. This shows, that besides the normal privacy problems occurring with a data collection service, further problems might occur, depending on the kind of service. Since most users do not even know about the normal problems, providing privacy awareness seems a logical step in future service provision technologies and must be examined on its impact on the users. How privacy awareness has been realized for our prototype will be described in the next chapter.

Prototype

Paper Prototype

The prototype for the above mentioned scenario has been implemented in two steps. At first, a paper prototyping has been conducted to validate the services and improve the interfaces as shown in Figure 1. Thus, the interfaces for the implemented prototype were built upon the improved versions from the paper prototyping. Improvements mostly relied on comments of users. Most of these were marginal problems like confusing labels for buttons etc. Renaming them was appropriate in adapting the prototype.

The prototyping has been conducted with 11 people. The youngest user was 25 and the oldest 32 years old. The average age was 27 years; 8 were male and 3 female. Only 42% of them had ever used a context sensitive service before. All screens of the mobile application were created in a painting application and printed to fit a mobile phone's screen size. For the test they were attached to the screen of a real mobile phone as depicted in Figure 1, for providing realistic interaction feelings to the users. The participants of the prototyping performed the same tasks and answered the same questionnaires that were planned and conducted for the final user study. This will be outlined later in this paper.

Figure 1: Users performing the Paper Prototyping.

Of course, also the privacy awareness features have been validated in this step. As mentioned before, the scenario offers different control functionalities to the users. At first, each user can define privacy settings which are compared to the services and will alert the user in case of a mismatch. In case of an alert, the users are provided with an error message and a service description and can then decide whether to accept the service anyway or to decline it. The error message includes information on why the settings did not match the service description. Additional privacy awareness features contain for example a list of accepted services, which can be used to decline services even though they have been accepted previously. This will invoke the deletion of all user –service related data inside of the system.

Prototype Implementation

For the final service implementation, a web service architecture has been chosen. A service offers an interface that can be used by any client to invoke the service's functionalities. If a client is starting the service for the first time, the server transmits its privacy policies to the client, which describes the service including its data collection practices. These policies are used for automatic comparison to the user's settings and are translated to a human readable format for displaying them to the user. This translation is also part of the privacy awareness features.

The client on the mobile phone is implemented with Java Micro Edition and connected to an external RFID reader via Bluetooth as shown in Figure 2. The posters, which were already used during the paper prototyping, have been enhanced with RFID tags and configured to interoperate with the client respectively the services. The front as well as the back side of one of the posters can be seen in Figure 2.
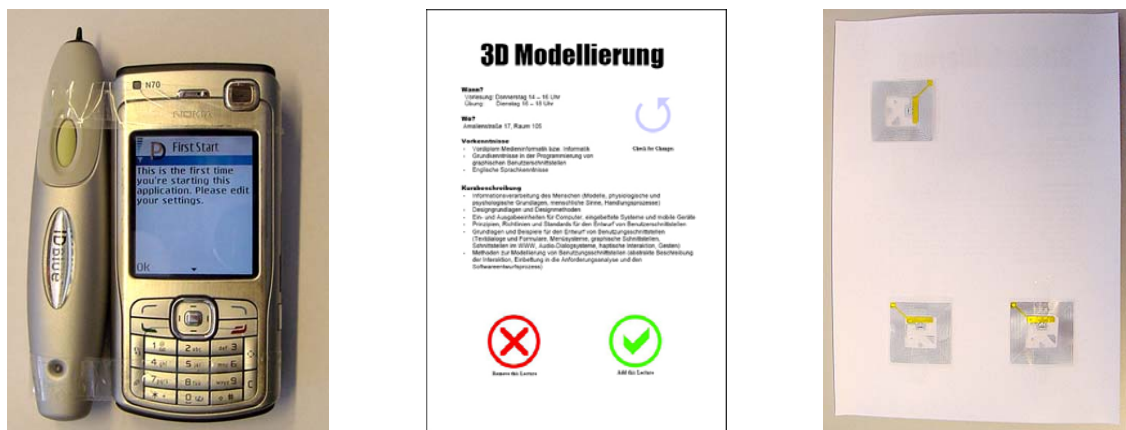
Figure 2: Prototype setup: Mobile phone with RFID reader (left). A poster with RFID tags (right).

User Study

Like the paper prototyping the final user study took place at a normal building of the university, that is, a location in which this service fits exactly. The participants had to perform three different tasks:

1. Edit the privacy settings of the mobile application to fit their preferences.
2. Interact with the posters and add at least one of the lectures to the timetable.
3. Print the timetable at one of the available printing terminals.

Figure 3: Participants performing different tasks of the study. Printing (left) and adding lectures (right).

Additionally to the practical part, the participants were asked a questionnaire before as well as after performing these tasks. To avoid learning effects, no users from the paper

prototyping were accepted for participation at the final study. There were 11 participants, 8 male and 3 female. The average age was 27 years. The youngest was 22 and the oldest one 46 years old. All but one were students of different areas including informatics, design and medicine. The average time of the interaction with the prototype was 30 minutes. Figure 3 shows three different users performing some of the tasks.

Results

The results presented in this section are mostly based on the outcome of the user study. To get a broader base for the general questions, we additionally performed an online survey on this topic. 71 participants filled out this survey. 18 of them were female and 53 male. The average age was 27 with the youngest participant being 20 and the oldest 57 years old. For the questions we decided to use a Likert scale from 1 (I do not agree) to 5 (I highly agree).

Views on Privacy

The elemental factor in designing privacy aware systems is to provide privacy to its users. Even though there are privacy regulations like the European Commission directive 95/46/ec (European Commission 1995), the term privacy cannot be defined. This is deeply rooted in the users themselves. Users experience privacy in their context of living and their affectations. The aforementioned questionnaire contained a question, which kind of personal data the participants considered to be private data. The results were extraordinary manifold. They reached from "only my bank account information" to "all my personal data".

As a consequence, this fact highly influences privacy awareness and privacy visualization in general. When users say "I don't want the system to warn me about thing I do not care about", they mean it. This means, that adaptability is an important aspect of a good privacy aware system because it not only enables the users to have partial control over the system it also offers them the possibility to adapt it to their personal privacy. Accordingly, providing privacy settings or privacy preferences is inalienable for a privacy aware computing environment.

Acceptance of Privacy Awareness

The evaluation of the questionnaires showed that there is a high approval for the idea of introducing privacy aware user interfaces to mobile devices. All participants agreed on the importance of protecting the users' privacy with 4.7 and the benefit of privacy awareness before and after performing the tasks with 4.6. This has also been approved by the online survey. Users rated that they would want to be notified of privacy threats (4.4) and that they would prefer privacy aware services to unaware service (4.7). Whereas asked for reasons, they mainly stated that in their opinion, privacy awareness would increase their trust in a ubiquitous computing system and in a service. For the users it seems also important that privacy awareness provides some sort of control about the personal data.

When interacting with the prototype, participants also noted disadvantages of such a system. They rated it more complex then normal approaches since it requires additional interaction with the application (notification, visualization, etc.). But all agreed that the advantages would legitimate the disadvantage since it is "just some more clicks" as one user stated. Nevertheless, for human computer interaction, even more on small devices, this issue has to be handled carefully. This means proper interface mechanisms are required to keep the complexity at a minimum.

Threat Awareness

The most interesting and unexpected result during the user study was found regarding the question about user concerns. The participants were asked whether they would be concerned

about their privacy when using ubiquitous services. The question was asked as well before as after performing the tasks. When comparing the resulting values, we found out that users were not concerned about privacy issues before they performed the tasks and the average result of rating their concerns was only 3.4 (2.7 during the paper prototyping). But after they performed the tasks, the average rose to the high value of 4.3 (4.4 during the paper prototyping). We call this effect Threat Awareness. It describes that nowadays, most users do not know about the technological possibilities of computing systems and thus, they do not know about privacy threats. Furthermore, it seems there is hardly any comprehension about data collection practices. And in contrast, there is a huge amount of inappropriate trust in service providers.

Since our prototype is privacy aware, every service had to reveal such information to the user by the privacy aware interfaces. Therefore, users got a deeper understanding of the services since it showed them possible privacy threats. Consequently, privacy awareness does not only increase the users' security while using ubicomp services, it also increases their understanding of possible threats and moreover about the background processes of ubicomp.

As mentioned above, we claim that the majority of people has no understanding of what is going on in current services and of what consequences may be implied when using them. This gap is even bigger if it is about ubiquitous computing. In the online survey, we found out that even for more apparent privacy threats, the knowledge is minimal. Surprisingly, 30% of the participants said they had never noticed privacy warning signs like camera surveillance in public spaces. When asked for specific notification signs as depicted in Figure 4, the number was even higher. Therefore, we claim that privacy awareness is also an important step in providing the comprehension about the new possibilities in the computing environment.
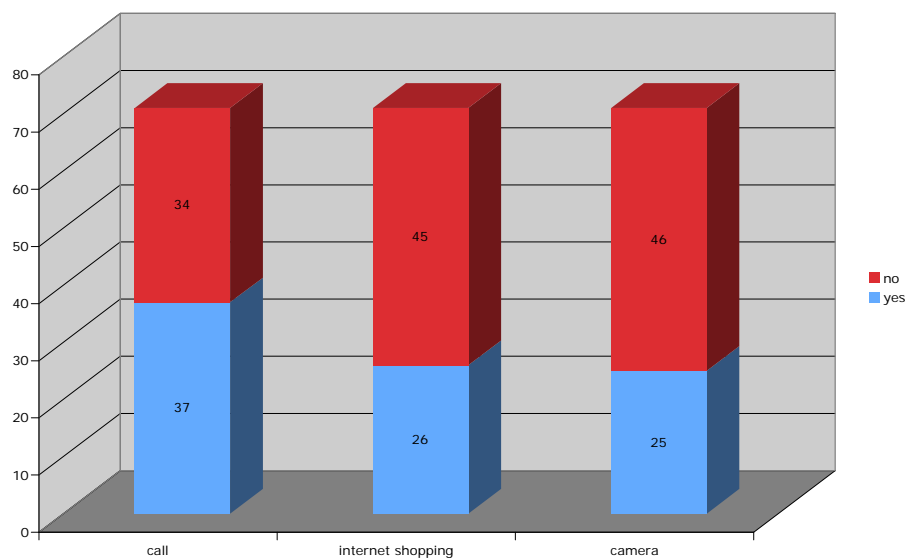
Figure 4: Participants asked if they ever noticed warning signs or notifications in specific situations.

Discussion and Summary

Privacy awareness is changing the way that users experience services and in which they interact with them. Even more, if these services are executed in a ubiquitous computing environment, which enables the collection of various personal data without the users consent. People get aware about the privacy threats surrounding them and change their attitude about the usage of such services. We call this effect Threat Awareness. This is the most interesting thing we learned, when we performed the work for this paper. Additionally, we were also

able to show, that until now, there is only little understanding of privacy threats and that privacy awareness mechanisms are perfectly capable of increasing this knowledge. This may not be something that service providers like, but it definitely is for the good of the users. Also, privacy awareness may have the potential of increasing service quality in general since it could lead to a privacy-quality-gap between privacy respectful and privacy disrespectful services. This is one of the reasons, why users prefer privacy aware to unaware services and why the users in general very well accept privacy awareness.

To learn these things, we implemented a privacy aware service environment at our labs and performed a user study with it. For the more general questions (e.g. about the users' general privacy threat knowledge), we additionally performed an online survey, which has been filled out by 71 participants. This has been done to get a broader data set on these topics. Since the Threat Awareness effect has been found while working with one prototype, the next logical step will be to perform the user study with different privacy aware systems and services and a bigger amount of participants. Therewith, it can be found out whether the effect can be applied to privacy aware services in general or if it is an effect of the study setup. The effect may also vary if the amount of privacy awareness is changed or if different user interfaces are utilized.

References

Bellotti, V., Sellen, A. Designing for Privacy in Ubiquitous Computing Environments. In: ECSCW 93. Milan, Italy. September 1993.

CMU Usable Privacy and Security Laboratory. Privacy Bird. 15.03.2006. http://www.privacybird.org (cited 8 May 2007).

European Commission. Directive 95/46/ec of the european parliament and of the council of 24 october 1995 on the protection of individuals with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, November 1995.

Heckmann, D. Integrating Privacy Aspects into Ubiquitous Computing: A Basic User Interface for Personalization. In: AIMS 2003. Seattle, USA, October 2003.

Jiang, X., Hong J. L., Landay, J. A.. Approximate Information Flows: Socially-based Modeling of Privacy in Ubiquitous Computing. In Ubicomp 2002. Goteborg, Sweden 2002. pp. 176-193.

Langheinrich, M. Privacy by design – principles of privacy-aware ubiquitous systems. In proceedings of Ubicomp, pages 273-291. Spring LNCS, September 2001.

Langheinrich, M. Personal Privacy in Ubiquitous Computing – Tools and System Support. Dissertation, University of Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany, 2005.

Mynatt, E., Nguyen, D. Making Ubiquitous Computing Visible. CHI 2001. Workshop: Building the Ubicomp User Experience.

Ngyuen, D., Mynatt, E. Privacy Mirrors: Making Ubicomp Visible. In CHI 2001. Seattle, WA.

W3C. The Platform for Privacy Preferences 1.0 (P3P1.0) Specification. 16.04. 2002. http://www.w3.org/TR/P3P/ (cited 8 May 2007).

YOUpowered Inc. Orby Toolbar. 2001. http://www.pixelcode.com/youpowered/products_orbyintro.html (cited 8 May 2007).

The Cultural Transfer of a Concept: C. P. Snow's "Two Cultures" and the Swedish Debate

Emma Eldelin

Department of Culture and Communication,

Linköping University, Sweden

emma.eldelin@liu.se

In the Cambridge Rede Lecture of 1959, C. P. Snow expressed his thoughts on "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution". His idea of "the two cultures", described as a gap between scientists and "literary intellectuals", attracted much attention in Swedish debate from the early 1960s onwards. In this essay, I present the concept of "the two cultures" as deeply grounded in Snow's personal experiences and in a British social, political and cultural climate. Furthermore, I discuss the Swedish interpretations and transfigurations of Snow's concept and, above all, how they differ from Snow's views. "The two cultures" is here regarded as a concept which was discussed in relation to certain other concepts in a Swedish interpretative framework. In Sweden, "the two cultures" was related to concepts like *Bildung*, humanism, the humanities, and science. The Swedish debate on "the two cultures" often drew from historical perspectives on these concepts, and was affected by earlier influences from German intellectual traditions. These differences between Sweden and Britain, regarding cultural influences, languages and conceptions, contributed to a broader and partly different understanding of "the two cultures" in Swedish debate.

The Cultural Transfer of a Concept: C. P. Snow's "Two Cultures" and the Swedish Debate[1]

In May 1959, the British writer, debater and former scientist C. P. Snow gave the Rede Lecture in Cambridge on the subject "The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution". Later the same year, his lecture was published as a pamphlet which was widely discussed in the early 1960s.[2] In *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution*, Snow argued that there was a split in Britain, but also in the whole of the Western world, between different "cultures", and especially between two particularly distinct groups: scientists and "literary intellectuals". These two groups had widely different interests, experiences and ways of expressing themselves. Their attitudes towards one another were prejudiced and scornful, and they differed in political opinions and approaches to the technically and scientifically grounded development of society. In particular, Snow considered the literary intellectuals, with their traditional and reactionary attitudes to progress, to stand in the way of a technical and scientific modernization of Britain. The "literary" and "traditional" culture, he argued, had a strong influence on the British corridors of power: on politicians and decision makers with an educational background in literary and classical studies. This influence of attitudes also prevented access to the necessary means for British scientists and engineers to take an active part in spreading modernization to developing countries.[3] In many ways, as I will discuss further below, this contemporary analysis was a product of Snow's upbringing and of his own private experiences as an outsider – as someone standing in between and perhaps also outside of scientists and literary intellectuals.

The Two Cultures was translated into Swedish in 1961 and soon attracted much attention in Sweden.[4] In the ongoing debate regarding the Swedish educational reforms of the early 1960s, Snow's concept came to serve as a rhetorical point of departure in debates concerning *Bildung* and the relationship between general knowledge and specialization in education. Some decades later, most evidently in the 1990s, "the two cultures" experienced a renaissance in the Swedish debate, now mainly functioning as a starting point and background for different ways of describing the epistemological and historical divide between the sciences and the humanities.[5] The concept has also appeared in discussions regarding the place of science and technology in culture and cultural debate.[6] Over the years, the Swedish layers of

---

1   This essay is based on results from my dissertation, see Emma Eldelin, *"De två kulturerna" flyttar hemifrån: C. P. Snows begrepp i svensk idédebatt 1959–2005* ["The Two Cultures" Leaves Home: C. P. Snow's Concept in Public Debate in Sweden 1959–2005] (diss. Linköping; Stockholm, 2006), with a summary in English.

2   C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, 1959). I will use the abbreviation *The Two Cultures* (in italics) when referring to Snow's written document, while "the two cultures" denotes the concept in itself, regardless of the written source or debater using it.

3   This outline of Snow's discussion is based on my own interpretation of *The Two Cultures*, but particularly fruitful perspectives on Snow and "the two cultures" can also be found in John R. de la Mothe, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity* (Austin, 1992) and in Daniel Cordle, *Postmodern Postures: Literature, Science and The Two Cultures Debate* (Aldershot, 2000).

4   C. P. Snow, *De två kulturerna*, transl. by Claes-Adam & Lillemor Wachtmeister (Uppsala/Malmö, 1961).

5   The Swedish debate on "the two cultures" has been expressed in different types of publications, ranging from cultural debates and series of articles from major Swedish newspapers and periodicals, private and personal pamphlets and essays, to political and more collective committee reports and government bills on educational reforms. Many different groups of people have made contributions to this discussion: scientists, engineers, medical doctors, social scientists, classical scholars, writers and journalists as well as educational politicians.

6   Since this part of the Swedish debate on "the two cultures" has been more occasional than the parts regarding *Bildung* and the sciences/humanities-conflict, and also because it bears more similarities with Snow's perspective, I have here chosen to focus on the two latter tracks (*Bildung*, sciences/humanities). For

interpretation have caused Snow's original thoughts to be distant and forgotten. Still, many Swedish debaters have continued to regard the concept of "the two cultures" useful to make certain statements, or they have tended to use it as a guiding metaphor for certain kinds of discussions or comparisons between the 1960s and the present.

When the concept of "the two cultures" became a part of a Swedish debate on certain issues, it was affected by a cultural climate somewhat different from the British one. It is clearly something of a paradox that such a personal, highly British pamphlet could ever become so important in the Swedish debate. What really happened in this transition? How did Swedish debaters interpret Snow's concept? In what ways do Swedish interpretations of "the two cultures" differ from Snow's? To what extent have differences in conceptual traditions and cultural contexts affected the Swedish understanding? And what about the originator himself – how can we understand Snow and his view of "the two cultures"? What were the motives and inspirations for his idea?

In this essay, I aim to discuss these questions, beginning with presenting C. P. Snow along with several clues to why he wrote about "the two cultures". Then, I outline the Swedish debate by introducing some of its central concepts and questions. Along with it, I stress how Swedish debaters adapted Snow's concept and made it a part of a Swedish frame of reference. The story of "the two cultures" in Swedish debate also provides us with an illustration of what happens when concepts travel between cultural and social contexts and reach far beyond the originator's intentions. But first, however, a few words on the analytical points of departure.

"The Two Cultures" and Conceptual History

In my analysis of the Swedish debate on "the two cultures" and in my focusing on the *conceptual* relations and differences, I have found some useful basic assumptions in the methodological perspective known as Conceptual History (*Begriffsgeschichte*) developed by, among others, the German historian Reinhart Koselleck.[7] As discussed in Koselleck, a concept is always ambiguous.[8] It is the subject of a "semantic struggle" for the correct definition, carried out through linguistic representations by different individual debaters or groups. Concepts are always defined by its relations to other concepts. Koselleck terms this relation between concepts as a "semantic field". In Conceptual History, concepts are viewed as important tools to grasp and describe reality, personal identities or group formations. The connections between language and social change are frequently stressed: the meaning of concepts change over time and in relation to social, political and institutional change. Different languages and cultural traditions also affect the changing meaning of concepts.

I regard "the two cultures" as a concept which, in Sweden, was understood and interpreted in relation to certain other recurring concepts.[9] This means that even though the description of "the two cultures" had its origin in a specific British context, it left home to live its own life of interpretations in another language and in a Swedish cultural context that somewhat differed from the British one. The Swedish interpretations of "the two cultures" often drew on perspectives and conceptions originating from the intellectual traditions and

---

the Swedish debate on "the two cultures" in relation to the concept of *culture*, see Eldelin, "*De två kulturerna" flyttar hemifrån*, chap. 4.

7   Several of Koselleck's works in Conceptual History are available in English, e.g. Reinhart Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, transl. by Todd Samuel Presner et al. (Stanford, 2002) and *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, transl. by Keith Tribe (New York, 2004).

8   The founding principles of Conceptual History are expressed e.g. in Reinhart Koselleck, "*Begriffsgeschichte* and Social History", in Koselleck, *Futures Past*.

9   Naturally, the same perspective could be used to study the debate in Britain as well as other countries.

debates of Germany in the 19th century. The Swedish concepts most clearly connected to "the two cultures", like *bildning* (from German *Bildung*), *humanist* (from Italian *umanista* and Latin *humanus*) and *vetenskap* (from German *Wissenschaft*), were often more intensely discussed than "the two cultures", which foremost served as a rhetorical point of departure.

There are some important differences between the concepts most often in focus of Conceptual History and those brought up in this essay. Particularly, this goes for the concept of "the two cultures", which is more specific and of less far-reaching importance than those in centre of attention in Conceptual History.[10] The relation between "the two cultures" and e.g. Swedish *bildning* is also not an antithetical one, while the "semantic field" of Conceptual History consists of antithetical, opposite and asymmetric relationships between concepts and "counterconcepts".[11] In addition to referring to a "semantic field", I have therefore chosen to speak of a "conceptual frame of reference" referring to the complex and various relations between "the two cultures" and other central concepts in Swedish debate.

C. P. Snow and "The Two Cultures" in Context

What can then be said of C. P. Snow himself, of possible importance for his reasoning in *The Two Cultures*?

Charles Percy Snow (1905–1980) was born in Leicester in a lower middle-class family.[12] After successful studies in physics and chemistry in Leicester and a Master's degree, a scholarship made it possible for him to study physical chemistry in Cambridge, where he got his Ph.D. in 1930. From that year he was also a Fellow at Christ's College and was later made tutor and editor of a popular science journal. In the early thirties, he made his debut as a novelist as well. In *The Two Cultures*, he considered the authorship his "vocation", while he was a scientist merely "by training".[13] And it seems that novel writing was a primary interest for Snow, even before his training to become a scientist. Although he did not succeed as a scientist, he never ceased to discuss the roles of science in society. This discussion is continuously brought up in his novels and he is also considered to be one of the first writers of "academic novels".[14] One of his main inspirational sources was college life and scientific culture in Cambridge during the interwar period, when the colleges, according to Snow, were "stiff with Nobel prize winners".[15] Snow also carried out administrative business over the years, e.g. as technical director at the Ministry of Labour and as recruiter of scientific personnel during World War II. He was involved in the recruitments for the atomic bomb project in New Mexico.[16] After the war he continued as director of scientific personnel for the English Electric Company and was also civil service commissioner. In 1964, he was appointed junior minister of technology in the Labour government of Harold Wilson (until 1966). Between these assignments he wrote novels and book reviews as well as polemical articles and lectures. For

---

10 Conceptual History focuses on social and political concepts. Studied concepts might be e.g. the state, revolution or democracy.

11 See e.g. Reinhart Koselleck, "The Historical-Political Semantics of Asymmetrical Counterconcepts", in Koselleck, *Futures Past*.

12 For more biographical details of Snow's life, see e.g. de la Mothe, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity*, 13; David Shusterman, *C. P. Snow* (Boston, 1975), 13–14; Philip Snow, *Stranger and Brother: A Portrait of C. P. Snow*, new ed. (1982; London, 1983), 11–48. Biographical data provided here are mainly based on these sources.

13 Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 1: "By training, I was a scientist: by vocation I was a writer."

14 Elaine Showalter, *Faculty Towers: The Academic Novel and Its Discontents* (Philadelphia, 2005), 14–26. Showalter considers the academic novel to be a "small but now recognizable subgenre of contemporary fiction" (p. 2), developing in the fifties. Its main concerns are life, behaviour and tribal rites of the academic world. Cf. Showalter, 1–13.

15 John Halperin, *C. P. Snow, an Oral Biography: Together with a Conversation with Lady Snow* (New York, 1983), 21.

16 Philip Snow, *Stranger and Brother*, 91.

posterity, he is most well known as a polemic and debater, especially for minting the concept of "the two cultures", which he did in an article in *New Statesman* in 1956, later developed into the Cambridge Rede Lecture and the published version of it.[17]

As stated above, Snow's description of "the two cultures" was clearly grounded in his personal experiences of standing in between the scientists and the literary intellectuals as an academic in Cambridge in the 1930s, but there are other aspects to be considered as well. If we are to understand the reasons and inspirational sources for his discussion, we need to se "the two cultures" in a broader cultural, historical and contemporary context. Snow's expression had connections to a 19th century debate on the roles of literature and science in culture, as well as to the political situation in Britain after World War II.

The Distinction Between Literature and Science

Firstly, "the two cultures" can be viewed as an expression of a classic and traditional British distinction between literature and science, a distinction which has no exact Swedish counterpart. In the late 19th century, classical scholar Matthew Arnold and anatomist and zoologist T. H. Huxley (also an ardent advocate of Darwin) had a famous argument on this matter. In their discussion concerning the roles of science in culture and society, Huxley claimed that knowledge of science was of great importance for the cultured personality. Arnold, however, asserted that literature was superior and occupied a place apart in culture. As a mediator, author John Burroughs wrote "Science and Literature" (1889), acting as peace broker by describing the distinctions and differences between these fields. The arguing in "Science and Literature" is based on a strict division of intellectual labour between these two groups.

In the debate of Arnold and Huxley, the fields at stake were science and literature, not science and *art*. As Daniel Cordle has pointed out in *Postmodern Postures: Literature, Science and the Two Cultures Debate* (2000), there is an imbalance between the terms. Science is an umbrella term for a range of disciplines and sub disciplines, while literature is but one part of the arts, even though it has, according to Cordle, often been considered a champion of the arts, the preferred and paradigmatic humanities subject.[18] Literature and science have then been constructed as conceptual opposites. Snow's idea of "the two cultures" can be viewed in line with this dualistic structure, and his argumentation was in many ways similar to that of T. H. Huxley.

Another sign of this literature–science dichotomy was a debate that broke out in 1962, when renowned literary critic and Cambridge scholar F. R. Leavis attacked Snow and his ideas in *Two Cultures?: The Significance of C. P. Snow*. Leavis claimed that Snow had given the wrong picture of the literary intellectuals, but above all, he rejected and ridiculed Snow as an author. He wrote that "as a novelist he [Snow] doesn't exist […]. He can't be said to know what a novel is". He suggested that Snow's – in his view – monotonous and undistinguished novels could just as well have been written by an electronic brain.[19] The following debate sometimes degenerated to a question of taking sides – Leavis's or Snow's.[20] Eventually, author Aldous Huxley acted as mediator with his essay *Literature and Science* (1963), describing the distinctive features of the two traditions. With Aldous Huxley's contribution, the pattern from the 1880s had repeated itself: Snow, like T. H. Huxley, had pointed to the problem with the weak position of science in society and culture, and Leavis, like Arnold, had defended the cultural status of literature. As the grandchild of T. H. Huxley and as distant rela-

---

17 C. P. Snow, "The Two Cultures", *New Statesman*, 6 Oct. 1956.

18 Cordle, *Postmodern Postures*, 13–20.

19 F. R. Leavis, *Two Cultures?: The Significance of C. P. Snow* (London, 1962). Quotation from p. 13.

20 For an overview of the British debate on Snow, Leavis and "the two cultures", see *Cultures in Conflict: Perspectives on the Snow–Leavis Controversy*, ed. David K. Cornelius & Edwin St. Vincent (Chicago, 1964).

tive of Matthew Arnold as well, Aldous Huxley then tried to reconcile literature and science by pointing out the differences and by suggesting job splitting and general goodwill.[21] In all of these examples, the distinction was made between science and literature, *not* science and art. As we shall see later, this particular dichotomy has not been at the core of the Swedish debate on "the two cultures", where debaters have rather tended to view the split between the sciences and the humanities in general.

The Blindness and Insights of an Outsider in Interwar Britain

A second contributory factor of importance for Snow's formulation of the concept of "the two cultures", is, as I have already touched upon, Snow's personal experiences of trying to combine his interest in the scientific development with his affection for literature during his years in Cambridge. "The two cultures" can be viewed as an isolated description of the different attitudes of conservative or reactionary modernist writers and more radical and socially optimistic scientists during the interwar period. John R. de la Mothe has suggested that "the two cultures" was an expression of the insights as well as the blindness of an outsider. Snow's background in the middle-class pointed to a class-distinction between him and most of his colleagues. He was a second-rate scientist among brilliance and Nobel Prize winners, but also a writer among scientists. As a writer with a scientific ethos, however, he was not a part of Cambridge literary circles, where F .R. Leavis and the New Critics set the tone.[22]

The description of the two groups that made up Snow's "two cultures" had much in common with Cambridge college life of the 1930s. Most of the scientists mentioned in *The Two Cultures* were active in Cambridge during Snow's formative years as scientist and author – e.g. mathematician G. H. Hardy and physicists Ernest Rutherford and J. D. Bernal.[23] As Snow put it, the scientific culture really was a culture (perhaps, as we would view it today, a sub-culture), sharing a scientific ethos that consisted of political radicalism, optimism, a strong belief in the future for mankind and a desire to transform the British society.[24]

Snow's description of the scientific culture was heavily dependent on what we now refer to as the "scientific left", a leftist movement among scientists with Marxist oriented J. D. Bernal as something of a central character. As Gary Werskey illustrates in *The Visible College* (1978), at this particular time, the fusion between radicalism and technocracy was possible in scientific culture. Some of the leftist scientists were also engaged in public discussions on social problems.[25] In *The Social Function of Science* (1939), Bernal argued that science should serve society and be set free from capitalism. Science must be planned by the government and scientists take part more actively in improving society.[26] Bernal seems to have been an ideal scientist for Snow, even though he did not share Bernal's collectivistic model, and rather discussed the importance of science for the individual than for society at large.[27] On the whole, Snow's view of science seems to have been deeply affected by his years in Cambridge, and by his feeling of being a part of what he considered to be a golden age of science.

Snow's description of the literary intellectuals or the literary culture was a bit more vaguely expressed. But most of his examples referred to the modernist writers and cultural

---

21 Aldous Huxley, *Literature and Science* (London, 1963). For a closer account of the literature–science conflict in historical perspective, see Cordle, *Postmodern Postures*, 11–44.

22 de la Mothe, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity*, 52, 140. Cf. Philip Snow, *Stranger and Brother*, 8, 24.

23 Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 4, 10. Cf. Gary Werskey, *The Visible College* (London, 1978), 24.

24 Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 5–10. As Snow expressed it, scientists had "the future in their bones" (ibid., 10).

25 Werskey, *The Visible* College, passim. Cf. Vidar Enebakk, *Mellom de to kulturer: oppkomsten av vitenskapsstudier og etableringen av Edinburghskolen 1966–76* [In Between Two Cultures: The Creation of Science Studies and the Establishing of the Edinburgh School 1966–1976] (diss. Oslo, 2005), 286–289.

26 de la Mothe, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity*, 40. Cf. Enebakk, *Mellom de to kulturer*, 48–49.

27 de la Mothe, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity*, 140–141.

critics who were the central characters in British culture in those days. He claimed T. S. Eliot to be the very archetype of a literary intellectual, and he also mentioned Ezra Pound, Wyndham Lewis, William Butler Yeats, D. H. Lawrence and George Orwell as representatives of this literary culture.[28] Snow's outline especially stressed the political tension between scientists and literary intellectuals. While scientists, according to Snow, were often leftists, literary intellectuals were described as politically conservative, even reactionary. Snow connected the modernist writers to an earlier generation of literary "luddites" and sceptics of the industrial movement, e.g. Henry David Thoreau and Ralph Waldo Emerson.[29]

Martin Wiener has discussed the paradoxical case of Britain: In the nation where industrialism made its first breakthrough, there was also an air of strong scepticism towards technical progress and materialism, especially among the bourgeoisie. Wiener claims that Snow was one of the first to criticise the attitude of this intellectual elite.[30] As Charles Ferrall states in his study on modernist writers and reactionary politics, part of this elite, e.g. writers like Yeats, Pound, Eliot, Lawrence and Lewis, shared a sceptic attitude to liberalism, industrialism and progress. Some of them were even drawn towards fascist ideology. In their ambivalent attitude to modernity, they invoked a pre-modern idyllic existence and claimed l'art pour l'art by ways of creating a separate sphere for art, independent of the development of society.[31] Even though Snow shared the social background of many of these writers, neither did he agree with their view of literature nor of politics.[32]

We now have an additional way to interpret Snow's dualistic picture of "the two cultures". Besides being an expression of a traditional dichotomy of literature and science, "the two cultures" can be seen as a description of Snow's personal experiences of standing in between or perhaps outside of two particular groups, sharing most of the ideals of scientific culture but, at the same time, wanting to play a part in literary culture by changing its aesthetic values and attitudes to society. But Snow's conception *also* reflects post-war Britain and the current state of politics, education and culture.

Post-War Britain and the State of Education and Power Politics

Summing up his lifelong impressions in the late 1950s, Snow made "the two cultures" a contribution to the debate on educational politics and power politics. He was disappointed in post-war Britain and its conservative government, which did not initiate a necessary modernization of the school system by strengthening the roles of science and technology in society. The new government did not share the view of science of the scientific left, so influential during the war. Both Snow and J. D. Bernal lost their central positions as scientific advisors and recruiters for the government after the war.[33] Bernal's communist views and his inspiration from Soviet planning models were also met with more suspicion, and the scientific left was continuously attacked in the media, e.g. by writers Arthur Koestler, E. M. Forster and George Orwell.[34] During the fifties, Snow thus saw his visions for science and technology evaporate. The view of science and technology in society was also compromised by the con-

---

28 Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 4, 7, 23–24, 49.
29 Ibid., 21–24.
30 Martin J. Wiener, *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850–1980* (Cambridge, 1981), 158–162.
31 Charles Ferrall, *Modernist Writing and Reactionary Politics* (Cambridge, 2001), 2–3, 6, 13–14.
32 de la Mothe views Snow's political opinions as part of a broad liberal tradition, see de la Mothe, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity*, 75, 149–152. For similar remarks see also Halperin, *C. P. Snow, an Oral Biography*, 40, 62, 66–67; John Hultberg, *A Tale of Two Cultures: The Image of Science of C. P. Snow* (diss. Göteborg, 1990), 162; Jerome Thale, *C. P. Snow* (Edinburgh, 1964), 14.
33 Enebakk, *Mellom de to kulturer*, 51–52; Werskey, *The Visible College*, 278–279.
34 Werskey, *The Visible College*, 281–290. Werskey even refers to these attacks as a "cultural cold war" against the scientific left, p. 281.

nections to military industry. Several British scientists moved to the United States and those remaining had problems finishing major research projects.[35]

The Two Cultures can then also be seen as an elegy over Britain no longer playing an important part in the global struggle for power. In the last section of the pamphlet, Snow discussed the importance of science and technology taking an active part in society, partly influenced by Bernal's opinion that science should be socially organized and funded.[36] Snow stressed the importance of rethinking the British educational system, especially the tradition of early specialization. He claimed that education in the Soviet Union, as well as in the USA, had adjusted to a modern society in ways that had made Britain fall behind.

In his argumentation, Snow connected British educational traditions with the problem of the division between rich and poor nations. He considered it of crucial importance that the Western world helped out in the transforming of the poor countries. British scientists and engineers should take part in spreading industrialisation and carrying out a new scientific revolution. But this enterprise must not end in paternalism – scientists and engineers had to be trained in human terms as well.[37] As Snow concluded in *The Two Cultures*, Britain and the whole Western world needed to "look at education with fresh eyes".[38] In so doing, he made a statement of immediate interest for British educational and research politics. Some years later, in 1964, new Labour leader Harold Wilson won the election with a policy that strongly emphasized the social functions of science and technology, similar to the view of the scientific left. Snow was offered, and took on, the post as junior minister of technology in the new Labour Government of Harold Wilson for some time. In the mid sixties, new types of "science studies units" were also founded, aiming at reinterpreting science history and making scientists and engineers aware of their roles in society.[39] Part of the discussion on science and society from the 1930s had finally made a difference in British educational and research politics.

This outline of the complex background of the concept of "the two cultures" is necessary in order to grasp the differences between Snow's motives and the Swedish debate, where Snow's specific circumstances were seldom considered. Snow's *The Two Cultures* is a deeply personal but also a very British pamphlet, and in a way, it is peculiar that Swedish debaters made this a statement of such importance. Partly, the popularity of Snow's concept can be explained by what happened in the very process of transferring and reinterpreting Snow's thoughts. Swedish debaters made "the two cultures" a part of a particular Swedish conceptual frame of reference. Debaters with interests, experiences and backgrounds differing from Snow's took part in a process of "cultural transferring"[40] of the concept, and the debate was affected by a new cultural context. "The two cultures" became a catch-phrase of the 1960s, but is still quite common in certain kinds of discussions in Sweden. What happened then, more precisely, when "the two cultures" left home to live a life of its own in the Swedish debate?

---

35   Enebakk, *Mellom de to kulturer*, 53.
36   Ibid., 45.
37   Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 38–48.
38   Ibid., 48.
39   Werskey, *The Visible College*, 320; Enebakk, *Mellom de to kulturer*, 54–59.
40   According to French scholar in Nordic history of literature and ideas, Sylvain Briens, the here alluded term, "cultural transfer" (which he translates into Swedish as "kulturell rekontextualisering"), can be used to describe the transfer-process of a cultural phenomenon from one culture to another, causing changes in meaning and content due to the new cultural context. The originator of this term is French historian Michel Espagne, who in discussing "transfert culturel" is claiming that all cultural contacts are affected by the difficulties of translating cultural codes. See Sylvain Briens, "Vilken stad är ditt Paris?" [Which City is your Paris?], *Svenska Dagbladet*, 19 May 2007; Michel Espagne & Michael Werner *Transferts: les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand: XVIIIe et XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1988). The results of the Swedish interpretative process of "the two cultures" expressed in this essay confirm Espagne's perspective.

The Swedish Translation

As mentioned above, *The Two Cultures* was translated into Swedish in 1961 by Claes-Adam and Lillemor Wachtmeister. They were connected with a radical Swedish student society called Verdandi, founded in the 1880s and for a long time associated with adult education and popular science publications. The translated version of *The Two Cultures*, *De två kulturerna*, was the first title in a new series of critical and polemical statements published by Verdandi. When comparing the original text with the Swedish translation, it is obvious that there are differences in intellectual and conceptual traditions which have played a crucial part in the transforming of Snow's concept to fit a Swedish frame of reference. Apart from the translation itself, the concept was frequently made use of in certain Swedish debates and contexts, and in connection with certain other concepts, most frequently terms like *Bildung*, humanism, the humanities and science.

What is important to notice is that the Swedish comprehension of several of these concepts differs from the English ones, mainly because their modern meanings were established during the 19th century and under the influence of German culture in Sweden. A first illustration is how Snow's phrase "literary intellectuals" was translated into Swedish. In *De två kulturerna*, literary intellectuals were throughout referred to as *humanister* (humanists).[41] In Sweden, it seemed, there was no literary culture so dominant that it could stand alone in this category. This "humanistic" conception of the literary intellectuals differed a great deal from Snow's. That is actually the most striking difference between the original and the Swedish translation: Snow did not use concepts like humanism, humanists or the humanities when naming one of the groups in "the two cultures" nor elsewhere in *The Two Cultures*. But these concepts played a significant part in the Swedish understanding of "the two cultures".

Further, the Swedish conceptions of humanism and humanist might not completely correspond with the Anglo-American view of the same concepts. Humanism is certainly a concept of various meanings in both languages, but there might be cultural differences in the range of meaning. Another difference might be what connotation of a concept is most heavily stressed in a certain culture. Naturally, the conceptual range of meaning also changes over time.

Judging from the debate following *The Two Cultures* in Sweden, *humanister* could aim at classical scholars as well as writers, journalists or debaters with cultural interests in general. The range of meaning of the Swedish conception of *humanism* has for a long time been extensive, and it has clearly been under the influence of German intellectual, educational and philosophical debate of the 19th century. In Swedish, *humanism* can be described as an attitude to life and a process of formation and self-fulfilment, connected to the German concept of *Bildung*. This aristocratic interpretation is strongly influenced by the renaissance liberal arts movement and, before that, by Greek philosophers like Cicero in his ideal of nobility. The more ethical and humanitarian dimension of the concept, central in the Anglo-American humanist tradition, is also present in the Swedish understanding, especially after World War II. *Humanism*, in this sense, is then the affirmation of the dignity and worth of all people and the discussion of universal human qualities. In the Swedish language, *humanister* has frequently and for a long time *also* been used to describe humanities scholars, not only referring to scholars of the classical literature and languages but also to liberal arts scholars in a broad sense.[42]

---

41 See e.g. Snow, *De två kulturerna*, 7. Snow's "scientists" was translated as *naturvetenskapsmännen* (natural scientists), which is more in agreement with the British conception than "literary intellectuals" as compared to *humanister*. But, as we shall see below, the Swedish and the British concepts of science have different ranges of meaning.

42 There are several thorough discussions on the Swedish conception of *humanism* published in later years, but I have found no one written in or translated into English. This lack might express the difficulties we have in trying to explain the grounds for differences in conceptual traditions of different countries, especially while

When Swedish debaters of "the two cultures" referred to *humanister* or *humanism* or to a humanistic culture as one of the parties in Snow's dichotomy, the different meanings of the concept were often blurred. *Humanism* might, as in the 19th century and especially after World War I, again be used as a spiritual and moral offset against materialism and technical development.[43] Just as often though, *humanister* denoted humanities scholars and an epistemological division between the sciences and the humanities. This description of "the two cultures" as two *academic* groups has been very common in Sweden, but we have not, like Snow, stressed the literary culture as the counterpart to science. John Hultberg has pointed out that Snow himself did not really consider "the two cultures" a question of epistemology.[44] *The Two Cultures* is not a scientific investigation, written out of theory; it is a pamphlet, very essayistic, full of anecdotes and personal accounts of two different groups or types of people, almost with different temperaments and attitudes to life. These were the two groups that were most crucial for Snow's own life: writers and scientists. But Swedish debate on "the two cultures" reflected from the very start a broader interpretation of Snow's concept, more in line with German conceptions and traditions. The translation of "literary intellectuals" into *humanister* is but one illustration of the shift of meaning taking place when "the two cultures" left its origin. To enter deeply into the Swedish debate on this concept is the aim of the rest of the essay.

The Swedish Debate and the Conceptual Frame of Reference

Snow's pamphlet gained a lot of attention in Sweden during the early 1960s. Along with the translation, a conceptual frame of reference started to form around "the two cultures", at that time most strongly emphasizing "the two cultures" as referring to the question of *Bildung* and as displaying the relationship between humanistic general education and scientific specialization. *Bildung* is a traditionally German concept and has no exact British counterpart[45] – and Snow did not refer to it in *The Two Cultures*. But as the chief paragon for Sweden in the 19th century was Germany, the concept of *Bildung* was imported to Swedish debate as *bildning*.[46] In the Swedish understanding of *bildning* there was also an intimate connection between *bildning*, the humanities and humanism as concepts with similar roots in Greek antiquity (the same can be said of the German tradition).[47] Thus, the Swedish conception of

using another language than our own. For a discussion of *humanism* in Swedish, see e.g. Anders Piltz, "Human, humaniora, humanism: kan man utbildas till människa?" [Humane, the Humanities, Humanism: can one Educate oneself to be Human?], *Språk i världen: broar och barriärer*, ed. Jerker Blomqvist & Ulf Teleman (Lund, 1993) or Jonas Hansson, *Humanismens kris: bildningsideal och kulturkritik i Sverige 1848–1933* [The Crisis of Humanism: Bildung and Cultural Critique in Sweden 1848–1933] (diss. Lund; Eslöv, 1999), with an English summary. Bo Lindberg has written on the tension between humanism and science in Swedish philology, but, significantly for the cultural influences on these concepts from German traditions, his summary of the book is in German, see Bo Lindberg, *Humanism och vetenskap: den klassiska filologien i Sverige från 1800-talets början till andra världskriget* [Humanism and Science: Classical Philology in Sweden from early 19th Century to the Second World War] (Stockholm, 1987).

43   Cf. Hansson, *Humanismens kris,* 212.

44   Hultberg, *A Tale of Two Cultures*, 10–11, 192–196.

45   Cf. Koselleck, "On the Anthropological and Semantic Structure of *Bildung*", in Koselleck, *The Practice of Conceptual History*, 173, 175.

46   Swedish historian of ideas, Sven-Eric Liedman, has written an essay on the influences of German intellectual traditions in Sweden regarding the concept of *Bildung* in the university and on lower levels of the educational system, see Sven-Eric Liedman, "In Search of Isis: General Education in Germany and Sweden", *The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays*, ed. Sheldon Rothblatt & Björn Wittrock (Cambridge, 1993).

47   Liedman states that even though *Bildung* was not originally a concept associated with a certain stock of knowledge or cultural heritage, gradually, the discussion on *Bildung* merely concerned humanistic subjects and served as part of a defensive strategy of protecting the humanities when they lost ground to science, technology and eventually to the social sciences. See ibid., 100.

"the two cultures" was affected by a partially different conceptual frame of reference than the British one, as the former was influenced by historical intellectual traditions from Germany. But the Swedish view of "the two cultures" was also influenced by the ongoing debate on the Swedish welfare state and the process of democratization. Several Swedish debaters claimed that there was a crucial difference between the state of science and technology in Sweden and Britain. In the idea of the welfare state, science and technology were seen as important factors in the modernization of social life. The process of democratization was also an important part of educational politics and gradually made a discussion on *bildning* more difficult to maintain. In the early 1960s, however, it was still possible to put the concept of *bildning* on the agenda.

Bildning

One of the most important reasons for the Swedish understanding of "the two cultures" as a question of *bildning* is the state of the social democratic educational politics at this particular time. In the early 1960s, educational reforms were being planned and were gradually carried out on all levels of the Swedish educational system. The suggested reforms were frequently discussed and evaluated in public debate. As it were, Snow's pamphlet was interpreted as a statement, relevant for this particular educational context.[48]

One of the central questions brought up in this debate concerned what should be the main objectives for the new "gymnasium" (upper secondary school), common for all pupils. Specialization was a necessary goal on this level of education, but many Swedish politicians and debaters also stressed the role of *bildning*. If *bildning* was to be one of the functions of education in the "gymnasium", was it not necessary to redefine the concept to fit a modern society and the political process of democratization? Should not knowledge of science and technology and the scientific world picture also be considered as cultivating, as a part of the *bildning*? These questions served as a starting-point for a debate in one of Sweden's central papers, *Dagens Nyheter*, in 1962.[49] The paper had invited some of the central Swedish academics and writers of the time to reflect on the new gymnasium and the role of *bildning* in it. The debaters continuously made references to Snow and *The Two Cultures*. In the discussion, debaters such as histologist and writer Lars Gyllensten and philosopher Ingemar Hedenius claimed that the classical concept of *bildning,* with its aristocratic and bourgeois connotations, was out-of-date or needed to be redefined.[50] Some debaters with a background in science and mathematics pointed out that the concept had a strong humanistic bias, but claimed that science and technology should also be considered as cultivating. Humanists or the humanities could not have the sole right to concepts like intellectual, *bildning* or culture, as mathematician Sonja Lyttkens stated.[51] Lyttkens here hinted at Snow's discussion of the British literary intellectuals, "who incidentally while no one was looking took to referring to themselves as 'intellectuals' as though there were no others", as Snow had put it.[52] In this

---

48 According to Liedman, the discussion on *bildning* lost ground in Sweden during the first decades of the 20th century and especially after World War II. From being a central task of the university in the 19th century, *bildning*, or rather *allmänbildning* (general education) gradually became the chief goal of comprehensive school while studies in the gymnasium and in university became predominantly vocational. Ibid., 101–102.

49 The headline of the debate was "Bildningsideal i rymdåldern", which reads something like "*Bildung* for the space age".

50 Lars Gyllensten, "Bildning och nytta" [*Bildung* and Utility], *Dagens Nyheter*, 11 Feb. 1962; Ingemar Hedenius, "Människointresse och bildning" [Interest in Humanity and *Bildung*], *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 Mar. 1962.

51 Sonja Lyttkens, "Humanisternas bildningsmonopol" [The Humanists' Monopoly of *Bildung*], *Dagens Nyheter*, 2 Jan. 1962.

52 Snow, *The Two Cultures*, 3–4.

debate, several of those involved rejected Snow's analysis as valid for Swedish society and culture.[53] At the same time though, they felt obliged to mention his concept and started to recontextualize[54] it to better fit the Swedish debate.

As one solution of the problematic division between specialization and general education, some debaters in *Dagens Nyheter* and elsewhere in the debate of the time asserted that history of ideas could be a new school subject in the gymnasium. It was suggested that history of ideas had an integrative power which could reconcile classical and scientific studies.[55] This proposal had actually been discussed in Swedish educational politics for some time, and in the new gymnasium of 1966, history of ideas was initiated as a new perspective to be considered in already existing subjects of the curriculum, together with an obligatory course on science for pupils of arts and humanities. In reality, however, these visions were difficult to attain, due to a lack of necessary knowledge among many of the teachers and insufficient resources in general.[56] The ambition to reconcile "the two cultures" exceeded reality.

When Snow's concept was connected to *bildning* in the Swedish debate, the relationship between the general and broad process of self-formation of the individual and the narrower process of specialization was continuously brought up. In this interpretative process, "the two cultures" was understood in line with older historical traditions and conceptions. At least since the 19th century, there had been recurrent challenges between different notions of *bildning* in Sweden. On the one hand, there were the scholarly followers of the classic-humanistic and idealist conception, while for example scientists and engineers often embraced an idea of *bildning* that emphasized more civil, practical and scientific aspects and their significance in education and society. This divide was for a long time embodied in the secondary grammar school with its split between pupils of science and pupils of arts.[57] This classical and historical conflict, with roots in the clashing of Enlightenment and Romanticism and its different views of *bildning*, affected the Swedish conceptual frame of reference developed around "the two cultures". Snow's concept simply seemed to offer a new and congenial metaphor to describe a historical disunion. "The two cultures" had a triggering effect, but Swedish debaters tended to repeat the historical arguments, quite regardless of the personal and complex background for this conception. As a result, the concept was given a considerably more universal application in the Swedish debate on *bildning* than in the original work.

During the late sixties, a utilitarian view of knowledge grew to dominate the debate on education, causing ideas of *bildning* – a self-cultivation for its own sake – to seem out of

---

53 E.g. Ingemar Düring, "Humanister och naturvetare" [Humanists and Scientists], *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 Jan. 1962; Torsten Gårdlund, "Den tredje kulturen" [The Third Culture], *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 Jan. 1962; Ragnar Granit, "Bildning och specialisering" [*Bildung* and Specialization], *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 Feb. 1962.

54 By "recontextualize" I intend the "moving of something from one context into another", see Per Linell, *Approaching Dialogue: Talk, Interaction and Contexts in Dialogical Perspectives* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1998), 141, note 24.

55 Debaters in "Bildningsideal i rymdåldern" suggesting history of ideas as a school subject were Ingemar Düring and Lars Gårding (the latter in "Program för gymnasiet" [A Curriculum for the Gymnasium], *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 Jan. 1962). *Dagens Nyheter* also published an editorial on the subject, summing up the debate on *Bildning* in the gymnasium, see "Bildningsideal i rymdåldern", *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 Mar. 1962. Another debater who stressed the history of ideas as contributing to a process of formation in the individual was literary historian Erik Hjalmar Linder in *Bildning i tjugonde seklet* [*Bildung* in the Twentieth Century] (Stockholm, 1962).

56 Britt Wilson Lohse has discussed the problems of *Bildung* put into practice in the new gymnasium in "Gymnasieskolans roll i bildningsdebatten – en tillbakablick på sjuttiotalet" [The Role of the Gymnasium in the Debate on *Bildung* in the Seventies], *Högskolans bildningsprogram – finns det?: om bildning och humaniora som allmän medborgarkunskap eller yrkesmässig kvalifikation: en seminariedokumentation*, ed. Kenneth Abrahamsson (Stockholm, 1985).

57 Cf. Liedman, "In Search of Isis", 90–106. One Swedish debater who stressed that the natural sciences should be an aspect of *Bildning* was scientist and bishop Carl Adolph Agardh, see ibid., 94.

date.[58] The discussion on *bildning* subsided while a slightly different discourse started to grow strong in the Swedish debate: radicalization.[59] The concept of *bildning*, with its bourgeois connotations, did not fit with the left-wing tendencies of the time, but neither did "the two cultures", or so it seemed. Even though Snow had brought up the problematic imbalance between rich and poor countries, this part of his lecture did not get much attention in Sweden at any time. Probably, Snow's technocratic attitudes and his strong confidence in science and technology as the chief solutions to political matters of world importance were essentially different from the societal view of the political left.[60] The focus for Swedish public debate shifted in the late sixties and early seventies and was gradually more influenced by the political situation abroad. *Bildning* was not on top of the agenda when Swedish debaters attended to the conflict in Vietnam, issues of equality, pollution and a general leftist critique of excessive rationalism, technomania and scientism.

Vetenskap

As time went on and as specialization and complexity grew stronger at the universities and in society at large, there was a certain shift of focus in the Swedish debate on "the two cultures". *Bildning* as a reconciling process was no longer the main objective for this debate. Instead, "the two cultures" was gradually understood as a description of an academic and epistemological, as well as methodological, split between the sciences and the humanities. This interpretation of "the two cultures" grew stronger and was perhaps even the dominating one in the 1990s and after the turn of the millennium. At the same time, this was a shift in the main emphasis of the conceptual frame of reference of "the two cultures", rather than a complete transformation. *Bildning*, and even more so, *allmänbildning* (general education, aiming at the broad orientation in different branches of knowledge), have lingered in the periphery of Swedish debate on "the two cultures".

To start with, one needs to understand the proportions of this view of "the two cultures" as a description of an academic conflict. Similar to the Swedish debate on *bildning*, the Swedish discussion on the division between the sciences and the humanities had mainly been inspired by German intellectual and scholarly traditions. This is perhaps most clearly illustrated by the range of meaning of the Swedish concept *vetenskap*, influenced by German *Wissenschaft* rather than Anglo-American *science*.

In the German, quite inclusive conception of *Wissenschaft*, *Naturwissenschaften* (the natural sciences) as well as *Geisteswissenschaften* (the arts or humanities) have, at least since the 19th century, been understood as scientific enterprises. This view was emphasized, e.g. by German historian and philosopher Wilhelm Dilthey, who in the 1880s and in a culture dominated by the natural sciences wanted to establish a theoretical and methodological foundation for the "human" sciences, for *Geisteswissenschaften*. In so doing, he claimed that the *Geisteswissenschaften* were just as scientific as *Naturwissenschaften*, but they differed theoretically and methodologically. Dilthey distinguished the natural world studied by *Naturwissenschaften* from the inner experiences as the object of study for *Geisteswissenschaften*. *Naturwissenschaften* sought to explain (*erklären*) natural phenomena in terms of cause and effect and deriving from the laws of nature, while *Geisteswissenschaften* concentrated upon under-

---

58   Ibid., 101.
59   Radical tendencies are present in some statements in "Bildningsideal i rymdåldern" as well, but is more clearly expressed e.g. in the writer and debater Bengt Nerman's *Demokratins kultursyn* [A Democratic View of Culture] (Stockholm, 1962), and from 1965, leftists set the tone of the Swedish debate. See e.g. Anders Frenander, *Debattens vågor: om politiskt-ideologiska frågor i efterkrigstidens svenska kulturdebatt* [The Waves of the Debate: On Political-Ideological Topics in Post-War Cultural Debate in Sweden] (diss. Göteborg, 1999), with an English summary, chap. 5–6.
60   Cf. Enebakk, *De to kulturer*, 41.

standing (*verstehen*) and interpreting the individual as a unique phenomenon with hermeneutic methods.[61] In the English language by this time, a contrary development resulted in a narrowing of the science concept, which could earlier refer to e.g. theology, philosophy or law, but now only denoted the natural and exact sciences.[62]

The Swedish view of *vetenskap* is illustrated by the translation of *The Two Cultures*. When Snow's "scientists" was translated into Swedish, it was pointed out that these were the scientists of the *natural* sciences (*naturvetenskaperna*), who did not have the sole right to the concept of science.[63] The Swedish translation of "literary intellectuals" as *humanister* (humanists) at least partially referred to scholars of the humanities at the university. The translation in *De två kulturerna* was in line with the Swedish, and German-influenced interpretation of *vetenskap*, a concept that comprised all the disciplines of the university, not only the natural sciences.

This broader notion of *vetenskap* that describes the humanities as equally scientific as the sciences has been very common in Sweden, and was often the basis for the Swedish debates on "the two cultures". Further, the most eager debaters on this subject often had a background as researchers in the humanities (*humaniora*) or the social sciences (*samhällsvetenskaperna*).[64] If there was a division that concerned these debaters, it was then a split in science itself, between the natural sciences and the humanities. Snow's concept was here associated with a discussion concerning differences in epistemology, various methodological approaches and with the distinctive characters of different disciplines and the relationships between them.[65]

The dualistic description of the sciences versus the humanities sometimes became more extensive. Not only would some debaters place technology and medicine along with science on the same side, but in course of time, the social sciences were also taken as standing on the same side as the humanities. This characterizes one of the most recent Swedish discussions on "the two cultures". In 2005, Swedish journal *Axess* published an issue focusing "the two cultures" splitting the academic life and causing clashes and conflicts. Terms such as the "human" sciences (*humanvetenskaperna*) and the "cultural" sciences (*kulturvetenskaperna*) were frequently used by the debaters – sociologist Mats Benner, historian Arne Jarrick and historian of economics and agriculture Janken Myrdal – as the counterpart to the natural sciences.[66]

---

61 For a version of the epistemological description of the relationship between *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*, see e.g. Georg Henrik von Wright, *Explanation and Understanding* (London, 1971).

62 Sven-Eric Liedman has discussed the plausible structural causes for the differences between the range of meaning of German *Wissenschaft* and Anglo-American science. He claims that differences in the roles of institutions and the university system in the two countries have affected the differences in conceptions. While German *Wissenschaft* points to any body of knowledge with a place in the university system, science is a class concept and an ideal type; something is scientific if it corresponds to a certain scientific standard, regardless of its place inside or outside the system. See Sven-Eric Liedman, "Institutions and Ideas: Mandarins and Non-Mandarins in the German Academic Intelligentsia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1985:1 (vol 28), 130–135.

63 Snow, *De två kulturerna*, 7.

64 This is characteristic e.g. of a debate in the Swedish newspaper *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* in 1990, with the headline "De två kulturerna" [The Two Cultures]. Historian of ideas Svante Nordin reread Snow's pamphlet and encouraged several scholars from literature, history, philosophy and sociology to do the same. Some writers with a background in medicine (Lars Gyllensten and P. C. Jersild) as well as a neurologist and a science journalist also took part in the discussion.

65 Of course, "the two cultures" interpreted as an epistemological dichotomy has never been able to capture the complexity of the university and its broad range of subjects and faculties. Subjects and scholarly traditions like theology, economics or law have very seldom been a part of "the two cultures" description in Swedish debate.

66 See Mats Benner, "Naturvetenskapen intar humanvetenskapens domän", *Axess* 2005:2; Arne Jarrick, "Även kulturvarelser förblir naturvarelser" and Janken Myrdal, "Den ensammes monografi och forskargängets

The tendency to include the social sciences in "the two cultures" split probably has to do with the expansion of these disciplines during the post-war period. This inclusion served almost as a reinforcement of the divide within science itself. Back in the early 1960s, C. P. Snow had often been criticized for not having paid attention to the social sciences, and he later thought that they would perhaps become a "third culture", reconciling the other two (discussed in Snow's follow-up *The Two Cultures: And a Second Look* (1964)).[67] Such a perspective received some attention in the debate of the 1960s, for instance by analytical philosopher Georg Henrik von Wright, who at the time apprehended the influence of mathematics and quantitative methods on behavioural science as a step towards a unification in science.[68] Later on however, it became more common to describe the social sciences and the humanities as being on the same side in the conflict.

Not every Swedish debater agreed with this broad conception of science, in line with the German discussion of *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*, explanation and understanding. Some debaters, who attached themselves to a scientific, rational and perhaps also positivist attitude, doubted or denied that the humanities could really be viewed as "scientific", especially when, in the 1980s and 1990s, the postmodern philosophy affected the perspectives and founding principles of the humanities. Postmodernism was sometimes conceived as the major threat for the scientific (scholarly) quality of the humanities. The writer and former doctor P. C. Jersild brought up such a perspective on several occasions, as did the doctor, biologist and cancer researcher Georg Klein, but debaters with a background in the humanities could express such a concern for the future of the humanities as well.[69]

In this process, when Snow's concept was connected mainly with *vetenskap* and the conflict between the natural sciences and the "human" sciences, by and by "the two cultures" came to function mainly as a retrospective tool for discussing historical change in the relationship between disciplines. When Snow's outline of "the two cultures" was taken as point of departure, debaters would notice that since his time around 1960, the balance of power between the humanities and the sciences had changed radically.[70] As one example, sociologist Mats Benner (in *Axess* 2005), reflected on shifts of authority and of objects of study in the research society with Snow's description as comparison and background. He noticed that science, technology and medicine were now expanding as the humanities were on the defensive. There had also been a shift in what scientific discipline held the leading position. It was no longer physicists who set the agenda but geneticists. With research on the human genome, the

---

pek" in the same issue. These essays are translated into English and available at
http://www.axess.se/english/2005/02/theme_benner.php (for Mats Benner's essay "Humanising Biology");
http://www.axess.se/english/2005/02/theme_jarrick.php (for Arne Jarrick's "Cultural Beings vs Natural Beings") and http://www.axess.se/english/2005/02/theme_myrdal.php (for Janken Myrdal's "Interdisciplinary Crafts") (June 25, 2007). In the translation, the humanities is the dominating term used to describe the "human" or "cultural" sciences.

67 C. P. Snow, *The Two Cultures: And a Second Look* (Cambridge, 1964), 69–71.

68 Georg Henrik von Wright, "Enhet och splittring i vetenskapen" [Unity and Division in Science], *Horisont* 1962:5/6.

69 See e.g. P. C. Jersild, "Det hotade förnuftet" [The Threat to Reason], *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 12 Aug. 1990 and *Humpty-Dumptys fall: livsåskådningsbok* [The Fall of Humpty-Dumpty: a Book on Philosophy of Life] (Stockholm, 1990); Georg Klein, *Korpens blick: essäer om vetenskap och moral* [The Raven's Eye: Essays on Science and Morality] (Stockholm, 1998). For a historian with a similar critique of the "postmodern turn" in the humanities, see Thorsten Nybom, "Kulturvetenskapens karaktär och nytta" [The Character and Utility of the Cultural Sciences], *Tvärsnitt* 1993:3.

70 See e.g. Svante Nordin, "...och aldrig mötas de två" […And Never the Twain Shall Meet], *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 5 Aug. 1990.

classical conflict between heredity and environment could once again be brought up and serve as a challenge to how humanity was defined in more "humanistic" terms.[71]

On some occasions, the well-known American conflict, often referred to as the "Science Wars", was viewed as a new formation of "the two cultures" as well, even though it had not really affected Swedish research to any great extent. This conflict between scientists (chiefly physicists) and sociologists of science was interpreted as an expression of how researchers from both sides started to take on new territories of knowledge. In the last decades, e.g. sociobiologists, geneticists and neuroscientists had challenged the "humanistic" and "anthropocentric" view of man, while a social constructivist perspective had dominated the humanities. In the growing research field of Science and Technology Studies, sociologists of science had studied the natural sciences and its supposed objective truths as culturally and socially constructed. These challenges from both "sides" created new and aggressive positioning, which were often understood as new illustrations of the "two cultures" conflict.[72]

What is significant for this part of the Swedish conceptual frame of reference for "the two cultures" is that Snow's original concept was chiefly connected to a discussion for specialists and university elites, and did not so much concern more general conditions, such as the role of the educational system for encouraging the process of development and reflexivity in the individual.[73] There had been a shift of emphasis in how "the two cultures" was conceptualised in Sweden: the debate was no longer on *bildning* in the educational system or in culture, but on an epistemological conflict between disciplines at the university. Questions at stake often dealt with authority in a scientific community or according to which criteria an enterprise would be seen as scientific. In a way, these debaters also expressed an experience of crisis for science in society in general, as the discussions sometimes included an analysis of the somewhat strained and complex relations between science, society and politics.

As for C. P. Snow himself, he did not approve of the academic turn that the debate on "the two cultures" had taken.[74] In a prologue to his collection *Public Affairs* (1971), he expressed dissatisfaction with "the two cultures" having been formulated as chiefly an epistemological conception. He seemed to criticise the scholars, self-sufficiently stuck in their ivory towers, incapable of engaging in urgent societal matters, like fighting poverty. But he also admitted that he should have kept the debate on social matters apart from the educational issues.[75] As Vidar Enebakk has pointed out, Snow would probably also have been more positive to sociology of science than the physicists of the "science wars", as it was a discipline partly springing from the "science studies units" developing in Britain in the 1960s as a bridge between "the two cultures".[76]

---

71 Benner, "Naturvetenskapen intar humanvetenskapens domän", *Axess* 2005:2. Cf. also Jarrick in the same issue of *Axess*. In a debate or "correspondence" between biologists and writers/journalists in the Swedish evening paper *Expressen* in summer 1997, a similar conflict between "nature" and "culture", genetics and humanism, heredity and environment was enacted. See Eldelin, *"De två kulturerna" flyttar hemifrån*, 237–247.

72 For further reflections and afterthoughts on what was at stake in the "science wars", see e.g. *After the Science Wars*, ed. Keith M. Ashman & Philip Barringer (London, 2001); *The Science Wars: Debating Scientific Knowledge and Technology*, ed. Keith Parsons (Amherst, NY, 2003).

73 Cf. Liedman, "In Search of Isis", 90–106, who stresses that the unique character of Swedish intellectual tradition in comparison to other countries has been its greater interest in popular education, adult education and *bildning* of the common people.

74 The "academic turn" of the "two cultures" debate clearly also dominated British discussion, see e.g. *Cultures in Conflict*, ed. Cornelius & St. Vincent.

75 C. P. Snow, "Prologue", in *Public Affairs* (London, 1971). Cf. also "The Case of Leavis and the Serious Case" and "The State of Siege" in the same volume.

76 Vidar Enebakk, "Science Wars og *De to kulturer*" [Science Wars and *The Two Cultures*], *Kunnskapsmakt*, ed. Siri Meyer & Sissel Myklebust, (Oslo, 2002), 88–94. Enebakk points out that it is peculiar that the

Concluding Remarks

It is now suitable to make some concluding remarks and to recapture the perspectives presented in this essay. The most fundamental conclusion to be drawn from this study of the relationship between the original conception of "the two cultures" and the various Swedish interpretations, is that "the two cultures" went through a process of what can be described as a "cultural transfer". Snow's concept was interpreted in a cultural and intellectual context differing from the context of the original in some crucial respects. The new context gave rise to new shades of meaning. A Swedish conceptual frame of reference developed around Snow's concept, slightly different from his understanding. "The two cultures" became "de två kulturerna" and was, in this interpretative process, connected with certain other Swedish concepts, like *bildning*, *humanism*, *humaniora*, *vetenskap* and *naturvetenskap*. These concepts had a common origin in the intellectual traditions of Germany in the 19th century. When debaters interpreted "the two cultures" as a question of *bildning*, the historical perspectives on this concept were once again brought up. "The two cultures" was seen as a new and fresh metaphor for something already familiar. Using Snow's concept, Swedish debaters could claim that a historical conflict was still an issue of vital importance. Even though the Swedish debate on educational matters was gradually more influenced by American educational politics from the 1950s onwards,[77] the shift of meaning of the central concepts for this debate was sometimes slower than changes in society and political influences.[78] A national, Swedish semantics of "the two cultures" was established, of course reminiscent of the original concept, but differing in range and shades of meaning.

"The two cultures" was indeed a concept of personal meaning for Snow, and when giving his lecture in 1959 he could not possibly have imagined to what extent his idea would be discussed in the following decades. For example, he seems to have been quite disturbed that his concern for the issue of the rich and the poor did not get much attention. But the new conceptual frame of reference of "the two cultures" might be seen as an example of what happens to almost every concept or idea: once it leaves its birthplace or origin, it sets out on an unforeseeable journey, in a complex world of interpretations in new and different frameworks and situations. There is not much the originator can do about this process.

To sum up, Snow's examples came from the two cultures he was most familiar with, but in the Swedish debate, the categories were often described as broader and partly different. Snow's special circumstances, experiences and the particular British context could sometimes be connected to the concept of "the two cultures" in Sweden, but on the whole, these aspects did not matter much. Instead, his concept became a catchword; an empty category which could be filled with contents according to the specific interests or purposes of the debaters. Therefore, "the two cultures" came to serve as an instrument in many different ways. It might orient a debater in contemporary history by relating to past and similar conditions, serving as a reflection of historical change and reoccurring patterns. The concept could be a tool for identifying relations between different scientific disciplines or their varying aims and methods. It might sometimes also function as a very British description, so that the cultural climate of Sweden was held up as a model of better understanding and less serious gaps between different groups. It could form a rhetorical point of departure for descriptions of group identity

---

"science wars" are described as yet another manifestation of "the two cultures", as sociology of knowledge was not an established branch of knowledge when Snow wrote his pamphlet.

77   Cf. Liedman, "In Search of Isis", 101.

78   As a part of *Begriffsgeschichte*, Koselleck claims that the relation between the range of meaning of concepts and historical and social change are often out of step. The transforming of language and concepts is slower than changes in society. Concepts can therefore often contain and accumulate meaning from different time periods – older meanings linger along with the newer. This circumstance is referred to as the "contemporaneity of the noncontemporaneous". See Koselleck, *Futures Past*, 79, 90.

and individuality as well as for investigations or critique of the "other" side of the "two cultures" split.

Snow's personal conception clearly attracted much attention in the public debate in Sweden. But for what reasons? Perhaps this question has partly been answered already: "The two cultures" was a simplification, and as such it would serve as a useful tool for thought. It was a very effective formulation, but also open and ambiguous enough to attract debaters from very different backgrounds. The concept could therefore be connected to several and various projects and interests. One of the conditions of such a varied and active conceptual frame of reference was, then, that the origin of the concept was ignored or forgotten.

References

After the Science Wars, ed. Keith M. Ashman & Philip Barringer (London, 2001).

Benner, Mats, "Naturvetenskapen intar humanvetenskapens domän", *Axess* 2005:2

— "Humanising Biology", *Axess* 2005:2 (Internet version), http://www.axess.se/english/2005/02/theme_benner.php (2007-06-25).

"Bildningsideal i rymdåldern", *Dagens Nyheter*, 18 Mar. 1962.

Briens, Sylvain, "Vilken stad är ditt Paris?", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 19 May 2007.

Cordle, Daniel, *Postmodern Postures: Literature, Science and The Two Cultures Debate* (Aldershot, 2000).

Cultures in Conflict: Perspectives on the Snow-Leavis Controversy, ed. David K. Cornelius & Edwin St. Vincent (Chicago, 1964).

Düring, Ingemar, "Humanister och naturvetare", *Dagens Nyheter*, 7 Jan. 1962.

Eldelin, Emma, *"De två kulturerna" flyttar hemifrån: C. P. Snows begrepp i svensk idédebatt 1959-2005* (diss. Linköping; Stockholm, 2006).

Enebakk, Vidar, "Science Wars og *De to kulturer*", *Kunnskapsmakt*, ed. Siri Meyer & Sissel Myklebust, (Oslo, 2002).

— *Mellom de to kulturer: oppkomsten av vitenskapsstudier og etableringen av Edinburghskolen 1966-76* (diss. Oslo, 2005).

Espagne, Michel & Michael Werner, *Transferts: les relations interculturelles dans l'espace franco-allemand: XVIIIe et XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1988).

Ferrall, Charles, *Modernist Writing and Reactionary Politics* (Cambridge, 2001).

Frenander, Anders, *Debattens vågor: om politiskt-ideologiska frågor i efterkrigstidens svenska kulturdebatt* (diss. Göteborg, 1999).

Granit, Ragnar, "Bildning och specialisering", *Dagens Nyheter*, 6 Feb. 1962.

Gyllensten, Lars, "Bildning och nytta", *Dagens Nyheter*, 11 Feb. 1962.

Gårding, Lars, "Program för gymnasiet", *Dagens Nyheter*, 16 Jan. 1962.

Gårdlund, Torsten, "Den tredje kulturen", *Dagens Nyheter*, 12 Jan. 1962.

Halperin, John, *C. P. Snow, an Oral Biography: Together with a Conversation with Lady Snow* (New York, 1983).

Hansson, Jonas, *Humanismens kris: bildningsideal och kulturkritik i Sverige 1848-1933* (diss. Lund; Eslöv, 1999).

Hedenius, Ingemar, "Människointresse och bildning", *Dagens Nyheter*, 4 Mar. 1962.

Hultberg, John, *A Tale of Two Cultures: The Image of Science of C. P. Snow* (diss. Göteborg, 1990).

Huxley, Aldous, *Literature and Science* (London, 1963).

Jarrick, Arne, "Även kulturvarelser förblir naturvarelser", *Axess* 2005:2.

— "Cultural Beings vs Natural Beings", *Axess* 2005:2 (Internet version), http://www.axess.se/english/2005/02/theme_jarrick.php (2007-06-25).

Jersild, P. C., "Det hotade förnuftet", *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 12 Aug. 1990.

— *Humpty-Dumptys fall: livsåskådningsbok* (Stockholm, 1990).

Klein, Georg, *Korpens blick: essäer om vetenskap och moral* (Stockholm, 1998).

Koselleck, Reinhart, *The Practice of Conceptual History: Timing History, Spacing Concepts*, transl. by Todd Samuel Presner et al. (Stanford, 2002).

— *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, transl. by Keith Tribe (New York, 2004).

Leavis, F. R., *Two Cultures?: The Significance of C. P. Snow* (London, 1962).

Liedman, Sven-Eric, "Institutions and Ideas: Mandarins and Non-Mandarins in the German Academic Intelligentsia", *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 1985:1 (vol 28).

— "In Search of Isis: General Education in Germany and Sweden", *The European and American University since 1800: Historical and Sociological Essays*, ed. Sheldon Rothblatt & Björn Wittrock (Cambridge, 1993).

Lindberg, Bo, *Humanism och vetenskap: den klassiska filologien i Sverige från 1800-talets början till andra världskriget* (Stockholm, 1987).

Linder, Erik Hjalmar, *Bildning i tjugonde seklet* (Stockholm, 1962).

Linell, Per, *Approaching Dialogue: Talk, Interaction and Contexts in Dialogical Perspectives* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia, 1998).

Lohse, Britt Wilson, "Gymnasieskolans roll i bildningsdebatten - en tillbakablick på sjuttio-talet", *Högskolans bildningsprogram - finns det?: om bildning och humaniora som allmän medborgarkunskap eller yrkesmässig kvalifikation: en seminariedokumentation*, ed. Kenneth Abrahamsson (Stockholm, 1985).

Lyttkens, Sonja, "Humanisternas bildningsmonopol", *Dagens Nyheter*, 2 Jan. 1962.

Mothe, John R. de la, *C. P. Snow and the Struggle of Modernity* (Austin, 1992).

Myrdal, Janken, "Den ensammes monografi och forskargängets pek", *Axess* 2005:2.

— "Interdisciplinary Crafts", *Axess* 2005:2 (Internet version), http://www.axess.se/english/2005/02/theme_myrdal.php (2007-06-25).

Nerman, Bengt, *Demokratins kultursyn* (Stockholm, 1962).

Nordin, Svante, "...och aldrig mötas de två", *Sydsvenska Dagbladet*, 5 Aug. 1990.

Nybom, Thorsten, "Kulturvetenskapens karaktär och nytta", *Tvärsnitt* 1993:3.

Piltz, Anders, "Human, humaniora, humanism: kan man utbildas till människa?", *Språk i världen: broar och barriärer*, ed. Jerker Blomqvist & Ulf Teleman (Lund, 1993).

Showalter, Elaine, *Faculty Towers: The Academic Novel and Its Discontents* (Philadelphia, 2005).

Shusterman, David, *C. P. Snow* (Boston, 1975).

Snow, C. P. "The Two Cultures", *New Statesman*, 6 Oct. 1956.

— *The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution* (Cambridge, 1959).

— *De två kulturerna*, transl. by Claes-Adam & Lillemor Wachtmeister (Uppsala/Malmö, 1961).

— *The Two Cultures: And a Second Look* (Cambridge, 1964).

— *Public Affairs* (London, 1971).

Snow, Philip, *Stranger and Brother: A Portrait of C. P. Snow*, new ed. (1982; London, 1983)

Thale, Jerome, *C. P. Snow (*Edinburgh, 1964).

The Science Wars: Debating Scientific Knowledge and Technology, ed. Keith Parsons (Amherst, NY, 2003).

Werskey, Gary, *The Visible College* (London, 1978).

Wiener, Martin J., *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit 1850-1980* (Cambridge, 1981).

Wright, Georg Henrik von, "Enhet och splittring i vetenskapen", *Horisont* 1962:5/6

— Explanation and Understanding (London, 1971).

Prästerna och pedagogiken på Bona
– ett doing-genderperspektiv

Renée Frangeur

Forum för genusvetenskap och jämställdhet, Linköpings universitet

renfr@tema.liu.se

The Swedish state decided to build and assume the responsibility for Bona, a big "Borstal" for bringing up "vicious" boys 1905 – 1948. The boys from 15 to 18 years old, were sentenced by the courts for petty crimes, but got their punishments transformed to compulsory upbringing with no time limit. Their education at Bona was steered by fear of God and work discipline, officially. This is an investigation about how some of the clergymen used their privileged positions within the institution to construct various gender ideals, some of them more arbitrary and ambivalent than others. By practising a doing gender- perspective the different relations, representations and practices, used by the clergymen towards the boys, will be analysed. R.W. Connell´s theory on masculinities and the often contradictory processes in a gender regime will thus be illustrated.

Prästerna och pedagogiken på Bona – ett doing-genderperspektiv

På den statliga tvångsuppfostringsanstalten Bona skulle pojkar mellan 15 och 18 år lära sig arbetsdisciplin och gudsfruktan. Anstalten fanns under åren 1905 till 1948 och skulle erbjuda ett alternativ till fängelsestraff för stölder och snatterier eller till skyddshem för "svår vanart". Prästerna var ansvariga för det pedagogiska arbetet och för den religiösa fostran på anstalten. Totalt blev de åtta till antalet under anstaltens 43 år. I detta kapitel refererar jag först några teorier om och metoder för analys av manlighetsskapande, därefter vad prästerna tilläts göra och vad de inte tilläts göra enligt stadgorna och för det tredje hur de skapade genus/klass/nationalitet genom sina praktiker och interaktioner med andra. Till sist sammanfattar jag genom att analysera hur prästerna kan uppfattas i en Connellsk maskulinitetshierarki – som medlöpare/ delaktiga i den hegemoniska ordningen eller som förhandlande med makten?[1] Mitt källmaterial är anstaltens årsberättelser, styrelseprotokoll, kungliga stadgor samt prästernas *Dagbok över underhållningen 1923 – 1948,* en kortfattad redogörelse för kulturaktiviteter, som prästerna höll i vissa år på anstalten.

De delfrågor jag ställer mig är: Kunde svaghet och känslighet hos bonapojkarna ingå i prästernas manlighetsfostran eller var enbart styrka och arbetsduglighet manliga ideal? Hur skildrades sexualiteten och kroppen i prästernas undervisning och fostran till manlighet? Vad var omanligheter enligt prästerna?[2] Hur utformade de pojkarnas aktiviteter i ett föränderligt perspektiv - som kontrast till eller bekräftelse av undergivenhet och foglighet?

Kroppskultur och manlighetsskapande

Manligheten har i regel varit intimt relaterad till produktionen. Arbetande, aktiva och kraftfulla manliga kroppar har idealiserats i bildkonst och skulptur. Män har oftast framställts som aktiva och som aktörer, menar Thomas Johansson, och tecken på svaghet och bräcklighet har framställts som omanligt. Defekter, känslighet och sensualitet har uppfattats som feminina. Den starka homofobin som män ofta utvecklat vid närmandet till andra mäns kroppar, har skapat svårigheter vid analysen av deras kroppslighet och sexualitet. I dag har däremot många män även tvingats se sig som sjuka, drabbade av impotens och andra svårigheter och blivit objekt för andras blickar. Numera förekommer även estetiska manliga kroppar i reklam och konsumtionsindustri. Den manliga kroppen är inte längre en given storhet utan är utsatt för nya reflexiva konstruktioner.[3]

Ett flertal organisationsteoretiker har sett förändringar i organisationer som köns/genusrelaterade t ex genom att studera bilder och symboler och internt mentalt arbete. De menar att dessa förändringar, som kan avläsas inte bara av könssegregeringen, inte är symmetriska utan asymmetriska dvs de kan se olika ut på olika arenor i organisationen.[4] Elin Kvande hänvisar till Sandra Harding i det att hon även hälsar en teoretisk instabilitet i analysmetoden som befriande. Därför vill hon sträva efter att omfatta mångfalden och skillnad-

---

1. Enligt Thomas Johansson i *Det första könet? Mansforskning som reflexivt projekt* (Lund, 2000) s 39, bör man skilja mellan en mer medlöpande och en mer förhandlande position för R. Connells delaktiga/ medlöpande maskulinitet, i idem, *Masculinities* (Berkeley, 1995). I vardagen tvingas många män i denna position förhandla om makten både med kvinnor och andra män.

2. Jonas Liliequist diskuterar manlighetens motbild, omanligheten, i "Från niding till sprätt. En studie av det svenska omanlighetsbegreppets historia från vikingatid till sent 1700-tal" i *Manligt och omanligt i ett historiskt perspektiv. FRN. Rapport 1999:4.* Anne Marie Berggren (red.).

3. Thomas, J s. 71 f.

4. Ewa Gunnarsson, "I skuggan av dominerande diskurser - Konstruktioner av kön bland nomader och ´jordade´ i flexibla organisationslandskap" i *Manlighetens många ansikten - fäder, feminister, frisörer och andra män* red. Thomas Johansson/Jari Kuosmanen (Stockholm, 2003) s. 140.

erna i förståelserna av genus och inom kategorierna manligt och kvinnligt.[5] I stället för att skapa fasta kategorier för vad som är kvinnligt och manligt i organisationer, "substantivanalyserna", vill Elin Kvande peka på möjligheterna att integrera klass, sexualitet, genus och ras i analysen. Hon syftar då på ett perspektiv, som hon kallat *Doing gender in organizations*, som ett svar på dessa utmaningar. Detta uppfattar genus som något som skapas kontinuerligt och inte som något vi är. Genus ses med andra ord inte som något som är bestämt utan något som skapas i olika mellanmänskliga relationer.

Elin Kvande har fyra synsätt i sitt doing-gender perspektiv. Först ett *interaktionellt synsätt*. Med det menas att människor konstruerar genus i sociala situationer och därmed reproducerar eller förändrar sociala strukturer. I en myriad av tillfällen "gör vi genus", vi gör en "genusuppvisning". Vi kan konstruera genus på sätt som upprätthåller existerande genusrelationer eller vi kan utmana dem. Den dagliga konstruktionen och ibland dekonstruktionen av genus görs inom materiella och ideologiska staket som sätter gränser och möjligheter för radikal förändring.[6]

Vidare nämner Elin Kvande *praktiksynsättet* genom vilket människorna i organisationerna blir mer synliga. Joan Acker talar om *gendered practices* för att peka på att dessa är aktiviteter beroende av situationen, "situerade". Genom att de vanliga sakerna folk gör i sina dagliga aktiviteter ständigt upprepas skapar de också nya/gamla system. Praktiker är lokala, situerade och föränderliga. Genuspraktiker är alltså konkreta aktiviteter, det som folk gör och säger och vad de tänker om detta inom de materiella och ideologiska gränser som t ex könssegregeringen skapar.

I ett *förhandlingsperspektiv* kan man för det tredje fokusera konflikter och samarbeten i organisationer. Kvinnor och män tillåts att göra vissa saker i organisationen beroende på konflikter, makt och intressen inom organisationen. *Det symboliska synsättet* till slut visar på hur vi tänker om genus när vi skapar genus och hur vi leds av uppfattningar och bilder av maskulinitet och femininitet. Kulturella uppfattningar av genus uppvisar oftare en större stabilitet än de på en interaktionell nivå. Man kan fokusera språk, symboler, myter, historier och ritualer och undersöka hur en organisation skapas. Även genom att se på de underliggande reglerna i en organisation kan en forskare analysera hur denna producerar symboler, mening och identitet.

Elin Kvande understryker att dessa perspektiv inte är oberoende av varandra utan kan kombineras på ett fruktbart sätt. Fördelarna är att aktiviteter syns, att varjedagspraktiker gör det, att både stabilitet och förändring kan framträda, att perspektivet flyter ihop med andra perspektiv som klass och etniskt perspektiv och det tillåter pluralitet och variationer. Hon arbetar på det sättet att hon flyttar sitt fokus från strukturer till aktörsskap och tillbaka till strukturer, därför att hon tror att det är viktigt att se hur aktörer påverkar och utmanar strukturer genom sina praktiker. Samtidigt påvisar hon vilka begränsningar som strukturer representerar. Kvande refererar även till Connell vad gäller strukturkonceptet och hans påpekanden av det ömsesidiga beroendet mellan strukturer och praktik i genusrelationerna. Men dessa relationer är dock ingen logisk enhet, som inte kan förändras historiskt.[7]

Prästernas positioner enligt stadgorna för anstalten.

I den kungliga stadgan för anstalten 1904 med direktiv för de olika befattningshavarna beskrivs predikantens och förste lärarens åligganden. Han skall som präst handha religions-

---

5   Elin Kvande, "Doing gender in Organizations - Theoretical Possibilities and Limitations" i *Where have all the structures gone? Doing Gender in Organisations, Examples from Finland, Norway and Sweden* ed. Ewa Gunnarsson m fl (Stockholm 2003) s. 15.
6   Ibid. s 21-25.
7   Ibid. s 26-39.

vården på anstalten och bedriva kristendomsundervisning. Dessutom skall han som lärare ha hand om undervisningen i övriga läroämnen tillsammans med den andre läraren. Varje söndag/helgdag skall han förrätta gudstjänst och fullgöra de kyrkliga förrättningar som kan förekomma. Vidare skall han genom enskilda samtal med eleverna skaffa sig "noggrann kännedom" om varje elev och verka för elevens sedliga förbättring samt föra kyrkobok och minnesbok över eleverna och skriva en årsberättelse till styrelsen om religionsvården på anstalten. Slutligen skall han ställa sig till efterrättelse efter vad som är föreskrivet för präst i svenska kyrkan.[8]

Det är tydligt att prästerna hade en särställning i arbetshierarkin på Bona. Det står inte någonstans i direktiven att prästen lyder under direktören, men däremot under svenska kyrkan och styrelsen. Över övriga anställda utövade direktören husbondevälde eller förmansskap.[9] Prästerna hade sålunda en egen maktposition på Bona; genom sitt inflytande över elevernas själsliv och bokföringen av deras uppförande och brottsliga gärningar. Därför är det viktigt att analysera hur prästerna konstruerade genus, hur de utövade sin manlighetsfostran i sina dagliga gärningar. Jag delar in analysen här i följande underrubriker: *det interaktionella planet* – den personliga samvaron, *praktikerna* – skolan, konfirmationsundervisningen, gudstjänsterna, söndagsprogrammen, teatern, musiken och idrotten/utflykterna samt *det symboliska planet* – prästernas åsikter om pojkarna. *Förhandlingsplanet* anknyter till frågan om prästerna som eventuellt delaktiga/medlöpare i den hegemoniska manligheten.

Den personliga samvaron – interaktionen

För att återknyta till Elin Kvandes teori om det interaktionella planet och hur vi konstruerar genus i sociala situationer och därmed både skapar och normaliserar skillnader mellan män och kvinnor, så handlar prästernas pedagogik om enbart relationer till och konstruktionen av skillnaden mellan män, men där kvinnliga egenskaper och omanligheter används som avskräckande exempel.[10] Kvandes uttryck "genusuppvisning", passar bra på Bona. Mina källor för genusuppvisningen är primärt de officiella årsredovisningarna, där det gällde för prästerna att visa upp vad de åstadkommit under året med pojkarna. En av de viktigaste uppgifterna både enligt stadgorna och som prästerna själva tolkade dem var den personliga samvaron. Man kan då räkna med att prästerna gärna framhöll sina goda resultat/ideal i samvaron med pojkarna och att dessa i huvudsak var i linje med anstaltens stadgar. Jag rör mig alltså både på ett diskursivt och ett narrativt plan liksom Johanna Esseveld beskriver konstruktionen av kön som social praktik i en artikel 2004.[11] Pojkarnas reaktioner på den personliga samvaron kan jag däremot inte uttala mig om utom i ett fall: Bildsköne Bengtssons.[12]

Arbetsdugligheten som ett av anstaltens mål och resultat av fostran både från präster och andra anställda på Bona framhävdes av flera av prästerna framför allt från den första tiden. Holger Bergwall kontrasterade "det socialistiska klasshatet" som han fann hos pojkarna mot

---

8   *SFS 41*, 26 september 1904, s. 8. I minnesböckerna, ett slags elevmatriklar i folioformat över eleverna, infördes alla uppgifter om elevernas tidigare liv, deras brott och straff, deras skolgång på Bona och deras arbete eller straff efter Bona.

9   *Styrelseprotokoll 30/3 1905* och *8/6 1925*. Bonaarkivet, VLA.(Vadstena Landsarkiv)

10 I *Doing Gender, Doing Difference. Inequality, Power and Institutional Change,* ed. Sarah Fenstermaker & Candace West (New York, London 2002) s. 31 och 37 understryks emellertid att homosociala sammanhang kan utgöra de mest intensiva och explicita arenorna för genusskapandet.

11 Se Johanna Esseveld,"Kön/genus och sociologi i ett historiskt perspektiv" i *Sociologisk forskning nr 3: 2004,* s. 6.

12 Att samvaron med prästen Bergwall var viktig bekräftas av den s k *Bildsköne Bengtssons berättelse* ur sinnesundersökningsjournalen på *Fångvårdsanstalten i Norrköping*, VLA. Prästen under hans tid på Bona 1910 var en av de få han fann sympatisk; en vistelse som för övrigt mest inbegrep prygel, isoleringsstraff och rymningsplaner. Se också Malin Arvidsson, *Den bildsköne (* Malmö, 2005).

en uppskattning av böndernas arbete. Bergwall framhöll de borgerliga manliga dygderna att vara artig, ren, punktlig och tänka på sin framtid, vara ärlig och hålla ut i ett arbete. Sven Sundberg framförde arbetskarlen, den disciplinerade nyttige arbetaren, som ett ideal. Bertil Mogård betonade respekt för arbetet, präktighet och skötsamhet som ideal. Även Theodor Carlsson nämnde kärlek till arbetet som ett mål för fostran av pojkarna. John Edvin Svanteson kritiserade bristen på uthållighet i arbetet hos bonapojkarna.

Gudsfruktan var det andra officiella målet och det nämndes också som ett ideal, men inte lika frekvent som det förra. Holger Bergwall försvarade sovcellerna med att där kunde eleverna hålla enskild andakt. Sven Sundberg framhöll ånger, skuld och syndernas förlåtelse, som skulle ge kraft åt bonapojkarna. Bertil Mogård betonade moral och religion i stället för innehållslös fritid och Theodor Carlsson hade förtroliga samtal om religionen som en förebild. Svanteson lyfte fram Jesus som en modig man, som en manlig förebild för pojkarna.

Självbehärskning framhöll flera av prästerna som en god manlig egenskap. För Sundberg var viljefostran och viljans herravälde över kroppen ett mål, där idrotten togs till hjälp. Mogård klagade på bristen på självbehärskning som ett kardinalfel hos bonapojkarna, medan Theodor Carlsson framhöll självbehärskning i samband med tobak, sprit och sexualitet som ett led i medborgarfostran. Svanteson kritiserade bonapojkarnas kraftuttryck och de sexuella skrytsamheterna. Som bland annat David Tjeder uttrycker det så var självkontrollen grunden för den borgerlige mannens makt över sig själv och över andra män. Makten även över omanliga typer som "drinkaren, förföraren, onanisten, lättingen"[13] – omanligheter som prästerna Bergwall, Mogård, Carlsson och Svanteson gärna använde i avskräckande syfte.[14]

I alla dessa exempel kan man säga att skapandet av manligt genus hos bonapojkarna låg väl i linje med de önskvärda borgerliga manliga egenskaperna vid framför allt anstaltens första tid, även om betoningen på *pojke* eller *karl* associerar till vissa olikheter i genusuppvisningen. Pojke är en mer oskyldig kategori än en karl. Pojke leder tanken till oansvariga barn och barndomens betydelse, en tankefigur som idealiserades vid förra sekelskiftet.[15] Den förste prästen, Holger Bergwall, hade följaktligen en negativ bild av ordet karl, medan Sven Sundberg däremot insisterade på att använda ordet "riktig karl" som en förebild för den kollektiva nationella fostran av bonapojkarna under första världskriget. Ordet karl var ett epitet som framför allt direktör Blomquist använde som exempel på anstaltens moraliska kraft- och viljefostran under 1920-30-talen.[16] Både när det gäller direktör Blomquist och Sven Sundberg kopplades detta kollektiva ideal till nationella ideal och till bilden av Bona som ett samhälle och inte ett hem. Det kollektiva manliga idealet och den kvinnorädsla som soldatlivet skapade vid denna tid beskrivs av Klaus Theweleit i *Mansfantasier*[17] och liknar Sundbergs karlideal i det att det skiljer sig starkast från den tidens ideala kvinnliga sfär.[18]

---

13 David Tjeder, "Konsten att blifva herre öfver hvarje lidelse" i *Manligt och omanligt i ett historiskt perspektiv FRN 1999*, s. 187.

14 Se *Årsberättelser 1905–1947*. Mogård ger exempel på en syndikalist, en rymmare, som söp och onanerade och en syfilitisk "vrakspillra", som blev präktiga och skötsamma på Bona. *Årsberättelser 1920, 1921 och 1922.*

15 Se t.ex. Maria Sundkvist och Bengt Sandin i *Korsvägar - en antologi om mötet mellan unga och institutioner förr och nu*, red. Kerstin Bergqvist, Kenneth Petersson & Maria Sundkvist (Stockholm 1995).

16 Genusregimen Bona och anstaltsdirektörerna., kapitel sex i Renée Frangeur, *Pojkar, pli och pedagogik, vanart och manligheter på Bonaanstalten 1905 – 1948* (Stockholm, 2007).

17 Klaus Theweleit, *Mansfantasier del 1* (Stockholm, 1996) passim.

18 Uttrycket *separata sfärer* används av många genusforskare för att illustrera manlighets- och kvinnlighets-konstruktioner under 1800-talet och vid förra sekelskiftet. Se Leonore Davidoff & Cathrine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English middle class* (London, 1987) Yvonne Hirdman, *Genus - om det stabilas föränderliga former* (Stockholm, 2001) m.fl.

Men där fanns också genusuppvisningar som utmanade den existerande genustolkningen. Två präster under mellankrigstiden, Mogård och Carlsson, visade fram *förtroliga* relationer och *veka pojkar* som eftersträvansvärda ideal. En vek vilja tillhörde snarare de omanligheter som pastor Sundberg ville härda och förädla till riktiga karlar. Pastor Carlsson skiljde sig mest från de övriga i det att han också poängterade att en pojke gärna kunde vara *hjälpsökande* i stället för hård. Carlsson önskade sig vänner och goda kamrater bland pojkarna, men han måste varit medveten om att han avvek från de önskvärda idealen, eftersom han genast la till att detta skulle ske utan sentimentalitet och "kvinnlig" känslosamhet. Han var också den ende prästen som uppehöll sig vid pojkarnas sexualitet, som han menade var kontrollerad på anstalten och icke "snedvriden" – i huvudsak.

Praktikerna: skolan, konfirmationen, gudstjänsterna, söndagsprogrammen, idrotten, musiken, sången, dansen och teaterarbetet.

Enligt Elin Kvande utmärks en genuspraktik av att genus och klass kombineras och uppfattas som positioner och genom en ständig upprepning av de vanliga sakerna folk gör i sina dagliga aktiviteter. Genusprocesser är konkreta aktiviteter, det som folk gör och säger och vad de tänker om detta inom de materiella och ideologiska gränser som t ex könssegregeringen skapar. Prästerna måste utföra vissa aktiviteter enligt stadgorna. Dit hörde skolundervisning, gudstjänst och konfirmationsundervisning. Det var konkreta aktiviteter, som ständigt upprepades på Bona. Prästerna klagade på att det var svårt att motivera eleverna för kristendomsundervisningen, konfirmationsundervisningen och för undervisning i historia och kultur. Dels hade eleverna olika förkunskaper och få var intresserade av dessa ämnen och dels kunde man inte tillgripa vanliga folkskolemetoder som läxläsning eftersom det inte fanns tid till det på kvällarna. De traditionella borgerliga bildningsämnena om kungarnas bragder och den svenska historien, som var grundbulten i folkskolans undervisning och som speglade den manliga nationella klassordningen vid 1900-talets början, hade ingen större framgång på Bona.[19] Christina Florin och Ulla Johansson skriver i *Där de härliga lagrarna gro...* att det var en blandning av lutheranska och borgerliga dygder, som lärdes ut i läroverken. Till de dygderna hörde självdisciplin, driftskontroll, prestation, flit, uthållighet och handlingskraft,[20] liknande den karaktärsfostran som pastorerna Carlsson och Emanuel Nyberg betonade att de försökte förmedla till eleverna med tillägget att även lydnaden markerades, vilken mer hör till en underordnad position.[21] Prästerna försökte skapa en klassfostran med borgerligt nationella manliga förebilder i skolans undervisning, till synes utan större framgång.

Större framgång hade andra aktiviteter. Eleverna visade stort intresse för att läsa böcker, skriva uppsats och brev och att sjunga, rapporterade prästerna samstämmigt. De lyssnade gärna till högläsning och skrev själva i elevtidningen *Bonagrabben*, som kom ut sporadiskt. Det var snarare kreativa aktiviteter, som gick hem bland pojkarna än katederundervisning i de vanliga ämnena, historia och kristendomskunskap. När pojkarna fick utlopp för sina skapande behov och kunde engageras i utflykter i samband med konfirmationsundervisningen, då fungerade de vardagliga obligatoriska aktiviteterna, som var prästernas, bra. På det sättet tvingades prästerna av den knappa situation de befann sig i vad gäller skolan och konfirmationsundervisningen att tänja på gränserna för underordningens genus utan att de gjorde någon

---

19 Se Per-Johan Ödman, *Kontrasternas spel. En svensk mentalitets- och pedagogikhistoria.* del ll (Stockholm, 1995) och Åke Isling, *Det pedagogiska arvet. Kampen för och emot en demokratisk skola* (Stockholm, 1988).

20 Christina Florin & Ulla Johansson, *Där de härliga lagrarna gro ... Kultur, klass och kön i det svenska läroverket 1850-1914* (Stockholm, 1993) s. 43 ff och s. 38.

21 Isling s. 463. Isling betonar att i folkskolan lärde sig eleverna att bli undersåtar men i ett framstående folk. De nationella hjältarna skulle man inte efterlikna utan se upp till.

större ideologisk eller pedagogisk affär av det. Ett undantag var Holger Bergwalls kommentar att folkskolan varit för dogmatisk och bara sysslat med minnesövningar och att man därför måste tillgripa "friare former" för pedagogik. Det kan man snarare kalla en variant av den *learning by doing*, som är grunden för scoutrörelsens fysiska aktivitetspedagogik och som enligt Bo Nilssons analys skulle bli en motvikt mot folkskolans ensidiga betoning av boklärdomar och teoretisk intelligens.[22] Per-Johan Ödman skriver att John Deweys idéer om att förena praktik med pedagogik börjat få inflytande i Sverige över pedagogiskt tänkande sedan 1900-talets början.[23]

Vad gäller söndagsprogrammen och festerna framstår den "dubbla pedagogik" som prästerna skapade speciellt tydligt. Dels fanns kontrollen där på det sättet att söndags-programmen skulle bli en uppbygglig motvikt mot snus och kortspel och inte heller för mycket bio och dels kreativiteten genom att pojkarna uppmuntrades att ta egna initiativ till samkväm, rumsdekorationer och festprogram. Dels censurerades pojkarnas brev[24] och dels stimulerades de till att göra egna cabaréprogram på scenen i gymnastiksalen. Scoutaktiviteterna bland pojkarna, som leddes framför allt av pastor Carlsson, ordförande i Östergötlands pojkscoutkår, är andra exempel på blandningen av kontroll och kreativitet. Pojkarna skulle å ena sidan förmås att avstå från smygrökning i scoutgruppen och stå ut med att vara påpassade av övriga elever, å andra sidan fick några elever till slut delta tillsammans med de anställdas pojkar i scoutaktiviteterna och alla elever deltog i festerna i samband med scoutbesök från Örebro. Kärleken till djur och natur och lägerlivet ingick i scoutmoralen och skulle skapa riktiga män enligt Bo Nilsson i hans kapitel om scoutrörelsens retoriska maskulinitet i avhandlingen *Maskulinitet.*[25] Lägerliv och utflykter förekom på Bona, men inte alls i den utsträckning som de gör i scoutrörelsen. Med scoutidealet följde också ett klassöverskridande projekt, ett klasslöst brödraskap, som visserligen motsades av lydnad och respekt för auktoritet, men som ändå var uttalat i scoutlagen. Denna betoning av en brödraskapstanke avspeglade det inledande 1900-talets genusosäkerhet, menar Bo Nilsson.[26] På Bona var emellertid hierarkierna och skillnaderna mellan fostrare och elever nästan alltid närvarande och motverkade det klasslösa scoutidealet.

På ett plan kunde Bonas ideal och scoutrörelsens däremot samverka. Den fysiska fostran var lika viktig på Bona som i scoutrörelsen, där en kraftig vältränad kropp sågs som ett exempel på god karaktär.[27] En idrottsplan med läktare för fotbollsmatcherna prioriterades tidigt i anstaltens historia och år 1920 stod en riktig gymnastiksal färdig dessutom med en scen för teateruppsättningar. Bonapojkarna uppmuntrades att visa framfötterna inför andra pojklag och publiken i fotbollsmatcher och andra idrottstävlingar. Under 1800-talet ökade vurmen för gymnastik och sport som en del i konstruktionen av den moderna maskulinitetens ideala självbehärskning i motsats till en tidigare känslosamhet, skriver Claes Ekenstam.[28] I många sammanhang strävade prästerna att inprägla en sådan självbehärskad karaktär i bonaeleverna. Genom den fysiska fostran, där prästerna deltog som ledare i varierad utsträckning, kunde

---

22   Bo Nilsson, *Maskulinitet. Representation, ideologi och retorik* (Umeå 1999) s. 48 och 57. Om Holger Bergwall och folkskoleundervisningen, se *Årsberättelsen 1909.*

23   Ödman s. 597 f.

24   Se kapitel fem i boken om Bonaanstalten.

25   Nilsson s. 75.

26   Ibid. s. 67 ff.

27   Ibid. s. 59.

28   Claes Ekenstam, "Rädd att falla. Gråtens och mansbildens sammanflätade historia" i *Manligt och omanligt* s. 168. Se även Jens Ljunggren, *Kroppens bildning- linggymnastikens manlighetsprojekt 1790-1914 (*Stockholm, 1999) s. 243 ff. Den senare betonar även ett idealistiskt antikt och sedligt bildningsideal i kombination med manlig självbehärskning i gymnastiken. Linggymnastiken blev ett sätt att kombinera tradition och modernitet.

flera av de tidigare nämnda manliga idealen som styrka, självbehärskning, prestation, uthållighet och handlingskraft konstrueras. I det fallet var pedagogiken entydig under hela bonatiden.

Som en kontrast mot det dominerande självbehärskade mansidealet skapade pastor Svanteson under hela sin tjänstetid olika typer av musikaktiviteter och framför allt inmutade Theodor Carlsson ett utrymme för en intensiv teaterverksamhet (mellan fyra och sju premiärer/år) under i varje fall sju års tid på Bona. Detta skedde under mellankrigstid och efterkrigstid. Pojkarna kunde spela manliga och kvinnliga roller, utklädda i kostymer och sminkade, mot pastorn ofta i huvudrollen och uppträda inför publik på Bona och utanför anstalten. De kunde även turnera med 40-mannakören eller i ett kapell bestående av bland annat dragspel spela dansmusik, som var en vid denna tid i den offentliga debatten kritiserad aktivitet.[29] De kunde dessutom bilda jazzkapell och dansa till jazzmusiken i gymnastiksalen.[30] Denna teaterlek och lek med manligheter och kvinnligheter var något som annars kunde förekomma utanför en institution som Bona, på teatern och dansbanan under denna tid och som definitivt skiljer sig från den undergivenhet som enligt Foucault konstruerades av fängelsesystemet.[31] Men båda dessa präster stötte också på svårigheter i form att kritik från övriga anställda för ett alltför stort engagemang i eleverna eller att de bästa sångarna i kören saknades, eftersom de låsts in i isoleringsstraff, då det var dags för repetition.[32] Dessa pastorer utmanade den konventionella bonamanlighetens betoning på enbart arbetsduglighet och gudsfruktan som manlighetsideal.

Det symboliska planet: Åsikter om pojkarna

Det symboliska synsättet skall visa hur vi tänker om genus när vi skapar genus. Våra uppfattningar om maskulinitet och femininitet styr oss när vi praktiserar genus och interagerar med andra. Kulturella uppfattningar av genus uppvisar oftare en större stabilitet än de på en interaktionell nivå, menar Elin Kvande. I Bonas fall är det åter prästernas diskursiva konstruktioner av pojkarna i årsberättelserna, som är den viktigaste källan. Gränserna mellan framför allt det interaktionella planet och det symboliska kan ibland vara svåra att upprätthålla, eftersom de förhållningssätt prästerna ville åstadkomma i relation till eleverna och deras åsikter om eleverna i många fall hängde samman eller kontrasterade varandra.

Den vanligaste symbolen för en bonapojke i prästernas språkliga uttryck, åtminstone fram till 1930-talet, var att pojkarna saknade ett riktigt hem, de var mer eller mindre *hemlösa*. Sorglig uppfostran i hemmet, mor skämmer bort och far slår, skriver Holger Bergwall 1905. Hemmet saknas i pojkarnas bakgrund och det är industrialismens fel att båda föräldrarna är på bortaarbete. Gatans äldre pojkar blir fostrare och föreningsväsendet sliter familjen isär, menar

---

29 Se Hans-Erik Olson, *Staten och ungdomens fritid – kontroll eller autonomi?* (Lund, 1992) om dansbanorna som osedlighetshärdar och Roddy Nilsson i *Kontroll, makt och omsorg. Sociala problem och socialpolitik i Sverige 1780-1940* (Lund, 2003) om diskussionen om "dansbaneeländet" som ett tecken på ungdomens förfall under 1930-40-talen. Se även pastor Sundberg nedan.

30 Johan Fornäs skriver i *Moderna människor. Folkhemmet och jazzen* (Stockholm, 2004) s. 45 ff att jazzen var ett uttryck för modernitet på 1920-talet med sina synkoperade rytmer och improvisationer, sin afroamerikanska kultur och kollisioner mellan kropp och maskin. Jazzen utmålades då som en farlig farsot av kulturbevararna.

31 Se *Dagbok över underhållningen* samt *Årsberättelser 1923–1948*. Under 1920-talet hade teatern både i Sverige och i Europa/USA en uppgångsperiod med dramatiker som Pär Lagerkvist, Berthold Brecht och Eugene O´Neill, se Ingvar Holm, *Industrialismens scen* (Stockholm, 1979) och *Drama på scen* (Stockholm, 1969). I *Socialdemokraten 5/7 1922* skrev Gurli Herzman-Ericsson om en uppfostringsanstalt utanför Berlin, "En uppfostringsanstalt efter moderna och humana principer", där eleverna spelade teater och hade ett eget musikkapell och direktören menade att musik och målarkonst var bättre metoder att påverka de unga sinnena med än kroppsaga och hårda befallningar. Om Foucault och fängelsesystemet, se idem, *Övervakning och straff* (Stockholm, 1987).

32 Se *Årsberättelser 1927* och *1942*.

samme präst 1907. En känner varken far eller mor, en är uppvuxen på fattighuset, en hade en mor som bodde än här och än där, konstaterar Emanuel Nyberg 1912. "Hemmens betydelse för barnens framtid kan ej överskattas", formulerar sig Sven Sundberg 1914. Samme präst konstaterade 1917 att "hemmens sönderbrytande" var huvudorsaken till vanart och brott. Även Bertil Mogård uttryckte sig på liknande sätt. Spritmissbruk och splittrade hem fanns i de flesta pojkars bakgrund och både bristfällig tillsyn och försummad uppfostran var de viktigaste orsakerna till att pojkarna hamnade på Bona, menade Theodor Carlsson i en tillbakablick på anstaltens första 25 år. Att skapa hem i stället för kollektiv fostran i fortsättningen, menade Svanteson, skulle vara en framgång.[33] Hemmet var som Roddy Nilsson med flera påpekat ett av förra sekelskiftets mest symboltyngda ord och anknöt till begrepp som god ordning och bra uppfostran och ansågs även som ett värn mot de samhällsupplösande krafterna.[34]

Under anstaltens första 30 år uppehöll sig prästerna mycket vid skillnaden mellan *stadsgossarna* och *lantgossarna.* Holger Bergwall framhöll att stadspojkarna var mer vakna och intresserade medan pojkarna från landet var mera pålitliga, jämna i arbetet och lättare att tas med. De hade inte varit med om så mycket ont som kamraterna från staden. Å andra sidan kunde de senare vara mera ärftligt belastade eller ha defekter i själslivet. Två typiska *ligapojkar* från en av våra större städer anlände 1916, påpekade Sven Sundberg. Springpojkssystemet i de större städerna var ofta av ondo. Pojkarna levde okontrollerat, privatlivet var i hemmens händer, men de var inte mycket hemma och de tjänade bra med pengar, fick fast lön och dricks, fastslog pastorn Eric Wijkmark 1919. Men även lantpojken kunde genom en flackande tillvaro bli en ligisttyp, som står på station och faller för lusten att oärligen skaffa sig pengar och resa till staden för att roa sig, tyckte Bertil Mogård. Stadspojkarna hade bättre skolunderbyggnad, var mer vakna och iakttagande medan pojkarna från landet var lättare att handskas med och mer jämna, menade dock Theodor Carlsson.[35]

Med åsikterna om de mer intresserade men problematiska pojkarna från städerna kan uppfattningarna om *ungdomens osedliga uteliv* hänga samman. Det "lättsinniga, råa, stinkande orena nöjesliv, som leves av arbetarungdomen av båda könen" berodde på förakt för auktoriteter och kyrklig sed, frigjort liv i kamratkretsen med visor och dragspelsmusik, poängterade Sven Sundberg. Där fanns intressen som bio, fotboll, boxning och Örgryte fotbollslag men inte innantilläsning, raljerade Carlsson, som annars var noga med att betona pojkarnas mångfaldiga typer som veka, lättledda, med brutna viljor, imbecilla, begåvade, oärliga, sinnliga karaktärer, vagabonder, slöa och utan högre intressen. Även pastor Svanteson irriterade sig över ungdomens nöjesliv, påverkat som det var av den "översexualiserade" nöjesindustrin.[36]

Prästernas åsikter om pojkarna faller inom ramen för de mera stereotypa föreställningar om pojkarna som anstaltens officiella kategoriseringar och de första statliga utredningarna ger uttryck för.[37] På det sättet visar sig kulturella föreställningar mer stabila än de på andra nivåer. Även de föreställningar om *"tattarna"* som prästerna då och då lät undslippa sig faller inom dessa ramar. "Tattarblodet visar sig som både inre och yttre egenskaper och hade inflytande på brottsligheten bland ungdomen: en tydlig ytlig typ, otyglade lynnesutbrott,

33 *Årsberättelser 1905* s. 3*, 1907* s. 22 f*, 1912* s. 34 f*, 1914* s. 33 f*, 1917* s. 19 ff*, 1919* s. 18*, 1929* s. 36–38 och *1945/46* s. 5.

34 Roddy Nilsson, *Sanningen om ungdomen. Normer, värderingar och föreställningar kring 1900-talets ungdom. En pilotstudie* (Centrum för kulturforskning, Växjö universitet, Rapport nr 3, 2001) s. 25.

35 *Årsberättelsen 1905* s. 5*, 1907* s. 23*, 1916* s. 23, *Årsberättelsen Venngarn 1919* s. 14 ff*, 1919* s. 18 och *1932* s. 3.

36 *Årsberättelsen 1914* s. 33 ff*, 1929* s. 34 ff och *1943*.

37 Se boken om Bona, kapitlen två och sju.

smidig inställsamhet, opålitlig karaktär, håg för dagdriveri och olovligt avvikande," fastslog Sven Sundberg och fortsatte med att bedöma dem som under de "normalt svenska" moraliskt och socialt. Samma "tattarsläkt" hade haft medlemmar intagna vid olika tider på Bona enligt Sundberg. Även pastor Carlsson menade att om det kom någon, som varken kunde läsa eller skriva till anstalten, så var de i regel av "tattarsläkt". De var ett tiotal under de första 25 åren, ansåg han.[38]

Förhandlande eller medlöpande manlighet?

I inledningen ställde jag mig frågan om prästerna var maktens medlöpare på Bona eller om de kunde förhandla om någon annan position för sin pedagogik och sitt genusskapande. För att kunna svara på det måste jag utgå ifrån de olika nivåerna, arenorna, där genus skapas enligt Elin Kvande. På ett symboliskt plan i de språkliga konstruktioner om pojkarna som prästerna uttryckte i årsberättelserna, så framstår de verkligen som maktens medlöpare. Deras uppfattningar om de hemlösa, stadspojkarna eller lantpojkarna, med ett sedeslöst uteliv bakom sig eller som degenererade eller "tattare" skiljer sig inte alls från tidens tal eller anstaltens officiella kategoriseringar. Det bekräftar Kvandes ståndpunkt att på det symboliska planet är genuskonstruktionerna trögare och mera stabila.

På det interaktionella planet formulerade prästerna mest tankar om arbetsduglighet, borgerlig karaktärsfostran och gudsfruktan som mål för sin personliga samvaro med pojkarna. Någon framhöll en nationell karlaktighet som mål, andra de borgerliga pojkidealen. Två präster från mellankrigstiden betonade dock vekheten, känsligheten och det hjälpsökande som önskvärda karaktärsdrag att framlocka ur pojkarna, vilket tyder på en viss genusambivalens. Den ene av dem uppehöll sig explicit vid det sexuella tillståndet bland pojkarna på Bona, vilket han betonade var bättre, trots någon "snedvridning" av sexuella drifter, än i samhället utanför anstalten genom det friska och härdande utelivet och övervakningen av eleverna.[39]

I de konkreta pedagogiska situationerna däremot visade sig prästerna vara mer eller mindre tvingade till att även uppmuntra andra genuskaraktäristika än de vanliga borgerliga eller underordnat manliga. De skapade en dubbel pedagogik, som jag kallar den, med betoning både på kontroll och kreativitet. På grund av de knappa omständigheterna för skolan, konfirmationsundervisningen, gudstjänsterna och fritidsaktiviteterna tvingades/ uppmuntrades de att använda learning by doing-metoder för pedagogiken. Delvis kan scoutaktiviteterna på anstalten och scoutmoralens aktivitetspedagogik förklara bakgrunden till denna dubbla pedagogik. Prästerna berömde också enstämmigt pojkarna för att de läste mycket på egen hand, skrev uppsatser och brev flitigt och framför allt för att de sjöng så starkt och vackert i kyrkan och i kören. Deras fysiska prestationer i idrottssammanhangen och på fotbollsplanen vann uppmärksamhet bland traktens befolkning och i tidningar. Eleverna uppmuntrades dessutom till att ta egna initiativ till underhållning på söndagar och i dagrummen och till att skriva en egen tidning och av två av prästerna att musicera, sjunga och spela teater på anstalten och utanför den.

Framför allt två av de präster, som stannade längst på anstalten, lade ner mer tid på att engagera pojkarna i skapande verksamheter än på kristendomsundervisningen under modernitetens genombrott i Sverige 1920 till 1940, visserligen under visst motstånd från anstaltsled-

---

38 *Årsberättelsen 1918* s. 24 *och 1932* s. 2.
39 Skrev han detta i försvar mot antydan om motsatsen liksom han betonade skillnaden mellan kvinnlig känslosamhet och sin egen förkärlek för veka pojkar? Flera av mina informanter återgav med viss indignation rykten om att denne präst var homosexuell, en ryktesspridning som dock kunde bero på avundsjuka för att han hade en utmärkt hand med pojkarna. I vilket fall var det denne präst, som fick hålla festpredikan, när anstalten fyllde 40 år 1945. Se *Handlingar rörande organisation och avveckling 1904-1948. Volym 3. Styrelsen. VLA.*

ningen eller andra anställda. Det var aktiviteter där både egenskaper som uthållighet och disciplin men även kreativitet, inlevelseförmåga och självständighet uppmuntrades. I teatersammanhangen lekte dessutom pastor Carlsson medvetet med de identiteter, som utmärker en borgerlig manlighet, genom att eleverna bland annat spelade seriösa kvinnliga roller eller drev med den konventionella manligheten (t.ex. i pjäsen *Tre förälskade poliskonstaplar*).[40]

Pastor Svanteson, som lärde ut musiken och körsången, hade däremot stöd av den andre direktören, hans fru och sin egen fru för sina kreativa aktiviteter och behövde inte kompromissa med dem som fysiska personer. Han kunde dessutom anknyta till folkhemmets nya genusmönster med tydligare och mer avgränsade poler både för kvinnligheten och för sin manlighetsfostran.[41] Däremot måste han förhandla med en hegemonisk manlighet som, i fallet med körsångarna i isoleringsstraff, symboliserades av styrelsen och övriga anställda i anstaltens ledning. I vilket fall uppfattar jag inte dessa två präster som enbart maktens medlöpare utan som med makten kompromissande eller förhandlande pedagoger. Anstalten gav med andra ord utrymme för annat än att enbart skapa en underordnad manlighet. Det var möjligt för prästerna i synnerhet under anstaltens senare period från 1920-1940-talen att tänja på gränserna för underordningens genus om än inte att bryta mot dem på Bona.

Referenser

Bonaarkivet VLA (Vadstena Landsarkiv): Dagbok över underhållningen Styrelseprotokoll, Årsberättelser.

Arkivet för Fångvårdsanstalten i Norrköping, VLA:"Bildsköne Bengtssons berättelse" ur Sinnesundersökningsjournalen.

Arvidsson, Malin, *Den bildsköne* (Malmö, 2005)

Connell, R. *Masculinities* (Berkeley, 1995).

Davidoff, Leonore & Hall, Cathrine. *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English middle class* (London, 1987).

Doing Gender, Doing Difference. Inequality, Power and Institutional Change, ed. Sarah Fenstermaker & Candace West (New York, London 2002).

Ekenstam, Claes. "Rädd att falla. Gråtens och mansbildens sammanflätade historia" i *Manligt och omanligt i ett historiskt perspektiv. FRN. Rapport 1999:4.* Anne Marie Berggren (red.).

Esseveld, Johanna."Kön/genus och sociologi i ett historiskt perspektiv" i *Sociologisk forskning nr 3: 2004.*

Florin, Christina & Johansson, Ulla. *Där de härliga lagrarna gro ... Kultur, klass och kön i det svenska läroverket 1850 - 1914* (Stockholm, 1993).

Fornäs, Johan. *Moderna människor. Folkhemmet och jazzen* (Stockholm, 2004)

Foucault , Michel. *Övervakning och straff* (Stockholm, 1987, 1993).

Frangeur, Renée. "Jämställda män och andra män i folkhemmet" i *Arbetarhistoria 2004/4.*

---

40 Jens Ljunggren skriver i *Känslornas krig. Första världskriget och den tyska bildningselitens androgyna manlighet* (Stockholm, 2004) s. 262 ff om att den bildade manliga eliten i Tyskland under 1800-talet och början av 1900-talet både var gränsöverskridande och gränsupprättande. Den satte sig emot att inskränka sitt väsen till en mot kvinnligheten polär manlighet utan inneslöt i sig snarare traditionellt kvinnliga egenskaper som känsla och andlighet. På Bona kunde tydligen den homosociala gemenskapen under den förste direktörens tid inbegripa kreativt "kvinnliga" drag inom vissa, men subtila, gränser.

41 Renée Frangeur, "Jämställda män och andra män i folkhemmet" i *Arbetarhistoria 2004/4* och Johan Fornäs, *Moderna människor.*

Frangeur, Renée. *Pojkar, pli och pedagogik – vanart och manligheter på Bonaanstalten 1905–1948* (Stockholm, 2007).

Gunnarsson, Ewa. ”I skuggan av dominerande diskurser - Konstruktioner av kön bland nomader och ´jordade´ i flexibla organisationslandskap” i *Manlighetens många ansikten - fäder, feminister, frisörer och andra män* red. Thomas Johansson/Jari Kuosmanen (Stockholm, 2003).

Hirdman, Yvonne. *Genus- om det stabilas föränderliga former* (Stockholm, 2001).

Holm, Ingvar. *Drama på scen* (Stockholm, 1969).

Holm, Ingvar, *Industrialismens scen* (Stockholm, 1979).

Isling, Åke. *Det pedagogiska arvet. Kampen för och emot en demokratisk skola* (Stockholm, 1988).

Johansson, Thomas. *Det första könet? Mansforskning som reflexivt projekt* (Lund, 2000).

Korsvägar - en antologi om mötet mellan unga och institutioner förr och nu, red. Kerstin Bergqvist, Kenneth Petersson & Maria Sundkvist (Stockholm 1995).

Kvande, Elin. ”Doing gender in Organizations - Theoretical Possibilities and Limitations” i *Where have all the structures gone? Doing Gender in Organisations, Examples from Finland, Norway and Sweden* ed. Ewa Gunnarsson m fl (Stockholm 2003).

Liliequist, Jonas. ”Från niding till sprätt. En studie av det svenska omanlighetsbegreppets historia från vikingatid till sent 1700-tal” i *Manligt och omanligt* (se ovan).

Ljunggren, Jens. *Kroppens bildning- linggymnastikens manlighetsprojekt 1790-1914* (Stockholm, 1999).

Ljunggren, Jens. *Känslornas krig. Första världskriget och den tyska bildningselitens androgyna manlighet* (Stockholm, 2004).

Nilsson, Bo. *Maskulinitet. Representation, ideologi och retorik* (Umeå 1999).

Nilsson, Roddy. *Kontroll, makt och omsorg. Sociala problem och socialpolitik i Sverige 1780 - 1940* (Lund, 2003).

Nilsson, Roddy. *Sanningen om ungdomen. Normer, värderingar och föreställningar kring 1900-talets ungdom. En pilotstudie* (Centrum för kulturforskning, Växjö universitet, 2001).

Olson, Hans-Erik. *Staten och ungdomens fritid – kontroll eller autonomi*?(Lund, 1992).

Socialdemokraten 5/7 1922.

Tjeder, David. ”Konsten att blifva herre öfver hvarje lidelse” i *Manligt och omanligt i ett historiskt perspektiv FRN 1999.*

Theweleit, Klaus. *Mansfantasier del 1* (Stockholm, 1996).

Ödman, Per-Johan. *Kontrasternas spel. En svensk mentalitets- och pedagogikhistoria.* del ll (Stockholm, 1995).

The Year of X-Ra(y)/ted Mysticism:
A Media Archaeological Perspective

Yun-Csang Ghimn

University of Alberta/Athabasca University, Canada

ycghimn@yahoo.ca

The early modern concept of *communicatio*—i.e. "action from a distance" such as Locke's association by deus ex machina and Newton's general attraction—returned in the late 19th century, getting aroused not only by science but also technologies for example "spirit" photography and Roentgen's discovery. Edison attempted to penetrate the skull and Jordan to capture thoughts on a "psychic retina," both in vain. These are more than hoaxes since, without people's fascination over extrasensory perception, Jordan e.g. could not have rhetorically validated his investigation merely by adopting radiological credibility; how do we explain this wishful expectation? Huhtamo et al.'s media archaeology undertakes "first, the study of the cyclically recurring elements and motives underlying and guiding the development of media culture; second, the 'excavation' of the ways in which these discursive traditions and formulations have been 'imprinted' on specific media machines and systems in different historical contexts, contributing to their identity in terms of socially and ideologically specific webs of signification." Hence depicting medical or everyday media as ones for any unknown world (or mediums) remains consistent in many Japanese horror films—*Cure* (phonographic record), *Ring* (video tape), *Pulse* (internet), *Dark Water* (instant picture), *One Missed Call* (mobile phone).

The Year of X-Ra(y)/ted Mysticism

> I may be asked whether my theory would be favorable or otherwise to telepathy. I have no decided answer to give to this. […] The psychological phenomena of intercommunication between two minds have been unfortunately little studied. […] But the very extraordinary insight which some persons are able to gain of others from indications so slight that it is difficult to ascertain what they are is certainly rendered more comprehensible by the view here taken. –Charles Sanders Peirce, 1892[1]

How could he talk about intuitive telepathy along with communication? *Tele-* in Greek signifies "distant" and *-pathy* does "passing" whereas *communicatio* in Latin was the one-word expression for "action from a distance" so they look cognate. This filiation is not aberrant but has appeared elsewhere in the history of communication (e.g. Peirce) to return lately with Asian horror films. Worth mentioning in English are Sir Isaac Newton and John Locke, two 17th-century geniuses. Why the falling apple? Newton would reply: by gravity through a void. Why gravity then? Due to general attraction.[2] Why general attraction? Towards communication which binds matters together. Why communication? As the *deus ex machina* or divine power. Newton was hesitant about giving any decided answer to such a theological inquiry—thus *hypotheses non fingo*; later, Newtonians admitted that it was possible to convey without physical mediation something amongst bodies.

Attraction meant to Newton what "association" did to Locke[3] whose famous *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* has more than 30 paragraphs on communication: only those in Book III deal with signification while he discussed communications either of *motion upon impulse* or from God elsewhere, in the same vein as St. Thomas Aquinas illuminating how angels' voice is transmitted — although interior — to others of a lower hierarchy instantaneously without loss.[4]

Peirce was hardly alone in his curiosity about telepathy, if not animal magnetism: "I know very well that my dog's musical feelings are quite similar to mine though they agitate him more than they do me. He has the same emotions of affection as I, though they are far more moving in his case. You would never persuade me that my horse and I do not sympathize."[5] Peirce's metaphysical friends including American contemporaries were ambushing emergent technologies like *spirit* photography and the discovery of x-rays or Roentgen revolution: Thomas Alba Edison tried visually to pierce the skull and David Starr Jordan to capture thoughts on a "psychic retina," both in vain.

Let me highlight these stories as they may be more than scandals, according to Erkki Huhtamo's media *archaeology*: which is different from collecting underground materials[6] but asking why similar hopes and fears (e.g. democracy, moral panics respectively) arise each time a new medium gets introduced as though people undergo amnesia, whether the history of users' mind—if not of technologies *per se*—is continuous. Without the wide-spread fascination over extrasensory perception, Jordan above could not have validated his pseudo-scientific investigation simply by adopting x-rays' hardware credibility: many post-1896

---

1   *Collected Papers* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931-35 & 1958), Volume VI, paragraphs 159-61 (citation is to *CP* Volume. paragraph).
2   Which is a mathematical law; see Alexandre Koyré, *Newtonian Studies* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1965).
3   See for their science-philosophy alliance: Yun-Csang Ghimn, "Visual and Linguistic Communication in the History of Medicine-From Semiotics in Medicine to Semiotics of Pain," *Visio* 8 (2003): 276-78.
4   Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiæ* (London: Blackfriars, 1968-70), 1a. 76 & 84-85.
5   *CP* I. 314.
6   And it does not entail research at some dusty archives: for this Edison incident, I relied upon the *New York Times* online database.

developments were subject to such tactics of rhetorical integration as into socially recognizing less orthodox findings.[7]

No-Brainer

> Mr. Edison was asked if it were true that he intended to photograph a skeleton head by means of the Röntgen rays. He smiled, as he replied: "Yes; we are making some special long tubes which will give a five-inch distance between the poles in vacuum. Some day next week one of our boys will lay his head down on the table, and we shall suspend a battery of five of these large tubes over his head, so as to get a profile and side-face view. That will be merely to try our set of large tubes in combination." –*New York Times*, February 9, 1896.

This newspaper had followed Thomas Alba Edison since one day before the interview when he strove to picture a human *cerebrum*, which the above interviewer considered "very absurd." Still, our Jersey inventor was quoted February 20 saying that "by the last of the week" he should be able to photograph *bones* in a man's cranium. *New York Times* was incorrect to call this successful as, on the 13th, Edison gave up revealing our most innate functions anyway. In believing all stuff allowed Roentgen rays (*NYT*, Feb. 14), the founder of General Electric Company was yet to narrow down their commercial, let alone diagnostic, uses but enthusiastically focused enough radiation to make a technically clearer image.[8]

Ignoring the difference between soft and hard tissue, Edison discovered some "practical" benefit of inspecting the bony structures through hands on March 17, which others had done already; during February 1896, the *New York Times* had covered such breakthroughs as the detection of a fractured arm (February 10 at Dartmouth College and 18 in Brooklyn), instantaneous x-ray photos (Feb. 12), the location of a needle hidden in a foot (the 14th, both in Toronto) and of a shotshell[9] between the fingers (13th, in Chicago), three *Medical News* articles on surgical applications reprinted (15th, followed by one upon Edison knowing admittedly nothing about photography). He fell behind this rush of discoveries due to his neurological obsession; Edison might have needed instead nuclear magnetic resonance imaging.

Never-Minder

> Prof. Rogers in a matter-of-fact way looked for a few minutes at a postage stamp, then retired to a dark room, and gazed through the lens of the camera at the sensitive plate. The figure of the postage stamp was on his mind, and from his mind it passed out through the sensitive ether to the place made ready to receive it. The result was a photograph of the stamp—small and a little blurred, but showing the undoubted features of the gracious Queen and the words "one penny." Thus was the bridge between psychic power and photographic sensitiveness made once for all. This connection established, there is naturally no limit to the application of the principle.

---

7   Harry M. Collins and Trevor J. Pinch, "The Construction of the Paranormal: Nothing Unscientific is Happening," in *On the Margins of Science: The Social Construction of Rejected Knowledge*, ed. Ray Wallis (Keele: University of Keele, 1979).

8   "If two bulbs give a sharper outline than one," Edison announced to *New York Times* on February 13, 1896, "then four bulbs ought to give an image still sharper, and there is no limit to the power we may get or the distance we may make the Roentgen rays traverse." Without this question readily solved, he stopped experimenting on skulls in vivo.

9   Reports on *New York Times* that a Professor Fox in Montreal succeeded as early as February 7, Prof. Bergmann of Germany and Prof. Trowbridge respectively on the 17th are not confirmed elsewhere.

It thus becomes plain that the invisible rays of Röntgen are not light in the common sense, but akin rather to the brain emanations, or odic forces, which pass from mind to mind without the intervention of forms of gross matter as a medium, and to which gross matter in all its forms is subject.

Nor is this principle new in the philosophy of man. The wise of all ages have held that mind is sovereign over matter. […] By psychic intensity the cohesion of molecules of gross matter may be overcome. It is well known to physicists that these molecules nowhere actually touch each other, nor do they come near doing so. The spaces between them are filled up by ether. Into the interstices of the ether it is easy for the odic force to introduce itself. It is, in fact, unlikely that the gross particles of stone exist at all; for, as some physicists have shown, these are but eddies or vortex-rings in the ether itself, which is the only material reality.

Mr. Marvin showed very clearly that this supposed legend was not lightly to be set aside as mythology; or, rather, that it is likely that mythology is the only true history. The same psychic strength and wisdom which have caused Odin to be remembered and revered as a god by our ancestors, was the same psychic force by which he overcame the cohesion of matter. –David Starr Jordan, "The Sympsychograph," 1896

Within months, the list of Röntgen-inspired hoaxes[10] added yet another eminent member. A notorious claim for x-rayed occultism came when Jordan, then Stanford University's president, released "The Sympsychograph: A Study in Impressionist Physics" in September that year of illusionism.[11] According to his description, Asa Marvin at the Astral Camera Club[12] in Alcalde devised some apparatus with a compound lens that was electrically wired into the eye of each observer with no detail therein as to how. The subject's idea got fixed upon a cat, and the image came out (Figure 1). This report, where I cannot tell what Jordan's own participation in the alleged finding was, sounds fraudulent at the point that he promises to capture felines' ultimate[13] impressions of man. The picture turned out to be a faint composite of several photos.[14]

---

10   For example, Nancy Knight, "'The New Light': X Rays and Medical Futurism," in *Imagining Tomorrow: History, Technology, and the American Future*, ed. Joseph J. Corn (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1986).

11   "The Sympsychograph: A Study in Impressionist Physics," *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* 49 (1896): 597-602.

12   Presumably inspired by William T. Stead's review in 1891, *Real Ghost Stories* (http://www.gutenberg.org/files/20420/20420-h/20420-h.htm).

13   Rogers' *ideography* was about securing an individual object while *sympsychography* chased after some essential type in collective minds.

14   *The Electrical World*, October 3, 1896, 403.

Figure 1. "This picture is unmistakably one of a cat"
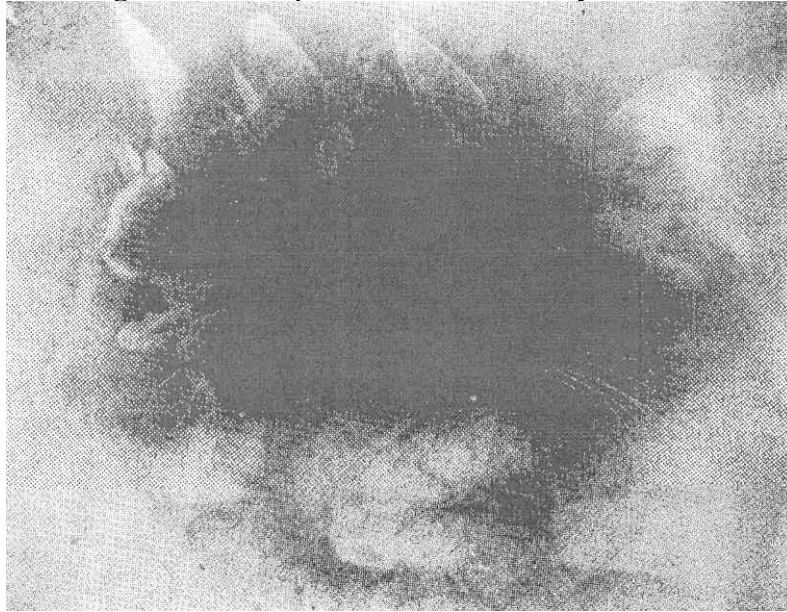
Source: David Starr Jordan, "The Sympsychograph: A Study in Impressionist Physics," *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* 49 (1896): 601.

Spiritist Photography and Thoughtography

> This ghost-like reality is *unredeemed*. It consists of elements in space whose configuration is so far from necessary that one could just as well imagine a different organization of these elements. Those things once clung to us like our skin, and this is how our property still clings to us today. Nothing of these contains us, and the photograph gathers fragments around a nothing. When the grandmother stood in front of the lens, she was present for one second in the spatial continuum that presented itself to the lens. But it was this aspect and not the grandmother that was eternalized. A shudder runs through the view of old photographs. For they make visible not the knowledge of the original but the special configuration of a moment; what appears in the photograph is not the person but the sum of what can be subtracted from him or her. –Siegfried Kracauer, *Das Ornament der Masse*, 1927[15]

So did he mean that, by taking somebody to light (*photo*), we shall bring the darkness of mortality to her? Certain spirit pictures are taken for harmless fun or to demonstrate how they might fool the audience. In a three-dimensional photo (Figure 2) the guy sitting on a chair seems to have witnessed the indistinct apparition that we can too, naked-eye: hence nothing is added up by Sir David Brewster's technique. He let a woman draped in white attire rush before the wooden table and pose like a phantom — counting *one Mississippi, two Mississippi* — only to vanish shortly while the actor never moved — *one hundred Mississippi, one hundred and one Mississippi* — looking scared during a long exposure as required in the mid-19th century.[16]

---

15 *The Mass Ornament: Weimar Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995), 56-57.
16 Frank R. Fraprie and Walter E. Woodbury, *Photographic Amusements: Including Tricks and Unusual or Novel Effects Obtainable with the Camera* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 5-10.

Figure 2. "Ghost in the stereoscope" by the London Stereoscopic Company

Source: Wm. B. Becker Collection/American Museum of Photography.[17]

Others however debated spectres' genuineness seriously. William Henry Mumler was prosecuted for duping the innocent[18] but soon exonerated because of insufficient evidence against him: doubters could identify no trickery in his studio re-enactment. There was another inflation of such controversies right before Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen's news hit British people: Sir William F. Barrett in 1895 submitted pictures of Lord Combermere hanging around; he accidentally had died and was being coincidentally buried, to his Society for Psychical Research colleagues.[19] James Coates assembled 20th-century illustrations of spooky imagery, e.g. Edward Wyllie's portrait of a fellow Robert Whiteford along with another face that, unlike Brewster's actress, nobody on-site was said unable to notice.[20] I should therefore locate David Starr Jordan's *sympsychography* between these episodes — chronologically.

Ideography or an inscription[21] produced upon the sensitive plate by externalizing ample mental energy of memories without any physical connection[22] was re-launched decades

---

17   See also D. Brewster, *The Stereoscope: Its History, Theory, and Construction* (Hastings-on-Hudson: Morgan & Morgan, 1971), 205-6.
18   *Harper's Weekly*, May 8, 1869.
19   Jennifer Tucker, "Photography as Witness, Detective, and Impostor: Visual Representation in Victorian Science," in *Victorian Science in Context*, ed. Bernard Lightman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), 395-402; W. F. Barrett, *On the Threshold of the Unseen: An Examination of the Phenomena of Spiritualism and of the Evidence for Survival after Death* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1917), 88-92.
20   J. Coates, *Photographing the Invisible: Practical Studies in Spirit Photography, Spirit Portraiture, and Other Rare but Allied Phenomena* (New York: Arno Press, 1973), 244.
21   "A general term that refers to all the types of transformations through which an entity becomes materialized into a sign, an archive, a document, a piece of paper, a trace. Usually but not always inscriptions are two-dimensional, superimposable, and combinable. They are always mobile, that is, they allow new translations

later.[23] In direct reference to x-rays, Sir William Crookes fostered a major stir in the early half of 1870s by openly championing such leading mediums as Daniel Dunglas Home but other cranks too. After decades, back into reputable chemistry — e.g. invention of the high-vacuum cathode tube where radiation's mechanical pressure is detectable — his appeal went again:

> Röntgen has familiarised us with an order of vibrations of extreme minuteness compared with the smallest waves with which we have hitherto been acquainted, and of dimensions comparable with the distances between the centres of the atoms of which the material universe is built up; and there is no reason to suppose that we have here reached the limit of frequency. It is known that the action of thought is accompanied by certain molecular movements in the brain, and here we have physical vibrations capable from their extreme minuteness of acting direct on individual molecules, while their rapidity approaches that of the internal and external movements of the atoms themselves.

> Confirmation of telepathic phenomena is afforded by many converging experiments, and by many spontaneous occurrences only thus intelligible. The most varied proof, perhaps, is drawn from analysis of the sub-conscious workings of the mind, when these, whether by accident or design, are brought into conscious survey. […] To mention a few names out of many, the observations of Richet, Pierre Janet and Binet (in France), or Breuer and Freud (in Austria), of William James (in America) have strikingly illustrated the extent to which patient experimentation can probe sub-liminal processes, and thus can learn the lessons of alternating personalities and abnormal states.[24]

French effluvists such as Hippolyte Baraduc, Albert de Rochas and Louis Darget appropriated the "radiograph" vocabulary for their endeavours to picture whatever comes from the vital body while roentgenology depended on some artificial source of radiation. Yet the public did not care, hoping that x-rays would provide a link to any unknown realm.[25] How do we theoretically explain this wishful credulity which remained consistent across different technologies?

Media Archaeology

> Do not seek the old in the new, but find something new in the old. If we are lucky and find it, we shall have to say goodbye to much that is familiar in a variety of respects. – Siegfried Zielinski[26]

---

and articulations while keeping some types of relations intact. Hence they are also called 'immutable mobiles,' a term that focuses on the movement of displacement and the contradictory requirements of the task." Bruno Latour, *Pandora's Hope: Essays on the Reality of Science Studies* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 306-7.

22 Which he attributed to I. Rogers; see D. S. Jordan, "The Sympsychograph: A Study in Impressionist Physics," *Appleton's Popular Science Monthly* 49 (1896): 597-602.

23 Jule Eisenbud, *The World of Ted Serios: "Thoughtographic" Studies of an Extraordinary Mind* (New York: William Morrow & Company, 1967); Cyril Permutt, *Beyond the Spectrum: A Survey of Supernatural Photography* (Cambridge: Patrick Stephens, 1983), 88-113.

24 Crookes, *Researches in the Phenomena of Spiritualism* (Manchester: Two Worlds Publishing Company, 1926), 131-32; Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, a bereaved father, contributed thereto in *The History of Spiritualism* (New York: Arno Press, 1975). See also Janet Oppenheim, *The Other World: Spiritualism and Psychical Research in England, 1850-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 349-50.

25 Clément Chéroux, "Photographs of Fluids: An Alphabet of Invisible Rays," in *The Perfect Medium: Photography and the Occult* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

26 *Deep Time of the Media: Toward an Archaeology of Hearing and Seeing by Technical Means* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006), 3.

Friedrich A. Kittler's problematic reliance upon Michel Foucault[27] helped give birth to "Medienarchäologie" à la Foucault's *Archaeology of Knowledge*; unless in German, neither Zielinski nor Kittler has been rendered easy to verbatim understand. When translating Zielinski's *Archäologie der Medien: Zur Tiefenzeit des technischen Hören und Sehen* quoted above, Gloria Custance replaces "archaeology" with "deep time" (*Tiefenzeit*) from the subtitle.[28] This is unfortunate as readers would easily be lead into other media-archaeological stuff: e.g. "Media Archaeology" the ctheory.net[29] essay by Zielinski that has appeared on-line for a decade. Custance also rephrased *Audiovisionen: Kino und Fernsehen als Zwischenspiele in der Geschichte* into *Audiovisions: Cinema and Television as Entr'actes in History* several years ago; "interludes" or "intermissions," even "intermezzi" the Italian plural may look more comprehensible to Anglophones than "entr'actes" which denotes "Zwischenspiele" literally. Could she not have ended with "Audiovisions" nor indicated between (*entre*, *zwischen*) what our author located both cinema and television historically? I suspect they are hardly between two sections of an operatic play. Also, why "Hören und Sehen" differs from "Audiovision" is beyond me.

This prefigures Erkki Huhtamo's proposal to undertake "first, the study of the cyclically recurring elements and motives underlying and guiding the development of media culture; second, the 'excavation' of the ways in which these discursive traditions and formulations have been 'imprinted' on specific media machines and systems in different historical contexts, contributing to their identity in terms of socially and ideologically specific webs of signification."[30] This clarity makes Huhtamo's work a kinder entry point: Zielinski dispenses with recent examples while Huhtamo with real instruments but *discursive* ones rather. His examples of domestic entertainment (stereoscopy, fantasmagorie,[31] telectroscopy) are comparable with Paul Valéry's futuristic world originally dated 1928 which soon turned out actual in radio-like things:

> Just as water, gas, and electricity are brought into our houses from far off to satisfy our needs in response to a minimal effort, so we shall be supplied with visual or auditory

---

27 For which David E. Wellbery's foreword to *Discourse Networks 1800/1900* is more quotable than Kittler's main composition; *Aufschreibesysteme* fell into *Discourse Networks* yet emphatically by "auf-schreiben" instead of "schreiben" he was à la Bruno Latour approaching the notion of writing-down upon some two-dimensional matter, and "Systeme" rather than "Netzwerk" hints Niklas Luhmann's influence on German media studies, whose founding father was Gottfried W. F. von Leibniz on the communication of substances. Let me quote the afterword translated by Michael Metteer with Kittler's original expressions bracketed: "The term *discourse network* [Aufschreibesystem], as God revealed it to the paranoid cognition of Senate President Schreber, can also designate the network [Netzwerk] of technologies and institutions that allow a given culture to select, store, and process relevant data. Technologies like that of book printing and the institutions coupled to it, such as literature and the university, thus constituted a historically very powerful formation, which in the Europe of the age of Goethe became the condition of possibility for literary criticism. In order to describe such systems [Systeme] as systems [Systeme], that is, to describe them from the outside and not merely from a position of interpretive immanence, Foucault developed discourse analysis [Diskursanalyse] as a reconstruction of the rules by which the actual discourses [Diskurse] of an epoch would have to have been organized in order not to be excluded as was, for example, insanity." Kittler, *Discourse Networks 1800/1900* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 369.

28 It must go less deep than James Hutton, a palaeontologist, believed our Planet Earth to be: *Time's Arrow, Time's Cycle* i.e. a volume by Stephen Jay Gould regarding Hutton got renamed *Die Entdeckung der "Tiefenzeit"* in German though.

29 Another related Canada-led input to archaeology is Charles R. Acland, ed., *Residual Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

30 E. Huhtamo, "From Kaleidoscomaniac to Cybernerd: Notes toward an Archeology of Media," in *Electronic Culture: Technology and Visual Representation*, ed. Timothy Druckrey (New York: Aperture, 1996), 303.

31 Oliver Grau situates this between 17th-century *laterna magica* and Zoe Beloff et al.'s image works: all endeavouring "to communicate with the dead." Grau, *MediaArtHistories* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2007), 137-61.

images, which will appear and disappear at a simple movement of the hand, hardly more than a sign. […] I do not know whether a philosopher has ever dreamed of a company engaged in the home delivery of Sensory Reality. Of all the arts, music is nearest to this transposition into the modern mode. Its very nature and the place it occupies in our world mark it as the first to be transformed in its methods of transmission, reproduction, and even production. It is of all the arts the most in demand, the most involved in social existence, the closest to life, whose organic functioning it animates, accompanies, or imitates.[32]

Admitting that Valéry was a big name,[33] Zielinski has laboriously visited libraries in Hungary, Russia, Latvia, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Ukraine, Italy, Austria etc. to discover that Giuseppe Mazzolari a.k.a. Josephus Marianus Parthenius attempted in the 18th century to "establish a method of speaking" over distances.[34] Not only Democritus/Epicurus/Lucretius, whom Michel Serres brings to current philosophy,[35] but Empedocles take a chapter since their perception theories "have some bearing upon the frenetic contemporary sphere of activity."[36] We discover new media interfaces buried in Empedocles' old yet never obsolete documents; there should be no use digging out *vice versa*, as prominent historiographers do, something Empedoclean and destined to constant progress within certain typical cutting-edge inventions.[37] For the case of a rather popular and communicative (i.e. telepathic) expectation, I appreciate Tom Gunning's—yet another media archaeologist introduced by Huhtamo— discussion of William H. Mumler, Edward Wyllie et al.'s arguments.[38] Neither they nor David Starr Jordan of sympsychography helped to mold diagnosis. However, the idea of depicting everyday media as tools for a séance—or as mediums—has emerged again in Japanese and mostly Hollywood-remade movies like *Cure* (phonograph record),[39] *Ring* (video tape), *Pulse* (internet), *Dark Water* (instant picture) and *One Missed Call* (mobile phone). Medicine is about outside looking in; mysticism, this world looking beyond.

---

32 P. Valéry, "La Conquête de l'ubiquité," in *Œuvres, v. II* (Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1960), 1284-85; translated in *Aesthetics* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), 226.

33 Cited in Régis Debray, *Vie et mort de l'image: Une Histoire de regard en Occident* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1992); media archaeologists should contextualize Valéry as versatile beyond his petit-bourgeois class: see Jean-Paul Sartre, *Critique de la raison dialectique, t. I—Théorie des ensembles pratiques* (Paris: Gallimard, 1960), 43-47.

34 S. Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 162.

35 M. Serres, *The Birth of Physics* (Manchester: Clinamen Press, 2000).

36 Zielinski, *Deep Time of the Media*, 53.

37 Lisa Gitelman, a Thomas Alba Edison scholar, has been quiet about his failed x-ray experiments and keeps her non-choice as such from Kittler and media archaeology which, she misunderstands, refuses narratives but takes a past tool only to glorify the present in comparison; see *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2006).

38 T. Gunning, "Phantom Images and Modern Manifestations: Spirit Photography, Magic Theater, Trick Films, and Photography's Uncanny," in *Fugitive Images: From Photography to Video*, ed. Patrice Petro (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995).

39 When saying, "Part of the X ray's power rested in its ability to 'speak for itself,' to offer a representation of the inner body apart from its referent in time and space, thus opening it up for intersubjective perception. In that respect, Röntgen's device resembles a contemporary technological invention: the gramophone," José van Dijck cited Kittler whose stoic two-dimensional inscription theory seems favoured than Bruno Latour's; van Dijck, *The Transparent Body: A Cultural Analysis of Medical Imaging* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005), 88. Is this Dutch researcher's perspective on diagnostic instruments shifting from science studies to media archaeology? Unlikely—because, for instance, not the materiality of *Fantastic Voyage* (either a Richard Fleischer movie or Otto Klement and Jay Lewis Bixby's novel) but its contents matter to her which report endoscopic desires around 1966.

Fluid Identities and the Use of History: The Northern Lights Route and the Writings of Bengt Pohjanen

Anne Heith

Department of Comparative Literature and Scandinavian Languages,
Umeå university, Sweden
anne.heith@littvet.umu.se

The article highlights the impact of agency and context in analyses of the theme of identification in texts produced on the levels of aesthetics, ethnic mobilisation, region-building and the European project. The connection between cultural heritage and identity is discussed with examples which elucidate the role of literature in nation-building in the period of modernity and industrialisation. Texts by the Tornedalian author Bengt Pohjanen are foregrounded as part of the ethnic revival emerging in the nineteen-eighties. Swedish examples of the use of history are contrasted against the discourse of the Council of Europe's Cultural Routes which is part of a supranational project aiming at the construction of a European identity in the political project of preparing the ground for European citizenship. The conclusion presented is that it is not viable to produce a "European identity cultural package" which runs the risk of conflating differences related to aspects such as language, ethnicity, gender, worldview and religion. Identities are fluid, they exist on various levels and shift in response to changing contexts. Sometimes they develop in overlapping discourses. One way of dealing with this is to think of identification as a constant negotiation of symbolic and concrete borders.

Fluid Identities and the Use of History: The Northern Lights Route and the Writings of Bengt Pohjanen

As a contribution to the project of Europeanization the Council of Europe launched the Cultural Routes program in 1987. The program aims at promoting "the European identity in its unity and diversity" by demonstrating how the cultural heritage of the European countries represents a shared cultural heritage (Resolution (98) 4 On the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe). The influential idea of "unity in diversity" has been used in various ways in contexts where the issue of a European identity has been on the agenda (Delanty and Rumford 2005: 57). Delanty and Rumford underline that in the context of the enlargement of the European union and because of the diversity of "languages, religions and societies, the recognition of diversity is an administrative necessity."(ibid. p. 60). However it is no easy task to define the contents of the idea of unity in diversity. Delanty and Rumford call attention to the fact that the relation between the key words unity and diversity has shifted, from unity *and* diversity to unity *in* diversity (ibid. p. 57). The idea as such is appealing not least because it suggests the possibility to acknowledge diversity while at the same time achieving unity.

One important feature of diversity discussed by Delanty and Rumford is that it exists on various levels, for example a polynational level and on numerous national levels. Regional diversity exists within and across national cultures. Delanty and Rumford even suggest that there might be greater diversity within nations than across them (Delanty and Rumford 2005: 64). They describe the idea of unity in diversity as a myth which they see as potentially dangerous as it "denies the possibility of a European identity since this will always be in danger of undermining national diversity" (ibid. p. 65). They propose an alternative, namely to think beyond "the diversity myth", for example by consciously and strategically acknowledging democratic and cosmopolitan values (ibid. p. 66). They quite rightly point out that the visions of a political elite advocating a supranational project does not necessarily coincide with discourses articulated by inhabitants in the European countries. According to them discourses connected with popular movements such as environmentalism, sustainability, anti-corruption, biotechnology, humanitarianism and anti-war are significant contexts for the articulation of European identity (ibid.). Nevertheless the European project is on the political agenda. One new cultural project within a political structure which has arisen as an answer to contemporary social transformations is the Council of Europe's Cultural Routes program.

Cultural Routes and Fluid Identities

The initial concept of the program, which is presented on the Council of Europe's website, was to demonstrate "in a visible way, by means of a journey through space and time, how the heritage of the different countries in Europe represented a shared cultural heritage." (Council of Europe Cultural Routes). The stated main aims are "to raise awareness of a European cultural identity and European citizenship, based on a set of shared values given tangible form by means of cultural routes retracing the history of the influences, exchanges and developments which have shaped European cultures". The program explicitly aims at defining a common European space with shared values and a shared cultural heritage which may constitute a common ground for a European cultural identity and citizenship.

Considering the diversity of languages, religions, worldviews and traditions in contemporary Europe which exist not only between countries but also in countries where multiculturalism is acknowledged, a narrative of sameness would of course be problematic. It is stated in the Resolution (98) 4 on the Cultural Routes projects that in the field of cultural tourism and sustainable cultural development projects must "take account of local, regional, national and European identities" (Resolution (98) 4: 4). One possibility to solve the

seemingly paradoxical idea of "unity in diversity" is to foreground the existence of diversity in democratic (and perhaps cosmopolitan) spaces as a unifying value. If the project is to succeed there has to be some common values which a "European cultural identity" can be based upon. As Delanty and Rumford point out it would hardly be viable to codify European identity in "a cultural package" (Delanty and Rumford 2005: 68). A European identity is by necessity fluid, existing on various levels and shifting in response to various contexts.

In *Rethinking Europe. Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization* Delanty and Rumford analyse how Europe changes both as an imaginary and in concrete ways as a result of the enlargement (Delanty and Rumford 2005). They conclude that a "post-western Europe" is coming into being: "a Europe that is no longer based on a singular, western modernity, but multiple modernities" (ibid. p. 49). As a result Europe "is becoming more poly-centric, with more than one centre and also more than one historical origin"(ibid.). This implies that the Europeanization project is a "highly indeterminate process of social construction" as the enlargement as such "is about transformation". The EU is changing and expanding "and as it does so it forces other parts of Europe to change." (ibid.).

Indeterminate Processes on Various Levels

The Council of Europe's Cultural Routes program contributes to shaping contemporary identification processes. As mentioned above these are dynamic, indeterminate and fluid. This is also the case with identification processes on national and regional levels which are affected by aspects such as ethnicity, language, religion, worldview, socio-economic status and gender. In this article a couple of examples will be examined which together might provide a composite narrative with multiple story-lines, agendas, implied authors and readers about the themes of identity, culture and history in present day Europe. The aim of this is to foreground the possibility of thinking about identity, culture and history as a constant negotiation of symbolic and concrete borders carried out in discourses on a political supranational level, on a national and regional level and on the levels of popular movements and the individual. The role of literary writing and art in Swedish nation-building will be commented upon as well as later critique of homogenizing nation-building from the perspective of ethnic and linguistic minority status. The latter will be elucidated with examples from the writings of the Tornedalian writer Bengt Pohjanen who is a vigorous contributor in the debate on the status of the historical ethnic and linguistic minority of the Meänkieli-speaking Tornedalians in Sweden. The Torne River Valley (Swedish "Tornedalen") is a border area in northern Scandinavia. The Torne River divides the Tornedalians as it marks the border between Sweden and Finland. This has not always been the case. For centuries Finland was a part of Sweden. But Finland became a Russian Grand Duchy in 1809 and consequently the Tornedalians became citizens in different nation-states. The ethnic and linguistic minority Pohjanen belongs to was formerly called the Tornedalian Finns. According to the encyklopedia *Norrländsk Uppslagsbok* most people who belong to the minority use the term "tornedaling", Tornedalian, today. It signifies a regional as well as a cultural identity. The denomination "Finn" is often understood as referring to nationality and thus it is awkward for denominating Tornedalians who are Swedish citizens (*Norrländsk uppslagsbok* vol 1: 249). However ethic categorisation is no easy endeavour as there is a number of principles according to which the categorisation may be done (Elenius 2001). Sometimes "objective" criteria have been used and on other occasions the self-understanding of individuals have been decisive for deciding who is a Tornedalian.

If identities are understood as contextual this also means that they are multiple and dynamic. This implies that it is not possible to give an exact number with regard to the Tornedalian population in Sweden. There are no official statistics, but according to the Swedish standard encyklopedia *Nationalencyklopedin* there are roughly 25 000

"tornedalsfinnar" in Sweden (*Nationalencyklopedin* 2007). There is an interesting discrepancy between this figure and the one presented in a recent study by Lars Elenius who claims that today there are some 50 000 Tornedalians residing primarily in Haparanda, Övertorneå, Pajala and the municipalities of Kiruna and Gällivare (Elenius 2006: 16). The term "tornedalsfinnar" used in *Nationalencyklopedin* of course is somewhat dubious as it may be experienced as an act of attributing "non-Swedishness" to the Meänkieli-speaking minority in Sweden. In 2000 Sweden ratified the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and The Council of Europe Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities. As a result Yiddish, Romani Chib, Finnish, Sámi and Meänkieli (formerly called Tornedalian Finnish) were granted official status as minority languages in Sweden.

BENGT POHJANEN: selective cv

– author of fiction, poetry, opera librettos, co-author of two Meänkieli grammar books etc.
– former clergyman in the Church of Sweden
– wrote an academic thesis on the Finnish author Antti Hyry
– publisher
– minister of the Orthodox congregation at Överkalix
– promoter of Meänkieli culture
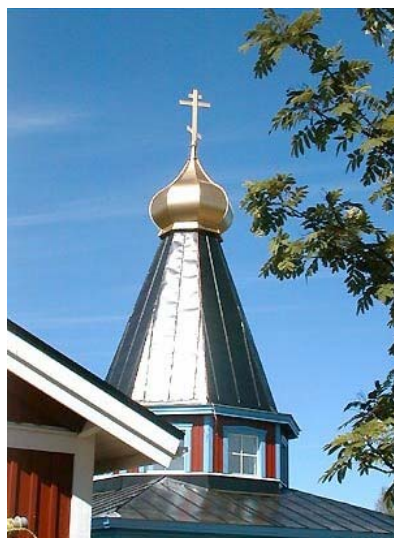
The Orthodox church at Överkalix.

The role of historical subject matter and narrative for identification processes on the level of the European project will be discussed through an examination of one of the Council of Europe's Cultural Routes programs, the Northern Lights Route. This is not solely a political project aiming at the creation of a European identity. It is also a project aiming at wealth creation and the enhancement of economy, trade and tourism. This is underscored in the "Introductory note to the draft European Framework Convention on the integration of the cultural heritage into development". In connection with this, branding of various regions has become part of the discourse of the Cultural Routes programs.

Contextualising Borders

Identification processes are closely connected to the construction of concrete and symbolic borders. After the peace treaty between Russia and Sweden in 1809 Sweden "lost" Finland. The Muonio River and the Torne River became the geographical markers of the new national border and the Tornedalian population was divided. The barrier function of the 1809 border is related to the territorial configuration of states and sovereign territories. Today a wider view on borders has been adopted in a number of academic disciplines. This new view has been influenced by globalization, the collapse of the Communist bloc, the advance of information technology, the European Union and post-modern thinking. "Border" may refer to the legal borderline between states but also to frontiers of political and cultural contestation.

War between Sweden and Russia 1808 – 1809.

Illustration from the Finnish national poet Johan Ludvig Runeberg's *Songs of Ensign Stål.*
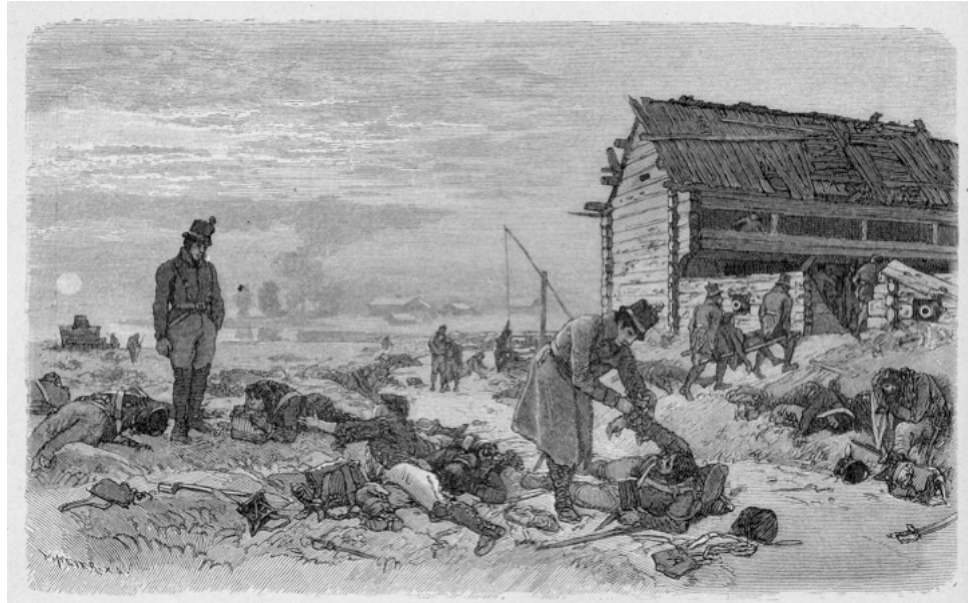
One way of analysing borders, barriers and boundaries is to examine representations of them as discourses. National, regional and European identities are politically, socially and culturally constructed in concrete historical settings under the impact of boundary-producing and border-crossing practices, manifest for example in the use of inclusionary and exclusionary language.

Identification Processes and the Use of History

In his well-known analysis of the processes which lead to the rise of nationalism and nation-states in Europe Benedict Anderson foregrounds the connection between the nation as an imagined community and ideas of a common history (Anderson 2006). This implies a constructivist view of history which enables us to analyse the discursive practices of historiography and narrativisation which create and negotiate meanings, norms and values. Nationalism emerged in connection with the modern nation-state and the development of industrial society (Delanty and Kumar 2006: 2). Delanty and Kumar describe nationalism in this context as "inextricably connected with statehood and with the centralizing and modernising tendency towards the homogenization of populations." (ibid.).

In the realm of literary writing national characters acting in the historical drama of a constructed common past have been created. In Sweden Esaias Tegnér's *Frithiofs saga* (1825), *The Frithiof's Saga*, contributed the ingredient of romanticized viking mythology to ideas of a common past. In illustrations the hero Frithiof and his beloved Ingeborg are portrayed as racial exponents of the Nordic type. In a picture by Knut Ekwall the young couple is embedded in dramatic nature. They are sitting on the branch of a tree over an abyss with sharp rocks in the sea beneath. It is only Frithiof's firm grip around a branch which prevents them from falling. In this romantic image the young couple only have eyes for one another.

The illustration showing Frithiof and Ingeborg conveys an idea of what Swedes ideally should look like in the nineteenth century, and in doing so a symbolic boundary is activated separating the Nordic type from people with non-Nordic racial or ethnic markers. The image may seem innocent, but it can also be analysed as part of a racist discourse. In a study of orientalism in a Swedish context Christian Catomeris' explores a history of racism when discussing representations of immigrants from southern Europe and non-European countries

The cover of one edition of *The Frithiof's Saga*.
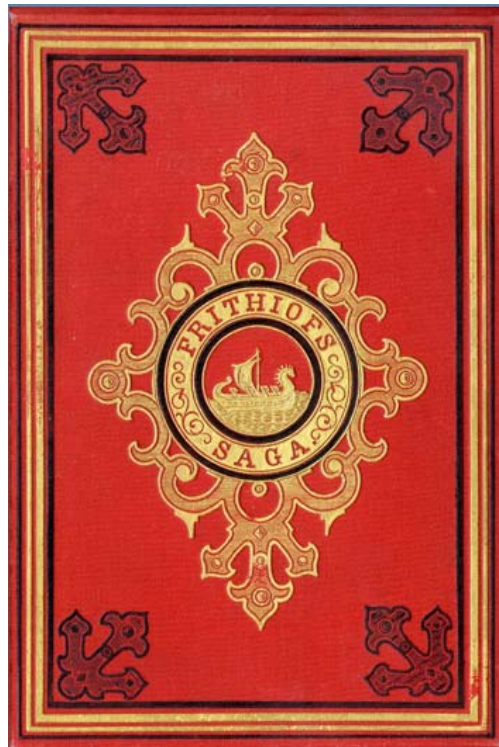
and people who belong to ethnic minorities (Catomeris 2005). He claims that racial stereotyping was frequent long before the time of increased immigration in the late twentieth century and that blond hair and blue eyes have functioned as markers of Swedish ethnicity in various discourses, for example in the popular children's books by Elsa Beskow (Catomeris 2005: 21). The picture representing Frithiof and Ingeborg is also interesting from a gender

Illustration by Knut Ekwall to song VII in *The Frithiof's Saga*. The Swedish text reads:

"Kom, älskade, och låt mig trycka
Dig till det hjerta, du är kär!
Min själs begär, min lefnads lycka,
Kom i min famn och hvila der!"

perspective as it conveys an image of gendered boundaries in romantic discourse, the young woman dressed in white seeming curiously deprived of empowerment enabling her to act independently in the dramatic nature, while the young man, although in a romantic situation, has not lost touch with the requirements of the material world around them.
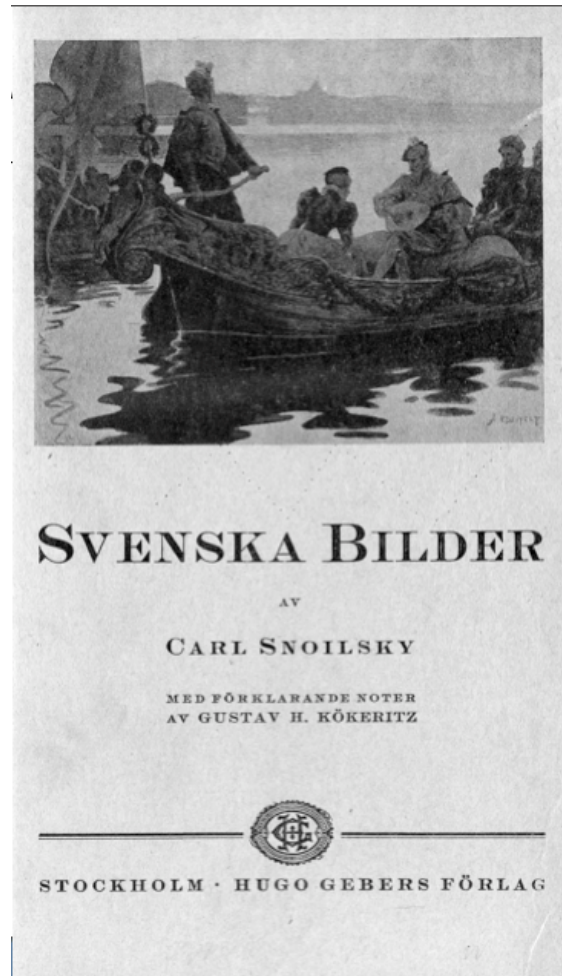
Cover of a school edition of *Svenska bilder*.

Carl Snoilsky's collection of poems, Images of Sweden, *Svenska Bilder*, is another example of nineteenth century literature which was much read and admired. The title "Svenska Bilder" was used for the first time by Snoilsky in the collection *Nya dikter*, [New Poems], published in 1881. A selection of the poems was published in a school edition.

For decades Snolisky's *Svenska bilder* was part of the curriculum of Swedish school-children. In one of the poems "I Ryssland" [In Russia], the warrior king Charles XII is portrayed as a righteous hero when invading Russia. The poem starts by presenting a scene with a hiding Russian peasant who is aiming at the Swedish king. Clearly the Russian represents the Other, a threat to the Swedes and the implied author and the implied reader are Swedes horrified at the audacity of the "evil" Russian peasant defending his country.

The beginning of the poem "I Ryssland"
[In Russia].

Contemporary Deconstruction and Renegotiation of Borders

During the nineteenth century Tegnér was considered the national poet of Sweden and count Snoilsky became widely known for his capacity to express what was seen by his contemporaries as the Swedish national spirit. Today their fame has faded. One reason is of course the change in aesthetic sensibility which has occurred. Another is the fact that the kind of symbolic border constructions which the texts partake in to a large extent have been challenged in the present situation when it is not possible to produce plausibility and consensus in the public debate over representations which valorise and romanticize questionable ideals in historical guise. With the pluralism of theoretical perspectives in the wake of poststructuralism and postmodernism the paradigm of "one nation, one people, one language and a homogeneous culture" has become dubious. Furthermore it has become obvious that demographics are changing due to migration. The EU and legislation protecting the languages of historical minorities have resulted in a process of reinterpretation of symbolic borders and redefinition of national culture.

The trauma of Swedish assimilation politics and experiences of identity loss are recurring themes in Tornedalian literature. In the poem "Jag är född utan språk" [I was born without language], Bengt Pohjanen expresses Tornedalian experiences of marginalization and identity loss due to linguistic minority status in a context where representatives of the majority culture in power exercise a politics of monoculturalism.

Pohjanen's poem which has been printed in various publications can be found in the very beginning of a Meänkieli grammar book, *Meänkieli rätt och lätt*, by Bengt Pohjanen and Eeva Muli (Pohjanen and Muli 2005). The fact that this grammar book is used in Tornedalian schools in Sweden for teaching purposes today reflects the change in status for Meänkieli. The poem "I was born without language" provides a critical perspective on the history of linguistic and ethnic minorities in Sweden. It is obvious that the "I" of the poem voices experiences of exclusion, of not belonging in the modern Swedish welfare state, the people's home, which does not welcome linguistic pluralism. Today the boundaries have changed as Meänkieli has become an official minority language.

Translation of Bengt Pohjanen's poem "Jag är född utan språk":

I was born without language
umbilical cord speechlessly bandaged
by a mute midwife

I grew up at the border
under the cross-fire from two languages
which have whipped my tongue
to dumbness

I was raised
with demands of clarity
language and nationality

I was whipped at school
into language, clarity
nationality
I was whipped to contempt
for that which was mine
the want of a language
and the border

I was built by exterior
violence
as well as interior constraint
on abbreviations
and misunderstandings

I was deprived of my identity card

(translation by Anne Heith)

In another poem by Bengt Pohjanen printed in the grammar book *Meänkielen kramatiiki* (Pohjanen and Kenttä 1996) Pohjanen connects the Tornedalians metonymically with colonised people: "Nyt aurinko nousee meile,/yli mailmaam neekereile" [Now the sun rises for us,/ over the negroes of the earth.]. In the multilingual poem entitled "Rättipäät", which is Finnish slang meaning "fucking arabs", Pohjanen places the Tornedalians on an equal footing with oppressed arabs and black people thus implying that the Finnish-speaking people of the Torne River Valley have been subjected to a similar kind of colonisation as those peoples. There is no mistake about the critical and deconstructive stance towards the narrative about a democratic modern Swedish welfare state as the loss of language, culture and identity of an ethnic minority are highlighted. Analysed with perspectives from postcolonial theory the poem may be seen as an expression of "the subaltern speaking back".

The poem which was first published in 1987 reflects the ethnic revival of the nineteen-eighties. Pohjanen frequently questions the idea of a common Swedish history and a homogeneous culture when focussing on the role of characters and events shaping Meänmaa, a Meänkieli-name which literally means "our land". It refers to the area in the Torne River Valley where the historical ethnic and linguistic minority of the Tornedalian-Finnish population has its core area. To some extent Pohjanen's Meänmaa is a specific geographical area, but furthermost Meänmaa is an imaginary construction expressing protest and alternatives to modernity and the Swedish "folkhem" which took shape after World War II.

In an essay entitled "Sju flickor, sju pojkar" [Seven girls, seven boys] – the title alludes to the Finnish author Aleksis Kivi's *Seitsemän veljestä* [Seven Brothers] – Pohjanen briefly portrays seven women and seven men who have contributed to shaping Meänmaa and the identity of its people (Pohjanen 2006a). Pohjanen's use of history implies a deconstruction as well as a construction of symbolic borders which function as signifiers of cultural differences marking the border between "us and them". The contingency of identification has been

English translation of line 1–2 of the first stanza and of the second stanza:

"Now the sun rises for us,
Over the negroes of the earth.
/. . ./

Now our time has come,
to sing in the choir of minorities,
all over the world:
in London and in Pajala."

The first part of "Rättipäät" printed in *Meänkielen kramatiiki*.

12.16. Rättipäät

Nyt aurinko nousee meile,
yli mailman neekereile.
Rättipäät ja mutakuonot:
ei niil' ole ajat huonot.

Nyt oon tullu meän vuoro,
laulaa vähemistön kuoro,
kaikkialla mailmassa:
Lontonissa, Pajalassa.

Herraskansat, äitipuolet,
niilä vasta suuret huolet,
niilä vanhaa oon jo kieli,
meilä herräämässä mieli.

Net laulunsa oon laulanheet,
jo Dallaksensa elähneet.
Niil' ei ennää kelpaa mikhään,
sanova varsin: s'ole mithään!

underlined by Stuart Hall who describes the total merging of identitification as a fantasy of incorporation which relies on a process of articulation operating across difference. This process entails "the binding and marking of symbolic boundaries, the production of 'frontier-effects'. It requires what is left outside, its constitutive outside, to consolidate the process." (Hall 1996: 3).

The themes of linguistic and ethnic minority status are central in Pohjanen's use of history when exploring imagined communities and cultural identities. His writings can be described as a metonymic process in which the meanings attached to being a Tornedalian modify and develop. One northern, transnational, imagined community frequently referred to by Pohjanen is a prophetic belt stretching from Bodø in Norway to Narjan Mar in Russia (Pohjanen 2000a: 55). In his contemporary construction of a Meänkieli culture and history this belt functions as an alternative to the Swedish nation-state.

One important component of Pohjanen's imaginary Torne River Valley is the contestation of the image of Russia as the strange and alien East, for example when describing his own Torne River Valley as a Russian landscape. This is done in the portrait of one of the seven women who have influenced Tornedalian identity constructions in "Sju flickor, sju pojkar" (Pohjanen 2006a: 217). In the section entitled "Flicka nr 5 – Hilja" [Girl nr 5 – Hilja] Pohjanen characterises the Tornedalian novelist Hilja Kallioniemi-Byström as "the Dostojevskij of Tornedalen" who depicts the Torne River Valley as a Russian landscape whose beauty is redeeming (2006b: 218). A major component of Pohjanen's writings is the exploration of the theme of cultural heritage which has shaped the mentality and living-conditions of people in the Barents Euro-Arctic region.

On a political level the border area became increasingly strategically important after the loss of Finland in 1809 and the dissolution of the Union with Norway in 1905. There was a

shift in the image of Russia among the Swedish security elite based on the assumption that the Russians had expansionist intentions and that they aimed at securing an outlet to the Atlantic coast. There was also a growing self-esteem among Swedish decision-makers and an increased optimism regarding Sweden's prospects of surviving as an independent state in the age of imperialism (Åselius 1994).

Rewriting History

Pohjanen and Muli's Meänkieli grammar book from 2005 is published in Swedish. Previously, in 1996, another Meänkieli grammar book written by Bengt Pohjanen and Matti Kenttä was published in Meänkieli. In both books the authors transgress conventions of the grammar book genre. The books include poems and stories which provide critical perspectives on Swedish assimilation politics and modern Swedish society which are viewed from the perspective of the Other, or rather from a position where the pronoun "we" refers to an imagined community of the Meänkieli-speaking population of the Torne River Valley. The implied author as well the implied reader belong to the imagined community of Tornedalian speakers of Meänkieli. This implies the construction of a collective identity based on shared experiences deriving from a common historical and social setting, the Torne River Valley.

Contesting historiography by the construction of new histories:

The (re)construction of the history of Meänkieli in Kenttä and Pohjanen's *Meänkielen kramatiiki*: from despised stranger to member of a respectable family.

1.3.2.1. Sukulaiset

Alkuperänen yraalin kieli
(– 4000 vuotta ennen Kr.)

Alkuperänen finsk-yykriska
(3000 e.Kr.)   Alkuperänen samujeetiska

Alkuperänen yykriska
(1000 e.Kr.)   Etelä-   Pohjos-
samujeetiska samujeetiska

Yngerska Opyykriska   Alkuperänen finsk-permiska
(1500 e.Kr.)

Vokyyliska
Ustjaakiska

Alkuperänen permiska   Alkuperänen finsk-volkaaiska
(800 e.Kr.)   (1000 e.Kr.)

Syrjäänska   Alkuperänen   Alkuperänen
Vutjaakiska   Volka-suomi   Suomi

Murtvinska   Liiviska   Estniska
Maarin kieli   Vuutiska Kareelska
Lappi   Suomi   Inkerska
Vepsiska Lyytiska
Meänkieli

Illustration from *Meänkielen kramatiiki*.

The fictions of the grammar books do not only exemplify the Other speaking back. More importantly they partake in the contemporary formation of identity and culture. This process

also includes expressions of self-assertion. One example is the construction of the history of Meänkieli in Pohjanen and Kenttä's grammar book. In the family tree illustrating the kinship and development of the Fenno-Ugric languages, Meänkieli and Finnish are displayed as two equal languages branching from Old Finnish. This is clearly a rewriting of the history of Meänkieli which is not in accordance with linguistic scholarship. But contribution to linguistic scholarship is hardly the primary aim of Pohjanen and Kenttä's *Meänkielen kramatiiki*. Rather the language tree provides a negotiation of borders which create power relations and hierarchies between languages and language users. The word "meänkieli", which means "our language", only has a history of some decades. In the encyklopedia *Norrländsk uppslagsbok* the first appearance of the word in print is traced to a chronicle by Matti Kenttä published in the regional newspaper *Haparandabladet* in the the early nineteen-eighties (*Norrländsk uppslagsbok* vol 3: 147). From the late nineteen-eighties and onwards it has been used to denominate the language spoken by the Finnish-speaking Tornedalians in Sweden. However it should be kept in mind that the status of Meänkieli is different in Finland compared to Sweden. In Finland Meänkieli has no official status as a language of its own. This illustrates the problem of categorisation. There are some thirty Fenno-Ugric languages, the number depends on whether the different varieties are regarded as dialects within one language or as separate languages (Collinder 1962).

The Northern Lights Route

The Northern Lights Route is one of the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe, though not one of the major ones which are enumerated on the Council's website. The choice of name for the route significantly refers to an electro-static phenomenon only visible in the North sky from the Northern Hemisphere. The Latin name for the phenomenon, *aurora borealis*, combines the name of the Roman goddess of the dawn, Aurora, and the Greek name for the north wind, Boreas. In a presentation of the Northern Lights Route on the website of the University Library of Tromsø the logo of Tromsø university is found next to the logo of the Barents Euro-Arctic region. With Naomi Klein's *No Logo* in mind the profusion of logos may seem somewhat comical. But as stated in one of the policy documents the Cultural Routes program has wealth creation as one of its aims. This is clearly not a discourse on the level of popular anti-consumerism movements but on a supranational political level which coincides with the level of regional politics aiming at regional development. The addressee in the text is a reader not familiar with this part of Europe, addressed by a narrator using the pronoun "we". "We" in this context most likely refers to an ideal imagined community of people living in the Barents Euro-Arctic region. In this demonstration of a "shared cultural heritage" based on "shared values" there is a clear distinction between "them" and "us". Obviously it is assumed that "they", the addressees in the text, are not familiar with the specific culture, history and life world of "us". Curiously enough the narrator in the text views the Barents Euro-Arctic Region with the eyes of a stranger when describing it as "this bordering area of sea and ice on the distant shores of northern Europe" (The Northern Lights Route). The defamiliarization is further strengthened by enumerations of the exotic qualities of the region: "The Northern Lights Route hopes to introduce its viewers to the fascinating and compelling qualities of the northern regions.", "We wish to show how daring journeys to the far corners of the ancient world once came to pass, and to offer you descriptions of life as it once was lived, and still is lived" (ibid.). It can be argued that the rhetoric of the presentation is more persuasive in promoting the tourist industry than in creating a sense of sharing values and a cultural heritage among Europeans. There is an erosion of internal borders inside the European Union today, but it is obvious that there are problems in creating plausible accounts of a shared identity and a shared past. On the other hand this is hardly possible due to the obvious differences and diversity that exist. The identities, values and

heritage that are evoked will necessarily be fluid, diverse and contextual if the heritage is not to be conflated into a common package – which as mentioned above would be impossible as a political project considering the apparent cultural, ethnic and linguistic diversity that exists in Europe.

The Topos of the Marketplace

Taking the impact of consumption of both material products and immaterial ones like experiences in contemporary consumer society into consideration it is hardly surprising that there is a strong emphasis on the role of trade to connect people in the representation of the Northern Lights Route, and on wealth creation in the policy documents of the European Council. One of the titles of the menu on the introductory page of the Northern Lights Route is "Trade" and it provides a link to a presentation which is initiated by the sentence "Trade leads to contact between people." This statement exemplifies rhetoric aiming at persuading the reader that trade and contact between people are in a metonymic relationship which implies that one merges with the other. In this kind of rhetoric the concept of the marketplace functions as a metaphor for peaceful, wealth creating co-operation. The persistence of this kind of peaceful co-operation is implied by the contacts of the past caused by trading, fishing and hunting and contemporary visions of the possibilities of tourism and experience industry. If the "brave" explorers of the past are to be succeeded by today's tourists the representation has to rely on a rhetoric of persuasion which promises experiences out of the ordinary.

One important aim of the Cultural Routes program is to transcend politics and economics previously envisioned in national terms. But this is not enough. As implied in the Council of Europe's policy documents there is a challenge in accounting for the diversity of cultural heritage in Europe, for example from the perspectives of ethnicity, linguistic pluralism and differences between rural and urban cultures.

Negotiating Borders and Identification Processes

Pohjanen is one of the individuals participating in the process of region-building and the formation of identity in the Barents Region. One of the publishing houses he has started is called the Barents Publisher and he plays an active role in the the Barents Literature Centre at Överkalix in the Torne River Valley.

As Paasi and Neumann have pointed out regions emerge in processes of territorial, symbolic and institutional shaping (Paasi 1991; Neumann 1996). Maps provide visualizations of the borders of the region, natural phenomena like the aurora borealis may be promoted as symbols of the region, and institutions like the Barents Institute at Kirkenes, Norway, and the Barents Literature Centre mentioned above, play a role in constructing the Barents Region as an imagined community. Through his writings and social actions Pohjanen represents an agent belonging to the "interest group" of ethnic Meänkieli-speaking Tornedalians who wish to promote a culture, a language and an identity of their own. He is also an individual agent acting on the arena of the Barents Region. In both cases the idea of a monocultural, monolinguistic nation state as a desirable imagined community is challenged.

In a discussion of relevant theories for the analysis of cultural identity Stuart Hall underlines the use of history, language and culture in the formation of identities: "identities are about questions of using the resources of history, language and culture in the process of becoming rather than being" (Hall 1996). In this article some examples of the use of history, language and culture in aesthetic, educational and political discourses have been discussed. In all the examples the negotiation of borders, both symbolic and concrete ones, plays a major role in redefining the meanings of cultural identity.

References

Anderson, Benedict (2006). Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, Revised Edition, Verso: London.

Catomeris, Christian (2005). ”'Svartmuskiga bandittyper' – svenskarna och det mörka håret” in Moa Matthis ed. Orientalism på svenska, Ordfront: Stockholm.

Collinder, Björn (1962). Introduktion till de uraliska språken: Finskan och dess frändespråk, Natur och Kultur: Stockholm.

Council of Europe Cultural Routes, http://.www.coe.int/t/e/cultural_co-operation/heritage/European_Cultural_Routes/.

Delanty, Gerard and Krishnan Kumar (2005). "Introduction", Gerard Delanty & Krishnan Kumar ed. The SAGE Handbook of Nations and Nationalism, Sage Publications: London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi.

Delanty, Gerard and Chris Rumford (2006). Rethinking Europe: Social Theory and the Implications of Europeanization, Routledge: London, New York.

Ehn, Billy et al. (1993). Försvenskningen av Sverige: Det nationellas förvandlingar, Natur och Kultur: Stockholm.

Elenius, Lars (2001). Både finsk och svensk: Modernisering, nationalism och språkförändring i Tornedalen 1850-1939, Kulturens frontlinjer: Umeå.

Elenius, Lars (2006). Nationalstat och minoritetsspråk: Samer och finskspråkiga minoriteter i ett jämförande perspektiv, Studentlitteratur: Lund.

Hall, Stuart (1996). "Introduction: Who Needs 'Identity'", Stuart Hall & Paul du Gay ed., Questions of Cultural Identity, London: Sage.

Introductory note to the draft European Framework Convention on the integration of the cultural heritage into development, http://www.coe.int/t/e/cultural_co-operation/heritage/cultural_identities/1aims.asp.

Nationalencyklopedin 2007-09-04, http://www.ne.se/jsp/search/article.jsp?i_art_id=329593.

Nielsén, Tobias (2004): Understanding the Experience Industry: A Swedish Perspective on Creativity, QNB Analys & Kommunikation AB: Stockholm.

Neumann, Ivar B. (1994). "A Region-Building Approach to Northern Europe", Review of International Studies, 20, pages 53-74.

Norrländsk uppslagsbok, vol. 3 (1995). Lars-Erik Edlund et al. ed., Norrlands Universitetsförlag i Umeå AB: Umeå.

Northern Lights Route, http://www.uib.ub.uit.no/northernlights.

Paasi, Anssi (1991). ”Deconstructing Regions: Notes on the Scales of Spatial Life”, Environment and Planning, vol 23, pages 239-256.

Pohjanen, Bengt (1996). ”Rättipäät” in Bengt Pohjanen and Matti Kenttä, Meänkielenkramatiiki, Förlaaki Kaamos: Överkalix.

Pohjanen, Bengt (2000a). ”Kommunismen i Norrbotten. Tal till (V) under Lenins och Marx porträtt i Kiruna” in Bengt Pohjanen, På ett litet men vilar ett helt millennium: Andliga tal och privtafilosofisk mottagning, Norma Bokförlag: Skellefteå.

Pohjanen, Bengt (2000b). ”Norra Sverige – gränsland mellan Byzans och Rom” in Bengt Pohjanen, På ett litet men vilar ett helt millennium: Andliga tal och privatfilosofisk mottagning, Norma Bokförlag: Skellefteå.

Pohjanen, Bengt (2005). ”Jag är född utan språk” in Bengt Pohjanen and Eeva Muli, Meänkieli rätt och lätt, Barents Publisher: Överkalix.

Pohjanen, Bengt (2006a). ”Sju flickor, sju pojkar” in Bengt Pohjanen, Gränsens tredje rum, Barents Publisher: Överkalix.

Pohjanen, Bengt (2006b). ”Flicka nr 5 – Hilja” in Bengt Pohjanen, Gränsens tredje rum, Barents Publisher: Överkalix.

Resolution (98) 4 "On the Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe",
https://wcd.coe.int/ViewDoc.jsp?id=470017.

Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1988). "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg ed., Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture, Macmillan Education: Basingstoke.

Åselius, Gunnar (1994). The "Russian Menace" to Sweden: The Belief System of a Small Power Security Élite in the Age of Imperialism, Akademitryck AB: Stockholm.

Romanens arkiv, arkivets roman:
En läsning av Magnus Dahlströms *Hem*

Kristina Hermansson,

Litteraturvetenskapliga institutionen

Kristina.hermansson@lit.gu.se

Under senare tid har intresset för dokumentation och kategorisering ökat inom såväl humanvetenskap och kulturstudier som fiktion. Arkivet utgör här ett centralt område, där frågor om vetande, makt och subjektivitet sammanstrålar. Begreppet lämpar sig därför väl som ett analytiskt redskap för viss litteratur. I denna artikel prövas en läsning av Magnus Dahlströms *Hem* ur arkivperspektiv. Romanen utkom 1996 och skildrar en havererande undersökning genom socialsekreteraren Ingas perspektiv. Hon kopplas in i fallet efter att en 10-årig flicka har hittats död under oklara omständigheter. Tre andra barn tros vara inblandade och Ingas uppgift är att besöka deras familjer för att samla information som kan lösa gåtan. Men hennes förment objektiva position som myndighetsrepresentant ger gradvis vika för ett växande tvivel. Fokus förskjuts från frågan om vad som hänt för att riktas mot varseblivningens och vetandets premisser. I min läsning riktas ljuset på just hur detta vetande produceras och ordnas. Begreppet arkiv används i abstrakt mening, som beteckning för en princip eller logik snarare än en samling dokument eller institution. De teoretiska utgångspunkterna är förankrade i Michel Foucaults och Jacques Derridas respektive tankegångar om arkiv i denna vidare bemärkelse.

Romanens arkiv, arkivets roman: En läsning av Magnus Dahlströms *Hem*

Magnus Dahlströms roman *Hem* från 1996 tar avstamp i detektivgenren, men vecklar strax ut sig till en berättelse av annat slag. Bitarna kommer inte på plats, tvärtom verkar sönderfallet och förvirringen bara tillta. Snart förskjuts fokus allt längre från den händelse som utgör startpunkt: en tioårig flicka har hittats död på ett övergivet industriområde. Kroppen är söndertrasad och tre andra barn i samma ålder misstänks vara inblandande. Vad som skett är oklart och för att lösa gåtan har socialsekreteraren Inga kopplats in. Parallellt med polisens undersökning ska hon försöka ta reda på vad som *egentligen* hänt genom att besöka barnens familjer i deras hem. Men vare sig Ingas eller polisens arbete leder någon vart, inga metoder tycks kunna ge säkra resultat. Ändå fortsätter undersökningen.

I det följande vill jag pröva att läsa romanen ur ett arkivperspektiv, det vill säga med inriktning på hur vetande produceras och ordnas. Begreppet arkiv används här i abstrakt mening, som ett "system av utsagor" eller "lagen för vad som kan sägas", för att tala med Michel Foucault.[1] Min förhoppning är att med hjälp av arkivet som verktyg kasta ljus över vad texten *gör*; över hur samtida diskurser kring vetande, makt och subjektivitet aktiveras i romanen. Eftersom det rör sig om ett verk som både strukturellt och tematiskt griper rakt in i denna problematik som också är arkivets, torde *Hem* lämpa sig särskilt väl för en sådan läsart.

Romanen är uppbyggd kring just insamling och hantering av information, eller på en annan nivå: varseblivning och vetande. Perspektivet är Ingas, vars erfarenheter skildras via en, relativt osynlig, berättare. Genom berättaren/Inga får läsaren följa processen, ta del av observationer och intervjuer, funderingar och farhågor. Så iscensätts ett abstrakt arkiv, där Ingas erfarenheter kommer till uttryck i bestämda kategorier – som i sin tur reglerar vad som registreras och hur. Genom Ingas möte med andra myndighetspersoner, som polis och kurator, konfronteras hennes arkiv med andra parallella och delvis besläktade system. Olika ordningar överlappar varandra, men kolliderar också både genom och inom Inga.

På hembesöken medföljer ytterligare en person från de sociala myndigheterna, Assistenten. Denna anonyma benämning innebär inte bara att medarbetaren reduceras till sin yrkesfunktion, utan framhäver också den inbördes maktordningen och Ingas överordnade ställning. Som Krzysztof Bak konstaterar i en artikel om Dahlströms tidigare prosa, har gestalterna "sina fasta platser i arbetsprocessen och spelar tydliga sociala roller. De benämns byggmästaren, intendenten, kaptenen, som om deras yrkesidentitet trängde undan deras individuella jag".[2] Också i *Hem* finns en sådan rollfördelning, med den skillnaden att också huvudpersonen tvivlar på ordningen och sin egen plats däri.

Arkivarien och kroppen

Till skillnad från Dahlströms manliga personer, är Inga i hög grad sin kropp – till denna accentuerade kroppslighet knyts romanens grundläggande konflikt. Att det rör sig om en ovanligt stor kropp, betonas på olika sätt och att den är besvärande framkommer kontinuerligt: svetten rinner, ryggen värker och andhämtningen är tung. Men framförallt görs Ingas kroppslighet problematisk genom att dra blickar till sig. Genom sin fysiska avvikelse blir Ingas subjektiva närvaro påtaglig, samtidigt som hennes uppdrag är att agera objektivt som representant för en myndighet – denna upplevda motsättning ligger till grund för ett eskalerande, allt mer omfattande tvivel.

Det är inte som privatperson, utan som myndighetsrepresentant som hon ges tillträde till människors privata hem. Såväl bostäderna som de boende fungerar som förråd, fyllda med potentiellt material till undersökningens arkiv. Allt från repliker, rörelsemönster och dofter till

---

1   Foucault (2002), s. 158 respektive s. 147.
2   Bak (1993), s. 3.

förhörsprotokoll, barnteckningar och fotoalbum registreras som potentiellt relevant. Personer och persedlar framställs på samma kliniskt materialistiska vis. Människorna beskrivs som materia, samtidigt som denna materialitet antas dölja något annat, sannare:

> Mannen var mörkhårig och klädd i en mörkblå jacka i kraftig pansarnylon med foder och luddig krage; jackan var oknäppt och visade en utskjutande mage under en rutig skjorta […] Håret syntes fortsätta i den fodrade kragen på jackan och huvudet såg oproportionerligt stort ut i förhållande till kroppen; håret föreföll onaturligt tjockt, som en peruk. Som hos någon som av sjukdom hade förlorat allt hår och dolde det.[3]

I citatet ovan leder redogörelserna för utvalda detaljer i mannens yttre över i allt vidlyftigare spekulationer och insinuationer. Så upprättas en spänning mellan det materiella (fakta) och dess innebörd (tolkning), mellan yttre och inre. Till skillnad från de förment sakliga iakttagelserna, framställs värderingen bitvis som mer osäker, som just sinnesintryck, tolkningar: "såg oproportionerligt ut", "föreföll onaturligt" och så vidare. Så produceras de "avvikelser" som undersökningen ska dokumentera, samtidigt som den egna positionen indirekt sätts i fråga. Och frågan om huruvida berättarens/Ingas omdöme är att lita på blir successivt allt mer påträngande, inte minst för huvudpersonen själv.

Inte bara människor utan också deras hem sorteras. Även här fokuseras vad som uppfattas som avvikande eller frånvarande; skevheter och tomrum. Genom att snoka i badrumskåp och skafferier söker Inga få tillgång till den informationen som antas döljas under ytan. I namnskylten på dörren till en av familjernas lägenhet har bokstäver trillat bort så att bara skärvor av namnet eller namnen finns kvar: "J---son---zyk" (44) Denna ofullständiga skylt fungerar inte bara som en markör för eftersatt förort; den signalerar också obegriplighet – den brist på ordning – som Inga möter på väg in till de för henne främmande, misstänkta människorna. Tecknen låter sig inte tydas, identiteter kan inte fastslås.

I likhet med Ingas baseras också polisens undersökningsmetoder på vad som skulle kallas för en misstankens hermeneutik. Om Ingas tysta iakttagelser för tankarna till listor genom de många uppräkningarna av visuella och materiella egenskaper, förefaller kommissariens repliker direkt hämtade ur en katalog. Här lämnas emellertid inga öppningar för tolkning eller tveksamheter, allt framställs med samma auktoritet, som *fakta*:

> Det finns en hel del tänkbara tillhyggen på platsen som vinkeljärn, balkändar eller spetsiga maskindelar men på inget av dem finns fingeravtryck eller blodspår, vävnadsfragment eller hårstrån. Problemet är regnet som föll i riklig mängd natten efter händelsen: regnet har med all sannolikhet spolat bort blodansamlingar, bloddropp och blodstänk. [4]

Tillvaron framställs som kvantifierbar, sorterad. Ändå går pusslet inte heller ihop för polisen, även om det enligt kommissarien bara är en tidsfråga tills att så kommer ske.

Medan kommissarien gör anspråk på och uppfattas tala utifrån en neutral position, faller Ingas uppmärksamhet om och om igen tillbaka på henne själv och den egna kroppen. Den uppfattas som ett hinder för vad hon känner, tänker och vill ge uttryck för och tycks hota hennes position som myndighetsrepresentant. Samtidigt är den fysiska närvaron en nödvändighet för undersökningen; sinnesintrycken fungerar som verktyg i detta både intuitiva och metodiska arbete. Problemet är att gränsen mellan henne och omvärlden inte låter sig fastställas. Under den förment objektiva undersökningen gör sig den egna lekamen påmind som ett problem, rentav som en "outhärdlig belastning".[5]

---

3   Dahlström (1996), s.43.
4   Dahlström (1996), s. 139.
5   Dahlström (1996), s. 81.

Överallt tycks Inga uttittad på grund av sin storlek. Genom den iögonfallande kroppskonstitutionen blir Inga den suspekta avvikelse hon söker i omgivningen, åtminstone är det hennes övertygelse:

> Man tycktes förvänta sig något *underligt* och *avvikande* i beteendet: att hon skulle sluka hela maträtter omedelbart, att hon skulle äta hastigt och glupande, spilla *utan kontroll* över vad hon gjorde. Att hon skulle *uppvisa en orsak och förklaring* till sitt kroppsliga tillstånd. Om hon inte gjorde det trodde man förmodligen att hon *behärskade sig, spelade, gav ett sken.*[6]

Om detta är hur andra personer resonerar får vi inte veta, eftersom läsarens vetande är begränsat till Ingas medvetande sådant det framställs via berättaren. För att åter tala med Foucault kan Inga inte beskriva det arkiv hon talar ur.[7] Men det tankemönster som omgivningen tillskrivs, går tydligt igen i hennes eget sätt att förhålla sig till världen – i synnerhet de delar som omfattas, eller skulle kunna tänkas omfattas, av undersökningen.

Särskilt uppmärksamhet ägnas möjliga skenbilder eller kamouflage: peruker, blonderingar, smink, påsydda pressveck och blommor av plast – sådant som tycks vara något annat än vad det utger sig för registreras. Men hur är då denna sortering möjlig, om den inte kan genomföras från en position utanför det arkiv som upprättas? Vem är Inga att peka ut avvikelser, om hon själv är kategoriserad som avvikande? Namnet till trots, blir det allt tydligare att hon framträder som *någon*.

Vart Inga tittar syns återspeglingar av det egna ansiktet: i teveskärmar, fönster och glasskyltar. Den eftersträvade objektiviteten hotas av en lika omöjlig subjektivitet; Inga fastnar i en pendelrörelse emellan. Hennes omöjliga uppdrag är att stå utanför arkiven, samtidigt som det ständigt talar om, i och genom henne.

Upplösning

Ingas tilltagande tvivel tar sig uttryck också i den narrativa strukturen; också denna ordning är i upplösning. Röster från olika håll tränger sig på, reklamtexter och tidningsrubriker äter sig in och blandar sig med tankarna kring undersökningen. På romanens näst sista sida staplas till synes osammanhängande frågor:

> *fanns det kaffe på kontoret eller måste hon gå ut – skulle hon gå på toaletten eller vänta tills hon blev mer nödig – vilken färg hade hennes urin i morse – spelade det någon roll vilken färg en person hade på sina strumpor eller var det helt irrelevant – fanns det bröd, smör, mjölk – uttryckte allting något eller fanns det något sånt som ett uttryckslöst faktum?*[8]

I det citerade stycket ekar de grundläggande kunskapsteoretiska frågor som Foucault formulerar i *The Order of Things*: "Is everything significant, and, if not, what is and for whom, and in accordance with what rules?"[9] Dessa frågor – som lämnas obesvarade – möjliggörs enligt Foucault av språkfilosofins framväxt under 1800-talet. När förhållandet mellan språk och värld nu problematiseras och frågan om representation lyfts fram, blir människan både kunskapens objekt och subjekt. Denna dubbla belägenhet tar sig i *Hem* uttryck i en rörelse mellan mellan två till synes oförenliga hållningar som även implicerar olika moraluppfattningar.

---

6   Dahlström (1996), s. 29.
7   Foucault (2002), s. 159.
8   Dahlström (1996), s. 171.
9   Foucault (1970), s. 306.

Bitvis delar emellertid Inga polisens positivistiska kunskapssyn: "Men det fanns naturligtvis en begriplig förklaring till vad som hade hänt på platsen och varför. Utredningen skulle fortsätta tills den förklaringen framkom."[10] I denna hållning krävs den enskilde inga moraliska ställningstaganden; den rätta vägen är utstakad och följs den blir konsekvenserna goda. Längre ned på samma sida byts denna "moderna" visshetet mot ett "postmodernt" subjektivistiskt tvivel: "Känslan av att hon missat något: vissheten om att hon bar svar som var oåtkomliga för henne […] såsom hennes blick var oåtkomlig för hennes blick för att hon såg med den."

Några andra möjliga alternativ formuleras inte; svaren antas antingen stå att finna utanför den enskilde eller inuti – i bägge fall tas gränsen mellan människa och värld för given. När romanen slutar, begravs den döda flickan medan Inga återvänder från den tomma brottsplatsen till sitt kontor.

Som Derrida påpekar är arkivering lika mycket en fråga om att skapa som att återskapa eller dokumentera händelser. Att arkivera är därför en fråga om framtiden, om gensvar och om ansvar för morgondagen.[11] Genom att tillskriva omgivningen avvikelser, uttrycker Inga också normer – så förhandlas gränsen mellan "normalt" och "onormalt". Så länge kriterierna bakom sållningen är outtalade, framstår ordningen som naturlig, självklar. Men genom Ingas självreflexiva tvivel i kombination med den uteblivna framgången rubbas ordningen, arkivet och dess grundvalar destabiliseras. För att förstå den mänskliga strävan efter att upprätta arkiv, vänder sig Derrida till Freud och talar i termer av aggression, destruktivitet och dödsdrift. Arkiv förutsätter, skriver Derrida, gränser: bortom möjligheten eller hotet av en ohejdbar glömska vore arkivet otänkbart. Vad som lämnas åt denna glömska är naturligtvis en fråga om hur arkivet prioriterar och sorterar; häri ligger arkivets makt.[12] I Dahlströms roman är upprinnelsen till undersökningen just död, möjligen också våld. Den döda flickan utgör en otydbar text, som till skillnad från Ingas levande kropp uppenbarligen inte låter sig bestämmas: livets gräns blir också arkivets.

Den dubbla stigmatiseringen av kroppar – Ingas och den döda flickans – förstärker denna konflikt. Den egna kroppens sårbarhet skiljer Inga från de många våldsamma manliga protagonisterna i andra verk av Dahlström, vilka i likhet med Inga bär tydligt symbolladdade förnamn. Flera av dessa män heter Karl eller Carl, ett namn som understryker den uppskruvade maskulinitet de uttrycker.[13] I *Hem* signalerar huvudpersonens namn å sin sida en icke-identitet; med Kristevas terminologi skulle inte bara den döda flickan utan också Ingas gestalt förlänas epitetet "abjekt", då de sorteras som icke-personer i ett patriarkalt arkiv.[14] Om vi dröjer vid arkivet som en patriarkal ordning framstår romanens fixering vid kvinnors kroppar som logisk: döda som levande utgör de både problemet och den möjliga lösningen: Flickans lik utgör den gåta som ska lösas av Ingas levande, på en gång sorterade och sorterande lekamen. Skillnaden är att den döda kroppen inte överhuvudtaget låter sig inordnas.

Vad jag försökt visa är hur *Hem* problematiserar och destabiliserar arkiv, utan att framställa arkivets upplösning som ett möjligt alternativ: också den radikala subjektivismen uttrycker en bakomliggande ordning. Inte heller låter sig denna läsning av romanen göras utan att arkiv tas i bruk, eller snarare: att befintliga arkiv omorganiseras i det att att romanen ordnas efter vissa explicita men också implicita kriterier. Risken med en arkivläsning är att de principer som romanen, enligt samma läsning, påstås sätta i rörelse stabiliseras. Men samtidigt kan perspektivet förhoppningsvis öppna en väg genom dikotomier som

---

10 Dahlström (1996), s. 171.
11 Derrida (1996), s. 36.
12 Derrida (1996), s. 11
13 Se Dahlström (1986, 1987).
14 För resonemang om abjekt i den moderna litteraturen, se Kristeva (1990), kap 3.

form/innehåll eller text/kontext genom att söka ta fasta på vad texten *gör*. I detta fall hoppas jag ha åtminstone ha skisserat ett sätt att närma sig litterärt gestaltade frågor om vetande, makt och subjektivitet, samtidigt som jag anger grunddragen för en läsart som också kan visa sig fruktbar för andra verk.

Referenser

Bak, Krzysztof: "Kosmos återupprättat. Sex läsningar av Magnus Dahlströms prosa, *TFL*, 1992 22:4, s. 3-20.

Dahström, Magnus (1986): *Papperskorg*, Stockholm: Bonnier Alba.

Dahström, Magnus (1987): *Fyr*, Stockholm: Bonnier Alba.

Dahlström, Magnus (1996): *Hem*, Stockholm: Bonnier Alba.

Derrida, Jacques (1996)*: Archive Fever. A Freudian Impression*, Chicago: University of Chicago.

Foucault, Michel (1970): *The Order of Things. An Archeology of the Human Sciences*, London & New York: Tavistock/Routledge.

Foucault, Michel (2002): *Vetandets arkeologi*, Lund: Arkiv förlag.

Kristeva, Julia (1990): *Stabat Mater och andra texter i urval av* Ebba Witt Brattström, Stockholm: Natur och kultur.

The Exnomination of Pain:
Undoing Otherness. Viewer Reports on
stereotyping and Multicultural Media Content*

Joke Hermes and Robert Adolfsson,
INHOLLAND University, Netherlands
Joke.Hermes@INHOLLAND.nl

Stereotyping is not always a bad thing in media content. Audience members can and will say that they don't mind stereotypes because they at least represent their own group recognizably while it is otherwise so markedly absent in media content. Such remarks need to be understood as part of informant strategies in interviews. While stereotypes in their abundant richness of easy to recognize identity markers may be comfortable in some situations, and allow e.g. criticism of underrepresentation, they also evoke shame, pain and anger. Such emotions are slower to surface and clearly depend on the rapport an interviewer can establish with an informant. While non-white informants are almost always faced with a choice of either or not acknowledging the pain of unfair media representation, this is different for white informants. White informants face a choice too in representing themselves when talking about multicultural television as either politically correct, or as 'in the know' when it comes to the mores of the multicultural society. Neither position, however, bridges the gap between those talking and the 'others' who are portrayed. Two mechanisms are used as strategies in interviews. A strong 'third person effect' is one obvious mechanism: very good that multicultural drama is on television, but no, I don't watch it. The problems and the pain of multiculturalism are thus exnominated by white and by middle-class non-white informants. Multiculturalism is about 'others', who are non-white, or of lower class backgrounds. Stereotyping is not even recognized in such evaluations. White and middle-class informants can also chose to use a second strategy, which does address the secret and exotic attraction in portrayals of characters from other class and ethnic backgrounds. Stereotyping is not politicized

in such cases, but recognized as a lack of quality. Real multicultural drama should be able to make viewers understand something new about the 'others' who are portrayed and not regurgitate old tales or offer flat characters. In this paper we will discuss interview material from two qualitative audience research projects conducted in 2006, and in winter 2006/7, in which a group of young Moroccan-Dutch informants and a mixed non-white and white group of informants were asked to evaluate Dutch multicultural drama that was, at that moment, on television. After detailing discursive strategies and positions in the interviews, we will take a closer look at the television examples given, to see how multicultural television drama might help work through the pain of social change in the global era.

The Exnomination of Pain: Undoing Otherness. Viewer Reports on Stereotyping and Multicultural Media Content[1]

Quote from a street interview, autumn 2006: the interviewer is interested in multiculturalism. But multiculturalism as a subject for discussion has disappeared, and hardened into animosity about religion in the Netherlands. In the aftermath of the murder of Theo van Gogh on the second of November 2004, filmmaker and Islam critic, by a Muslim fundamentalist, this is not all that surprising

> Judith, the interviewer: Do you watch the regional television station AT5?
> Turkish woman (17): I only watch trailers on AT5. I have seen a commercial for *West Side*.
> Judith: Did it make you want to watch the series?
> Woman: No, not really. I really only watch Turkish television.
> Judith: So, how do you feel about multiculturalism?
> Woman: All that yapping and complaining about Muslims, it drives me crazy. I really don't feel like talking about it. (walks away)

In this paper we will discus how 'Otherness' (Barthes 1972), or perhaps at this point in the history of globalisation and migration just 'otherness', can be undone. Multiculturalism depends on practices of labelling and stereotyping. Many of these labels and stereotypes are inoffensive or even funny without being insulting. There is, however, also another side to how multiculturalism functions today: otherness has been fused with fear of terrorism and fundamentalism. Relatively innocuous forms of dress, such as a beard or headscarf can be enough to signal that extreme care needs to be taken. Obviously this has especially hardened a white versus non-white divide. Non-white has mostly come to mean 'Muslim', if not 'mad fundamentalist' and has less and less to do with ethnicity or skin colour. Such a hardening of identities is not just detrimental to the social status and life of those stereotyped. More generally, the hardening of identities can undo what has been achieved by emancipation movements. It is hardly ever simply ethnicity that becomes tainted, other identity categories follow. Whether based on gender or sexuality, all groups with minority status are vulnerable to processes of increased normalisation and disciplining of the boundaries of approved behaviour and approved beliefs. In the era of globalisation, moreover, and increasing traffic of not just goods and data but people as well, there is a lot at stake for societies in learning how to be 'open', and to learn how to 'undo' otherness.

Stereotyping is not in itself dangerous. As interviews by Joost de Bruin (2005) with young, non-white Dutch young people about multicultural television drama show: to be on television and to be recognised for being part of a group with an identity of its own, is felt to be a good thing. Michael Pickering (2001, preface) argues that stereotypes are a system of categorization and that we cannot do without cognitive categories. Stereotypes, however, are

also part of a curious balancing system. They are meant, argues Pickering, to control chaos and install order by holding up 'deviant' behaviour, or non-standard qualities to a norm. They are thereby an instrument for exercising social power and for bringing norms into being. Because stereotypes easily overshoot their mark, they also produce precisely what they are meant to achieve: a counter reaction. Instead of installing a definitive view, they produce more chaos by misrepresenting social reality, which leads to a questioning of dominant norms and so on. Therefore, while we need categories, stereotypes are often not the most efficient or flexible way to order our world. Pickering argues that to fully understand stereotypes, a historical understanding of them is necessary. Such an understanding, for instance, can make clear how stereotypes often feed on long-existing images that have lain dormant, from whence they derive enormous truth/power.

Undoing otherness, then, is coming to terms with how stereotypes are used and may function, and to find strategies to open up stereotypes to discussion, to a sense of their multiple layers. For however 'flat' they may seem, by tracing back their histories, and their effect, we would surmise that they can then become part of potentially more open domains such as humour, or group identity building, where they function as honorary labels.

In the domain of the media, stereotyping is par for the course. Media representations depend on foreshortened descriptions both visually and in dialogue and narration. We will discuss reports of viewers in two case studies. The first case study is the work of two students we supervised, Tamara van Baaijen and Lianne Kooistra. Tamara and Lianne conducted extensive long interviews with eight young Moroccan-Dutch television viewers about how they felt Moroccans were represented in multicultural television drama (2006). The other case study we will be using for this paper is an evaluation study for the Amsterdam city council of a series the council financed (2006/2007). The series, called *West Side* was meant to incite dialogue amongst Amsterdammers about multiculturalism in hope of establishing a friendlier climate in the city, and of countering hostility and fear in as far as these had arisen after the murder of Van Gogh. 87 informants from diverse backgrounds and age groups, both men and women were interviewed by students in panel discussions; while a further 206 Amsterdammers were approached for street interviews. The quotation above comes from one of these…. About half of the street interviews were successful in the sense that there was some discussion of *West Side*, or the idea of the series.

Moroccan-Dutch Informants and Dutch Film and Television Comedy

In Tamara and Lianne's rich interview material the broad denomination 'multicultural drama' translated speedily into a series that just had been on Dutch television, based on one of two motion pictures that were successful in Dutch cinema theatres. The first was called SJOUF SJOUF HABIBI, (2004, Albert Ter Heerdt, Netherlands; also made into a prize winning series: VARA, 2006-), the second THE SCHNITZEL PARADISE (2005, Martin Koolhoven, Netherlands). Najib Amhali, actor and comedian extraordinaire, is named in all of the 8 interviews. As one of the informants says: "Najib Amali can knock on any Moroccan door in the Netherlands". On his own he is seen as having achieved more than a dozen politicians in two decades. Apart from great reference for Amhali, the presence of Moroccan actors in a television sit com itself is clearly pleasing. The link appears to be to the Americanness of the genre, with America occupying the status of dream territory, imagined as a land without frontiers, offering chances to all regardless of race or ethnicity.

Underneath the shared appreciation of multicultural sit com there is more, however. When mapping all that informants have to say about multicultural audiovisual drama, they show a compass-card of emotions and feelings. The four directions of this compass are: pain; anger; criticism and disappointment, and assimilation out of fear of not being accepted. *Pain* e.g. in the realization that the funny stereotypes played by Amhali have a factual base.

Comedy thus offers a temporary outlet for Moroccan-Dutch people's double identity, acceptance of being torn between two cultures by allowing the pain of being in such a position to be felt. *Anger* comes through when informants vent criticism: such prejudice, bad jokes, and an insult to all Moroccans. The compass direction of anger points out stereotypes as over the top, negative images, and suggests that Dutch-Moroccans are what Tuchman in the 1970s called "symbolically annihilated" (Tuchman a.o. 1978). *Criticism and disappointment* are historical arguments. An informant will say: "I used to watch …., but I don't any longer". This is often a more general type of criticism, to do with bad scripts and acting generally, as much on the part of white Dutch as on the part of other actors. One of the examples mentioned is *Good Times, Bad Times* (RTL4, early 1990s-), a soap opera that introduces non-white characters from time to time, including a young Moroccan doctor. The fourth compass direction is *assimilation and fear*. It sounds like a repertoire used by earlier groups of migrants. As migrant you need to realize your luck to be here, you need to be grateful, dress nicely and partake culturally of what is on offer. You are here on sufferance. Multicultural drama is not what you want to watch.

We use the metaphor of the compass because individual informants tended to move into different directions. Good interviewers that they are, Tamara and Lianne managed to help their informants explore different aspects to watching television or going to the movies. Pain, anger, criticism and fear are all relevant aspects to how their 8 young men and women approached issues of representation and stereotyping. Interestingly, they did not often refer to a quality youth series made by the NPS (public broadcasting) called *Dunya and Desi*, (NPS, jaren, dir. Dana Nechustan), which did establish the name of actress Maryam Hassouni. They may have been too close in age to the target audience to have watched it.

Generally, what is clear, is that when De Bruin's young Moroccan informants spoke of their preference for characters that De Bruin (2005) felt were very stereotypical, they worked through the pain of feeling unrepresented, or distorted by 'bounty' characters. A bounty is a chocolate bar sold in the Netherlands that is filled with coconut. Bounty for well over a decade is a derogative name for non-white persons who behave as if they were white: dark on the ouside, lily white within, and therefore traitors to their group. Criticism and disappointment are part too of how De Bruin's informants talk but again, their talk is linked more strongly to being young: quite a few series are boring and for 'older' people. Anger is mostly displaced in his interviews, for instance onto two lesbian characters in a prime time soap (*Costa*, BNN), who kiss. Muslim girls were intrigued by these two but also felt that they were 'dirty' (haram). A qualification quite a few other youngsters, both white and non-white shared.

We can establish then that a range of emotions drives viewer appreciation of multicultural television drama, whether comedy, soap or indeed police series in De Bruin's interviews. Stereotyping, representation and recognition are clearly key issues. When audience members say that they don't mind stereotypes because they at least represent their own group recognizably while it is otherwise so markedly absent in media content, their remarks need to be understood as part of informant strategies in interviews. While stereotypes in their abundant richness of easy to recognize identity markers may be comfortable in some situations, and allow e.g. criticism of underrepresentation, they also evoke shame, pain, disappointment and anger. Such emotions are slower to surface and clearly depend on the rapport an interviewer can establish with an informant.

While non-white informants almost always have to make a choice of either or not acknowledging the humiliation of unfair media representation, this is different for white informants. As a white viewer in the Netherlands, there is an infinitely larger range of white characters on television in order for individual white idiots not to have to carry the burden of representing all white Dutch men or women. When talking about multicultural television,

white informants do have to make a choice in how they want to represent themselves. Politically correct, is surely one obvious possibility, as is being 'in the know' when it comes to the *mores* of the multicultural society. Neither of these positions bridges the gap between those talking and the 'others' who are portrayed. Outright racism, a third position, would of course not intend to bridge that gap at all. Below we will turn to the material that was gathered about *West Side*, the Amsterdam city reality soap. In this project around a third of informants were white, while two thirds were from various non-white denominations. This will allow us to take a closer look at how socially dominant groups manage issues of representation and stereotyping. What, if anything, is at stake for them in 'undoing otherness'?

West Side and the Multicultural Society

West Side (2006-, AT5/NPS, dir. Harm-Ydo Hilberdink) portrays four families from four different ethnic backgrounds. They clash as a result of the ideas they have about one another, which turns *West Side* into a veritable laboratory of stereotypes. Use of these stereotypes is meant to encourage discussion about multiculturalism, exclusion and racism among viewers. The four families in the series are Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and white Dutch. As a result of urban regeneration their flats will be renovated or torn down, and they are rehoused in a new building in which they become each others' neighbours. They clash immediately. White Dutch lower-class Mimi thinks she recognizes her son's scooter in gallery walkway to which front doors open when she comes to inspect her new apartment. She immediately thinks that the scooter has been stolen and drags the heavy thing into the empty flat. Angry Moroccan boys protest her actions through the window that faces the walk way. Mimi hides in the sitting room. She thinks Moroccan young men are criminals and thieves. The boys get so mad, they do behave like an angry mob that would justify anyone being afraid of them. Later on in the series Mimi's son turns out to have sold the scooter without his parents knowing. The police inspect the receipt the Moroccan neighbour has to show and the scooter after a lot of to do will be returned to him.

The Moroccan family has its cross to bear too. Clearly the father is highly traditional, while his children would prefer a more liberated and open life style. Mohammed Milad (50), the father, works as a cleaner, His wife Rachida takes care of their home and the children: Jamilla (18), extrovert and popular with her class mates. Najib (16) is a typical teenager. The Turkish family is urban middle-class and consists of a son, his girl friend and his father. The father, Halid Yüksel is 57 years old and widower. He runs a small garage. His son is named Öz. He is a real estate agent. His wife Ayse Yüksel is a hotel manager and fights Öz's traditional notions of women's place in society. Mimi Meijer and her husband Henk are the typical old-fashioned Amsterdam family. Their son, Martin, is 23 years old. The Surinamese family consists of Edith Madretsma (66), grandmother of Roy Roosblad, a friend of the Meijer's and Sharlene Madretsma, Roy's half sister (16). Sharlene flirts with all the boys she meets.

West Side is a reality soap. Director Harm-Ydo Hilberdink (who made *Finals* and *Kicken*) chose to work with actors who are mostly amateurs. They are familiar with their character but did not have to speak pre-written dialogue but could improvise. A stronger sense of 'reality' was hoped for as a result. Throughout production storylines were altered and adapted. The actors however were given the scenario per day and not allowed to see what was going to happen in later episodes. *West Side* follows soap opera genre conventions (Geragthy 1991) but with a twist. Although conflict and temporary consolidation are important features. it is also a reality series, partly made in documentary style and the use of hand-held camera's. A stronger sense of 'realness' was sought by making confrontations and conversations fairly harsh, thus polarizing (ethnic) difference. In the same vein and also departing from the

'originary' soap format, *West Side* foregrounds a large number of male characters. All in all *West Side* is a soap in its narrative structure while in its dialogue and visual style it is something else. Since multiculturalism has been embedded in the ground structure of the series (both the constellation of characters and the storylines) 'stereotyping' is clearly an issue for discussion. A traditional soap opera would provide a friendly means to represent and problematize relationships between people (including potential problems following from ethnic difference, cultural integration and diversity, or the combination of tradition and 'translation' (Bhabha 1990) and new styles of social contact. *West Side* was not very friendly. It sought the provocation of reality TV. Given that in television drama, there is a need to sometimes flatten characters to make confrontations between characters more intense, *West Side* provides a perfect field to study cultural stereotyping.

How did viewers react to the provocative style of *West Side*? And was there a difference between non-white and white interviewees? These were leading questions in analyzing the vast amount of interview material gathered by two groups of students from highly diverse backgrounds. From a bird's eye perspective, it appears to be the case that white informants used two different strategies in interviews. A strong 'third person effects' is one obvious mechanism: very good that multicultural drama is on television, but no, I don't watch it. The problems and the pain of multiculturalism are thus exnominated (Barthes 1972) by white and by middle-class non-white informants. They simply define those being shown as outside their own group, whose qualities or behaviour are therefore irrelevant to their own reputation, status or sense of self-worth. Multiculturalism specifically is about 'others', who are non-white, or of lower class backgrounds. Stereotyping is not even recognized in such evaluations.

The Dutch families are really badly portrayed, as really asocial families. I am an Amsterdam-West native and I have no connection with that picture at *all*……For instance, they are so prejudiced about the Moroccan families in this neighbourhood, I don't have that. I get along fine with these people. Stereotypes. It doesnt fit with how I experience reality. (Street interview with a white Dutch male student).

> Moroccan man in a street interview: I don't watch it but it seems like a good idea!

> Italian man 43 years old: It's a positive initiative, great idea. The disadvantage is that people have their ideas about how people are and that is really difficult to change

White and middle-class informants can also use a second strategy, which does address the secret and exotic attraction in portrayals of characters from other class and ethnic backgrounds. Stereotyping is not politicized in such cases, but recognized as a lack of quality. Real multicultural drama should be able to make viewers understand something *new* about the 'others' who are portrayed and not regurgitate old tales or offer flat characters.

> Bas 27 white Dutch man (in a group interview): To me, it's based on prejudice. Like: a Moroccan stealing a scooter and so on. It didn't give me any insight in the cultural background of different groups in the community. I mean, to my mind this is not the way to get a better understanding of each others' background so that you get to know where somebody is coming from and that you come to understand other people's backgrounds. I don't have a better relation or understanding why certain differences are the way they are… This (*West Side*) polarizes. A Turkish woman who takes up more modern western position, a Turkish man who wants to be more traditional. But I don't have a better understanding of these differences. This soap didn't help. (Group

Although this strategy of wanting more detail does not politicize the power dimension of stereotyping, it can be a strategy of 'undoing otherness'. The criticism this often entails of the media, arguably is a semi-political argument that we'll return to at the end of the paper

> Erdal (37, Turkish) There is never a programme about how *we* think. They only show people with extreme ideas because that is more fun. What do the two of you (the two north European women in the group) have in common with Christian fundamentalism ('zwarte kousenkerk') (Nothing?). That's what I mean: they are Christians just like you!

Polarization of Identities and the Burden of Representation

While there is a difference between how white and non-white informants handle the pain of stereotyping, it is hardly as absolute as we had imagined it to be. Both white and non-white informants felt addressed by *West Side*'s portrayal of their own and other ethnic groups. The main difference between white and non-white speakers seems to be that non-white informants had easier access to a politicized discourse of discrimination. A white group identity was not called upon by the white informants our students spoke with. It would seem to be the case that the 'burden of representation' is no longer carried solely by non-white groups (see the interview excerpt below), but that polarization of identities affects groups differently.

Discussing historical representation in Hollywood film, Stoddard and Marcus (2006:27) refer to Shohat and Stam (1994) who "… argue that a "burden of representation" that is "at once religious, aesthetic, political, and semiotic" exists whenever a marginalized or underrepresented group is portrayed in film (182), and it has a lasting impact on how people view the world and the groups that are represented, even if they know that the film's portrayal isn't accurate. Historical accuracy aside, an audience's impression of a group is still shaped by how characters from the group are portrayed. … In the case of representing history in film, this burden requires that members of these underrepresented groups be portrayed in a way that allows the viewer to understand their points of view, history, and language." They continue their argument by stating that "this *burden of historical representation*, then, can be met in film through developing complex characters and rich personal stories that challenge traditional historical and film narratives, which have generally focused on Eurocentric history and appealed to white audiences."

According to our informants complex characters and rich personal stories were exactly what was lacking in *West Side*. The white women quoted below, does feel the burden of representation. Exnomination of the pain of multiculturalism for her is therefore not an option.

Street interview with a white Dutch woman, around 40:

> ... really awful! I think I saw the first episode. I really do hope foreigners won't think that all Dutch people are like that Mimi and her husband. It's plain embarrassing, what a programme (----)

I think it is a shame the continuous negative portrayal of those Moroccan boys It is SOO unnecessary! I know a Moroccan family who live in my street (in Amsterdam-West) Really exemplary. The daughter and son are both students, they both go out in the evening. They dress nicely, hip. Really nice people. Their mother does not speak very good Dutch but she is always friendly. I would like to see more of that in the media, but noo, they show a horrible series like this one. Just show how things are at home in other families, doesn't always need

to be a drama: simply, what is their house like, why do they pray 5 times a day, and how do you do that actually? (Interviewer: Judith).

Other informants did refuse identification:

> *Interviewer (Judith)*: Esther, do you feel represented by this Dutch family?
> *Esther* (28, North-European): No I don't recognize them at all. Where do they get these ideas, these people from????? Maybe I'm naive, but I don't recognize this at all.

While non-white informants offered a repertoire of victimization that recalls the compass point of 'pain' that was found in the Tamara van Baaijen and Lianne Kooistra's interviews with Moroccan informants about multicultural television drama. They felt more pressured to defend themselves. The quotations show how informants may move from *pain* to *anger*, or come to *anger* via *criticism and disappointment*.

Group interview.

> Ismael 19, a Moroccan-Dutch marketing and communication student: ....They way they want to copy us (like when the Moroccan father sends his wife and daughter to the kitchen?).... those kinds of things. It is 2006. That happened in Millennium 1 according to me. Nowadays it's the daughter who sends the mother to the kitchen. It's not real. That is why we laugh at that scene. Really, one of those stereotypes. It is just what 'they' think. What 'they' make of it. When it is 'them' who don't have a clue about our traditions. (Interviewer: Roos, 2006)

> Does West Side strengthen prejudice?(Interviewer: Judith)
> Erdal (37, Turkish man).......Prejudice. I think that Dutch people feel they know *us* better than they know themselves.
> Erdinc (24, Turkish man) They think that they know us better than they know themselves

> Nuri: I am Turkish, but when I say that and I think of the threats of attacks, then I do think: those Moroccans!...Moroccans are always so aggressive! They are! They used to be nomads, weren't they.... The difference between Turks and Moroccans, is that Turks think more about the day after. Moroccans live by the moment. When they have a 100 euro, they spend it. And they kill each other. And talking about faith... They think they know everything... It is embarrassing. I am a Muslim too. But I am ashamed of them. When someone asks me if I am a Moroccan, I get really angry. (Interviewer: Judith)

Undoing Otherness: 4 Strategies Suggested by Informants

Undoing otherness may sound particularly naive. In Barthes' discussion 'othering' and exnomination are mechanisms at the level of myth, buried deeply in a semiotic-ideological mechanism that precisely denies its own history or roots. We dare suggest that the ideological mechanism of 'othering' has become less effective than it has been. If anything *West Side* offends not just the sensibilities of one group but of all groups portrayed at some point or another – while it also found viewers who liked the show and who found it entertaining.

As far as we can tell four countermechanisms are used in the interviews that all, in their own way, are a means of 'undoing otherness'. The first two are *empathy across ethnic divides*, and *understanding processes of stereotyping as a social power mechanism*.

> Judith: What is *West Side* doing wrong then?
> Nuri (23, Turkish): How they deal with each other.
> Erdal: There aren't interested in each others situations
> Ester (North European, 28): I think they should have made a series in which each episode is centred on one family. A Turkish family then a Moroccan or a Dutch family. Show us a new side to the story, the side that we don't see in the media!
> Nuri: I compare it with Dutch people who are normally negative towards Turks. Then they spend their holiday in Turkey and come back full of enthusiasm! It's the same people there and here
> Erdal: I often hear form colleagues who go to Turkey: Such nice people! They are so hospitable, great cooks. I'll say: yes, but it's the same here: here you are welcome as well. If you come to my door and you are hungry I would invite you to supper...and you can stay the night too!! What kind of people we are, you'll find out when you take the trouble to do. And you shouldn't compare Turkey to how it is here. Second and third generations are very different

Self-reflection was the third means to contextualize all stereotyping. While, according to informants, a fourth means to undo otherness is a *vastly increased media literacy*. Although here too we find a 'third person' argument (others need to become more media literate), blame is especially accorded to the media.

Group interview

> Marloes (27, white, Dutch): I don't tend to discriminate, I don't think but sometimes when I am in a tram, when I take a tram 13…
> Bryan (Chinese-Surinamese): Tram 13, 13 is a disaster
> Marloes: Yes and I think, especially after the subway bombings, that muslim looks a bit suspicious to me, and I do get scared.
> Janis (Creole-Surinamese): I remember once after school in the tram, I was really scared, because there was this person singing in a really loud tone of voice and screaming and yelling weird stuff. Then I thought Oh my God, This is it, I was really scared.
> (Interviewer Linda)

The media reproduce otherness: we need to use our media literacy to recognize this:

> Janis, (27, Creole-Surinamese): The media wants us to think in categories, and that's what we do

> Brian, (26, Chinese-Surinamese): Try to experience it yourself instead of letting the media fool you!

> Bas, (27. white Dutch): What you see in the media is, they'll say: a Moroccan this…. or a group of Moroccans that… rather than 'a group of young people'…

Mo, (27, Iranian): Media should concentrate on other sides of the story, the more positive ones, you have to stop eeh….I don't know. Seeing a half full glass as empty and instead say that it is it actually looks kind of full.

In Conclusion

There is a marked difference between the interviews conducted by Tamara and Lianne and the later interviews about *West Side*. Tamara and Lianne's Moroccan informants were clearly pleased and in a way proud of *Sjouf Sjouf* and other productions that foregrounded Dutch-Moroccans. To be represented is in itself important. At second glance however, a range of emotions was also voiced in the interviews. In some cases these were not a bad thing. The pain expressed in the interviews, was a means of working through the very real pain of living life as part of a cultural minority group. Disappointment and criticism were not entirely negative either: surely they should be read as part of a process of emancipation. Anger and fear are more difficult to countenance. Although understandable, anger leaves little room for (intercultural) dialogue or for relativising television comedy. Indications that informants felt they should discuss Dutch television drama, including comedy, politely for fear of harming the position of their groups, is what is least needed in an open, democratic society.

The more diverse group of informants in the *West Side* interviews, felt none of the responsibility Tamara and Lianne found in their 'monocultural' group. Nor, obviously has *West Side* been structured in such a way that anyone would feel *connected* to their 'own' group. But informants did feel addressed by the stereotypes presented. The pain of working through one's position as member of a minority group does come through somewhat in Judith's group interview in which Erdal, Erdinc, Nuri and Esther participated. There is a marked distance to the series however, which changes the viewer-television dynamic considerably. More distance, intriguingly also means that more mechanisms become visible and available to 'undo' otherness. As intended, *West Side* did incite discussion (at least in interview situations) and did allow four mechanisms of 'undoing otherness' to be identified.

The four mechanisms are: empathy across ethnic divides; understanding processes of stereotyping as a social power mechanism; self-reflection, and a call to for increased media literacy. One can wonder whether Roland Barthes could be persuaded that these could work. Our money, for now, is on not just 'doing multiculturalism', but on doing it well. Our sense is that to do multiculturalism well, a monocultural setting might well work better. Whether the format is drama (such as a soap opera or a comedy), or reality television, open monocultural settings allow not just for more depth, but they invite viewers to let their guard down. To incite discussion about multiculturalism is one thing, to invite viewers to come to self-reflection quite another. For that purpose, one character can actually be quite multicultural enough. Co-creation, involving a community (whether a mono-cultural or a hybrid community) could be another means to find the authenticity of shared experiences and identities that are hybrid, of necessity, in today's globalizing world. Multiculturalism is not longer 'just' a subject, after all, it has become a social fact.

References

Baaijen, Tamara van en Lianne Kooistra: Zwart-Wit of Kleur (Black and White or Colour). BA thesis on television drama, INHOLLAND University, Amsterdam/Diemen, Netherlands.

Barthes, Roland (1972) Mythologies. London: Paladin.

Bhabha, Homi (1990) Nation and narration. London: Routledge.

Bruin, Joost de (2005) Multicultureel drama? populair Nederlands televisiedrama, jeugd en etniciteit. Amsterdam: Otto Cramwinckel.

Geragthy, Christine (1991) Women and Soap Opera. A Study of Prime Time Soaps. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Pickering, Michael (2001) Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Shohat, Ella, and Robert Stam (1994) Unthinking Eurocentrism: Multiculturalism and the Media. London: Routledge.

Stoddard, Jeremy and Alan Marcus (2006) ”The burden of historical representation. Race, freedom and ‘educational’ Hollywood film”, in Film and History 36(1), pp. 26-35.

Tuchman, Gaye, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benet (1978) Heart and home: Images of women in the mass media. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cultural Analysis, Urban Political Economy and Critique

Bas van Heur

Center for Metropolitan Studies, Technical University Berlin, Germany

bas.vanheur@metropolitanstudies.de

The dimensions of 'the urban' in cultural studies remain undertheorized, even though most of the research in cultural studies focuses on cultural practices in urban environments. The focus of this article is methodological. The first section highlights the analytical and ethical concerns of cultural studies. The second section takes another look at the debate that took place between Stuart Hall and Bob Jessop in the 1980s in order to understand the methodological biases this confrontation has produced and how this inhibits a sophisticated understanding of urban complexity. The article then proceeds to discuss possible routes towards a more complex notion of the intertwinement of culture and the urban political economy. Throughout the paper, it is argued that the notion of critique remains central to cultural studies, but that there is a need to re-specify this critique in order to come to terms with the structural depth of urban spaces.

Cultural Analysis, Urban Political Economy and Critique

Introduction

In many ways, cultural studies has always been a discipline concerned with the urban environment. Although 'the urban' is often not explicitly thematized as such, if one looks at the actual empirical research undertaken, there is a clear orientation towards cultural practices within an urban context.[1] From 'classics' such as Hebdige's *Subculture* (1979), De Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), Hall and Jefferson's *Resistance through Rituals* (1975) or Gilroy's *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack* (1987) to newer work such as Lash's *Critique of Information* (2002) and Highmore's *Cityscapes* (2005) – many publications focus on urban cultures in one way or another. Nevertheless, despite this urban bias, in this literature there is only a limited acknowledgment and conceptual grasp of urban complexity and the ways in which broader processes thoroughly, but differentially structure particular cultures. This inhibits a clear and in-depth understanding of the specificity of certain cities – i.e. an understanding of what makes cities different as well as similar – and all too often leads to rather sweeping and generalizing arguments and critiques.

This situation is partly the result of cultural studies' reliance on popular culture as the source of critique, which tends to lead to a depiction of complex social structures as relatively 'flat'. Nevertheless, cultural studies can never go beyond 'the popular' in any simple sense, since this focus was driven by analytical as well as ethical concerns that – in my view – ought to remain at the center of attention. There is a need, however, to re-specify the notion of critique as used by cultural studies and the goal of this article is to offer some first thoughts on how to do so.

Analytical and Ethical Concerns

So let me start with a few words on these analytical and ethical concerns. Couldry argues that what defines cultural studies as a "distinctive area of study" (2000, p. 2) is its focus on the relationship between culture and power, but this is too broad a definition. It is not simply culture and power as such that is the focus of cultural studies, but an understanding of critique as emanating from a particular dimension of culture: not mass culture, but ordinary culture (Williams 1958), everyday life (De Certeau 1984) or – particularly since the Birmingham school – popular culture. These terms were never unproblematic and McCarthy (2006) offers a brilliant account of the tensions existent within and between these terms, but in general terms the main reason for highlighting these – and not other – dimensions of culture has always been both analytical as well as ethical. Analytical, since cultural studies was never interested in simply studying various forms of popular culture for the sake of data collection, but always to better understand the resilience of and potentials for resistance within these cultures in the face of powerful regimes. So it was never simply about the celebration of alternative, marginal and radical cultures, but always about the analysis of these cultures *in relation to* wider processes of regulation and

---

[1] In this article, I largely focus on the 'British' lineage of cultural studies and, by doing so, create a somewhat purified history of cultural studies. A longer version of this article would have to include the various local appropriations of cultural studies as a result of its globalisation. It would also have to dedicate much more space to the emergence of newer sub-disciplines such as cultural sociology in order to account for the 'internal fragmentation' of cultural studies.

control. Ethical, because cultural studies has always tried to avoid the 'intellectualist bias' (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992) - in which the analyst naturalizes and prioritizes his or her position and theoretical stance in relation to extra-academic cultural practices – by developing more modest and dialogical forms of engagement and analysis. This has led to a different understanding of the location of critique: instead of treating the academy as the ultimate arbiter of truth, cultural studies has emphasized the role of cultural practices as bearers of critical potential with academic reflection in a much more modest as well as collaborative role.

Stuart Hall and/or Bob Jessop

This analytical and ethical attention to 'the popular' is important, but it faces a couple of methodological problems. These have created analytical biases that have obstructed a sophisticated understanding of social and urban complexity. Many of these biases can be broadly traced back to the ways in which cultural studies has dealt with its disciplinary 'others' (in particular sociology and 'traditional' Marxism) during its emergence and defense of its existence as a valid area of research, but specifically I find these biases to be most clearly addressed in the debate that took place between Hall and Jessop (and his co-authors) in the *New Left Review* in the mid-1980s concerning the nature of Thatcherism. Even though they don't explicitly address the urban, their theoretical differences point to the advantages and disadvantages of the cultural studies' approach in grasping social and urban complexity.

Hall, in earlier work, had developed the concept of authoritarian populism (AP) in order to be able to characterize Thatcherism as a regime involving the construction of authoritarian forms of class politics, but one simultaneously rooted in certain popular forms of discontent. This Gramscian appropriation enabled Hall to foreground questions of ideology and to focus on "the ways in which popular consent can be so constructed, by a historical bloc seeking hegemony, as to harness to its support some popular discontents, neutralize the opposing forces, disaggregate the opposition and really incorporate some strategic elements of popular opinion into its own hegemonic project" (1985, p. 118). It is this sensitivity to the inclusion of 'the popular' by the state that forms the main theoretical advance on Jessop at the time, since the latter hardly offers any tools to understand the success of the Thatcher regime in resonating with popular concerns. It is in this respect that I think the allegation of economism is correct. In the 1984 and 1985 articles, Jessop et al. largely downplay the role of ideology and often fall back onto rather 'thin' conceptions of human sociality and motivation. Thus, whereas Hall emphasizes authoritarian populism, Jessop et al. warn the reader to also look at more pragmatic (read: economic) interests such as "lower direct taxation, council house sales, rising living standards for those still in private sector employment, lower inflation, and so forth" (1984, pp. 78-79).

However, despite its obvious advantages, Hall's notion of authoritarian populism simultaneously leads to a reduction of social and urban complexity. This has to do with the level of analytical abstraction he claims to adopt. In his reply to Jessop et al., Hall admits that his theorization of authoritarian populism was "a bit rough and ready" (1985, p. 118), but he argues this was linked to the level of abstraction at which one prefers to work. As he writes:

> I do not believe that all concepts operate at the same level of abstraction –
> indeed, I think one of the principal things which separates me from the
> fundamentalist marxist revival is precisely that they believe that the concepts

which Marx advanced at the highest level of abstraction (i.e. mode of production, capitalist epoch) can be transferred directly into the analysis of concrete historical conjunctures. My own view is that concepts like that of 'hegemony' (the family or level of abstraction to which AP also belongs) are of necessity somewhat 'descriptive', historically more time-bound, concrete in their reference – because they attempt to conceptualize what Marx himself said of 'the concrete': that it is the 'product of many determinations'. (p. 118)

Hall's main point here simply seems to be that the notion of hegemony needs to be understood as part of what Merton (1968, pp. 39-72) called theories of the middle-range i.e. theories in-between radical empiricism and grand theories. It is questionable, however, if the notion of hegemony is capable of performing this task, because even though Hall accepts that he only offers a partial explanation of Thatcherism – namely, of the "political/ideological conjuncture" (p. 119) – he uses the notion of hegemony to refer to "changes in the 'balance of forces'", which includes the "modalities of political and ideological relations between the ruling bloc, the state and the dominated classes" (p. 119). But surely, not all relations that determine changes in the balance of forces are best characterized as ideological? Economic crisis or breakdown, for example, is without a doubt ideologically mediated, but hardly reducible to this moment of mediation – it is (also) an *economic* crisis, after all. Hall acknowledges this with his emphasis that he doesn't accept the "dissolution of everything into discourse" (p. 122), but his lack of attention to questions of political economy makes it impossible for him to understand the extent to which "economic activity" – as Jessop et al. put it in their reply – needs to be considered "as a determining element in hegemonic politics" (1985, p. 93). In Hall's account, in other words, the choice for a middle-range level of abstraction through the concept of hegemony involves not so much a concretization of highly abstract Marxist concepts, but a lack of theorization and marginalization of political and economic determinations.

Culture, Political Economy and Urban Complexity

So how does one acknowledge urban complexity and what are the consequences of this acknowledgement for understanding urban cultures? Clearly, simply embracing complexity won't do, since it leaves open the basic methodological question of how to apply such a notion to empirical data (McLennan 2003, p. 558). It seems to me that more attention should be paid to the following three aspects:

First, analysis might benefit from taking more seriously the premise that urban cultures are the product of multiple determinations. Although cultural studies (incl. Hall) often subscribed to this view, it never really got a handle on the analytical complexity lurking behind this premise. There are, of course, many ways of theorizing determination, but within cultural studies this issue has largely been governed by the often polemical discussions surrounding explanation vs. description. As McLennan (2002) reminds us, early Birmingham cultural studies – as part of their critique of empiricist sociology – actually aspired towards a more explanatory understanding, "achieving proper depth and perspective, with a more adequate transformative political practice to follow as a consequence" (p. 639), but in later work this aspiration has either been rejected or has moved to the background of conceptual attention. I take the position that some level of explanation (and not 'merely' description) is necessary for all forms of social inquiry and critique. In the context of research on urban cultures and political economy, therefore, the goal should be to investigate the extent to which particular accumulation regimes and

modes of regulation effect cultural practices, but also to analyze the ways in which the latter shape the former. This avoids the vagueness particularly prevalent within cultural studies concerning the nature and behavior of the political economic 'environment'. It is not enough, for example, to simply refer to neoliberalism as some broad context determining cultural change; one has to be much clearer about how this context is mediated through a variety of scales, institutions and actors and how this differentially impacts on particular cultural practices. Fortunately, some recent work within cultural studies is starting to address these questions. Thus, in their analysis of twentieth-century Vienna, Maderthaner and Musner (2002) choose to analyze urban cultures within the broader paradigm of Fordism. As they argue:

> Culture as a social text in this model is neither a direct after-effect of the market nor simply a socio-structurally or historically mediated entity. Rather, the given reciprocal dynamic of accumulation and regulation generates the characteristic texture of the social fabric, which can be interpreted as 'culture' […]. (874)

This is important work, since it neither sees urban culture as an effect of the market nor as an autonomous phenomenon, but instead as shot through with political economic determinations from various directions and on various levels.

Second, acknowledging these multiple determinations makes it easier for cultural studies to understand how discourses cluster around particular "institutional fixes" (Peck and Tickell 1994) and how this creates a certain sedimentation and stabilization of these discourses and their material effects. Especially since the 1970s, cities have become explicitly targeted by states as sites for the development of entrepreneurial and competitive practices. This has been accompanied by an expansion of governance mechanisms through a variety of public-private partnerships, infrastructure development as well as urban, social and cultural policies (Brenner 2004; O'Connor 2004). Cultural studies could certainly spend more time investigating the impact of these strategies on urban cultures, since these often simply circumvent issues of discursive hegemony. At the same time, I am not making this argument in order to emphasize the actual successes of these strategies in making these cultures more compliant with capital accumulation. On the contrary, what needs to be kept in mind is that the many networks of cultural production and consumption are not mere derivations of the capitalist economy, but always also "alternative modes of regulation" with their own logics that "can never be fully fixed within any one mode of regulation" (Jessop 2002, p. 103). Although the political economy literature has often emphasized this dimension, it has hardly done any research on these alternative forms of regulation. It is here that I can see cultural studies offering important contributions to a truly interdisciplinary debate, since it is one of the few disciplines that has developed a highly differentiated knowledge of contemporary cultures. In order, however, not to fall back onto a simplified and amorphous view of culture, there is a need to investigate where and how these urban cultures interact with other and possibly more dominant modes of regulation.

Adopting a research perspective in which more care is taken to distinguish multiple determinations and in which the focus is on the intertwinement of dominant and alternative modes of regulation offers many advantages. Methodologically – and this is the third and last point – it enables cultural studies to engage more seriously in historical as well as comparative research. The political economy tradition has developed a sophisticated conceptual framework with which to analyze the historical transformations of capitalism in a variety of spatial contexts and on multiple scales, but a similar level of analysis has not been achieved by cultural studies. Although

"[h]istorical contextualization", according to Johnson, "was and remains an important aspect of cultural studies method" (2001, p. 266), it could be argued that the tendency to focus on the ways in which historical representations are used by contemporary actors has often led to a discursification of history that downplays the structuring role of historical trajectories on contemporary actions. Having said that, I see no reason why this more structural dimension of history cannot be included, since the research narratives within cultural studies are often implicitly driven by historicized arguments. Thus, whereas many in the political economy tradition emphasize the path dependency of political economic change – largely in order to emphasize the persistence of institutions and their role in defining and delimiting agency – as well as the 'layering' of new rounds of political regulation and economic accumulation on older already sedimented layers (e.g. Massey 1985), cultural studies tends to highlight the continuity of cultural form (despite constant transformations) and the relative autonomy of 'the popular' (despite its partial instrumentalization). This raises the question of theorizing historical change: how can we grasp these continuities and transformations of cultural form in the broader context of political economic determination that is, on the one hand, general (it's capitalism, after all) as well as specific (it's capitalism within a particular era in particular urban spaces)? It might be possible and productive to re-interpret the diverse debates on subcultures, cultural identities and popular narratives along these more historical lines in order to complement and complexify the political economic tradition. Undertaking this task would not only improve our understanding of historical change, it would also enable cultural studies to conduct better comparative research. In order to understand the intersections of power and inequality in more concreteness, the focus on the city has its advantages, since it opens up analysis to a certain level of grounded description that Hall saw lacking in the 'fundamentalist marxist revival', while retaining a broader explanatory framework that enables the comparison of urban cultures across the world. In contrast to those within cultural studies that reject such a framework, I would argue that it is precisely the adoption of such a 'totalizing' framework that enables real differences between cultural practices to be identified.

Conclusion: Cultural Analysis and Re-Specifying Critique

So where does this leave cultural studies, its sensitivity towards ordinary or popular culture and the role of critique? In the previous sections, I have argued that cultural studies was never simply about the celebration of alternative or residual forms of culture, but always about the analysis of these cultures *in relation to* broader and often more powerful processes of regulation and control. If I am correct in this characterization of the core of cultural studies, then this means that research will have to conceptualize this relation. It is here that the critical political economy tradition offers useful tools that could be appropriated – but not slavishly followed – by cultural studies. The preliminary methodological framework I have developed in the previous sections largely draws upon neo-Marxist work on the contemporary (urban) political economy, but I see no reason why this theoretical approach could not be replaced by or combined with other approaches – the framework is 'weak' enough to accommodate a variety of perspectives. The only ontological premise of this framework is that the world is structured, layered, differentiated and relatively resistant to all-encompassing cataclysmic social change, which is the result of my reliance on a critical realist ontology.[2]

---

2   See Dean et al. (2005) for a useful introductory overview of critical realism.

If anything, therefore, critique needs to be re-specified in order to be able to reflect on the existence of multiple and partly overlapping and interacting processes. One-size-fits-all critique is not going to cut it. In the case of European cities, I have suggested that it might make sense to analyze urban cultures within the larger framework of the shift from Fordism to post-Fordism, since this enables one to conceptualize cultural practices in relation to particular accumulation regimes and modes of regulation on the urban scale. Critique in this model takes place on two levels. Firstly, there is a need to engage with cultural practices *on their own terms* – something referred to in the literature as immanent critique and practiced by many in cultural studies. As explained by Hartwig, this avoids "the 'bad circularity' or arbitrariness implicit in external criteria of knowledge [...] by taking its departure from within the accounts it seeks to situate, correct or replace [...] to demonstrate either that an account is theory-practice inconsistent or, if consistent, beset with aporiai or problems that are insoluble in its own terms" (2007, 107). This immanent critique not only reflects on the phenomena that are the object of investigation, but also on explanatory and/or descriptive accounts used by others to analyze these phenomena, since it is often only through these accounts that one can 'extract' empirical data in the first place. Thus, naturally one engages in an immanent critique of urban cultures, but one has to do the same, for example, with state policies re-presenting these urban cultures in order to point to its errors. Although causal argumentation can be and often is used on this level, it is only on the second level that we arrive at a more full-blown explanatory critique. It is here that the problems and paradoxes of the earlier inadequate account are taken up and explained theoretically and sociologically by showing that the identified problems are the effect of particular social causes on deeper (more general) levels of reality. It is at this level that one can introduce broader determinations – such as the shift towards neoliberal forms of governance or structural urban decline – that are often not addressed or visible on the first level of critique, but which do regulate particular urban cultures in one way or another. Such a two-level approach to critique – involving a constant going back-and-forth between immanence and explanation – it seems to me, can contribute to a discipline of cultural studies that is capable of grasping social and urban complexity, while furthering its analytical and ethical concerns.

References

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Loïc J. D. Wacquant (1992) An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology. Cambridge: Polity.

Brenner, Neil (2004) New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood. Oxford: Oxford UP.

Certeau, Michel de (1984) The Practice of Everyday Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Couldry, Nick (2000) Inside Culture: Re-Imagining the Method of Cultural Studies. London: Sage.

Dean, Kathryn, Jonathan Joseph, and Alan Norrie (2005) "New Essays in Critical Realism", New Formations, No 56: 7-26.

Gilroy, Paul (1987) There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hall, Stuart (1985) "Authoritarian Populism: A Reply to Jessop et al", New Left Review, No 151: 115-124.

Hall, Stuart, and Tony Jefferson (eds) (1976) Resistance through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain. London: Hutchinson Educational Ltd.

Hartwig, Mervyn (2007) "Critique", in Hartwig, Mervyn (ed) Dictionary of Critical Realism. London and New York: Routledge, 105-108.

Hebdige, Dick (1979) Subculture: The Meaning of Style. London: Methuen & Co.

Highmore, Ben (2005). Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jessop, Bob (2002) "Capitalism, the Regulation Approach, and Critical Realism", in Brown, Andrew, Steve Fleetwood, and John Michael Roberts (eds) Critical Realism and Marxism. London and New York: Routledge, 88-115.

Jessop, Bob, Kevin Bonnett, Simon Bromley, and Tom Ling (1984) "Authoritarian Populism, Two Nations, and Thatcherism", New Left Review, No 147: 32-60.

Johnson, Richard (2001) "Historical Returns: Transdisciplinarity, Cultural Studies and History", European Journal of Cultural Studies, Vol 4, No 3: 261-288.

Lash, Scott (2002) Critique of Information. London: Sage.

Maderthaner, Wolfgang, and Lutz Musner (2002) "Textures of the Modern: Viennese Contributions to Cultural History and Urban Studies", Cultural Studies Vol 16, No 6: 863-876.

Massey, Doreen (1985) Spatial Divisions of Labour. London: Macmillan.

McCarthy, Anna (2006) "From the Ordinary to the Concrete: Cultural Studies and the Politics of Scale", in White, Mimi, and James Schwoch (eds) Questions of Method in Cultural Studies. Oxford and Malden: Blackwell, 21-53.

McLennan, Gregor (2002) "Sociological Cultural Studies: The Question of Explanation", Cultural Studies, Vol 16, No 5: 631-649.

McLennan, Gregor (2003) "Sociology's Complexity", Sociology, Vol 37, No 3: 547-564.

Merton, Robert K (1968) Social Theory and Social Structure. New York: Free Press.

O'Connor, Justin (2004) "'a Special Kind of City Knowledge': Innovative Clusters, Tacit Knowledge and the 'Creative City'", Media International Australia incorporating Culture and Policy, No 112: 131-149.

Peck, Jamie, and Adam T Tickell (1994) "Searching for a New Institutional Fix: The after-Fordist Crisis and the Global-Local Disorder", in Amin, Ash (ed) Post-Fordism: A Reader. Oxford: Blackwell, 280-315.

Williams, Raymond (1958) Culture and Society, 1780-1950. London: Chatto & Windus.

"The Girl and the Monster" in Literature and Comic Strips

Ingrid Holmquist and Kajsa Widegren

Department of Gender Studies, University of Gothenburg, Sweden

ingrid.holmquist@wmst.gu.se

kajsa.widegren@wmst.gu.se

This paper will discuss the mediation of the theme of identity in the work of the Swedish writer and artist, Inger Edelfeldt. More specifically we explore how this thematics, which we call "the girl and the monster", is presented in the novel *Kamalas bok* (1986) (*Kamala´s book*) as compared to her comic strip albums, *Den feminina mystiken* (*The feminine mystique*) and *Hondjuret* (*The she-animal*), both from the 1980's. One aim of the paper is to show how media specificity brings out different but also similar aesthetic and discursive presentations. Another aim is to explore how intermedial analysis can deepen the understanding of the identity theme, as well as the respective medium. For example it can deepen your awareness of the element of visuality present in the literary text and the discursive element in visual media. In intermedial studies there is an interest in artists who use different media because of the assumption that the interrelations of their works should be illuminating for this type of study.

"The Girl and the Monster" in Literature and Comic Strips

In this paper we investigate two works by the Swedish writer and visual artist Inger Edelfeldt, the novel *Kamala's Book* (*Kamalas bok*, 1986) and the comic book, *The Feminine Mystique – A Short Guide* (*Den feminina mystiken – En kort guide*, 1988). The investigation is based on a common theme in these works, which we call "the girl and the monster", and which we consider to be central in her early work from the late 1970s through the 1980s. The paper will consist of two separate parts and a conclusion where we comment on our findings.

Kamala's Book

In *Kamala´s Book* the 'girl' and the 'monster' figures play important parts in the identity problematic which is the main thematic concern of the novel. The protagonist is a young woman, aged 22, who remains nameless throughout the text and interpreted from one perspective the girl and the monster figures make up the polarities of her identity dilemma. The girl represents the feminine facade that the young woman shows the world, a girlishly pretty, pleasing and obedient appearance; whereas the monster stands for what is beneath the surface, all the chaotic feelings that she fears to let loose: aggression, physical and mental hunger (eating disorders), fear of bodily changes and decay. In this sense the girl and the monster are presented as each others´ doubles, but this dichotomous structure is partly modified when the girl figure, represented by the protagonist as a child, is shown to possess qualities that could transgress the polarity. This is demonstrated when she reads about Kamala, another little girl, but also a 'monster', a feral child who has been brought up by a female wolf.[1]

In this part of the paper the theme of the girl and the monster will be discussed mainly through the ways in which it is visualized with the aim to discuss how different visual techniques influence the narrative. Before the identity problematic is discussed some general visual qualities in the text will be brought out, however. Visual representations are quite numerous in *Kamala' s book*, ranging from graphic arrangements of the text, such as the use of capital letters to give emphasis, imitate speech or personify – "But for the Chins, I think I would like my face"[2] – to vivid descriptions of different locations that are connected to the protagonist, for example her flat with its orange kitchen walls and a "very romantic" poster, showing "the face of a crying woman." Each space presented is the basis for a separate narrative which makes the narrative technique seem more spatial than temporal, a characteristic that has been associated with visual representation. Still, the narrative has a temporal dimension as the protagonist's problems deepen and reach a peak as her boy friend leaves for summer vacations without her; but when he comes back the narrative starts all over again but with the difference that the protagonist´ s fragmented self now is presented as more definite. The novel thus shows a circular rather than a linear progression.

The narrative is told in the first person and apart from the ending the protagonist acts as narrator, giving both voice and focalisation to the narrative, although the voices of other characters are heard through the narrator´ s voice occasionally and the focalisation changes

---

1   As a character Kamala is based on a feral child with the same name who has apparently existed in India in the 1920s. See *The Diary of the Wolf-Children of Midnapore* (India) by the Rev. JAL Singh. www.feralchildren.com In literature on monsters one defining characteristic is the transgression from the human into the animal sphere. See Margrit Shildrick, *Embodying the Monster*, 2002.

2   Kamala´s Book (*Kamalas bok*) p. 10. " Om det inte vore för Kinderna tror jag att jag skulle tycka om mitt ansikte". All translations of quotations are made by Ingrid Holmquist. References are taken from the pocket edition, 1994 (first published 1986). The Swedish original is given in footnotes as above.

from its usual internal mode to external a few times.[3] At the end of the novel, however, Kamala takes over the role as narrator, now acting as the protagonist´s 'shadow' or 'inner monster', while the focalization moves between the protagonist and Kamala.

Although the protagonist´s narrative voice and perspective dominates the novel there are certain distancing mechanisms built into the text. Some of them have visual dimensions as for example the main thematic problem of the girlish surface and the inner monster, which is presented through the motif of looking and being looked at. The gaze, especially the 'male gaze',[4] is represented as a kind of God's Eye, ruling over the protagonist´s femininity.

> He is like God, He can always see me. Or rather, He could catch sight of me. Somewhere in the future he is waiting for me, maybe the next minute. Even when I am alone I am responsible to him. If I get a pimple he is critical. If I buy a slit skirt he will be appeased.[5]

The male gaze is here personified as a severe Master who subjects the protagonist to a kind of sadist-masochist relationship, which makes her turn herself into an image or an object to be shaped according to His pleasure. This is also clearly illustrated when she looks at herself in the mirror, projecting the male gaze to her own image: "Then I always feel like taking a knife, cutting off part of my chins as a sculptor would do to a head of clay."[6] The self-violence inherent in this passage is also demonstrated by her feelings for her high-heeled shoes: "Every morning I bring a pair of flat shoes /to work/ but only as an emergency. I'd rather take a pain killer. I can't stand myself in flat shoes."[7] On another occasion the shoes are said to be "red" and "hard as glass", which establishes intertextual connections with fairy tales, denoting feminine oppression and punishment.[8] The red shoes also functions as a visual sign symbolising this kind of femininity.

The male God´s Eye does not only symbolize sexist patriarchal power but also romantic love; He is not only the severe Master but also the "interesting stranger" that will suddenly 'see' her and rescue her from all the trivialities of her life. To 'see' here implies an understanding of what is unique in a person, as in the concept romantic love where you look for the person who is uniquely "right", and this combination of patriarchal domination and romantic saviour turns the male god figure into an extremely potent construct, which is shown by his ability to occupy both the protagonist´s sense of self and her judgments of other people. Her relationship with her 'best friend' Gabriella has consequently turned into a competition about which is the happiest, i.e. the most loved, and the best looking:

> Her nose is almost six centimetres' long and mine is only 4.5, we have measured them. My bust measure is bigger than hers but her waist is thinner and her neck longer and her nipples are just in the middle of her breasts (…)

---

3   Concepts such as voice and focalisation are standard in modern narratology. A basic reference is Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse – An Essay in Method*, 1980.

4   This concept is frequently used in feminist studies on visual culture, the original reference is Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", in *Screen* 1975, vol.16(3): 6-18.

5   Kamala's Book, p. 9. "Han är som Gud, Han ser mig ständigt. Eller snarare, Han skulle kunna få syn på mig. Någonstans i framtiden väntar han, kanske I nästa sekund. Till och med när jag är ensam är jag ansvarig inför Honom. Om jag får en finne I ansiktet blir Han kritisk. Om jag köper en slitsad kjol blir Han blidkad."

6   Ibid. "Då får jag alltid lust att ta en kniv och skära bort lite av kinderna, som en skulptör skulle göra med ett lerhuvud." P. 10.

7   Ibid. "Varje morgon tar jag med mig ett par lågklackade I en påse, men dem sätter jag bara på mig I nödfall. Hellre tar jag en värktablett. Jag tål inte mig själv I platta skor." P. 9.

8   *Cinderella*, where Cinderella's sisters are ready to cut off their heels in order to fit the shoes and get the prince; *The Red Shoes* by HC Andersen (1845) where the little girl Karen must cut off her feet in order to repent her infatuation with the beauty of her red shoes.

Finally I turned all stiff and hardly dared to look into her eyes cause I was so afraid that she would notice how much I hated her.[9]

The same type of hate is manifested when she sees other pretty girls in the streets: "And I know that I do not see them with my own eyes. I see them with His eyes – I have no eyes of my own".[10] Thus the sadist-masochist quality of the protagonist´s experience of the God´s Eye results in self-hate (as shown by the violence she directs against herself) that is projected on to her relationship with other people. This is shown to be one of the complications of the surface existence that the protagonist submits to; forbidden feelings like hate are repressed and thus become more chaotic and difficult to handle and the life on the surface in its turn becomes unreal and unauthentic, a life of pretending. On several occasions the protagonist tries to see her life as a film to "make it feel more interesting" and "meaningful", but at the end of the novel the visual perspective changes and the narrator describes her from the outside as "the girl in the film"[11] – on her way to see her boy-friend again, dressed in her usual attributes, the painful red shoes, and as usual looking into the mirror before knocking on his door. As this description is a repetition of earlier events and elements in the text and furthermore is placed at the end, the phrase "the girl in the film" acquires more meaning and appears like a definition of her surface identity.

The discussion above has shown how feminine gender is constructed through looking and being looked at and how this process is visualized through the "male gaze" and its consequences such as objectification or turning oneself and other people into images to be looked at. The great abundance of mirrors, and also shop-windows are visual devices, which a underline this motif.[12] The motif of looking will be further investigated through two photographs, which are described in the narrative; one concerns the surface life and the other one the life of the "monster". The verbal descriptions of the photos are so-called ekphrastic narratives, a term used in intermedial analysis to refer to "verbal representations of visual representations". [13] This broad definition of ekphrasis covers a great variety of images – for example works of art, posters, logotypes – whereas in earlier research the term was only used for poems or narratives on works of art.[14] The term goes back to classical rhetoric where it meant lucid or graphic speech that could be mentally "seen". In a similar fashion, the photos used in *Kamala' s Book* serve as messages from the outside world that the protagonist has to decode.

The first ekphrasis refers to some nude pictures of the protagonist, taken by her boyfriend Stefan. As such they can be related to the Western aesthetic tradition of the "female nude", which feminist art historians have criticized for turning women' s bodies into objects with considerable aesthetic market value both as art objects and as commercial images with ample

---

9   Ibid. Hennes näsa är nästan sex centimeter lång och min bara 4,5, vi har mätt dem. Mitt bystmått är större än hennes men hennes midja är smalare och hennes hals längre och hennes bröstvårtor sitter precis mitt på brösten (…)
     Till slut satt jag där alldeles stel och vågade knappt se henne I ögonen för jag var så rädd att hon skulle märka hur mycket jag hatade henne." P. 127
10   Ibid. "Och jag vet att jag inte ser med mina egna ögon. Det är Hans ögon jag ser med." P. 39.
11   Ibid. "Flickan I filmen", p. 132.
12   For example there are dreams and fantasies about being displayed in shop-windows.
13   This definition of ekphrasis was coined by James A.W. Heffernan in 1993. The quotation is taken from Hans Lund, "Litterär ekfras" /Literary Ekphrasis/ in *Intermedialitet* /Intermediality/, red. Hans Lund, 2002, p. 184.
14   Ibid. p. 183-184. Observant readers may have noticed that we have mentioned a poster in the description of the protagonist' s flat – that is also an instance of ekphrasis then, but not an instance worth analysing on its own. However, it is interesting as one of many examples of popular culture in *Kamala' s Book*, an element that links Kamala' s Book with Edelfeldt' s comic strips.

use in advertising. In this process the woman's naked body has been constructed as the culturally staged nude.[15] In the protagonist's description of the photos such qualities are underlined:

> He /Stefan/ has taken a series of very flattering nude pictures of me in a light that makes my breasts look bigger. He gave me two ice-cubes to press at the nipples to turn them stiff. The pictures are so successful that you can hardly tell it is me.[16]

Here the protagonist gives a lucid description of how the photos were made and reveals techniques of turning a woman's body into an aesthetic object. Thereby she unmasks the photograph as an "authentic" genre[17] and also punctures the male gaze. The spectator position turns from that of the desiring male to the critical woman. The reader is likewise enlightened, the only one who still seems to be in the dark is the protagonist. The protagonist certainly unmasks the photo but it seems to be done unconsciously. You may of course assume that the protagonist's voice is ironic in the quotation above, especially in the last sentence, but read in the context of the whole novel it appears not to be. The tone of voice used here is quite common in the narrative, compare for example her comment on Stefan's capacity as a lover:

> Presumably, Stefan is an excellent lover. He is quite desperate if I don't come. He can caress you in ways I had thought were not possible. I have read everywhere about women who are never caressed. I should be grateful but I am not. [18]

Rather than being ironic the voice can tentatively be described as naively open or serious but also matter of factual. This type of voice is kept up regardless of the content, which often gives the narrative a particular absurd humour and also creates a distance to the protagonist and her perspective.

Viewed in relation to the identity thematics, especially the surface identity and the issue of looking, the message inherent in the protagonist's description of the photo seems to be that she has been closely looked at but not really seen, i.e. understood: "The pictures are so successful that you can hardly see it is me". This interpretation is also in line with the general image the protagonist gives of her boyfriend as instrumental (as in the love-making above) and unwilling to go beyond the surface of life.

In the second ekphrasis we enter Kamala's world and thus the "monstrous" sphere metaphorically located beneath the surface of existence. The protagonist "meets" Kamala in a weekly magazine which she happens to read as a child; as a narrator she recalls this event, sometimes with the distance of memory and sometimes more closely to her perspective as a child. The protagonist underlines her immediate fascination with the article that was strong enough to make wake up from the "boredom" that characterized her childhood. The fascination seems to be based on Kamala's being both her "other" and her equal, both a little girl like herself and a girl who has been brought up by a wolf. The article tells the story about how Kamala was found in a wolf's den and was adopted by a priest who tried to civilize her

---

15   See for example Eriksson/Göthlund, *Möte med bilder*, (Meeting Images), 116-122.
16   Kamala's Book, p 24. "Han har tagit en serie mycket fördelaktiga nakenfoton på mig, i ett sånt ljus att brösten ser större ut. Han gav mig två iskuber att trycka mot bröstvårtorna så de skulle bli styva. Han har lyckats så bra med bilderna att det knappt syns att det är mig de föreställer."
17   The photographic claim for authenticity is discussed by Roland Barthes in "The photographic message" in Image-Music-Text, 1977.
18   P. 47. "Stefan är förmodligen en utmärkt älskare. Han blir alldeles förtvivlad om det inte går för mig. Han kan smeka på ett sätt som jag inte hade trott var möjligt. Jag har läst överallt om kvinnor som aldrig blir smekta. Jag borde vara tacksam men jag är det inte."

and turn into her an ordinary child. The photos of Kamala in the article seem to be especially intriguing to the protagonist both as proofs of her existence and her remarkable habits:

> She had really existed. There were some photos of her, fuzzy but amazing. (…) On one of the photos she ran around on all fours with something in her mouth (…) it said underneath that it was a dead chicken. She was naked except for a white rag around her loins. Her hair was cut very short and her skin was dark. (…) There was another picture where she was standing up unsteadily, wearing a light dress but looking uncomfortable. Her face was sullen and her nose broad. She could not laugh and if nobody stopped her she would roll around in animal faeces.[19]

In the first picture she is presented as the protagonist's "other": the wild girl transgressing the borders between the human and the animal world. In the next we see her as barely domesticated, a "nice" little girl only because of the 'civilizer's' seemingly futile efforts.

The protagonist responds to Kamala' s story with complete identification: she attempts to walk on all four, eats from a bowl on the floor and looking in the mirror she pulls up her upper lip as she has seen dogs do. Eventually she tries to merge with Kamala. "I lay down under the blanket and felt her traits break through my face, the words left me and instead there was a warm humid darkness." [20] In this narrative there are no distancing mechanisms or questionings of the truth of the photographs as in the first one. Instead there is the girl child' s total acceptance and fearless attempt to enter into another dimension of existence, using her own body to do so. Viewed in relation to the identity thematic the girl' s behaviour here strongly contrasts with the grown-up woman' s inability to face her inner "other" or "monster" and in this respect the girl seems to represent a positive alternative to the woman.

This interpretation suggests that there is a tendency towards the exotic in the way Kamala' s story is used as a wild element, but other aspects of the narrative undercut this. Kamala is not romanticised as a character as the limitations of her life as an animal creature are clearly stressed, for example her lack of language and laughter. In her 'civilized' state, on the other hand, she is presented as a victim of a code of behaviour outside of her control. In this sense Kamala provides an example, although extreme, of the social construction of girlhood by means of proper clothes, cleanliness, eating habits etc. Looked at in this context Kamala represents the rebellious girl child who never learnt to "curtsey or sow or behave properly in church" [21] In this capacity she is not only the "other" but also the "same" as the protagonist who is constantly bored by the "niceness" of her childhood. The protagonist' s wish to be Kamala can be interpreted as a child's game where she pretends to be half girl, half animal and at the same time tests certain social conventions like eating habits or proper looks. The instance when she checks her face in the mirror, trying to look like a dog is quite interesting considering her grown-up persona' s obsession with her looks.

The child's imaginative powers as demonstrated in play and fantasies are shown to be creative, potentially transgressing powers in the text. These qualities connect the protagonist with her childhood self as will be demonstrated in the last visual technique to be discussed here. It can be characterized as a performance, where the reader can follow how the adult

---

19 Ibid. p. 111. "Hon hade funnits I verkligheten. Det var några foton på henne, suddiga men häpnadsväckande. (…) På ett av fotona sprang hon omkring på alla fyra med någonting I munnen (…)det stod under att det var en död kyckling. Hon var naken sånär som på en vit trasa kring höfterna. Hennes hår var snaggat och huden mörk. (…)Det fanns en annan bild där hon stod vingligt upprätt i en ljus klänning men hon såg inte ut att trivas. Ansiktet var butttert och näsan bred. Hon kunde inte skratta och om ingen hindrade henne rullade hon sig I djurspillning."
20 Ibid. p. 112. "Jag la mig under täcket och kände hennes drag bryta fram I ansiktet, orden lämnade mig och ett varmt fuktigt mörker kom istället."
21 Ibid. "niga eller sy eller bete sig som hon skulle I kyrkan."

protagonist changes her surface from its usual girlishly pretty look into a kind of gothic Pippi Long Stocking character. As often we find her in front of the mirror, just putting on her green eye-shadow, but this time she does not only cover the lids but powders her whole face with light-green eye-shadow. Then she carefully describes how she draws big, black circles around her eyes and with the help of a lip contour pen adds a streak of blood in the corner of her mouth. Instead of washing her hair (which she often does several times a day otherwise) she simply cuts it very short, "getting rid of the hair gave me an intoxicating sense of freedom."[22] She completes her make over with a dress printed with big flowers and gym shoes and then happily strolls around the city, doing forbidden things like talking to strangers and eating ice-cream. The protagonist describes herself as a new creature: " Her paws tread steadily on the ground, she had no gender, no race and no age."[23] The reference to paws clearly pinpoints her as another impersonation of Kamala, and indicates a link with her childhood experience of her. But the transgressions of gender, race and age, gives this passage a more clearly liberating implication both with regard to the protagonist and Kamala.

This visualization has been described as a performance in order to convey the special quality of the narrative where the reader follows every step in the protagonist' s change. Thereby it is made very concrete and you are drawn into its development, not quite knowing whether what you read is meant to be true or a fantasy. Finally you are told that it was just "trickery", which is of course disappointing, but on the other hand then you have already experienced the power of fantasy.

The problem of identity is never solved in *Kamala' s Book*. At the end of the novel Kamala is personified as the protagonist' s double, whose task it is to force the protagonist to keep on "longing". Longing, is still another creative force in the text together with imagination, fantasy and the child' s plastic openness towards the world. What they all have in common is a potentiality for change. The visualizations pertaining to the identity theme, which has been discussed here, show different sides of the protagonist' s fragmented identity. The visual quality makes them almost emblematic, that is, very clear signs of oppression as well as rebelliousness. Thus the visual element performs an important function in order to underline not just the psychological meaning but also the social, feminist message of the text. The life on the surface discussed above is related to a late modern society characterized by male dominance, commercialization and medialization. Although the psychology of the identity problematic indicates personal wholeness to be a solution to the protagonist' s problem, on the social level she is represented as doomed to fragmentation because of social forces that invade her mind as well as her emotions and thus deprive her of agency.

Visual Analysis of a Comic Narrative: Inger Edelfeldt's "Little Evelyn", Femininity and Development

This part of the paper addresses visual and textual representations of "the girl" discussing the media specific possibilities of visual techniques in the comic narrative in relation to notions of the child's development. I shall concentrate on a single comic book narrative called "Little Evelyn".[24] Special focus will lie, as the comic media is intermedial in itself, on the relation between the visual representation of the protagonist Evelyn and the narrating voice represented in the text. The narrative does not contain very much dialogue or direct speech, however when this occurs I merely treat it as parts of the visual representations of direct

---

22   Ibid. p. 118. "Att håret var borta gav mig en kittlande känsla av frihet."
23   Ibid. p. 119. "Hennes trampdynor fick stadigt fäste på stenen, hon hade inget kön och ingen ras och ingen ålder."
24   Edelfeldt, Inger, *Den kvinnliga mystiken – en kortfattad guide*. Alfabeta Förlag, Stockholm 1988.

speech that underlines the visual representations and sometimes adds to or spices up the comical effects of the images.[25]

The themes of this comic narrative are quite easy to grasp only after one read-through of it: a short description would go something like this: A little girl called Evelyn starts to eat and grows larger and larger; first to be fat but still a girl and then to be of monstrous size and soon dangerous to her environment and other people. With her growing also comes a change of attitude and personality.

The title of the whole comic book is *The Feminine Mystique – A Short Guide* and of course it refers to Betty Friedan's famous work on the housewife's situation in the American 1950s.[26] But in the subtitle, "A Short Guide" Edelfeldt instantly makes a remark that makes the title a parody: the mystique can be illuminated and understood with the help of a handbook, a guide, even a short guide. However, it should not be understood as a parody of Friedan's book but of the cultural imaginary making femininity mysterious, which in short is Friedan's account of femininity during this time period. In much, the comic book focuses the process of cultural development from girl to feminine woman, where femininity is not presented as a natural trajectory but a somehow mysterious project for individual women to achieve. It is quite important here to note that this often happens to girls in Edelfeldt's work, but also that femininity as it is perceived in culture seems to always run a risk of failure; idealized femininity is something that one achieves with hard, beautifying work. As a part of this construction of femininity Edelfeldt uses for example the instructive voice of the weekly magazines addressing women, which always makes ideal femininity something that can be failed but also successfully pulled through.

Femininity and eating, as by the time of the comic book's release in 1988 were highly addressed issues, although during the 1980s perhaps anorexia nervosa was more debated and acknowledged as a problem than bulimia which was more acknowledged as a woman's disease by the beginning of the 1990s. However, even if this is the most obvious contextual theme of the narrative I want to point to the significance of the protagonist's position as a small, pre-pubertal girl, as the starting point of the analysis. Small, pre-pubertal girls have seldom been at the centre of discussions about eating disorders, instead girls', and in general children's, eating habits are connected to their developmental changes of being; their natural growth. The notion of this development of children is what Claudia Castaneda calls children's mutability.[27] Children, says Castaneda, are in our culture foremost defined as not-yet adults, and their culturally most valuable characteristic is their potentiality to develop bodily, intellectually and cognitively. So children, both girls and boys are defined by their mutability. However, as Castaneda points out, development, as it is identifiable as a cultural notion connected to children's growth, always runs a risk to fail. This gives you two different imperative social instances, which run risk of failure; development from child to grown-up, and girls' and women's failure to be feminine.

The comic narrative I will concentrate on here is called "Little Evelyn – A Bildungsroman". The use of the concept "bildungsroman" should be read ironically and in the context of the whole comic book that plays with several different genres, which have been used to represent women throughout history (for example pornographic narrative, re-makes of fairytales and legends like "Tristans and Iseult" etc). The "bildungsroman" describes a narrative in which an individual through difficulties and struggle gain self-awareness and/or

25   Lund, Hans, (ed), *Intermedialitet – ord, bild och ton i samspel*, Studentlitteratur, Lund 2002.
26   Friedan, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique*, cop. New York 1963.
27   Claudia Castaneda, *Figurations. Child, Bodies, Worlds*, Duke UP, Durham 2003.

enlightenment.[28] The personal trajectory and development are at the centre of this kind of novel. Usually the bodily growth is not focused in this kind of narrative, but seen as a natural change, a background against which the personal, intellectual and emotional development is sketched out.

Each image in the comic narrative will be described and analysed in the order in which they occur in the narrative. Quotations at the beginning of each paragraph mark the text which accompanies each image, called the narrating text.[29]

Little Evelyn – A Bildungsroman

"Little Evelyn was a delightful child"

In this square Evelyn's relation to the world is established. She has got an anxious look on her face and an old lady is making a move in her direction, which makes it look like she is talking to a less knowing, maybe a dog or a baby. The personal integrity seems to be invaded. The balance between being cared for and the notion of personal integrity is, when it comes to children, collapsing, underlining that the definition of a "person" is modelled after an ideal about the autonomous and self-contained subject. The text points out Evelyn's identity as a matter of what other thinks of her, using a vocabulary ("delightful") that is not associated with a child's way to express herself, but more like the old lady in the image and her language.

"Everybody said she ate like a bird"

Still the text expresses the surrounding world's way of looking at Evelyn. Here Evelyn's eating habits are not only a concern for "everybody", she is also being displayed for an audience that comment on her eating. The image shows Evelyn eating "like a bird" not just as an analogy saying that she eats "little" but Evelyn is actually eating not only like, but as and with the birds, using no hands and eating from the ground. The metaphorical use of an analogy as a textual practice is thus highlighted visually as something that gives real effects in this girl's life. Language is performative and instructive for Little Evelyn's identity. This should be seen in relation to the fundamental mutability of the child as such. Words and the "language in use" as "eating like a bird" is (at least in Sweden) a common expression, almost a cliché. The expression "eating like a bird" carries double meanings both in relation to imperatives of "eating to be able to grow", but when one talks about girls and their eating habits, it can also say something about ideals that girls ought to be small and neat. In the narrative, the two statements about Evelyn are connected so that she becomes delightful because of her smallness, which in turn is the effect of her eating very little.

"But one night she shovelled everything that was in the larder…"

From the perspective of the third image, in which the story or the Bildungsroman suddenly takes a turn and Evelyn starts her disastrous eating of everything, the two previous images can be interpreted as showing a situation that Evelyn now starts to resist: The treatment of Evelyn as an animal or a pretty object of delightfulness, with the only characteristic that she eats very little and is very tiny, seems to be the background against which she starts her eating. In this image an interesting mutability occurs in that Evelyn does not any longer look like a little girl, but more like a teenage girl. The way she is pictured sitting in profile one can interpret her body as shaped as a young woman's. Her precious and girlish features are changed altogether

---

28   Sandra M. Gilbert/Susan Gubar, The Madwoman in the Attic: the woman writer and the nineteenth century literary imagination, 2000.
29   All translations from Swedish are made by Kajsa Widegren.

showing somebody with a violent hunger. The image thus refers to a discourse on eating disorders, notably bulimia, among teenage girls, a phenomenon that is associated with excessive behaviour but also isolation, something the image brings up as the eating takes place during night time. At this point in the narrative Evelyn has changed from a precious little girl to a teenage girl with a typical teenage girl-problem, i.e. the story is still working on a level of "natural development", as puberty sometimes is described as something that happens "over night".

"…and so it continued"

The text establishes a connection between the image where Evelyn turns into a teenage girl and this image where a different turn of event takes place. This image takes the eating excess one step further as Evelyn now is competing with, and acting as an animal. In this image, however, Evelyn is hardly a teenager. Her face has no precious features left and she makes a threatening face. It is quite a dark picture pointing to the "shady" character of Evelyn's actions. Here nothing of her preciousness is left in her face, she is totally transformed, and in a way beyond age categories and in a stage of another form of transformation. In this image there is no real connection between text and the motif of the image, more than the fact that the development and transformation of the little girl continues and once again she behaves like an animal. Associations between the wildness in animals and femininity has a long history and in this image the intertextual relation to the previous image with the bird-eating takes the interpretation to the dichotomy of the domestic and the wild. The image can also be connected to the scene in Kamala's Book, where the protagonist turns to a childhood memory in which she tries on the role of Kamala, the girl raised by a female wolf, who could not stand up but only walk on her hands and knees. This intertextual relation gives the image a character of childhood fantasy, a playful game – but this interpretation is contested by the look on the girl's face: she does not play, this is serious. While the bird-eating image plays with the language in use and the expression "eating like bird", this image only uses the visual to point to the expression of wildness in Evelyn's face. Language is thus out of the picture, no longer relevant, since Evelyn has entered an undomesticated and animal-like level of hunger.

"They did not want her in the ballet school anymore"

Here is yet another Evelyn at the ballet school with a body that has changed because of her excessive eating; her now chubby, ball shaped body is forced into the ballet costume and the little skirt called tyty, pointing at the ideals of a girl's body which she now exceeds. Evelyn, however, does not seem to mind being out off the ideal and she no longer takes orders from the teacher who desperately tries to make Evelyn do the right ballet movements. Evelyn's teacher looks nervous and maybe a bit scared. Evelyn replies with an untranslatable expression of dismiss. Maybe it is not her new body shape that forces her out of ballet school but the fact that she is now no longer submissive to the teacher and the disciplining of the female body that this particular form of dance performs. An ironic touch is added in this picture, contrasting against the dark and violent mode of the previous one. But here Evelyn is still in human size, she is shorter than the adult dancing teacher although much more voluminous. From this point the story reaches a completely grotesque stage. This changes the relation between text and image so that the text seems naïve and falling short of describing the development. Next image is once again described with a common expression:

"She could barely be in furnished rooms"

This expression; that someone could barely be in furnished rooms, is quite typical of an adult view on a very disturbing and unruly child, one that can not sit still or obey rules that regulates the "furnished" home, a home that contains a lot of objects that are not for children

to play with. This bourgeois domestic environment requires a regulated way of moving in space. The image shows or actually points out a valuable object, a vase, a "valuable inherited object,"[30] broken by the fact that Evelyn's buttons are flipping out of her blouse as she is now growing, literally, out of proportion. At this point in the narrative, Evelyn looks like a laughing Buda or a Japanese Sumo wrestler. Although her blouse is bursting her girlie signs, the skirt and the bow in her hair are growing with her, they are getting larger as her body is too, signifying her status as a girl, now a monstrous one. She has a happy smile on her face but her teeth are sharp. In the background one sees a woman, probably her mother with a devastated look on her face, calling the monstrous girl by name: "Evelyn, dear…" as to call the little girl back from her new shape and character. Both the mother and the dancing teacher are notably skinny and fragile women who desperately try to perform disciplining with their spoken words, and both clearly fail. But maybe one could see it as if they are also trying to discipline Evelyn with their idealized womanly shaped bodies. As adults are suppose to act as role models for children, this narrative dismisses and undermines the naturalized narrative of girls growing up to become women. Evelyn grows, but she becomes something completely different, she grows out of proportion.

"Little Evelyn had to sleep outside"

As a consequence of her giant size, little Evelyn now has to sleep outside. In the next image she is even bigger and she responds to people talking to her with a dissatisfied look on her face. Her blanket is made of four circus tents sewed together but it is still not enough to cover her whole body. The parents standing by her foot tell her: "Evelyn? The magazine 'Cosy Home' has advertised a competition: Who can knit the cutest blanket for you? That's nice, isn't it?" Once again a crowd of people is looking at Evelyn; her parents, a mother and her little girl, people standing in the enlightened windows all around her, everybody is watching her. Media covers her story with a sympathy angle: the poor girl is so big she has to sleep outdoors. The weekly magazine begs their readers to sympathise and help her. The magazine turns to women who in their daily lives use handcraft to nurture and care for people, a practice that is now mobilized for the poor "little" Evelyn. Evelyn's face now looks completely unaware, her response to this caring act is zero. In the narrative the cause of her growth and grotesque size has now been left out for two images: her eating, her competing with animals and animal-like appearance. Instead her interaction, or lack of interaction with the surrounding social environment has been focused. However, now this aspect of Evelyn's transformation and mutation has re-appeared:

"She ate everything she saw"

This is the only image in the comic narrative without a full representation of Evelyn and her body. Instead she is indexed as a godlike hand coming down from heaven swapping an elephant. By the size of her hand this animal seems to be the size of a snack for Evelyn. The reference to the divine hand of god gives the narrative yet another level, as it is a representation of a girl-child: The fantasy of the omnipotent child who conquers the world, who can reach the far-away countries of exotic animals like elephants, and eat and destroy them without second thoughts.

---

30 The quoted text is written on a small sign pointing at the vase in question. This is a comic technique of commenting texts that Edelfedt uses quite a lot.

"One does not know how this will end"

The last image in this narrative shows the ultimate transformation of Evelyn, the image is dominated by the open mouth of a gigantic predator, a shark-like head but with grasping hands (only one is visible in the image), hunting for people that are so small that the volume of the animal becomes supernatural. The text states this unbelievable turn of events with a laconic tone: the narrator does not know how this will end, a denial of the possibility to foresee the future. Evelyn's bodily excess; her growing, her development into a hunting monster-animal has made anything possible.

Still there are a few things that signify the relation between "little Evelyn" at the beginning of the story and this predator: The bow in her hair, and the hair itself. Evelyn's bow has grown proportionally with Evelyn herself, so she still has some kind of coherent identity; that of a girl. As a sign of neatness and preciousness it is destroyed, but as a sign of her girl identity it still remains valid. It is Evelyn as a girl who exceeds her bird-like eating and becomes this monster that eats everything.

In Edelfeldt's comic narratives, femininity is represented through multiple visual signs. In my example this is also the case. Evelyn's girl identity is visually made clear and is also the absolutely last thing to remain of her, when she has turned into the bodily and behaviourally changed monster-figure at the end. The use of stereotyping in visual techniques and especially in comic books is very common; girl identity is in several visual representations throughout the whole comic book, marked with a (pink) bow in the hair. Dresses of quite traditional types are also common in Edelfeldt's girl representations as well as white socks and neat and shiny shoes, pointing at the 1950's ideals about girlhood. This use of a traditional stereotype is commonly used in comic media, in which the understanding of a situation should be established for the viewer/reader in a quick manner. Stereotypical representations of girls are also used ironically in several of the images in this particular comic book, for example at the front cover, where a girl who is not shaped in an idealized manner is forced into the outfit of the traditional precious girl. In this image a conflict is displayed between the outfit (pink bow, pink dress with what might be lace, a bouquet of flowers) and the girl's body, which is "too big", "ungracious", "not cute". This girl also lacks the stereotypical personal qualities associated with girls: innocence, perky-ness, untroubled-ness. The title of the book; The Feminine Mystique – A Short Guide underlines the irony as there is actually nothing mysterious about the girl expressing her discontent with her outfit, an outfit that is strongly linked to idealized femininity and the characteristics mentioned.

The girl on the cover as well as "Little Evelyn" in different ways resist idealized femininity and the visual media is the means used to express this particular transgression of bodily shapes (ideals ?). All "Little Evelyn's" behavioural and personality changes are connected to her un-natural development from little girl to teenage girl and back to girl again, to beast and finally a supernaturally sized monster, a monster that still becomes treated as a girl who would appreciate the concern of a weekly magazine and its knitting readers. Femininity can thus be described as an interpellation that fails in the case of Evelyn. It is possible for her to resist this form of instructive socialization because of the powers that have suspended natural growth from subjected child to adult, pointing at the impossibility to resist femininity once one has become a grown-up woman. (or: suggesting the impossibility to resist femininity once you follow its "natural" course).

By different contrasting techniques Edelfeldt's drawings make identity as a girl continuous yet changed and transgressed, while the narrating text focuses on the disastrous changes and the dialogue focuses on the environment continuously treating Evelyn as if she still was herself. The visual media can thus be seen as a powerful tool for representing imaginative, transgressive changes, which at the same time can be readily interpreted as involving a single identifiable individual.

Concluding Remarks

Here we will bring up a few similarities between the aesthetics of *Kamala' s Book* and "Little Evelyn". Both in the novel and the comic narrative the girl and the monster theme involves construction of femininity through disciplining of the female body. The representation of femininity in *Kamala' s Book* demonstrates a sadist-masochist quality where the protagonist' s subordinated feminine position is displayed through objects such as the slit skirt and the high-heeled red shoes. The nude study, where the protagonist' s body has been carefully arranged and framed, has similar connotations. These representations typifies the protagonist and in this process certain visual representations in the narrative such as the red shoes and the female nude play an important part; in this context Edelfeldt uses a signifying technique similar to the use of the bow to indicate girlhood in "Little Evelyn". Resisting and rebelling womanhood also involves the body in *Kamala' s Book*, for example the protagonist' s liberating physical make over and the girl Kamala, rebelling against both clothes and food habits in the "civilized" world. The rebellious instances are likewise visualized in the narrative; they have an imaginative, creative quality, which aesthetically links them with the bodily visual changes in the comic strip, but at the same time nothing of their grotesque-ness. Such "otherness" does not work in a novel with certain realistic claims, the girl child Kamala "really exists", she is presented to us on a documentary photograph.

References

Barthes, Roland, "The photographic message" in *Image-Music-Text, Essays Selected and Translated by Stephen Heath*, Fontana1977, p. 15-32.

Castaneda, Claudia, *Figurations. Child, Bodies, Worlds*, Duke UP, Durham 2003.

Edelfeldt, Inger, *Kamalas bok* (Kamala' s Book), Stockholm 1986.

Edelfeldt, Inger, *Den kvinnliga mystiken – en kortfattad guide*, Stockholm 1988.

Eriksson, Yvonne/Göthlund, Anette, *Möte med bilder*, Studentlitteratur, Lund 2004.

Friedan, Betty*, The Feminine Mystique*, New York 1963.

Gilbert, Sandra M. & Gubar, Susan, *The Madwoman in the Attic: the Woman Writer and the Nineteenth Century Literary Imagination*, Yale Univ. Press 2000.

Genette, Gérard, *Narrative Discourse – An Essay in Method*, Cornell Univ. Press1980.

Lund, Hans, "Litterär ekfras" /Literary Ekphrasis/ in *Intermedialitet – Ord, bild och ton I samspel* /Intermediality/, ed. Hans Lund, Lund 2002, p. 183-193.

Lund, Hans, "Bildberättelser och serier", in *Intermedialitet – ord, bild och ton i samspel*, ed. Hans Lund, Lund 2002, 71-79.

Mulvey, Laura, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema", in *Screen* 1975, vol.16(3): 6-18.

Singh JAL The Diary of the Wolf-Children of Midnapore (India), http://www.feralchildren.com.

Shildrick Margrit, *Embodying the Monster*, 2002.

Doing Age and Gender through Fashion

Barbro Johansson

Center for Consumer Science, School of Business, Economics and Law

Göteborg University

barbro.johansson@cfk.gu.se

The author discusses the intersectionality of age and gender in relation to consumption and the concept of "becoming", taking her point of departure in some quotations from children. The data comes from a study about children in consumer society, where 84 Swedish children, aged 8-12 were interviewed. Gender and age are negotiated, translated and repeated and therefore the subject of constant change. A task for the children is to place themselves in an aged and gendered field, find places which they are comfortable with, and at the same time be aware of that they are expected to occupy new places and find new ways of performing themselves as they grow older. The article shows a sample card of different solutions: Performing a consistent 11-year-ness, by refraining to wear garments which carry inscriptions of adulthood and sexuality; creating a fashion-conscious masculinity with the help of clothes, hair products, friends and a fashion retailer; redefining a garment from female to gender-neutral; creating an aged and gendered "free zone", where girlishness is an allowing and non-restrained place; making clothes almost invisible uniforms; rejecting fashion all together; and constructing homosocial togetherness with the help of fashion and symbols of adulthood and sexuality.

Doing Age and Gender through Fashion

Age and gender are explicitly intertwined in children's lives. The clothes you wear and the activities you do mean different things if you are 8 or 12, and if you are a girl or a boy. In this paper, I will take my point of departure in some quotations from children to be able to discuss the intersectionality of age and gender in relation to consumption and the concept of "becoming". The data comes from a study about children in consumer society, where 84 children, aged 8-12, from two Swedish schools were interviewed (Johansson 2005).

Becoming

We are, as Nick Lee (2001) puts it, living in an "age of uncertainty". Identities are not once and for all given, on the contrary we are expected to consider and work with our identities our whole lives. In this constant doing of oneself, different subjectivities are performed. Our identity is not something that comes from within a "true, inner self"; it is what we perform during the encounters with others. These different subjectivities are made through connections between humans, materiality and discourses. From this perspective we are all becomings – constantly changing, transforming and reinterpreted, while the state of "being" is nothing but an imagined opposite.

In childhood studies, though, the dichotomy being–becoming has been referred to in a different way. It has been used to point out the difference between adults and children and the fact that adults are regarded as "human beings" and children as incomplete and dependent "human becomings" in need of socialization, development and upbringing. Childhood researchers from the late 80s and onwards made a point of claiming that children are beings too; that they are active, competent members of society, who influence their environments in a number of ways. Later, researchers came to nuance these statements, acknowledging that it is not always in the children's best interest only to stress their competence (Brembeck, Johansson & Kampmann 2004). Children are also in need of protection, of people who talk on their behalf and look after their interests. Defining children as becomings also means realizing that the same goes for adults; we are all dependent on a lot of "supplements" and "extensions", connections to other human and non-human elements, to make our lives work (Lee 2001, Prout 2005).

The twist from "children are also beings" to "adults are also becomings" made both adulthood and childhood ambiguous conditions. When, as Lee puts it, there are no 'human beings', but instead "potentially unlimited number of ways of 'becoming human'" (Lee 2001:2), age is but one belonging which is of importance when trying to comprehend and perform oneself. Understanding "becoming" as the common way for people today to deal with their lives and identities regardless of age, gender and other belongings, means trying to transgress several dualities, e.g. those between female and male and between child and adult. However, age is a belonging which is more often relevant, when you are a child, a teenager or an old person and situated outside the unproblematized "fit-for-work middle-ages". It means that as a child you mostly need to consider that you are a child in relation to "not-children", at the same time as you have all these other belongings such as gender, class, ethnicity, ablebodiness etc. At the ages of 8-12 these considerations take on specific expressions, depending on the fact that you are moving from childhood to teens and the expressions are strongly linked to consumption. In a consumer society the body is a project as well as a process, and it is up to the individual to succeed in his/her body project (Egeberg Holmgren 2005).

Artefacts and Blurred Borders

Clothes is an area of consumption which comes to the fore for many children in the ages preceding teens, and some garments are more symbolically loaded than others. Anna-Clara, 11, has a definite opinion about thongs:

> Frankly it's ridiculous to wear thongs at our age. 8th, 9th grade, that's when girls start to be mature enough for it. When you are, like, in the 5th grade, it looks ridiculous if you walk around with thongs. (Anna-Clara, 11)

The design of shoes might also bring certain connotations. Fanny and Angelica, both 11, have different tastes when it comes to shoes:

> Fanny: I don't think you should wear those adults' shoes, which suit adults better. There are really fine children's shoes, but some shoes only suit adults. So then, if Angelica wears such shoes I tell her that they're adults' shoes.

> *Barbro: So what is it that makes them adults' shoes then?*

> Angelica: Shoes that I think teenagers should wear. I saw these beige boots, which I thought were nice. But I wouldn't buy them. They had rather high heals. I thought it was nice.

The three 11-year-old girls explicitly relate to age when they discuss clothes. Thongs and high-heel shoes are symbols of teens and adulthood, and Anna-Clara and Fanny both state that there should be a consistency between age and appearance. Thongs look "ridiculous" on a girl of eleven, Anna-Clara says, and Fanny is ready to tell her friend off if she wears "adults' shoes". When you are 11 you have only two years left until you are a teenager, but the girls do not open the door for any negotiations: you shouldn't dress above your age. Angelica is more ambivalent. An 11-year-old, as everyone else, has a certain range of available subjectivities. Obviously she sometimes wears shoes which Fanny does not improve of, but in the interview she steps on to the same line as her friend and says that she wouldn't buy these nice beige boots which she saw. All three girls in the interviews relate to an 11-year-old girl which has not yet reached puberty and is consequently not physically mature to dress in garments associated with adulthood and sexuality. However, "mature" might be defined in another way, namely to be able to live up to one's "11-year-ness" (Wenzer 2002) in a sensible way, by refraining from wearing garments, which are not 'suitable' for an 11-year-old. The girls here thereby are constructed as 11-year-old 'beings', while girls of equal age wearing thongs or high-heel shoes are constructed as ridiculous 'teenager-becomings'.

These opinions are not just something that exist in the girls' heads. The clothes and shoes carry certain "inscriptions", a kind of user's manual, which determines what an artifact allows or denies a user to do (Akrich 2000). The inscriptions might be more or less open for questioning and negotiations; they are often regarded as self-evident, being part of ideals and norms, which in this way are effectively conveyed (Knuts 2006). We all have experiences of the inscriptions of different clothes: how they form our bodies and make us walk and move in certain ways, but also how they make us feel and behave, and what they do to other people who watch us.

High-heel shoes transform the child's body into a teenage body, not only by symbolizing adulthood, but also because they prevent the wearer from engaging in play and physical activities and because they expose the body in a certain way. High-heel shoes stretch the legs, emphasizing the ankles and calves; thongs under light and thin pants reveal that nothing more than the pants' fabric covers the buttocks. The inscriptions of these garments thereby pave the

way for sexual interpretations (Berggren Torell 2005). To dress in adults' shoes and thongs therefore means something more than dressing "nice". It also implies the re-coding of one's body from a child's body to a teenage body. This may explain the firm moral statements from the girls. There is a vast discussion going on about sexualized clothes for children and the messages they send out. When differentiating between adulthood and childhood, sexuality is a core element. Children are regarded as asexual, sexuality belongs exclusively to adulthood, and adults' clothes on a child's body threaten that border (ibid.). The girls convey as a child you should not send out sexual messages to people in your surroundings.

The Attraction of Being a Teenager

Being a child of 8-12 means approaching the teens and having to relate to this fact in one way or another. In common understanding there is a dichotomy not only between child and adult, but also between child and youth. The youth phase is described as a time of identity problems, emotional outbursts, experimenting, revolting against parents and a longing to leave the safe realm of childhood. The corresponding ideal or normal childhood is instead focused on the small, safe world, close, lasting relations, harmony and a non-dramatic, gradual development. One could say that, in this understanding, youth is a "becoming-state" and childhood is a "being-state". This view-point is visible in the interviews, where some children relate explicitly to their previous, present and forthcoming conditions, as Fredrik, 11, when he talks about hair and clothes:

> And I'm rather obsessed with hairstyles. If my hair doesn't look good in the morning, I just stand there and think: "Oh no, this is not good!" And then, I change hairstyles quite often, too. /…/ And then, if I don't find nice clothes. Then I stand there for like five minutes thinking: "No, I can't wear that one today. Not that one either! No!" So I usually choose my clothes in the evening before I go to bed. /…/ If I were eight but wore the clothes I am wearing now, I would have hated them. I would never have worn them. I'm pretty sure. /…/ Back then I wore a lot of sloppy clothes, I think. Nerdy. /…/ I used to wear these tracksuit pants (laughs). (Fredrik, 11).

In the task of relating to his approaching teens, Fredrik has chosen what sociologist Randi Wærdahl calls "explored anticipation" (Wærdahl 2003:217ff). He describes how he has left one phase of life and is now on his way somewhere else – to become a teenager. Clothes are crucial elements in the performance of himself as becoming-teenager, and an assemblage of human and non-human "actants" is constituted in the action (Latour 1998, Czarniawska 2004). His hair and the products which keep it in the desirable state, his new clothes and his old "sloppy" clothes, the school and his friends, who might evaluate his appearance.

At school Fredrik is rather unusual in that he has such a strong interest in appearance, clothes and fashion; most of the other boys' main interests are sports and motorbikes. Apart from his best friend Johan, it is mostly the girls in school who notice when he wears something new and give him compliments. Doing boyishness might therefore be an act which needs more reflection for Fredrik than for most of the boys in his school, and he tells me that his main inspiration comes from his favorite fashion retailer JC. Marie Nordberg (2005), in an article about the hairdresser's branch, writes about how masculinity is commodified and that products which were earlier coded as feminine have been recoded and connected to masculinity to appeal to men (ibid.) It is thereby possible for Fredrik and other boys to use a wider range of e.g. colors, accessories, and hair products, without putting their masculinity into question. In the other school in the study some of the girls reported that the boys are more obsessed with their appearance than girls, and that, after a physical education, the classroom stinks of the boys' hair gel and hair spray.

In the interviews, I encouraged the children to reflect on gender borders, by showing them a letter-to-the-editor where a girl claimed that it should be possible for boys to wear dresses, if they liked. The text was supplemented with a picture of a boy in a flowery dress and shoes with high heels. Most of the children forcefully rejected the idea that boys should wear dresses. But Josefin, 8, was not directly negative. She thought that boys should be able to wear "boys' dresses". "Not flowery. They should have boys' dresses that are a bit tougher, in that case." Josefin suggests a displacement of gender codes, where the boyish is still understood from the traditional matrix (tougher, not flowery), but where a female garment can be incorporated in the male fashion repertoire.

The Attraction of Being a Child

When I interviewed the younger children they confirmed that sixth-graders are distinguished from the other students in school by dressing and behaving differently. But that is not the same as saying that the younger ones copy the older ones. On the contrary, many of them dissociate themselves from being fashion-conscious. Some 8-year-old girls claimed that they dress "ordinary" and that they do not care about what others think of their appearance. Lina, 10, says: "I have my style and I'll keep to it until I, well, start the 7th grade."

Even if the younger girls in the interview compellingly claimed that you should not worry about others' opinions about your style, they obviously anticipated a time when things will be quite different, when clothes and appearance will be important and when they will be more sensitive to what friends and boys think. Being a teenager does, in Lina's understanding, involve particular obligations, such as caring for one's appearance and being attractive for the opposite sex. In this understanding children are given a greater freedom than teenagers, since they are allowed to be "themselves", while the children in the sixth grade cannot disregard that they are becoming-teenagers, with everything that follows from that.

When some of the younger girls describe the ages of 8-11 as a kind of "free zone", where you don't have to bother about fashion or boys' opinions, it lies close to what Judith Halberstam (1998) writes about tomboys. It is a well-known fact that it is easier for girls to be tomboys than for boys to be sissies, since masculinity has a higher status than femininity. But Halberstam claims that it is only as long as the girl is a child, that tomboyism is tolerated and read as a sign of independence and self-motivation; "as soon as puberty begins, however, the full force of gender conformity descends on the girl" (ibid:6). If the female adolescence, as Halberstam puts it, is "a lesson in restraint, punishment, and repression" (ibid.), then it is not surprising that Lina and others do not feel that they need to hurry into their teens.

So, the younger girls stressed the importance of dressing as one wishes and not to bother about others' judgments. But the view of children on a school yard shows that everybody dresses about the same, nobody stands out in conveying a specific style. "When one is small one wants to be ordinary", Sabina, 8 years, says. It could be interpreted as if they want to be like others, that is, the same problem they claim that the teenagers struggle with. But another interpretation is that Sabina refers to an "ordinary child", namely someone who does not prioritize presenting oneself as fashion-conscious and cool. Two 11-year-old boys have a similar opinion. In the interview I tried to find out the fashion rules at school.

Barbro: Has anyone ever been teased, or have you ever commented on someone's clothes?

Nisse: I don't know. Not in our class.

Olle: No, I don't think so. I usually play bandy during the breaks, so I don't know anything about that.

Barbro: Don't you usually talk to each other about clothes and such things?

Olle: No.

Barbro: If something is nice-looking, do you usually comment on that?

Both: Yes.

Barbro: Which clothes are nice-looking?

Nisse: I don't know.

Olle: Well, all clothes are nice in some way.

Barbro: Perhaps fashion is not that important to you?

Both: No.

Nisse: It's so tiresome.

Barbro: Is it tiresome?

Nisse: I never look at fashion magazines and those kinds of things. I don't follow fashion.

Dressing as everybody else, in a way which makes you fit in with the surroundings is almost like wearing a school uniform, which has the advantage of depriving the individual from personal responsibility of one's choice of clothes (Craik 2005). "Uniforms allow people to conform to groups they are part of", Craik writes (2005:5). The clothes in a way become "invisible", they do not catch the eyes of observers, and thereby the children can engage in activities, for instance play, which are of more interest to them. The adornments of the body are not active elements in Nisse's and Olle's subjectivity productions. When Nisse tells me that he does not follow fashion it is thus not a regret of insufficient competence, but rather a declaration, where he says that he prioritizes different things in life. He is not interested in fashion and he does not want to be either. The boys also perform gender in a specific way, since it is a common masculine subjectivity to be unconcerned about clothes and fashion.

Homosociality – Being Cool

When I ask Sebastian, 9, who buys his clothes he answers from a dichotomist gender perspective, making the gender of his parents significant.

When I'm with dad, he buys more cool clothes, but mom buys such silly clothes.

It is no doubt that Sebastian here transgresses the age border and identifies with the male sphere, where clothes are cool in contrast to the female sphere where clothes are silly or nerdy. In the performance of coolness with the help of fashion, homosocial togetherness is created (Mörck & Tullberg 2004). Homosociality is also brought up when Emma, Louise and Gabriella, 12 years old, talk about thongs, which they do from quite a different point of view than the 11-year-old girls did.

Barbro: Do you wear thongs sometimes?

Emma: Yes, sometimes. At discos and such.

Louise: But not so often.

Gabriella. No, not now. Before.

Louise: When we thought it was cool to wear them.

Barbro: I see. So it's not as cool now?

Louise: Yes, it was, when we were younger or kind of /…/ In 4ᵗʰ or 5ᵗʰ grade. Then we thought it was cool 'cause nobody else wore them.

Gabriella. Yes, 'cause now everybody is wearing them. But back then, only a few were wearing them. Then it was cool.

Emma, Louise and Gabriella don't refer to thongs as something that you should wear when your have reached a certain age. On the contrary, it was okay to wear thongs when they were ten or eleven, but now it is not that interesting, since "everybody is wearing them". Fashion-consciousness is about being in the forefront, having a feeling for new trends, being cool. It is a continual and reflected state of becoming, something you actively engage in, and it transgresses age. The expressions change, not because you become older and more mature and "fit in to" new clothes, but depending on what distinguishes you from the crowd in a positive manner. The value of the garment does not lie in the way it distinguishes different life stages from each other, but in the way it distinguishes clothes that everybody wears from clothes that only those who are cool wear. Neither do the girls explicitly associate thongs to sexuality. This way of framing deprives the thongs of the essential character they had in the other girls' rhetoric. For them, thongs in themselves represented adulthood/youth, maturity and possibly also sexuality. As the girls above talk about it, the character of the thongs is entirely dependent on the context. They only have value when taking part in a performance where they are rare. If everybody wears them, they are no more or less worth than any other underwear.

Interestingly, the girls in their use of thongs as symbols of cool-ness, also enroll sexuality for their own purposes. While one powerful interpretation of thongs is that it is a sexualized garment, which positions young girls as victims of adults' sexual gazes, Emma and her friends suggest another interpretation, where sexual connotations is subordinate to other values, such as friendship, popularity and status. Viveka Berggren-Torell (2005) found the same when she studied letters-to-the-editor in the magazine *Kamratposten*. The debate among the readers showed that there were several ways of relating to thongs and that the word "sexy" could be used as almost a synonym to "nice-looking". The girls also opposed the common way of seeing them as victims of the male gaze, and one girl stated that "feminism is also about letting everybody dress as they like"" (ibid:85). Both the girls in my study and the girls Berggren Torell refers to seem to be less engaged in the process of becoming a woman, and more engaged in being a girl here and now.

Conclusion

Gender and age are negotiated, translated and repeated and therefore the subject of constant change. The children of my study have opinions of what is boyish and girlish and which symbols and codes belong to each sphere, and the same goes for the areas of childhood, youth and adulthood. But they also have suggestions of different interpretations and the possibility of transgressing age and gender. A task for children of 8-12 is to place themselves in an aged and gendered field, find places which they are comfortable with, and at the same time be aware of that they are expected to occupy new places and find new ways of performing themselves as they grow older. This article has shown a sample card of different solutions: Performing a consistent 11-year-ness, by refraining to wear garments which carry inscriptions

of adulthood and sexuality; creating a fashion-conscious masculinity with the help of clothes, hair products, friends and a fashion retailer; redefining a garment from female to gender-neutral; creating an aged and gendered "free zone", where girlishness is an allowing and non-restrained place; making clothes almost invisible uniforms; rejecting fashion all together and perform a traditional masculinity; and constructing homosocial togetherness with the help of fashion and symbols of adulthood and sexuality. Doing age and gender through fashion is an activity which, more or less consciously, engages everybody in consumer society of today.

References

Akrich, Madeleine (2000). The De-Scription of Technical Objects. In: Bijker, Wiebe E. & Law, John (eds). *Shaping Technology/Building Society: Studies in Sociotechnical Change.* Cambridge/London: The MIT Press.

Berggren Torell, Viveka (2005). För ung för string? Vuxnas och barns debatter om "sexiga" flickkläder. *Kulturella Perspektiv* 3/2005.

Brembeck, Helene, Johansson, Barbro & Kampmann, Jan (eds) (2004). *Beyond the competent child. Exploring contemporary childhoods in the Nordic welfare societies.* København: Samfunnsforlaget.

Craik, Jennifer (2005). *Uniforms Exposed: From Conformity to Transgression.* Oxford: Berg

Czarniawska, Barbara (2004). *On Time, Space, and Action Nets.* GRI-rapport 2004:5. Göteborgs universitet. www.handels.gu.se/epc/archive/00003371/.

Egeberg Holmgren, (2005). "Jag känner mig lite manlig när jag bryter mot de manliga normerna" : om maskulinitet, skönhet och gränsdragande överskridanden. *Kulturella Perspektiv* 3/2005.

Halberstam, Judith (1998). *Female Masculinity.* Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Johansson, Barbro (2005). *Barn i konsumtionssamhället.* Stockholm: Norstedts Akademiska Förlag.

Knuts, Eva (2006). *Något gammalt, något nytt – skapandet av bröllopsföreställningar.* Göteborg. Mara.

Latour, Bruno (1998). *Artefaktens återkomst: Ett möte mellan organisationsteori och tingens sociologi.* Göteborg: Nerenius & Santérus förlag.

Lee, Nick (2001). *Childhood and society: Growing up in an age of uncertainty.* Buckingham/Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Mörck, Magnus and Tullberg, Maria (2004), *Catwalk för direktörer. Bolagsstämman - en performativ performans av maskuliniteter*, CFK-Rapport 2004:02a. Göteborgs universitet, Centrum för konsumentvetenskap.

Nordberg, Marie (2005). "Det viktiga är en maskulin touche!" : maskulinitet som konsumtionsvara i frisörbranschen. *Kulturella Perspektiv* 3/2005.

Prout, Alan (2005). *The future of childhood*, London and New York: RoutledgeFalmer Press.

Wærdahl, Randi (2003). *Learning by consuming: consumer culture as a condition for socialization and every day life at the age of 12.* Rapport 4:2003. Institutt for sosiologi og samfunnsgeografi. Universitetet i Oslo.

Wenzer, Jakob (2002). *Maskinisk Barndom – Ett sammanförande av fälten barndomsforskning och teknologikritik genom Gilles Deleuze och Félix Guattari.* D-uppsats. Etnologiska institutionen, Göteborgs universitet.

Self-Management and Meal Experiences in Swedish Prisons

Inger M Jonsson and Marianne Pipping Ekström

Department of Restaurant and Culinary Arts, Örebro University

marianne.p-e@telia.com, inger.m.jonsson@rhs.oru.se

Prisoners are given a greater responsibility for their daily living. When introducing the self-management system concerning food (planning, cooking and eating), problems occurred, which were not expected by the staff. We were invited to visit a prison for women, where the self-management system had been introduced, to meet their daily living and discuss problems with the prisoners and the staff. We also gave some lectures and together with employees discussed the problems. Although the prison is a closed system, we found equal episodes and feelings as in society. We found fight for positions and identity with the help of food. Food is not feed. Food is a system of communication, as Mary Douglas once stated. Power, gender, ethnicity and culture are key symbols for understanding the problems. Self-management appeared to be a much more complex project than just to learn or practice cooking, which was the original idea of self-management.

Self-Management and Meal Experiences in Swedish Prisons

In Sweden there is an ongoing discussion about how to prevent prisoners from being institutionalised and how best to prepare them for life outside prison once they are released. To that end the everyday self-maintenance activities of daily life in prison, such as cleaning, washing and feeding, are organised in a way that they relate to the manner in which they are carried out, outside of prison. With the completion of a small-scale project on Self-management in prisons in 2001 the Swedish Prison and Probation has continued to work on developing a programme for self-management. In the Government budget proposition from 2006 it was decided that this programme should be developed further and introduced in all Swedish prisons.

Self-management concerning food is described as follows: (our translation) with the aim of instilling greater individual responsibility in different stages prisoners take responsibility for daily life concerning living, work and leisure time and cook all their own meals every day of the week. The purpose of self-management is to increase individual's care for themselves and respect for others and also give responsibility to prisoners for a 'household' budget. This is intended to counteract the damages of institutional living. For the staff this means not acting as leaders. Therefore they require both supervision and training. The prisoners' ability to handle everyday life should not, it is argued, deteriorate during their time in prison. Rather, the prisoners' personal responsibility for daily life and care practices should be developed and improved, for example by introducing self-care and self-management systems concerning cleaning and washing and also food planning, cooking and eating. This applies not only to their time in prison but also is seen as important in improving their living conditions in future life after they leave prison.[1] (Kriminalvården 2006a; Kriminalvården 2006b).

How We Were Involved

As researchers of family and food we, Inger M Jonsson and Marianne Pipping Ekström, were invited in September 2006 to give a lecture to an audience of people involved in self-management programmes in Swedish prisons. In order to become more acquainted with the environment we spend a day at a Swedish prison for women. There are five prisons for women in Sweden; the one we visited is one of the largest with about 100 inmates. There are in total 250 women in prisons in Sweden, which means women make up around 5-6 per cent of all prisoners in the country (Kriminalvården 2006). At the prison we met both staff and inmates. We spent the whole day with one of the chief inspectors and the project leader. The latter is responsible for the implementation and development of self-management throughout Sweden. They took us on a tour of the prison. We met the chief inspector on the upper level and the ordinary prison staff (both men and women). We spoke with and observed them both in the different prison departments where the prisoners live and also in a 'round table talk' with the inspector and the project leader. We would label this study a minor field study with observation from the inside (Bosworth 2005).

Intentions of Public Health

A Swedish study of everyday life conditions in prisons shows that most prisoners come from highly disadvantaged sections of society. As a proportion, the figures are much higher than in the population as a whole and particularly in relation to women/female prisoners. (Fritzell and Lundberg 1994; Nilsson 2000). Another study of 100 Swedish imprisoned male offenders examined relevant social factors such as criminal records and addiction, quality of social networks, lodging situations, economic status, work and leisure time (Rydén-Lodi

---

1   Kriminalvård 2006, Självförvaltning, information och vägledning.

2005). Both studies ignore the factor of food. An article written by Catrin Smith, in UK, raises the question of whether it's possible to promote healthy living in prisons. Her article is titled "'Healthy Prisons': A Contradiction in terms?" (Smith 2000). She continues:

> Imprisonment, almost by definition, has an impact on health and wellbeing. Individuals are taken out of society and away from the people and places that characterise their daily lives. In prison they are subject to processes of control which, beginning with reception procedures, represent tangible sources of suffering that threaten physical, mental and emotional health.

Although food is not mentioned in the research on prisoners' health, *Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen,* in their health promotion programme for self-care and self-management, focus on food, cooking, meals and housework (Kriminalvården 2006a). We found this to be very identical to the style of work in the compulsory school subject 'Home Economics' (Skolverket 2002).

Women prisoners have been identified as a group for whom health promotion is seen as especially important, not merely for their own benefit, but also because of their assumed responsibility for the health of others. In a thematic review of women's prisons it is suggested that imprisonment offers a unique opportunity to "*reach* the female population and *through them* their families" (Smith 2002). So, as is stated for example by Chris Shilling in his book *The Body in Culture, Technology & Society*, women are expected not only to take care of their own bodies, but also other people's bodies and hunger (Shilling 2005).

Impressions from the Visit at the Prison for Women

On the way to the women's prison we drove through beautiful countryside with green fields, cottages and small villages nearby. We arrived at the prison where we had to leave our cell phones and identity cards at the checkpoint. After being searched more rigorously than at an airport we were welcomed with coffee and a small talk from the project leader and the two chief inspectors, who then also gave us a tour of the prison, focusing on areas where food is stored and prepared and meals served.

Walking around we found that the kitchen and dinner table were in the centre of each living department. Also in the centre there was a 'room in the room', a room with windows where the staff could sit and watch the activities. We met the prisoners 'in action' as they were preparing dinner, laying the table and so on. We asked them about their opinions of Self-management and their experiences of food and meals in prison. They showed us how they stored the food that their group had decided to order from the communal store. We then had lunch in the prison canteen together with some of the staff. There was also was a small shop, we were told, for the prisoners stocked with a few food items as well as candy, cigarettes, magazines etc. We did not visit the shop.

We found that amongst both the staff and prisoners there were some very different opinions about Self-management. Some were very pleased with it whilst others questioned the whole idea. Some were almost euphoric about the possibility of giving the prisoners an opportunity to prepare their own meals and eat together. We found that meals in the Self-management programme (Kriminalvården 2006a; Kriminalvården 2006b) were seen by staff and proponents/supporters of the programme as social events, as part of building a social community. However, as we saw it, this position on meals paid little consideration to the fact that people from different cultures and with different problems are put together, locked into a limited, enclosed space. In the prison we visited, it had not worked out as expected. Far from being an inclusive social community sharing social events the female prisoners quarrelled, became hostile and developed enemies. Furthermore, the staff pointed out that what they called 'racism' was a big problem.

The idea is that the group that lives together in one prison department should plan their household menus, shopping lists and so on together. They should cook and have meals with each other. They were supposed to take turn but in reality there were often just a few women who took the whole responsibility, all the others having to give in and accept the food choices that had been made on their behalf. We were told that sometimes when a group of prisoners realise which person had been the "chef of the menu" for the day it could start group rejections and eating protests. It could be discussions about the hygiene in the preparation. Some people refused to eat the food prepared by others. This could be linked to discussions about food as a gift and how, by eating, you incorporate another person in your body (Fürst 1995). The staff looks upon the Self-management system as a kind of reward system "something good for you", "a reward expressed as the gift of making your own food". This could be compared to an interview with a long time female prisoner that states "I am so tired of being grateful" and concludes:

> In a prison you loose control over most of it, you fight for what you can control, for
> instance your body, what and when you eat. When you do your physical exercise, actually
> it is not strange at all (Björling 2006).

We were also told that the staff had found out that food is heavily connected with feelings: "We are going crazy! They suffocate us with divergent diets. They all get their own little pot".

This meant, as we saw it, a lot of often quite emotional discussions (ie. 'with feelings') between the staff and prisoners about such issues as allergic symptoms and cultural traditions. A fight for power with food as the weapon!

The prisoners told us about problems with the purchase lists. Once a week they wrote purchase lists, based on the planned menu. One example was when they had ordered low fat milk. They just get half of the ordered amount, because the kitchen staff judged it as an unnecessary amount of milk. Without the milk the prisoners thought it wasn't possible to cook what they had decided beforehand. The 'kitchen's' opinion was that low fat milk and 'Kesella' were food items they had not used earlier. "Why not take water instead!" they said. And then the female prisoner cried. The staff considered this a fight for power.

The prisoners are far from homogeneous in their relations to food and food preparation. Some are interested in cooking others are not. Some of them know how to cook, they have had a household of their own, but others have never in their life had to prepare food before. "My mother did all the cooking, I never had to", said one of the prisoners. She also refused to go to school during the cooking lessons in compulsory school.

The staff gave examples of what they called 'queens'. This means women, who set the frame for what is the right way of cooking. They act like leaders and command the others to serve them. There are also some women, who think cooking is boring and prefer to work in the 'industry' or go to school (special educational programmes at the institutions).

As we see it 'food in prison' makes the inmates both subjects and objects. Here we see the contradiction in terms (Smith 2000) as Smith said about healthy food programmes in prison. Here it can be seen in the female prisoners' feelings of being objects of rehabilitation and education etc whilst at the same time being the subjects of a programme, which is expressed as a gift and an advantage, which they should be grateful for. As subjects, the prisoners use food as a tool in fighting for power.

Impressions from Meeting the Staff at the Seminar

At the seminar there were presentations of the Self-management system from various prisons in Sweden. In one open institution the Self-management programme works has worked out

well. The prisoners do the shopping themselves. They handle the money and make notes in cashbooks. In this prison they have their own budget and, for example, have saved money for special occasions like Christmas etc.

Some examples were given from male institutions. They were rather pleased and worked hard to solve everyday problems concerning the Self-management system. Some departments had to redesign the kitchens and the storage systems. As we observed, and as we have noticed before in our research, men have a different relationship with food than that which women have. Food for men is an individual concept while for women food is 'for me and for others'. Women are supposed to be responsible for food both for themselves and for others too. One woman from the staff, who had worked in both male and female prisons, said:

> Men really are something different in their relation to food. Among men it is very calm compared to an apartment for females. Women are constantly nagging.

One of the staff said:

> "In my opinion it's important to teach men how to make porridge, so that they can make their own breakfast, cheaply and healthily. But most important is that they can cook a cheap meal and don't have to go to a gasoline station and steal some sandwiches for breakfast".

We can conclude that there are huge ongoing changes in the Swedish penal system in regards to the Self-management programme. Food and meals have really been put into focus. This makes it interesting to follow. We would like to look at gender aspects, ethnicity and the power relations connected with food. Therefore we have decided to search for funding to carry out a further, more developed study.

Referenser

Björling, S. (2006). "Jag är trött på att förväntas vara tacksam". *Dagens Nyheter*. Stockholm**:** 24-25.

Bosworth, M. (2005). "Doing Prison Research: Views From Inside." *Qualitative Inquery* **11**(2): 249-264.

Fritzell, J. and O. Lundberg, Eds. (1994). *Vardagens villkor. Levnadsförhållanden i Sverige under tre decennier*. Stockholm, Brombergs.

Fürst, L. E. (1995). *Mat - et annet språk. Rationalitet, kropp och kvinnlighet*. Oslo, Pax förlag.

Kriminalvården. (2006). "Kvinnor i fängelse"
http//www.kvv.se/templates/KVV_InfopageGeneral____2207.aspx.

Kriminalvården (2006a). *Självförvaltning.Information och vägledning*. Norrköping, Kriminalvården.

Kriminalvården (2006b). *Riktlinjer för självförvaltning. Norrköping*, Kriminalvården.

Nilsson, A. (2000). "Gå direkt till fängelse utan att passera Gå. Välfärdsproblem bland fångar." *Nordisk tidskrift for Kriminalvårdsvetenskap* **87**(4): 289-301.

Rydén-Lodi, B. (2005). *Inför frigivningen. Livssituationen inför frigivningen och egenbedömning av framtida återfall*. KVS rapport 2005:17. Norrköping, Kriminalvårdsstyrelsen.

Shilling, C. (2005). *The Body in Culture, Thechnology & Society*. London, Sage

Skolverket. (2002). Skolverket, Kursinformation 2001/02. Grundskolan. Hem- och Konsumentkunskap
http://www3.skolverket.se/BAS_CACHE/0102/D5SHSZX.htm." Retrieved 2002-05-06, 2002.

Smith, C. (2000). "'Healthy Prisons': A Contradiction in Terms?" *The Howard Journal* **39**(4): 339-353.

Smith, C. (2002). "Punishment and pleasure: women, food and the imprisoned body." *The The Sociological Review* **50**(2): 197-214.

And No Birds Do Sing

Stephen Kennedy

Department of Creative Critical and Communication Studies,

The University of Greenwich

S.Kennedy@gre.ac.uk

And No Birds Do Sing[1]

> This could be heaven
> Shallow spreads of ordered lawns
> I like the illusion
> Illusion of privacy
> The careful trees blending so perfectly
> Bland planned idle luxury
> A caviar of silent dignity
> Life in lovely allotted slots
> A token nice
> A nice constitution
> A layered mass of subtle props
> This could be heaven
> Mild mannered mews
> Well intentioned rules
> To dignify a daily code
> Lawful order standard views
> This could be heaven

This could be describing an ordered milieu – a territory bound and constructed and in which life and how to live has been forgotten. The title of the paper, taken from the Public Image Limited track of 1981, accords comfortably it seems with assertions in relation to territory, birdsong and the refrain as set out in *A Thousand Plateaus* by Gilles Delueze and Felix Guattari (Deleuze & Guattari, 2004: pp 342 386). And it is from here that the paper will proceed to develop the argument that music contains certain territorial characteristics that are immanent and part of wider discourse and a strategy of resistance.

In Deleuze and Guattari's terminology, bird calls are largely milieu components, fixed to specific functions, whereas birdsongs are territorial elements, sonic components of milieus that have been unfixed and reconfigured in a more autonomous fashion.

Sonic milieu components consist of sounds that perform a specific function – marking out the availability of food, warning of danger etc… They are the noises our world makes. The refrain on the other hand organises sounds together bringing order to chaos. It can be but is not always sonic. It consists of organised rhythms and patterns; daily routines and habits, the justification for which has long been forgotten. It marks out the territories that we recognise as our own or as belonging to others. It creates a sense of familiarity and belonging yet can also bring about alienation and a sense of detachment. It is our local neighbourhood, our political system and our state. Music according to Delueze and Guattari can detterritorialize this ordered terrain – disrupt the rhythm creating a momentary energy field that distorts the dominant order of things. Of course not all music does this. So it is up to us to develop arguments drawing on the theoretical concepts mentioned thus far to justify classifying a particular musical moment as disruptive and resistant.

Having underscored the title the intention is to develop a spatialised sense of music and its political significance. Based on the concept of the refrain, but also drawing on Heidegger, Foucault, Lefebvre, Winner.[2]

---

1   This paper was originally presented as part of a panel session entitled *Disruption, Resistance and Spatial Metaphor*.

2   Music can be seen as a statement that coheres with other statements to create a discourse (Foucault), the intention of which is to enframe (Heidegger) within a specific space. A space that has been

298

I want to talk about music/art as resistance strategy and as an act of legitimate rebellion that at its best serves to unsettle the territorial familiarity and 'bland planned idle luxury' of the dominant political order. Not just a distraction from more so-called serious issues.

> The revolutionary spirit, born of total negation, instinctively feels that besides refusal, there was also in art a tendency to acquiescence; that there was a risk of contemplation counterbalancing action and beauty counteracting injustice, and that in certain cases, beauty itself was a form of injustice from which there was no appeal. (Camus 1965: 223-4)

Within this context, music is often seen as something transcendent; a thing of beauty created almost without thinking. Something inexplicable that has the ability to affect beyond explanation. To counter this view it is suggested here that the choices we make (and specific choices have been made here to reflect a political position) can be and mostly are about image, movements, cliques, aspirations, within the context of certain places which in turn reflect the Heideggerian struggle between wanting to assert individuality as well as wanting to belong. Either way it is immanent rather than transcendent. Immanent not *to* something, but only to itself. It occurs in time and space but then slips its moorings (an analogy which I will return to) taking a line of flight as it ebbs in and out of time with the conditions of its existence.

Music then is embedded in both theory and practice, so much so that I include here listening to music and talking about it, and not just making it, as creative practice at the political level.

> …talk of creativity is not bought at the cost of further creativity on the part of the person who talks about it. (Diffey, 93)

This sentiment is echoed here.

> Rather than protecting music as a sublimely meaningless activity that has managed to escape social signification, I insist on treating it as a medium that participates in social formation by influencing the ways we perceive our feelings, our bodies, our desires, our very subjectivities – even if it does so surreptitiously, without most of us knowing how. It is too important a cultural force to be shrouded by mystified notions of romantic transcendence. (Susan McLary, Queering the Pitch 1994: 205-235)

And it is a significant cultural force as well as an economic, and a political one. Hansard recorded on the 13 March 2007 the Conservative MP Mr Edward Vaizey as having said:

> It is interesting that tonight in New York Malcom McLaren will promote the British music industry under the DTI's auspices. Our cultural institutions need a one stop shop, as demonstrated by the Demos pamphlet, whereby if they have a proposal and want to do something abroad they can walk through one door and have the expertise of all four departments available. (http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200607/cmhansrd/cm070313/halltext/70).

Music in this instance can be seen a milieu concept, enframed as standing reserve and ready for export. Exported as part of a broader refrain that serves to echo and promote Britain's cultural self confidence (aka imperialism) – referred to in the Demos pamphlet mentioned

---

created rather than being the consequence of other more dominant forces (Lefebvre). An example of this is the Harlem River Drive (Winner)

above as 'cultural diplomacy' (http://www.demos.co.uk/projects/culturaldiplomacy/overview).

So music can operate as commodified fixing agent or as an aspect of deterritorialisation. This brings us back to the title of the paper which emphasises the sterility of certain environments whilst also drawing our focus to other seemingly fertile ones.

Two examples of territorial musical movements are The Specials and Underground Resistance. They can be connected in terms of their efforts to resist dominant modes of thought and action within specific contexts characterised by the importance of motor production, economic decline, and racial tension in both cases. Coventry in the late 70's and Detroit in 1990's represent specific spatialised contexts out of which musical movements developed to disrupt and resist the dominant political order of the day. They are also both examples where music external to the territories in question entered the milieu, colliding with rising discontent and political unrest. In the case of Coventry it was Ska music escaping the milieu/territory of Kingston as a line of flight – slipping its moorings literally as ships brought immigrants to the UK bound to make contact with a disenfranchised and largely unemployed section of Coventry's community. In the case of the techno collective UR, it was the computerised music of Kraftwerk which slipped its moorings in Germany to connect with a similarly disenfranchised groups in Detroit. Both movements took (and in the case of UR continue to take) milieu components and organized them into refrains that served to create new territories and communities with particular political agendas. With music at their core both were able to disrupt the *dominant* refrain, serving to deterritorialize and challenge prevailing political wisdom.

To Conclude Music here is viewed as a media environment. What does this mean? Environments and territories can be actual spaces where activity takes place and also mindsets or rules of engagements. Hence a media environment will always have a discourse, or a soundtrack. Media environments as specific discursive formations give bounds to the world in the Heideggerian sense. The ordered formation of an environment might become either enshrined or unsettled through music. 'Music' as opposed to the 'refrain' can be seen as inherently political therefore – always deterritorializing; rooted in the traditions of poiesis rather than enframing, thereby bridging the awkward gap that exists between an artform that appears to rely so heavily on soul, impulse and feeling – transcendental concepts which incline it away from serious consideration in political terms, and its material significance.

References

Brett, Phillip ed. Queering the Pitch: The New Gay and Lesbian Musicology. 1994. Routledge. New York.

Camus, A. The Rebel. 1965. Penguin. London.

Crang, M. & Thrift, N. Thinking Space. 2000. Routledge. London

Deleuze G. & Guattari F. A thousand Plateaus. 2004. Continuum. London

Diffey, T.J.. "On Steering Clear of Creativity". Journal of Visual Art Practice 3.2 pp 91-102

Foucault, M. The Archaeology of Knowledge. 2004. Routledge. London.

Khalfa, J. ed. An Introduction to the Philosophy of Gilles Deleuze. 1999. Continuum. London.

Stivale, C. J. Gilles Deleuze: Key Concepts. 2005. Acumen. Chesham.

Internet

http://www.christianhubert.com/hypertext/plane_of_immanence.html
http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200607/cmhansrd/cm070313/halltext/70
http://www.demos.co.uk/projects/culturaldiplomacy/overview

Celebrity and the Para-Confession

Barry King

Centre for Performance Studies,

Auckland University of Technology,

barry.king@aut.ac.nz

In this paper I situate the dynamics of the Talk show in the historical context of the development of the religious ritual of confession and its vernacular development in the mass media.

In Foucault's genealogical account, the 19th century development of psychiatry fused the religious institution of the confession with a scientific discourse in order to create a confession regulated theory of human sexuality. Foucault identifies a number of ways in which this fusion was effected. Through development of new methods and techniques that postulate sexuality as the primary cause human behaviour. Foucault's work has cited in support of the pervasiveness of a therapeutic culture on Television. I argue instead that is necessary to recognize that there are demotic and celebrity forms of confession. The Celebrity talk show, unlike its more demotic variants, represents a controlled process of revelation which is designed to display the celebrity's persona from a position of authority in relation to the host (as an professional equal) and the audience (live and mediated) as an admiring mass.

The paper concludes with a brief analysis of the Tom Cruise- Oprah Winfrey May 2005 interview as an example of the pragmatics of the celebrity para-confession.

Celebrity and the Para-Confession

As some writers have argued, contemporary television culture is obsessed with confession as a source of dramatic production values. (White 1992). The pressure to confess, or, at least, engage in self-disclosure, is a centrepiece of talk Shows. Reality Television shows, irrespective of theme or setting, constructed around "peak" confessional experiences in which stressed out contestants own up to what they "really" feel. The staged confrontation between pretence and "authenticity" is reported to be the key attraction of such shows for many viewers which perform a hybrid logic of revelation situated somewhere between the public confession and the intimate scenarios of psycho-therapy. Moreover if we follow the example of Mimi White and include the Home Shopping Network as another variant of self-disclosure (in this case of consumer preferences rather than sins, though the latter may be potentially sinful) then it appears that we are dealing with a veritable cultural constant that transcends the vagaries of medium and form. The tendency to indulge in portmanteau formulations, such as White's Therapy/Confession/Television, argues for the pervasiveness of the phenomenon but arguably at the expense of a finer set of distinctions.

Michel Foucault is routinely cited in support of the view that we live in a confessing culture and that contemporary "man" is a confessing animal. Yet Foucault's account of the confessional process is more nuanced than those who source him for studying television. For a start, his true object is not the spread of confession, but rather of confession as one of the modes of governmentality, alongside medicine, psychiatry and eugenics. Certainly, confession is one of the methods through which individual subjects are formed, normalised and a closely regulated direction imposed on desire. But Foucault makes an historical distinction between different regimes of confession (his term is avowal). In one, pre-modern, regime – and here the term confession evokes some of the sense of a profession of belief – the individual attests to his or her membership of a collective which is perceived as the taproot of identity. In the other, the regime emerging during the modern period, the confessional process is restructured to intensively examine and discipline the interior urgings and experiences of the individual. The latter process is connected to sexual essentialism – that the self is defined at core by its history of sexual proclivities and practices. (Foucault 1979, pp.61-62). Moreover, running parallel to the processes identified by Foucault, is a shift in the predominance of differing modes of sensibility with sincerity being steadily replaced by authenticity as a public performance of selfhood. (Sennett 1979)

If Peter Brooks observes, the requirement of Confession imposed by Catholic Church in 13th Century plays a key role in the formation of the modern sense of selfhood with the individual responsible for his or her actions and the acts of speech that lay them bare, the mode of what is to be disclosed have differed over time as well the norms of truthfulness that are deployed. (Brooks 2000, p.5). Differences have been observed in the confessional process. Pastoral manuals of the Middle Ages, for example, link absolution with the minute and exact description of physical acts that the modern sensibility would find prurient. Conversely, the confessional practices of the modern period seem invasively centred less on the acts than on the disclosure of the thoughts and urgings that underlay it. For Foucault, of course, this shift ushers in new practices of normalisation and control in which an older ethic of self-cultivation or care of the self is discursively erased.

In sum, confession is an historically complex process and it may be necessary to recognise tropes of confession rather than blanket notions of " therapeutic culture". From a strictly religious point of view, a confessional process contains the following elements:

to be forgiven sinners have to feel sorrow at having lapsed.
they must consistently make some explicit confession of their sins and sinfulness.

they have assumed or had imposed on them some kind of penitential exercises.
they have participated in some ecclesiastical ritual performed with the aid of priests who pronounce the penitents absolved from sin or reconciled with the communion of believers. (Tentler 1997, p.3)

Regarding Television "confessional" practices, they cannot be said, even on a cursory glance, to represent a common style of penance. Consider the differences in the penitent styles of say Oprah and Jerry Springer. At the same time, given the deep historical influence of the Catholic church, some differences in the perception and representation of the moral tissue of the self are just as likely to be active today as historical memories or precipitates that furnish a stock of folk understandings upon which Television representations of the confessional process draw. The selective mobilisation of such memories and clichés of abasement, revelation and, Jerry Springer again, defiant transgression produce a variety of confessional modes. (Gamson 1998). Moreover as a matter of methodological principle, one would expect that there are not only different modes and expectations surrounding the act of self-disclosure but also important differences in the way different contestants are managed through the process of self-disclosure according to their social position and status. There is a clear status hierarchy and power dimension operating behind the rituals of talk and self-disclosure. Ordinary people only get to speak on television by being categorised by prevailing stereotypes of the ordinary e.g. trailer park trash, misfit etc. Celebrities are assumed to be individuals marked out by their success in the media. It is a cliché of media discourse that ordinary people in order to appear as significant agents have to do extraordinary or outlandish. (Couldry, pp. 47-48) Having said that, a workable hypothesis is that celebrities today, in search of a common connection, despite amassing of extremes of wealth, are increasingly constructing ordinary behaviour (having children, falling in and out of love, recovering from addictive behaviour) as extra-ordinary. (King 2003)

Modes of Confession

In order to situate contemporary television rituals of disclosure, it is useful to consider, albeit schematically, the genealogy of confession. As it has evolved, confession has been differentiated around a number of modes:

Canonical confession – pre-Lateran IV to the representatives of the church and the community. Involving the induction of the confessing sinner into the social status of a penitent (a third class of Christians alongside the catechumens and faithful) – visibly manifested in wearing of sack-cloth and ashes, shaven heads (tonsure) etc. the undertaking of arduous penitential and publicly staged humiliations. The giving of absolution, or laying on of hands, usually occurring at the point death. In this mode of *exomologesis* , the primary function of the confession is the exercise of discipline and social control over the individual and the cure of the guilt conscience as a matter of salvation. (Tentler, p.13).

Private Auricular Confession

Following Lateran IV Council in 1215, the Church decreed that all members of the faith must confess at least once a year, thus removing the uncertainties and, possibly, the urge to fabricate contrition *in extremis*. The, at least, yearly confession was a private process before a priest or, in other words, an organisationally designated confessor, empowered to grant absolution. But such a shift from public to private also introduced the possibility of a more direct engagement with God since the priest was merely the enactor of the forgiveness that God had granted to the truly contrite. (Brooks, p. 92, Tentler, pp. 22-23, Bossy, pp. 21-38)

Pietistic confession –a private dialogue directly to an omnipresent God without benefit of the priest as interlocutor and governed by a reflexive process of self-examination, circulating

between a recording of inner thoughts and feelings (often in the form of diary), and the use of the Holy text as a spiritual guide. (Mucke, p. 13- 15)

Martin Luther, the major proponent of pietism, held that true penance should last for a life time, not just the space of a confession. Moreover, the human condition is inherently sinful so a complete confession is neither necessary but, more importantly, possible. True contrition is manifested in a changed heart, spirit and disposition and life conduct that ensures as far as possible that one sins no more.(Tentler p352 -353)

Luther was one of the first individuals in the West to conceive of the individual in a direct relationship with God with any necessary interposition from earthly (priestly) institutions. This entailed restricting notions of human freedom and authenticity to purely inner experiences and their expression, outside the roles and institutions of society. This conception, most deeply rooted in German pietism, later transpired into a secular Romanticism, a movement that downgraded sincerity – the matching of the self to social conventions- in favour of authenticity – the assertion of the self against the perceived constraints of social conventions. The romantic conception of the self that emerged – as a submerged "luminosity" revealed in peak experiences – was connected to the rise of the confessional autobiography as a literary genre. This genre was codified by Rousseau in his *Confessions* where the demand for complete transparency – the abolition of all veils between the auto-biographer and reader is coupled with the flight from society as recurrent motif. (Brooks, p.160.) This grammar of the romantic self is quite at odds with the performative model of the self, as developed by Goffman, as stream of situationally-determined performances in which pretences are deployed so to manage the on-going contingencies of role play. (Brown, p.34)

Vernacular Confessions

Alongside the religious traditions of confession, and in part set against them, are the age old vernacular processes of gossip which have been selectively appropriated by the development of the mass media. In particular, confessional discourse as a public media commodity would seem to date from the early twentieth century in the US through Bennar Mcfadden's publication, *True Story Magazine*. Read primarily by working class women and ostensibly written by them in a first person confessional mode, *True Story Magazine* established as a media variant of confession (getting it off your chest) as therapeutic process without a therapist/ confessor or a concretely defined confessant. Such stories could operate in a didactic mode staging the media equivalent of a public shaming as a kind of penance or alternatively allow for the exemplar setting exploration of common dilemmas – infidelity, unplanned pregnancy, abortion, weight problems etc- by a process which might be better termed testimony. There are obvious templates worked out in True Story Magazine that become the specialisation of contemporary talk Shows from Oprah or Dr Phil through to Jerry Springer. (Mandziuk 2001)

Celebrity Confessions

The Celebrity confession is essentially an extension of the interview. The interview is a recent invention – for example, the Oxford English Dictionary has no recorded usage of the transitive verb to interview before 1869. The term interview derives from the French "s'entrevoir" meant a face to face meeting with a person for a private conversation, an event of mutual seeing. In such a dialogical setting, in a way that is reminiscence of Habermas' conception of the Ideal Speech Situation, the participants are nominally equal regardless of the external differences in status and power and they are operating in private. The standardisation of the journalistic interview disrupts this exchange by introducing a third syntactical position: the reader or the audience to whom the interview is communicated. It makes public what once was private and thereby transforms the relationship between the

direct participants by rendering what is occurring as overseen. In time, the term interview operates to blur the distinction between the physical event and its retrospective transcription and, it is necessary to add, its prospective scripting. In Foucauldian terms, the interview is an exercise of disciplinary power which works by withholding the privilege of social visibility or conversely by imposing it, all the while striving to efface, its own discursive procedures.

Moreover, if celebrity interviews are conceptualised as a hermeneutic practice by which the journalist and the reader/audience might discover the "nature" of a famous individual this was always open to contestation by the person being interviewed or by the interviewer seeking to use the interview to advertise his or her opinions or judgements on the interviewee. The rise of indirect speech methods of reportage in celebrity journalism is but an expression of the journalist's control over the interview process – occasioned, admittedly, by the fact that the journalist and celebrity may not have a significant (or indeed any) face to face encounter.

Types of Television Talk Shows

Televised interviews or talk shows are (potentially if not essentially) a struggle around who controls the definition of the situation – the interviewer and interviewee – carried out in front of an actually and remotely present audience of on-lookers. Depending on the social class or ethnic status of the subjects to be interviewed, the process of control over the on-going strip of question and answer is more or less centred.

Daytime talk shows with a more demotic framing and audience have been observed to be – "more in line with the Protestant activity of testimony or witnessing before the group, or even the more mysterious activity, speaking in tongues.' (Masciarotte, pp. 84-85, 88, 91) In such shows, the framing of the spectacle of talk is not focussed on exposing or revealing the deep interiority of the individual, his or her unique intimate experience or intimate life so much as a collective mode of being. Rather the panellists, the on-show audience, the host and guests talk in order to coalesce around a common story or narrative of being. Such a coalition being formed as much by affirmation as the use of forms of verbal (and in some cases, actual physical) sanction.

The variability on daytime shows depends more on the operative concept of appropriate behaviour than on their organisation which entails elements of the "bitch session" cell group, committed to consciousness expansion. Hence the dramatic value given to respect for personal testimony, the display of participant opinions around a key topic, frank cross examination and strong moral criticism, the need for "starting to stop" negative practices and bad behaviours and the recognition of self-complicity in the enactment or endurance of bad or harmful behaviour. These framings offer a virtual summation of the format of the Daytime Show from the more urbane – Oprah, Dr Phil, Vanessa – through to the more carnivalesque – Geraldo, Morton Downy, Jerry Springer – that play on the edge of an epic dislocation in categories and knowledge and publicly appropriate behaviour.

Celebrity shows – Letterman, Parkinson, Tonight with Jay Leno and the celebrity interview specials of Oprah – present a smoother, less striated, spectacle.

In such upscale events the well known strategies for the felicitous management of intimacy at a distance are in play. Features such as the managing of the relationship between front and back stage, the scripting in advance of questions, the surrogate role of the studio audience in tutoring home audience reactions and the infolding, circulating logic of visual and oral modes of address – ensure that the television celebrity interview is largely a process of persona affirmation or, in the case of Hugh Grant style misdemeanours, of redemption. (Thompson 1995) For the audience, in studio or at home, and, indeed, the interviewer – even Oprah has problems as we shall see – the fantasy of power over the celebrity rarely accomplished because the celebrity is less an object of surveillance than a deflective spectacle. The well recognised phenomenon observed at the very origins of the celebrity

interview is compounded by the regimes of visualisation found on television: the more knowable or ordinary the celebrity became as a datum of experience (through detailing his or her home, tastes etc.) the more mysterious his creativity activities seemed as a possible experience. (Salmon, loc. cit)

In Daytime, demotic, talk shows, the accent is very much on the moral economy of behaviour and the meting out of approval for good contestants and the mortification of the bad. One of the key motives for risking the loss of face implicit in such a setting is to seek vindication – though other motives such as fleeting flame, self-promotion have been identified. (Priest 1995)

In Celebrity talk shows, by contrast, the process of solicitation of intimate facts or confession, is not about revelation so much as the control of revelation, a variously managed and fabricated performance that centres on self (or product) promotion and image repair and damage control. A fabricated and concerted performance or a pseudo-event the celebrity interview is a para-social variant of the confessional process or, for short, a para-confession.

Such a confessional process is designed to be a demonstration of competence, about survival, the rebuilding of a career or a comeback. The putative private life of the celebrity serves as source of affirmation of commonality – birth, marriages, separations and death experiences type locutions – or as a source of emotional and relational challenges to the pursuit of a professional career which the audience may have encountered in the smaller compass of their lives. It is not the redemption of the private self of the celebrity that is at issue in such a setting but the redemption of a prestigious and marketable self image – a persona.

To sum all this up, I would argue that both celebrity and demotic talk shows selectively draw upon the confessional tradition and that the cultural heritage of confessional practices in the West have subtend a discursive space in which different notions of the location of the self and different notions of what is to be affirmed or revealed in a confessional setting operate. From the point of view of what the individual does in making some sort of confession, this can be seen as positioning his or herself in a discursive space. Such a space, represented schematically, in Table One below, indicates the available trajectories for constructing a self-image that is at some level held to be real. The reality of the self is actually a matter of choosing a moral ground through which private experience is anchored within some larger frame of reference. Such a frame of reference, as a romantic or performative positioning of the self calls upon a collective or individualist framework of identity and relates these in turn to the touchstone values of sincerity or authenticity. Reduced to pragmatics, the issue for the individual entering the confessional realm of the media is to secure the best impression of the self according to the value space in which he or she is located.

Table 1.	Individual	Collective	Touchstone Value
Romantic	The Celebrity self as a unique revelation of private experience.	The self as the expression of universal passions and feelings.	Authenticity
Performative	The Star as a professional producer of a range of fictional characters	The Vernacular self as a "natural' expression as a social type or moral character.	Sincerity

Breaking the Frame

In conclusion I want to focus briefly on Tom Cruise's appearance on Oprah in May 2005. His behaviour on this show occasioned a lot of adverse comment which was circulated on the Internet and, if not precipitated, at least offered a post-hoc rationalisation of the decision by Paramount not to renew his production deal. (Waxman 2005) Cruise bounced back economically by assuming the helm of United Artists, but the aura of weirdness, already associated with his involvement with The Church of Scientology, has been further solidified. Looking at the interview itself, a few general points can be made. As a celebrity interview this is an ugly or maladroit performance that disturbs the image of control associated with:

- Being an actor, an emotional technician. Exhibits a loss of contact with the values of control, articulacy and performance skills.
- Being a star as an assured and centred persona known to value control.
- Breaks with existing stereotypes about men controlling the expression of emotions to the extent that he is literally overwhelmed – Oprah – "he's gone". Love's Fool.
- Breaks with the normalised pragmatics of an Oprah interview – invading Oprah's space and visibly usurping the interview process as a an orderly conversation – Cruise mostly says nothing and substitutes Springer like unruly behaviour as a form of intense emotional expression.
- Breaks with back stage/front rules by going backstage to bring Katie Holmes on stage.
- Interferes with central focus on a two-way dialogue – in fact stops dialogue for most of the interview.
- Draws attention away from the pragmatic purpose of the interview to promote the up-coming release of Spielberg's *War of the Worlds* and centres on the revelation of the inner passions of the self.
- Reveals an inner self that a professional actor is supposed to be able to control and those shows himself to be mastered by emotions so powerful that can be only inarticulately signalled through body language rather than discursively shared.
- Inverts the "natural" relationship of the subordination of women to men. He is an older man in his forties, a superstar with considerable institutional prestige and power in

Hollywood and she is a starlet. He is overpowered by a 27 year old "virgin". Conversely, as an aging star, Cruise is made younger by winning a virgin bride.

- While rendering Katie Holmes as the true subject of the interview, Cruise's emotional reactions persist in to underscore that there is a discursive space of cynosure in which he should be fully present and is yet verbally "absent".

Given these broad observations of the interview itself, it is useful to note some factors of context. These are more a matter of rumour and innuendo than of established fact but factuality is not really an issue. Such things are "said" about Cruise and retain an enunciative force even if only in need of denial. Moreover, given the context of an interview that is supposed to reveal the "private life" of the star such factors of attribution are the very substance that a confessional process might hope to reveal. It is arguable that such background factors are the real motives behind Cruise's performance. These then are the factors that the Cruise's performance, probably unconsciously, is designed to neutralise or deny:

- Persistent rumours, aggressively litigated against, that Cruise is gay or bi-sexual. The declaration of love for Kathy is therefore an affirmation of an active and kinetic heterosexuality. Subsequent to the interview, but before the marriage which was declared to be a self-saving virgin bride, Holmes' pregnancy cancelled out rumours of impotence and sterility that had surrounded his previous marriages.
- The denial of the calculative, unfeeling robot image that is strongly linked to popular conceptions of Scientology as mind control. Oprah, in fact during the interview, does suggest that Cruise is calculatedly engaged in body language behaviour, such as falling to his knees, to gain time for formulating answers to her questions about his being in love. If so his delaying tactics pass into the realm of the carnivalesque and become marked features in their own right that recall a more demotic talk show setting.
- His behaviour works against his standing as a skilled performer in control of his emotions in the service of character – in this situation, of course, the character to be reproduced is the Tom Cruise persona of a hard-working actor committed to "deep" acting in character. It is doubtful that this professional self-image would attract much consent – Cruise's acting style is generally thought to be exterior and behaviouristic. Ironically what is seen on the Oprah interview may also work against Scientology as a behavioural technique. If Cruise is a product of the higher Theta levels of training he is remarkably out of control. Perhaps, then, one would be entitled to conclude that Scientology as a technology for clearing emotional blocs is about producing a low self-monitoring individual that is inflexibly focussed on the self rather than on the context or the experiences of others. Given that Synder in his original paper on self-monitoring found that actors are likely to be high self-monitors – as a requirement of profession – doubts surface about Cruise's competence as a professional. (Synder)

Conclusion

As Table One indicates the options for representing the self are already keyed into a matrix of relationships that define what the core reality is – the individual or the collective – what the moral basis of behaviour might be – as a romantic expression of the self or as the performance of one's social position and role. The key values of sincerity and authenticity are dramatised by the actual vector representations of the self take through the matrix and to what degree the known facts (and they are to some extent fabricated) about the actual life course of the individual is taken into account. In demotic talk shows, contestants have little say over how they are placed – as types rather than individuals – and lack the appropriate

skills (or for that matter the privilege of isolation from the criticism of others) to control what is revealed about them. The performance of a "positive' self image is therefore largely determined by others. In Celebrity talk shows, the conditions for a positive performance are present and offer two routes of reference as an individual: the star as a professional performer and the celebrity as a unique individual. There are always the possibility of contingent threats from the reference realm of the collective and from collective scepticism about the glamour and grandeur of the celebrity or his or her professional competence.

Taking Cruise as my example, his normal mode of operation is to position himself as a professional actor, known for working hard and giving his "all" to various roles. His actual ability as an actor is subject to question but such questions are easier to address than matters of personal life. Consequently, Cruise is known as a control freak who will only talk about matters related to his activities as an actor/producer. For a number of reasons – some of which I have touched upon above, this defensive sequestration is abandoned by the time of the Oprah interview. One may speculate on why this is so (as did many in on-line chat rooms) but the fact remains whether driven by drugs, infatuation, declining credibility as an ageing star, alien invasion, lack of a firm guiding hand following the replacement of his public relations manager by a more compliant relative or any other of a range of more or less plausible theories, that Cruise choose to reground his persona. In doing this his options are limited: as the kind of star he is, he lacks plausibility as a character actor. Given his public declarations as a Scientologist he can scarcely claim commonality with the general public – Scientology is an elite discourse that, as Brook Shields discovered, condemns remedies to widely experienced problems as weaknesses. As star, Cruise cannot claim that he is just an "average Joe" even though this is often a type he sometimes portrays as in *War of the Worlds*. This is simply too déclassé an option. The only available quadrant available to him is to be a figure of the universal, to reach for the mantle of the passionate young lover. It is not that he is too old to be Romeo, though certainly some have waspishly said that, but rather that as Tom Cruise he will bring to this new role an extraordinary energy level and verve so what emerges is hyper-real level of concretization. At the same time, he is still committed to the policy of not talking about his private life – hence the giving up on words and hence the tortuous demands on gross bodily behaviour as a signifier. Whereof he would speak, he must be silent.

References

Brooks, P., Troubling Confessions, Speaking Guilt in Law and Literature, University of Chicago Press 2000.

Bossy, J., The Social History of Confession in Age of Reformation, Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5, Series 25 (1975) 21-38.

Brown, R.H., Society as Text: essays on Rhetoric, Reason and Reality, University of Chicago Press,1987, Chapter Two, Personal Identity and Political economy: Western Grammars of the Self in Historical Perspective, pp28-63.

Couldry, N., Media rituals: a critical approach, Routledge, 2003.

Foucault, M., The History Of Sexuality Volume 1. An introduction, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1979.

Gamson, J., Freaks Talk Back: Tabloid Talk shows and Sexual non-conformity, University if Chicago Press, Chicago, 1998.

King, B., The Parametrics of Contemporary Stardom, in M.Barker and T. Austin, Contemporary Hollywood Stardom, Arnold, 2003.

Mandziuk, R, Confessional Discourse and Modern Desires, Power and Please (sic) in True Story Magazine, Critical Studies in Media Communication, Vol 18, 2, June 2001, pp174-193.

Masciarotte, G., C'mon Girl: Oprah Winfrey and the discourse of feminine talk, Genders, 11, 81-110, Fall 1991.

von Mucke, D., Impartiality and Authenticity in Confessional Discourse, New German Critique, 79, Winter 200, pp5-35.

Priest, P., Public Intimacies: Talk Show Participants and Tell All TV, Creskill, New Jersey, Hampton Press 1995.

Sennett, R., The Fall of Public Man, Vintage Books, New York, 1978.

Shattuc, J., The Talking Cure: TV Talk shows and women, Routledge, London, 1997.

Tentler, T. N., Sin and Confession on the Eve of the Reformation, Princeton University Press, 1977.

Thompson, J., The Media and Modernity, Stanford University Press, Stanford , 1995 81-118.

White, M., Tele-Advising: The Therapeutic Discourse in American Television, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, 1992.

Waxman, S., How Personal is too personal for a Star like Tom Cruise, New York Times accessed at nytimes.com on 2nd June, 2005.

Privacy vs. Profiling on the Internet

Csaba Kiraly

Department of Information and Communication Technologies,

University of Trento

kiraly@dit.unitn.it

It is just getting common knowledge that private data entered on web pages is not safe at all. What is less known is that on the Internet, even if using encryption, simply by communicating, the communication pattern (services we connect to, amount and timing of communication) reveals a lot about ourselves. Attackers, or even the Internet Service Provider itself can use Statistical Traffic Analysis techniques to gather information, to profile users for marketing or for other (even malicious) reasons.

To face this threat, privacy preserving technologies have been developed since the early eighties, providing anonymous communications and masquerading traffic patterns.

Are the privacy enhancing technologies ready to be used by the masses?

Is it legal to use such technologies in a world where strong encryption was banned for private use even some years ago? Where retention of communication data (for several years) is gaining ground in legislation?

Are we becoming safer or more of a suspect by using such technologies?

Problems of Privacy and Profiling

In the summer of 2006 AOL (America Online), one of the largest Internet Service Providers in the United States, was making their database of search query logs available to researchers. The database contained about 19 million Internet search queries of their 658.000 users, made during a period of three months.

Of course it was well known to AOL that, in order to protect the privacy of their users, such data should be sanitized before release, so they have anonymized it replacing user identifiers with random numbers. Unfortunately, they have made two errors that lead to a case picked up by US media, and we can say, to a privacy scandal. First, instead of just sending the data to the researchers, it was released to the Internet[1]. This would of course not have been a problem in case the data have been perfectly (if such thing exists) sanitized. Second, they have only replaced the user IDs, but the search queries were still organized per user with their entire text. The example below shows some queries of a user[2].

User ID	Keywords	Rank	Date
4417749	mature living	1	2006-05-28 14:55:19
4417749	apartments 28806 area	10	2006-05-28 14:53:52
4417749	apartments 28806 area	9	2006-05-28 14:53:52
4417749	apartments in west asheville north carolina		2006-05-28 14:52:43
4417749	apartments in asheville north carolina		2006-05-28 14:52:02
4417749	yerba mate		2006-05-28 12:08:32
4417749	tea for good health	4	2006-05-28 12:06:55
4417749	immune	2	2006-05-28 12:02:59
4417749	sinus infection	2	2006-05-28 11:54:22
4417749	termites	2	2006-05-28 11:53:05

It was rather easy even for journalists (and not professionals specialized in such data collection) to find the real identity of people based on their queries, which sometimes even contained their real names or their home address.[3]

Once a person is identified, how much the totality of these queries tells about him? Well, it could be information like one's travel plans, including options considered. But it can also be related to one's friends, interests, heath problems, etc.

The incident of releasing this data was not in itself harmful. We could even say that a search query, typed in, could evidently leave a trace, and people, especially after a number of related media scandals could be aware of this. However it was pointing out how enormous is the amount of data logged day-by-day, and how easily it can get into the wrong hands even without intentional disclosure.

What is less known is that communication leaves other kinds of traces as well, even if the communication itself was encrypted. The most obvious one of these traces is the address of

---

1   See e.g. *Chronicle of AOL Search Query Log Release Incident*
    available at http://sifaka.cs.uiuc.edu/xshen/aol_querylog.html (September 8, 2007)
2   The example is taken from a copy of the original database, still available at many places, e.g. from
    http://data.aolsearchlogs.com/search/Index.cgi
3   See the article of *the New York Times: A Face Is Exposed for AOL Searcher No. 4417749*
    available at http://www.eff.org/Privacy/AOL/exhibit_d.pdf

the two communicating parties, which might then be used for example to find out who made a specific, anti-regime description on Wikipedia[4]. It could also be used the other way around, starting from the user, and looking at the list of services he was accessing on the Internet, which nowadays, when on-line shopping took off, can reveal enormous amounts of information about the person.

It also starts to get a common practice of Internet Service Providers (ISP) to try to block traffic related to some kinds of user activities, typically peer-to-peer traffic (used for sharing files, which might violate copyrights). To achieve this blocking, traffic is analyzed and grouped into classes. This classification, however, can also be used for profiling users and their activities. We might ask why an ISP (who has the only role to provide communications services) should know how much and when we read our mail, we chat or call our friend, whether we like to share files and who we are sharing it with, etc.

Recent works have also shown that by looking at the traffic pattern (the order, size and timing of IP packets sent by/to the user's computer), even more can be done. It has been proved[5] that the traffic pattern could reveal the website visited even if the communication is encrypted and the end-point is anonymized. Web pages can be characterized by a traffic pattern fingerprint, extracted by statistical methods from a number of traffic patterns captured during the download of that specific page. Later, looking at a traffic pattern generated by a user, it is possible to determine whether the contacted web site was e.g. Amazon, or CNN. It is easy to imagine how the same technology can be used to identify other sites, where the sole interest of the user is very sensitive and personal information. It can also be envisioned (even if not yet proved) that the same method can be used to identify actions taken on a specific site, e.g. whether someone was just looking around in a web-shop or something was bought.

Protection by Legislation or by Technical Means?

There is an ongoing debate about whether (and to what extent) traces of personal communications should be collected for reasons of public safety, a goal sometimes privileged over privacy. Besides its use in surveillance, such personal data also provably holds an enormous business value in the age of personalized marketing.

In some countries, laws are created to protect privacy and limit the cases where data could be logged and the time it could be kept. In others, very similar laws are prepared to oblige the collection of personal data for at least a number of years in order to perfect surveillance. European countries created legislation (parts of it harmonized throughout the EU) that treats privacy as a fundamental personal right. This right is in clear contrast with public and business interest, which can take precedence in some well defined, but (more of less clearly) bounded cases. The US adapts a model where personal data is seen more as property of the person, with the consequence of the data having a recognized value and being tradable.[6]

In such an environment, one might ask what a person can do in order to preserve his own privacy on the Internet. Besides expressing preferences through effecting legislation changes (definitely not an easy task), or trying to force existing personal information rights (not easy

---

4   Actually, the technique was already used to find "anonymous" Wikipedia edits that where made from IP addresses belonging to "interesting" organizations, such as governmental agencies, churches or multinational companies. See the article of the Wired magazine: *See Who's Editing Wikipedia - Diebold, the CIA, a Campaign* , available at http://www.wired.com/politics/onlinerights/news/2007/08/wiki_tracker, or the database itself at http://wikiscanner.virgil.gr/

5   See M. Liberatore, B. N. Levine, "*Inferring the Source of Encrypted HTTP Connections*", CCS2006, October 2006;
     G. D. Bissias, M. Liberatore, D. Jensen, B. N. Levine, "*Privacy Vulnerabilities in Encrypted HTTP Streams*", PET 2005, Cavtat, Croatia, May 30-June 1, 2005

6   For an overview of differences, see Priscilla M. Regan, *Safe harbours or free frontiers? Privacy and Transborder Data* Flow, Journal of Social Issues, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.

as well), one could try to protect personal information himself. Gary T. Marx presents "eleven behaviorial techniques of neutralization intended to subvert the collection of personal information"[7]. The technical means available to protect privacy on the Internet mostly fall in the *blocking/masking moves* categories according to Marx's classification.

Internet related Privacy Enhancing Technologies have been researched and developed since the early eighties and are available today for use: some only in research laboratories, while others are on the market as free or pay products. They sanitize information at different levels, providing anonymity, pseudonymity, or hiding the content and context of the communication. An interesting aspect of some of these technologies, namely, anonymous routing technologies, is that successful implementations rely on the communities running and using them. In these systems, anonymity exists only to the extent of being a non identified one of all the users.

Is There a Need for Privacy Protecting Technologies?

How much people are aware of potential privacy issues on the Internet? Whether they care at all? Are they more concerned about governmental or commercial organizations? How much would they sacrifice (whether we are speaking of money, services, quality of services, or a sensation of living in a monitored and therefore secure environment) in order to have their privacy? Whether they know about, use, or would use technologies aimed at preserving privacy? Are we becoming safer or more of a suspect by using such technologies?

As far as awareness is concerned, what can clearly be seen is some kind of media awareness in the United States. The AOL search query release was growing into a scandal quickly, with posts from many of the major newspapers and magazines, including The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, CBS News, to name just a few. This is reinforced by a law which obliges organizations to notify their users in case of a loss of personal data. Surprisingly, in Europe it seems hard to find similar examples. Whether it is due to the lack of cases, to the lack of a similar law or simply to the lack of interest, is not clear.

As an indicator of the need for privacy protection, we might also look at the price of some of the products offering (at least in their claims) privacy of communications. It is interesting to see how these products appeared in the last five years, as targeted marketing and spam messages gain ground. Their price now is at the level of 10-20 euros per year, not something how one would value an important fundamental right. Does this mean that privacy protection is not that important? I wouldn't say, rather, we should ask the question which other fundamental rights are we paying for this directly: we are not used to pay for them directly, as they are taken for granted.

Another indicating factor is download and usage statistics of products enhancing privacy. While most of the products were developed for research purposes or are cumbersome to install, some try to go further. One of these notable exceptions is the Freedom Network, which was building up and selling a service of anonymous communications starting from 1998. It was ceasing operation in 2001 due to the un-sustainability of their business model; as one of the co-founders stated,[8] "Initially we got incredible response for the premium services, but we knew we were dealing with early adopters. But soon we saw the transfer into the mass market just didn't carry over. The subscription rates really plunged."

On the other hand, Tor, a free anonymizing service, is growing slowly. The difficulty of Tor is that it can only work if some of the users take on the role of providing so called exit

---

7   See Marx, Gary T., *A tack in the shoe: neutralizing and resisting the new surveillance*, Journal of Social
     Issues, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.
8   See the related article of The Register: *Zero-Knowledge bags anonymity service*,
     available at http://www.theregister.co.uk/2001/10/05/zeroknowledge_bags_anonymity_service/

nodes: computers that are easy to identify and where seemingly all the anonym traffic is coming from. Owners of these nodes frequently receive queries or requests to shut down their operation from governmental entities, even in democratic countries such as Germany or the United States. However, it seems that the argument of providing services to citizens of countries where contents available on the Internet would otherwise be censored, is strong enough to let them continue their operation.

Surveying Privacy Protection on the Internet

Turow and Henessy address some of the previously posed questions in their recent survey "from a perspective of environmental risk and the public's trust of institutions".[9] They point out that, just as with environmental risks, the specialty of privacy related dangers is that "they are not visible to the general population". The individual's opinion about privacy issues is formed based on the "belief in their existence", which is determined mainly by reports of dueling experts and by media attention, contrasted with their own (and usually missing) experiences. The telephone interview survey conducted in the US shows interesting results, but it does not address differences that are deeply founded in cultural and historical differences.

Regan[10] presents another telephone interview based survey concentrating on consumer marketing, privacy legislation and trust in institutions of the private sphere. The survey, commissioned by IBM, provides an international comparison between the United States, Germany, and the United Kingdom. It shows that about 80% of the respondents "believe that they have lost control over both how information is collected and how it is used by companies". High level of pessimism is shown regarding the possibility of protecting privacy in the computer age as well. The survey also demonstrates some differences at national level, however, I think there are much more differences in attitudes and legislations that need further study.

Without evidence, intuition says that a comparative study carried out in Europe and the United States would reveal fundamental differences in the tradeoffs people accept when sharing their private data or when they expose themselves to surveillance. Confronting situation in the UK (where CCTV based surveillance is on one side largely accepted, on the other side it has already grounded privacy related debates) to other European countries could yield interesting results as well.

Another interesting cultural difference could be studied by confronting European post-communist countries with post-western societies. As Majtenyi writes[11], contrary to western constitutions, "personal data is guaranteed almost without exception by the constitutions of post-communist countries". In these countries, protection of personal data "conveyed the barely concealed political message that is was possible, indeed necessary, for the individual to counter the omnipotent state".

There are also fundamental differences in how the use of PET technologies is viewed. While Canada is on the forefront of research in PET technologies and government representatives actively participate in related scientific conferences, the German government seeks ways to forbid the use of some of these technologies.

The US has a long standing history of restricting the use of security technologies. After the Second World War, US government export policy has restricted the strength of the cryptographic algorithms available to the private sphere as well as for export, for national security considerations. Limitations prevailed till the late nineties, and it was assumed (although not

9   See Turrow Joseph and Hennessy Michael, *Internet privacy and institutional trust: insights from a national survey*, New media and Society, vol. 9, n. 900, 2007.
10 See Regan Priscilla M, *Safe harbours or free frontiers? Privacy and Transborder Data Flow*, Journal of Social Issues, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.
11 Majtenyj Laszlo, *Ensuring data protection in East-ecentral Europe,* Social Research, vol. 69, n.1, 2002.

proved) that encryption allowed for the private sphere was limited at a level which could be deciphered using technologies available to US governmental agencies, but not to commercial organizations, neither to foreign countries. However, these limitations proved to be unsustainable as decrypting capability of computers started to increase with exponential speed, leaving the information in this "ideal" state of being protected from some but decryptable to others only for a short period. Actually, the limitations put the private sphere in risk as encrypted information was easy to decrypt by anyone after some years.

Conclusions

Recent development of the Internet and data processing technologies present the risk of a new level of globalized user profiling, as well as new ways of collaborations in order to protect one's privacy. Privacy Enhancing Technologies are developed to change the way how the Internet reveals personal information, but their acceptance is largely different from country to country.

As Regan[12] shows in her analysis, privacy policy harmonization attempts of the last 30 years were moving slowly due to such cultural differences. Without understanding these differences, harmonization efforts of data protection legislation remain cumbersome.

Analysis of these differences is largely needed, however, before starting work on such surveys, let me remind the reader to the effect public opinion surveys could have in political policy making.[13]

References

Al-Mutadi, Jalal, Karpadia Apu, Mickunas M. Tennis, Naldurg Prasad, *Socializing in the mist: privacy in digital communities*, Paper delivered at the Ubiquitous Computers Conference 2002.

Bissias, G. D., Liberatore, M., Jensen, D., Levine, B. N., *Privacy Vulnerabilities in Encrypted HTTP Streams*, PET 2005, Cavtat, Croatia, May 30-June 1, 2005.

Gandy Oscar, H,. "Public opinion survey and the formation of privacy policy", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.

Kostakos Vassillis and Little Linda, "The social implications of emerging technologies: editorial", *Interacting with computers*, vol. 17, 2005.

Liberatore, M., B. N. Levine, *Inferring the Source of Encrypted HTTP Connections*, CCS2006, October 2006

Lyon David, "Everyday Surveillance: personal data and social classifications", *Information, communication and society*, vol.5, n.2, 2002.

Majtenyj Laszlo, "Ensuring data protection in East-ecentral Europe", *Social Research*, vol. 69, n.1, 2002.

Marx, Gary T., "A tack in the shoe: neutralizing and resisting the new surveillance", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.

Marx, Gary T., "Murky conceptual waters: the public and the private", *Ethics and Information technology*, vol.3, 2001.

Regan Priscilla M., "Safe harbours or free frontiers? Privacy and Transborder Data Flow", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.

Turrow Joseph and Hennessy Michael, "Internet privacy and institutional trust: insights from a national survey", *New media and Society*, vol. 9, n. 900, 2007.

---

12   See Regan Priscilla M, *Safe harbours or free frontiers? Privacy and Transborder Data Flow*, Journal of Social Issues, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.

13   See a detailed analysis regarding privacy policy in Gandy Oscar, H,. *Public opinion survey and the formation of privacy policy*, Journal of Social Issues, vol. 59, n.2, 2003.

Embodied Voice and Embodied Differences in Call Centre Work[1]

Tuija Koivunen

Department of Women's Studies, University of Tampere, Finland

tuija.koivunen@uta.fi

The aim of the paper is to examine the ways in which the employees' body and especially embodied use of voice is utilised as a resource in interactive service work in call centres. The focus of the analysis, based on interviews with call centre employees and team leaders, is on employees' embodied experiences at work. Simultaneously, the focus of analysis is on the cultural meanings given to bodies, which are intertwined with the expressed experiences. The everyday work in call centres is based on speaking on the phone and therefore the employees' bodily appearance is concentrated on their voice. The embodied use of voice is the employees' central resource and occupational skill and, furthermore, the embodied use of voice is included in the service work quite indistinguishably. From the employers' point of view, various kinds of embodied voices are needed to represent the different services and products and in this respect the employees' age and gender are intertwined with the distribution of work tasks.

---

1   An earlier, larger version of this paper was published in Finnish in the journal Työelämän tutkimus [Working Life Research] (2006).

Introduction

Bodily aspects and the embodiment of work are usually associated with unskilled, often physical work but seldom with white-collar jobs. Consequently, it has been suggested that when the interaction between the customer and employee is based on modern systems of communication such as the telephone, e-mails and text messages, even a hint of the body disappears (Morgan et al. 2005, 4). However, my starting point is that any work and occupation contain embodied expectations and require the employees' embodied labour. Moreover, all employees are embodied in some way. In the case of a call centre, the interviewed employees and managers invariably brought up various bodily aspects of work, which refers to the everyday work in call centre as embodied work.

In this paper I will consider the ways in which job assignments are intertwined with the dimensions of embodied attributes, such as age and gender and, moreover, with other differences such as expected heterosexuality, ethnicity and language proficiency in the context of interactive service work in call centres. I ask, how is call centre work embodied? I am also interested in how the work is done and the ways in which embodiment is an integral part of the work. Additionally, my aim is to analyse what kinds of expectations are set to the employees' embodied use of voice.

The research material consists of 45 semi-structured interviews collected in the office of an international call centre, located in the southern part of Finland.[2] The youngest interviewees were in their early twenties and the oldest were almost at retirement age. With a slight simplification it could be argued that the interviewees consist, on the one hand, of young people with little occupational training or of students who need extra money. On the other hand, the interviewees consist of middle-aged women in their forties or fifties, with a long work history as clerical employees. (Koivunen 2004, 7–12)

The interview questions did not include any specific queries about the employees' embodiment or the bodily aspects of their work. However, every interviewee said something that I interpret as an utterance about the bodily aspects of the work. The interviewees described their experiences of embodiment and bodily aspects of the work, which are simultaneously intertwined with the cultural and social meanings associated with the body. All the interviews were conducted during the employees' work time at the workplace. However, the employer did not allow observing the employees at work.

When analysing the interviews, I follow the phases of qualitative analysis presented by Pertti Alasuutari (1995, 11–17). The analysis consists of two phases: firstly, the purification of the observations and, secondly, the interpretation of findings, or as he calls it, the unriddling or solving of the mystery. I began by reading and classifying the research material and identifying the observations that are, according to my interpretation, about embodiment and bodily aspects of the work. Then, I further reduced the amount of data by combining the observations by finding common denominators or themes. Such themes that conjoin the bodily aspects are: age, gender, ethnicity, office spaces, supervision and control and, lastly,

---

2   The interviews were conducted in the years 2001 (23 interviews), 2003 (5 interviews) and 2005 (17 interviews). In 2001 the interviews were conducted within the project number 49213 "Gendering Practices and Transformations at Work" funded by the Academy of Finland. In 2003 I conducted the interviews for my Master's thesis "Work commitment in a call centre" (Koivunen 2004). In 2005 I conducted the interviews for my dissertation within the project number 207373 "Gendered work communities, conflicts and social capital" funded by the Academy of Finland. Both projects are led by Päivi Korvajärvi. The majority of the interviewees, that is to say 22 persons (15 women and 7 men), are customer service agents. Ten interviewees (6 women and 4 men) are team leaders, who also work in the customer service in addition to their supervisory tasks. The data also includes 13 interviews with managers. In this paper, the analysis is concentrated mainly on the employees' and team leaders' interviews, not so much on the managers' interviews.

aesthetic labour. Most of these themes are further combined to a common denominator I call "the embodied use of voice". I interpret the embodied use of voice as an important skill and resource in call centre work.

This paper is organised into four sections. First, I give a brief introduction to previous research about embodiment in work. Secondly, I describe the everyday work at a call centre in terms of the preconditions and restrictions for the employees' embodiment. Thirdly, after these themes, I concentrate on the requirements to the employees' embodied attributes such as age and gender, which are set by the employer, client companies and customers. Finally, I consider the importance of the aesthetic labour done with the assistance of embodied voice in the call centre. My aim is to develop novel views about the bodily aspects of paid work within the new kind of service work, which takes advantage of the advanced integration of computer and telephone.

Embodiment and Work Research

Since the 1980s there has been a growing interest in the body and embodiment within social research. The definition, appreciation and shaping of the female body has always been a key question in feminist social research, although within some feminist theory building and feminist activism the body is deliberately dismissed. This has been done in order to avoid identifying womanhood only with an anatomic body. (Palin 1996, 225–226) Within the research orientation of paid work, embodiment has rarely been found a topic worthy of attention. However, there have been some discussions that bring embodiment and waged work together, especially in Great Britain but also to some extent in Finland (for example Brewis 2000; McDowell 1997; Tyler & Hancock 2001; Honkasalo 1984 and Julkunen 2004). Yet, as far as I know, there is no research that considers the embodied use of voice.

According to previous research the bodily dimension of work varies in accordance with the content of work, workplace and the work requirements. In customer service work the emphasis is usually on the appearance of employees. For example in the hegemonic masculine and elitist world of finance, the difference between women and men employees is culminated in a woman's body. In other words, women's body remains as a sign of difference and inferiority to men regardless of the masculine way of action, work culture and, moreover, work dress. At the same time, however, both women's and men's embodiment and appearance have become a crucial part of their occupational success and bodily appearance is a part of the occupational contribution and human capital. (McDowell 1997)

In addition to the work related duties and tasks, employees have to work for their groomed bodily appearance. For example flight attendants' gendered and lived bodies become organisational bodies when they internalise the surveillance and control of their bodies into self surveillance. In this way, the women's aesthetic organisational body turns into an organisational icon which is considered as "natural" to women. (Tyler & Hancock 2001; Hancock & Tyler 2000)

In work, as in other instances, women are defined on the basis of their embodied attributes. Women's conception of their body is largely constituted by comparisons with other women's bodies, other people's reactions and beauty ideals. Often women's bodies are labelled as flawed in terms of excess: too feminine, too unfeminine, too motherly or too young for a high-powered occupation. (Brewis 2000; Brewis & Sinclair 2000) In addition, the work for groomed bodily appearance has become a part of the divisions of class and work. Creating images by means of a groomed appearance is associated with a high socio-economic status, successful business and customer service. Also, people with ageing bodies are expected to gain self and body which are compatible with the modern working life. (Julkunen 2003; 2004)

The possibilities to resist any of the expectations and demands expressed to employees at work are few, and many times the only means to oppose are bodily symptoms, such as exhaustion and depression. In factory work, women's bodily symptoms are interpreted as resistance to surveillance and, at the same time, as a possibility to experience one's body. In this way the surveillance and control in addition to an uncertainty about one's job, are leaking through the body. The bodily aspect of the job appears as women's topics related to their aches and pains, tiredness, sleeplessness, and more largely as topics related to the accidents, murders and rapes reported in the media. (Honkasalo 1984; 1993) In a similar way, the employees' narratives of anger can be interpreted as embodied, withdrawn and as individual resistance to the injustices at work. Incidents of injustice have hollowed out a place for memories in the experience level of the body and these injustices are expressed with the language of emotional experiences. In the context of paid work, the emotion of anger is associated with experiences of bodily agony and suffering, powerlessness and fatigue, exhaustion, depression and in worst cases, incapacity to work. (Virkki 2004)

The central themes within the earlier research have been the appearance of employees and the bodily symptoms displaying the experiences of resistance and injustice. My own view diverges in that I focus on the body as a resource. Also in this case the aesthetic of the body becomes significant, while restricted to the use of the embodied voice. What is common to these previous studies is that the body is considered more or less socially constructed. The body is constructed in an interaction between the body and the social context and, moreover, embodiment is a way of experiencing. This is my premise as well. The body is simultaneously a material, physical and biological occurrence which does not derive from social relations. I consider the body as concrete and impossible to pass by; without a body we cannot exist in this world. Moreover, I consider the body as dynamic, and hence, the body can be conceptualised in various ways in diverse strategic occasions.

Everyday Work in a Call Centre

Call centres can roughly be divided, on one hand, to in-house call centres and, on the other, to independent subcontractor call centre firms to which other firms outsource their activities. This paper deals with the latter type of call centre. Call centres are not a well known branch of industry in Finland, although it has been estimated that there are over 50 000 employees in various kinds of job assignments in call centres (TV-news TV1 14.1.2005). There are over 100 customer service agents, mostly women, in the call centre I am focusing on. The number of the employees varies constantly because of the high number of employees with fixed-term contracts and, accordingly, the high turnover.

The service work done in call centres is basically interactive communication with customers with the assistance of technology, in practice with the integration of computer- and telephone technologies. Accordingly, there is space for interaction in the junction of technology and the employees' body (Korvajärvi 2004, 127). The basic tasks of customer service in a call centre consist of, for example, taking in telephone orders, help desk tasks, selling and processing advertisements, telemarketing, dealing with overdue payment reminders, conducting telephone surveys and interviews, and taking care of customer appointments as well as answering and brokering services (TES 2003–2005).

In spite of the versatility of the basic tasks, the work is described in the interviews as rather monotonous and repetitive. The monotony and repetitiveness of the work is commonly illustrated by saying that it could be done in sleep, although talking to someone else always requires vigilance (Cameron 2000, 14). The interaction with customers is carried out with the aid of written scripts which are adapted by every agent to their own use. In addition to this, the agents do share their experiences about what utterances they have found effective and what not.

While working, the employees sit in front of their computer screens and keyboards with a headset on. Some of the agents deal with inbound calls, some make outbound calls and some both initiate and receive calls in turns. The inbound calls from customers are funnelled to the non-occupied employee, who simultaneously sees from the computer screen how to answer. This way the agent knows with which corporate client's greeting to answer. Software does not connect agents to calls with no answers or busy lines, but only connects to agents those calls that are answered.

The agents are bound to their work stations when they are working and they cannot freely move around in the open-plan office. Instead, they have to sit still in front of their desks with a headset and microphone on. The agents are not just talking, but typically using a computer keyboard and mouse simultaneously. Moving around is restricted by the wire of the headset but also by acoustics. The low partitions between the workstations are designed to lower the speaking voice so that the agents do not disturb each other. If the agent stands up, for example, the speaking voice travels over the partition and disturbs the other agents.

Sitting down when working diminishes the employees' possibilities to vary their working positions. Additionally, the employees are not able to decide the positions of their own bodies because the places are designed and restricted in advance. The agents have to settle themselves to a place and position given to them. Similarly, the unquestioned practice of the call centre is that the agents do not have their "own", steady workstations. Therefore the agents may have to change workstations during the work day.

Team leaders are the agents' immediate superiors, who train, support, counsel and give feedback to them and report the results to corporate clients. The surveillance of calls is a crucial part of the team leaders' work. Every call is recorded and the team leaders also listen in to the calls in real time. The agents do not know when she or he is listened to, but agents do know that the calls are recorded and may be listened to in real time or at a later time. The interviewed agents told me that the advantages of the surveillance are more important than the slight discomfort they may feel. First of all, the recording protects the agents in case the customer complains and offers a different view of the telephone conversation than the agent. Secondly, the real time surveillance is useful when the agents are given immediate feedback in order to improve their performance.

Team leaders work beside the agents, in contrast to the managers. The managers' offices with transparent glass doors are located above the open-plan working area of the agents and team leaders. It is said that the transparent doors make the managers more approachable but the stairs leading to the upper floor does not conform to this meaning. The glass doors also make it possible to see the whole working area beneath with only one glance. It would be well founded to divide the large working area into smaller sectors with silencing screens in order to cut down the noise. However, this would make it more difficult to supervise the area with gaze. The open area does not allow privacy or loudness, nor, for example, hidden expressions of emotions.

Requirements Related to Age and Gender

The interviews with the call centre employees indicate that especially age largely defines women. From the employers' point of view, certain bodily aspects of the employees are more wanted than others. For example one team leader explained that the fact that she has a female body prevents her from getting a promotion to more demanding job assignments. This is because she is expected to get pregnant. She says:

> I think that at the moment I am in the risk group where they expect me to take maternity leave. This is how it is, too much speculation I think. It annoys me, otherwise I would've been willing to take on the challenge, but I think that this is how it goes.

As she explains, she does not expect to get a promotion any more, although there have been informal discussions about her willingness to move on to middle management. She would be eager to stay at the call centre and to "move on to new challenges", but only with the promotion. In this way, the female worker's body is automatically associated with the expectation of having children, which is considered to be contradictory with promotion and more demanding tasks. However, no expectation occurred that having children would have an effect on the team leaders' present tasks and duties.

Employees who have already passed the typical child rearing age may well find that their age restricts their chances at work. Thus the ageing body may be found as a reason not to change jobs. Women as young as in their late thirties may be afraid to make any kind of a career move because their age might militate against them when seeking another job (Brewis 2000, 173). According to Raija Julkunen (2003, 184), there is nothing wrong with the ageing employees – whatever age they may be – except the fact that they are ageing.

The apprehension about the consequences of ageing did occur also in the interviews of the call centre employees. Some interviewees in their fifties told that because of their age, they have not considered changing the job. For example, Riitta has thought about resigning, but she has come to a conclusion that her age would act against her finding another job:

> I will be 54 next so I still have some years left, but in any case. Often with old workmates we have talked about when we are sometimes really angry that, hell, what should we do? But then we come to the conclusion that no. We do not have a chance.

Women's work experience is seldom valued and the ageing female body is often a nuisance which bonds the employee to her present job. This is despite the fact that when a woman has turned forty her best working years are not yet over. The age of one's body is a powerful criterion, on which the employees, especially women employees, and their embodiment are evaluated. (Julkunen 2003) In contrast, none of the interviewed men employees considered their age as a disadvantage or an obstacle at work in general or in this particular job. This is because in gendered work cultures women's and men's bodily aspects seem to be valued differently.

The interviews with the call centre employees clearly indicate that client companies may want to decide with what kind of voices and images they want the call centre to represent them to customers. Some of the clients wish, for example, that every call centre employee willing to work on this commission, calls them, and they select the suitable voices. The interviewee responsible for recruitment describes the process:

> We have a lot of clients who give certain criteria what kind of a person they want, what kind of a voice, what gender. These days they give a rather strict profile of what we should be like. Not long ago we had a client who did not accept any agents outright but he wanted each agent to call him first and he then asked certain things of the agents by phone. At the same time he heard what kind of voices the agents had. Does he want that his company is represented by such voices, what kind of an image and idea of the company is conveyed to the clients through the voice? In others words, he picked the voices that he wanted and as a result not everybody got in the campaign on the basis that the client did not approve their voices.

Thus, the call centre recruits and hires the employees in the first place, but among these employees, corporate clients may select suitable voices for their commissions in this way. The selecting and voice profiling may be very detailed. For instance, voices have to be associated with a certain age, gender, life-style, hobbies and so on. Although the employees' embodied attributes define their job assignments, it does not necessarily exclude anyone because different job assignments require different kinds of voices. Depending on their

products, clients may expect, for instance, a youthful and sporty voice. Some clients may favor an adult, more grown voice with recognised experience of life, all-round education and the capability to have a more than shallow conversation. This kind of voice is described as trustworthy and convincing.

In call centre, work tasks related to the body's health or intimacy products are done by women. Further, for example, someone with a voice that sounds young and girly rarely works in technical help desk. This is because a young and girly voice is not considered as assertive and trustworthy customer service and especially male customers feel irritated if a woman who sounds young advises them on technical problems. Instead, young boys can work in technical help desks if they have a manly voice. Generally men are more often than women selected to work with products or services considered as technical. Similar gendering distribution of tasks is also found in previous studies (Korvajärvi 2002, 11–12; Belt et al. 2002, 25–26). In this way age and gender has an impact on the work tasks, although the majority of products and services do not require a certain age and gender. The agents have to present a voice which is compatible with their gender and with the product they are representing on the telephone. Thus gender is one bodily aspect that has to be heard in one's voice; it has to be recognisable as either a woman's or a man's, otherwise it is useless when contacting customers.

Workplace culture and work tasks include gendered work styles, which are gendered expectations of action deemed appropriate to a competent female or male employee. The gendered work styles associated within various work tasks define interaction, bodily movement, gestures and tones of voice. Work styles are also explicitly or implicitly heterosexualised. When repeated on a daily basis, these work styles produce presentations of properly gendered styles, which become a part of the workplace culture. (Kuosmanen 2002)

In service work, the heterosexualised and gendered work styles appear for example as the idea that a male employee's manly voice appeals to female customers. This is explicated by team leader Joanna:

> If we approach a lot of female customers it is good that there are men. They like, these middle-aged women, the fact that there is a male voice. It is quite true that it often works much better.

Some interviewees explained that a man's voice appeals to women customers and, similarly, women employees are able to "sweet talk" to men customers, as the point was expressed. According to the interviews, the employees' voices, speaking and customer contacts are regarded as heterosexual without a question. There is no place or potential for other kinds of sexualities than heterosexuality. What is more, the heterosexualised work style appeared only in relation to customers but not to colleagues and therefore it seems that the heterosexual expectation is taken advantage of in customer relations.

The Aesthetic of the Embodied Voice

The interviews gave the impression that the employer and the management did not pay much attention to the employees' appearance. Yet they did pay a lot attention to the employees' voice and speaking, which are constantly supervised and given feedback. However, the interviewees, both women and men, recognised the requirements for their bodily appearance. A couple of interviewees commented how a view phone would increase the demands on the aesthetic appearance and one interviewee contemplated how customers could be tricked into believing in the agents' aesthetic appearance through the view phone. This is how one agent, Leena, comments the impressions constructed with the use of voice:

> I think the customers at the other end really think that some 40-year-old good looking woman in a suit is calling. And if they saw what the people here are really like, looking like this and hair standing on end and all, they probably wouldn't buy a thing.

Both women and men employees in various kinds of customer service jobs are expected to present aesthetic appearance. This kind of stylised appearance in work has been called aesthetic labour (Witz et al. 2003, 34). In aesthetic labour, the employee's embodiment, gender and appearance are closely intertwined. The expectation of aesthetic labour is not directly written in the job advertisements or employment contracts. However, when job adverts are asking applicants to enclose a personal photo with their application, it refers to aesthetic labour expected at work (Warhurst et al. 2000, 11).

In call centres, visual aesthetic appearance is not expected because the contact between employee and customer is produced without visual perception. The agents' bodily appearance does not have to be especially groomed, except for the voice. Bodies are a part of certain service jobs in the sense that they represent what the organisation has to offer (Brewis 2000, 176). In call centre work, employees create images with the assistance of their voice.

The employees' aesthetic labour is expected to be in accordance with the images the client company wishes to create for customers. Image creation begins when an organisation recruits employees of certain age, appearance and body size. The reshaping of body is carried on when the employees produce and adapt their bodies in accordance with the employers' expectations. This kind of aesthetic labour considers the employees' bodies as material, which is shaped in order to match it with the expectations. (Tyler & Hancock 2001) The reshaping may continue after working hours by controlling exercise, cleaning and nurturing. In a similar way, a job may direct the employees' hobbies and interests. For example, the call centre employees whose task is speaking should avoid hobbies and activity that may encumber or harm their voice. This kind of avoidance of certain activities may be considered as a part of the employees' internalised self control.

Clothing and appearance are considered as advantaged cultural codes when people are categorised. The social order requires clothing according to one's position and work assignments. Moreover, salespersons' appropriate work dress is considered as a skill which is included in their work (Aholainen 2003). Ruth Buchanan and Sarah Koch-Schulte (2000, 36–37) have written that they were surprised by the dress codes enforced in many call centres. The dress codes required dress pants or skirts of conservative length for women and for men a tie and a collar. Visible tattoos were frowned upon, as were piercings, other than earrings for women. Hair was required to be within normal spectrum of hair colours, and at a gender-appropriate length. All this conformity to appearance standards was made although the customers were unable to see the employees. Buchanan and Koch-Schulte assumed that the dress code was linked to either the disciplinary control of the employees and or to the construction of the work as professional.

This kind of demands did not occur in the call centre I am focusing on. Instead, the agents seemed to dress quite casually and without codes and demands set by the employer. One reason for this lack of demands may be the high turnover of the agents. The recruitment and training of new agents requires a lot of time and effort which leaves little resources for additional requirements. Secondly, supposedly any kind of dress code does not increase the job seekers' interest in the organisation and therefore the lack of dress code advantages the recruitment of new employees. Thirdly, the organisation is still seeking its own policy in many respects, which is well illustrated by the rapidly changing situations and constant manager replacements.

The call centre offers a job opportunity also for some minority members whose employment possibilities may be remote. For example the Roma women who have been recruited in the call centre had formerly been in this kind of situation. Some employers'

prejudices against Romas makes even well-educated Romas' employment opportunities rather poor (Suomen romanit 2004, 13). It is not very common for Romas to work in service jobs, especially when they are wearing their traditional Roma clothes, as they are in this call centre. If job seekers are interviewed and hired via telephone, which is in line with the work, any attributes related to one's visual appearance do not have an impact on recruitment. However, this is not the practice in the call centre, although the first contact between the recruiter and job seeker usually takes place via telephone.

From the employers' point of view, a Roma person can work as an agent and speak fluent Finnish without a concern about arousing the customers' potential prejudice against the Romas' cultural background. In contrast, immigrants with broken Finnish are not potential labour force for the case study call centre. It came up that previously one very eager immigrant had tried the customer service work. However, broken Finnish arouse very strong negative reactions and suspicions in the customers who responded in a way that made the immigrant not want to work any more. Thus, in terms of the employees' cultural background, there is a great difference whether ethnicity is only visually apparent or if it can also be heard in speech.

Embodiment Concentrated on the Voice

In sum, it is fruitful to emphasize the interactive work in call centre as embodied work because then the central resource of the employees, the voice, catches the attention it deserves. The employees are required to present embodiment which is concentrated on their voice. The voice expresses the employees' embodied appearance, their willingness to service and it helps to create and maintain the images of products. In call centre work various kinds of voices are basically permitted but only within certain limits set and controlled by the employer and the client company. Such restricting limits are for example age which is in line with the product's image, two distinguishable genders and the expectation of heterosexuality and aesthetics. In this way call centres deliberately maintain the impression that their employees are vital and attractive, although at the same time they may offer a job to employees who have remote possibilities to be recruited for face-to-face customer service jobs because of their appearance.

The work in a call centre is literally invisible to the customers because the interaction takes place via a telephone. The customer and the employee do not meet in the same space but in a space created by technology. In addition, call centres are invisible because a characteristic of the work is to contact customers on behalf of the client company while the subcontractor stays unrecognised. The consequence of this double invisibility may lead to the divergence of customer work, its wages and valuation so that face-to-face customer service is done exclusively by young, attractive and better waged employees. Then the voice-to-voice customer service jobs are for employees who only sound young and attractive while their surface appearance does not necessarily conform to this perception. This kind of segregation according to the employees' embodied attributes restricts the already narrow range of choices in working life.

References:

Aholainen, Johanna (2003) Organizational Identity and Work Dress. Observing Sales Personnel in an Insurance Company. Social Psychological Studies 10. Helsinki: University of Helsinki.

Alasuutari, Pertti (1995) Researching Culture. Qualitative Method and Cultural Studies. London: Sage.

Belt, Vicky, Richardson, R. & Webster, J. (2002) Women, Social Skill and Interactive Service Work in Telephone Call Centres. New Technology, Work and Employment (17) 1, 20–34.

Brewis, Joanna (2000) 'When a Body Meet a Body…': Experiencing the Female Body at Work. In: Linda McKie & Nick Watson (eds.) Organizing Bodies. Policy, Institutions and Work. London: MacMillan Press, 116–184.

Brewis, Joanna & Sinclair, John (2000) Exploring Embodiment: Women, Biology and Work. In: John Hassard, Ruth Holliday & Hugh Willmott (eds.) Body and Organization. London: Sage, 192-214.

Buchanan, Ruth & Koch-Schulte, Sarah (2000) Gender on the Line: Technology, Restructuring and the Reorganization of Work in the Call Centre Industry. Ottawa: Status of Women Canada.

Cameron, Deborah (2000) Good to Talk? Living and Working in a Communication Culture. London: Sage.

Hancock, Philip & Tyler, Melissa (2000) "The Look of Love": Gender and the Organization of Aesthetics. In: John Hassard, Ruth Holliday & Hugh Willmott (eds.) Body and Organization. London: Sage, 108-129.

Honkasalo, Marja-Liisa (1984) Valta, valvonta ja naisten työ. Valvonta ja vastarinta eräässä naisvaltaisessa tehtaassa. [Power, Surveillance and Women's Work. Surveillance and Resistance in a Female Dominated Factory] In: Liisa Husu & Marja-Liisa Honkasalo (eds.) Työ, nainen ja tutkimus. [Work, Women and Research] Valtioneuvoston kanslian monisteita 2. Helsinki: Valtioneuvoston kanslia, 140–178.

Honkasalo, Marja-Liisa (1993) Kipeät ruumiit. [Sick Bodies] In: Päivi Korvajärvi, Ritva Nätkin & Antti Saloniemi (eds.) Tieteen huolet, arjen ihmeet [Worries of Science, Miracles of Everyday Life] Tampere: Vastapaino, 92–105.

Julkunen, Raija (2003) Kuusikymmentä ja työssä. [Sixty and Working] Jyväskylä: SoPhi.

Julkunen, Raija (2004) Sosiaalipolitiikan ruumis. [The Body in Social Policy] In: Eeva Jokinen, Marja Kaskisaari & Marita Husso (eds.) Ruumis töihin. Käsite ja käytäntö [Body to Work. Concept and Practice] Tampere: Vastapaino, 17–40.

Koivunen, Tuija (2004) Työhön sitoutuminen yhteyskeskuksessa. [Work commitment in a call centre] Master's Thesis of Social Policy. University of Tampere. Available in Finnish at http://tutkielmat.uta.fi/pdf/gradu00296.pdf

Koivunen, Tuija (2006) Asiakastyön ruumiillisuus yhteyskeskuksissa [The Bodily Aspect of Service Work in Call Centres]. Työelämän tutkimus (4), 1, 1–11.

Korvajärvi, Päivi (2002) Locating Gender Neutrality in Formal and Informal Aspects of Organizational Cultures. Culture and Organization (8) 2, 101–115.

Korvajärvi, Päivi (2004) Women and Technological Pleasure? In: Tuula Heiskanen & Jeff Hearn (eds.) Information Society and the Workplace. Spaces, Boundaries and Agency. London: Routledge, 125–142.

Kuosmanen, Paula (2002) Tactics, Family Performatives and Gendered Styles of Lesbian Parents in the Labour Market. In: Jukka Lehtonen (ed.) Sexual and Gender Minorities at Work. Equal Community Initiative. Available at http://www.valt.helsinki.fi/sosio/tutkimus/equal/pdf/BookEqualEng.pdf

McDowell, Linda (1997) Capital Culture. Gender at Work in the City. Oxford: Blackwell.

Morgan, David, Brandth, Berit & Kvande, Elin (2005) Thinking About Gender, Bodies and Work. In: David Morgan, Berit Brandth & Elin Kvande (eds.) Gender, Bodies and Work. London: Ashgate, 1–15.

Palin, Tutta (1996) Ruumis. [The Body] In: Anu Koivunen & Marianne Liljeström (eds.) Avainsanat. 10 askelta feministiseen tutkimukseen [Keywords. 10 Steps into Feminist Research] Tampere: Vastapaino, 225–244.

Suomen romanit – Finitiko romaseele (2004) [Romas in Finland] Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriön esitteitä 2. Helsinki: Sosiaali- ja terveysministeriö.

TES 2003–2005. Puhelinpalveluja ja yhteyskeskuksia koskeva työehtosopimus 1.2.2003–15.2.2005. [Collective labour agreement for call centres] Ohje työtehtävien sijoittumisesta vaativuusryhmiin. Helsinki: Palvelualojen ammattiliitto PAM ry.

Tyler, Melissa & Hancock, Philip (2001) Flight Attendants and the Management of Gendered 'Organizational Bodies'. In: Kathryn Backett-Milburn & Linda McKie (eds.) Constructing Gendered Bodies. Houndmills & New York: Palgrave, 25-38.

Virkki, Tuija (2004) Työelämän haavoittamat. [Wounded by Working Life] In: Eeva Jokinen, Marja Kaskisaari & Marita Husso (eds.) Ruumis töihin. Käsite ja käytäntö [Body to Work. Concept and Practice] Tampere: Vastapaino, 218–239.

Warhurst, Chris & Nickson, Dennis & Witz, Anne & Cullen, Anne Marie (2000) Aesthetic Labour in Interactive Service Work: Some Case Study Evidence from the 'New' Glasgow. The Service Industries Journal (20) 3, 1-18.

Witz, Anne, Walhurst, Chris & Nickson, Dennis (2003) The Labour of Aesthetics and the Aesthetics of Organization. Organization (10) 1, 33–54.

Borderland Swedes: Minority Politics and Transnational Identification among Estonia's Swedish Population

Glenn Eric Kranking

Department of History, The Ohio State University

kranking@gmail.com

Governments use identifications of groups – whether it is state-determined or self-identified – in formulating minority policies, while organizations and individuals often use forms of identification in searching for areas of sameness. In both cases, the classification used affects policies and actions. Identifications based on language, religion, ethnicity, nationality, race, and citizenship create borders in society, but simultaneously offer opportunities to transcend other forms of borders. From the 1870s until the Second World War, Estonia went through four governments, each with its own form of identification – tsarist Russia, independent Estonia, Soviet Estonia, and Nazi Germany. For the Swedish minority living in a borderland, subsequent minority policies shaped the direction of their cultural development, but it was the transnational connection with individuals and organizations in Sweden, and later the Swedish government (although the type of identification shifted over time) that transcended political borders and had the greatest impact on the population's cultural development.

Borderland Swedes: Minority Politics and Transnational Identification among Estonia's Swedish Population

In November 1925 in the northwestern Estonian village of Vippal,[1] the local Swedish-speaking townspeople learned to their surprise that the local town secretary had classified them as Estonian. The classification demonstrates a disjuncture between the individuals' self-identification and the local administrator's imposition of identification of the townspeople in the mixed community. The townspeople learned of the disjuncture as a result of school inspectors determining that there were too few Swedish-speaking students in the area, and the plan to close the Swedish school; students would need to attend the Estonian school in the town. However, according to the 1920 Estonian constitution, the Swedish-speaking minority were entitled to receive education in their native language. Their classification as Estonian meant that they were not entitled to a Swedish-language education. In a letter to the Swedish Folk Secretary in Tallinn, Swedish schoolteacher Karl Hammerman wrote:

> It is pleasant to see that they want to maintain their native heritage. They say the secretary listed them as Estonians without even asking them. When they later noticed that it was not correct, he told them that it was better to belong to the majority.[2]

Multiple factors influence the formation of a people's identity. Cultural geographer David Knight's concept of identity extends from the individual outwards in ever-increasing levels.[3] Through Knight's view, one can simultaneously identify with a village and an international community. However, by shifting the focus from identity to identification one can gain clarity in determining the actors classifying the population. This paper will focus on two levels of actors in relation to a minority population – outsiders, such as the state or transnational organizations (which can also be termed a top-down process), and the individuals themselves (or a bottom-up process). As the above example demonstrates, the two levels do not always agree. The fluidity on "identity" is one of the reasons sociologist Rogers Brubaker argues that "identity" is a weak term for analysis; the terminology used by scholars varies considerably, making the terms irrelevant in scholarship. He suggests greater clarity in the language of academics, suggesting as one possibility shifting from "identity" to "identification" or "classification." He states, "Identification – of oneself and of others – is intrinsic to social life... The modern state has been one of the most important agents of identification and categorization."[4] Identification can be based on multiple factors, including religion, language, culture, economic and social standing, ethnicity, race, and nationality, to name just a few. Which factors are used influences the development of the group's identity, and perhaps more importantly, how the state or organizations view the people and shape minority policies.

The history of the Swedish population of Estonia, particularly from the 1870s through to the end of the Second World War, demonstrates the interplay between self-identification and how administrators of the region view and treated minority populations. As the region passed through various forms of government minority policy shifted; absolute monarchy, constitu-

---

1   In Estonian, Wihterpalu. Throughout this paper, Swedish place names will be used.
2   Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian National Archives): ERA.1108.8.25. Letter dated 18 November 1925.
3   Knight, David B. "Identity and Territory: Geographical Perspectives on Nationalism and Regionalism" in *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 72, No. 4 (Dec., 1982), p. 514-531.
4   Brubaker, Rogers. *Ethnicity without Groups*. Harvard University Press, (Cambridge, MA 2004), p.42-43.

tional monarchy, a provisional government following revolution, parliamentary democracy, dictatorship, Soviet communism, and Nazi-occupation all approached minorities from distinct positions with different categories of identification of the population. Living in a border region – on the islands and coastal regions of Estonia – the Swedish population also had ties to what they considered their ancient homeland, Sweden. Through this period, the role of Sweden changed from indifference to active participation in the welfare of the Swedes in Estonia. This transnational connection at times also influenced the minority policies of those controlling the region.

Minority populations are subject to those in power; governments can provide benefits or impose restrictions. Estonia's Swedish community at times received greater consideration and exceptions than other minority groups, and arguably for a brief period greater consideration than even the majority population. A look at minority policies through the case study of the Estonian-Swedes can serve to highlight notions of minorities in society and shifting policies of assimilation or accommodation in terms of minority rights and protections.

Each government, and many of the organizations involved with the so-called Estonian-Swedes, had certain ways of viewing the population, using labels to classify the group – which Brubaker refers to as external identification. These labels included religion, language, culture, economic and social standing, nationality, and race. Complimenting these labels, one can also look at the labels the people used themselves – internal identification – and in particular the different occasions one would use when communicating. For the Swedish population of Estonia, identification took on various forms; some of the labels were geographical, some linguistic. Labels include: Swede, "Estswede" (*estsvensk*), Estonian-Swede, "aibofolke" (a colloquial expression meaning island or coastal people), coastal Swede (in Estonian, *rannarootsi*), Swedish-speaker, and Rågö-Swede, etc. (with the various village names). Additionally, some governments or organizations classified the people on a broader category such as social status (peasants) or religion (Lutheran or Protestant).

Ideologies of the state influence which form of classification is used, and can vary considerably from state to state (or even within states or empires, such as within tsarist Russia), as well as vary over time. The state can classify individuals and groups from above, such as based on legal categories of nobility or peasantry, or allow for self-identification of the individual, such as language categorization, particularly prevalent in mixed marriages. The ideology of the state can play an important role in the classification of individuals and groups in society. On one extreme, for example, Nazi ideology led to the classification of groups based upon a hierarchy of race. The pre-Second World War Soviet Union, on the other hand, classified groups based on "nationality".[5]

Swedish settlement along the eastern shores of the Baltic Sea began during the Viking era when overpopulation in Sweden led to expansion and colonization. This settlement occurred almost simultaneously in what is present-day Estonia and Finland along coastlines and island regions.[6] The Swedes in Estonia settled along the northwestern coast and island regions with large concentrations on Dagö, Ormsö, Odensholm, Nargö, Nuckö, Runö, and Rågö.[7] Their arrival dates back to at least 1294, when they were first mentioned in the town by-laws of Hapsal.[8] Sweden's control over Estonia (1583-1710) brought some noble resettlement, although the nobility did not remain after the region was lost to Russia. The Swedes were often

5   See for example Hirsch, Francine. *Empire of Nations*. Cornell University Press, (Ithaca, NY 2005). See also Martin, Terry. *The Affirmative Action Empire*. Cornell University Press, (Ithaca, NY 2001).
6   See Markus, Felicia. *Living on Another Shore: Early Scandinavian Settlement on the North-Western Estonian Coast*. Occasional Papers in Archaeology 36, (Uppsala 2004) See also Wiklund, Karl Berhard. *När kommo Svenskarne till Finland?* Almqvist & Wiksells (Uppsala 1901).
7   In Estonian, these regions are called Hiiumaa, Vormsi, Osmussaare, Naissaar, Noarootsi, Ruhnu, and Pakri.
8   Blumfeldt, Evald. "Estlandssvenskarnas historia" in *En bok om Estlands svenskar*. Svenska Odlingens Vänner (Stockholm 1961), p. 68.

farmers, fishermen, hunters, or sailors, or most often a combination. August Tammekann, an Estonian-Swedish historian, writes, "The Estonian-Swedes' settlement area is characterized completely by its nearness to the sea. Remarkably there was also a considerable distance between the settlements, which in some places caused a certain isolation with disastrous consequences for Swedishness."[9] It was not until the early 1900s that the isolation diminished, with greater contacts between the villages – and equally important, with Sweden.

From the Swedish period through tsarist Russian control, the Swedish peasants were legally distinct from their Estonian neighbors. However, the rights and privileges were communal, based on the villages or islands rather than covering the entire Swedish population across the region, a factor that kept the various communities isolated from each other; each community held different legal protections and each developed distinct customs and dialects.[10] Some of the privileges dated back to 1341 and the establishment of "Swedish Law" which gave them limited financial responsibility and individual freedoms.[11] While some regions, such as Ormsö, were under a Baltic German landlord, others such as Runö had no landlord and operated under a communal system. Each tsar, from Peter the Great to Nicholas II reconfirmed the privileges of the Swedes, which included the right to petition the tsar. Of particular note are the privileges that originated during the Swedish period, which led the people to view the Swedish kings as protectors of their rights.[12]

A cultural awakening developed among the Swedish population in the late nineteenth century, following in the footsteps of the Estonian national movement of the mid-nineteenth century. The cultural awakening is directly linked to contact with Sweden; two missionaries, Thore Emanuel Thorén and Lars Johan Österblom from the Stockholm-based Evangelical Native Land Foundation (*Evangeliska Fosterlandsstiftelse*, or EFS) arrived in 1873. While EFS held clear religious goals for their missionaries, the Russian government granted permission based on the need to raise the level of education in the Swedish-speaking regions.[13] Österblom established primary schools on Ormsö while Thorén opened a pedagogical seminar in Nuckö to train future teachers. The education they brought left a lasting legacy: their students became the leaders of the Swedes' cultural awakening, while beginning regular contact between the population and organizations in Sweden.

While the tsarist government recognized the population as peasants, Lutherans, and Swedish-speakers, the missionaries based their identification on religious and moral levels, noting the lack of civilization and the poor hygiene among the population. Although the people spoke ancient dialects of Swedish, Österblom did not refer to them as "Swedes" in his memoirs.[14] Österblom blamed the barbarous habits (such as drunkenness, thievery, and laziness) on the Russian rule of the region.[15] The missionaries were there to improve the literacy of the people (according to the regulations from the Russian government), but more important

---

9   Tammekann, August. "Estlandssvenskarnas bosättningsområde" in *En Bok om Estlands svenskar*. Svenska Odlingens Vänner (Stockholm 1961), p. 11.

10   Lagmen, Edvin. "Estlandssvenskarnas Språkförhållanden" in *En Bok om Estlands Svenskar 3A*. Svenska Odlingens Vänner, (Stockholm 1979).

11   "Swedish Law" is first mentioned in a letter to the Bishop of Curland in 1341, with privileges reaffirmed by later rulers. Some scholars believe that "Swedish Law" related to privileges based on the Swedes status as Christians, while the Estonians were still largely pagans. See Blumfeldt, p. 101.

12   For example, a group of men from Ormsö travelled to Sweden in 1861 to protest to the Swedish king against violations of their privileges by the Baltic German landlord.

13   Emancipation of the Estonian serfs also entailed a right to Estonian-language education. While the Swedes enjoyed the same right, there were few qualified to teach, and literacy rates among the Swedes was quite low.

14   Österblom, Lars Johan. *Svenskarna i Östersjöprovinserna*. Aktiebolaget E.G. Johanssons Boktryckeri, (Karlshamn 1927).

15   One can also argue that Österblom exaggerated his early depictions of the population in order to highlight his own successes at "civilizing" the people.

from EFS' perspective was the religious aspect – which put the missionaries, and the outspoken Österblom in particular, at odds with the local church officials and eventually led to his expulsion from the Russian empire in 1887.[16]

In the decades that followed, the Swedish-speakers continued to develop their culture through Swedish-language schools and further contact with individuals in Sweden. They began regular publications, first with an almanac beginning in 1903 and later with a newspaper, *Kustbon* (The Coastal Resident), which first appeared in 1918 as an organ for the Swedish People's Alliance, a political party. A cultural organization founded in 1909, the Swedish Cultivation Friends (*Svenska Odlingens Vänner*, or SOV) sought to unite the various communities, increase secular educational opportunities, further religious instruction, and protect Swedish culture against the rising threat of Estonian nationalism. Contact with Sweden strengthened as pastors and teachers regularly spent years among the population.

The founding of SOV coincided with Vilhelm Lundström's establishment in Sweden of the National Society for the Preservation of Swedish Culture Abroad (*Riksföreningen för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet*) in 1907, based in Gothenburg. Lundström toured through Estonia and around the various Swedish villages in 1892, and credits his time there as the founding moment of his pan-Swedish (*allsvensk*) movement. He saw the educational and cultural difficulties of the Swedes in Estonia as a reason to strengthen an international movement to protect Swedish language and culture, particularly in places like Estonia where it was threatened by a strengthening Estonian nationalism. Lundström identified the people as foreign Swedes (*utlandssvenskar*), although belonging to a Swedish "tribe" (*stam*). During the Interwar period, the National Society provided considerable funding for cultural, religious, and educational aspects within Estonia, and Lundström made several trips to the region.[17]

From the late 1890s and through the 1930s, a number of Swedes and Swedish-speaking Finns visited the Swedish areas of Estonia. While some of these individuals were tourists, many came to conduct research – ethnographic studies as well as racial studies. Runö – isolated in the Bay of Riga – proved to be one of the more popular areas of study, with many scholars believing the isolation to have preserved an ancient Swedish culture with only limited foreign influence.[18] The study of the Swedes in Estonia sought to illuminate the historical attributes of "Swedes." However, racial studies on Runö from this period led researchers to conclude that the people comprised a mix of two racial groups: the dominant Nordic and elements of an East Baltic race.[19] According to the 1914 Swedish government-sponsored report *Sweden: Historical and Statistical Handbook, Land and People*:

> The Swedish race is of pure Germanic origin, as is attested by the very *appearance* of the Swede… The art of reading has been general in Sweden *for many generations*; and hence a certain intellectual maturity has been attainted by the people at large… The most deeply-seated feature of the Swedish character, the key to all the rest, is the passionate *love of nature*… But this feeling for nature has diverted attention from psychological spheres; hence the nature-loving Swede is too often a poor judge of character.[20]

---

16 Thorén left the region earlier due to his poor health.

17 See Lundström, Vilhelm. *Allsvensk Linjer*. Riksföreningen för svenskhetens bevarande i utlandet (Göteborg, 1930).

18 For example, Klein, Ernst. *Runö: Folklivet i ett gammalsvensk samhälle*. J.A. Lindblads Förlag/Nordiska Museet, (Uppsala 1924). See also Gordon, Ernst. *Runö: Svenskön i Rigaviken*. Svenska Kyrkans Diakonistyrelses Bokförlag, (Stockholm 1921).

19 See Steffensson, Jakob. *Runöborna och deras invandring till Sverige*. Uppsala Verd (Uppsala 1972) p.36-40.

20 Guinchard, J. ed. *Sweden: Historical and Statistical Handbook, Land and People*. Government Printing Office (Stockholm 1914) pp.146-150. Italics in the original text.

While reflecting the growing racial views of the Swedish nation at the early twentieth century, these stereotypical descriptions were also applied to Swedes living outside the Swedish political borders.

The changing political circumstances at the end of the First World War provided new opportunities for the Swedish population of Estonia; the Russian Revolution led to the establishment of an Estonian Provisional Government, followed by an independent Estonian state. The new Estonian state initially offered minority protections and an environment for greater cultural development; the Estonian Provisional Government gave cabinet-level positions to each of the minority groups, including the Swedes, and Hans Pöhl (leader of the Swedish People's Alliance) participated in the constitutional convention. However, the 1920 constitution eliminated the cabinet posts for minorities, instead placing these ministers under the Ministry of Culture.[21] The 1920 constitution protected minorities specifically in paragraphs 20 and 21, though. The Estonian government allowed for self-identification, however one had to be categorized as a member of a minority for the protections to be in effect, particularly education in the native language. Loyalty questions concerning the Baltic Germans, the Russians, and the Jews shaped minority policies, although in contrast to other groups, the Swedish minority posed no such loyalty threat to the Estonians. The Interwar Period is largely marked by amiable relations between the Estonians and the Swedes, although minor disagreements certainly arose.

Estonia's 1925 Law on Cultural Self-Government and National Minorities, also referred to as the Cultural Autonomy Law, provided additional protections and a level of self-rule in cultural matters to minority groups of at least 3,000 people. Going further than the 1920 constitution's minority protections, the Cultural Autonomy Law is regularly touted as a high-point in minority protection and it became an international model. Yet it also demonstrates the struggle of a newly independent nation attempting to gain international legitimacy; it is frequently overlooked that the law passed by only a single vote. While the new law intended to offer greater opportunities for Estonia's minorities, the Estonian-Swedes did not utilize the new law. One argument is that the Swedish minority lived in such concentrated regions, making it unnecessary. However, a more realistic argument is that the costs for implementing the legislation was to come from the minorities themselves, and as poor peasants, the Estonian-Swedes could not afford the extra taxes necessary.[22]

Politically, the Estonian-Swedes were on the outside, with the Swedish People's Alliance failing to get enough votes for a parliamentary representative, making them reliant on the Estonian government to protect their interests. The Swedish People's Alliance only held a seat in Parliament from 1930-1934 by joining into a coalition with the Baltic Germans.[23] While in the parliament, Mathias Westerblom[24] distinguished himself from other minority politicians by speaking in Estonian – in contrast, the Baltic German parliamentarians spoke in German and the Russians spoke in Russian.

In March 1934, Konstantin Päts came to power through a *coup d'état*, bringing immediate consequences for the Estonian-Swedes that shaped the progression of their cultural develop-

---

21 The change is also noticed in the first Estonian currency from the Provisional Government, the Estonian "Mark", which had text in Estonian on the front and on the back in German, Swedish, and Russian. The Estonian "Kroon" only had text in Estonian.

22 The Baltic Germans and the Jews established autonomous ministries under the law, while the Swedes and Russians remained under the Ministry of Culture.

23 The coalition with the Baltic Germans caused considerable controversy among the Swedish communities, who saw the Baltic Germans as former exploiters.

24 Hans Pöhl gained the seat in the 1929 elections. However, Pöhl died in 1930 and was replaced by Westerblom.

ment for the remainder of independent Estonia.[25] The policies disadvantaged all of Estonia's minorities, including the Swedish minority, on a political and educational level by instituting increasingly nationalistic policies that placed Estonian language and culture in a dominant position.[26] While the Estonian-Swedes attempted to work within the new system, they increasingly turned to Sweden, both in terms of funding opportunities and work possibilities; conveniently for the population, the Swedish government and the National Society increasingly funded educational and cultural expenses through the mid-to-late 1930s. The Estonianization affected the Swedish minority most noticeably in their publications, religious practices, and their educational opportunities – all three of which were central components of their cultural development.

One of the repercussions of the nationalistic government policies was felt in the church. In 1936, the government decided that all pastors in Estonia must be Estonian citizens; this measure clearly aimed at weakening the continued Baltic German control of rural parishes.[27] Yet within the Estonian-Swedish communities, almost all of the pastors came from Sweden; in order to remain with their congregations, the Swedish pastors would have to apply for Estonian citizenship. But to do this would mean the loss of their privileges with the Church of Sweden, and they were unwilling to lose their Swedish citizenship. Interestingly, the Estonian government ultimately allowed a compromise that enabled the pastors to remain on a temporary basis until several Estonian-Swedes finished their theological studies.[28] Such a compromise was surely a result of the strong connections between the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church and the Church of Sweden; the Swedish archbishop presided over the ordination of the Estonian bishop. However, it also symbolizes that the new policies were not aimed at the Swedish minority, and that the Estonian government was willing to make minor exceptions (so long as the Estonian communities were not negatively affected).

A second area affecting the Estonian-Swedes was in the area of education. Significant advances were made in Swedish-language education during the Interwar period; a high school opened, as well as a folk school and agricultural college. Funding largely came from Sweden, as did the instructors. In regions with mixed Estonian and Swedish populations, schools celebrated opening and graduation ceremonies in both Estonian and Swedish. However, during the 1930s in these ethnically mixed regions, Estonian took precedence, with educational opportunities in Swedish increasingly becoming restricted, even in areas where the Swedes were the majority. These measures sought to promote the Estonian language as the primary language and forced the Estonian-Swedes to assimilate into the majority culture, in some areas going so far as to even Estonianize names. Legislation also dictated that children born to mixed parents (where one parent was Swedish and the other Estonian) were to be educated in Estonian.

Instead of criticizing the new Estonian policies, the Estonian-Swedes more openly encouraged the development and continuation of their Swedish culture, particularly through the newspaper, *Kustbon*. In a 1935 article, Carl Mothander wrote, "We always see the concept of 'Swedishness' in a fairly narrow point of view. We completely forget that Swedishness

---

25 For an overview of Interwar politics, see Kasekamp, Andres. *The Radical Right in Interwar Estonia*. Palgrave Macmillan, (New York 2000).
26 Edward C. Thaden delineates Russification into three aspects: unplanned, cultural, and administrative Russification. If one were to draw parallels with Estonianization, it can be argued administrative Estonianization began in 1920 with the elimination of cabin-level positions for minorities, and cultural Estonianization began with the *coup d'état* by Konstantine Päts in 1932. See Thaden. *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland*. Princeton University Press, (Princeton, NJ 1981).
27 See Ketola, Mikko. *The Nationality Question in the Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, 1918-1939* Finnish Society of Church History , (Helsinki 2000).
28 "Rikssvenska präster nekas arbetstillstånd i Estland," *Kustbon*, 16 May 1936, p. 1. "Ljusning i prästfrågan?" *Kustbon*, 28 May 1936, p. 2.

doesn't merely consist of Swedish language and Swedish schools, but also disposition, character, and action."[29] The newspaper regularly encouraged increased cultural connections to Sweden and their Swedish heritage, particularly the strengthening of their Swedish language, while at the same time stressing the need for the Estonian-Swedes to overtly demonstrate their loyalty to and their role as citizens of Estonia.

During the 1930s, Sweden played an increasing role in the Estonian-Swedish communities. The National Society (and specifically the society's Estonian Committee) located funding for education and healthcare – appealing to organizations such as the Swedish Academy, the Rotary Club of Sweden, the Swedish Red Cross, but also to the royal family; Count Folke Bernadotte provided considerable funding for the Swedish school in Hapsal. Increasingly, the Swedish government got involved with funding, although the Estonian Committee oversaw the collection and distribution of funds.[30] The pastors were typically the Swedish representatives in Estonia to convey needs of the community and oversee the local distribution of funds, and as such, regularly received correspondence from individuals in need of financial assistance.[31] Aid from Sweden increasingly played a larger role within the community.[32]

Developments in Estonia took a dramatic turn with the arrival of the Second World War and the Soviet takeover of the Baltic States in June 1940. The transition from Estonianization to the Soviet political and military advance into the region was abrupt. Soviet ideology changed minority policies in radical ways, leading to an arguably privileged position for the Estonian-Swedes. However, Soviet policies – largely economic and cultural – simultaneously alienated the Swedish minority, with many seeing the occupation as the forerunner to the end of the Swedish minority in Estonia; living on islands and along coastal regions which were deemed to be of strategic military importance to the Soviet Union meant that fishing waters were often off-limits, depriving the Estonian-Swedes of their economic livelihood.

Following the signing of the Molotov-Ribbontrop pact and leading up to the Soviet occupation, the Soviet government forced Estonia into making concessions such as the establishment of Soviet military bases on Estonian territory. The forced evacuation of several islands occurred in areas where Estonian-Swedes were in the majority, forcing approximately ten percent of Estonia's Swedish population to abandon their homes and move inland. The evacuation caused considerable concern for the economic and cultural welfare of those displaced, as there were no assurances that they would be placed in Swedish areas or have access to fishing areas. The displaced, together with the leaders of SOV, turned to Sweden as a possible solution, appealing to authorities as a Swedish tribe in trouble. Mathias Westerblom, chairman of SOV, wrote in June 1940 to the Swedish consulate in Tallinn:

> Regarding this Swedish folk group, that for hundreds of years faithfully preserved their national individuality, their language and culture, with such a turnaround now wish to emigrate to Sweden, it is not because of cowardice for the political situation or with hope for a more comfortable and carefree life, but rather in order to continue the struggle of existence as Swedes for future generations.[33]

---

29 Mothander, Carl. "Karaktärsuppfostran," *Nya Kustbon*, 17 April 1935, p. 1-2.
30 Riksarkivet (Swedish National Archives) 730610, A1:1. Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt Stockholms lokalförening: Estlandsutskottet.
31 Riksarkivet 721073, E2:14. Prosten Erik Petzäll.
32 Another argument can be made regarding the role of *Kustbon* within the community. The majority of subscribers resided in Sweden (and Finland), and the majority of ad-revenue came from companies and individuals outside Estonia. Considering this, can *Kustbon* really be viewed as a representation of views within the Estonian-Swedish community, or would it better represent the role of Swedes in Estonia in the larger pan-Swedish movement and the need for increased funding to preserve Swedish culture?
33 Riksarkivet, Beskickningsarkiv Tallinn, F1:12. Letter dated 30.6.40.

Of those displaced, a group of 110 from Rågö applied for a collective passport to emigrate to Sweden. While tentatively approved by the Estonian government, final approval required authorization from Moscow; this group was the only group to receive legal permission to emigrate during the 1940-1941 Soviet occupation.

Soviet propaganda attempted to counter emigration thoughts, oftentimes indirectly. The principle propaganda organ for the Estonian-Swedes was the weekly newspaper *Sovjet-Estland*, published by the Soviet government. Over the course of the year-long occupation, the newspaper attempted to persuade the Estonian-Swedes toward Soviet ideology, encouraging a Soviet-based Estonian-Swedish culture and identity, and by reporting on domestic successes and promises contrasted with foreign horrors and instability. Soviet policy, as explained in *Sovjet-Estland*, identified the population based on "nationality" – a categorization comprised of a common language, common territory, common economic background, and a common culture. However, the Swedes were a minority within a minority in the larger Soviet Union. Soviet propaganda attempted to place the Swedes on equal footing with the Soviet Union's other nationalities. *Sovjet-Estland* regularly drew sharp contrasts between their minority-friendly policies (including the usage of Swedish place names in the newspaper) with the nationalistic (and bourgeois) policies of Estonianization of the 1930s. However, the newspaper and other forms of persuasion by agitators traveling in the local communities proved to be largely unsuccessful for the Soviets, with the Estonian-Swedes overwhelmingly and publicly expressing their discontent and their desire to leave.[34]

While the Estonian-Swedes were not alone in their opposition to the Soviets, nationality was a factor in Soviet actions towards the minority. The Soviet-Estonian government encouraged the Swedes to develop their culture in ways as never before available to them – although necessarily now socialist in content. Methods included the government covering costs for the publication of a Swedish-language newspaper, development in the arts, and repeatedly articulating the equal status of the ethnic group in the Soviet brotherhood of nations. No longer would the community need to appeal to Sweden for funds; now the local government actively offered greater opportunities and excessive funding to develop cultural programs. However, the government, rather than the individuals themselves maintained control over these areas. *Sovjet-Estland*, for example, had an Estonian editor – Anton Vaarandi.

Discontent with Soviet policies within the Estonian-Swedish communities soared, and the "Swedish question" plagued the local Läänemaa province communist party. While attempting to appeal to the Estonian-Swedes on a cultural level, the Soviet ideology and the minority policies negatively affected many of those very areas where the Estonian-Swedes had developed their culture in the past: their strong connection to the land was severed with the Soviet redistributions, the Soviet ideology ridiculed and restricted the church, and severing contact with Sweden and the larger pan-Swedish movement. Several communities openly indicated their desire to emigrate to Sweden – in several villages, 90 to 100 percent of the population signed lists stating their desire to leave.

The Soviet government attempted to reach out to the minority, giving the Estonian-Swedes privileges unavailable previously and even giving them a more privileged position than the majority population received. In May 1941, the Estonian Central Committee discussed the Estonian-Swedes specifically, reporting that work among the minority was "unsatisfactory." Shortcomings of Swedish-language offerings needed to be solved. The report called for more agitators speaking Swedish (particularly targeting the youth), increased subscriptions and expanding content for *Sovjet-Estland*, improving radio programs, and more translations of literature and movies. The May report pointed to certain areas where the Esto-

---

34   See Kranking, Glenn Eric. "Will They Stay or Will They Go? Soviet Propaganda and the Estonian-Swedes During the First Year of Soviet Occupation" in *Sovietization of the Baltics, 1940-1956*. Klio (Tartu, Estonia 2003), pp. 171-186.

nian-Swedes should, in theory, receive extra protections or attention not available for ethnic Estonians. For example, the report suggested adequate compensation for those Estonian-Swedes displaced for the military regions on the islands, lowering the harvest norms due to the poor quality of the soil of the region, and delaying any mobilization efforts among the Estonian-Swedes for a year. The Central Committee also wanted to explore the possibilities of reducing or eliminating the debts of all farmers in the Estonian-Swedish communities owning less than 5 hectares of land. In practice, however, these actions were not implemented, largely because of the sudden development of war with Germany and the need to shift their attention elsewhere.[35]

The abrupt rejection of two major foundations of the Estonian-Swedish identity in Soviet Estonia – connections to Sweden and the role of the church – irreparably damaged attempts at converting the minority to a socialist-driven identity. Additionally, policies such as the forced evacuations and land reform led to devastating economic catastrophes in the Estonian-Swedish communities. While the Central Committee attempted to alleviate many of these concerns, the German declaration of war delayed any attempts at implementation. Discontent among the Estonian-Swedes soared and thoughts of emigration strengthened; Fridolf Isberg, principle of the top Estonian-Swedish school, recognized in 1940 that the end of the Swedish settlement was inevitable and actively began documenting the local culture, drawing sketches of buildings and farmsteads, and recording family histories for preservation.[36]

The transfer of power in 1941 from the Soviet control to the Nazi German occupation also occurred quickly. The German administrators held vastly different positions in minority policies, obviously influenced by the racial ideology of the Nazis. However, unlike the Soviets, there was no attempt to push a government-sponsored cultural development among the Estonian-Swedes. Additionally, the Soviet occupation's mobilization and deportation (as well as the early emigration of some Estonian-Swedes to Sweden) deprived the Estonian-Swedish community of a number of their cultural leaders. There was no Swedish-language newspaper officially published during the Nazi occupation; only a 1942 almanac came out.[37] While Swedish-language schools continued operation, enrollment declined as attention shifted in the community toward renewed contact with Sweden and thoughts of emigration.

Although there was little cultural development during this period, Nazi German policies privileged the Estonian-Swedes. In December 1941 a German delegation, including a Dr. Ludwig Lienhard, visited Swedish-language schools. The delegation stripped several of the students and faculty and took body measurements, determining that the minority was Germanic with Baltic features – a racial rank that placed the Estonian-Swedes higher than the Estonians.[38] This racial ranking later allowed for greater opportunities, particularly as it related to contact with Sweden and potential legal emigration.

Throughout the Nazi occupation, contact between the Estonian-Swedish community and organizations in Sweden resumed with the National Society's Estonia Committee in Sweden taking an active role in coordinating between Sweden and the Estonian-Swedes. The local government no longer funded programs aimed at the Estonian-Swedes, and the community once again relied on funding from Sweden for Swedish-language education and healthcare. Sweden's neutrality and pro-German stance (at least early in the war) eased such connections.

---

35   Eesti Riigiarhiivi Filiaal (Estonian National Archives) 1-4-71, *Централый Комитет КП (б) Эстонии Особый Сестор*. 36-39. Minutes no. 8 of the Seating of the Central Committee, dated 15, 21, and 22 May 1941.

36   Rikarkivet 721112, vol. 7. Fridolf Isbergs samling gällande Nuckö, Kors och Stora Rågö.

37   There were unofficial publications, however, including the sports-themed newspaper *Sandhamn* produced (and handwritten) by six school boys in 1942 and 1943.

38   Isberg, Fridolf. "Birkas folkhög- och lantmannaskola under tiden 1939-1943," in *Birkas: Svensk folkhögskola i Estland*. Svenska Odlingens Vänner, (Stockholm 1971), p. 178. This is a similar conclusion that Swedish racial scholars in the early 20th century found.

Lienhard in particular reached out to the Swedish government to establish contacts; as early as 1941 Lienhard considered the massive evacuation of the Estonian-Swedes and attempted to coordinate plans with the Swedish Foreign Ministry.[39]

Throughout the Nazi occupation, Berlin allowed several groups from Sweden to visit Estonian-Swedish communities, bringing medical supplies, farming and fishing equipment, and books. Leaders of the Rågö-Swedes that emigrated in 1940 and the Rågö Foundation (the organization tasked with overseeing the Rågö-Swedes' transition into Swedish society) spearheaded these visits, re-establishing contact between Sweden and the Estonian-Swedes and instilling hope in the repatriation of all the ethnic Swedes. Starting in 1943, Berlin authorized the emigration of sick or elderly Estonian-Swedes. As Germany's position in the war weakened, local SS officers in Estonia including Lienhard expanded the repatriation, perhaps with the intent of gaining a favorable reputation with the Allies at the war's end.[40] The cultural organization for the Estonian-Swedes was put in charge of determining ethnicity, and membership in SOV quickly soared. Many viewed membership in the organization as a guarantee of their ability to leave, and in some instances, ethnic Estonians successfully emigrated through this process. By the end of the war, approximately 7,900 Estonian-Swedes had fled to Sweden – 4,357 legally. The Swedish state covered all transportation and relocation costs for those traveling legally.

The role of Sweden is of particular importance during this period. The Swedish government specifically made distinctions between the Estonian-Swedes and other refugees from the region, referring to their resettlement in Sweden as "colonization" of "Estonian citizens of Swedish origin."[41] The Estonian-Swedes received medical care, assistance in relocating, finding housing, and finding employment, as well as given special consideration to speed-up the residency requirement to acquire Swedish citizenship.

From the 1870s until the Second World War, the Estonian-Swedes passed through numerous forms of governments and various forms of classifications. Under the Tsarist period, government officials classified the population on the basis of legal social status, religion, and language. At the same time, groups in Sweden started to view the people first from a linguistic and religious stand-point, but later with an ethnic and racial bond among scholars and ministers. After 1920, the Estonian government classified the population according to "culture," primarily through linguistic identification. Attention from Sweden continued to increase, with ethnographers, linguists, and racial scientists investigating the population, and culminating in the 1930s with financial resources from the Swedish government. The most trying time for the Estonian-Swedes was arguably the Second World War, and principally the Soviet government when economic opportunities threatened the viability of the communities. The Soviet government classified the population based on "nationality," promising the Swedes greater cultural and economic possibilities. In contrast, the Nazi administrators classified the people based on race, placing the Estonian-Swedes in a higher category than their Estonian neighbors. During the war in Sweden, the Estonian-Swedes increasingly were viewed as having Swedish descent, and individuals and government committees worked on the emigration and resettlement of the population in the ancient homeland.

Governments, organizations, and individuals classify populations in a variety of methods. Regardless of the form of government, each form of classification influences minority policies. Yet as the development of the Estonian-Swedes demonstrates, none of these policies

---

39 Svenska Odlingens Vänner Arkiv (Stockholm). Dr. Ludwig Lienhards promemoria, maj 1945.
40 For example, Lienhard unsuccessfully attempted to settle in Sweden after the war. When the Swedish government rejected his petition, he fled to South America.
41 Riksarkivet 780032 A1:1. Rågöstiftelsens arkiv. See, for example, the Royal Majesty's Proposition number 40 (dated 26.1.1945).

eliminated or assimilated the minority population; the minority worked within each govern-
ment situation while attempting to further their own identification and cultural development.

När byxan blev var (polis)kvinnas egendom

Ann Kroon

Department of Sociology, Uppsala University, Sweden

ann.kroon@soc.uu.se

This article concerns the gendered history of women's police uniforms. Tracing the historic symbolism of "phallic trousers" as belonging only to men, and how they slowly become introduced as a garment also for women, it is argued that trousers can be used as a material and visual point of reference, through which it is possible to analyse some important social changes regarding gender throughout the 20th century. Overall, the article purports the idea that when trousers were introduced as an item of clothing to (most) women, this was implicitly accompanied by an increased attention to the *body as marker of gender*. In Sweden, the first police women "on the beat" in the 1950s had to wear culottes instead of proper trousers, while today all police uniforms are gender neutral. The article suggests that the resilient discussions of the presumed incompetence of the *female body* for some police work, serves the overriding purpose of maintaining naturalized gender differences in light of "trousers belonging to all". Policing is still maintained as a profession where men can be *both* caretaking and violent, while women are construed as non-violent and thus *only* as caretaking, leading to an asymmetrical logic, here captured as "the man contains the woman", but "the woman does not contain the man", profoundly affecting the range of possibilities in the two gendered positions.

När byxan blev var (polis)kvinnas egendom

> Flera polissystrar, pretenderar Fredrika Bremerförbundet på att få. Men skulle det inte kunna jämnas ut med att man satte kjolar på en del av nuvarande konstaplarna?
> Ur "Spånor" i tidskriften *Kasper*, No. 2, 1929, sid. 27

Så tydlig var den klädesmässiga skillnaden år 1929 mellan manliga och kvinnliga poliser (som då kallades polissystrar), att man som ovan kunde skämta om att utöka antalet kvinnor i polisen genom att "sätta kjol på männen". Spånet bygger på att kvinnor i polistjänst hade kjol, medan män (underförstått) hade byxor. Idag uppvisar västvärldens länder i stort sett helt könsneutrala polisuniformer, vilket i klartext betyder att byxan ingår i både mäns och kvinnors uniformsuppsättningar (Craik 2005; Steele 1989). Den kvinnliga polisuniformens historia följer på så sätt *byxans könade historia* och blir därmed ett spännande fokus för en analys av de drastiska förändringar som har skett under 1900-talet vad gäller klädesplagget byxan och dess könade symbolik. I dessa förändringar ligger också både möjligheten och hotet om att kvinnan alltmer har kommit att "likna mannen". Byxan har under ett par århundraden gått från att vara en fallisk stand-in för maskulinitet, oskiljbar från betydelsen av att vara man, till att bli *var kvinnas egendom*.

På ett socialhistoriskt plan följer byxans symboliska förändring kvinnans väg mot att bli ett subjekt i staten med rösträtt och andra medborgerliga rättigheter (Bergman 1988; Riegel 1963; Rosenberg 2000; Smith & Grieg 2003). Den självklarhet med vilken de flesta kvinnor idag tar på sig ett par byxor har föregåtts av många strider där kvinnans rätt att bära dem har stått i fokus både symboliskt och rent faktiskt. Byxan är alltså mycket mer än "bara" ett klädesplagg, den har under lång tid varit en symbol som har kopplat samman samhällelig makt med kroppslig auktoritet och aktivitet.

Kvinnors erövrande av byxan blir som ett slags prisma, en materiell referenspunkt, genom vilken det blir möjligt att visualisera och analysera kvinnors gradvisa tillträde till det offentliga, här förstått som sociala, kulturella, ekonomiska och politiska sfärer i samhället som tidigare varit förbehållna män (det ska understrykas att det fortfarande finns gott om ställen på jordklotet där kvinnor löper risk att fängslas och till och med dödas om de uppträder offentligt i byxor). Diskussioner om kvinnan och byxan hakar i mer övergripande diskurser om kvinnans plats i samhället och fångar kärnan i vad kvinnor (och män) "kan" och "borde" göra knutet till föreställningar om kön, kropp och sexualitet. Detta utmejslande sker i en slags samtidighet på både en symbolisk nivå (här uttryckt som "kvinnans") och på en empirisk, faktisk, nivå (här uttryckt som "kvinnors"). Mitt syfte i den här korta artikeln är att sätta fingret på några aspekter av de här övergripande processerna och artikeln utgör den första av flera kommande genusanalyser av polisuniformens roll i olika internationella sammanhang.

Mitt intresse för en sociohistorisk analys med byxan som materiellt fokus växte fram under mitt avhandlingsarbete om genus- och sexualitetslogiker i psykiatriskt textmaterial om transsexualism (Kroon 2007). Jag stötte i texterna ofta på uttalanden i stil med att det summariskt uttryckt är "lättare för kvinnor att klä sig i manskläder än det är för män att klä sig i kvinnokläder", vilket underförstått tas som intäkt för att kvinnor nu mer eller mindre har tillgång till allt "manligt". Samtidigt visar mina analyser att gränsen för denna "lätthet" med tydlig skärpa dras vid kroppen. En historisk kontextualisering ger ju också snabbt vid handen att det inte "alltid" varit så att kvinnor lättare har kunnat klä sig i byxor utan att dra uppmärksamhet till sig eller bötfällas. Detta väckte mitt intresse fullt ut för att genom könade klädkonventioner vidare försöka analysera hur den springande punkten i det sociala tabut mot kvinnors uppvisning av det maskulint konnoterade, lite drastiskt uttryckt, har *förflyttats från kläder till kropp*. Det som tidigare i historien reglerades genom ett faktiskt förbud mot byxan, reproduceras numera framförallt av att kvinnor utmärker sig som kvinnliga genom att hålla

kroppen fri från det maskulint konnoterade. Detta betyder naturligtvis inte att kläder har förlorat all sin könade effekt, snarare att kroppen har kommit att bli alltmer fokuserad.

Kvinnan som polis i yttre tjänst

Den sista av de offentliga striderna kring kvinnan och byxan stod kring de uniformerade kvinnliga poliserna som skulle ut i patrullerande polistjänst. Johanna Dahlgren visar i *Kvinnor i polistjänst* (2007), att det är när kvinnliga poliser ska börja gå i yttre ordningstjänst, det vill säga patrullera på gatorna, som konflikterna inom polisen verkligen skärps till. Ett fackligt yttrande till en pågående utredning om vilka arbetsuppgifter kvinnor ska ha inom polisverksamheten lyder:

> Den tidigare använda formen för anställning av kvinnor som polismän för speciella uppgifter inom kriminalpoliskåren [läs: kvinnligt konnoterade arbetsuppgifter inomhus] är riktig och borde eventuellt utökas. *Vad därutöver är, är av ondo* (Citat från Dahlgren 2007:57, min kursivering. Se hennes fotnot 2 för källhänvisning).

Kvinnornas nya arbetsuppgifter som poliser i yttre tjänst var ett resultat av att de gradvis hade kommit att erövra en "plats i offentligheten som representanter för en ordningsmakt med maskulina konnotationer med rätt att ta till våld" (Dahlgren 2007:2). Detta väckte också på allvar frågan om poliskvinnornas klädsel och "throughout the twentieth century, the debate about policewomen's uniforms simmered in police force after police force" (Craik 2005:87). Vilken typ av uniform som de patrullerande poliskvinnorna skulle bära och, framförallt, om de skulle ha samma slags uniform som männen, har alltså ivrigt debatterats under 1900-talet och har allt som oftast satts i relation till frågan om kvinnors lämplighet för de olika polisfunktionerna (Craik 2005; Steele 1989). När kvinnliga poliser i Stockholm år 1958 för första gången skulle ut och patrullera gatorna, var det ursprungliga förslaget att långbyxor skulle ingå i deras uniformsuppsättning (Åse 2000:32). Som Cecilia Åse analyserar i *Makten att se*, ifrågasätts dock lämpligheten i detta från högsta ort och istället införs *byxkjolen* som en kompromiss:

> Lämpligheten av att kvinnlig polispersonal medgives bära långbyxor torde kunna ifrågasättas. Vi anser det från utseendesynpunkt sett mindre tilltalande att kvinnlig personal bär sådana plagg och finner det även vara önskvärt, att allmänheten på avstånd kan konstatera, huruvida den uniformerade poliskonstapeln är man eller kvinna (Åse 2000:32, citerat av henne ur *Riksarkivet, konseljakt 56, inrikesdepartementet 15/11 1957*).

Byxkjolen var tänkt att ge de patrullerande poliskvinnorna något av byxans praktiska bekvämlighet och fanns kvar i den kvinnliga uniformsuppsättning ända in på 1980-talet. Den här bilden är tagen någon gång under 1975-1980, i syfte att visa upp de då nya polisuniformerna. Foto: © Polismuseet.

Trots att polisuniformens utseende i övrigt ställde stora krav på "visuell enhetlighet och utesluter individuella avvikelser – ända ner till färgen på skosnörena" föll alltså detta krav på övergripande enhetlighet helt och hållet när det gällde kvinnorna, som istället fick ta på sig byxkjol och ge sig ut på gatorna (Åse 2000:39). Det viktigaste blev till syvende og sist det ohotade visuella avskiljandet av könen som för allmänheten gör "klart att de kvinnliga poliserna inte är män" (Åse 2000:32).

Den falliska byxan

För att förstå de starka reaktionerna på att kvinnor inom polisen skulle "bära byxor", eller uttryckt med andra ord, inta en auktoritär roll i det offentliga rummet, är det nödvändigt att förstå byxans historiska symbolik. Historikern Tom Olsson skriver om "byxornas centrala roll i könskampen" i förmodern tid med dess strikt könade klädkoder. Byxorna var mannens egendom, "en patriarkal maktsymbol" som "definierade honom som man" (Olsson 2005:97).

Vem som fick bära vilka kläder, både vad avser klass och kön, var strängt reglerat (Borgström 2002).

Att byxan så starkt symboliserade den offentliga mannen gjorde det också möjligt för kvinnor att bokstavligen kliva i byxorna och därigenom få tillgång till sådant som annars var dem förnekat. Det har vimlat av kvinnor genom historien som har klätt sig i byxor (som den viktigaste delen av "manskläderna") och deltagit i männens värld *som män*: cowboys, pirater, soldater, äkta män, kriminella, fiskare, gruvarbetare, präster, drängar, ja, listan kan göras lång. Att det var ett väletablerat fenomen visar flera historiska studier (se t. ex. bidragen i Borgström 2002; Dekker & van de Pool 1995; Rosenberg 2000; Smith & Greig 2003)

Under dessa strikta klädkonventioner var det omöjligt för kvinnor *som kvinnor* att visa sig offentligt i byxor: "[a]ny woman who was brave enough to wear trousers in mid-nineteenth-century America posed a threat to [the gendered] symbolic order, and was seen to be acting 'out of her sphere' " (Luck 1996:141). Detta var dock tydligt klassrelaterat, eftersom några av de första kvinnor som långt tidigare bar byxor offentligt var kvinnliga gruvarbetare, bönder och fiskare (Smith & Grieg 2003). Byxan (först kallad *bloomers*) som kvinnligt klädesplagg kom att bli en av de stora materiella symbolerna under kampanjerna för kvinnans rösträtt (Luck 1996; Riegel 1963). Som syns på skämtteckningen kom "bloomeristerna", som de kallades i Sverige, att associeras inte minst med cykeln, den tidens moderna fortskaffningsmedel som gav kvinnor en helt ny rörelsefrihet i det offentliga (Bergman 1988:40).

Cigarrökning, sportutövning och umgänge på klubb, där man blev uppassad av icke-vita kvinnor, ingick i uppfattningen om hotet från och möjligheterna för de nya moderna byxbeklädda (vita) kvinnorna. Källa: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Bloomer-Club-cigars-satire-p-adv054.JPG. Bilden ligger i "the public domain" och kan användas fritt.

Byxan började sakta men säkert att lösgöras från mannen. Runt sekelskiftet 1900 och decennierna därefter blir det mäkta populärt och trendigt för moderna kvinnor att klä sig i byxor och kostym i enlighet med det maskulina mode som växte fram, gärna också med håret klippt riktigt kort. Det var också populärt för kvinnliga konstnärer och författare i tiden att framställa självporträtt där de klädde sig i manskläder (Smith & Grieg 2003). Det här är något som vi idag gärna gör queera tolkningar av och ser som uttryck för kvinnornas *sexualitet*, en typ av tillskrivningar bakåt i tiden vars självklarhet har kommit att ifrågasättas av bland andra sexologi- och kulturforskaren Laura Doan (Jagose & Doan 2001). Även om vi naturligtvis inte kan veta något om dessa kvinnors "verkliga" sexualitet, så ska vi enligt Doan vara försiktiga med att självklart anta att människor "förstod" och "uttryckte" sin sexualitet på vare sig det ena eller det andra sättet innan identitetstankarna slagit rot ordentligt framåt 1930-talet. Skulle man sålunda här följa Doans tes tolkas kvinnors maskulina klädstil under den här tidsperioden framförallt som ett uttryck för *modernitet,* "more likely to be thought playful or elegant than a clear marker of sexual identity" (Jagose & Doan 2001:1).

Men något händer. Doans kulturella analyser visar att tolkningen av kvinnan i manskläder/den manhaftiga kvinnan "blir lesbisk" på allvar framåt 1920-talets slut, vilket sker inte minst via de tolkningsraster som växer fram i olika sexologiska kartläggningar (Jagose & Doan 2001). Under det tidiga 1900-talet ägnas mycken möda att diskutera och definiera "heterosexualitet" och "homosexualitet", där den sistnämnda kategorin stigmatiserande knyts till "manlighet" hos kvinnan och "kvinnlighet" hos mannen. Sett genom byxans prisma inträffar detta parallellt med att byxan börjar förlora något av sin absoluta koppling till mannen. Kvinnor i gemen börjar således sakta men säkert att kunna använda byxan, vilket är ett uttryck för att kvinnor tar mer offentlig plats i samhället och alltmer tar sig in på samma yrkesområden som männen. *Samtidigt* tycks dock vissa manligt konnoterade kroppsliga drag såsom styrka och storlek spjälkas av från "den vanliga kvinnan" för att istället läggas på "den lesbiska kvinnan".

Den kvinnliga polisen som manhaftig eller våpig

Byxan – och med den ett visst erövrande av maskulinitetens innehåll – blir alltså tillgänglig för kvinnor, men samtidigt hålls den *kroppsliga* manligheten idémässigt avgränsad från den "normala" kvinnan, vilket effektivt begränsar hennes repertoar av möjligheter. Här menar jag att vi har en nyckel till att förstå varför kvinnor inom just polisen har haft en av de tuffaste yrkesmässiga integrationerna (i likhet med brandförsvaret och militären). Det är nämligen yrken där "byxan" och "kroppslig manlighet" fortfarande i allra högsta grad hänger ihop, ända ner till själva yrkesbeskrivningen så att säga. För att vara en "riktig polis" behövs symbolisk och faktisk tillgång till den auktoritära (maskulint konnoterade) kroppen, det är inte bara för kvinnor att "ta på sig byxan".

Betydelsen av avgränsningen mellan olika kategorier av kvinnor och deras antagna typ av kroppslighet blir inte minst tydlig när kvinnor bryter in på de här tungt manliga arenorna. Det finns gott om forskning som visar hur kvinnor *tränas* in i en kroppslig "kvinnlighet" från tidig ålder (Bordo 1993; Martin 1998). En noggrant iscensatt heterosexualiserad kvinnlighet enligt alla kulturens regler kan vara en effektiv strategi för att motverka stämplingen som "manhaftig" och därmed "okvinnlig" (alldeles oavsett om man "är" lesbisk eller inte) (se t.ex. Darien 2002; Herbert 1998; Young 1991). Kvinnligheten får dock inte framhävas *för mycket* (se Åse 2000 för analyser av denna paradox), eftersom på andra sidan lurar "våpet", en minst lika oönskad effekt som istället utmålar kvinnan som passiv och *för* kvinnligt oduglig, som en som inte kan utföra polisyrket (Finstad 1998). Som Åse skriver: "Kvinnliga poliser kan varken vara 'riktiga' poliser eller 'riktiga' kvinnor" (Åse 2000:72). Den här typen av anklagelser, att å ena sidan bli utpekad som "manhaftig/lesbisk", å andra sidan som

"passiv/våpig/kvinnlig", är effektiva sätt att underminera och hindra kvinnors möjligheter att inta den auktoritetsposition som polisyrket annars både erbjuder och kräver.

Vi kan se denna kompensatoriska strategi i analyser av hur kvinnliga poliser och militärer subtilt feminiserar kroppsliga uttryck för att uppväga det maskulint konnoterade. Det kan handla om att låta en flik av håret synas under den militära kepsen, eller den "obligatoriska flätan" som många kvinnor på polisutbildningen har lagt sig till med "ungefär till termin fyra", enligt en lärare på Växjö universitets polisutbildning.[1] Det kan också handla om feminint konnoterade kroppshållningar, röstlägen, gester och annat "kroppsnära" i betydelsen att det handlar om uttryck som *inte sitter i kläderna* (se t.ex. Darien 2003; Herbert 1998; Young 1991). Som ofta när genusanalyser utförs, hamnar nästan allt fokus på kvinnor och deras handlingar. Därför är det viktigt att framhålla tolkningen att logiken bakom dessa kompensationer främst handlar om att avvärja det *hot mot det maskulina systemet* som uppstår om kvinnan alltför mycket "liknar mannen". Här finns en tydlig könad asymmetri: "Om kvinnorna inte är kvinnliga förlorar männen i manlighet", men däremot "om mannen är omanlig betyder det *inte* att kvinnan blir okvinnlig" (Åse 2000:70f, min kursivering).

Från byxkjol till kravallutrustning – byxan blir kropp

Jag skulle vilja avsluta den här korta artikeln med några funderingar kring hur vi kan greppa den fortsatta sociokulturella strävan att visuellt förstärka särskiljandet av män och kvinnor, inte minst i ljuset av nutidens formella jämställdhet. Något annorlunda uttryckt, min underliggande tes kan sägas vara att ju lättare det har blivit för kvinnor att utan att väcka misstänksamhet (eller bryta mot lagen för den sakens skull) tillgodogöra sig olika aspekter av det maskulint konnoterade i samhället, desto större roll tycks kroppen och olika kroppsmodifikationer ha kommit att spela (se också t.ex. Bordo 1993).

Polisuniformens utseende spelar en stor roll i det samhällsbeskydd som polisen enligt polislagen är satt att tillförsäkra allmänheten, eftersom "[h]ur legitim makt visualiseras, hur polisers kroppar tar sig ut i uniform […] handlar om hur rättsstaten manifesteras visuellt i det offentliga rummet" (Åse 2000:36). Strävan efter könsneutrala polisuniformer har varit ett viktigt symboliskt (och praktiskt!) led på vägen mot samma arbetsuppgifter för kvinnor och män: "in police work the connection [of the trousers] was clear: the same uniform went with the same duties for men and women" (Steele 1989:71).

Polismyndigheten arbetar fortsatt mot att polisens uniformer ska vara könsneutrala och anpassade till både män och kvinnor. Den nationella insatsstyrkans utrustning, den som skyddar kroppen mest, leder helt och hållet till att "i full mundering, med hjälm, kroppsskydd och ansiktshuvor, går det inte att se skillnad på män och kvinnor" (Sigray 2003). I arbetet med att få fler kvinnor att söka till insatsstyrkan, där uniformsanpassningen ses som en viktig del, visade det sig att "[u]töver vikten är det få detaljer som är särskilt hämmande för just kvinnor". Intressant nog visade det sig snart "att den tunga utrustningen, som väger över 30 kg, egentligen är ett problem för både män och kvinnor då den begränsar rörelseförmågan för dem som bär den" (ibid). Betoningen på utvecklingsarbetet kom att ligga på att "så mycket som möjligt av utrustningen skulle vara skräddarsytt och kunna anpassas efter individens längd, huvudstorlek, kroppsbyggnad och så vidare" (ibid), vilket leder fokuseringen bort från den stereotypt könade kroppen och istället riktar blicken mot den individuella kroppens möjligheter och begränsningar.

---

[1] Kommentaren fälldes vid en polisforskningskonferens på Växjö universitet 16-18 augusti 2007.

Dagens polisuniformer uppvisar (nästan) inga skillnader mellan män och kvinnor. De blå skjortorna ingår som kort- och långärmade i båda uniformsuppsättningarna. Men det är "detaljerna som gör det" och därför ett stort tack till Therése Andersson som uppmärksammade mig på att bilderna visar att man fortfarande tillämpar s.k. dam- respektive herrknäppning på skjortorna, vilket här avslöjas av slipsnålens riktning. Foto: Jan Mill. Från Jannesson (2004) med benäget tillstånd.

Trots dessa ansträngningar och ambitioner verkar frågan om *kvinnokroppens duglighet för polisyrket* vägra släppa greppet om diskussionen. Den kvinnliga polisens gradvisa erövrande av byxan tycks inte vara tillräcklig för att hon självklart och fullt ut ska kunna delta i alla aspekter av polisyrket. Det är fortsatt svårt att rekrytera kvinnor till vissa uppdrag, såsom till insats- och piketstyrkorna, och fokus tycks alltjämt ligga på kvinnors antagna brist på fysiska kvaliteter för dessa uppgifter (se t.ex. Orre 2007). Frågan i dagens samhälle tycks inte längre handla om *om* kvinnliga poliser ska patrullera gatorna eller ej (även om några incidenter i stockholmstrakten häromåret pekar mot att den striden ännu inte helt kan läggas åt sidan, se *Dagens Nyheter*, 11/6 2006), utan om kvinnors möjligheter att kroppsligen utföra *alla* de uppgifter som män antas kunna utföra.

Att tillåtas "ta på sig byxan" blir på ett symboliskt plan att erkännas tillträde till auktoritet och makt. Cecilia Åses analyser i *Makten att se* visar dock att tanken om polisens våldsmonopol som i huvudsak en manlig angelägenhet kvarstår. Den upprätthålls symboliskt och faktiskt genom "att kvinnor inte anses besitta fysisk auktoritet, att de inte förmår förkroppsliga ett potentiellt våld" (Åse 2000:110). Istället formas kvinnorna inom polisen "som omhändertagande men inte som våldsutövande", till skillnad från den manliga polisen som "kan vara både våldsutövande och omhändertagande" (Åse 2000:110; se också Dahlberg 2007, främst kapitel 3). Detta är en asymmetri som fokuserar *kroppens möjligheter* och vars logik också kan uttryckas som att "mannen rymmer kvinnan" men "kvinnan rymmer inte

mannen", vilket får konsekvenser för bredden och möjligheterna inom de respektive könade positionerna (Kroon 2007).

Därmed kvarstår möjligen den sista (?) symboliska striden kring kvinnan som polis: hennes möjlighet att till fullo representera det våldsmonopol som tidigare endast mannen(s kropp) ansetts duga till.

Referenser

Bergman, I. (1988), "Kvinnorna och byxorna". I I. Bergman (red), *Kläder. Nordiska museets och Skansens årsbok Fataburen 1988*. Stockholm: Nordiska museet.

Bordo, S. (1993), *Unbearable Weight. Feminism, Western Culture and the Body*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Borgström, E. (red) (2002), *Makalösa kvinnor. Könsöverskridare i myt och verklighet*. Göteborg: AlfabetaAnamma.

Craik, J. (2005), *Uniforms Exposed. From Conformity to Transgression*. Oxford & New York: Berg.

Dahlgren, J. (2007), *Kvinnor i polistjänst. Föreningen Kamraterna, Svenska Polisförbundet och kvinnors inträde i polisyrket 1957-1971*. Umeå: Skrifter från Institutionen för historiska studier 16, Genusforskarskolan, Umeå universitet.

Dagens Nyheter, 11 juni 2006, "Kriminella trakasserar kvinnliga poliser".

Darien, A. (2002), "The Alter Ego of the Patrolman? Policewomen and the Discourse of Difference in the NYPD". *Women's Studies*, 31:561-608.

Dekker, R. & L. van de Pol (1995), *Kvinnor i manskläder. En avvikande tradition. Europa 1500-1800*. Stockholm/Stehag: Symposion.

Finstad, L. (1998), "En av gutta? Om kjønn i politiet". I A. Kongstad, B. Kyvsgaard & A. Storgaard (red). *Kvinder på randen*. Aarhus: Aarhus Universitetsforlag.

Herbert, M. S. (1998), *Camouflage isn't Only for Combat. Gender, Sexuality, and Women in the Military*. New York & London: New York University Press.

Jagose, A. & L. Doan (2001), "The Evolution of a Lesbian Icon". *Genders* 34, paginering saknas.

Jannesson, M. (2004), *Polisuniformer och social perception.* Opublicerad c-uppsats i psykologi, Växjö universitet.

Kasper, nr. 2, februari 1929. Från Projekt Runeberg på http://runeberg.org/kasperme/1929/0027.html

Kroon, A. (2007), *FE/MALE asymmetries of gender and sexuality*. Uppsala: Uppsala universitet.

Luck, K. (1996), "Trousers: feminism in nineteenth-century America". I P. Kirkham (red), *The Gendered Object*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press.

Martin, K. A. (1998), "Becoming a Gendered Body: Practices of Preschools". *American Sociological Review,* 63(4):494-511.

Olsson, T. (2005), "En man försvinner. Den visuella kulturen under det långa 1500-talet". I M. Hurd, T. Olsson & L. Öberg (red), *Iklädd identitet. Historiska studier av kropp och kläder*. Stockholm: Carlsson Bokförlag.

Orre, J. (2007), "Kvinnor praktiserar i piketen". http://www.polisen.se/inter/util%5Cnodeid=21434&pageversion=1.jsp?articleid=9007198

Riegel, R. E. (1963), "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights". *American Quarterly*, 15(3): 390-401.

Rosenberg, T. (2000), *Byxbegär*. Göteborg: Anamma.

Sigray, R. (2003), "Goda insatser tar form". *utveckla.nu* # 1/2003, http://www.utvecklingsradet.se/3437

Smith, C. & C. Greig (2003), *Women in Pants. Manly Maidens, Cowgirls, and Other Renegades*. New York: Abrams.

Steele, V. (1989), "Dressing for Work". I C. B. Kidwell & V. Steele (red), *Women & Men. Dressing the Part*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Young, M. (1991), *An Inside Job. Policing and Police Culture in Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Åse, C. (2000), *Makten att se. Om kropp och kvinnlighet i lagens namn*. Malmö: Liber.

Writing the Nation. On Ulf Lundell's "Öppna landskap"

Ulf Lindberg

Dept. of School Teacher Education, Malmö University, Sweden

ulf.lindberg@mah.se

As Benedict Anderson made clear in 1991, the media are superior creators and perpetuators of nations as imagined communities. Ulf Lundell's "Öppna landskap" ("Open landscapes", 1982) is a song that was immediately appropriated as kind of new national anthem, no matter which were the artist's intentions. In line with this, my interest in the song focuses on the way it represents an update of "Swedishness" at a time when a national identity crisis is approaching. I will depart from that key feature of Romanticism which literary critic Horace Engdahl has named "the living gaze" and, to Lundell's generation, connects the Swedish *visa* tradition to rock in Swedish. Theories of the experience society, post-colonial criticism and eco criticism are used to discuss the presuppositions of Lundell's effort.

Writing the Nation. On Ulf Lundell's "Öppna landskap"

The aim of this paper is to discuss a popular song from the early 1980s in terms of an intervention into Swedish self-understanding. Neither the song, "Öppna landskap"/"Open landscapes", nor its author Ulf Lundell, rock artist as well as writer of poems and thick novels, needs any introduction to a national audience. At home "Öppna landskap" became an instant hit, greeted as a new national anthem shortly after its release in 1982. Later its popularity has extended to the adjoining Nordic countries. Since nothing in the song lyrics explicitly relates the landscape they represent to Sweden and the melody borrows from a regional folk idiom,[1] this is perhaps no surprise. However, the immediate success at home can hardly be understood without reference to the conjuncture in which it was made public. The 1980s introduced a period of national self-questioning, a Swedish identity crisis triggered by different globalisation symptoms, to which also popular music contributed – especially in the 90s, when multicultural rap clashed with White Power acts.

So, even if "Öppna landskap" was not a conscious attempt at "writing the nation", it came out as one. This expression draws on Homi K. Bhabhas article "DissemiNation. Time, Narrative and the Margins of the Modern Nation" (1994), which in its turn builds on Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" (Anderson 1991/2000), of which the nation is a prime example. The aim of nationalist discourses, says Bhabha, is to create *one* community out of several different ones. To that purpose such discourses work with two kinds of temporal representations, which contradict each other. Nationalism as *pedagogical* discourse represents the people by reference to a common origin and a continous, accumulated history. But nationalist discourse is also and simultaneously *performative*. Bhabha thinks that "[t]he scraps, patches and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture" (145), which allows for reinterpretation of pedagogical discourse and so opens a space for the narratives of marginalised groups to challenge homogeneity. I find this opposition relevant to what Lundell achieved with "Öppna landskap" and will try to substantiate why in the following, focusing the lyrics of the song (see the Appendix of this article).

"The living gaze"

Lundell writes in a double tradition: that of the "authenticity rock" of Dylan or Springsteen, and that of the Swedish *visa* – an important ingredient of the national song treasure. As Lars Lilliestam shows in his standard work *Svensk rock. Musik, lyrik, historik* (1998), there are interesting links between the indigenous tradition of the *visa* and rock lyrics written in Swedish. It is no coincidence that artists like Lundell, Rolf Wikström or Joakim Thåström have celebrated their predecessors Carl Michael Bellman, Evert Taube och Nils Ferlin on record.[2] As an art form the *visa* has kept alive a masculine, Romantic-Bohemian view of art and the world; as social cement it has equipped several generations of Swedes with raw material for the construction of a national community.

The Romantic-Bohemian legacy is a point at which rock and *visa* readily merge. A great amount of British rockers of the 1960s were, as Simon Frith and Howard Horne point out in *Art into Pop* (1987), pop Bohemians, who acquired their expressive aesthetics in art schools. And in another work from the same year, *The Triumph of Vulgarity. Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism,* the American Robert Pattison argues that the thematics of rock mirrors that

---

1   Thus the opening melody phrase of "Öppna landskap" is a loan from the oldie "Hör hur västanvinden susar" ("Hear the murmur of the west wind").

2   As a matter of fact, Swedish rock artists' dependence of the *visa* tradition has become so conspicuous that a critic found it necessary to hoist a flag of warning a couple of years ago, starting out with an allusion to Allen Ginsburg's *Howl:* "I saw the best minds of my generation destroyed by *visor"* (Strage 2004).

of the literary Romantics. Filtered through Walt Whitman ways of thinking communicated by Romantic and Symbolist writers from Blake to Rimbaud were adopted by rock musicians and gave rise to what Pattison names "a vulgar panteism", to which world and mind are one.

To my argument it is important that both rock and visa propagate a Romantic-Bohemian outlook on artistry and the world. Now, the concept of Romanticism is notoriously problematic, no matter how it is defined: in terms of an epoch, a philosophy or a "family of styles". The last alternative that I will draw on here is the one that Horace Engdahl prefers in *Den romantiska texten* (1986). What keeps the Romantic family together is to Engdahl a crucial scenario that he calls "the living gaze", the igniting of the imagination that calls forth both "the most real reality" and a radically "poetic" language to capture it. As Engdahl observes,

> the subject of Romantic texts is often threatened by being engulfed by passivity and paralysis, struck by the death of emotions, buried under objective nature or the mass of Time. The ego must be ignited, reborn, push forward (or back) again to a living vision. It is a Phoenix-like ego, reduced to a cycle of emptiness and liberated seeing (273, my translation).

It should be noted that the living gaze cannot be willed into existence. Its acquisition is represented as a grace or a gift. Sometimes it is reached by the mediation of love, as in Engdahl's paradigmatic text, "Den nya skapelsen" ("The new creation") by Johan Henrik Kellgren. Nevertheless, it is a fact that during the course of the 19th century lyrical subjects as well as their authors increasingly resort to various means of inducing the desired state of mind. "Intoxicate yourselves", urged Baudelaire: "With wine, with poetry, with virtue, according to taste." What takes place is a kind of instrumentalisation of life in the service of art. This instrumentalisation involves love and wraps it in a male Romantic cloak. "Make me amorous and insane again", prays Lundell. The lyrical I, bent on self-expression, needs a muse to ignite its gaze. But women are Eves: give in and you lose your freedom. This ambivalence resounds in the Swedish 20th century visa from Evert Taube to Cornelis Vreeswijk as well as in rock music, where it has produced a great many rolling stones, hungry hearts and mysterious women. In a song like Lundell's *Gruva/Mine* (Xavante, 1994), it is grafted on political commentary – Lundell often voices a working-class solidarity filtered through the youth revolt of the 1960s. A closed-down mine here invokes the loss of "the people's home"; what is left to the subject is the dream of taking a beautiful refugee woman that he has caught a glimpse of with him and break out of the racist-ridden ghost town: "I'll drive this Volvo/ as far as it can go/ and she will sit there beside me/ till the end of night" (my translation). It is Springsteen adapted to Swedish conditions: "a non-romantic account of social life, and a highly romantic account of human nature", as Simon Frith once summed up The Boss.[3]

A Pastoral for the Experience Society

While rock is urban in its lyrical settings as well as in its sound, the modern *visa* has kept nature poetry alive, most visibly in the pastoral sceneries favored by Evert Taube. When Lilliestam calls Lundell "an incurable nature romantic" (184), this quality is therefore best explained with reference to indigenous tradition. In itself *visa* landscapes have little in common with the drama and the mystique cultivated by Romanticism. But the *use* of nature is Romantic. It is neither a question of Symbolist double exposure of real scenery and a state of mind, nor of Expressionist distorted projection; rather, the landscape keeps the mimetic

---

3   "Towards an aesthetic of popular music", in Leppert & McClary, eds.: *Music and Society …* (1987:147).

objectivity necessary to make it a site for the transformation of vision. This is also the case in "Öppna landskap".[4]

As "Gruva" indicates, another Romantic motif that Lundell dwells on is national identity, which was never a problem to the cosmopolitan Taube. The Sweden of Lundell's dreams is the outcome of successful negotiations between the need for community and the need for Bohemian freedom, but the social reality he experiences often calls for criticism and awakens feelings of nostalgia, historical romanticism, revolt, and idealization of "the people". In "Öppna landskap" the lyrics are sprinkled with signifiers, fit to trigger stereotypical images of "Swedishness". These signifiers refer part to nature (the sea, the wind, the light, the open space, larks and gulls), part to culture (sparse population, moonshine snaps, home-baked bread, herring, St. John's wort, a wreath of leaves, rune-stones). They also include a few abstract concepts (peace, freedom, clarity and simplicity of life), whose function it seems to be to interpret the sensuous impressions. However, rather than the argumentation one might expect, the discursive model is a catalogue, held together by frequent use of anaphor. The lyrics have no distinct forward motion towards some peak, and it is hard to find a system in the distribution of statements. This observation dovetails with others that are to do with musical structure. Each verse follows a familiar AA1BA2 pattern with 8 bar units, except in the last, A2 section, which holds only 4 bars. Within this frame, verbal repetition plays a major structural part. Thus the first and the last two lines of each verse are identical, which creates an effect of closure. The same strategy is used in the lyrics as a whole: they end the same way as they started out.

Looked at more closely, sensous impressions are introduced by means of time and place shifters ("when", "where", "then"), from where they may develop into small events or scenes: having a meal in the first verse, overhearing a party in the second, laying down a wreath in the third. In other words causality is transposed into temporal and spatial relations. What appears is a chronotope in Bakhtin's sense: a modern *idyll*.

According to Bakhtin (1991:136-137), the idyll has three general characteristics: it roots life in a specific place, the home of ancestors as well as expected children; it emphasizes primal, existential aspects of everyday life such as birth, work, love, death; and it adjoins the rhythm of man's life to that of nature. However, as modernity makes these things increasingly problematic to realize, the idyll is all but expatriated from representations of contemporary life and its elements reinterpreted according to the demands of individualisation. By the end of the 18th century, for instance, notions of nature as a therapeutic asset were widespread, and sublime nature (especially waterfalls) had become the target of a budding tourist industry, as Orvar Löfgren notes in *On Holiday*.

This development is highly relevant to "Öppna landskap". In a culturalist reading of the song the third and fourth lines, introduced almost in passing, offer a key by stating that the "I" wants to live in an open landscape only "for a few months every year/ so that the soul can get some rest". What the lyrics celebrate, then, is a *holiday* landscape, a pause from the complexities of modern life. The idyll has become an exception, a ritual, negotiated return to pre-modern life forms that each and everybody is familiar with. I think the appeal of Lundell's landscape derives to a large extent from this open recognition of the conditions for its beneficial services.

In an article from 2003 art critic Lars O Ericsson points out that "landscape" originally referred to a genre in painting. The landscape appears, according to Ericsson, when, during the 17th and 18th centuries, nature is transformed from stage props to an object in itself worthy of visual representation. "Therefore it is paradoxical that the concept of landscape to many people seems so closely adjoined to notions of untouched, virgin nature, originality,

---

4   Lilliestam (1997:186) offers a similar list.

authenticity and truth." Indeed, it is not difficult to see a dependence on representational conventions in Lundell's open landscape. As noted by Anders Öhman (1999), an endeavour to occupy and personalise places that have been transformed into clichés is a recurring motif in Lundell's oeuvre. Their character of topoi is the very condition for the interest he invests in them. This perspective is easily adjoined to that cultivated by Engdahl: a place is dead until it encounters the unique "living gaze".

The topicality of the representation includes some details that connote the sublime, for instance the surging sea. But wild nature is tempered by the presence of human beings, so that the landscape also offers pastoral impressions. Terry Gifford's book *Pastoral (*1999) presents several different uses of the term. Most frequently the pastoral is regarded as a fairly well demarcated literary genre with a history that harks back to antiquity. But according to Gifford "pastoral" may also refer to any literature that represents the country in – usually positive – contrast to the city. Furthermore, there is an anti-pastoral tradition that takes a critical stance to the idyllic. Finally, Gifford suggests there is a "post-pastoral" tradition with predecessors such as Wordsworth, which cultivates ecological aspects on man's relationship to nature. Clearly "Öppna landskap" qualifies as a pastoral at least in the second of these categories.

To Gifford the pastoral is characterized by an inherent ambivalence:

> Pastoral is essentially a discourse of retreat which may […] either simply *escape* from the complexities of the city, the court, the present, 'our manners', or *explore* them […] It is because retreat is a device for reflecting upon the present that the pastoral is able to 'glaunce at great matters', as George Puttenham, writing in 1859, put it (46).

Other commentators have also ascribed to the pastoral an ability of "glancing at great matters", as Raymond Williams notes, with some reserve, in *The Country and the City* (1975*).* In contemporary criticism, writes Williams, the pastoral is taken to represent "the simple matter in which general truths are embodied or implied".[5] The sublime and the pastoral thus do not exclude each other; on the contrary, in the pastoral the high may appear via what Lundell calls "clear and simple things" ("det klara och det enkla"). To the understanding of "Öppna landskap" it is also of interest that the design of the pastoral implies the necessity of a return to some other kind of life that, in Gifford's words, "always leads to a qualification of the idyllic retreat" (10). Staying in the country a few months a year is then entirely compatible with the frames of the pastoral, while the problems of returning only appear in oppositions such as that between "clear and simple things" vs. "doubt" in the third verse of the song.

Ontologically, it is not easy to ascertain the status of Lundell's landscape. The representation seems to vacillate between the real and the ideal, the experienced and the imagined. This is not a Romantic vacillation. Engdahl suggests that a vital characteristic of the Romantic text is that it tries to avoid the choice of a particular mode, to escape from an either-or (265), which is effected through excessive troping. This is not the case with Lundell, whose language is simplicity itself, whose voice is moderately passionate, and whose landscape remains through and through recognizable – as a *space* if not as a *place*. Here the crucial device seems to be grammatical. It is the use of an undecided, iterative present tense that neither refers to a now, a past or a future, but tells of *typical* acts and so turns "Öppna landskap" into a collage of repeatable moments.

What joins these moments into a statement is the presence of a lyrical "I" saying "Jag trivs bäst" – "I feel best…". This collage is really a *declaration of taste.* We are confronting a subject that introduces itself by means of its preferences; in this sense the landscape is pure, objectified subjectivity. At a first glance, it seems we are to do with another Romantic subject

---

5   Quoted in Gifford (1999:9). Gifford suggests that Williams has Empsons *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935) in mind.

that appropriates nature and history for its expressive needs and takes good care, in the second verse, to demarcate the space between the individual and the communal. However, I would like to argue that on a closer look Lundell's lyrics stretch Romanticism to comply with a more contemporary sensibility, fostered by the late modern "experience society".

This concept, which connects to others such as the "experience industry", was introduced by the German sociologist Gerhard Schulze in his extensive 1992 study *Die Erlebnis-Gesellschaft. Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart*. Schulze argues that the ties between taste, lifestyle and social class that Bourdieu penetrated in the 1970s have slackened under the assault of individualisation. In the experience society, the task is to *live* one's life; it is no longer enough merely to survive or do one's duty. Guided by his taste, self-reflexive, experience-oriented man strives to manipulate life in such a way that he "feels good". According to Schulze, this is a case of "inner modernisation". The project is essentially realized through choices, made easier by the fact that reality to a large extent offers itself already half-digested, schematized, worked through by the media.

Experience orientation means that something becomes real to the subject insofar as it conforms to its expectations. Thus the runes that trigger the semi-religious laying down of a wreath in "Öppna landskap" seem deprived of objective value. They are there, it says, not for somebody else's sake, but for ours – as objects of consumption. The reason for the gesture seems to be that it is "in style with" the semi-sublime landscape, that it "feels right". It is an entirely aesthetic gesture.

In Jonathan Bate's *The Song of the Earth (*2000) there is a Heidegger-inspired discussion of what it means to inhabit a place (in this case planet Earth) and the ability of poetry to "bething" man so as to understand inhabiting from within. "An eco poet", comments Håkan Sandgren in an introductory article on eco- or green criticism, is to Bate "someone who creates a home, a residence" (2002:16, not 24). Of course, in a way this is exactly what Lundell does in "Öppna landskap", though hardly in Bate's sense. On the contrary: the lyrical subject is a symbolic colonialist, who can only breathe life into the topos/landscape by incorporating it. Lundell's landscape leaves no space for otherness of the kind that one encounters with Swedish poets like Harry Martinsson, Gunnar Ekelöf or Tomas Tranströmer. All there is is there "for our sake", for the sake of his majesty the ego. Lundell's open landscape is a logical fulfilment of the tradition of the Romantic "living gaze" and the symbolic violence that it legitimates.

Conclusions

It is time to sum up: to reconnect to Bhabha's distinction between pedagogical and performative nationalist discourse. In Lundell's way of writing the nation in "Öppna landskap", intentionally or not (I have avoided that kind of discussion), it is the pedagogical discourse that is most conspicuous. This discourse reminds "the people"/the audience of their national affinity by means of signifiants for "Swedishness" that are dug up from the soil of Romanticism and the agrarian society to serve the needs of a self-sufficient subject. Between now and the past, so it seems, there is a rather unproblematic continuity. However, on a closer look the pastoral idyll is revised by a performative effort that represents this idyll as contingent – momentary, eligible – and thus makes it contemporary. A paradox of this update is that as a representation of Swedishness it celebrates a reckless Bohemian individualism, which may be the stuff that dreams are made of, but hardly societies.

References

Anderson, Benedict (1991/2000): *Den föreställda gemenskapen. Reflexioner kring nationalismens ursprung och spridning*. Göteborg: Daidalos.

Bakhtin, Mikhail (1991): "Kronotopen.Tiden och rummet i romanen. Essäer i historisk poetik". *Det dialogiska ordet*. Gråbo: Anthropos.

Bate, Jonathan (2000): *The Song of the Earth. Cambridge, Mass*.: Harvard University Press.

Engdahl, Horace (1986): *Den romantiska texten, En essä i nio avsnitt*. Stockholm: Bonniers.

Ericsson, Lars O (2003): "'Orörd' vildmark bara en illusion". *Dagens Nyheter* 29 november.

Frith, Simon (1987): "Towards an aesthetic of popular music", in Leppert, Richard & McClary, Susan (red): *Music and Society. The politics of composition, performance and reception*. Cambridge University Press.

Frith, Simon & Howard Horne (1987): *Art into Pop*. London/New York: Routledge.

Gifford, Terry (1999): *Pastoral*. London/New York: Routledge.

Lilliestam, Lars (1998): *Svensk rock. Musik, lyrik, historik*. Göteborg: Bo Ejebys förlag.

Lundell, Ulf (1994): "Gruva". *Xavante*. EMI 4751452.

Lundell, Ulf (1982): "Öppna landskap". *Kär och galen*. EMI 7463102.

Löfgren, Orvar (1999): *On Holiday. A History of Vacationing*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Pattison, Robert (1987): *The Triumph of Vulgarity. Rock Music in the Mirror of Romanticism*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sandgren, Håkan (2002): "Lyssna till jordens sång. Ekokritiska och feministiska ståndpunkter i den litteraturteoretiska diskussionen". *Tidskrift för litteraturvetenskap* 3.

Schulze, Gerhard (1992)): *Die Erlebnis-Gesellschaft. Kultursoziologie der Gegenwart*. NY/Frankfurt: Campus.

Strage, Fredrik (2004): "Alltfler fastnar i visträsket". *Dagens Nyheter* 8 juni.

Wærp, Henning Howlid (1998): "Romantikken". I Dvergsdal, Alvhild, (red.): *Nye tilbakeblikk. Artikler om litteraturhistoriske hovedbegreper*. Oslo: Cappelen/NLU.

Öhman, Anders (1999): "Topografier, klichéer och verklighet". *Kulturella perspektiv* nr 1.

Appendix: The lyrics of "Öppna landskap"[6]

Jag trivs bäst i öppna landskap
nära havet vill jag bo
några månader om året
så att själen kan få ro
Jag trivs bäst i öppna landskap
där vindarna får fart
Där lärkorna står högt i skyn
och sjunger underbart
Där bränner jag mitt brännvin själv
och kryddar med Johannesört
och dricker det med välbehag
till sill och hembakt vört
Jag trivs bäst i öppna landskap
nära havet vill jag bo

Jag trivs bäst i fred och frihet
för både kropp och själ
Ingen kommer i min närhet
som stänger in och stjäl
Jag trivs bäst när dagen bräcker
när fälten fylls av ljus

---

6   Swedish lyrics are reproduced as printed on the record sleeve. The English translation is my own.

När tuppar gal på avstånd
när det är långt till närmsta hus
Men ändå så pass nära
att en tyst och stilla natt
när man sitter under stjärnorna
kan höra festens skratt
Jag trivs bäst i fred och frihet
för både kropp och själ

Jag trivs bäst när havet svallar
och måsarna ger skri
När stranden fylls av snäckskal
med havsmusik uti
När det klara och det enkla
får råda som det vill
När ja är ja och nej är nej
och tvivlet tiger still
Då binder jag en krans av löv
och lägger den vid närmsta sten
där runor ristats för vår skull
en gång för länge sen
Jag trivs bäst när havet svallar
och måsarna ger skri

Jag trivs bäst i öppna landskap
nära havet vill jag bo

*

I feel best in open landscapes
By the sea I want to live
For a few months every year
So that my soul can get some rest
I feel best in open landscapes
Where winds are gaining speed
Where larks stand still high in the sky
And warble marvellously
There I distil snaps on my own
And spice it with St. John's wort bloom
And drink it with utmost delight
To herring and home-baked bread
I feel best in open landscapes
By the sea I want to live

I feel best when peace and freedom
Reign both in body and soul
There is no one living close to me
Who fences in and steals
I feel best when dawn's approaching
When fields are filled with light
When cocks are crowing somewhere

When it's far to the nearest house
But still no farther than you can
Hear laughter from some party
As you're sitting there under the stars
On a still and quiet night
I feel best when peace and freedom
Reign both in body and soul

I feel best when seas are surging
And the gulls are crying out
When the shore is filled by shells
That sound the music of the sea
When clear and simple things are let
Alone to do their job
When yes is yes and no is no
And doubt stays out of sight
Then I go make a wreath of leaves
And lay it down by the next stone
Where runes were cut for our sake
Once back in history
I feel best when seas are surging
And gulls are crying out

I feel best in open landscapes
By the sea I want to live

Boys or Just Children
Intersectional Analysis of Ethnography Made by Trainee Teachers 2002–2007

Åsa Ljungström

Dept of Humanities, Ethnology, Midsweden University campus Härnösand, Sweden

asa.ljungstrom@miun.se

This contribution analyses the ethnography by trainee teachers, in the classroom. They are to observe situations that indicate the everyday conditions among children, how difference is made, or prohibited. The trainees will return with reports and narratives of certain themes, one of which is the attention given to the boys.

My purpose is to clarify how the trainee teachers recognize and interpret how hierarchy positions of gender, class, ethnicity, religion, and age meet at certain crossroads. Clashes may indicate that forces of evaluation are on the move in society.

Aspects of gender intersect in recurring themes of integration, xenophobia, any prejudice among teachers, parents, and children. Every cohort focuses one theme, in turn: the supervisor as the ideal model of a teacher, terrible parents, terrible teachers, and how roles will be assigned to children, mostly 'the naughty boy'. The ordinary children seem to be female rather than male children.

Key words: children, cross-pressure, cultural diversity, didactics, education, ethnicity, ethnography, ethnology, folklore studies, oral history, gender, intersectionality, narrative.

Boys or Just Children
Intersectional Analysis of Ethnography Made by Trainee Teachers 2002–2007

This contribution forms itself into an inquiry of how gender is being done at school by children and adults when observed by trainee teachers. While gender is being done by children, we as adults should take care not to bracket children as a collective category of 'human beings at an early stage in life', thereby disregarding sex as well as culturally constructed gender. I will consider the non-gendered word 'children' versus 'adults' of both sexes in relation to the dichotomies 'boys versus girls', and 'ordinary or problem child', as well as 'individuals versus collective' in relation to 'male or female individuals and collective'. Faced with these sets of categories, my question to myself has been: What is there to be seen here that I do not yet fully grasp? Thus the reader is asked to keep in mind that the gendering eyes belong to adult observers, ethnographers, actors and readers, as the adult trainee teachers observe children doing gender.

The observations of a bundle of stereotypies like 'the naughty boys' and 'the good girls' in the ethnography by the trainee teachers has dared me to seek more than one way to understand the reports and stories from their periods of on-the-job practise in the classrooms and schoolyards. The trainee teachers were asked to observe situations that indicated to them the everyday conditions among children, how differences were made, or prohibited. The trainee teachers returned to the Midsweden University with reports and stories of certain themes, one of which was the attention given to the boys. On their return I met them for a focus group interview for sharing experiences and further reflections.

Are boys and girls treated as individual persons of indifferent sex, i.e. 'just children' or is the tendency to regard them as 'naughty boys' and ordinary 'good girls´? But where does that leave the category of 'ordinary children', 'normal kids' the one most children can be presumed to fall within? The normative power of words like 'normal' and 'ordinary' is at stake. Here it is my suggestion that the ordinary children are likely to be the ones who do not stand out, but gladly merge into the situated mainstream group. On the other hand the children who distinguish themselves by certain behaviour may get away with the excuse that they are 'just children'. But who are then the adult teachers, men and women, those who decide which category to be 'the ordinary one'?

As the intercultural ethnology course is directed to the task of making the Swedish school safe for diversity, starting with the trainee teachers, I will in short mention the broad ethnography where the students are to open their eyes for the intersecting cross pressures of various hierarchies among which the gender order is always present. The word child/children might indicate a non-gendered, unisex category but so is hardly the case. There are certain discourses on childhood, one drawing on the philosophy of Rosseau, encouraging boys to cultivate their gifts, distracting girls from anything of the sort, in order to be prepared to instantaneously serve their male relatives.

In the Swedish language there are oldfashioned romantic words for a boy or a girl. The female word 'flickebarn', literally 'girl-child' may still be used in a tender but belittling mood. The male counterpart, 'gosse' or 'gossebarn', is no longer used in contemporary speech. How is this to be understood? Are the boys to be regarded as the peculiar category of The Representative Children, 'the ordinary children'? Or is it a case of 'boys will be boys', a reduction to being 'just boys', while some other group is assumed to live up to being 'the other children', the non-boys? The cleavage inherent in the application of these alternative definitions is certain to occur in the eyes of the spectator. This observer, being a participant as well, incorporates the gaze of an adult male or female spectator.

In my analysis of this set-up words and concepts will be used and defined on a common sense level, while turning this question over. I will momentarily return to the question of how

boys and girls will be regarded by their teachers, individually or as one or two gendered groups, after broadly sketching the ethnographic fieldwork.

The Broad Ethnography

Some 5-600 stories and reports of ethnography emerged from the intercultural ethnology course during 2002-2007. It is the ethnographic field observations made by trainee teachers during their practise weeks in the classrooms I have analysed. The trainees were expected to continously make notes of their personal experiences, day by day. In actual fact, many of them solved the task retrospectively by filing reports describing their entire five weeks spent at the school. A report is given in answer to a question while a narrative story emerges out of personal experience (cf. Polanyi 1989). Most of the related situations could have occured anywhere. In reading this account several teachers, trainee teachers and parents can think they recognise themselves, without this being the case.

Recurrant themes appear in the relations, above all the story of 'the sad child'. It is well suited to the narrative form of a start, a turning point, and en end, followed by a coda to take the listener back to the situation where the story is told. Also, there will always be an evaluation where the teller conveys his opinion of the event (Labov 1972:354-396). Knowing how the themes are attracted to the dramaturgy of the narrative, I have learnt to ask for reports of the well-functioning schools. They do exist, although they do not cause narratives and they do not make the news. To do justice in reporting the state of harmony of a happy school situation takes some time for observation and reflection.

For the broad investigation my purpose is to clarify when and how the trainee teachers recognize that orders of domination twist and clash and how to interpret such clashes. The systems of hierarchies expose individuation or generalisation, how difference is made, levelled out, or prohibited, in order to create solidarity. The Swedish context underlines the need to make integration work, which means that the majority of the population must become willing to make the world safe for diversity; if not, we can expect a social explosion.

With limited knowledge of cultural diversity the native majority has to learn that things may be understood and handled in other ways than it is accustomed to. Not even prejudices will last. Everyone is to watch out for the human desire to categorise out of preconceived simplification. The trainees want to become good teachers, treating every child justly and as required. They would love to be told how to do it but will accept that they have to find it inside themselves.

In Swedish I use the concept of 'cross-pressure' to mark the focus of the persons who experience the order of the intersecting forces in a situation. Drawing on the gender resercher Lesley McCall it would be 'the intercategorical' way to analyse intersectionality (2005:31-56). The trope of pressures from various directions and forces resisting such pressures is my way to stress the dynamics of waves of pressure. If ever in balance, they will not be static. The Swedish ethnologist Ella Johansson writes that solidarity with diversity is to be combined with recognition, empathy, and humanity. The crucial test is to respect the traits that we dislike or find disagreeable. For the scholar it is a moral obligation to call attention to the consequences of diversified cross pressure (Johansson 1998).

The hierarchy positions of gender, class, ethnic groups, religious belief, age, cohort etc., keep colliding at a variety of crossings. At school, the outcome cannot be predicted. The space is given, and the forces of the rank orders need to adjust in a given space. Aspects of gender intersect in recurring themes of integration, xenophobia, any prejudice among teachers, parents, and children. The gender order is always present, whatever additional axis of domination. Exceptions from the mainstream rule will confirm the rule. Still, any change may indicate a new basis of valuation. Justice will come out of the value of choice from

various perspectives of agency, and the systems of valuation today do not coincide with the preferences of the welfare society fifty or even thirty years ago.

Opposing the Normative Force of the Mainstream

The native majority can still set the standard at school, but the teachers can meet every child and its parents, with or without a background abroad. Furthermore, if there are no ethnic minorities in the specific school, there will always be boys and girls present, which will be enough to start the logic of the hierarchy, increased or diminished by the space between the two (Hirdman 1988). The mechanism will be the same. Preconceived opinions on the gender order will be at work, while the native majority has the means to decide what is normal, fair and just. The mainstream standard is likely to become normative. Comparison is the worldwide way to meet the Other, realising what we are and not are. We create and recreate the opinions inside ourselves against those we call 'the Others', also considering gender, or we would not know who we are (Ehn & Löfgren 2002; Arvastson & Ehn 2007). I do not mean that the majority decides what is normal, but the Swedish native majority is likely to prefer accommodation to the mainstream standards, that is in a normative way of common sense, not to stand out.

Gender scholars know that the study of difference does not automatically create solidarity, because that would restrict what is regarded as normal. Nor does the study of sameness, Rosi Braidotti tells us (2002). There is also a fear of difference (Johansson 1998:214; Schiffauer 1996). Closing one's eyes to diversity does not create solidarity with differences but pretends they do not exist. Respecting diversity is to be combined with recognition, empathy, and humanity to create solidarity. The crucial test is to respect the traits that we dislike or find disagreeable. Narratives of difference usually end up concluding that we are all alike, and, vice versa, narratives starting from sameness conclude that we are all unique (Johansson 1998:206ff). The western listener expects this narrative structure.

In the Swedish political discourse, it is correct to stress that in a democracy we are all alike. It may be regarded as pure discrimination to talk about diversity, thereby conserving difference. To describe difference and diversity as the effects of somebody else's culture makes it worse. At times this allows us to close our eyes for social evils, which even may be contrary to the law of our country (Johansson 1998). The native majority is likely to encase any problems with the minority, pretending that the problems are programmed with their culture, which adds to a static, never-changing enclosure. On the contrary, tradition and culture are constantly on the move, continuously recreated for progressing needs.

A trainee teacher practising at a day-care centre reacted strongly against the talk of 'the culture of the others'. A little girl complained of unwelcome courting by a boy of five who kept pinching and caressing her. The pedagogues did not pay attention to her but remarked to the trainee that this was 'his culture', nothing to make a fuss of. At stake was gender and ethnicity and the remark on "another culture" as a static entity made it worse. The labelling of 'culture' allowed the pedagogues to avoid liability. In writing the student reflected on the impossibility to disclaim responsibility referring to somebody else's culture as a labelled preservative instead of situated habits in constant progress (Öhlander 2005; Quinn, Holland 1987:3ff). Nor should anyone, young or adult, be made to accept unwelcome physical courting.

The pragmatic dilemma how to work out problems related to ethnic minorities or gender is left to the teacher on the floor, as always. The teacher is supposed to be correct in every ethical aspect of politics or ideology, to follow the official directives, and still, at the same time in her own mind recognise if or when the customary patterns take over her own and her colleagues' reactions, and how it takes place.

Boys and Girls

Solidarity will not be the given consequence of the search for sameness. Looking for diversity will increase solidarity with varieties. To be sure, there is a risk that stories of difference and stories of sameness might harden the boundaries (Johansson 1998) although the aim is to make diversity to be the general state of the intercultural school. There is the paradox that the Swedish schools are full of teachers, who struggle to ease the integration of the newcomers, and at the same time they teach the language that constantly measures the immigrant children against the standard measure of the majority population. The ethnologist Ann Runfors concludes that the school teaches these children "how to be an immigrant," despite all the good-will (2003). The trainee teachers will be part of the problem soon enough. That is why they are asked to see how difference is made. At the same time they will see how gender is being done.

Quite a few of the students do not expect to find any discrimination for gender reason. Adult men and women may be convinced that equal rights of sexes are secured but new young persons are constantly appearing. The moment a two-year-old child becomes aware that he is a boy or she is a girl both of them will find out how to do gender. They watch the adults. The trainee teachers report from day-care centres how little girls are given opportunities to dress up as princesses. Adults will talk them into becoming a princess, the girls will make drawings of princesses and plan for a future career, just as they are told.

The boys are hardly told to be princes, there will be other stereotyped role behaviours, a few varieties of masculinity, some rendering high status, others less in the eyes of other children and adults, drawing on R.W. Connell I will follow the matter (1995). What is expected and what will be rewarded? The ethnography of the trainee teachers is filled with the general stereotypies of naughty boys and steady girls, good girls to calm down the boys and help their teachers to manage the work climate of the classroom. Year by year the students ask how this situation can go on and on, despite it is well recognised. They wonder about an event like this in a small school in Lapland where two boys had the task to exercise with their classmates how the clock measures time by questions like: "What are we to do at this hour? What is the time when we do this and that?" Only boys were asked to answer the questions. Eventually, the trainee teacher demanded that also the girls should be given the chances.

–"No", said the boys.
–"No, we cannot do with girls!"

The children were eight years of age and quite sure that the boys were the best. The trainee was amazed. The refusal was not explained in so much detail, but the girls agreed to stay in the background until one girl argued that boys and girls could be good at different tasks. The story was told with the punch line that the children were just eight years of age. This is the general reaction from adults.

Anette Hellman, gender scholar and pre-school-teacher, investigates how children construct masculinities, how children of four or five declare boys to be: fast and strong, and wear cool clothes of dark colour, no pink clothes, not to play with girls or girls´ stuff. Hellman makes a point of how these children pay attention to the border between female and male behaviour because they realise the importance for the adults. Boys as well as girls are free to test, negotiate, dare and accept the construction of masculinities and femininities. Consequently Hellman asks the pedagogues of the pre-school to pay attention to how hierarchies of agency are being built by children (2005:149-159).

Fathers of today may personify the ideal of the socalled 'new man'. They practise gender equality in private life; they can express their emotions and will still be supposed to face the demands of powerful agency (Nordberg 2006). Trainee teachers who have worked for years

in day-care centres remember when such a modern father comes to collect his son and finds him dressed up as a princess: "What are you wearing!" When the first shock has passed some fathers may accept the outfit. Otherwise, the boy quickly learns to change in time before his father is due to come. The outfit with shiny dress and crown is among the toys of the day-care centres. The pedagogues let the boys try as well as the girls (focus group interview 070507). It may be good for the boys, but for the girls? What does the princess role implicate for the adults doing gender, I wonder?

Sociologists in the United States, Michele Adams and Scott Coltrane, have found that adults who host the principles of gender equality quite easily can leave their principles aside when approaching children. Grandparents, especially grandfathers, make a point of teaching how to be a boy (Adams & Coltrane 230-248). There is nothing to suggest that Swedish grandparents would act otherwise. In May 2007 a newspaper headline was spread saying that a doctor in Norway should have asked a boy of seven "to be a man" (SvD 20070508). This is no more peculiar than the knowledge that adults treat newborn baby girls and baby boys in different ways, gendered ways. Do members of the elder cohort need to make sure that the children actually will turn out to be boys and girls? What else might they become? Marie Nordberg asks, ethnologist and gender researcher in Sweden (2007:27-39).

A female trainee teacher started her second training period, convinced that there would be no prejudiced discrimination in her particular school where the pedagogues were keen to stop any such tendency. Gendering was not mentioned explicitly. In her first period she worked with young children. This time the pupils were nine to eleven years of age. Once a week it was common that the children entertained the class themselves for one hour. Three popular boys were in charge of a game where the children sat in a circle, with one person standing in the middle to catch a next person. In this game, the seated children were to call the name of another to avoid being taken. This sounds fine, provided that everybody's name is called out. In this case, the adult teachers watched from aside and found it all well and fine.

My student was disturbed. She noticed that only three girls out of ten were called. Later she learnt that they were the cool girls as seen by the leading boys. There were 15 boys and five of them were never called. Some of them had dark skin, and two were the most quiet, nicest boys, but none of them of them had a high status, and they were not considered cool enough. The leading boys were white and middle-class.

This trainee teacher had the courage to whisper her observation to the female instructor, who recognised the problem. A discussion took place concerning the opinions among adults about ideas of democracy among children, though their good nature was considered ingrained from birth. This trainee noticed a ranking order of sameness, which excluded persons of another sex, of another colour of skin, of low status of class. Since they intersect, we cannot know which was the worst. The trainee perceived three grounds for discrimination. The victims were caught in the middle. The perspective of cross pressure is required to see the intersecting orders of rank.

A female trainee teacher, well known in her home community as a politician, felt that the senior male instructor and other colleagues tested her attitude in an incident when a young girl had been called dirty names, "whore" for starters. The senior instructor meant that the girl had it coming to her, the way she dressed. My student, the trainee teacher, responded that no one deserved to be called such names and this girl dressed just like the other girls, no more enticing than the rest. She herself was a big woman and felt that her body was at stake more than the girl's, again due to position, gender, and age (a student in May 2002).

Traditionally, the Swedish dirty words are religious in character. The devil would be the worst to call on. Today, the use of names of sexual character is new in Sweden. They are regarded as strange and challenging to the discursive correctness of gender equality.

One middle-aged female teacher did not come off very well, when she met a group of happy teenage boys playing around in the corridor with their coloured ink pens open. They painted each other in the face and came up to her. She tried to laugh them away but made the mistake: "I would be very angry, if you painted me." That challenge could not remain untried. She was painted. To her this was a humiliation a teacher should not have to bear. She hid in the nearest lavatory. The female trainee teacher was the only adult witness. She withdrew quietly (Cornelius n.d.). Here, the age, class, and professional position of a lone female teacher was not enough against the gender force of several young men.

The focus group interview after the practising period was the opportunity when the formation of a theme of narratives took place. The theme varied from cohort to cohort. I take it as an indication of the narrative process, a co-variation among the students, interacting when they are reunited at the university, adjusting in class. Students share and reflect according to their previous personal experience. When a student could not attend this meeting he/she handed in the observation in writing and the theme often turned out to be the same of the semester. The concordance was less dominant when I read their written issues, narratives and reports. Then I recognized stories belonging to all the themes, which have appeared during the years, and a few new topics.

The theme of the first cohort was provoked by a murder of a female student with a family background in the Middle East, presumably for reasons of family honour. Drawing on the moral obligation of society, trainee teachers must be ready to raise the dilemmas of gaps between public jurisdiction, situated customs at home and abroad, family rules, and personal views of legal matters. Young boys and girls need the support from school. Trainee teachers from abroad, who have the double hyphen-competence of situated customs, usually make a point of citizenship, domestic law, meaning that family opinions grow along with the children, constantly adjusting the situated views to new situations, and no family is like the other. When opposing the native majority they mention family-men, who fake their background thus avoiding harassment from taxi-clients in Stockholm. One student quoted a taxi-driver: "I have my own religion. Which is yours?" (a student in November 2006).

With the next cohort, the good example had taken the attention. The instructor of the local school was the ideal model. This is the time when I began to collect a bank of practicable hints on how to do it, not to expose a child, for instance.

The following year the theme was: "Terrible parents, making their children insecure, letting them have new stepsisters and stepbrothers among the classmates every second month." It is important to keep in mind that this was told collectively by disapproving trainee teachers, not by the children or their families. There is of course no evidence from the parents, no facts whatsoever. But a few years later another trainee teacher confirmed as a mother the disturbance among children caused by their parents' switch of partners in a small village (070507).

The next cohort told stories of "terrible teachers". Mistakes and slips are inevitable in pedagogical activities. Unfortunately, there are examples not to be followed, teachers making a certain child the scapegoat, for instance. One trainee teacher noticed such a boy who had given up, no use to try any more. She told her instructor who reconsidered his opinion, grateful to the trainee. Sometimes the local instructor tells the trainee too much about the children in advance, thereby deciding the reputation of a certain child. In one case the trainee could not make out which child was so pointed out, not until she learnt their names.

The focus group of May 2007 dwelt on the topic 'children in need of certain support', named by letters of abbreviation. As trainee teachers, they had practised at schools where up to a third of the children were assigned a personal assistant. There could be eight to ten adult persons in the classroom. These students were adults having worked at school for years though not yet qualified teachers. They judged from experience that the number of children in

need of certain support had increased during ten years and speculated why. Possible reasons might be actually increased numbers of children in need of support, better means to give support, refined methods of diagnose, the interests of teachers in having a diagnose for a child-acting-out as the one way to receive extra resources, i.e. more money to manage the classroom situation. Several members of the student group had personal experience of special support for children. They had brothers or sons in need of support, who were not helped by the support and others who did not get the support they might benefit from. This discussion took us back to the theme 'teachers who designates roles for certain children' when introducing trainee teachers at school.

A year before, the theme was how roles, such as "the naughty boy," are assigned to children by the teacher. Also, it was gendered: the space and time that the boys demand and get, but not the girls, and how this can be maintained, although everybody involved knows the mechanisms. The media debate pities the boys in a matrimonial environment or pities the girls being used by female teachers as bumpers to noisy, difficult boys (Kön i skolan, NIKK 2003). According to both arguments women and girls should change. The debate does not demand anything from the boys. Paradoxically, the boys turn out to be the losers, not asked to do their best, not trusted with the ability to behave, to study diligently, to relate to school mates and adults. Instead, it is the ignored girls, who develop the necessary skills for independent academic success. There are more girls than boys in higher education. At the university today 60 % are female students.

One group of students was filled with wonder at the patience of children with their disturbing mates. They simply accepted that this is the way he/she is: "Anna does it all the time." To the ordinary children there was no difference between disturbing girls or disturbing boys. When the difficult children had a calm phase they could play along with the class-mates. The children accepted a high amount of disturbance by boys and girls of their own age, when the adults did not. When girls behave just as difficult as the disturbing boys it is said that they are regarded as demons by adult teachers. The stories handed in by some female trainee teachers show that the noisy, naughty boys are pointed out by the local instructors while the disturbance of a difficult girl was downplayed, although she was the real problem, according to the student.

Imagine the large number of good girls being placed as bumpers to disturbing boys, they could easily be recognised as "the ordinary people, easy to manage just like me, their female teacher". As they do not demand attention they may be overlooked, being ordinary good girls, presumably very much like their teachers once were. In the meantime, the boys are directed into the cliché of the difficult boys, which are allowed to be problematic to handle. Being ordinary does not mean being normative nor does a majority by numbers direct the gender order, so which kind will be regarded as the ordinary children? It is possible to think that the girls will be 'just children' while the boys are considered to be problem children, along with those girls who do not fit with the cliché of the nice girl. The amount of quiet, diligent boys does not affect the cliché.

At this point, I asked the trainee teachers, students of the spring semester, which kind will be allowed to be 'just children'? There was a swift answer: "The boys. Girls are helping hands" (070507). They are small issues of female teachers and mothers. The girls will be just ordinary people, females like you and me, like most teachers today. As a group they are made feminine, female gender is done to them. Individual boys are regarded as the children they are, 'just kids' and normative children. The boys are not 'ordinary people' to be overlooked. They are special, they are male children, who can break the rules made by the school and the teachers, and get away with it. The girls are like the teachers so they have to behave. The boys are allowed to defy the rules thus forming a standard of their own. The boys are allowed to be childish, non-responsible by the adults who thereby do masculinity, this is how boys will be

boys. The world will belong to them as adults, also young boys know that. In time, it will turn out all-right, the adults need not make them do their best. The ethnologist Göran Nygren shows that even the bright elite boys will act accordingly (2007:111-117). Girls are demanded to do their best, because they are like teachers. This is the paradox when the gender order takes command of our situated customs, while the unisex concept 'children' makes us loose sight of what we do.

The argument deliberately forms a circle to demonstrate that the label 'child' hides how gender is being done by adults and children. Hopefully, each individual boy or girl will be 'just a child' to its parents. Not until the collective group is labelled 'children' does the category obscure that boys and girls are constantly being gendered on a level of common sense. I could suggest a neat model where adult women would regard the girls as ordinary people, whereas the adult men would regard the boys as ordinary. As a consequence, the young people of the opposite sex would be The Children. The suggestion would be to legitimize the drive to create categories and to close my eyes for the consequence of ranking when keeping the opposites apart. On the contrary, it is important to be aware of how adults keep the boys and girls apart and expect them to do gender.

References

Adams, Michele & Coltrane, Scott (2005) "Boys and Men in Families: The Domestic Production of Gender, Power and Privilege", p. 230-248 in Kimmel, Michael S., Hearn, Jeff & Connell, R. W. (red.), *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks, London, New Dehli: SAGE Publications.

Arvastson, Gösta and Ehn, Billy (2007) *Kulturnavigering i skolan*. Malmö: Gleerups.

Braidotti, Rosi (2002) "Kvinna-i-tillblivelse: Könsskillnaden på nytt." *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* 4 (02): 5-26. [Short version of the first chapter of *Theory of Becoming*. Polity Press 2002].

Connell, R.W. (1995) *Masculinities.* Cambridge U.K: Polity Press.

Cornelius, Jeannette (n.d.) "Genus i skolan i teori och praktik [Gender at School in Theory and Practise]". *Härnösand: Midsweden University, Education* (2003).

Ehn, Billy and Löfgren, Orvar (2002) *Kulturanalyser*. [Cultural Analyses] Stockholm: Liber.

Hellman, Anette (2005) "Förskolebarns konstruktion av maskuliniteter [Construction of Masculinities by Pre-School Children]", p. 146- 160 in Nordberg, Marie (ed.) *Manlighet i fokus: en bok om manliga pedagoger, pojkar, och maskulinitetsskapande i förskola och skola*. Stockholm: Liber.

Johansson, Ella (1998) "Berättelser om skillnad – berättelser om likhet: Etnografi, värderingar och politik [Stories of Difference–Stories of Sameness: Ethnography, Valuation, and Politics]", p. 202-217 in Miegel, Fredrik and Fredrik Schoug (eds.) *Dikotomier: Vetenskapsteoretiska reflektioner*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Kön i skolan [Gender at School]: Temanummer (2003) *NIKK magasin, utg. av Nordiskt institut för kvinno- och könsforskning*.

Labov, William (1972) "The Transformation of Experience in Narrative Syntax", p. 354-396 in *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

McCall, Leslie (2005) "Intersektionalitetens komplexitet". *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* 2-3 (05): 31-56.

Nordberg, Marie (2006) "Sweden: The Gender Equality Paradise?", p. 213-236 in Pringle, Keith (ed.) *Men and masculinities in Europe*. London: Whiting & Birch, 2006.

Nordberg, Marie (2007) "Vad skulle hända om pojkar inte blev pojkar?" [What if boys would not become boys?" p. 27-39 in Arvastson, Gösta & Ehn, Billy (eds.) *Kulturnavigering i skolan*. Malmö: Gleerups.

Nygren, Göran (2007) "Framgångsrika elever", p. 111-117 in Arvastson, Gösta & Ehn, Billy (eds.) *Kulturnavigering i skolan*. Malmö: Gleerups.

Polanyi, Livia (1989) *Telling the American Story: A Structural and Cultural Analysis of Conversational Storytelling*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, London, England: The MIT Press.

Quinn, Naomi and Holland, Dorothy (1987) "Culture and Cognition" in *Cultural Models in Language and Thought*. Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press.

Runfors, Ann (2003) *Mångfald, motsägelser och marginaliseringar*. Stockholm: Prisma.

Svenska Dagbladet (20070508).

Öhlander, Magnus (2005) "Inledning [Introduction]" p. 11-42 in *Bruket av kultur: Hur kultur används och görs socialt verksamt*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Fashioning a Culture through Baguio City's *Ukay-Ukay*

Ma. Rina Locsin

Department of Communication,
University of the Philippines Baguio, Philippines
crzykds@mozcom.com

The term *ukay-ukay* is derived from the Filipino *hukay*, which means to dig up. In Baguio City in the Philippines, *ukay-ukay* describes the thriving secondhand clothing industry that is slowly shifting the city's image from tourist capital to castoff clothing hub. Below the surface of this image runs a wide gamut of social, cultural and commercial interactions.

I will explore the complex *ukay-ukay* phenomenon within the context of Filipino anthropologist Prospero Covar's Total Environment Framework and attempt to interpret its facets.

My exploration will cover the evolution of the *ukay-ukay* from the 1980s' 'generic street piles' in the market area to the more upscale 'selections' in the city's business district and on e-bay. I hope to present a coherent portrayal of these and in the process expect to cover the manner in which Baguio City fashion has been democratized and, in a larger sense, how consumers have acquired a global fashion outlook through the trade of goods stuffed in 'boxes' from Hong Kong .

In the area of social discourse, I will include the coining of terms that are uniquely applicable to the ukay-ukay trade and the connotations of certain figures of speech. Also of relevance are the roles played by the ukay-ukay proprietor: as castoff fashion expert dictating trends; as facilitator of brand consciousness; as price tag authority. Also of relevance is the proprietor's ability to distinguish the seasoned local bargain hunter from the 'amateur' out-of-town shopper.

Fashioning a Culture through Baguio City's *Ukay-Ukay*

Baguio in the northern Philippines first earned a reputation as a vacation spot when the Americans, at the turn of the century, established a colonial hill station in a plateau 5,000 feet above sea level. The city became the country's summer capital throughout the U.S. regime until the post-war period, drawing visitors because of its relatively cooler weather, compared to other parts of tropical Philippines. Foreign tourists are attracted to the quaint mountain city and visit to experience the 'ethn icity' of the indigenous culture. Filipinos, on the other hand, go to Baguio to escape the tropical heat and to savor what cannot be found in the lowlands: strawberries and upland vegetables. Recently, however, the thriving secondhand clothing industry has been slowly shifting the city's image from solely a tourist capital to a castoff clothing hub for the Filipino market.

The term *ukay-ukay* is derived from the Filipino *hukay*, which means to dig up. *Ukay-ukay* is synonymous with *wagwag*, which is the act of dusting off a piece of clothing by taking hold of one end and snapping it in the air; and *SM*, meaning *segunda mano* (secondhand), but which is also a pun on the foremost Philippine retail chain Shoemart.

Ukay-ukay can describe an article on sale, the unique venue in which it is bought and the event of buying itself. Used clothing is randomly mixed up regardless of size, color, type and style in huge piles along sidewalk stalls. Buyers dig into the piles from all sides in a 'contest' to choose the 'best' item, adjudged by the keen eye for its relative newness, lack of damage or stains, and its fashion appeal. The choice is often signaled when the article is held up in the air and dusted off in the *wagwag* manner. A quick bargaining episode takes place and money exchanges hands in a rapid flurry of dig, deal and pay involving a multitude of buyers.

In patronizing used clothing, both visitor to and resident of the city have contributed to the contemporary idea of the *ukay-ukay*, which is a far cry from its conceptual beginnings. As the *ukay-ukay* has evolved, so has it contributed to the cultural fabric of the city, and perhaps of the nation.[1]

Following Philippine anthropologist Prospero Covar's *Kabuuang Balangkas ng Kapaligiran* (Total Environment Framework), I will concentrate on the *ukay-ukay* from both the diachronic and synchronic perspectives.[2] I will trace the evolution of the *ukay-ukay*, explain how the business works, briefly depict buyer-seller behavior and the language used in the trade, and attempt to explore in detail the meanings that can be drawn from the whole context.

The Evolution of the Ukay-Ukay

The *ukay-ukay* buyer is actually the end user in a complex commercial network that originates from the international clothing capital of Asia, Hong Kong. Among the insiders in the business, no one in particular wants to take credit as the forerunner of the current *ukay-ukay* trade, but there are at least two versions that point to enterprising Hong Kong-based Filipino domestic helpers as founders of the industry. One version relates how Filipinas working in Hong Kong chanced upon old clothes for disposal, bought these and later resold them in Baguio. Other oral accounts say Filipina domestics in Hong Kong resold in the Baguio market either personal stuff from the *balikbayan* boxes they brought home to their families, or their

---

1 In this paper, I will concentrate on the *ukay-ukay* trade in Baguio City, which is considered the "*ukay-ukay* capital" of the country. The geographical coverage of the *ukay-ukay* , however, extends to many parts of the Philippines, including Manila (Cubao, Bambang, Baclaran, Kamuning, Quiapo), Iligan, Zamboanga, Davao, Dipolog, Cebu, Bohol, Bacolod, and other parts of Mindanao and the Visayas. See Cadiente, Edgar Dignadice *Galing UK or Made in China.* Available at
http://www.sunstar.com.ph/static/gen/2005/02/07/life/galing.uk.or.made.in.china!.html (February 7, 2005).

2 Covar, Prospero. *Kabuuang Balangkas ng Kapaligiran* (photocopy, n.p., n.d.).

Salvation Army thrift shop finds.[3]   Still other oral accounts point to non-government organizations (NGOs), which, in the 1980s started selling donated and tax-free used clothing as a fund-raising activity.

Although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact date when the *ukay-ukay* started, it definitely was not in the 1980s, but could have been roughly forty years earlier. Anthropologist Lynne Milgram notes that "access to secondhand clothing already grew after World War II in Southeast Asia." [4] This period coincides with the time wherein the UN Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) provided billions of dollars in relief to Asia between 1943 and 1949, when it ceased operations.[5]

It cannot be discounted that the Protestant Church sects also contributed greatly (and still do) to the distribution of secondhand clothing. The entry of the Americans in the early 1900s resulted in the spread of the Protestant religions, i.e. the Lutherans, Seventh Day Adventists, Methodists and the Baptists. The local churches of these religions were, and still are recipients of regular shipments of boxes of used clothing meant for distribution among their less fortunate members. The excess of these shipments usually end up in rummage sales which are sponsored by the same churches, as part of their fundraising activities to finance projects such as the construction of new buildings.[6]   In addition to these churches, the Red Cross also donates used clothes to victims of calamities; most of these are collected from international donors. Narratives from some of my sources indicate that there Red Cross donations do indeed end up at times in the black market, with unscrupulous persons taking advantage of the confusion that accompanies tragedies.

The concept of the thrift shop as a market for used goods originated around 1865, when Methodist minister William Booths formed the Salvation Army in London, whose purpose was to preach God's word and also to help those left poor by industrialization.[7] The idea was to have pairs of women, called sisters, collect people's unwanted goods which could otherwise be put to good use by others. The collections of these "salvage brigades" ended up in "salvage depots" and were sold at cheap prices to those in need. In America in 1902, a Methodist minister by the name of Edgar Helms also collected unwanted goods from households. Helms trained people to mend these used clothing and appliances; some of these were given free to those who had repaired them and the others were sold at cheap prices in what was called the Goodwill Industries thrift shops.[8] In 1919, Clara Barton's American Red Cross took on the concept, where volunteers encouraged people to call for a truck to pick up

---

3   Cabreza,Vincent. '*'Wagwag':A Baguio phenomenon'*. Available at http://www.inq7.net/bus/2001/aug/12/text/bus_1-1-p.htm (August 12, 2001). See also Edgar Dignadice Cadiente, 'Galing UK or Made in China!.' Cadiente says the *ukay-ukay* started in the 1960s in Cebu and Baguio, "now the undisputed *ukay-ukay* capital of the Philippines. Cadiente adds, "Back then, OFWs and sellers with overseas contacts would collect whatever second hand items from abroad, send it to the Philippines in balikbayan boxes, and sell them in flea markets."
     Wikipedia describes the balikbayan box as a "cardboard box containing novelty items brought by or sent by a Filipino that is returning to the Philippines from a foreign country. These boxes contain non-perishable food items, canned goods, other food items, toiletries, household and kitchen stuffs, time saving devices, computer parts, electronics, toys, designer clothing, personal items, and hard to find items in the Philippines." Available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balikbayan_box
4   Cabreza, Vincent ' *'Ukay-ukay' shows second hand clothes a culture mix'*. Available at http://www.inq7.net/globalnation/sec_new/2005/aug/14-05.htm (August 14, 2005).
5   This may also account for the fact that in some Visayan areas such as Bacolod and Iloilo, *ukay- ukay* is sometimes referred to as "relief" by the older generation, an allusion to the castoffs that were distributed as part of relief efforts after the war.
6   Fong, Jimmy. Interview with author (August 25, 2005).
7   Cave, Damien. *'More Than Polyester: the Rediscovery of The Thrift Shop'* . Available at http://www.incharacter.org/article.php?article=7 (August 26, 2005).
8   See http://www.goodwill.org/page/guest/about/whatwedo/ourhistory (December 5, 2006).

unwanted clothing and household stuff which would be distributed to the needy. During the so-called Great Depression of the United States, the Mormons created its Deseret chain of thrift stores to create jobs and help the poor survive.

What is characteristic of the Filipino thrift shop is that unlike its U.S. or British counterparts, it did not originate out of the religious groups' aim to benefit the needy. The Salvation Army, although established in the country in 1937, has not put up any thrift shop in the Philippines similar to those that can be found in other countries; it only makes its presence felt during the holiday season when its members post themselves outside malls to ask for donations.[9] In the 1970s, the phrase thrift shop was synonymous with Eloy's, a one-room affair that was established in the Kamuning district in Metro Manila. There were about one or two other similar businesses that set up shop along the same area, but these did not last long. The Bambang used clothing district in Manila, on the other hand, has survived from the 1990s to the present because it has been redefined as a source of vintage clothing appealing to a younger generation that is more open to a cultural loosening in terms of fashion. Known personalities who patronize the district have given it a Harajuku-like appeal that has become the rage.

In tracing the involvement of NGOs in the *ukay-ukay* business, Miriam Go says the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) used to issue permits for these organizations "to receive as 'donations' commercial quantities of second-hand clothes, supposedly for distribution to needy communities." Go describes the permit as a "shield" that prevented the Bureau of Customs from taxing these shipments. In Go's account, the DSWD became suspicious of the large volume of "donations," sometimes "as much as two 40-foot container vans of used clothing every week." It turned out that unscrupulous traders had entered into deals with these NGOs, paying them as much as P120, 000 for a shipment, plus five percent, in kind, of the shipment of clothes, which would be actually donated to the poor. It seems the smuggling operation was protected by highly-placed officials. Go says, "Whenever department of social welfare officials refused to give the customs bureau the go-ahead to release suspicious quantities of 'relief goods' ostensibly for charities, NGOs would threaten the department with the name of some highly placed person or warn that the influential person was upset that his foundation's 'work' was being hampered." By 1999, the Bureau of Customs put an end to the NGOs acting as fronts by stopping the issuance of these permits.[10]

The large shipments of castoff clothes may have much to do with a more lenient government policy in the 1980s with regard to importations. Milgram notes that the latter part of the 1980s signaled more liberal importations of clothing. Even up to 2001, Milgram says, "there was an approximately 50-50 split between Philippine marketers who purchased their stock of from suppliers dealing with used clothing from Hong Kong and those who purchased stock from suppliers …from Europe, the United States, Australia and Japan." Milgram adds that the same year, "a small group of female Baguio City traders… forged an international linkage with Hong Kong suppliers in order to assume more control of this trade."[11]

9   As of 2004, the Salvation Army had a total of 1,536 thrift stores in the countries it serves. See http://www.salvationarmy.org.sg/ihq%5Cwww_sa.nsf/txt-vwsublinks/D46980EA862CD1FD80256D4F00411840 (December 5, 2006),

10 Go, Miriam Grace. 'Illegal clothing trade costs Philippines dear' Available at *http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Southeast_Asia/FA06Ae04.html* (6 January 2004).

11 Cabreza, Vincent. *'Ukay-ukay' shows second hand clothes a culture mix."*

The Ukay-Ukay as a Business

The present *ukay-ukay* trade originates in a commercial warehouse in Hong Kong, which is stocked with secondhand clothes and other used items from various sources. Also in this lot are quality control rejects from factories, product samples and off-season or old department store material. In comes the Filipina, usually a former domestic helper, who takes a look-see at the goods in the warehouse (termed *bodega* in the *ukay-ukay* trade), and if these are to her liking, gets a wholesale price quote. The deal is forged in Hong Kong dollars, the Filipina sends a container van to the warehouse, loads the loose goods, and brings these to her own *bodega* nearby.

In her own *bodega*, the Filipina has a team of packers waiting to sort out the items and cram these tightly into *balikbayan* boxes to comply with cargo specifications. A *balikbayan* box measures 24 inches wide and 20 inches tall. Only big-bodied males are chosen for the job of packing; the objective being to squeeze in as many items (of the same kind) possible into a box, and maximize the use of space, so to speak. For this job, the obvious choices are the Pakistanis or the male relatives of the Filipina *bodega* owner.[12] This is specialized work where one has to sift through the mélange of items, separate the bags from the adults' clothes, stuffed toys from home decors and from the other items that are difficult to classify. What follows would be the difficult process of making 230 big bags or 85 bed sheets fit into a *balikbayan* box.

Once packed, the boxes are loaded into container vans and shipped to the Philippines. Shipments declared as used clothing may consist of 300 to 600 boxes (to fit in 20 or 40-foot containers, respectively), and take two weeks to reach Manila. Almost always, the *ukay-ukay* trade is a family affair, with the bodega owner's relatives overseeing the 'Philippine side' of the business. Within the two-week shipping period, immediate family members would have already taken in 'orders' from retailers as to the kind of boxes they want to purchase. The family would also have gotten in touch with the customs broker for the release of the shipment and its delivery to Baguio.

One trying to get an inside view of the trading that commences in Baguio can be amazed by its complexity. Once the boxes reach the family's Baguio *bodega*, there are several ways by which these finally reach the buyer:

1. The *bodega* owner's family, now called the local wholesaler, may opt to sell the boxes "as is" to the retailers. A family member is assigned the task of calling the regular customers or *sukis* who have earlier placed 'orders'. The selling of boxes is over quickly; if a load comes in at night, the warehouse is empty by early morning. Boxes are paid for in cash, with a few IOU concessions made to special *sukis* who have developed 'good credit standing' over the years.
2. The wholesaler may choose to keep a few boxes to sell in her own retail stall. If her stall carries only 'brand name' items, she reopens the boxes and selects the goods one by one. The leftover items are repacked, sealed and passed on to another retailer. If the Hong Kong connection is being run efficiently, the boxes would already have been identified as Class A, B or C. Class A refers to all quality and brand name goods. Class B boxes may contain a mix of quality and so-so items. Class C boxes contain the 'not-

---

12 The Filipino packers are flown in to Hong Kong at the *bodega* owner's expense. Food and lodging (in the warehouse) are shouldered by the *bodega* owner. A Filipino packer usually stays for a maximum of six months, the period throughout which his tourist visa is valid. The Pakistani is hired as a packer because, compared to the Chinese, he is most likely to seek employment rather than own a business. Packers have to work fast, filling in as many as 300 to 600 boxes daily. Their employers may also 'lend' them to other bodegas, where they have to pack boxes within a set period of time. The amount of work they put in is counted by the hour; their income is computed by the hour basis.

so-good' items or the *bulok* (spoiled), *patapon* (cast off) or *basura* (trash). If the identification of boxes is complete, the wholesaler is spared the task of reopening and repacking.

3. For the easy disposal of Class C boxes, the wholesaler may allow retailers to get these on a consignment basis. The retailer who buys a box "as is" first does an item count of the contents, then divides the price of the box by the number of items. This will give her the base cost on which to peg her selling prices. She calls in her first customer, the second-line retailer who sells only brand name items. The second retailer offers a price for every piece of item chosen. If a box contains a large number of brand name items in good condition, the first retailer doubles her capital in this initial sale. The leftover items are sold to special customers at their minimum or markup price, depending on quality. If there are any left, these end up in the first retailer's stall, or are sold to a third-rank retailer who does not own a stall. Since the first retailer will by this time have already earned from her first two sales, she may allow her last buyer to do a 'take-all', meaning all items left sell at the same price – from P5 to P10 to P50 each.

Buyer, Seller and Ukay-Ukay Language

An important element that defines prices in the trade is the brand name attached to goods. In *ukay-ukay* parlance, brand name items are called 'signature' (pronounced sig-nay-tyoor) or 'branded'. Anything else that is not signature is consigned to the generic classifications of adults' mix, 'toppers' (sweaters or loose shirts worn over tank tops), kids' mix, pants, and so on. The term 'selection' may mean branded items, brand new goods that somehow find their way into a box, or chic clothing that are slightly used.

It is not always that a retailer gets lucky enough to end up with a slightly used or brand new selection. She may discover a few dirty or damaged items that can still be sold once repairs are done. Defective zippers are brought to a local shoe and bag repair shop named "Mr. Quickie"; dirt and stains are brushed or washed off; loose buttons resewn; worn out shoes resoled; burls scraped with razor blades. The makeovers often pass unnoticed to the buyer, thus the term '*na-magic*'.

In the same manner that department stores think up of come-on words such as sale, slashed or further reduction, proprietors of the *ukay-ukay* stalls try to outdo each other to attract customers. The signs 'new arrival' or 'newly opened' connote better quality and more expensive clothing. A shopper who tries to haggle half the price of a new arrival is instantly rebuffed, with a warning from the seller: *bagong bukas yan*; *kaluklukat laeng* (that box has just been opened).

In an emporium that has achieved an aura of respectability, the signature retailer reigns as fashion expert who dictates trends and price ceilings. The role ascribed to her does not come by accident, but is reached after a long process of self-tutelage that starts with lessons learned from the Hong Kong *bodega* owner/wholesaler. Hong Kong being an Asian fashion capital, the *bodega* owner cannot help but familiarize herself with the name brands that residents there wear or use. Her knowledge is passed on to the family in Baguio, who uses the signature sales pitch to justify the price of a box.[13] The retailer comes third in the learning rung, looking out for name brands the wholesaler has identified. In some cases, the retailer discovers a new name brand because of inquiries from shoppers. In addition, there is the ubiquitous television set, teaching the selection authority the latest in the fashion world. The popular signatures in

---

13 The current price of a box ranges from P8,000 to P13,000. 'Signature' or Class A boxes top the price range. Boxes containing shoes may go as far as P11,000. *Bulok* boxes go for as low as P6000. Some bodega owners no longer repack *bulok* items; there is a Pakistani network that ships these boxes for resale in Baguio.

the selection collection of the retailer are European and U.S. brands. A few Asian brands have landed in this list.

The ukay-ukay terms described above are examples of how culture has been assimilated into a language. As Covar says,"Magkalakip ang ugnayan ng wika at kultura. Ang kultura ay likha ng tao. Ang wika ay taal sa tao. Kahit ng nga ito'y taal, ang wika ay likha ng tao, gaya ng kultura." [14] (There is an inextricable link between culture and language. Culture is man-made. Language is inherent in man. Even if this is inherent, language is created by man, like culture.)

Mapping *Ukay-Ukay* Locations

In the early days of the *ukay-ukay* trade, the sale of used clothing was confined to a small radius slightly off the Baguio market center. Shoppers traversed the sidestreet Kayang, Hilltop, the hangar market, and the area behind the Philippine Rabbit Buslines sinkhole. Beside the *pensionados*' office, a little farther away from Kayang, there was also a small shop specializing in the sale of used items.

Kayang stood out from among the other areas – and it still does today – because this was, and still is the only place where street piles can be found. There is nothing so apparent as the act of making *ukay* or doing *wagwag* in Kayang. Shoppers elbow each other to find a good spot, then kneel, squat or perpetually bend and stretch in order to sift through piles of clothing that the seller has dumped on cardboard boxes. If there is one phrase that clearly describes the Kayang experience, it is mad frenzy. The shopping hysteria is brought about by several factors, one among which is the limited time in which the selling takes place. The street piles are allowed only on certain times of the day: early morning, noon, and late afternoon towards early evening. The threat of a policeman running after the seller who has breached the time limit for the streetside sale contributes to the haste with which shoppers choose the items they want.

Even while Kayang sold branded items and lesser-known brands at the same price, the risk of getting good finds or damaged stuff was almost equal. Having to contend with time pressure, the shopper would sometimes miss a torn sleeve or a stain on a dress. Unlike in Kayang, the vendors in Hilltop and the hangar market rented stalls offered a less stress-free environment to the buyer. The buyer had more time to choose from the clothing (now sometimes piled on a makeshift table), and check for damaged goods.

Soon after, the old Bayanihan hotel rented out its floors to sellers who invested in racks and hangers. The classification of items followed, with the branded and quality items separated from the not so good. At about the same time, tourists discovered these shops, and Bayanihan became a byword in the castoff-clothing scene. A trend was started and many retailers joined the bandwagon, renting spaces from partly empty office buildings along Harrison Road. The owners of these buildings eventually converted their floors into *wagwag* stalls. On empty lots where the Skyworld shopping center and the Baguio Park Hotel once stood, new structures were built to accommodate the growing number of *ukay-ukay* retailers.[15]

Competition has given birth to innovation, with retailers wrapping *na-magic* bags in clear plastic, investing in racks for shoes, or creating displays much so like in the department stores. In some stalls in the downtown business area, proprietors separate the bargain tables from the selection areas, imitating mall come-ons: the bargain tables during Shoemart's 3-day sales and the standard Surplus Shop bargain corners. The more clever proprietors even resort

---

14   Covar, Prospero. *Kultura ng Wika* (photocopy, n.p., n.d.).

15   The Skyworld and the Baguio Park Hotel were located on prime lots on Session Road and Harrison Road. Both buildings were damaged during the 1990 earthquake.

to mixing imitation goods with the real ones and customers who cannot differentiate the knockoffs from the originals end up being shortchanged.

Baguio's *Ukay-U/kay* and Beyond

It is not uncommon to see serious ukay-ukay patrons lugging big bags in which to stuff their buys. In one of my ukay-ukay forays, I chanced upon a buyer from Manila who provided an insight on the breadth of the *ukay-ukay* trade. He is one of the many traders from Manila who regularly take a six-hour bus to Baguio. These traders have their own boutiques located in upscale areas such as Makati.

Dresses and pashminas they purchase from the Baguio *ukay-ukay* stalls are sent to the dry cleaners. Bags and shoes are sent to the restorers. Looking new or almost new, these items end up displayed in their boutiques. The finer products are brought to their *suki's* houses or offices. These regular clients are aware that the clothes are castoffs, and the transactions are marked with confidentiality. One can thus keep up with the latest in fashion at a fraction of the price, and pretend to have bought these items from designer houses. In some instances, the seller makes up a story about a mother, an aunt, a sibling or a cousin living abroad, who chanced upon the goods in a bargain. Although both seller and buyer are well aware that the goods originally came from the Baguio *ukay-ukay*, the conversation is a pretense they engage in, and one that can be used when friends ask where a dress was purchased. This is almost like a face-saving device, needed when scripting performances in everyday life.[16]

Some *ukay-ukay* stall owners have also started selling goods on *ebay.ph*. Bags, shoes and clothes they display in their stalls are pictured on *ebay* as well. Descriptions of items *ukay-ukay* sellers bid out on *ebay* are more detailed, and may sometimes include serial numbers of designer bags and assurances of an item's authenticity. When a product is sold for a better price at the stall, the seller immediately runs to a nearby internet café to pull the item out of bidding.

Clothes and accessories from the *ukay-ukay* have literally traveled a long way, from the fashion house, to Hong Kong, to the Baguio *bodega* and stall, and finally to other areas in the Philippines. All throughout, these transactions are situated in a context wherein meanings are created.

Fashioning a Culture Through the *Ukay-Ukay*

The *ukay-ukay* – the evolution of the trade, the nature of the business, buyer-seller behavior, the language unique to their transactions and the geographical locations of the ukay-ukay stalls – has to a large extent defined the culture of Baguio City.

Entrepreneurial spirits have transformed a once charitable activity into a large business that impacts on the lives of a big number of Baguio residents and their families. In a city that used to rely solely on tourist income during the summer months and vegetable sales the rest of the year, the *ukay-ukay* trade has become a bonus, so to speak. From the larger perspective, the single most important driver that fuels the *ukay-ukay* trade is the fast turnover rate of fashion in the world's capitals, which unleashes a huge amount of castoffs for the secondary market.

The *ukay-ukay* has democratized fashion in Baguio City. If they lived elsewhere, the locals will not be able to afford keeping up with fashion trends. But because the secondhand industry has made available items to residents at low prices, they are able to keep up with the world. In the Baguio landscape, the blur between the branded and the not so good has been erased; territorial lines between signature and generic are now defined. Retailers of branded

---

16   Goffman, Erving. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. Anchor Books. (New York 1959).

items have become connoisseurs of a sort, selling only the best goods that appeal to buyers, choosing locations in the more upscale areas of the city. Their counterparts in the generic trade will forever be relegated to the backstreet areas, catering to the less discriminating *wagwag* crowd.[17] This in some way reflects the geographical mapping of Philippine urban shopping spaces, especially in Metro Manila, wherein upscale and lower-priced stores have been designated certain specific areas (e.g. the Fort, Makati or Ortigas catering to the well-heeled crowd, and Quiapo or Divisoria for the ordinary buyers).

The *ukay-ukay* thrives because the Philippines is a country where so much importance is placed on social rank and its physical and behavioral manifestations. The *ukay-ukay*'s affordability allows people to actually live what they used to fantasize. The cliché goes: "Clothes make the man." Dress is a form of social expression used by individuals to show the world their identity. Moreover, the use of language unique to the trade has also upped the seller's social status as well as delineated the knowledgeable shoppers from the rest. It has become a sort of a leveler, opening doors to sellers and buyers who were once considered as not having the "class" the more privileged were born with.

One may argue that the *ukay-ukay* is a tool through which colonialism is perpetuated, where trends are dictated by the west and the more affluent. Through the *ukay-ukay*, the status that the west proffers seems attainable, an affordable obsession. The identity and the symbols of status that are sold by the west are present in *ukay-ukay* items such as pashminas, coats with fake fur collars and knee-high boots. These are constructs which appeal to the *ukay-ukay* patron, even if these border on the bizarre in a tropical country that experiences temperature highs of up to 36 to 39 degrees. What is ironic, however, is that these same symbols have become open to everyone, obscuring the distinction between those who can and those who cannot afford. Imagine a household helper with a monthly wage of 2500 pesos (roughly USD 50) toting the same Prada bag once in a Hong Kong waiting list. Fashion, then, no longer functions as a tool of distinction, but has transformed into a homogenizing instrument.

Once deemed a small business venture limited to the low-income residents of Baguio City, *ukay-ukay* has become a cultural force that drives popular taste, buying behavior and social symbols from Metro Manila to the Cordillera. It is both individual and part of the larger culture owned by the entire society.

---

17   It is difficult to give a steady number of street piles or selection stalls; as new stalls mushroom others close down. For purposes of approximation, however, these are the latest figures, tallied January 2007: 'selection' stalls: Skyworld, along Session Road, 3 floors, stalls with a mixture of Class A, B and C goods, including knockoffs - 86; Jollibee, near Prime Hotel, 2 floors – 38; East Park, along Harrison Road, 2 floors – 34; Harrison Road – 26; Malcolm Square, 3 floors – 28; Kayang and Hilltop area – 31 stalls and street piles.

Making Yourself Matter.
Class-Grandparent Experiences

Anna Sofia Lundgren

Ageing and Living Conditions Programme, ALC,

Department of Culture and Media, Umeå University, Sweden

annasofia.lundgren@kultmed.umu.se

This paper deals with experiences of being active as so called Class-Grandparents – elderly visiting and helping out in schools on a regular basis – and the starting point is that working as a Class-Grandparent is one way to create a space on which to exercise agency and obtain a productive position in old age. The aim of the paper is to describe and discuss how elderly persons that have been engaged as Class-Grandparents talk about their experiences – experiences that are actually described as producing an intelligible subjectivity as one of its main effects.

Making Yourself Matter

It has been suggested that in response to circumstances where cultural recognition and cultural continuity is something that does not come by itself, individual actors will attempt to find or create spaces that lend some form of predictability to life (Biggs 1993; Phillipson & Biggs 1998). It might be added that such attempts also comprise the constitution of arenas for exercise of agency, and positions from which an individual subject may speak and be recognised. This paper deals with experiences of being active as so called Class-Grandparents – elderly visiting and helping out in schools on a regular basis – and the starting point is that working as a Class-Grandparent is one way to actually create such above-mentioned spaces. The aim of the paper is to describe how persons that have been engaged as Class-Grandparents talk about their experiences – experiences that are actually described as producing an intelligible subjectivity as one of its main effects.

All images of identities, or subject positions, can be seen as productive of social and cultural hierarchies; they have, using Foucault's terminology, power/knowledge effects. Taking a constructivist perspective on ageing implies a view on stories as being in themselves productive or performative. Every story is also viewed as dependent not just upon the experiences of the teller, but on available ways to interpret these experiences (Scott 1992). Qualitative in-depth interviews have been carried out with 5 Class-Grandparents and 2 teachers.

Nostalgic Notions

There were in the interviewee's stories a certain amount of what might be called nostalgic notions; the experienced present was recurrently contrasted with a somewhat romanticised idea of the past.

> If my *age* matter? Hmm… I think *people* matter in school, but yes, I do believe that it's specifically important that I am an elderly person. I can keep the moral values of past times alive. Loosing the connection to morality is the biggest threat today. Morality… yes, it was certainly better before. (Åke)

Of course, the word nostalgia was itself never mentioned, probably because it is otherwise so frequently used dismissively; being called nostalgic might even be interpreted as an insult; as an accusation of not being modern enough! Maybe it is sound to say that nostalgia and modernity do constitute an interesting constellation; nostalgia being the opposite of the go-ahead of modernity and at the same time in the midst of modernity's anxiety (e.g. Giddens 1991; Miller 1994). But the nostalgic notions expressed by the interviewees can also be said to express nostalgia *for* modernity, a reflection enunciated from a position experienced as postmodern, as fragmented and uncertain, where modernity by way of symbolic inversion comes to stand for clearness and simplicity; a sense of reviewableness and transparency.

In the interviewee's stories, nostalgia was present both as purely *restorative nostalgia*, attempting at reconstruction of a lost past or condition; and as *reflective nostalgia*, thriving algetically in the distressing longing itself, referring perhaps to existential, yearning feelings of loss and uncertainty (cf. Boym 2001). Nostalgia was used as strategy, or a mode, to express certain opinions, feelings and expressions of self.

> You're not supposed to say that everything was better before, are you, but I sometimes wonder if it wasn't. I mean, when I was young we looked after one another, and in school… you wouldn't dare speak those words that you hear from the youth of today. There was more respect in the old days. I don't know if my presence and the experience that I bring to school can make that happen again, but I think that it's important to

remember how it was because there were some good things and *it breaks my heart* that they are not remembered. I think of that a lot, about the feelings of security that I think we've lost, although going back is perhaps not exactly… no that's not what I want. (Astrid)

Looking at the above quote, it is possible to recognise the way the interviewee is distancing her own self from a position as someone who glorifies the past, probably due to the negative connections associated with this position, and at the same time she reiterates the view that it actually was. The past – and the qualities that she is connecting to this past – is concretely described in two sentences: "we looked after one another" and "There was more respect". These qualities are not subjected to any restorative zeal, even though she hints to this by formulating an uncertainty as to whether her presence might make a difference. This careful way of formulating herself is again distancing her from a scorned retrogressive position. What is important, she says, is to *remember* how it was; the oblivion that she means pervades the present is breaking her heart. The choice of the metaphorical expression "it breaks my heart" together with the revealing of the fact that she often thinks of this loss of *something* might be said to display a reflective nostalgia. Here she denies that going back is an option. That is not what she wants. At this point she looked sad. It was almost as if she was mourning this loss of something that she could not pin down, and that can never recur.

By not being specific as to what "look after" and "respect" really mean she manages to use the expressions as empty signifiers; signifiers defined with a vague signified that mean different things to different people and as a consequence manage to attract and include persons that would define the terms, and their potential political implications, in opposite ways. The nostalgic character of the expression also romanticises what is said. A memory might invoke troublesome recollections, but the nostalgia is recharging them and giving them an air of positive effulgence.

What is also happening as Astrid as an elderly woman recounts her experiences in this way is the articulation that connects her dictum with her self and her age: the performance is performative, a performative that works on (at least) two levels. Firstly, by repeating the nostalgic genre and the idea of a supposedly "better past", she consolidates this idea, thus reproducing the possibility and intelligibility of a notion where the social development is one of deterioration. Secondly, by thinking of this repeating in terms of performativity we also have to recognise that what happens in such a speech act where the past is nostalgically emphasised on behalf of the present, is the simultaneous constitution of the speaking subject. Perhaps it is even justifiable to say that the nostalgic notion precedes the speaking subject; if a statement is successful it is not because the subject has successfully carried out his or her intention, but because what is said echoes prior statements and accumulates their force of authority (cf. Butler 1997).

Of course, the awareness of the nostalgic discourse makes it possible for Astrid as a subject to use it strategically in order to achieve something, but in the light of the theoretical thoughts outlined above it is also important to consider the aspects of subject-production that are taking place, because there are aspects of the simultaneous constitution of the speaker's subjectivity that are central to the understanding of how meaning of old age is constituted and experienced.

Of course nostalgia does not at all have to be connected to older people. It is a feeling or a state of mind available for all ages. There is however a strong discourse connecting nostalgic feelings with old age, a connection that often results in the belief that old people are less modern. This definition as less modern makes the speaker performing a nostalgic speech act bereaved of political power and significance, and the speech act itself risks becoming marginalised.

If we view the above quote as representation – which of course it is – it is possible to see how nostalgia works as a two-edged sword. It seems to be an emotional antidote to politics, as Boym (2001) has pointed out, but – perhaps therefore? – remains an effective political tool. The very poetics of nostalgic expressions – as long as they are not explicitly called *nostalgic* and thus deemed retrogressive – reaches out to a lot of people by not being specific and by appealing to the feelings of the listeners, and not primarily to their intellect. The references to "how it was" also positions the speaker as a person with the experiences of, and knowledge about, this period of time, a position that renders the speaker authority *as* an elderly person. Perhaps it is not too far-fetched to refer to the anthropological debates on reflexive writing, where the writing of poetic and messy texts is sometimes thought of as using evoked emotion as a method for establishing claims to authority: by making the strange *seem* familiar and, paradoxically, by breaking down the hierarchical barrier between writer and reader (cf. Denzin 1997).

One dominant discourse on old age emphasises bereavement and loss on the fields of reproduction and production as people retire from work (production) and hold a more marginal place in reproduction interpreted as well as family responsibilities as material consumption (all of these of course being strongly influenced by gender, social class and ethnic belongings).

None of the interviewees took this kind of bereavement, and the victimised position potentially resulting from it, as their starting-point. Rather they all positioned themselves as modern agents; as free individuals, being in authority and freely choosing their ways of life. This can be understood as a consequence of the individualism of modern times, where the position as a victim certainly might give some benefits, but where a position of active agency is much more rewarding.

Understanding Old Age

When old age is discussed nowadays the need for more differentiated terms is often mentioned. "Young-old" and "old-old"; the "go-go" and the "no-go", or the "wellderly" and the "illderly", are all denominations suggested to point out the difficulties of colliding persons with very different physical abilities and social circumstances into one category.

It is important to recognise how there is a powerful moral charge to these dichotomies. Not seldom is a "failure" in performing a healthy and active lifestyle seen as an individual short-coming, that actually risks defining the identity of the "failing" subject.

Another way to conceptualise old age today is by using the word "ageless". Some older people seem to construct lifestyles that oppose the stereotypes of what old age is; so called snowbirds spending their winters in warmer areas is one example, which also visualises how the choice of an ageless identity is conditioned by for example economic assets. The interviewees could all be said to occupy ageless positions as they resisted the more narrow cultural definitions implicit in the processes that assign to older persons more sedentary, passive qualities and positions. Instead, they all supported a more productive view on ageing, a view that is most certainly a very strong norm/discourse in itself. At the same time they all positioned themselves *as elderly*; it was the fact that they were old that guaranteed them access to the quality that was most often emphasised: experience.

The use of the active verbal form "position" here points to how the capability of thinking politics and identity today depends on a theory, and a vocabulary, of the subject as a decentralised agent. At first, such a vocabulary of a decentralised, detotalised subject seems to contrast the agency evoked by the interviewees. Agency thus needs to be redefined as the possibility to repeat with a difference, viewing construction and decentrality not as opposed to agency, but as the necessary scene of agency (Butler 1990; 1992).

If as a consequence the practice of being a Class-Grandparent and the repetition/retelling of arguments and experiences that took place in the interviews, are viewed as constituent scenes of agency, then what about nostalgia? What positions did nostalgia make possible? How did nostalgia make agency and the possibility to present oneself as a political subject obtainable? How did it make age matter in this process?

Implementing the idea of "important knowledge" (something that was supposedly practiced before, but is now about to be forgotten) made the interviewees important as mediators of this knowledge. This is of course a rather modern feature. It reveals a belief in the existence of true knowledge and stable subjects, and it emphasises the importance of knowing one's origins. Keeping this knowledge alive was described as being up to themselves, the alternative being a decay into postmodern uncertainty. Using reflective nostalgia when describing this "important knowledge" made it possible to stop and dwell in the consensus of the nostalgic feeling, thus avoiding to go into exactly what this knowledge consisted of.

Maybe it is also possible to see how nostalgia is taking part in an identity-politics pursued while occupying the position *as* an older person – *not* "ageless" (cf. Phillipson & Biggs 1998)? Nostalgia could here be said to make this position possible as long as nostalgia was conducted in a specific way. It was necessary that the nostalgic feeling was something that was on offer (an offering of shared feelings and mutual understandings) or was used strategically to lend authority to the speaker. If nostalgia became instead an adjective, describing and defining the subject, it risked becoming a threat to the position as an older person.

References

Biggs, S (1993). *Understanding Ageing*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Boym, S (2001). *The Future of Nostalgia*. New York: Basic Books.

Butler, J (1990). *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York & London: Routledge.

Butler, J (1992). "Contingent Foundations: Feminism and the Question of Postmodernism". In J Butler and J Scott (eds) *Feminists Theorize the Political*. London & New York: Routledge.

Butler, J (1997). *Excitable Speech. A Politics of the Performative*. New York & London: Routledge.

Denzin, N K (1997). *Interpretive Ethnography. Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. London: Sage.

Giddens, A (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Miller, D (1994). *Modernity – An Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford: Berg.

Phillipson, C & Biggs, S (1998). "Modernity and Identity: Themes and Perspectives in the Study of Older Adults". In *Journal of Aging and Identity*, Vol. 3, No. 1.

Scott, J W (1992). "Experience". In J Butler & J W Scott (eds) *Feminists Theorize the Political*. New York: Routledge.

Threat and Defence: Diaspora and the Creation of Ethnoscapes

Kostas Maronitis

Department of Creative, Critical and Communication Studies,
University of Greenwich

mariosblackman@yahoo.com

Drawing from Manuel Castells' assertion that in a network society "a logic of flows has replaced a logic of structures", this paper examines the (re) formation of the idea of national space and national identity in relation to the socio-cultural phenomenon of Diaspora of Kazakhstani and Albanians in Greece as depicted in the films of Constantine Giannaris ("At the Edge of the City", "Hostage"). Giannaris' cinema is analysed through the Deleuzian concept of the "assemblage", which denies the existence of two (or three, or…) distinctive components of cultural interaction and at the same time acknowledges the multiple intermediate components of a dialogue between "host" and "visitor" where youth subcultures, sexuality, public transport and working environments constitute a volatile and instable *ethnoscape* best described in terms of deterritorilisation and reterritorilisation. How does the *ethnoscape* constitute a threat to traditional notions of national space and identity? What are the defence mechanisms of these traditional notions within the *ethnoscape*?

Introduction

In what Lash and Urry (1987) have called "disorganised capitalism" the new inter-cultural and inter-national terrain needs to be examined as a complex disordered order where structures and systems such as social class, gender, national identity that used to define and in extension determine social agents have lost their all encompassing character. In the network society where "a logic of flows has replaced a logic of flows" (Castells) socio-cultural relations have stopped being objectively transmitted and perceived, and they largely depend on the historical, linguistic and political situation of a diverse assembly of actors. Nation states, diasporic communities and sub-national groupings are part of a process of "radical de-traditionalisation" (Giddens 1999) where the domination of the past in the shape of every day life re-appears in very different way.

This particular set of perspective relations augments Benedict Anderson's (2006) "imagined communities" to "imagined worlds" (Appadurai) via the creation of ethnoscapes. Arjun Appadurai (1996) coins the term ethnoscape in order to map the landscape of social agents such as tourists, immigrants, exile and guest workers which constitute the shifting world of disorganised capitalism. An imperative element of the network society is that the actors who constitute and live in such "imagined worlds" are in constant struggle to define their territory and their identity. The ethnoscape as an outcome of the global flows of a multifaceted form of capital does not necessarily imply or signal the disappearance of stable communities and the more traditional networks of kinship, labour and leisure but as this paper asserts the ethnoscape constitutes a threat to these so-called traditional forms of community and nationality and at the same generates new ways for their defence.

Whereas Anderson's thesis reveals the nation as an artefact of cultural processes whose existence is preceded rather than followed by the creation of a sense of nationality (and this occurs in people's imagination as a cultural construct), the ethnoscape as imagined world, I argue, is an "assemblage" and through the concept of the assemblage the ethnoscape can be analysed. The concept of the assemblage as developed by Deleuze (2006) operates through some sort of censorship where the question what is an assemblage is vehemently replaced by the question what an assemblage can do. The Deleuzian assemblage offers a strategy that denies the existence of two or three (or…) components of a dialogue, of an interaction between hosts and visitor. The dominant feature of the assemblage is the creation of "territories". Territories designate a space for claim, expression and identity. Territories do not remain fixed but are always being made and unmade – reterritorializing and deterritorializing. The key idea in Deleuze's formulation of the assemblage is the exteriority of relations. Such an exteriority suggests that not only relations are external to their terms, but also that "a relation may change without the terms changing" (Deleuze 2006:55). The Deleuzian assemblage opposes the Hegelian totality in which the parts are mutually constituted into a seamless whole. In an assemblage – as in the ethnoscape – components have certain autonomy – a relative autonomy – which means that they can be detached from and plugged into other existing social and cultural assemblages.

Threat

The purpose of this paper is neither to provide an account of how the socio-cultural phenomenon is treated in Greek cinema and in particular Giannaris' cinema nor to comment on the racial politics of it. The purpose of this paper is to design a theoretical framework where the hermeneutical relationship between Diaspora and ethnoscapes can be understood through the concept of the assemblage (and its implications: deterritorilisation and reterritorilisation) by looking closer at Constantine Giannaris' films *From the Edge of the City* (1998) and *Hostage* (2004). The two films under discussion illustrate the creation of this

volatile ethnoscape where the "stranger" – Simmel's sociological figure – drifts, trades, is a prostitute, a racist and a victim of racism, in short by making connections without their external qualities changing. The stranger and the host constantly interact on a multifaceted level which deterritorilises and reterritorilises the national space of their interaction. Keeping with Simmel, it needs to be noted that the stranger as depicted in Giannaris' cinema is beyond the common sense of the stranger – "the wanderer who comes today and goes tomorrow" – but rather he is "the man who comes today and stays tomorrow" (Simmel 1971:143). The stranger as sociologically depicted by Simmel and cinematically by Giannaris is fixed within a certain national space and a national group whose boundaries are equivalent to spatial boundaries but her/his position within it is exquisitely determined by the fact s/he is not part of it initially and that s/he ascribes qualities to it that are not and cannot be indigenous to it.

Constantine Giannaris was the first director in Greece who explicitly dealt with the phenomenon of the early 1990s Diaspora (of Kazaks and of Albanians respectively). Despite the striking differences between the two films of my discussion I wish to treat them as an entity, as a single cinematic narrative that would be the vehicle for the analysis of Diaspora and the creation of ethnoscapes. *From The Edge of the City* follows a group of teenage Kazaks (Russian-Pontic) in their otherwise every day life activities: working at the building site, prostitution, drugs, pity theft. These activities are always accompanied by the group's anxieties and culpabilities regarding their social and cultural positioning.

The territory created by this assemblage – the Kazaks within the Greek national space is a form of a claim – the claim to public space and an expression and communication of a particular national identity which seeks assimilation and at the same time distances itself from the Greek national notion. The projection of the building site as the predominant immigrants working space, rent boys glorifying masculinity by being misogynists, body trafficking of Kazak prostitutes in collaboration with Greeks and the appropriation of American youth subcultures constitute an assemblage – an ethnoscape which threatens the notions of Greek national space and identity.

The Diaspora of Kazaks in Athens as portrayed in *From the Edge of the City* does not limit itself to the deterritorilisation of the Greek space through the creation of a Kazak territory within it but it is also preoccupied with the complicity of retaining the Kazak roots and classifying the immigrants contained in that space. Through a series of fragmented interviews of the protagonist of the film Sasha (played by Stathis Papadopoulos) taken by the director and through the sequences of reveries of family feasts issues such as racism, misogyny, religion and political conservatism are means for the reterritorilisation of the Kazak imaginary world.

In the second film of my discussion, *Hostage*, the ethnoscape is limited but nevertheless fully embodied in a bus that follows a particular route in northern Greece, near the Greek-Albanian borders. Based on a true story that took place in 1999, the narrative follows a dissatisfied and desperate young Albanian worker named Ellion (played by Stathis Papadopoulos) who takes control of the bus by the threat of his machine gun and grenades and decides to lead it to his hometown, the capital city of Albania, Tirana. The themes of honour and manhood are the driving force of the film whose protagonist seeks to take revenge for a treachery in a gun smuggling business with the border police and his sexual abuse by them.

The bus becomes a claustrophobic ethnoscape through the assemblage of various components like the hostages in their diverse representation as liberal and/or xenophobic, the protagonist's memories of Albania and his deportation from Greece, the media's coverage of the event and his mother's plea to surrender. Eventually, the hijacker becomes a hostage of an

uncontrollable deterritorilisation and reterritorilisation, which comes to an end with his killing by the Albanian border police.

Defence

The defence of the more stable, structured sense of national space and national identity derives from the notion that the nation state should make use of its borders (physical and cultural) which the stranger has threatened them. Such a notion of a defence is actually turned to a threat and this move is perfectly exemplified by Nicola Sarcozy's statement "to kick out those families who refuse to integrate" (Hyland 2006). Regardless of the validity of Sarcozy's statement, Mathew Hyland draws on Ulrich Beck's reference to Sarcozy's unofficial statement/policy and points out that is a sleight of an ideological hand. The term integration has been subverted by nation states for the defence of national space and of national identity. Racial integration was mainly a claim and a demand by civil rights movements in the U.S in the 1950s and 1960s addressed to institutions such as education, labour, public transport, local administration and electoral politics. Integration by that time referred to the break down of a racially based or/and racist economy and it was directed at the racial majority. Returning to contemporary Europe, the Europe of Sarcozy, the Europe in Giannaris' cinema, the word integration is directed to individuals and their relation to the racial majority and dominant ideology. The imperative to "integrate" is delivered by the nation state to single subjects. Simmel's stranger – Giannaris' Kazak teenagers and the dissatisfied young Albanian – must integrate into school, working environments and into the grand ideas of national identity if they want to move out from the margins of the nation state. What was a "transitive verb" (eg the state must integrate the school) then, it becomes "intransitive, or implicitly reflexive" (the immigrant must integrate her/himself) (Hyland 2006). The transformation from transitive to intransitive requires the denial of the key feature of the concept of the assemblage which is the exteriority of relations as a vehicle for the understanding of ethnoscapes. The denial of the exteriority of relations is communicated through the feeling of responsibility. The Kazaks and the Albanian hijacker have to deal with their cultural heritage as being responsible for it. Hyland (2006) argues that in this case, responsibility makes culture a far more useful category than race for the defence of national space and identity.

Conclusion

In what Maffesoli (1996) terms "the image of coenaesthesia" (?) which is able to integrate within the framework of "conflictual harmony" a diverse range of national cultures and identities, the notion of the stranger as derives from the Deleuzian assemblage emphasises the founding aspect of cultural difference. Such difference is not a product of a unanimous perspective of tolerance but it is rather caused by what might be called the "organicity of opposites". Giannaris' strangers, young Kazaks and dissatisfied workers turned into hijackers constitute a threat through this cultural pluralism which very often is forgotten or/and denied for the defence of the more traditional notions of national space and identity. This defence aims at the conservation and further creation of entity types, conceived on the basis of homogenous models: unified nations, national identities and so on. The foreign element as generated by the global flows of capital and cinematically depicted by Giannaris actualises a potentiality; the potentiality of cultural diversity that has been neglected but at the same time stimulates new ways for the defence of the nation state. In line with Maffesoli (*ibid.*), the above logic, tension and paradox, the deterritorilisation and de-traditionalisation are thus necessary, "a bit like a graft that allows worn out tress to bear beautiful fruit once again (Maffesoli: 108).

References

Anderson, Benedict (2006): Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism, London: Verso.

Appadurai, Arjun (1996): Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalisation, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Auge, Mark (1999): The War of Dreams: Studies in Ethnofiction, (Liz Heron trans.) London: Pluto Press.

Castells, Manuel (2000): The Rise of the Network Society, Oxford: Blackwell.

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Felix (1999): A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia, (Brian Maussumi trans.) London: Athlone.

Deleuze, Gilles and Parnet, Claire (2006): Dialogues, London: Continuum.

De Landa, Manuel (2006): "Deleuzian Social Ontology and Assemblage Theory", in

From the Edge of the City, (Greece) VHS Constantine Giannaris Mythos/Rosebud/Hot Shot Productions 1998.

Fuglsang, Martin and Sorensen, Bent Meier (eds.): Deleuze and the Social, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Giddens, Anthony (1999): Politics After Socialism (Director's Lectures), London School of Economics http://www.lse.ac.uk .

Hostage (Greece, Albania, Turkey) DVD Constantine, Giannaris C. Giannaris Films, Highway Productions, Sarmasilk Sanaltar, GFC, Alpha Television, Graal S.A, Strada Productions 2004.

Hyland, Mathew (2006): "Proud Scum: The Spectre of the Ingrate", in Mute Vol 2/2 Dis Integrating Multiculturalism www.metamute.org .

Maffesoli, Michel (1996): The Time of the Tribes: The Decline of Individualism in Mass Society, London: Sage.

Urry, John (2000): Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty First Century, London: Routledge.

Papastergiadis, Nikos (2000): The Turbulence of Migration:Globalisation, Deterritorilisation and Hybridity, Cambridge: Polity.

Suburbia and the Arts

Mette Mechlenborg
Institute of Literature, Media and Cultural Studies,
University of Southern Denmark
mechlenborg@litcul.sdu.dk

Identical lawns, gossiping housewives and watching sit-coms: traditionally the suburb has been associated with mass culture, consumerism and the middle class, making it subject to an emphatically critical discourse in high culture – to the extent it has been accorded any attention at all. This perception may explain the absence of the fine arts in cultural studies' research on suburbia. But it also reveals profound dichotomies in the academic disciplines dealing with suburbia. As the alternative to the city, suburbia engenders research on oppositions like the fine arts vs. popular culture, masculinity vs. feminine culture, immaterial values vs. materialism, and, finally, experiences of modernity vs. more traditional ways of living. My project is theoretically placed in the field between housing research, cultural studies and aesthetic disciplines and is methodologically embedded in Mieke Bal's theory of 'travelling concepts' developed for interdisciplinary studies (2002). What I am trying to do is to (re)establish a dialogue between more traditional representations of suburbia and contemporary aesthetic investigations into life in the suburb. It is my hope that this dialogue will challenge the conventional understanding of suburbia in cultural studies as well as question the historical and contemporary canonisations of suburbia as a concept.

Introduction

At EXIT 2003, the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy of Art's new graduates, one of the artists in particular, Eske Kath, drew attention to himself with his colourful, comic-like representations of suburban Danish detached houses in dramatic sceneries with explosions, hurricanes and fantastic fireworks, challenging the conventional perception of the dull and monotonous urban settlement. Not that he is the first to rediscover suburbia within the arts, but as a famous art critic put it, it seems as if a generation of artists are now confronting themselves with their upbringing in one or other of the half million detached houses that were built in suburban areas between 1960 and 1979 and forever changed the Danish perceptions of home and housing (Gade/Jalvin 2006).

The motivation for my project on suburbia is related to the revitalisation of suburbia in Danish art and literature. Within the last decade the traditional Danish suburb with its detached houses and its straight lines of hedges has become an exotic motif demanding investigation in aesthetic disciplines which have normally paid little or no attention to suburbia. I am however reluctant to see this sensibility as a mere expression of a walk down memory lane, and sense rather that something more profound is at stake. First of all, I am convinced that the aesthetic notion of suburbia is crossing the boundaries of art and connecting with the revitalisation of suburbia in urban planning, architecture and everyday life, placing suburbia in the midst of an interdisciplinary dynamic field. Secondly many of these representations express a new kind of sensibility as well as a new form of ambivalence compared to more classical representations of suburbia, which have tended to approach suburbia as an *enfant terrible* of the city, giving it at best only a peripheral role in what the feminist sociologist Judy Giles designates "the paradigmatic narratives on modernity" (Parlour and Suburbs 2005). Are the new representations of suburbia challenging the conventional status of the term crossing several fundamental dichotomies in the culture of canonised modernity? And if so, how and why?

Framing and Thesis

Despite suburbia's minor role in the canonical writing on modernity, suburbia cannot be separated from the rise of the modern world. As a modern urban settlement it was created in the eighteenth century by the privileged middle class in London, who moved out of the city core and into a nowhere-land between nature and the city (Fishman 1987). It is closely connected to the development of modern transport systems and the separation between work and leisure, private life and the public sphere in modernity. Now suburbia is one of the most dominant types of settlement in most of the western modern world, criticised by many, loved by even more. As such suburbia has become a very important and complex cognitive figure of modern times. As utopia the suburb is a metaphor for the good life, comfort and nature. As a dystopia suburbia reflects materialism, conformity and the culture of the *petit-bourgeois*. Between these poles suburbia is a fulcrum for a variety of feelings, visions and ideas concerning the ideal of an authentic modern life.

My project in this paper is to try to focus on suburbia as a "travelling concept" in modernity, as it is my conviction that the problems concerning suburbia can be seen as a matter of the relations between suburbia and the understanding of an 'authentic' (early) modern life. By taking this perspective I hope to reveal some of the dogmas and dichotomies that contaminate the concept of suburbia and to find a way to explain why suburbia has been stigmatised in the fine arts and writings. Something that will give us a chance to approach the contemporary interest in suburbia as a shift in concept. Secondly, what I will do in this paper is to (re)connect suburbia with its origin in modernity by approaching it as a way to cope with the new conditions in the early modern city – understood as a maelstrom of information and

stimuli. This means that the rise of suburbia could be and ought to be seen as another, uncanonised way of dealing with the over stimulation of the nervous system caused by the new modern city, designated "Neurasthenia" by the American doctor George Beard in his famous book *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion* from 1869. Focusing on this new, modern, nervous disorder, I will approach suburbia as one strategy out of three involving attitudes and solutions in relation to the new condition of modernity: An alternative strategy that didn't 1) force the citizen to adapt himself to the new modes and movement of the city with its excitements and loneliness in the manner the French poet and critic Charles Baudelaire's *flâneur* or 2) force him to develop a psychological defence mechanism making him blasé towards his city, city life and its inhabitants (cf. Georg Simmel). Every strategy is theoretically embedded in canonised texts and given expression by a canonised spokesperson. They are:

1. Strategy: To surrender. Result: ambivalence and art (artist and critic Charles Baudelaire).
2. Strategy: To overcome. Result: the blasé attitude and capitalism (sociologist Georg Simmel).
3. Strategy: The separation. Result: suburbia (doctor and writer Frode Sadolin).

My hope is to gather arguments for the mayor thesis in my Ph.D.-project, asserting that one of the reasons why suburbia has a bad reputation in the fine arts and canonical writings on modernity is that suburbia, in contrast to the city, has been constructed as an urban scene not able to generate any aesthetics at all. Until now suburbia has been artless. Finally I must strongly stress that my paper for this workshop is an expression of a work-in-progress, and the following pages are therefore not to be mistaken for a wrapped up investigation in the matter. They are evidence of evolving ideas.

Theory and Method: Suburbia as Travelling Concept

To see suburbia as a cognitive figure implicates several considerations with regard to method and theory. As Rita Felski concludes on her analysis of the concept of 'every day life', (1999-2000), it is "rarely taken under the microscope and scrutinised as a concept". You may argue that the same could be said of suburbia. Like every day life suburbia is a term in common use and very easy to recognise with its attributes and accessories, but rarely subjected to analysis, even though like "any analytical term, it organises the world according to certain assumptions and criteria" (Felski 1999-2000: 15). Felski draws attention to the need for a more strict academic reflection in the common terms used within cultural studies. It is observations like these that have made me decide to look at suburbia as a concept. My project is therefore embedded in the writings of the Dutch cultural analyst Mieke Bal and especially in her concept-based method and her efforts to develop a method that can deal with multiple theories, disciplines and objects (2002 and 2006). Her point, as it is described and practised in *Travelling Concepts in Humanities* (2002), is that concepts rather than methods should be the heuristic and methodological basis in interdisciplinary research. She compares concepts with "theories in miniature" (2006:157), explaining that the concept should be looked at as a kind of epistemology that "serve[s] the purpose of organizing a set of phenomena, determine[s] the relevant question to be asked about them, and determine[s] the meaning of possible observations concerning them" as she puts it with reference to the idea of concepts according to Isabelle Stenger (2006:158). In *Travelling Concepts* (2002) Bal says:

..concepts are flexible: each is part of a framework, a systematic set of distinctions, not

oppositions, that can sometimes be bracketed or even ignored, but that can never be transgressed or contradicted without serious damage to the analysis at hand. (2002: 22-23).

The comparison to theory is obvious, but with an important distinction: The 'framework' that hosts the given concept is not without ambiguity, but may contain several theories, visions and values as it 'travels' from one field (discipline, period or through time) of understanding to another. What is essential to Bal's concept -based methodology is to look at concepts as concepts that perform. The purpose is not to discover the meaning of the concept but to find out how a given concept *acts* and, furthermore, to reveal any dogmatic use. She says: "While groping to define, provisionally and partly, what a particular concept means, we gain insight into what it can do" (2002:11).

To see suburbia as a kind of travelling concept in Bal's terminology is therefore to accept that suburbia doesn't represent a neutral urban settlement, but must be grasped as a complex concept with a historical and idea-based frame and clear, but conflicting distinctions. As a junction of ideals, dystopias and stereotypes suburbia represents an important theme in modern culture. By seeing suburbia as a travelling concept it is possible 1) to draw attention to the dogmatic use of the term, 2) to focus on its travelling between theories, disciplines and idea based fields and finally, 3) to involve an artistic and cultural representation in 'our groping to define what suburbia mean and do'.

The Canonical Narratives on Modernity

Despite its unquestionable popularity from the very beginning, suburbia has remained remarkably invisible in the narrative of modernity (Fishman, Giles, Silverstone). If any attention is drawn to suburbia, it is often seen as a bad alternative to the city or even worse, as a symbol of middle-class life, degeneration and conformity. Roger Silverstone describes the classical perspective on suburbia like this: "The suburban is seen, if at all at best, as a consequence, an excrescence, a cancerous fungus, leaching the energy of the city, dependent and inert and ultimately self-destructive." (1997: 4).

The city, on the other hand, has been central to our understanding of modernity. Whether approached through art, literature, sociology, history or even within economic theories, the city – not the suburb – has been the centre of the paradigm of (early) modernity. The French poet and critic Charles Baudelaire is mythologized as one of the first to describe the experience of the modern world. The creation of the *flâneur* is closely related to the rise of the city, especially as he is described in his strolls around the city streets in *Paris Spleen* (1869), where he is being intrigued and absorbed by the new world, "the modern". Baudelaire introduces his hero in 1859 with the essay "The painter of Modern Life, a man" who curses the hours he must spend indoors, when he could be out recording "the landscape of the great city" (1859/2001:1-18). The *flâneur* is, as Baudelaire describes him: "this lonely figure equipped with a creative imagination, always on the move in the big desert of people" (my translation 2001: 03). With his sensitive imagination the *flâneur* collects and keeps files on his observations in order to understand the 'beauty of his time'. A beauty Baudelaire himself defines as "the temporary, the transient and the not-needed" (my translation 2001: 34). On a higher level what the *flâneur* experiences on his strolls is not only the rise of the big city, but the rise of modernity.

From the impressionists to the futurists, painters and writers have used the city as a generator of motifs that could express the aspects of the new age: The train, the cafés, the streets and boulevards, electricity, as well as anonymity, fluxus and modes of freedom and adventure. This might explain why the city has been the main symbol of the modern up through the nineteenth century's art and culture. The link between the city and the modern

396

experience has also been the main theme in classical analysis of the transformation of *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* from Ferdinard Tonnies to writers on modernity, among them Walter Benjamin, Theodor Adorno/Horkheimer, Richard Sennet, Marshall Berman. In *Not at Home. The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture* (1996) Christopher Reed claims that the artists and architects as well as the promoters of the avant-garde, among them Adolf Loos, Le Corbusier and, as already mentioned, Baudelaire and Benjamin and Clement Greenberg, are to be blamed for the somehow one-sided definition of the 'authentic' modern life as they "assert their accomplishment through contrast with domesticity" (1996: 7). One may claim that the superiority of the city has been so powerful that the process of modernization most of all has been equivalent to the process of making the whole society work as a city. Urbanisation is, as Michael Foucault puts it, a tool of power. Since the eighteenth century, he claims, urbanism has been the foundation of society's pursuit of a micro-social empowerment – an empowerment which was established in the spatial and material disciplining of human behaviour in the city (Foucault 1986:240). As the Danish researcher on suburbia Jon Pløger concludes on this notion, this has generated the basic ideas of society, as the design and planning of the city represented society's hegemonic ideas and values (2003:9).

The Inherited Modern Dichotomies

This stigmatic role that suburbia has been subordinated to in most writings on modernity and urbanisation, 'travels' (cf. Mieke Bal) with it into other disciplines, genres and medias. Suburbia as something in opposition to the city gives resonances in other fields of study and is closely related to every day life's dichotomies as well as high culture's dogmas. Without going into details and explanations the most fundamental dichotomies between the city and suburbia are these:

CITY	vs.	SUBURBIA
Public space		Private space
Mobility		Stability
Adventure		Everyday life
Masculinity		Femininity
Fine arts and culture	Popular culture	
Modernity		(Semi-)tradition

Though exaggerated this account of the dogmas behind our understanding of suburbia reveals profound academic conflicts in research on suburbia. Suburbia, the housewife, everyday life and popular culture etc. have each been subjected to one kind of research, namely gender-, design- and cultural studies as well as studies in every day life. The city with its related attributes and high culture representations have on the other hand been objects for aesthetic disciplines, philosophy, theories in urbanisation and globalisation, disciplines which traditionally do not grant suburbia any or only little importance. As Judy Giles points out in her study on suburbia, every day life and women:

> The significance of vacuum cleaners, semi-detached houses, and the decline of domestic service has been largely ignored, except by those fields of study frequently dismissed as less serious and academically respectable, for example cultural studies and design and technology. (2004:23).

Methodologically, culturally and academically it is obvious why the aesthetisisation of the Danish detached suburbs of the sixties and seventies is highly interesting as it give us an opportunity to study the understanding of suburbia in a new context. In making them an

object of fine art our approach to the matter is from the beginning on the right court, so to speak. As a unique example of conventional high culture dealing, not with the experience of life in the city, but with the *enfant terrible* of the city, the suburb, we have a strong entry point to the matter that due to its nature is already part of the privileged narrative on modernity, as well as of the related academic disciplines. Secondly, the aesthetic of suburbia that is now emerging in art and literature might give suburbia what it lost with its separation from the city: It is giving it the status of an artistic motif and further – a cultural recognition.

How to Reconnect Suburbia with Its Origin

What I intend to do on the following pages is to reconnect suburbia with its modern origin by introducing a three-strategy analysis of the mental disorder "neurasthenia" as a symbol of the experience of modernity in the city. My focal point is the relationship between the rise of the modern city, modernity, and the existence of various descriptions of new mental disorders that sprang out from these new conditions. My intention is to accept rather than dismiss the myth about the city as a privileged scene for experiencing early modernity, but then try to nuance the way this experience is handled within different aspects of modern self-understandings.

Neurasthenia and the Rise of the City

In Denmark the rise of the modern suburbs began with the outbreak of cholera in 1853, which resulted in a flight from the overpopulated and infectious capital (Zerlang 2001). In the camp outside the city walls the first humble suburbs and the Doctors' Union's villas were built as an alternative to the bad housing possible in the city. Later, when Copenhagen changed into a metropolis and the city wall fell, the flight to more quiet areas outside the chaotic city was still closely related to a the infected air, even though the reasons were explained not only by the physical conditions of the city but also by the more mental challenges connected to life in an urban world. These symptoms were the same in all big cities in Europe and America. This is confirmed by medical texts from the second half of the 19th century, describing a direct connection between the new conditions of modernity and the city. The texts deal with different illnesses that arose in relation to the escalating market which became the starting signal for the capitalisation of the Western countries. One of the most important of these was George Beard's *A Practical Treatise on Nervous Exhaustion* from 1869. The book, that was a result of studies of patients in New York, was published in translation in France in 1895 (Robinson 1996: 100) and formed the basis for a common diagnosis of many mental diseases prevalent at that time. In the book Neurasthenia, or the 'maladie de Beard' as it was soon named, is explained as an overstraining of the nervous system when exposed to the intense stimulation of the urban world. Because the majority of patients suffering from the disease were "mental workers", well educated gentlemen from the bourgeoisie, the disease soon became a symbol of mental superiority and considered a natural and socially accepted consequence of the new power in the market place (Drinka 1984: 208). In the Danish version of the new disease, it found its spokesperson in the famous doctor Knud Pontoppidan, who became head of the new Department of Mental- and Nerve Diseases in the city hospital in 1875. He was convinced that the metropolis and especially the heavy traffic in the streets was the main course of this new mental disorder. In an article in 1887 he writes: "... our Capital has just now become a big city, where the complicated and potentialized Existence is an expression of an overburdened Nerve system" (Quoted in Zerlang: 125).

This connection between the city, a fundamental new experience and the rise of modernity is essential for our understanding of the discussion of the fundamental dichotomies

within the studies of suburbia as a cognitive figure as it established the background for the urbanised version of the modern break-through.

Three Strategies on How to Cope With Modernity

For Baudelaire as for several artists, writers and commentator of the early modern, these new codes of the city were approached with ambivalence. As the American Marshall Berman describes this early modern experience, the new world was experienced as a two-headed monster:

> To be modern is to find ourselves in an environment that promises us adventure, power, joy, growth, transformation of our self and the world – and on the other hand threatens to destroy everything we have, everything we know, everything we are (1982: 15).

This ambivalence between adventure and a feeling of being lost is reflected in most of Baudelaire's writing, for example in the already quoted fragment from "The painter of modern life", the *flâneur* is: "this lonely figure equipped with a creative imagination" always collecting and filing his observations. (my translation /2001: 34), implying the ambivalence in words like "lonely" and "desert of people". The modern world is though exiting, but it leaves little or no room for permanent relationships, deep experiences and a feeling of being rooted. On the other hand the *flâneur* himself praises the freedom that follows this new condition, because it gives him the possibility to withdrawn himself from the midst of things in order to observe the new, and most importantly to create art out of his observations. As several researchers have noticed this celebration of the city as a symbol of movement, the temporary and surface rather than anchor, tradition and roots, resulted in a new kind of mentality. A mentality that, though understood differently, most researchers agree defines the very experience of (early) modernity. In "The invisible *flâneuse*" (1985) Janet Woelff compares the *flâneur*'s distanced approach to his city with George Simmel's famous writings on 'blasé' in "Die Grosstädte und das Geistesleben" (1903); a defence mechanism developed by modern [business] man in order to protect himself from the bombardment of stimuli and information thrown at him in the new city. This description of the city and its consequences for the human psyche is similar to that of George Beard concerning neurasthenia. Simmel defines this psychological mechanism as a group-sociological development from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* (Ferdinand Tönnies), from the life of the little town to the urban life of the metropolis, a transition closely related to the rise of capitalism and industrialisation.

First Strategy: The Surrender and the Ambivalence

Others point out that the *flâneur* cannot be compared with the businessman of Simmel, but must be understood as a more sensitive character engaged in the fluxus and movements, but not capable of protecting himself against them. Marshall Berman describes the correlation between the city and the modern consciousness as almost symbiotic. With the *flâneur* the man and the city become one. In an interpretation of Baudelaire's writings, is become obvious how the city, the sensibility of the *flâneur* and the ability to create is related:

> The man in the modern street, thrown into this maelstrom, is driven back on his own resources –often on resources he never knew he had - and forced to stretch them desperately in order to survive. [..] He must become adept at [..] sudden, abrupt, jagged twists and shifts – and not only with his legs and his body, but with his mind and sensibility as well. (1988:159).

Another way of understanding the *flâneur* is to take a closer look at his description of the masses. For the *flâneur* the masses are the inhabitants of the new world. To them the city is equivalent to the home of the bourgeois, replacing the attributes of the home with attributes of the city. To the masses the "news stands [are] its libraries, post boxes its bronze statues, benches its bedroom furnishing. [..] Among these [counterparts to the home] the passage [was] the salon. Here more than elsewhere the street revealed itself as the furnished outdoor interior of the masses." (my translation, 1995:13). Somewhere else the replacement of attributes reveals a far more profound ambivalent feeling: "To be not-at-home, but yet at home everywhere; to be in the centre of the world and yet hidden from the world, theses are some of the minor pleasures given to these independent, not-participating souls" (my translation 2001: 27), he concludes about the masses of the city. When the *flâneur* is characterized as the first modern hero, it is because of this heroic position in relation to modernity of the city. Compared to the businessman the *flâneur* explores the modern world with his whole body and soul making the confrontation into an ongoing piece of art. As a consequence of this the *flâneur* embodies an anti-home ideology: His persistent dedication to the urban life reveals a perception of home as, if not the antipode, then the symbol of all the things that modern man must leave behind him in order to throw himself into the arms of the new world. As Keith Tester puts it, the *flâneur* is a modern hero who "only feels existential at home, when he is not physically at home." (1992:2).

Another very important factor in the different ways to cope with modernity is the *flâneur*'s need of the city in order to be inspired and to be able to create. For the *flâneur* the urban environment is the scene of art and existence. The *flaneur* is creative because there is something to observe. This close relation between the city, the sensitive mind and art as a work-in-progress, is a theme in much modern writings and has to do with the status of the city as a privileged place in which to broaden one's imagination and sensibility (see for instance Sylvian Brien's analysis of the term "illumination" in writings on August Stringberg/Charles Baudelaire etc). This aesthetic of the city, which the *flâneur* and a lot of artists after him have praised, is another, creative way to describe "the complicated and potentialized Existence" in the city making the "overburdened nervous system" a generator of art and poetry (Pontoppidan).

Second Strategy: Simmel's businessman: The Overcoming by Ratio

For the businessman the city was not a scene for art but a scene for capitalism and a vital and necessary aspect of the new world. Even though this mechanism of defence, the blasé attitude, towards the maelstrom of information and stimuli in the city resulted in a distance similar to the distance of the *flâneur*, they are essentially different. The blasé attitude is not a psychological distance built on the eagerness to create, but a distance developed by the strong rationalism of the businessman: it is a shield, not a generator, a way to be able to gain from the inhumane scene of capitalism. Therefore the businessman is coping with the city with his intellect, not with his sensibility in the manner of the *flâneur*. The reference to the act of the sublime according to the philosopher Immanuel Kant is obvious, if we approach Simmel's blasé attitude as a way of coping with what cannot be understood, but it also reveals what is at stake for the businessman as the blasé attitude always depends on a previously or potential collapse of the senses – a collapse, which, as has already been mentioned, was an acceptable, even a status-giving symbol of the importance of the businessman as the break down was connected to the prestigious trading market of incipient capitalism. Therefore the blasé attitude as a strategy is closely related to the definition of the *maladie de Beard* as it often provoked or could provoke nervous breakdowns.

For the businessman the cures for these breakdowns were many and different, most of them suggesting the busy and overburdened tradesman withdraw to a quiet oasis of rest and

convalescence when he returned home after a hard day's work. As the art historian Joyce Henry Robinsons explains in her article "Honey I'm Home" (1996) – a whole series of handbooks and popular articles concerning interior design and furnishing (later this became the task of women's magazines) grew out of this new market culture advising the housewife how best to create an interior satisfying for her husband. Among others Robinson refers to Jacob von Falke's Art in the House 1879:

> .. the husband's occupations necessitate his absence from the house, and call him away from it. During the day his mind is absorbed in many good and useful ways, in making and acquiring money for instance, and even after the hours of business have passed, they occupy his thoughts. When he returns home tired with work and need of recreation, he longs for quiet enjoyment, and takes pleasure in the home which his wife has made comfortable and attractive. (Robinson 1996:102).

The point is that the businessman in contrast to the *flaneur* doesn't feel at home in the city/the modern world. The split between his rationality (work) and his body and soul (his private self) is illustrated in his need for an oasis, a constructed other, within the city where he can recover himself and feel truly at home.

The Third Way: Separation and the Rise of Modern Suburbia

Suburbia, as many researchers have observed, has to do with the separation of work and leisure (Gary Gross/Silvertone), of public and private life (Walter Benjamin, Krishan Kumar), of progression and regression (Christopher Reed), of creating and sleeping so to speak. As a strategy one may say that in comparison to the surrender of the *flâneur* and the overcoming of the business man, suburban man goes all the way in separating his life into two parts. Therefore the problems of Simmel's businessman may be seen as the initial phase of this separation as the need for an oasis for the modern man was the idea that started the separation process that led to the fundamental split in culture, everyday and academia.

Simultaneously with the publication of Simmel a Danish doctor Frode Sadolin developed his perspective on the city and its problems in *Nerve-Helse* (trans. Nerve- Health, 1908). Like his predecessor he makes the life of the city with its gas lights, car-horns and noisy trains responsible for "the nervousness of our time" (my translation 1908: 66). The notion echoes the description of the city made by both Baudelaire and Simmel, but is here made from a very different perspective and with a very different interpretation. The new conditions of the city created by the rise of modernity are not something that man should accept, but must fight against. The city is seen as generating mental diseases and as a symbol of a modernity not suited for the (healthy) human being.

The best alternative to the over-intense city is, he claims, a rural life. As the Danish physician argues in his reflections on the new mental disease, the movement to the rural villas of the bourgeois and the allotment sheds of the working class was in both cases healthy for "brain hygiene" (1908:55), because, as he puts it, "the consistency of housing is one of the reasons why the rural population is the marrow of the people" (1908: 66). In a prediction of the future his scenarios are more close to what actually happened after his death:

> The cities as settlements have shown themselves not to be suitable, though they looked attractive and contain the advantages of the cities: The water works, electricity, telephone and easy communication will by and by be something the country side has as well. People will move out of the big cities into the villas and allotment sheds. The big city will end up with a core containing of only businesses, administration and entertainment, with electric track ways running like waves in all directions through a landscape of villa towns. (my translation, 1908:64)

The scenario began in London in the mid-eighteenth century, when the privileged middle class took some of the city core with them out into the beautiful countryside outside the city (Fishman 1987). In Denmark the suburb became an official urban settlement and was put into the statistics when Gentofte and Frederiksberg were listed as suburbs of Copenhagen in 1906 (Zerlang: 2000, Lind: 1996). Between 1960 and 1979 the amount exploded when up to half a million detached houses were built in order to host one and a half million of the Danish population (four and a half million in all). In 2003 the Danish business magazine *Mandag Morgen* published a survey saying that 67% of Danes wished to live in a the suburb in a privately owned detached house with a garden, if they had a choice.

Concluding Remarks

It is against this background that I am convinced that the rise of Danish suburbia as well as any other suburb cannot be understood solely on its own terms, but must always be defined in relation to its rejected other: the big city and its over-stimulation of the nervous system as a symbol of the new modes of living that gave rise to modernity. The suburban utopia is in its nature ambivalent, as it on one hand represents the perfect balance between city and nature; on the other hand it is a nightmare image of the metropolis. As Fishman puts it in his comments on the early British suburbs:

> In the eighteenth century creators of suburbia bequeathed to their successors their positive ideal of a family life in union with nature, but they also passed on their deepest fears of living in an inhumane and immoral metropolis. (1987: 27).

But it also illustrates what suburbia is lacking: From the Baudelaire point of view the most essential part is aesthetisation. Suburbia separated sleeping from creating, homemaking from the public activity, making suburbia unable to produce or generate beauty. In this narrative suburbia is not the scene of art, there is nothing to observe or to categorize and it doesn't appeal to the creative imagination of the sensitive observer. It is a public oasis away from the authentic home of the masses, a constructed urban scene lacking information and stimuli.

From the Simmel point of view the problem with suburbia is that it became inhabited not with weary businessmen of the higher, well-educated middle class, but with the lower middle classes who invaded the exotic suburbs during the 19th century, making it too much of a success. What should have remained an exotic oasis in nature became a major urban expansion destroying the very nature it tried to be close to. As Fishman puts it: "If anything suburbia has succeeded too well. It has become what even the greatest advocates of suburban growth never desired – a new form of city" (1987: xi).

My point is that the three strategies can serve as analytical devices connecting contemporary interest in late modern suburbia with the history of the concept. The three strategies also serve as a privileged way of gaining insight into the forces that separated suburbia from the city and split our understanding of the matter into fundamental dichotomies, among them popular culture versus the fine arts. Dichotomies that are now in the process of collapsing into something else.

References

Books

Bal, Mieke (2002): *Travelling Concepts in the Humanities*, University of Toronto Press.
Bal, Mieke (2006): *A Mieke Bal Reader*, The University of Chicago Press.

Baudelaire, Charles (2001): *Den moderne livs maler og andre fortællinger*. Trans. Vagn Lyhne. Kulturklassiker Klim.

Drinka, George Frederick (1984): *The Birth of Neurosis: Myth, Malady and the Victorian*, New York: Simon and Schuster.

Duncan, Nancy G, James S. Duncan (2004): *Landscapes of the Privilege. The Politics of the Aesthetic in the American Suburb*.

Fishman, Robert (1987): *Bourgeois Utopias. The Rise and Fall of Suburbia*. New York: Basic Books.

Gade, Rune og Camilla Jalving: *Nybrud – dansk kunst i 90'erne*, Aschehoug, 2006.

Giles, Judy (2004): *The Parlour and the Suburb. Domesticity, Identification, Class, Femininity and Modernity*, Oxford.

Lyotard, Jean-François (1993): "Zone" in *Moralités Postmodernes*, Galilée, Paris.

Walter Benjamin (1995): *Passagerne i Paris. Et dialektisk eventyr*. (trans. Peter Madsen), Arbejdspapir 12, Center for urbanitet og Æstetik, Institut for litteraturvidenskab, Københavns Universitet.

Marshall Berman (1982/1988): *All that is solid melts into air. The experience of modernity*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, England.

Morley; David (2000): *Home Territories. Media, Mobility and Identity*, Routledge, London.

Tonnies, Ferdinand (1889): *Gemeinschaft und gesellschaft*.

Sadolin, Frode (1918): *Nerve-Helse. En bog om vore nerver*, H. Hagerups Forlag, København.

Silverstone, Roger (1997): *Visions of Suburbia*. London: Routledge.

Simmel, George (1991-1908/1998): *Hvordan er samfundet muligt?*(1901-1908), overs. Jørgen Holmgaard, Samlerens Bogklub, Gyldendal.

Articles

Felski, Rita (1999-2000): "The invention of everyday life" , *Cool moves*, number 39, winter 1999-2000, pp. 13 -31.

Foucault, Michel (1984): "Space, Knowledge and Power". P. Rabinow (ed) *The Foucault Reader*. New York, Penguin Books: p. 239-56.

Kumar, Krishan (1994): "Home: The Premise and Predicament of Private Life at the end of twentieth century", p. 204-236 IN *Public and Private in Thought and Practice*, (eds. K. Kumar og J. Weintraub), Chicago Press.

Pløger, John (2003): "Den porøse og hvileløse bymæssighed i kræfternes spil - forstaden som anledning til en diskussion af byplanlægning", notat, Center for Bystudier, RUC, www.ruc.dk (downloaded 18.22007)

Robinson, Joyce Henry: "Hi honey, I´m home" IN *Not at Home. The Suppression of Domesticity in Modern Art and Architecture*, Christopher Reed, (ed.), Thames and Hudson, London.

Rønnow, Franz (2003): "Parcelhuset som mening med livet" IN *Mandag Morgen*, temanummer Boliglandet Danmark, nr. 41, november.

Schau, Søren (1996): "Forstadsbilleder" IN *Københavnerromaner*, Borgens Forlag, p.353-368.

Tönnies, Ferdinand: *Gemeinschaft und gesellschaft*, 1887.

Zerlang, Martin (2001): "Funktionalisme og forstad" IN Bech-Danielsen, Claus: *Modernismens Genkomst. En antologi*, SBi og Arkitektens Forlag, p.123 -136.

Category of Experience as Intermediation between art and Society

Marianna Michałowska

Institute of Cultural Studies, Adam Mickiewicz University Poznań, Poland

maryanna@interia.pl

Interdisciplinary cultural reflection issue a new challenge for aesthetics. From the end of the 20th century it became evident that the status of aesthetics today was founded not only on art problems but was related mostly to events of everyday life. That is why a category of experience could be especially useful. The notion of experience can be used both for expression of human needs and political ambitions of artists (in John Dewey's and Richard Shusterman's pragmatic reflection) and an entity that describes personal histories and individual memories (in Walter Benjamin's consideration).

In the category of experience the issues of aesthetisation and anaesthetisation intersects as well. The problem of expansion and participation in popular culture cannot be longer understood only in vocabulary of art but also has to be expressed in conditions of social sciences. In this paper I analyze the artworks by artists from different artistic streams (such as Anish Kapoor and Barbara Krüger, Monika Sosnowska and Krzysztof Wodiczko) looking for its association to the category of experience.

Category of Experience as Intermediation between Art and Society

Is there anybody today who is interested in art? It seems that art and society moved away from each other irrevocably. On the other hand, however, in the world surrounding us it is impossible not to notice the role of designers, trademarks and trend creators in the fashion. On one hand we have society who do not value art and, on the other hand, the world undergoing constant aesthetisation. How is it then? What is the basis of this unclear and heterogeneous relation between art and society? As I will endeavour to demonstrate, the key to understanding the interaction of art and the social world can be a category of experience.

The text has been divided into three parts. In the first part I point to the connections of aesthetic experience with practice of everyday life. In the second part I describe practices of artists of critical art from the 1980s interfering in a public space. In the third part, on the other hand, I turn to examples of art of which subject is human desire for sensual experiencing the world. Examples of the comprehension I propose are provided by artistic practice of recognized artists, such as Barbara Krüger, Krzysztof Wodiczko, Anish Kapoor and younger ones, like Olafur Eliasson and Monika Sosnowska. As a result, I try to show how the category of experience may connect life with art.

Aesthetic Experience and Experiencing Life

Let us start from dictionary definitions. Oxford dictionary gives the following etymology of the term *experience*:

> Middle English, from Old French, from Latin experientia, from experi ēns, experient - , present participle of exper*īrī* to try; see per- 3 in Indo-European roots.

Thus, *experience* means:

1. practical contact with and observation of facts or events.
2. knowledge or skill acquired over time.
3. an event or occurrence which leaves an impression on one.

When we use the verb "to experience" we usually mean:

1. to encounter or undergo (an event or occurrence) or
2. feel (an emotion).

Considering the aforementioned senses in more detail, we can come to a conclusion that even though experience in Western tradition was treated as the foundation of knowledge (experience as an experiment), it did not offer certainty. Because to experience means also to make mistakes. Coming back to the Latin roots we will also learn that *experiri* means *to try*. Therefore, experience was frequently perceived in opposition to the process of reasoning. Through the experience of our body we can acquire nearly instinct knowledge, but to acquire consciousness of what we experienced we definitely need our mind. These denotations, rooted in language, will be relevant to deliberations over the meaning of art in social life. Besides, it would be helpful to add that in Polish there exists an important distinction which cannot be found in English. Namely, we use two verbs: *doświadczać* and *doświadczyć*. The former emphasizes a progressive aspect of the act of experiencing; the latter highlights the completed state. We have experienced something and we possess full awareness of what has happened. However, when we are experiencing we are in-between the process. Such distinction will have important effects on the perception of art: a work of art is experienced

by the spectator in a certain process for which they employ their own experience (of what they lived and what happened to the subject of their reflection post factum). When, however, did experience become a subject of consideration for philosophers?

Already at the end of the 18th century Baumgarten wrote about aesthetica naturalis, which referred not to art, as we treat the expression of aesthetics today, but to sensual cognition (from Greek aistetos – sensual), perfectioning of which it was to be. It should not be forgotten that in the first sense an important part was played by beauty. For the philosopher aesthetics was supposed to be experiencing beauty. Next centuries, nevertheless, brought a specific specialization of the term narrowing it to "aesthetic experience", of which subject was works of art. As late as over one hundred years after Baumgarten, American pragmatism represented by, for example, John Dewey appreciated the value of experience and restored aesthetic experience to everyday life. As a contemporary successor of pragmatism, Richard Shusterman, writes: "pragmatist aesthetics views art as at least equal to science in improving the quality of experience".[1] Let us try to develop briefly the thought of Shusterman. The pragmatist discerns a certain paradox: although we consider dry scientific facts credible, we appreciate more what we experience by means of our senses. What we dismissively call "emotions" conditions our existence more than scientific knowledge. The philosopher continues: "art's experience is typically more rich, vivid, and affectively powerful than that of science".[2]

The category of experience has its significance for the picture of modern art and shows cyclical approaching and growing away of the worlds of art and society. The state can be compared to oscillating between the tendency of modernism towards elitism and pop-culture. In opposition to "satisfying tastes of the public" criticized by philosophers, the viewer is given certain tasks and challenges. As much as traditional art is expressed in simplifying categories of "understandability" or even certain "obviousness", modernism is sometimes perceived as art which builds up obstacles for the addressee and it is accused of difficulty, incomprehensibility or even oddity. Modernism itself turns out to be an ambiguous and complex formation as, on one hand, we can learn of the desire to make art a machine to transform social life (like in anti-bourgeois speeches of dadaists or neo-avantgarde actions of performers), and, on the other hand, the level of cultural competence necessary for the contact with a work of art makes that the mass audience who do not possess it turn their backs on artists (the case of abstract and critical art).

Richard Sheppard sees in modernism the movement of defending rationality against the impending apocalypse of irrationality created by civilizational development. Just because of stubbornness with which the Western people hold on to the fiction of rational process which constrains them, many modernists felt that, all the more, it is exposed to dangerous influence of those irrational powers, pathological desires and demonic Nature, about which the Enlightenment thought that they can be ultimately subdued, suppressed and controlled.[3] Let us turn our attention to the fact that similar feeling of an impending catastrophe is expressed by Benjamin's Angel of History, walking on the ruins of the hitherto existing world. That figure of modern progress, derived from a drawing by Paul Klee, to a large extent resembles the vision of "shaking foundations of burial ground" of Kandinsky[4] evoked by Sheppard. Persistent confidence in rationality awakens irrational fears and desires. The utopian tendency to modernise the reality creates its own dystopia and changes the rational order into chaos. The stronger everyday modernity, Sheppard continues, begins to be felt as a cause of

---

1   Richard Shusterman, *Surface and depth* (Cornell University, 2002), p. 129.
2   Ibid., p.129.
3   Richard Sheppard, 'Problematyka modernizmu europejskiego' in R.Nycz (ed.) *Odkrywanie modernizmu. Przekłady i komentarze*, (Kraków, 2004), p. 86.
4   Ibid., p.86.

madness, the higher the tension between nature and culture, rationality and subconsciousness becomes, leading to the questioning of the notion of reality, and in fact, to discovering the conventionality of social reality.[5]

Out of conviction of the apocalypse of modern civilization there grows modernist understanding of aesthetic experience. The most recognizable formulation of the question of modern art is present in texts of Frankfurters. For the picture of modernism referred here a reflection of Theodor W. Adorno constitutes nearly a model approach. According to it, art represents a challenge for the viewer, both theoretical and aesthetic. It is, at the same time, the defence of values "degraded" by reality. The translator of Adorno, Krystyna Krzemieniowa, writes:

> Experience, artistic and aesthetic experience, is omnipresent in the text of the aesthetic Theory. It constitutes a signal of anti-regularity of a philosophical stance, a postulate of the possibly closest approach to an experienced object and its historicity and also to a subject as an individual".[6]

In Adorno's theory art does not imitate nature but its task is to overcome its outside and reach its inner beauty. The original encountering of beauty becomes then, after Baumgarten, the basis of aesthetic encountering. However, an aesthetic encounter itself is only a prerequisite of aesthetic experience. One can get close to a work of art not through the directness of an encounter but through aesthetic theory. "It requires, alongside spontaneity, also the conscious will, the concentration of consciousness; this contradiction cannot be removed".[7] Thus, aesthetic experience is a consequence of the process of disregarding phenomena coming both from the nature and the borders set by the culture industry. It is the processing of reality and its change into a being "of the second degree". In this context the status of a work of art manifests itself in a special way. Above all, it is not an everyday phenomenon, belonging to everyday reality. It is a notion referring itself mainly to the very idea of historical truth and objectiveness. Using Hans Robert Jauss's terminology one could say that art was supposed to be a weapon aimed at "false mimesis".[8] In such understanding, the question of translation does not find its use. A work of art forms its own autonomous language, untranslatable into other languages. After Greenberg one could say that a work of art realises itself in its specific language and says about its specific problems.

With more and more specialised function of aesthetics the gap between audience and modern artists increases. Because modernist art requires self-consciousness of both the artist and the viewer there occurs a division into Baudelairian Crowd awaiting tricks to amaze them[9] and a narrow group of art lovers, specialists. The world of art is created: the "artworld" gradually closing itself in a lonely tower surrounded with the ocean of mass culture. Echoes of diagnoses of the culture state described by, among others, Baudelaire, Adorno and Jauss sound in a fundamental essay by Clement Greenberg *Avant Garde and Kitsch*. The author notices that the avant-garde artist gradually withdraws from society making "the expression of an absolute"[10] out of his art. There occurs a phenomenon "the avant-garde's specialization of itself",[11] discouraging audience from any interest in art. What is characteristic, Greenberg does not criticise all avant-garde but only some trends of it which aim at excessive alienation

---

5   Ibid., p.97.
6   Krystyna Krzemieniowa, 'Koncepcja doświadczenia estetycznego Th.W.Adorno' in A.Zeidler-Janiszewska (ed.) *Adorno: między moderną a postmoderną* (Warszawa – Poznań, 1991), p. 16.
7   Krzemieniowa, op. cit., p.16.
8   Jauss, op. cit., p. 51.
9   Charles Baudelaire, *Salon 1859* in J.Guze (ed.) *O sztuce* (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków, 1961), p. 89.
10   Clement Greenberg, 'Awangarda i kicz' in C. Miłosz (ed.) *Kultura masowa* (Kraków, 2002), p. 37.
11   Ibid., p. 42.

from society. For the critic, the mistake of avant-garde was not its exclusivity but historical disappearance of the social class which formed the elite; the class, of which cultural and cognitive competences were sufficiently wide to support the modernist, primary function of art.

Let us juxtapose the thought of Greenberg and the contemporary situation. Paradoxically, the art of Braque, Picasso or Mirò, which Greenberg wrote about, is not considered as the most incompressible and "weird" as "Picasso's shows still draw crowds, and T. S. Eliot is taught in the universities".[12] Now these are the phenomena of critical art and the art of resistance: the art of which goal and a postulated co-participant was society. It is easy to find the examples. I will remind only those most known on the Polish art scene: downright misunderstanding by the audience of the peeling potatoes project by Elżbieta Jabłońska in Zachęta, or provoking criticism by erecting a plastic palm tree in the central site of Warsaw at ONZ Roundabout by Joanna Rajkowska. Although critical art was supposed to be a social act it is society which rejects it the soonest (to be more specific, first it rejects and then trivializes). Greenberg wrote that art alienates itself from the social world "when the reality it imitates no longer corresponds even roughly to the reality recognized by the general".[13] What is the social reality of the present times? For sure, there is no place in it for actions of critical artists.

Old avant-garde, separated from the reality, does not have much social importance because, on one hand, closed within art institutions it functions only as a historical object and, on the other hand, it is included in the sphere which was called by Greenberg a rear-guard. Biographies of Picasso and Modigliani are at present the basis of cultural kitsch and their works of art are used for drawing an ornament on a car bonnet. Like the products of popular culture described by Greenberg the works of avant-garde become "the source of profits. Kitsch is mechanical and operates by formulas. Kitsch is vicarious experience and faked sensations."[14] They cease to be avant-garde, moving towards the end of a parade, to the place where the rear-guard creeps along. Between the lines we can read a conviction that kitsch is industry.

In his condemnation of popular culture Greenberg, nonetheless, did not take into consideration an opposing process: not only avant-garde changes gradually into rear-guard but also the inspirations coming from the back-guard are sometimes conducive to the creation of avant-garde objects. It happens like that because of the artist who, interfering in a kitsch product, changes it into its opposition. This reversed movement, from a pop-culturally "degraded" work of art to an artistically elevated one, was more willingly linked by critics to the post-modern trend (Hal Foster, Rosalind Krauss). Interestingly however, the sources of such treatment can be traced to avant-garde of the beginning of the 20th century: in the strategy of ready-mades, in Duchamp's bottle dryer or pastiches of Mona Lisa or Beuysian neo-avantgarde (Joseph Beuys). The division proves to be, to a high extent, makeshift.

A literal realization of the right of "everybody" to be an artist, which Beuys wrote about, may be the latest "opera" project of the Polish artist Katarzyna Kozyra entitled *Opowieść zimowa. W sztuce marzenia stają się rzeczywistością (Winter's Tale. In Art Dreams Come True)*. This, realized since 2004, multi-media installation emphasizes the ambiguity of the figure of the contemporary artist. There we have Kozyra, a critical artist, who persistently aspires to the role of non-artist, somebody who can learn to sing and become an opera diva or a drag queen. She is an amateur-singer who struggles to be a professional. She is everybody and simultaneously not-everybody, because her acting in opera is only a subject of artistic creation which has not much in common with historical and musical understanding of opera.

---

12   Ibid., p.43.
13   Ibid., p. 51.
14   Ibid., p.44.

On the other hand, she presents the contemporary pop-cultural myth of an amateur who achieves success working hard (like television ”Idols”). The ambiguous situation of critical art, however, consists in the fact that for specialists it is political, critical, ironic and commercial; it emerges from commercial art but socially it is rejected.

Social Experience

If, according to the previous identification, we consider the project of critical art utopian, will it mean that art and the practice of social life cannot be connected? Let us try to answer the question referring to the texts of Wolfgang Welsch. The German philosopher (undoubtedly inspired by some ideas of pragmatists) sees in aesthetics two elements: the first one would be connected with the realm of experience, the second one to perception. The first one would concern emotions and pleasure, the second one subjectivity and would have a cognitive character. At first Welsch's stance appears to be typical of the aforementioned aesthetic tradition, in which evidence of human senses will be valued only when it undergoes severe censorship of the human mind. However, later Welsch postulates transgressing boundaries of traditional aesthetics and building new foundations for the understanding of this field. Art should not be treated as a field beyond social life. It is rather "aesthetics beyond aesthetics" what we experience most often.

Welsch seems to be mistaken at one point: the category of experience in his understanding takes a hedonistic form and negative emotions are left beyond the process of aesthetisation. In my opinion, contemporary aesthetics uses also negative experience: horror, ugliness, weirdness and abjection. All these emotions, being a significant part of the practice of everyday life become also the subject matter for art. We should bear in mind, however, that a situation when art begins to escape from the cage of aesthetics pertains to the world in which art is perceived as difficult and incomprehensible. To support the above-mentioned words I will use an example. One of academics I know, in the classes of the interpretation of a contemporary work of art, asked the students to write a review of an exhibition of ironic artists: "The Little Artists". The group operates on the boundary between popular culture and art. The material of the works come from popular culture. It is a commonly known product: Lego bricks.[15] On the other hand, it is elitist (not to say snobbish), because John Cake and Darren Neave aim the edge of their works at the art market and art institutions. To be exact, they use Lego bricks to build museum scenes happening in the presence of the works of Damien Hirst, Jake and Dino Chapmans or Tracey Emin. But to recognise it one needs to be acquainted quite well with nuances of contemporary art. As a result, we deal with works for specialists but they are publicised as a media event. Let us take a look at students' opinions. Although they were extremely different, dominating opinions said "generally I don't know what it's for" and "if I build anything with Lego will I be an artist?". Let us abandon considering whether Lego is not really a suitable material for "great art" and let us concentrate on another aspect of the task. In students' opinions there is one puzzling thing. To be precise, their demands for art to be comprehensible. The reaction of the students indicates also another problem: the lack of confidence in their own interpretative skills. It is safer to get advice from "a specialist" than to take their own stand on a work of art.

On one hand, the reality that surrounds us undergoes progressive aesthetisation, becoming more and more beautiful. On the other hand, art seems to be more and more repulsive (such were the reactions towards the realizations of, for instance, Damien Hirst and Tracey Emin).

---

15 Lego bricks are a material which is frequently used by artists of critical art, of which example is prominent in the 80s and often exhibited in the world Zbigniew Libera's realization – "LEGO Concentration Camp" (1997).

All the more, it is worth building a new bridge over the widening gap between pop culture and art.

Barbara Krüger and Krzysztof Wodiczko carry out works that can be a perfect illustration of how the viewer starts to notice social problems through experience of art. To experience means here to put oneself in somebody else's place. Both artists carefully observe the public sphere and disclose its hidden side. Barbara Krüger, working initially for New York's glossy magazines, learned about the rules and principles governing the message of advertising. When at the end of the 1970s she started her artistic activity she learned how to make use of their subversive meanings. Krüger draws our attention to the problems of social control, gender and consumerism. She also raises issues of violence during wars and social conflicts. Her posters seem to belong to iconography of urban space: they appear on hoardings, shopping bags, T-shirts and simultaneously they use the tradition of avant-garde photomontage[16]. Let us have a look at one of the most well-known realisations. In an illustration resembling American posters from the 50s we can see two children. A girl with plaits touches in admiration a proud boy sporting his muscles. When we read the accompanying slogan "We don't need another hero", we are baffled. Our knowledge on social roles becomes shaken because the slogan has an ironic undertone. In the idealized message suggested by the style of the illustration irony should not appear. We experience a kind of shock and the shock becomes the beginning of reflection over the message the advertising industry floods us with.

Let us quote words of the other above-mentioned artist, Krzysztof Wodiczko.

> Art is today a voice in a complex riddle of the discourse of power and freedom that is led in the space of the city[17].

Art is understood here as a social activity and addressees are forced by the artist to take a stand on a presented problem. At the end of the 70s Wodiczko left Poland and started his activity in Canada and the USA. Initially he created constructions and, specifically, mobile sculptures. Each of those constructions (such as *Homeless Vehicle*) referred to a specific social context. By means of vehicles the artist investigated possibilities of social communication, relations of the vehicle user with people around. Since the 80s he started to make *Public Projections*. He displayed pictures on historical buildings referring to the history of the site. Let us look at several urban projections made by Wodiczko.

The artist starts his work on a projection from a detailed analysis of the space in which it will be realized. He considers both spatial and temporal aspects; the central point of his reflection becomes "social body" (the formula of the artist), symbolised by a certain building. Pictures which will be later displayed on it are supposed to deconstruct cultural denotations rooted in the architecture and discover their hidden meanings. This way, buildings which were to commemorate heroic deeds become a symbol of violence and those which were built to show the triumph of modernity indicate exploitation of people. A good example of such a work may be the projection on Martin Luther Tower in Kassel in 1987 or the projection on Arch for Memory of Soldiers and Sailors in Brooklyn. Projections on monumental memorials astonish the viewer and suddenly they change their everyday appearance.

> The attack must be unexpected and frontal. It must come at night, when the building is asleep, freed from its daily functions; when its body dreams about itself. When the architecture has nightmares[18].

---

16 The influence of Hannah Hoch's or John Heartfield's political works from the 30s is visible in Krüger's realisations.

17 Krzysztof Wodiczko, *Sztuka publiczna* (Warszawa, 1995) p.51.

18 Ibid., p. 115.

"The public psychoanalytical session" suggested by Wodiczko reveals the truth about what happens in the public space. Let us ask another question: what does experiencing of Wodiczko's projection contain in? Undoubtedly, its basic element is experiencing shock, resembling the kind of emotion which was described at the beginning of the 20th century by Walter Benjamin. In the article *On Some Motifs in Baudelaire* the German thinker differentiated the contact with an experience from feeling an experience. An event which we encountered changes into experience when it is processed by consciousness. Our memory intermediates between "encountering" an experience and feeling it.[19] It could be stated differently: going through an event we recollect what was the essence of the experience. Looking at Wodiczko's projections, in fact, we experience history anew. Visual experience connects fragments of personal memories and social memory.

Sensual Experience

For the abovementioned artists the social dimension of their works was crucial. However, for Anish Kapor, Monika Sosnowska and Olafur Eliasson the most important is what each of the viewers experience individually. The said artists create works which refer to human senses. They employ optical illusions upsetting the balance of the viewer or they expose our bodies to sounds and lights (Eliasson). Their projects transgress the boundaries of traditional aesthetics (very often they are not beautiful but rather surprising) coming close to the postulated by Welsch "aesthetics beyond aesthetics". Essentially, it is not the objects themselves created by artists that are the work of art but the reaction: experience becoming a part of the spectator.

Anish Kapoor employs a bodily sense of space and perception of perspective. The viewer changing their position towards the object perceives it either as flat surface or a three-dimensional object. Also his latest project, a gigantic ear placed in Turbine Hall in Tate Modern makes that the viewer is not sure what they see. On the other hand, Olafur Eliasson creates spaces resembling gigantic kaleidoscopes, camera obscuras and funfair mirrors. The viewer is introduced into their interior and becomes the part of the play of lights and reflections. The realisations of Monika Sosnowska surprise the viewer as well. The Polish artist in the space of galleries builds corridors and rooms of which scale becomes distorted. The corridors lower unexpectedly and doors lead to nowhere. The observers may experience sensations which were the part of Gulliver's adventures in the land of Lilliputians. If, as I wrote above, the categories of traditional aesthetics are not sufficient any longer to depict the works of artists who can be called "sensualists" what terms should we refer to? Let us seek help in two trends: the first one is called the aesthetics of sublime and the second one the philosophy of existence.

The project of the aesthetics of sublime, appearing sporadically in texts from the ancient times through Boileau and Burke to Kant was restored to the contemporary philosophy by Jean-François Lyotard. Analysing the works of Barnett Newman from the 50s, he came to a conclusion that their experience goes beyond rational evaluation. It is hard to call gigantic surfaces covered with monochromatic colour beautiful; sometimes their appearance is repulsive. In spite of this they overwhelm and move the viewer. Where is their power hidden then? Lyotard writes:

> Art is not a genre defined in terms of an end (the pleasure of the addressee), and still less is it a game whose rules have to be discovered; it accomplishes it without completing it. It must constantly begin to testify anew to the occurrence by letting the occurrence to be.[20]

---

19   Walter Benjamin, 'O kilku motywach u Baudelaire'a', *Przegląd Humanistyczny* no. 5, 1970.
20   Jean-François Lyotard, *The Inhuman* (Cambridge, 1991), p.88.

A work of art rather occurs than is. We experience towards a work of art something that we cannot express. It does not allow us to utter a sound and this is exactly the sublime. Kant compared sublime feeling to the experience of a lonely man over a precipice who is both terrified and delighted. The works of Kapoor and Eliason are monumental and overwhelming, we immerse with all our senses in the world in which principles of perspective are different. We do not know what will happen in a moment and in this uncertainty we discover ambiguous pleasure of delight and fear. This does not need to be comprehended; it needs to be experienced. Let us quote Lyotard once more: "The work rises up [*se dresse*] in an instant, but the flash of the instant strikes it like a minimal command: Be".[21]

Although for the aesthetics of sublime the most important is "what occurs", it does not mean, nevertheless, that reflection over what we experience is irrelevant. In fact, the most important for Lyotard is considering the primary experience (the "now" which belongs already to the past) and its re-considering. Also the philosophy of existence suggests making every occurrence of everyday reality a subject of reflection. Representing the trend, the philosopher Jolanta Brach-Czaina reflects how we treat our bodies and the world which surrounds us. Do we look after and think about them? In the reflection of the Polish author the category of experience intermediates between body and mind.

> In order to communicate with fruit of a cherry tree we do not have to look at it. It is enough to touch. With our fingers we feel the skin so smooth that our skin hardly, and only in some parts, stands comparison.[22]

To fully experience we should think about what happens to us, what we touch, what we eat. Although the philosopher does not write about the experience of art, it is easy to notice that contemporary artists are inspired by bodily experiences. The realizations of Sosnowska become interesting when we "touch" them, when our bodies feel unusualness of the space in which they are present. Entering a corridor shown by the artist at Venice biennial of Art in 2003 we have an impression that we are in an ordinary, quite sordid office maze. But when the ceiling starts to lower, the body loses its confidence. It is replaced by claustrophobia. Real space changes into a dark dream of Alice (one of the works of the artist is entitled *Little Alice*). Regardless of whether the works are of supernatural size (like Kapoor's) or tiny (like Sosnowska's) experience is similar.

Instead answering the question asked at the beginning, i.e., is the category of experience capable of connecting social world and the world of art? let us look at growing interest aroused by contemporary exhibitions and art festivals. Certainly, one can note that it is the result of suitable advertising strategies. On the other hand, the motto of this year's Venice biennial is: "think with the senses – feel with the mind". Today's world is not really keen on thinking about art and although the path of experience may seem to be a shortcut, it may be the one which art will choose. (trans. Piotr Zając)

References

Baudelaire, Charles, 'Salon 1859', trans. J. Guze in J. Guze (ed.) *O sztuce*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich Wyd. PAN, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków 1961, pp.78-128.
Benjamin, Walter, 'O kilku motywach u Baudelaire'a', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, no. 5, 1970.
Brach-Czaina, Jolanta, *Szczeliny istnienia*, Efka, Kraków, 2005.
Greenberg, Clement,' Awangarda i kicz', trans C. Miłosz, in C. Miłosz (ed.) *Kultura masowa*, Wydawnicwo Literackie, Kraków 2002, pp. 37-52.

---

21   Ibid., p.88.
22   Jolanta Brach-Czaina, *Szczeliny istnienia* (Warszawa, 2005), p.15

Krzemieniowa, 'Koncepcja doświadczenia estetycznego Th.W.Adorno' in A.Zeidler-Janiszewska (ed.) *Adorno: między moderną a postmoderną,* Instytut Kultury, Warszawa – Poznań 1991, pp. 11-36.

Lyotard, Jean-François., *The Inhuman*, trans. G. Bennington, R. Bowlby, Polity Press, Cambridge, 1991.

Sheppard, Richard, 'Problematyka modernizmu europejskiego', trans. P.Wawrzyszko in R. Nycz (ed.) *Odkrywanie modernizmu. Przekłady i komentarze*, Universitas, Kraków, 2004, pp. 71-140.

Shusterman, Richard, *Surface and depth*, Cornell University 2002.

Wodiczko, Krzysztof, *Sztuka publiczna*, Centrum Sztuki Współczesnej, Warszawa, 1995.

'Unterwegs, On the Way: Travelling in Europe'

Gerlinde Miesenböck

Media Department, University of Art and Design Linz

mgerlinde@web.de

1. Tourists head to specific meaningful places, usually the capital cities of the visited countries.
2. Tourists seem to be occupied with the reproduction of the ever same images.
3. The main attractions of a city are its most visited and photographed objects and the space around them is eventually crowded.

Through the use of a pinhole camera I intend to challenge the collective tourist gaze and photographic behaviour. My choice of this medium is reasoned with the parallel development of mass travel and the invention of photography in the early 19th century.

Since 2002 I have been travelling to European capital cities and taking photographs of their crowded main attractions. The pinhole camera and its bulky equipment make image taking plus moving around a city extremely time consuming and exhausting. Only very few pictures can be taken on a day. Through long exposure the sight becomes an isolated object on museal display.

Introduction – Engaging Artistically with Sightseeing Photography

"Unterwegs" is an art project about relations between photography and mass tourism, focusing on generic photography and sightseeing. This conceptual photographic work is specifically concerned about representations of Europe and has been carried out with the means of a pinhole camera since 2002 for an MA project. Below I intend to describe my artistic intentions, the social theories considered, some case studies and experiences to illustrate the artistic process from my position as the producer. The analysis of and comparison with other artwork related to the theme is omitted for the benefit of the study of popular sources, as the main motivation for this work roots in the interest in the "low" cultural form of generic photography, rather than in the discourse of "high" visual arts.

Historical Relations

Mass tourism and photography developed parallel since the 19th century and have been connected ever since. Even in pre-mass travel times it was common to bring drawings home, which often were created with the aid of a Camera Lucida or a Camera Obscura (Newhall 1998). Finally a change of view took place towards environments to be looked at for inspection during the 19th century. Things put on display – outside in urban planning and inside in museums – made them look significant. Thus the priority of the gaze was established and reinforced through the invention and use of photography.

At that time the ideal of romanticism and pre-industrial idylls of untouched nature and history was prevailing. Although this was already visible earlier in the epoch of romanticism, these tendencies that can be claimed to still exist in today's tourism. If romanticism can be seen as a reaction to the era of Enlightenment, today's search for "authenticity" in either urban or rather natural destinations can be seen as its continuation visualised in tourist imagery.

At the beginning, both travel and photography was limited to wealthy social classes. Photography to the day is especially subject to male domination. While technical development of cameras made them easier to handle and cheaper to buy, the increase of

wages and holidays caused more people to go on journeys and to take pictures of the sites visited, which has become more an obligation than an option. As a consequence nowadays we are flooded by professional and private photographs of the ever same tourist subjects.

Case Studies

From photographic and social theories three main assumptions have been drawn, which are underlined through case studies of the analysis of quantitative and qualitative text and image sources mainly consisting of various forms of tourist media, private photos, interviews and online communities such as the hospitality network "Couchsurfing.com". Although claiming being alternative travellers, even backpackers still follow the routes of the so called beaten track of mass tourism, and they finally meet in front of the same sights/sites.

1. Tourists (and travellers) head to specific meaningful places, usually the capital cities of the visited countries. Studying planned Euro-trips a strong focus on the central-western European capital cities strikes our attention, which also might result in their geographic proximity and tourist infrastructure, but also in their well-marked fame. This is enforced through the recommendation of many travel guide books to a visit of the capital if the stay in a country is short. Although it can be argued, that as centres of powers much artwork and grand representative architecture is accumulated there, this rather reflects a strong emphasis on bourgious educational cultural values.

Table1. Example of travel intineraries of world travelers

Dany, 20, Canada:	London-Dublin-Brussels-Paris-Marseille-Lyon-Berlin-Vienna-Prague-Madrid
Becky, 23, USA:	Paris-Brussels-Amsterdam-Copenhagen-Berlin-Leipzig-Dresden-Prague-Barcelona-Lisbon-Madrid-Marseille-Nice-Florence-Rome-Patras-Athens
Gurkan, 21, Sweden:	Copenhagen-Hamburg-Berlin-Paris-Brussels
Daniel, 24, Mexico:	Madrid-Barcelona-Paris-Amsterdam-Brussels-Hamburg-Copenhagen-Warsaw-Krakow-Zagreb-Lubjljana-Sofia-Bucarest

Source: www.couchsurfing.com, accessed 23.5.2007.

2. Tourists seem to be occupied with the reproduction of the ever same images that visiting and gazing at buildings and monuments become swift acts they hardly may be aware of. As Susan Sontag pointed out, travelling becomes a picture making strategy (Sontag 2004:15).

"I do not know, what it is, but it looks important. I just take a photo, just in case…On average I take about 300 photos per week." Rene, 35, Austria, about a statue in London.

"I went to Rome and did not take a picture. I am not so keen on photographing. Well, in the end I took one in front of the Colosseum. Nobody would have believed otherwise that I had been there." Susanne, 30, Austria, about her Rome trip.

These comments stress the importance of documentary, affirming and memorizing functions of photography for the privately snapping tourist, confirming the successful trip for the future. The chosen statements are also very symptomatic for the male domination of photography – who dominate the sector of ambitious and competitive amateur photography – in opposition to the socially integrating role of women as keepers of the family albums as a chronicle of life.

3. The main attractions of a city are its most visited and photographed objects and the space around them is eventually crowded. In our imagination attractions often appear in a lone purity, but matter-of-factly all those other tourists are covering the view on them. Only formal strategies - like taking detailed shots, going far into the distance, or framing the upper parts of monuments – enable to create people-less images of crowded sites. For the ordinary visitor it hardly possible to take one of those essentialising photographs associated with a kind of romanticized "authenticity" often proclaimed in promotional material.

When looking at tourist media, the listings of top attractions and their reflections on private tourist photography Europe appears like a museum collection of mainly historic buildings and monuments. The differences between doing sightseeing in a city and visiting a museum are only small (see Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998). After all both practices are manifestations of the establishment of the gaze in the 19th century, when museums made collections accessible to public viewing and urban planning was directed at the strolling viewer.

Guidebooks, sign-posts, brochures, postcards, snapshots, etc usually correlate to a very large extend and close a redundant circle of representations of a mainly romantic-historical Europe at display, resulting in the dense accumulation of tourists in the capital cities at the

ever same monuments and quarters. These considerations lead to my decision of travelling to European capital cities and their main sights for this project. Since 2002 I have been taking photographs of their crowded main attractions with a pinhole camera.

Choosing and Using the Camera Obscura

The intention to challenge the collective tourist gaze and photographic behaviour is met through the use of a pinhole camera, a black card box with a hole. This choice is reasoned with a combination of historical relations between photography and travel and its role for image making even in the pre-photographic era, as outlined above, but also with its technical particularities. Its optical laws can be used to create a perceptional shift and its operation forces to a different style of travelling and looking. The absence of a view-finder and accurate mechanisms result in giving up full control of the image. The infinite depth of field leads to a slightly shifted perception of space and the linear perspective supports a central positioning of the subjects. Most importantly due to long exposure times of between two minutes and two hours the sight becomes an isolated object, emptied of people.

Although not visible, the processes and experiences through the use of this medium are vital to the production of the photographs as a reflection on tourist photographic practice. The pinhole camera and its bulky equipment makes image taking plus moving around a city extremely time consuming and exhausting. Carrying that heavy and bulky equipment forces to take time and only very few negatives can be exposed per day. While waiting for the

exposure time to end there is plenty of time to observe the attractions, its surroundings and other tourists. The heavy load, with which I cannot run away out of a sudden, and the fact that the camera is not available as a protective shield makes me accessible and approachable to other people. Although big, one cannot hide behind it and sitting around with this unusual camera in some places attracts attention. Sometimes I am looked at and photographed like another attraction. Often people show interest in the apparatus and start conversations about photography. Strangers stop and recommend best views. The huge camera also attracts odd people at certain places, reminding me of the vulnerability of a woman travelling alone. The absence of a view finder separates camera and viewer: Exposing a photograph in this case also exposes the photographer. Thus, additionally to the changed way of looking and photographing the factor of interaction between tourists was added, an experience of the situation in the literal sense of intersubjective gazing (Intersubjektives Sehen): we are part of the situation, but also observing the situation (Flusser 1995: 100ff).

Through the lack of signs of life the photographs become factual depictions of the monuments, an object for museum display. The camera becomes seemingly a purely technical tool, which seems to work objectively without traces of the individual. Photography looses the private functions for memory and the social use for integration within the social group. The historicity and narration of the moment is lost, the creation of tourist fiction is undermined, their untouched historicity seemingly confirmed.

At the moment the series includes about 50 photographs of sights in Stockholm, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Tallinn, Dublin, London, Berlin, Bratislava, Vienna, Paris, Rome, Athens and Madrid. The aim is to complete a collection of the main sights of all capital cities within the European Union, a museal collection of journeys without narration. Many arising questions are not answered here, but they lead to my current PhD research project for which I am investigating media and private tourist photography of European Cities.

Technical Details
Camera:
distance hole – film: 150mm (equals a normal angle lens)
hole: 2mm, equivalent to f:360
negative: 13 x18cm B&W negatives

Photographs
Black and White photographs on fibre based paper. 13 x 18 cm, Edition: 3 -5

References

Benjamin, Walter (1969), *Illuminations*. New York: Schocken.

Bourdieu, Pierre et al. (1983[1981]), *Eine illegitime Kunst. Die sozialen Gebrauchsweisen der Fotografie*. Frankfurt/Main: Suhrkamp.

Dicks, Bella (2003), *Culture on Display. The Production of Contemporary Visitability*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Flusser, Vilem, *Für eine Philosophie der Photographie*. Edition Flusser Bd3, EUROPEAN PHOTOGRAPHY, Göttingen 1999 (9.Aufl.)(1983).

Flusser, Vilém (1995), *Die Revolution der Bilder. Der Flusser-Reader zu Komunikation, Medien und Design*. Mannheim: Bollmann Verlag GmbH.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara (1998), *Destination culture: tourism, museums and heritage*. Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.

MacCannell, Dean(1999[1976]), *The Tourist. A new theory of the leisure class.* Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press.

Newhall, Beaumont (1998[1989]), *Die Geschichte der Fotografie.* München: Schirmer/Mosel.

Opaschowski, Horst W. (2001), *Das gekaufte Paradies: Tourismus im 21. Jahrhundert.* Hamburg: Germa Press.

Sontag, Susan (1980[1980]), *Über Fotografie.* Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuchverlag (orig. About Photography, 1977).

Urry, John (1997), *Consuming Places.* London and New York: Routledge.

Urry, John (2002[1990]), *The Tourist Gaze, London.* Thousand Oaks & New Delhi: SAGE Publications.

Figures and Images

All images, figures and tables by Gerlinde Miesenböck
p.416: Unterwegs – Helsinki (Lutheran Cathedral), London (Millenium Wheel)
p.417: Unterwegs - Berlin (Reichstag), Wien (Schönnbrunn)
p.418: Athens (Acropolis)
p.419: Unterwegs: Athens (Acropolis)
p.421: Unterwegs: Copenhagen (Little Mermaid); Copenhagen (Little Mermaid)

The Transnational Christian Metal Scene Expressing Alternative Christian Identity through a Form of Popular Music

Marcus Moberg

Department of Comparative Religion. Åbo Akademi University

Marcus.moberg@abo.fi

Christian metal music emerged in the late 1970's as a means of evangelization among secular metal fans. In recent years it has grown significantly and developed into a trans-national Christian music-based youth culture. In addition to the music, Christian metal has adopted the metal style, rhetoric and attitude. At the same time, Christian metal is as much about religion as it is about music or style. This paper examines some of the most important ways in which Christian metal scenes in a number of countries all over the world have come together with the formation of a trans-national scene. Particular focus is put on the ways in which a trans-national scene supports the spreading of central discourses about the function and meaning of Christian metal as a way of expressing an alternative Christian identity.

The Transnational Christian Metal Scene Expressing Alternative Christian Identity through a Form of Popular Music

Today's pluralistic Western societies are characterized by a myriad of different religions and world-views, all existing, and often competing, on the same social and cultural arena. This situation is often regarded as posing a great challenge to traditional and institutional religions, in Western societies especially, but not exclusively, to many Christian groups. Widespread secularization and a reduction of interest in traditional and institutional forms of religion have gone hand in hand with increased interest in alternative and highly individual forms of spirituality. (e. g. Lynch 2006, 481) This is reflected in all forms of popular culture which, in turn, function as important sources of inspiration in the creation of alternative spiritual identities. The important role played by popular music in the context of identity formation, as well as in the transmission of alternative spiritual and religious identities, has in recent years been explored in detail by scholars such as Christopher Partridge (2004, 2005), Graham St. John (2004) and Tia De Nora (2000) (Lynch 2006, 483-487).

The need for many Christian groups to compete on the "spiritual marketplace" can thus be said to entail an active engagement with popular culture. While some groups holding strong conservative and fundamentalist-type views tend to regard popular culture as morally depraved and sometimes eschew it altogether, others opt for a more open approach. Generally speaking, more positive attitudes toward popular culture often reflect a willingness to adapt to the present-day religious and cultural climate. Contemporary Christian Music, Christian films, comics or computer games, clearly reflect a willingness to take on popular culture.

An alternative largely U. S.-based evangelical popular culture concentrated on producing "inoffensive" or more "wholesome" alternatives to different forms of secular popular culture has long since emerged (e. g. Hendershot 2004; Hoover 2006, 166). Contemporary Christian Music (CCM) that emerged in the U. S. in the end of the 1960's as a Christian alternative to "secular" popular music is a clear example of this. CCM comprises all forms of popular music and should not be regarded as a genre in itself. Instead, it is characterized by three non-musical elements – (1) lyrics, (2) artists, and (3) organization. The music in itself, be it blues, rap or rock, is in general regarded as neutral. The (1) lyrics, however, should only deal with Christian themes such as evangelism, praise, or relevant moral and social issues from a Christian perspective, (2) the artists that create and perform the music should themselves be Christians, and (3) the music should be produced on record labels guided by Christian principles and a religious agenda and sold and distributed through Christian networks such as Christian bookstores or Internet-sites. (Howard & Streck 1999, 5-13)

Metal is perhaps the most controversial popular music genre of our time. Its frequent use of different types of extreme themes and imagery, such as death, war, the satanic and the occult, has made it the subject of numerous moral panics and continuing criticism from a number of Christian and other groups within mainstream culture. As *Christian metal* emerged in the late 1970's it quickly became the most debated and controversial form of popular music within CCM. Today, it has developed into a transnational Christian music-based youth culture and adopted most elements of its secular counterpart, including its often criticized rhetoric and aesthetics.

The aim of this paper is to shed some light on how today's Christian metal *scene* brings together Christians with different institutional affiliations and backgrounds by functioning as a space that offers its members an *alternative* form of religious expression and Christian identity. I will direct particular focus at how this notion of Christian metal as an alternative to traditional views on Christian life, religious expression and worship, is supported by a number of central scenic discourses, the most important and easily recognizable being (1.) Christian metal as an *alternative* form of religious expression and identity, (2.) as a *legitimate* form of

religious expression, (3.) as an effective *means of evangelism and fighting and standing up for the Christian faith*, and (4.) as a positive *alternative to* secular metal. Jointly, they emphasize Christian metal as an active and necessary engagement with both traditional notions of Christian religious expression and popular culture on the whole. These discourses are clearly present in all forms of transnational *scenic institutions*, for example, in Christian metal lyrics, different forms of Christian metal media as well as gatherings and festivals. The focus of this paper is not to describe the spreading of a particular kind of popular music culture, but the ideology, in this case a *certain view on the Christian life*, that has spread as a part of it.

The Concept of Scene

Today, most popular music genres can be found in countries all over the world. The continuing development of new forms of media such as the Internet and the MP3 format, as well as media-technologies such as the iPod, has made music more easily accessible, transportable and reproducible than ever before (e. g. Schofield Clark 2006, 475). The resulting rapid flow of information has come to ensure that new trends and sounds spread throughout the (at least Western) world almost as soon as they are conceived. Nevertheless, popular music is still produced and experienced in different local, national and regional settings. New sounds spring from one place and are simultaneously appropriated, interpreted and reinterpreted, defined and redefined, in a number of other.

The concept of *scene* is an increasingly used theoretical construct within contemporary popular music culture studies and particularly suitable for recognizing different spatial and temporal relations and circumstances within the production, consumption and experience of different forms of popular music. (Kahn-Harris 2007, 19; Stahl 2004, 51-52). It has been used in various, more or less theorized, ways and often been highlighted as having more analytical value than that of subculture. The term is also frequently used by members of popular music cultures, most often as a means of conceptualizing being part of a community of shared musical passions and interests. Arguably, all popular music cultures can be viewed as scenes. Here, I am mainly interested in the ways in which the concept can be used to make the relationship and interconnectedness between the local, national and trans-national dimensions within Christian metal easier to describe. Here, looking at Christian metal, I will be using the theoretical framework of scene as developed by Keith Kahn-Harris (e. g. 2007) in his extensive studies of the global extreme metal scene. Kahn-Harris describes scenes in the following way:

> The term scene is rarely applied to a particular space unless there is a substantial degree of both scenic structure and construction. The term scene is meaningful to members when it describes a space that is both institutionally distinctive to some degree and has some degree of self-consciousness. Scene is most frequently and unanimously used in cases where geographical boundedness (embodied in civic institutions such as cities or nation states), institutional and aesthetic distinctiveness, and scenic discourses coincide. (Kahn-Harris 2007, 101)

Different forms of scenic *structure* and *construction* constitute crucial elements of all music scenes. Kahn-Harris outlines three main forms of scenic construction through which "scenes are discursively and aesthetically constructed through talk and a range of other practices". First, *internal discursive construction* refers to the degree to which scene members "discursively construct that scene as a distinctive space", making it "visible" and "recognizable" to other members of the scene. Second, *external discursive construction* refers to the ways in which scenes may be discursively constructed from outside of themselves. The third main form by which scenes are constructed is that of *aesthetic*

construction. Scenes develop "particular aesthetics, musical and otherwise, that become both internally and externally visible". (Kahn-Harris 2007, 100)

Kahn-Harris goes on to discuss five main forms of scenic structure. First, and perhaps most important, are different forms and degrees of *infrastructure* within scenes, e. g. record labels, distribution-channels and scenic media. Some scenes develop more independent institutions and thereby also a higher degree of autonomy while others remain "more weakly institutionalized" (Kahn-Harris 2007, 100). Second, there is the question of *stability* and how scenes manage to last as distinct scenes without disappearing or being assimilated into other scenes. Third, scenes also vary in their *relation to other scenes*. Scenes with similar musical aesthetics are more likely to have a closer relationship and be mutually inspired by each other. Fourth, drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Kahn-Harris also underlines that members' possession of non-scenic *capital* may be more common in some scenes than in others. Fifth, scenes differ in *production* and *consumption*. Vibrant and highly productive scenes do not necessarily constitute the largest markets for the music they produce. (Kahn-Harris 2007, 100-101)

In addition, scenes are also reproduced on *place-based* scales: locally, nationally, transnationally, regionally and globally. Local scenes form national scenes. Through contact and shared scenic structure and construction trans-national scenes may develop. Sometimes, as in the case of extreme metal, a global scene is developed. One can also speak of regional scenes, e. g. the Nordic Christian metal scene. Kahn-Harris points out that even though this may resemble a neat series of Russian dolls, the relations between these different levels are much more complex. Scenes not only overlap, they also differ discursively and institutionally. This is complicated further by scenes also being reproduced along a *genre-based* scale. Different scene members and scenic institutions may direct themselves at particular sub-genres and their particular aesthetics. Within metal then, sub-genres like death- and black metal can be viewed as separate and to some extent independent generic scenes. In this sense, the Christian metal scene can also be viewed as such a generic scene. Scene members are thus never confined to one particular scene at one particular level. Instead, members interact "within a complexity of overlapping scenes within scenes". (Kahn-Harris 2007, 99)

There are a number of very noteworthy differences between extreme metal and Christian metal, the most obvious being the role assigned to and played by religion. Even though this account of scenes outlined by Kahn-Harris on some points refers to extreme metal more directly, it can also readily be applied to Christian metal since it has developed the same types of scenic construction and structure discussed above and is likewise reproduced along place based scales. Here, particular focus will be directed at internal discursive construction and infrastructure within the Christian scene. In order to better understand some of the most important elements of Christian metal, I will first give a brief account of the wider musical and cultural context in which it needs to be understood.

Metal Music and Culture

Heavy metal music emerged in the late 1960's and early 1970's with the fusion of psychedelic rock and blues-based hard rock by groups such as Led Zeppelin and Black Sabbath. Even though it originally sprung from within a 1960's countercultural musical and ideological environment, in heavy metal, the lyrical themes of tolerance, peace and love were replaced with their opposites, evil, death and destruction. Many early bands used *religion*, particularly the dark and evil forces of the Judeo-Christian tradition as well as a range of occult and satanic themes, as a primary source of inspiration. (Weinstein 1991, 15-18; 34-39) These types of themes were explored a great deal further within *extreme metal* sub-genres, like *death-* and *black metal*, which developed in the 1980's and 1990's. Death metal lyrics commonly deal with explicit gory themes such as graphic descriptions of rotting, mutilated

corpses, torture, and murder. *Black metal*, on the other hand, is mostly known for promoting a strongly anti-Christian and satanist ideology, in some cases also incorporating national-socialist discourses. (e. g. Bennett 2001, 42-56, Kahn-Harris 2007)

Through the years metal has engendered a great deal of controversy, perhaps more than any other contemporary genre of popular music. The fascination and customary use of the types of themes mentioned above is the main reason why metal also continues to run into resistance from Christian groups. During the years metal has been accused of the glorification of violence, the promotion of suicide and self-destructive behavior, extreme rebellion, drug- and alcohol-abuse, sexual perversion and, last but not least, satanism and Devil-worship. (Wright 2000, 370) The old and widespread notion of metal as satanist, "Devil's music", was further reinforced in the beginning of the 1990's when a large number of church-burnings and some instances of violence and murder were linked to the Norwegian black metal scene (e. g. Moynihan & Söderlind 2003). These extraordinary events attracted renewed academic interest in metal music and culture. A number of analyses of what possible meanings and functions metal has to its artists and fans have been produced in recent years (e. g. Bossius 2003, Purcell 2003, Kahn-Harris 2007). In spite of the more nuanced accounts presented in these studies, metal continues to meet resistance from a number of different groups within mainstream culture.

If one can speak of such a thing as an ideology of metal, it is one of individualism, of thinking and standing up for oneself. Rejection of traditional social and cultural authorities is another clearly visible feature of metal music and culture, at least on a symbolic level. Metal has often been interpreted as presenting a critique of a society and culture that is viewed as false and hollow by consciously transgressing the boundaries of the socially and culturally acceptable (e. g. Kahn-Harris 2007, 141-156, Weinstein 1991, 42-43, 53-57). A critical stance toward religion, especially Christianity, is a common feature of metal culture on a general level and closely related to its broadly defined ethos of individualism. Whether these kinds of transgressive themes actually reflect the views of artists or fans themselves is quite another matter since there are also lyrical genre-rules at play. That is, the lyrics are supposed to be extreme, the worse the better, often coming across as pure humor. Above all, extreme themes and imagery raise the chock-value of the music. The lyrics are usually not meant to be taken literary even though there are cases where highly transgressive themes clearly *do* reflect the views of artists and fans, at least to some degree. Although it has lost most of its earlier violent aspects, the radical anti-Christian sentiments held by some members of the infamous early 1990's Norwegian black metal scene have been carried on by contemporary acts such as Gorgoroth and Marduk. An even clearer example of lyrics reflecting the views of artist and fans can be found in so called National socialist black metal, with bands such as Der Stürmer and Kristallnacht advocating anti-Semitism and racial separatism. It is, however, important to keep in mind that these types of radical ideas are marginal within metal culture on the whole.

Christian Metal

Christian metal, or *white metal*, appeared in the U. S. in the late 1970's in close connection to the California-based evangelical *Sanctuary*-movement (nowadays *Sanctuary International*), an alternative church created for spreading the gospel in the secular metal community using metal with a Christian message (e. g. Brown 2005, 124-125). Christian metal bands were virtually ignored by mainstream popular music media with the exception of glam metal act Stryper that achieved worldwide success in the 1980's. Christian bands started to embrace extreme metal styles in the late 1980's. Today, all metal sub-genres are represented, including black metal, or "unblack", that has become one of the most popular styles in recent years.

Outside the U. S., scenes quickly developed in the Nordic countries Sweden, Norway and Finland as well as in other parts of northern Europe, mainly Germany, Belgium and The

Netherlands – all countries with longstanding and significant secular metal scenes. Christian metal is firmly rooted in evangelical Protestantism but still not uncommon in predominantly Catholic countries. Whereas secular metal has gained considerable popularity in many Islamic countries (Kahn-Harris 2007, 118) as well, Christian metal has for the most part remained confined to Northern Europe and North America. A notable exception is the growing scene in Brazil, again a country with a significant secular metal scene (and a large protestant minority).

The idea of the music as an effective means of evangelism remains an essential feature of Christian metal even though it has gradually developed more into a distinct religious popular music culture. Christian metal has embraced the metal style and aesthetic, and in a somewhat transformed sense its uncompromising rhetoric, attitude, and lifestyle as well. As in secular metal, fans are encouraged to stand up for their faith, think for themselves and not blindly follow authorities, including religious ones. Christian metal differs little from secular metal regarding aesthetics, usually avoiding only overt satanic or anti-Christian imagery. The similarities extend to a considerable degree of interest in the same types of lyrical themes, such as war, struggle and battle. Christian metal bands often portray the "spiritual warfare" being waged against the destructive influence of Satan. They also stress the implications of the crucifixion of Christ and the importance of accepting him as one's personal savior before the final apocalypse and judgment of all sinners and enemies of God.

The only clear difference between Christian and secular metal is found in the content of the lyrics, but with growled, guttural or screamed vocals, this difference is not always that easily discernible without consultation of the lyric-sheet. As in other forms of Christian rock, concerts are usually marked as such (that is, as Christian) in a number of ways and principally attended by members of the Christian metal scene (Häger 2003, 41-42). A Christian band may, for instance, read passages from the Bible or lead the crowd in prayer as part of their concert, something guaranteed to catch the attention of someone thinking he was attending an "ordinary" metal-show. Indeed, many bands preach during their concerts, but some hardly make any reference to religion at all, thus blurring the notion of a clear division between "secular" and "Christian" metal. Today, an increasing number of bands choose to downplay their religious message in order to increase their chances of success outside the Christian scene. Still, many bands stick to their evangelist approach and continue presenting their message in uncompromising and often militant-type terms.

Construction and Structure within the Christian Metal Scene

Christian metal scenes are marked by a high degree of internal discursive construction by which they are constructed as distinctive spaces. The most important and easily recognizable discourses are those mentioned earlier: Christian metal as an *alternative* form of religious expression and identity, as a *legitimate* form of religious expression, as an effective *means of evangelism and fighting and standing up for the Christian faith*, and as a positive *alternative to* secular metal. One could, of course, argue that the Christian scene is reproduced along "ideological" or "religious" scales, not least since it has thrived in countries with considerable differences in religious mood and milieu. However, a high degree of uniformity between scenes in different countries regarding the meaning and function of Christian metal has developed in relation to these discourses, making it largely reproduced along one general and widely shared ideological and religious scale. Even though debates and disagreements on religious topics constitute an important part of internal scenic discourse they become secondary to a widely shared notion of the scene as space in which Christians with different religious affiliations can shape an alternative form of religious expression and Christian identity. This, of course, does not mean that ideological and religious differences play no role, only that they remain within scenic discourse and are overshadowed by the notion of the scene as a particular type of Christian space. As a result, even though the scene consists of

members from different countries with different religious backgrounds, they express remarkably similar views on what Christian metal is all about.

The spreading of these central discourses on a transnational level has been made possible through the development of a highly independent, and largely Internet-based, scenic infrastructure consisting of a number of central *scenic institutions*, including own record labels, promotion and distribution channels, magazines, fanzines, online discussion forums and festivals. They are particularly drawn upon by core scene members involved in maintaining these scenic institutions, especially artists themselves or people involved in various forms of Christian metal media. Articles and reports in scenic media such as U. S.-based magazine *Heaven's Metal* or webzines like *Devotion Hardmusic Magazine* often highlight Christian metal as an effective tool for evangelism and an alternative way to express the Christian faith. Many general information websites, such as *The Metal for Jesus Page*, feature elaborate so called "Christian metal apologetics" and stress Christian metal as an alternative to secular metal by offering detailed comparison charts. At online discussion forums like *Firestream.net* or *The Christian Metal Realm* all of these issues are continually debated. For record labels like *Fear Dark* or *Endtime Productions* the central discourses function as principles or guidelines and at larger Christian metal festivals, such as *Elements of Rock* in Switzerland and *Endtime Festival* in Sweden, they come alive and strengthen the sense of community that exists within the scene. In 2005, the first edition of the *Metal Bible*, a special printing of the New Testament featuring a large number of testimonies from both Christian metal musicians as well as a metal inspired layout was published in Sweden. At the moment, the first volume of 20,000 copies has already been distributed. An English edition is now in print and editions in Portuguese, Spanish, German and Dutch are planned to appear by the end of 2007, making the *Metal Bible* on the way to becoming the latest new scenic institution.

Of course, different national scenes have developed their own smaller scenic institutions concentrating on bands and events in their own respective countries. All scenic institutions have to start on a local or national level. However, through using the Internet as the principal means for communication, an increasing part of scenic infrastructure has become transnational in scope. Some national scenes are more vibrant that others, with more bands, fans and events. Through the Internet, artists and fans in countries with comparatively insignificant scenes or no scene at all, can still keep up to date with news and take part in scenic discourse.

Shaping an Alternative Christian Identity

Because of their choice of music, rhetoric and look, many Christian metal artists and fans experience some degree of estrangement from their own churches. Popular music has always played an important role in the articulation and expression of religious identity. In an article discussing some of the most influential recent scholarly research on the role of popular music in the construction of religious identities Gordon Lynch (2006, 482) writes:

> From the heretical songs of Arius, to Wesleyan hymns, and the spiritual songs of African Americans, music has served a number of functions, such as reinforcing religious identities, establishing a sense of collectivity within religious groups, acting as a means of theological expression, celebration, protest, and lament, providing a subcultural resource and practice against dominant religious identities and orthodoxies, and serving as a focus and stimulus of religious experience and sentiment.

Looking at Christian metal, all of these roles played by music in the construction of religious identities are highly relevant. By constructing an alternative subcultural-type space, Christian metal scenes function as a means of both constructing and reinforcing an alternative

Christian identity and form of religious expression that is often directed against traditional or orthodox notions about appropriate forms Christian worship and evangelism. Johannes Jonsson, a central scenic figure who, among other things, works as project coordinator for the *Metal Bible* and administrates *The Metal for Jesus Page* mentioned above, explains:

> Christian metal is a complement to other ways of spreading the Christian message. Through this music it is possible to reach out to many who would never take the message to themselves served in a more traditional way /…/ There is quite much contact with like-minded people in other countries and growing by the day. We are like a big team working together since we have the same faith and like the same music. It is important and it means a lot to meet like-minded people and exchange experiences and have fun together /…/ The important thing is the heart of the Christian message which all Christian metal bands share /.../ It is the fundamentals of the Christian faith, the gospel, that is the important and central message the bands wish to spread, not specific "denomination-teachings". (IF 2005/5: 1-7)

Jonsson highlights how the scene functions as an alternative Christian space in which different "denomination teachings" become secondary to expressing and spreading the "fundamentals of the Christian faith", although in an alternative way. The questions posed by Jeremy Begbie (2003, 95) in an article on the relationship between music, media and religion, brings to the fore some equally relevant issues regarding the relationship between Christian metal and traditional forms of Christian worship:

> Why assume, as many seem to, that spiritual music has to be slow? Why assume that being close to God necessarily entails suppressing change and movement? Why assume that simplicity is necessarily more spiritual than complexity? Why assume that true spirituality is marked by the evasion of conflict?

Christian metal is complex music and often very fast indeed, as the classic slogan "Faster for the Master!" commands. Christian metal advocates change by creating an alternative form of religious expression and Christian identity. It is confrontational in its struggle for acceptance in all Christian circles as well as in its efforts to bring the Christian message to a sometimes "satanic" secular metal culture in the spirit of another uncompromising slogan, "Turn or burn!" There is no doubt that a particular form of music itself will affect the content of its lyrics. Lyrics and singing are often, as Begbie underlines, "valued more for their sound than for their obvious verbal reference", more "part of a total sound mix of which music is a determinative element, and that sound mix is itself part of a composite multi-media experience" (Begbie 2003, 99). While this is certainly true for secular metal it is only partly true for Christian metal. The words constitute its most important element and are thus never chosen just for their sound. But the style in which they are sung is, however, fully in line with a "metal sound mix" and, especially in live performances, also part of a "metal multi-media experience". Christian metal musicians not only want to express Christian faith in an alternative form, but also give Christians the opportunity to be part of a "metal multi-media experience" that is neither satanic nor "morally depraved". It this way, Christian metal also engages with secular metal culture on the whole.

Concluding Remarks

Christian metal challenges traditional Christian notions about the appropriate ways to express and spread the Christian faith by combining it with an aggressive and controversial form of popular music. A number of discourses on the meaning and function of this particular combination of religion and popular music have spread as local and national Christian metal scenes have come together through the construction of a transnational scene. The spreading

of these discourses has enabled Christian metal artists and fans with different religious affiliations, living in countries with different cultural and religious environments, to shape largely one shared notion about what Christian metal is, or should be, about. By looking at Christian metal using the concept of scene, we have been able to focus on how a number of institutions interact in bringing together the local and national in the transnational.

The notion of Christian metal as an alternative to traditional forms of Christian religious expression and worship has recently led to Christian metal fans even forming their own alternative metal parishes in Brazil and Mexico. In some rare cases this concept has also been picked up by larger traditional Christian churches. An example can be found in the "Metal Mass", a conventional Lutheran mass in which the hymns are accompanied by a metal band, organized by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland (of which approximately 83% of the Finnish population are members). The many forms of Internet-based scenic media ensure that information about these practices and events spreads swiftly throughout the transnational scene, making scene members in other countries aware of, and perhaps inspired, by them. This is perhaps a result of the scene having developed into something of a religious community of its own. Christian metal has struggled for its own space within institutionalized Christianity for three decades. Accepted in some churches but rejected in others, it has functioned as a forerunner in opening the doors for a future closer relationship between Christianity and a wide range of popular music cultures.

References

Begbie, Jeremy (2003): "Unexplored Eloquencies: Music, Media, Religion and Culture". *Mediating Religion. Conversations in Media, Religion and Culture*. Ed. Jolyon Mitchell & Sophia Marriage. London. T&T Clark Ltd. p. 93-106.

Bennett, Andy (2001): *Cultures of Popular Music*. Maidenhead. Open University Press.

Bossius, Thomas (2003): Med framtiden i backspegeln. Black metal och transkulturen. Ungdomar, musik och religion i en senmodern värld. Gothenburg. Diadalos.

Brown, Charles M (2005): "Apocalyptic Unbound. An Interpretation of Christian Speed/Thrash Metal Music". *Religious Innovation in a Global Age. Essays on the Construction of Spirituality*. Ed. George N. Lundskow. Jefferson. McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers. p. 117-137.

De Nora, Tia (2000): *Music in Everyday Life*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press.

Hendershot, Heather (2004): *Shaking the World for Jesus. Media and Conservative Evangelical Culture*. Chicago. University of Chicago Press.

Hoover, Stewart M. (2006): *Religion in the Media Age*. New York. Routledge.

Howard, Jay R & Streck, John M (1999): *Apostles of Rock: The Splintered World of Contemporary Christian Music*. Lexington. Kentucky University Press.

Häger, Andreas (2003): "Christian Rock Concerts as a Meeting between Religion and Popular Culture". *Ritualistics*. Ed. Tore Ahlbäck. Turku. The Donner Institute for Research in Religious and Cultural History. (Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis XVIII). p. 36-55

Kahn-Harris, Keith (2007): Extreme Metal. Music and Culture on the Edge. Oxford. Berg.

Lynch, Gordon (2006): "The Role of Popular Music in the Construction of Alternative Spiritual Identities and Ideologies" *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* vol. 45/4 p. 481-488.

Moynihan, Michael & Söderlind, Didrik (2003): *Lords of Chaos: The Bloody Rise of the Satanic Metal Underground*. Venice, CA. Feral House.

Partridge, Christopher (2005a): The Re-enchantment of the West (vol. 1): Understanding Popular Occulture. London. Continuum.

Partridge, Christopher (2005b): The Re-enchantment of the West (vol. 2): Alternative Spiritualities, Sacralization, Popular Culture and Occulture. London. Continuum.

Schofield Clark, Lynn: "Introduction to a Forum on Religion, Popular Music, and Globalization". *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* vol. 45/4 p. 475-479.

Stahl, Geoff (2004): "'It's Like Canada Reduced': Setting the Scene in Montreal". *After Subculture. Critical Studies in Contemporary Youth Culture*. Ed. Andy Bennett & Keith Kahn-Harris. Hampshire. Palgrave Macmillan. p. 51-64.

St. John, Graham (Ed.) (2004): *Rave Culture and Religion*. London: Routledge.

Weinstein, Deena (1991): *Heavy Metal. A Cultural Sociology*. New York. Lexington Books.

Wrigth, Robert (2000): "'I'd Sell You Suicide': Pop Music and Moral Panic in the Age of Marilyn Manson". *Popular Music*. Vol. 19/3. p. 365-385.

Internet

All viewed 1. 6. 2007.

Devotion Hardmusic Magazine: http://get.to/DevotionHardmusicMagazine
Elements of Rock: http://www.elementsofrock.com/
Endtime Productions: http://www.endtimeproductions.com/
Endtime Festival: http://www.endtime-festival.com/
Fear Dark: http://www.fear-dark.com/
Firestream.net: http://www.firestream.net/front.php
Heaven's Metal: http://www.hmmagazine.com/heavensmetal/
Metal Bible: http://www.metalbibel.nu/
Metal Mass: http://www.metallimessu.com/
Sanctuary International: http://www.sanctuaryinternational.com
The Christian Metal Realm: http://christianmetalrealm.niceboard.com/
The Metal For Jesus Page: http://www.metalforjesus.org/

Interviews

Interview with Johannes Jonsson
IF 2005/5: 1-7. Folkloristics archive, Åbo Akademi University.

Analysis of Racialization in Sweden: The Case of Immigrants from Sub-Saharan Africa

Jonathan Ngeh

Department of Sociology, University of Umeå, Sweden

Jonathan.ngeh@soc.umu.se

Cross border migration can easily result in exclusion when it produces an "undesired" immigrant population. Many scholars exploring this problem in Sweden argue that it is racism. I use the analytical framework for analysing racism by Anthony Marx to shed some light on this argument. This is important because Sweden has a reputation as a champion of equality and it is only recently that claims about racism have surfaced in the country. Anthony Marx views racism as a dynamic process that develops from a combination of institutional/structural forces and the actions of agents. He also considers racism to be historically embedded and tied to developments of the modern nation state. I use his framework to analyze social relations between "native Swedes" and immigrants from Africa. I argue that the discourse of the nation state and the significance of boundary marking have created a sense of belonging in Sweden which portrays immigrants from many non-European countries as the Other. In addition, these immigrants appear to be the exclusive targets of institutionalised practices of exclusion. However, their actions have not yielded a uniform racial identity from below and as such inhibits the consolidation of the process.

Introduction

Post World War II immigration in Sweden marked a new beginning in the country's migration history. It was during this period that Sweden moved from a country of emigration to one of immigration (Lithman 1987). In the late 60s and early 70s migration to Sweden became heavily politicised (Abiri 2000). Since then it has attracted considerable attention from different quarters**.** So far the dominant views about immigration appears to be dominated by two opposing views: immigration restrictionists argue that it causes problems like unemployment, crime, weakening of traditional values and destabilisation of the ethnic balance; while immigration supporters hold that it boosts up the economy and immigrants accept jobs that the "native" population would not want to do, that the receiving country is catching in on the investments that sending countries have made in their citizens through education and training and that immigration produces diversity (ibid). Elisabeth Abiri explains that these views are present in all societies and that the dominance of either a restrictive or friendly immigration policy anywhere represents victory at that moment for that particular view. However, she explains that debate on immigration is sometimes influenced by humanitarian sentiments.

Until 1967 migration to Sweden was virtually free but after this date immigrants from non-Nordic countries were required to secure a job and housing before they could be admitted. Implementation of this restriction was facilitated by the creation of the Swedish Migration board in 1969 as a central body in charge of immigration and immigrant affairs. Growing concerns about immigration and the plight of immigrants at the time prompted the development of an immigrant policy (also referred to as the Swedish policy of cultural diversity). In 1975 the Swedish parliament adopted the following three principles as the corner stones of the immigrant policy: *equality, freedom of choice and partnership* (Westin 2006). These principles were interpreted as follows: "equality" – immigrants residing permanently were to enjoy the same rights as Swedish citizens; "freedom of choice" – freedom of cultural choice and ethnic identity. (The government encourages this by providing assistance such as support for the teaching of immigrant languages and funding of immigrant associations and organizations); "partnership" – this refers to cooperation and solidarity between immigrants and their host through a spirit of common interest and shared purpose (Lithman 1987; Westin 2006). It is important to note that the above development took place at a time when immigrants in Sweden were largely from other European countries.

Migration to Sweden however took a different turn from the beginning of the 70s as many immigrants started coming from outside Europe-mostly from the poorer countries of the world. Many of them came as refugees and under family reunification owing to a very friendly refugee policy. This transition is considered a turning point in the history of post World War II immigration in Sweden.The 70s is generally considered to represent a shift from European dominated immigration to one that is characterised by an influx of people with a non-European background. It is also considered to represent a shift from "labour to "refugee immigration". Against this background, agitations against immigration today appears to target mostly non-European immigrants. We see this in the increasing restrictions on refugee entry and also in the subtle reformulation of the Swedish immigrant policy which has resulted in the re-interpretation of *equality, freedom of choice and partnership* in ways that gives less room for the accommodation of the cultures of non-European immigrants (Shierup & Ålund 1995). During this period also the discourse of immigration has shifted from politicisation to "securitisation" (Abiri 2000). When a phenomenon like cross border migration is framed in security terms it becomes imperative to put a halt to it in order to eliminate the threat. It is therefore not surprising that the general response to the presence of non-European immigrants today is highly negative. This can be seen from the difficulties

which they face in the labour market and accommodation just to name a few (Knocke 2000; Borgegård & Murdie 1997).

In recent times attention have been drawn to the plight of these immigrants and an increasing number of researchers are convinced that it is a problem of *racism* (Pred 2000; Norman 2004; Schmauch 2006). The arguments on *racism* all make reference to the emergence of a European discourse of belonging and then try to show how this influences the subordination of African (and other non-European) immigrants who are constructed as the Other. This argument raises some questions because we notice that the Swedish discourse of belonging does not only define people from a non-European background as the Other. What is considered Swedish identity is largely defined in relation to Swedish national symbols, which makes it difficult to think of Swedish identity as synonymous to a European identity. In addition, the subordination of immigrants in Sweden is neither restricted to the era of refugee immigration nor to immigrants from a non-European background (see Knocke 2000; Borgegård & Murdie 1997)**.** The fact that all immigrants (both Europeans and non-Europeans) face problems of subordination and exclusion leaves us wondering if it is reasonable to take the broad categories of European and non European identities as a given. It also leaves us thinking whether *racism* in Sweden is restricted to relations between Europeans and non-Europeans. This of course is not true considering that *racism* in Europe has not always focused on non-Europeans (Bancroft 2005).

Theories of Racism

In an influential essay Miles (1998) conceptualise racism as an ideological and representational phenomenon. He uses the concepts of signification and racialization among others to explain his point. By *signification* he implies a process whereby selected somatic characteristics like skin colour and other phenotypic features are attributed with specific meanings and are used to organised populations into distinctive categories. He explains that through signification a racist ideology identifies and represents a collective and attributes the collective so identified with negatively evaluated characteristics. By representing a collective in negative terms he points out that the "Self" is represented as the opposite and through this process of representation people are placed in distinctive social categories, which are ranked on a vertical scale. He views this entire process as racialization and explains that it occurs in such a way that people, the processes in which they participate, and the structures and institutions that result from it all become racialized. He however insists that *racism* should be viewed as an exclusive ideological phenomenon and it should not be confused with practices of subordination because *racism* operates within structures of class and gender dominations. The second argument he makes to support this view is that *racism* is not static but always changing. Here he points at the shift from "biological" to "cultural" racism in some societies and argue that what actually changes is the ideology. Mile's view is very critical to the concept of institutional racism which he sees as conceptually flawed because it is often used to refer to both processes and practices of subordination, which according to him could be unintentional. He insists that we can only talk of *institutional racism* if it can be proven that the exclusion of a subordinate group is based on a racist ideology (which can be distinguished by it capacity to identify and represent a collective in negatively evaluated terms).

The above perspective has been criticised for isolating practice from ideology. The argument made is that when *racism* is presented as an exclusive ideology the structural configuration of society is not seen as racist. The second critique is that *racism* is reduced to the level of cognition and projected as an individual problem, which can only be explained by looking at the intention behind an act (Bonilla-Silva 1997). Bonilla-Silva does not out rightly reject the ideological argument. Her main concern is that when *racism* is framed in a way that

draws a line between ideology and practice it conceals the fact that ideology is embedded in structural relations. She argues for a broader conception that takes this into account. Her analysis evolves around the concept of a racialized social system. She describes this as a social system in which relations are partially structured at the economic, political, social and ideological levels by placing actors in racial categories (or 'race'), which are organised on a hierarchy scale. She notes further that a racialized social system is only partially structured by *race* because modern social systems articulate two or more forms of hierarchical patterns. According to her, once social categories have been racialized the process acquires some autonomy and conceals the fact that racialization is embedded in other structurations. The hierarchical nature of a racialised social system as she explains produces definite social relations between the racial categories. Those on top of the hierarchy have power and control over those below in all spheres of social relations and use this to their advantage. The totality of these racialized social relations (and practices) is what she refers to as the racial structure of society.

Both arguments are quite insightful and complimentary to one another. I find Mile's concept of racialization particularly in-depth but the distinction he makes between ideology and practice raises many questions and is a major weakness in his argument. I therefore avoid drawing that line in my analysis. Following both arguments I consider *racism* to be a relation of subordination that occurs through a process of racialization.

Review of Racism in Sweden

> Cultural racism-wherein negative ethnic stereotyping leads to racists effects, to discrimination and segregation, to marginalization and exclusion; wherein skin pigment, hair color, and other bodily markers are unreflectedly translated into highly charged cultural markers; wherein outward biological difference and cultural become automatically (con)fused with each other and entire groups thereby racialized-is, practically and discursively, now clearly the most prevalent form of racism in Sweden.(Pred 2000; p. 66)

Allan Pred views the subordination of non-Europeans and Moslems in contemporary Sweden as a reworking of historically sedimented racism. The argument holds that the rise of nationalism in Europe around the eighteenth century coincided with the development of narratives about a homogenous European identity. The notion of a homogenous European identity as he explains, laid the ground for racism against those considered non-Europeans. He however, explains that today's racism is not just a continuation of past racism. He views it as a response to capitalists' developments and globalising effects that have brought hardship and created a lot of uncertainties. Structural changes in the economy, political transformation in Sweden and abroad are considered to be causing changes and anxieties which the host population turns to associate with the presence of the newly arrived non-European immigrants. Pred argues that the above circumstances have prompted the reworking of historically sedimented racism. This approach leaves us with two unanswered questions: first, what is the relation between a Swedish identity and a European identity given that the rise of European nationalism in the eighteenth century did not prevent the development of nationalism in the different European states; second, what is the nature of past racism in Sweden and how does it relate to contemporary racism?

In another study Schmauch (2006) explores historical relations between Swedes and Africans and come to similar conclusions like Pred. She argues that historically Africans were represented as an inferior Other in European discourses and that relations between Swedes and Africans were hierarchical. She goes on to talk about Sweden's involvement in colonising Africa and in the transatlantic slave trade. Her argument about slavery and

colonisation however does not explain much about the historical nature of Swedish racism. This is not to reject the impact of slavery on racism as argued for USA and other countries (see, Marx 1998; Wacquant 2005; Miles 1989) or the contribution of colonialism to the same effects (see, Goldberg 2002). The point is that slavery and colonisation produced a system of racial domination that was largely influenced by specific local conditions, which might not be the same in different places. Slavery for example, as argued by Orlando Patterson is a part of human history and appears to have had nothing to do with racism in many societies. He identifies -*powerlessness, natal alienation, and generalized dishonoured* as the constituent elements of slavery and argue that the enslavement of X and not Y has nothing to do with who they are but depends on whether or not the necessary conditions for slavery are present (Patterson 1982). Beside Patterson, accounts of the transatlantic slave trade show that racism in the US is a derivative and not a constituent element of slavery (Kolchin 2003; Marx 1998).

We can see that a discourse of the Other and the establishments of institutions for the domination of those described as Other have been cited as key factors for racism. However, it is important to analyse how specific forms of domination articulate with dominant discourse of Otherness to racialize a collective than simple consider that the existence of a discourse (of Otherness) or system of domination is proof of *racism*.

Analysis of Racial Domination

In this section I focus on how racism can be analysed. Here I turn to the analytic framework developed by Anthony Marx (1998). In a comparative study of the USA, South Africa and Brazil, he identifies specific factors and processes at institutional/structural and at the grass root levels, which greatly influence racialization. His analysis also looks at the historical development of racism in these societies and how the past influenced its development in recent times. Anthony Marx argues that the history of slavery in the USA, South Africa and Brazil produced a system of domination that was characterised by the master-slave relationship. The vertical relation between the master and the slave soon became perceived as one between "whites" and "blacks" since in the above societies the master class was largely "white" while slaves were all "blacks"[1]. This approach considers slavery to be a major cause and not an outcome of racism. His analysis shows that slavery was sustained by a complex network of institutional structures that were well established to treat blacks differently from whites. The abolition of slavery in the US, South Africa and Brazil as Marx explains was replaced by new forms of racial domination which inherited the colour line differentiation and its underlying principles. In the US and South Africa he identifies Jim Crow and apartheid as the succeeding institutions of domination. Though influenced by the past Marx contends that the institutionalisation of Jim Crow and apartheid were largely determined by current events in the US and South Africa. In both countries he explains that the dominant white population was divided over what to do with former slaves. While a section of the population supported integration another section opposed it strongly and threatened to use every means possible to prevent it from happening. Prior to this deadlock both societies had experienced confrontations between the pro and anti integrationists in the past and memories of the bitter encounters still lingered on the minds of many people. Marx explains that the ruling elites in both countries feared that similar confrontations could jeopardise nation building that was at a crucial point. He argues that the ruling elites decided to avoid any bloody and costly confrontation by appeasing the anti-integrationists.

This argument leaves us wondering whether the decision to exclude blacks did not also pose a similar threat given that the history of slavery was not a very smooth one since blacks in America for example are known to have fought on several occasions to free themselves

---

1   "white" here refers to people of European descent while "black" refers to people of African descent.

from bondage (see Kolchin 2003). Anthony Marx agrees that it does but explains that the history of past conflicts between whites and blacks proved less threatening compared to past conflicts between factions of the white community. Turning to Brazil he explains that no formal institution of racial domination replaced slavery. However, he insists that contemporary relations in Brazil are characterized by the exclusion and subordination of blacks in the country. He explains that slavery created a system of structural relations that gave undue advantages to whites and though formal discrimination was abolished, the system of structural relations that was inherited from the past era of slavery still makes it easy to perpetuate the domination of blacks.

In addition to the above account which influences racialization from above; Anthony Marx also shows how factors and processes at the grass root level influenced developments in the above societies. He explains that through various acts of solidarity and resistance a black identity was developed from below and that institutions such as the black church and other organizations helped to consolidate this identity. The civil right movement in the US and the African National Conference in South Africa among others played very crucial roles in strengthening solidarity within the black community in these countries and also in establishing blackness as a racial identity.

Using the Analytical Framework of Anthony Marx to Conceptualise the Subordination of African Immigrants in Sweden.

Historical development in Sweden is quite different from those of the countries examined by Marx. While racism in the USA, South Africa and Brazil was largely influenced by a long history of close relations of asymmetry between whites and blacks, the presence of African immigrants in Sweden is a recent development. It is true that Swedes have had contacts with Africans in the past (see Schmauch 2006). These were however outside Sweden and had little impact on the Swedish society. It is therefore not surprising that many people in Sweden are ignorant of this past and some commentators on Swedish history think that contacts with Africans is a recent development (Runblom 1994). Unlike the above countries Sweden did not develop a system of domination that is comparable to slavery or Jim Crow and apartheid. This means that the condition under which Otherness was constructed in Sweden is slightly different from the above cases. In this section I focus on how Otherness is constructed in Sweden and how this influences racialization. I start by looking at how the discourse of the nation-state influences the production of a national identity and how this affects the construction of belonging.

> National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about the nation with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it (Hall 1992, p. 293).

Hall explains that the formation of national identity is done through:

1. narratives of the nation: through national histories, literatures, the media and popularculture; a set of stories, images, landscapes, scenarios, historical events, symbols and rituals are projected. These represent the shared experiences, which give meaning to the nation.
2. emphasis on origin, continuity, tradition and timelessness: "National identity" is represented as primordial and changeless throughout history
3. invention of tradition: some of the practices or rituals, which supposedly are of historical significance to the nation state, are relatively recent inventions.

4. foundational myth: locating the origin of the nation, the people and their national character to a distant time and place.
5. national identity often is grounded on the idea of a pure, original people or "folk".

From the above it is obvious that national identity is not based on a naturally constituted unity but is socially constructed. Construction of identity as a whole has a significant bearing on belonging (see Yuval-Davis 2006). Yuval Davis views belonging in plural terms but explains that under certain circumstances it is constructed as fixed and natural. This happens when belonging is politicised – a process, which she refers to as "the politics of belonging". The key points in her analysis that are relevant to this paper are: construction of belonging involves an act of active and situated imagination that changes according to the way Otherness is perceived; and that the politics of belonging involves the act of maintenance and reproduction of boundaries by the hegemonic political powers as well as the contestation and challenge of these boundaries by other political agents.

Perceptions of Belonging and Construction of Otherness in Sweden

In the Swedish context Otherness can be understood as the opposite of the Swedish identity. This identity is constructed around national symbols like language, social welfare, uniform educational system and Swedish church among others (Blank & Tydén 1995; Runblom 1992). The importance of a Swedish identity in the construction of Otherness can be observed in relations with European immigrants in the era of labour immigration. The establishment of "multiculturalism" as an official government policy at the time and the underlying principles of Swedish "multiculturalism" reveal that European immigrants then were considered to have a different identity and belonging from that of the Swedish people. Harald Runblom add credence to this point by arguing that the development of "multiculturalism" in Sweden was aimed at European immigrants and that policy makers back then had no reason to believe that large scale immigration from outside Europe would take place there after. The Otherness of European immigrants could also be seen in the exclusionary practices against them. (Knocke 2000).

The admission of immigrants from outside Europe today has altered existing views of belonging that were common in the days of "labour immigration". The construction of Otherness today is not just influenced by ideas of a Swedish identity but also by notions about a homogenous European identity. The view of a homogenous European identity is not a recent phenomenon in Sweden. Back in the nineteenth century Sweden played a rule in promoting the notion of a superior European identity. The first taxonomist to divide humanity into different categories in a descending order that placed Europeans at the top and Africans at the bottom was a Swedish scientist. He is believed to have laid the ground for [biological] racist thinking in the western hemisphere. Also, racist ideas that depicted non-Europeans as inferiors were disseminated through school textbooks across schools in the country (Pred 2000). Beside this history new developments such as the increasing political and economic integration of European states have strengthened solidarity between Europeans and promoted the notion of a homogenous Europe. The influence of the European identity on the construction of a Swedish "Self" portrays non-Europeans as more outsiders than European immigrants. We clearly see this in the extreme marginality of non-Europeans in Sweden when compared to European immigrants (Borgegård & Murdie 1998; Knocke 2000).

The shifting view of identity and belonging in Sweden is also reflected in the appeal that is sometimes made to the Nordic identity. This can be seen in the stronger solidarity between the Nordic states and the preferential treatment that is given to immigrants from the other Nordic countries when compared to other immigrants. Restrictions that were placed on labour immigration in the 70s for example, did not apply to Nordic citizens and while Nordic

immigrants could acquire citizenship after residing in the country for two years, those from other European countries could only be eligible after five years in the country.

From the above views the conclusion can be made that belonging in Sweden is not singular and static but multiple and dynamic. The construction of Otherness varies depending on who it is in relation to and also on the circumstance. One can therefore represents the different levels of belonging in Sweden as: "native Swedes", Nordic people, Europeans/people of European decent, and humanity. These levels of belonging could even be broken down further but the important point is that people from the "third world" countries would find themselves furthest away from the centre of belonging. The analytic framework of Anthony Marx however demands more than a discourse of Otherness in analysing racialization. As explained earlier he argues that racialization should be analysed by paying attention to the institutional/structural forces and also in the actions of agents.

Racialization from Above: Institutional/Structural Level

Differentiating between immigrants and "citizens" is the most common basis for de jure discrimination in all countries. Being an immigrant means having less rights and privileges as compared to other members of society. Although immigrants are subjected to different immigration restrictions (depending on where they come from), some basic forms of exclusion do apply to all immigrants in Sweden. They are barred from participating in national elections and from employment in certain sectors like the military and police (Lithman, 1987; Swedish migration board), and in some cases they risk deportation after serving sentences in prison.

One would wonder why these restrictions on immigrants should be considered to have any influence on racialization given that the immigrant status is only temporal. In official terms people stop to be immigrants in Sweden once they naturalize and this implies the Otherization of immigrants is a temporal phenomenon. In this regard it would appear problematic to see restrictions on immigrants as driven by racism because racial domination as explained earlier is premised on the eternalization of difference (cf Davis 2001). In reality however, the situation is a bit complicated because even after naturalization the "new citizens" (and their off springs) continue to be treated as immigrants. Recently in Sweden people have started asking the question, when does a person stop being an immigrant? This is because children born to immigrant parents are commonly labelled as second or third generation immigrants (see Westin 2006). Keeping formal restrictions aside, which are not so conspicuous because they touch only on a few areas of the immigrant's life, the bulk of discrimination against immigrants occurs informally and in relation to things that they are legally entitled to. What happens is that when people are discriminated the reason given is not their immigrant status (since it would be illegal) but cultural difference. The argument often goes that the culture/values of immigrants clash with Swedish work ethics and norms and that residential segregation is good because it brings people who are culturally similar and by so doing helps to preserve their culture (Pred 2000). We can also see the impact of the culture argument in the following remark from a top government official to allegations of increase theft by immigrants "it [is] part of their culture to not distinguish in terms of ownership… between mine and yours" (Norman 2004; p. 214). The risk in this kind of argument is that it essentialises culture. What is described as Swedish culture and immigrant culture are considered to be inherent and transmissible from generation to generation. In this respect the immigrant status does not seem to be temporal and that explains why even Swedish citizens of a noticeable immigrant background share a faith that is not so different from immigrants.

Racialization from Below: The Action of Agents

At the micro level the action of agents is quite different in Sweden when compared to other societies like the US and South Africa. The absence of well-established institutions of racial domination in Sweden-both in the past and in contemporary relations, makes it difficult for any collective action on the part of the victims. In addition to this, official policy toward immigrants and minorities in Sweden promotes cultural and ethnic differentiation. Though the dominant Swedish discourse about immigrant often talks of an immigrant culture (in singular) the country's policy of cultural diversity recognises and promotes cultural differentiation between immigrants. This encourages immigrants to maintain the cultural and ethnic identities of their home societies. This of course is detrimental to the development of a homogenous immigrant identity. Another factor that contributes to the fragmentation of immigrants is the fact that belonging in Sweden is defined in relational terms. Though people from other parts of Europe are also considered immigrants the fact that belonging is sometimes defined on the basis of a European identity means that European immigrants could identify with "native Swedes" and not with people from a non-European background.

Some Concluding Remarks

The uniqueness of Swedish society and the specificity of historical relations between Swedes and Africans make it difficult to think of racism against African immigrants and their siblings in the same way that racism is understood in societies like the USA and South Africa which exhibit some of the classic examples of racism in modern history. In these societies racism is rooted in past histories of institutionalised domination. This produced a system of domination that created a rigid dichotomy and fixed belonging. The different trajectory of historical development in Sweden means that we have to pay close attention to those aspects that set Sweden apart from the above societies as well as the similarities that Sweden share with them. One can therefore consider the construction of "Us" and "Them" in Sweden, the emergence of a discourse that represents "Them" as inferior to "Us", and the exclusion of "Them" as the basis for the establishment of a system of structural relations that makes it possible to exploit those defined as "Them". However it is important to note that unlike the above societies where notion of belonging appears to be fixed and rigid, belonging in Sweden is more fluid. In addition to this the lack of a rigid system of differentiation together with the official policy of cultural diversity promotes ethnic and cultural differentiation between different immigrants thereby compromising the development of a racial identity from below.

References

Abiri, E, The securitisation of migration: toward an understanding of migration policy changes in the 1990s:the case of Sweden, (Gothenburg university: Gothenburg, 2000).

Bancroft, A, Roma and Gypsy travellers in Europe: Modernity, race, space and exclusion, (Asgate: Edinburgh, 2005).

Blank,D.& Tydén,M,'Becoming multicultural? The development of a Swedish immigration policy' in Welfare states in trouble, eds J. Granastein & S. Åkerman, (Swedish Science press: Uppsala, I995).

Bonilla-Silva, E, 'Rethinking racism: Toward a structural interpretation' American sociological review, 1997, Vol. 62, no.3, pp 465-480

Böcker, A. & Havinga, T, Asylum migration to the European Union: patterns of origin and destination, (Institute for the sociology of law: Nijmegen, 1998).

Davis,F, Who is black?: One nation's definition, (The Pennsylvania State University press: Pennsylvania, 2001).

Goldberg, D, The racial state, (Blackwell: Malden, 2001).

Hall, S, 'The question of cultural identity' in Modernity and its futures, eds S. Hall et al, (The open university: Cambridge, 1992).

Knocke, W, 'Integration or segregation? Immigrants population facing the labour market in Sweden' Economic and industrial democracy (Sage: London, Thousand Oaks and New Dehli, 2000).Vol.21, pp 361-380

Kolchin, P, American Slavery, (Hill and Wang: New York, 2003).

Lithman, L, Immigration and Immigrant policy in Sweden, (The Swedish institute: Stockholm, 1987)

Markopoulou, C, Socio-cultural effects of intra-European migration: A cyclical research study in Greece and Sweden, (Department of Sociology: Gothenburg, 1981).

Marx, A, Making race and nation: a comparison of the United State, South Africa, Brazil, (Cambridge University press: Cambridge, 1998).

Miles, R, Racism, (The Open University: London, 1989).

Ministry for foreign's affair report, Sweden in 2000-A country of migration. Past, present and future, (Bull's printers Ltd: Halmstad, 2001).

Murdie, R. & Borgegård, L, 'Immigration, spatial segregation and housing segmentation of immigrants in metropolitan Stockholm, 1960-95',Urban studies, 1998, Vol.35. no 10.

Norman, K, 'Equality and exclusion: 'racism' in a Swedish town', Ethnos, 2004, Vol. 69.no.2. pp. 204-228.

Patterson,O, Slavery and social death: A comparative study, (Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1982).

Pred, A, Even in Sweden: Racism, racialized spaces, and the popular geographical imagination, (University of California press: Berkeley, 2000).

Rose A. M, Migrants in Europe: problems of acceptance and adjustments, (Minneapolis, 1969).

Runblom, H, 'Special issues: Multiculturalism and diversity', Sociology forum, 1994, Vol 9,no.4, pp. 623-640.

Schmauch,U, Den Osynliga vardagsrasismens realitet, (Umeå University: Umeå, 2006).

Wacquant, L, "Race as civic felony". International Social Science Journal, 2005, Vol.57. no. 183, pp127-142.

Literature and Diversity

Magnus Nilsson

Malmö Institute for Studies of Migration, Diversity and Welfare (MIM),
Malmö University

magnus.nilsson@imer.mah.se

In this article I describe how contemporary Swedish literature which thematizes cultural diversity is understood within a powerful discourse about the so-called multicultural society, centred on an opposition between a culturally homogenous past and a culturally diverse present, and emphasizing the phenomena *ethnicity* and *identity*. I also try to suggest an alternative way of relating literature to a society characterized by diversity. This suggestion is based on Walter Benn Michaels' and Nancy Fraser's analyses of the epoch of "posthistoricism" and "the postsocialist condition" respectively, and my argument is that the study of the relationship between literature and diversity should be undertaken from a transformative/deconstructive perspective.

Literature and Diversity[1]

In her essay "Makten över prefixen", the Swedish author Astrid Trotzig argues that the contemporary discussion in Sweden about "immigrant literature" is highly problematic. Trotzig takes her point of departure in her own experience, and claims that she receives attention in the public sphere first and foremost because of her ethnicity (she was adopted from Korea), which is perceived as "exotic" (Trotzig 2005, p. 106). Furthermore she argues that this is part of a more general tendency in discussions about literature and the so called multicultural society. Ethnicity, she claims, has become a lens, through which Swedish writers of foreign descent are viewed (Trotzig 2005, p. 126).

Trotzig brings to the fore several problems with this lens. First of all it doesn't really focus on ethnicity as such, but on certain ethnicities. Not all writers who are immigrants are labeled "immigrant writers", which shows that the ethnic lens is *discriminating* (Trotzig 2005, pp. 107-108). Secondly, the lens is *homogenizing*, in that it eradicates important differences between the so-called immigrant writers (Trotzig 2005, pp. 109-110). This goes hand in hand with a third problem, namely that the ethnic lens establishes similarities between "immigrant writers" by way of *creating stereotypical fictions* about their biographies.

I want to argue that Trotzig in her essay identifies a powerful discourse about "immigrant writers". This is in turn part of a more general discourse about the so called multicultural society, which has become hegemonic in the public sphere in Sweden during recent decades. Trotzig brings two aspects of this larger discourse to the fore. The first is explicitly pointed out, namely the strong *focus on ethnicity*, or, to use a concept from Fredric Jameson, the appointment of ethnicity to "master code" for understanding literature in a multicultural society (Jameson 1996, p. 22). The second aspect of the discourse about "the multicultural society" that Trotzig makes visible is a tendency to highlight questions about identity. She does so when she argues that criticism of "immigrant literature" eradicates the distance between the writer's biography – or, at least, a fiction about the writer's biography, based on ethnic stereotypes – and his or her work (Trotzig, p. 110). This indicates that "immigrant literature" is interesting to critics primarily as a manifestation of ethnic identity, and thus as an exponent of identity politics.

This focus on identity is part of a more general ideological tendency in post cold-war capitalism. In *The Shape of the Signifier*, Walter Benn Michaels describes this tendency as symptomatic of a "moment in history", which he calls "posthistoricism" (Michaels 2004, p. 12). The defining characteristic of this epoch is an increased interest in cultural difference at the expense of ideological difference, and the consequence of this is that "all politics become identity politics" (Michaels 2004, pp. 16, 24). A similar claim is made by Nancy Fraser in *Justice Interruptus*. She argues that "the 'postsocialist' condition" is characterized by "a shift in the grammar of political claims-making" which has resulted in claims for "the recognition of group difference" eclipsing claims for social equality, and, as a consequence of this, "the rise of 'identity politics'" (Fraser 1997, p. 2).

The hegemonic Swedish discourse about the so-called multicultural society has yet another important feature, namely that it is based on the modernist idea that the historicity of the present is constituted by a transition from a state of stability to a state of flux. This idea is captured in Marshall Berman's use of the expression "all that is solid melts into air" as a metaphor for the modern experience (Berman 1982). During the modern epoch in Sweden, this structure of feeling has used different aspects of modernization – such as the rise and decline of both industrial capitalism and the social democratic welfare state – as its raw

material, and currently its basis is the notion of the advent of a "multicultural society", defined primarily in ethnic terms.

The Swedish criticism of literature which thematizes cultural diversity has to a very high extent been produced within the discourse presented above. Lars Wendelius gives testimony of this in *Den dubbla identiteten: Immigrant och minoritetslitteratur på svenska 1970-2000*, where he argues that the critical interest in "immigrant literature" is based on the idea that "immigrant writers" are "reporters" from milieus unknown to "ethnic Swedes" (Wendelius 2002, p. 41). Another testimony is given by the linguist Roger Källström, who has investigated how critics interpret the literary style of "immigrant writers" such as Jonas Hassen Khemiri and Alexandro Leiva Wenger. Källström found that their style is often described as a realistic representation of multiethnic youth-language, even if a proper analysis shows that it is actually highly idiosyncratic (Källström 2005; Källström 2006). These examples demonstrate that "immigrant literature" is seen as a textual manifestation of ethnic identity.

The academic criticism of "immigrant" and "minority literature" is also produced within this discourse. A good example of this can be found in the anthology *Litteraturens gränsland*, edited by Satu Gröndahl. In her foreword Gröndahl compares the emergence of contemporary "ethnic literatures" to the rise of national literatures in the Nordic countries in the 19th century. She also establishes an opposition between on the one hand "immigrant" and "minority literatures", and on the other hand the literary culture of the majority. Thus Gröndahl takes her point of departure in a conception of the historicity of the present which is based on the idea that a culturally homogenous past is giving way to a condition marked by cultural – or, rather, *ethnic* – heterogeneity. She also brings the issues of identity and identity politics to the fore when she justifies academic interest in "immigrant" and "minority literature" with reference to the role of these kinds of literature for the formation of collective identities (Gröndahl 2002, p. 7).

The fact that Gröndahl and other scholars are working within the hegemonic discourse about "the multicultural society" means that their research can be subjected to the criticism formulated by Trotzig. First of all one can notice a discriminating tendency in Gröndahl's definition of "ethnic groups" as "immigrant groups and (territorial or historical) minority groups respectively", since this implies that Swedes aren't ethnic (Gröndahl 2002, p. 13). Secondly the construction of "immigrant" and "minority literature" as an object of study is homogenizing in that it presupposes some sort of family resemblance between very different kinds of literatures. One example of this is Gröndahl's claim that "immigrant literature" often deals with "themes that expresses the condition of being an immigrant or the process of assimilation" (Gröndahl 2002, p. 21). This formulation could also be read as an expression of a tendency to create a stereotypical fiction about the biographies of the "immigrant writers", since migration in reality is a highly complex and heterogonous phenomenon.

According to Trotzig, Swedish literary critics' treatment of "immigrant literature" is racist (Trotzig 2005, p. 111). Could (and, to ask a somewhat more interesting question, should) one say the same of the academic criticism of "immigrant" and "minority literature"? My answer to this question is no. Although I do agree with Trotzig when she identifies a racializing, or even racist, tendency in the criticism of "immigrant literature", I do object to what could be called her "politics of blame". Fredric Jameson has argued that if postmodernism is a historical phenomenon, then "the attempt to conceptualize it in terms of moral or moralizing judgments must finally be identified as a category mistake", and requested a more dialectical approach (Jameson 1994, pp. 46-47). The hegemonic Swedish discourse about literature and "the multicultural society" is symptomatic of that moment in the history of capitalism which Michaels calls "posthistoricism" and Fraser "the 'postsocialist' condition". Thus it is ideological. At the same time, however, it also expresses a "moment of truth" about this

epoch. Furthermore, it gives voice to a progressive political vision, in that it addresses questions about representational oppression that are specific to this historical period. This insight gives rise to a question that has been elegantly formulated by Fraser: "[W]hat constitutes a critical stance in this context? How can we distinguish those postures that critically interrogate the 'postsocialist' condition from those that reflect it symptomatically?" (Fraser 1997, p. 3).

Fraser's first step toward answering this question is to establish a distinction between two political attitudes toward identities, namely "affirmation" and "transformation". An affirmative approach aims at "correcting inequitable outcomes of social arrangements without disturbing the underlying framework that generates them", whereas a transformative approach aims at "correcting inequitable outcomes precisely by restructuring the generative framework" (Fraser 1997, p. 23). The problem with the version of identity politics associated with "mainstream multiculturalism" is that it is affirmative. It tries to change ideas about collective identities without questioning "the contents of those identities" or "the group differentiations that underlie them" (Fraser 1997, p. 24). A transformative politics, on the other hand, deconstructs identities. It redresses disrespect by "transforming the underlying cultural-valuational structure", thereby not only raising the self-esteem of members of currently disrespected groups, but changing "*everyone's* sense of self" (Fraser 1997, p. 24).

What I want to argue in this article is that the study of the relationship between literature and cultural diversity should be undertaken from a transformative/deconstructive perspective. Such a perspective would make it possible to avoid the pitfalls identified by Trotzig. First and foremost a deconstruction of the concept ethnicity would challenge its status as "master code" for understanding the contemporary "multicultural society", and make visible the multiplicity of differences, including class difference, gender difference and difference of sexuality, that characterize our epoch. This, in turn, would make it possible to challenge the very structure of feeling on which the discourse of "the multicultural society" is based. When other forms of difference receive as much attention as ethnic difference it will be impossible to uphold the view of pre mass-migration Sweden as a culturally homogenous society. The shift of focus away from ethnicity would also allow a challenging of the priority given to the phenomena identity, and identity politics within the hegemonic discourse about the "multicultural society". For, as Benn Michaels argues in the essay "Plots Against America", whereas ethnicity is an identity, other markers of difference, such as class, are not (Michaels 2006, p. 292-294).

As a matter of fact, the perspective described above is far from absent in the Swedish public sphere. Interestingly enough it can be found in several of the so called "immigrant novels" and other works of fiction that describe the so called multicultural society. In *Kalla det vad fan du vill* Marjaneh Bakhtiari gives a satiric portrayal of affirmative ideas about ethnic identities and argues for a liberal humanist individualism which transgresses stereotypical ideas about ethnicity (Bakhtiari 2005). In *Ett öga rött* Jonas Hassen Khemiri goes further and tells the story of how a young immigrant overcomes a self-image based on an affirmative approach to ethnic identity and instead adopts a more transformative attitude, which includes the challenging of the assumption that there is a productive correspondence between on the one hand ethnicity and on the other hand collective or individual identity (Khemiri 2003). And in *Var det bra så?* Lena Andersson tries to demonstrate how the hegemonic focus on ethnicity obscures questions about class, something that results in questions about identity eclipsing issues about injustice and ideology (Andersson 1999). This perspective deserves critical attention. But it only becomes visible when the novels in question are no longer read as exponents of identity politics, but as novels thematizing societal diversities that are much more complex than those of the so-called multicultural society.

References

Andersson, Lena, *Var det bra så?* Stockholm 1999.

Bakhtiari, Marjaneh, *Kalla det vad fan du vill*, Stockholm 2005.

Berman, Marshall, *All That is Solid Melts into Air. The Experience of Modernity*, New York 1982.

Fraser, Nancy, *Justice Interruptus. Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition* New York and London 1997.

Gröndahl, Satu, *Litteraturens gränsland: Invandrar- och minoritetslitteratur i nordiskt perspektiv*, Uppsala 2002.

Jameson, Fredric, *The Political Unconscious. Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*, London 1996.

Jameson, Fredric, *Postmodernism or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*, Durham 2003

Khemiri, Jonas Hassen, *Ett öga rött*, Stockholm 2003.

Källström, Roger, "Litterärt språk på tvärs: Lite om språket hos Leiva Wenger och Hassen Khemiri", *Språk på tvärs*, ed. De Geer and Malmbjer, Uppsala 2005, pp. 147-158.

Källström, Roger, "'Flygande blattesvenska' – recensenter om språket i *Ett öga rött*", *Svenskans beskrivning*, ed. P. Ledin, Örebro 2006. Available on-line at:

http://hum.gu.se/institutioner/svenska-spraket/personal/sverk/Khemirirecensioner.pdf.

Michaels, Walter Benn, *The Shape of the Signifier*, Princeton and Oxford 2004.

Michaels, Walter Benn, "Plots Against America: Neoliberalism and Antiracism", *American Literary History* 18.2 (2006), p. 288-302.

Trotzig, Astrid, "Makten över prefixen", *Orientalism på svenska*, ed. M. Matthis, Stockholm 2005.

Not-so-safe Europeans: Interrogating Identities and Photographic Conventions in Pelle Kronestedt's *Safe European*

Maria Nilsson

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

University of Iowa

maria-nilsson@uiowa.edu

This paper addresses the intersection of European photography and European identity through a discussion of *Safe European*, a photographic project on identity and youth unemployment by Swedish photographer Pelle Kronestedt. In an analysis informed by semiotics and work on the political rhetoric of photography, the author argues that, through display in an unusual exhibition locale and an unexpected focus for a documentary photographic project on such a subject, *Safe European* subverts expectations and raises questions about photographic representation and cultural attitudes.

Introduction

Late one night towards the end of summer of 2000, the advertising billboards in 12 subway stations in central Stockholm were exchanged.[1] This was nothing unusual; the process takes place regularly and at night when trains run less frequently, allowing workers to stand on the tracks while gluing and brushing sheets of ad messages, like wallpaper, onto large boards on the tiled walls. This time, though, the new faces did not belong to flawless, slim models or to the rich and famous.

There was a fascinating, liminal moment when the old advertising messages cohabited with new faces within the same frames.[2] For instance, at the centrally located subway stop Slussen, the likeness of pop star Carola, who is on a first-name basis with the entire Swedish population and a perennial subject of the tabloids, momentarily appeared next to a new image of an unknown, middle-aged woman whose outsized, lined face was pasted onto two billboards, a contrast to Carola's smiling perfection.

During the next few weeks, advertising messages selling beer, lottery tickets, the latest cell phone model and vacation trips were interspersed with photographs like those of an unknown family seated in their sparsely furnished, gritty living room staring at a television screen, next to a close-up photograph of a cup filled with over-sized egg yolks, and another image of a young woman wearing a red, sleeve-less dress and leaning against a red wall. An excerpt from a first-person narrative next to these photographs explained that her name was Claire, and that she was 16 and lived with her family in Dublin.

The new billboard-size images – a total of 240 – were from Swedish photographer Pelle Kronestedt's *Safe European*, a book and exhibition project focusing on unemployment in the European Union (Kronestedt 2000).

This paper, presented on an INTER conference panel devoted to European photography, reads Kronestedt's project in the context of the thematic questions posed by panel organizer Álvaro Pina: ***Who is a "European? What is the relationship between photography and reality? What is the state of European photographic practice?*** I want to suggest that *Safe European* is an example of an intimate and collaborative photographic practice. Furthermore, through subversion of expectations, the project poignantly raises questions about representation and consumerism, and about attitudes towards the subject for Kronestedt's project: the relationship between unemployment and identity.

Safe European has been exhibited in over 30 locations and in different versions and formats, in Sweden, elsewhere in Europe, Asia and Canada; this paper focuses solely on the Stockholm subway exhibition and on the book, which was published in 2000 in Sweden.[3]

Prior to Kronestedt, other photographers have addressed European identity or the state of Europe in periods of crisis or change. Arguably the most well known predecessor is Henri Cartier-Bresson (1998), whose travels throughout the entire continent resulted in *Europeans*. By bringing together disperse places photographed between the wars and after World War Two, and by naming the inhabitants "Europeans," the project emphasized unity, a shared destiny and the need for reconciliation after the War. In addition, Carl de Keyzer (2000) recently published a book, *Evropa*, on the territories of the former Habsburg Empire. Focusing on the 500-year anniversary celebrations of the birth of Emperor Charles V, de Keyzer raises questions about the meaning of history through ironic visual juxtapositions between the sacred and

---

1   The exhibition was on display in the Stockholm subway between July 31 and August 20, 2000.

2   This moment is captured in photographs documenting the mounting of the exhibition. The images are reproduced in a folder accompanying the book *Safe European*.

3   *Safe European* was produced by Arbetets Museum in Norrköping, Riksutställningar and Safe European. It was funded by the leading trade union in Sweden Landsorgansationen i Sverige, by CNA, EU Culture 2000, and the Swedish trade union publication *Dagens Arbete*. Source: folder in the book *Safe European*.

the profane, and between reenactments clashing with commercial appropriation and apparent disinterest in the past.

While Cartier-Bresson was concerned with the post-war reconstruction of Europe and de Keyzer with representations of history, Kronestedt's rhetorical question and point of departure, printed in the book, is: "If you lose your job, do you also lose your identity?" (Kronestedt 2000, p. 4). His stated inspiration for *Safe European* were the chronic state of unemployment in the era of globalization, as well as the song "Safe European Home" by the British punk group The Clash:

> Increased productivity no longer means employing more people...And lack of jobs for all is an accepted fact...More and more people in the West have never had a job, so we need to change our way of looking at being out of work...Safe European is about Western Europe's new culture of unemployment---20 million, in 1998 (p. 6).

Drawing on those depressing statistics in the Eurostat database, Kronestedt randomly selected one unemployed person in each of the 15 European Union member countries in 1998; each person had been categorized as "typical" or "statistically representative" of the unemployed in his or her country (p. 6). Thirteen of the participants were under 20 – reflecting the large unemployment rate among young people within the E.U., and 12 were women, who also have a high rate of unemployment (p. 263). Swedish ethnologist Lars-Göran Strömbom interviewed each participant and wrote the first-person narratives published in the back of the book; excerpts from the interviews also have been included in the exhibition contexts.

The Europeans, According to Safe European

Contrary to classical social documentaries focusing on the plight of the unemployed, such as the Farm Security Administration, the photographs of *Safe European* do not show the participants standing in line at the employment office.[4] Neither are they portrayed seated by the kitchen table pouring over wanted ads. In fact, the images overwhelmingly show leisure – after all leisure time is something they have in abundance – hanging out with friends, eating, or smoking.

Indeed, without reading the interviews or looking more closely at the excerpts accompanying the exhibit, one might not guess the subjects were unemployed. This ambiguity is the result of the photographer's stated ambition to portray the participants' lives, not only their plight as unemployed citizens (Kronestedt 2007. pers. comm., 30 May).

Interestingly, this ambiguity is reflected in some divergent interpretations among reviewers. One Swedish journalist criticized the project's tenuous link to unemployment (Borger-Bendegard 2000), while another critic interpreted the sometimes distant, evasive postures of the participants as appropriate due to the difficulty of capturing the nature of unemployment (Stahre 2000).

Kronestedt's departure from a familiar social documentary trope is in my view akin to that theorized by Michael Shapiro who, in a project on the political rhetoric of photography,

---

4   The Farm Security Administration (FSA), arguably the most well-known and one of the major publicly funded documentary projects, existed between 1935-1943, first as part of the Resettlement Administration. Under the leadership of Roy Stryker, a number of famous photographers made their name as image-makers for the federal government in the United States, among those: Walker Evans, Dorothea Lange, Jack Delano and Ben Shahn. The image-makers were sent on assignment to cover topics such as the plight of migrants and farmers, for the purpose of documenting and creating support for government programs of the New Deal. However, many of the images as well as series of photographs, have become iconic and, frequently, are seen as signature examples of social documentary, perhaps most notably Lange's portraits of a migrant mother and Evans' portraits of a family of poor farmers in Alabama. See Fleischhauer and Brannan for a history of the FSA and excellent reproductions of 15 photographic essays.

examines photographic portraiture that, in his view, breaks with the "implicit epistemological code hovering around a photograph" (Shapiro 1988, p. 124). According to Shapiro, photographs that "arrest the subconscious process by which we assimilate the copy to the real"(p. 124) might do so through the subversion of point of view, or, such as in the American West portraits by Richard Avedon by subverting the expectations of scenic vistas by instead portraying working-class inhabitants and native Americans. According to Shapiro, "the disruptive power of his human figures takes place in the context of an interpretive tradition to which photography has contributed, one which has depopulated the West and thus deproblematized the West's human situation" (p. 158). I read Kronestedt's photographs in a similar way, because he opts not to portray the participants as victims or as marginalized, a move challenging viewers to question attitudes towards unemployment and people who are unemployed.

In his analysis of Avedon's project as a disruption of the myth of the American West in photographic and painterly representations, Shapiro emphasizes the ways in which Avedon – while stressing his persona as a famous photographer better known for his glamorous fashion shots – populates the landscape with unsung heroes instead of famous or mythical cowboys. Similarly, the Europeans, according to Kronestedt, are neither the Eurocrats, nor are they the corporate leaders or young university students participating in study-abroad opportunities.

Furthermore, Kronestedt refrains from searching for and highlighting national characteristics and differences; in contrast, through their activities and through the photographer's focus on similar activities and sites, there is a sense of unity or shared experience or through membership in what might be a trans-national unemployment culture or youth culture (with the exception of one participant, who is in her fifties). By inference, the problems facing those without jobs are the same in all the E.U. countries.

A second stated reason for the personal focus of the photographs is the collaboration between Kronestedt and the participants. As preparation, Kronestedt asked each person to think of favorite places and objects, many of which are included in the visual essays (Kronestedt 2007 in pers. comm., 30 May). The result is an intimate portraiture with autobiographical elements suggesting, in response to the photographer's posed question, that identity does *not* emanate from professional status. Instead, it derives from emotional connections and family, and, judging from these photographs, it appears to come from consumption.

In the context of the Stockholm subway exhibition, this intimacy reduces the distance between participants and viewers of the images. Apparently, judging from the photographs, unemployed Europeans – disregarding their nationalities – are just like any Stockholm commuter. In fact, the site for the exhibition – a place where inhabitants engage in the everyday practice of commuting – heightens the tension in the message: that the photographs portray people who do *not* commute since they do not have a job. Indeed, according to one Swedish reviewer, Stahre, this exhibition jolts commuters "out of silent collectiveness, to see the individual".[5] Here, the word "collective" is used as an equivalent of anonymous, as in the practice of commuting where travelers are close together yet isolated from others.

On the Relationship Between Photography and Reality

As a subway commuter viewing *Safe European*, I experienced a tension between identification and alienation, between recognition of familiar visual signs in advertising messages and uncertainty about the new images from *Safe European* which sometimes replaced commercial speech and other time were placed next to it. This ambiguity brings to mind Roland Barthes' (1973) now-famous semiotic analysis of an advertisement selling Italian pasta and other food products. Barthes argues that photograph and text in this advert draw on and use bourgeois aesthetic conventions and cultural stereotypes to create what he calls "Italianicity,"

---

5   Translation from the Swedish is by the author.

that is, the essence of Italy (pp. 33-35). The notion of Italianicity, in turn, draws on desire and a longing the ad promises to fulfill for those initiated.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the subway exhibition, in my experience, is the frustration of that desire. This is achieved in part through the juxtaposition of advertising messages which seek to fulfill a desire, and the documentary images which, in their monumental, unvarnished, in-your-face portraits of daily life – through a different aesthetics, such as the use of collage, and frequently mounted as diptychs or triptychs – interrupt the interpretation of said advertising messages. In part, the subversion occurs through the ordinariness of the *Safe European* environment that could be anyone's home or family; in essence not the dreams created by advertising.

Interestingly, this disruption is double in the sense that, although several of the individuals in Kronestedt's photographs actually do consume such articles as beer or cigarettes, the sites where this consumption takes place are mundane. This may result in a negation of the surrounding "authentic" advertising messages that are more familiar, or one might even be disturbed by the scenes presented by Kronestedt because they do not fit into expectations of visual messages in spaces normally devoted to commercial speech.

Conclusions: On Safe European and European Photographic Practice

Safe European is clearly a collaborative project where participants were invited to control where, with whom and how they were to be photographed. As such, it is in tune with a current – yet hardly new – subjective turn in photography where the photographer refrains from claiming to "tell the truth." Explaining his view on photographic practice and his aim for this project, Kronestedt states:

> The investigation is a visual study – a subjective document of our times revealing personal fates otherwise hidden by statistics. The style is documentary. For a photographer context is always arranged, not least because of the fact of the camera (2000, p. 6).

Furthermore, the inclusion of first-person accounts based on interviews lets participants speak in their own voices and, especially in the book format, gives biographical and cultural context to the visual essays.

The Stockholm subway exhibition, specifically, is one among many recent public art projects displayed or performed in sites other than museums or galleries. It should be noted that the Stockholm subway system is in fact the site of several permanent art displays; however those pieces are as a rule separate from advertising messages. Furthermore, in 1998, advertising billboards in the subway were used for display of photographic art during the *Under/Exposed* group exhibition.[6] In fact, Kronestedt (2007, pers. comm., 30 May) explains that he was inspired by the *Under/Exposed* project in the choice of the subway as exhibition venue.

Yet *Safe European* differs from *Under/Exposed* in that the former is an intervention with one message and about one topic, not the work of several artists. Another difference is that the *Safe European* images literally and symbolically co-habit with the advertising messages without a clear border. In addition, the project encroaches on commercial speech and mimics it; advertising billboard space was in fact purchased for the exhibition images. As previously noted, *Safe European* also draws on advertising style in size (oversize), placement and materiality (posters), yet the documentary style and aesthetic as well as the content clash with the

---

6   *Under/Exposed* was one of the cultural events during the year-long celebration, in 1998, of Stockholm as cultural capital of Europe. The exhibition included 635 images by more than 200 international photographers. As in *Safe European*, the images in *Under/Exposed* were digital inkjet prints mounted on advertising billboards in a number of subway stations.

surrounding commercial messages. This in turn raises questions about the commercial speech dominating the public room as the new photographs become integrated into everyday practices, such as commuting. Ultimately, I read the exhibition as an intervention challenging notions and stereotypes in visual messages and attitudes about unemployment.

Kronestedt (pers. comm., 30 May) refers to the project and, especially, the subway exhibition as propaganda, explaining that his intentions were to get exposure and contribute to the debate about unemployment. In the subway setting alone, the project was widely viewed – given the hundreds of thousands of commuters who pass the centrally located stations daily – and the book as well as the various exhibitions were covered by national and regional dailies and weeklies in Sweden. The press coverage analyzed for this paper comments equally on the aesthetic merits of the work and on unemployment as a social problem and cultural phenomenon.[7] Interestingly, some journalists also interpreted the project as a critique of the values of our work-fixated culture, which is: "a world where we still equate a professional title with personality" (Björkqvist 1999), and "the pointless hunt for a life without time" (Stahre 2000).[8]

Part of the project's appeal is no doubt the intimate, personal focus in visual studies and texts emphasizing personal experiences of a structural problem frequently reduced to statistics. *Safe European* gives visibility to citizens who otherwise might be marginalized or absent from optimistic narratives of European integration as linked to economic progress.

On social and cultural levels, it is an uncomfortable notion for the European Union that a young generation gets accustomed to being unemployed and, perhaps, that they do not mind or expect to ever become employed. However, what is unmistakable is that, although individuals might be taken care of financially – either by family or by society—according to *Safe European* it is not a life of luxury to be unemployed. The interviews give a stronger sense than the photographs of the worry for the future and sense of alienation many of the participants express.[9]

Would a portrait of unemployment in the E.U. ten years later be similar or different? Kronestedt (2007, pers. comm., 30 May) explains that he plans a follow-up study in 2008 with the same participants. This time, he plans to use photography and video to portray how the 15 have fared in the era of further European expansion and globalization. The participants may not have lost their identity, but the question is, as the truncated and ambiguous title *Safe European* suggests: are they really safe?

References

Barthes, R 1977, *Image-music-text*, Fontana, Glasgow.

Björkqvist, A 1999, "Livet utan arbete", *Vi*, 10 June, p. 400.

Borger-Bendegard, L 2000, "Klistras upp i natt: Fotofrossa i t-banan", *Svenska Dagbladet*, 30 July, p. 32.

Cartier-Bresson, H 1998, *Europeans*. Bulfinch Press, Boston and New York.

de Cienfuegos, I 2000, "Ett säkert Europa – Arbetslösheten får ansikten genom Pelle Kronestedts foton", *Aftonbladet*, 4 Aug., p. 17.

de Keyzer, C 2000, *Evropa*, Ludion Press, Ghent.

---

7   See Björkqvist, Borger-Bendegard, de Cienfuegos, Dandanelle, Hedlund, Sandgren, Stahre and Thunberg.

8   Translations from the Swedish are by the author.

9   There are, however, notable individual differences, which may be the result of each participant's economic and social circumstance and responsibilities. For instance, Eva, 19, in Rome, is a single mother living with her own parents who feels pressured to get a job and worries about the future (see Kronestedt 2000, p. 256). Micke, 21, in Stockholm, meanwhile, does not appear to worry; he talks about his yearning for freedom and says he deliberately only works as much as he has to in order to get benefits (see p. 261). These contrasting views may also reflect differences in unemployment benefit accessibility and amount in the 15 E.U. countries.

Dandanelle, E 2001, ”Talande bilder av arbetslöshet”, *Borås Tidning*, 24 Feb., 19.

Fleischhauer, C & Brannan, B W (eds.) 1988, *Documenting America, 1935-1943*, University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Hedlund, M 1999, ”Arbetslösheten som reklambild”, *Lo-Tidningen*. 26 March, pp. 18-19.

Kronestedt, P 2000, *Safe Europeans*, Journal, Stockholm.

Sandgren, A 2000, ”Tunnelbanan pryds mot arbetslösheten – Fotografen vill ändra män-niskors inställning”, *Aftonbladet*, 1 Aug., p. 16.

Shapiro, M 1988, *The political rhetoric of photography*, The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Stahre, U 2000, ”Insikter om den fåfänga jakten på liv utan tid”, *Göteborgs-Posten*, 25 Aug., p. 13.

Thunberg, I 2000, ”Stor fotoutställning i tunnelbanan-Arbetslösheten i Europa visas på stortavlor”, *Aftonbladet*, 31 July, p. 19.

Tracing Trauma: Histories and Intermediality in Sherman Alexie´s Fiction

Åse Nygren

Blekinge Institute of technology

any@bth.se

This paper examines the ways in which Sherman Alexie's fiction traces, and bears witness to, a collective trauma in the aftermath of what Russell Thornton has called the "American Indian Holocaust." My claims that literature may provide instances of witnessing are informed by Dominick LaCapra's discussions of the complex issue of truth claims with regards to the representation of traumatic events, and his discussions on what differentiates history from fiction. In exploring the link between history and theory with reference to trauma in Alexie's fiction, this paper argues in line with LaCapra that trauma has a historic specificity, and thus a limited affect. As fiction allows for trauma to be cathartically and narratively mastered, fiction is also able to capture elements of experiences and emotions that are, in a sense, non-narrative. In its ability to evoke a historical trauma as a radical problem for understanding, fiction may thus, paradoxically, communicate what is inherently wordless. As Alexie's narratives reflect "[t]he paradoxical impossibility and simultaneous necessity to represent, to communicate, to speak of suffering," his fiction becomes an Inter-Medium for real histories.

Tracing Trauma: Histories and Intermediality in Sherman Alexie´s Fiction

This paper Hinges Upon Two Crucial Components/Convictions:

- The impossible and simultaneous necessity to represent, to communicate, to speak of suffering.
- The possibilities of fiction (as a medium) to represent, to communicate, to speak of suffering.

Theoretical Framework

In my recently defended dissertation, *Tracing Trauma: The Narration of Suffering in Sherman Alexie's Fiction*," I examine the ways in which Sherman Alexie narrates suffering in his first four works of fiction: the short story collections *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* (1993) and *The Toughest Indian in the World* (2000), and the novels *Reservation Blues* (1995) and *Indian Killer* (1996). I also occasionally refer to his latest short story collection *Ten Little Indians* (2003), which was released in Swedish by Ordfront bearing the title *Rödskinn*.

In my work I show that Alexie's fiction traces and bears witness to a collective trauma in the aftermath of what Russell Thornton has called the "American Indian holocaust." I approach the concept of collective trauma in a similar manner to that of Kai Erikson, who talks about traumatized communities. Erikson broadens the concept of trauma by adding a social dimension. Erikson claims that "the tissues of community can be damaged in much the same way as the tissues of mind and body" (185). But Erikson also claims that "traumatic wounds inflicted on individuals can come to create a mood, an ethos—a group culture, almost—that is different from (and more than) the sum of the private wounds that make it up" (185). Trauma, Erikson argues, can in fact "serve as a source of communality in the same way that common languages and common backgrounds can" (186), thus suggesting that trauma can even *create* communities (190, emphasis in the original). In Erikson's sense of trauma, then, trauma is a possible dimension and gathering element of a community.

In the aftermath of the systematic oppression created by the Euro-American westernizing and "civilizing" of America, American Indian storytellers have created a body of literature which speaks potently about suffering and the negotiations, both cultural and personal, necessary for survival as American Indians in the United States. This literary output, Ortiz argues, is involved in a continuing political and spiritual resistance against "forced colonization" and is a struggle "for a people to retain and maintain their lives," which provides insight into a national Indian experience ("The Historical Matrix" 66). As in many other instances of colonial oppression and the resistance against it, then, American Indian storytellers use literature as an arena for speaking out.

Although it should be emphasized that not every literary work by an American Indian writer narrates an inheritance of oppression, genocide, catastrophic disease, and hurtful racism, my work rests on the conviction that the literary output generally referred to as American Indian literature or Native American literature is uniquely placed to bear witness to the historical and structural trauma of the American Indian community. My claims that literature may provide instances of witnessing are informed by Dominick LaCapra's discussions of the complex issue of truth claims with regards to the representation of traumatic events, and his discussions on what differentiates history from fiction. I find LaCapra's discussion on the possibilities of representing trauma that fiction opens up to be particularly important, as opposed to the attempt "to professionalize history under the banner of objectivity" (*Writing History* 2). LaCapra here argues that

> narratives in fiction may . . . involve truth claims on a structural or general level by providing insight into phenomena such as slavery or the Holocaust, by offering a reading of a process or period, or by giving at least a plausible "feel" for experience and emotion which may be difficult to arrive at through documentary methods. (13)

Two literary works that evoke such "a plausible 'feel' for experience and emotion," LaCapra argues, are Toni Morrison's novel *Beloved*—"with respect to the aftermath of slavery and the role of transgenerational, phantomlike forces that haunt later generations"—and Albert Camus's *The Fall*—"with respect to the reception of the Holocaust" (14).

LaCapra here argues against poststructural readings of trauma which claim that "there is no full presence that may be represented" (*History and Memory* 103). In such readings, LaCapra concludes, "the past itself [becomes] an object of reconstruction on the basis of traces and traces of traces" (103-104). [1]

In my work I argue to the contrary (and in line with LaCapra) that historical traumas can indeed be traced, or referenced, in the realm of fiction. Fiction, I would like to argue, may capture certain elements of experiences and emotions that are, in a sense, non-narrative, and therefore fiction may, paradoxically, communicate what is inherently wordless.

Because literary fiction must not provide historical evidence, and because it allows for the inclusion of the subjective, fiction is able to evoke, or trace, historical events that cause problems regarding understanding. In fact, I would like to argue, it is the very use of 'indirect means' that enable writers of fiction to evoke a historical trauma *as* a radical problem for understanding (1). The signifying practices and codes of fiction thus allows writers like Alexie to 'trace' actual histories—not contain them, or fully represent them, but simply provide traces back to them.

Alexie's Trauma Narratives

The psychological turmoil caused by trauma finds literary expression in the short story "Every Little Hurricane," which opens Alexie's first short story collection *The Lone Ranger*. Narrated by the young boy Victor, the short story starts with a hurricane as it "dropped from the sky in 1976 and fell so hard on the Spokane Indian Reservation that it knocked Victor, from bed and his latest nightmare" (1). The story ends when the storm ascends and disappears, which is also the moment when Victor finally "closed his eyes, fell asleep" (11). In the time period that passes between the appearance and the disappearance of the hurricane, we are told about the events that take place at a New Year's Eve party given by Victor's parents. Events from the characters' childhood are also inserted into the structure of the story. The hurricane thus provides a framework for the story at the same time as it functions as a catalyst of memory for the characters.

The characters in "Every Little Hurricane" live in a turmoil of violent behaviour, heavy drinking, and painful memories. Their destructive and chaotic behaviour imbues the chronology and order of the plot, which is interrupted by flashbacks and traumatic memories. Framed and formed by the tumultuous forces of the hurricane, the story is plotted in what could be termed a traumatic formlessness. Just as the landscape is devastated, the characters are reduced to chaos, disorder, and helplessness. The trauma in "Every Little Hurricane" thus surfaces both in the structure of the plot and in the metaphor of the hurricane. Similar to how

---

1   According to LaCapra, "[h]istorical losses or lacks can be dealt with in ways that may significantly improve conditions—indeed, effect basic structural transformation—without promising secular salvation or a sociopolitical return to a putatively lost (or lacking) unity or community. Paradise absent is different from paradise lost: it may not be seen as annihilated only to be regained in some hoped-for, apocalyptic future or sublimely blank utopia that, through a kind of creation *ex nihilo*, will bring total renewal, salvation, or redemption" (*Writing History* 56-57, emphasis in original).

the storm appears without warning and how it cannot be avoided, leaving only ruins behind, the fragmented story surfaces as a symptom of trauma.

At the moment when the hurricane descends on the reservation, an argument between Victor's uncles, Adolph and Arnold, escalates into a fistfight. As "the winds increased and the first tree fell," the two Indians "raged across the room at each other" (1-2). As the evening progresses, "the storm that had caused their momentary anger had not died. Instead, it moved from Indian to Indian at the party, giving each a specific, painful memory" (8). As we are taken back to Victor's early childhood, Victor recollects the Christmas when he saw his father weep because he did not have any money to buy gifts, and the times when the kitchen cupboards and the refrigerator were empty of food. Later in the story, Arnold and Adolph recollect how, when they were children, they "hid crackers in their shared bedroom so they would have something to eat" (8). Such stories of poverty and hunger are accompanied by stories that speak of racism and violence:

> Victor's father remembered the time his own father was spit on as they waited for a bus in Spokane. . . . Victor's mother remembered how the Indian Health Service doctor sterilized her moments after Victor was born. . . . Other Indians . . . remembered their own pain. This pain grew, expanded. (8)

The characters' painful recollections suggest that there is something that has been repressed. Something underneath the surface — of the characters' consciousness and of the plot itself — is threatening to break through.

Gradually, Victor comes to the realization that his memory is central to the representation, and by acknowledging the transformation of pain into suffering, Victor not only expounds his own traumas but assumes the role of an emphatic witness. As the story progresses, it is the characters' traumatic memories, which return as repressed, that constitute the narrative.

As the hurricane devastates the landscape, other characters besides Arnold and Adolph also experience physical pain, some as a result of other fights:

> During that night, his aunt Nezzy broke her arm when an unidentified Indian woman pushed her down the stairs. Eugene Boyd broke a door playing indoor basketball. Lester FallsApart passed out on top of the stove and somebody turned the burners on high. James Many Horses sat in the corner and told so many bad jokes that three or four Indians threw him out the door into the snow. (10)

The characters' memories are here intimately entangled with physical pain. Directly after Victor describes the fights and the physical pain that the characters go through, he acknowledges that "there was other pain" (4). This "other pain," Victor ponders, is caused by his own "personal hurricanes" and has resulted in "[m]emories not destroyed, but forever changed and damaged" (4). This "other pain," which, Victor tells us, made "his chest throb[…] with absence," is thus psychological rather than physical, and should be referred to as suffering. As Hurricane" encourages a comparison between the damage that the hurricane causes the landscape and the damage that physical and psychological violence causes the human body and the human psyche.

Yet another comparison which is encouraged by the choice of vocabulary is that between the damage caused by natural forces and the damage caused by human hands in "Every Little Hurricane." The effect that the heavy intake of alcohol has on the characters is likened to the effect that torrents of rain have on the landscape:

In other nightmares, in his everyday reality, Victor watched his father take a drink of vodka on a completely empty stomach. Victor could hear that near-poison fall, then hit, flesh and blood, nerve and vein. Maybe it was like lightning tearing an old tree into halves. Maybe it was like a wall of water, a reservation tsunami, crashing onto a small beach (6).

Victor acknowledges that he hates rain, "[t]he damp. Humidity. Low clouds and lies" (6), and that "[he] feared that he was going to drown while it was raining" (7). In his dreams, the whirlpools of rain, in which he fears that he will drown, are made out of "whiskey, vodka, tequila, those fluids swallowing him just as easily as he swallowed them" (7). After having seen an old Indian man drown in a mud puddle at the age of five, Victor says, "[he] understood what that meant, how it defined nearly everything. Fronts. Highs and lows. Thermals and undercurrents. Tragedy" (7). At the end, though, an entire landscape as well as an entire community are devastated. The storm has effectively effaced difference, as everyone is affected by the storm. As the story ends, "all the Indians, the eternal survivors, gathered to count their losses" (11).

If the storm that rages across the Spokane Indian reservation disturbs normal atmospheric conditions, the characters' memories, muddled by alcohol, give evidence of a collective trauma. Similar to how the storm leaves behind "random debris and broken furniture," this collective trauma has affected the Indian characters to such a degree that they are broken—psychologically, culturally, and socially (11). Just as the hurricane is caused by a set of natural conditions, so too are the fights also caused by a set of conditions. In other words, the fights, like the hurricane, are symptoms of something else, namely that of trauma.

As Alexie, in his fiction, allows for trauma to be cathartically and narratively mastered, he is able to capture elements of experiences and emotions that are, in a sense, non-narrative. In its ability to evoke a historical trauma *as* a radical problem for understanding, fiction may thus, paradoxically, communicate what is inherently wordless. As Alexie's narratives reflect "[t]he paradoxical impossibility and simultaneous necessity to represent, to communicate, to speak of suffering," his fiction becomes an Inter-Medium for real histories.

Reverse Experiments: Investigating Social Behaviour with Daily Technologies

Francesca Odella[*]

Dep. Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento

francesca.odella@unitn.it

The experience of living and interacting with new pervasive technologies is often described in terms of subjective accounts and frequently recalls ideas and myths that are attached to a specific domain of knowledge. It is therefore of interest for a sociologist to investigate the accounts that frame the interpretations of the scientists and technologists.

The reactions of the scientific community to the increase of daily technology, in particular, can be synthesized in two approaches. On one side the spread of mobile and controlling technology encourages critics to foresee an Orwellian context, on the other side the availability of such information and the development of scientific tools for processing complex dataset offer an incredible opportunity to scientist and social analysts.

So to what extent are we witnessing the case for extensive and realistic social experiments? The paper investigates the role played by rules of the scientific community and institutional norms in assuring the privacy of individuals while testing in vivo the impact of pervasive technologies.

---

[*] This paper rely on theoretical and empirical research observations on the issue of privacy and the structure of social relations developed as member of the DISCREET research project. For references and a general description of the project see the website of the project http://www.ist-discreet.org/.

Privacy is Not Really a 'Private Matter'

New opportunities of social and economic relationships offered by evolving information and communication technologies (ITCs) have became in the 90's the subject of research projects and studies carried on with the support of international and national agencies. Among the fields of investigation of the social sciences, priority at the European level has been given to the impact of Internet and Web-based services on the population and, in particular, to the creation of the so called e-democracy, giving attention to the problems related to policy making and social participation in the digital sphere.[1]

The diffusion of multimedia and pervasive equipments (wireless devices and tags, graphical and video recognition, location devices and pointers) in daily life, has also questioned issues related with the conception and perception of trust, security and privacy in the institutional and organizational fields and the type of approaches and responses that individuals and groups have towards pervasive – or also defined ubiquitous – technologies (or PTs).Compared to the more established technologies, pervasive ones can strengthen social control and nurture processes of social differentiation (Taube and Joye 2002). The collection, retrieval and exchange of data gathered at the individual level pose legal and ethical problems correlated with issues such as: violation of the personal sphere, stereotyping and social grouping and more generally of balancing institutional control and freedom of the individual. On the other side, potential applications of such technologies to daily living – intelligent buildings and 'smart' houses, city mobility, visual and audible aids to communication, monitoring and reporting of unidentified hazards, E-government – can help normal and impaired people to make a better and safer use of the built environment. Technology may also offer them the opportunity to communicate and express more openly, and to connect more directly with institutions and public service, reducing the impact of space and social boundaries.

The public debate concerning PTs is apparently open on the media and in the specialized fields appeals and proposals express the fears, as well as the hopes, of scientists for an increasing use of communication devices and operating tools that offer the opportunity to monitor detailed information of the user (Lyon and Zureik 1996; Regan 2003) such as such as physical appearance, location and relationships and other devices used to monitor the interaction activity with technology.

When scholars in the social sciences started to pay attention to such issues, they concentrate their studies on the implementation, adoption and use of pervasive technologies by private and public institutions, and on the other side the diffusion and legitimization of 'social surveillance' rhetoric (Lyon 2002; Andrejvich 2005). As in the case of the 'first wave' of ITCs, the results of pioneering investigations and projects confirmed that pervasive technologies can promote new forms of participation to the public sphere (Dearman, Kirstie and Kori 2005), and especially in the sphere of economic and commercial relationships they can foster competition among companies and give customers more opportunities to select and require more affordable and exploitable services and goods. On the other side, the use of PTs can encourage malfeasance and illegal activities from companies and private individuals, as well as introducing discriminatory social control practices in the routines of institutions and governmental agencies (Marx 2003; Milberg, Milberg and Burke, 1996, Majtenyi, 2002).

Independent agencies and watchdogs reports highlight more and more frequently the risks associated with an un-monitored use of PTs (such as grouping and bullying communication

---

1   To cite among the others: the PRIME project (concerning issues of privacy and identity management in the adoption of digital technologies) and the IntelCITIES project concerning the impact of digitalization on citizens' social participation; both these project are financed by the European Community but include also private companies.

among the young, criminal and fraud opportunities, profiling or targeting of specific individuals and ethnic groups) and the lack of rules of conduct concerning their limits (Kostacos and Little 2005). Nevertheless, their calls for balance and restraint in the adoption of pervasive technologies are highly unheard and unattended in the organizational practices of private and public companies (Hetcher 2004). Work settings and economic transactions, in particular, provide several examples of juxtaposition of individual rights and institutional concerns such as in the case of monitoring of performances and feedback of employees and customers. Organizational strategies of data retrieval and collection are also a delicate issue because the regulatory framework is still to develop fully and often lacks of defined operational boundaries and identification of liabilities.

In leisure and socializing contexts technology aids for controlling and targeting the individual are largely implemented and accessible by experts and non-experts (Westin 2003) while the risks associated to such adoption are diminished or discharged with appeals to safeguarding personal freedoms. As a cautionary strategy of approaching such problems, international governmental agencies are thus encouraging scientists to analyse the feasibility of security and privacy protection measures both on the technological and legal-regulatory sides (Cate 2001; OECD 2003)). Authorities and public organizations, in fact, in many cases do not have sound and reliable impact evaluations of new pervasive technologies. So before setting restrictions to private enterprises and corporations (Marx 2001;Stalder 2002) and to the public concerning the use and possession of such technologies we need to know more about their large social impact for the protection of civil and individual rights such as privacy and personal identity (Floridi 2006).

The Analysis of Social Interactions and Privacy Issues in PTs

Analyses of the social and relational changes induced by the adoption of pervasive technologies in public settings and in the social sphere portray the transformations that social behaviour is undergoing in contemporary society in such deep personal spheres such as intimate relations, social cohesion and conflict, and public participation. Inside this vast area of discussion an interesting area of investigation is the analysis of the impact of pervasive technologies on personal life spheres such as intimate and social relations, and generally speaking on the individual and social conception of privacy (Neil 2001).

The development in our society of concepts and practices related to privacy and privacy protection, security and safeguard of individual rights is politically and historically determined and is linked with the concept of a personal identity (Margulis 2003). But, as sociologists have largely showed the conception of a personal sphere where the individual is free to retain information, opinions and preferences and behave in accordance to his/her taste and judgement (or briefly of privacy) is a social product of contemporary society.

Recent psychological contributes seem to converge also on the idea that privacy is not a private matter but, on the contrary, is mostly a public matter (Westin 2003). So, the sense of trust and safety that persons develop towards institutions and the others express psychological traits, but are also strongly correlated to cultural and situational factors. The public space of formal and informal social interactions and the boundaries that the legislation leaves open (or closes) to individual and organizational intrusions are the real setting where privacy is defined and tested (Turrow and Hennessy 2007). As privacy of the individual (and in particular of vulnerable groups) is still depending a lot on the social conditions and institutional provisions that determine the boundaries of what is public or commodificable and what is not (Arvidsson 2004), personal interactions and preferences are universally protected or used according to specific rules of conduct. Individuals, moreover, in constructing and re-constructing their past and current relations establish privacy boundaries concerning details and accounts of personal experiences. They also create new codes of conduct in manipulating information and facts of

other people's private life via technology (as in the case of net-etiquette); and finally recall and account their experiences of users adopting specific cultural frameworks.

The aspects linked with the formation, diffusion and reproduction of rules of conduct concerning PTs in public settings are particularly interesting; the impact that practices and routines have for users in organizations and more specifically the type of social relationship that is established (with or without the previous consent of subjects) by means of such technologies in a defined social setting, is also very significant. Political and scientific spheres, in particular, offer a variety of 'stories' or accounts that give the individual the opportunity to categorize the use of pervasive technologies as free expression or containment of personal rights (Lyon 1994). In particular, the role that authorities have in fostering and preventing more democratic (or vice versa more authoritarian) and anti-discriminatory uses of technologies and individual mobility devices is enormous and can make a difference in daily life of people and in their relational attitudes towards the others (such as acknowledged individuals, minorities and ethnic groups, and foreigners in general).

Reversing Experiments: Social Enquiry and Impact of PTs in Daily Life

As some authors noticed the very core of pervasive technologies lies in separation: separation between private and public space, separation between personal and social identity, and finally separation between self and other (Marx 2001). Pervasive technologies can reduce the terms of such divisions and induce individuals and groups to manipulate personal boundaries (of themselves and of the other people); moreover, the public use of such technologies put stress on those boundaries that have been culturally and institutionally established by means of civil rights struggles and legislation. The issue is so complex and touches deeply the functioning of democratic practices that an homogenous taxonomy of solutions is not even possible; the reasoning and debating about these topic is better addressed by using the idea of dimensionality (Brighenti 2007), where private and public, identity and social appearance, self and other are modular and overlapping concepts.

The dimensionality of answers is also a support to a more clearly defined study setting; the analysis of the impact of pervasive technologies is in fact threatened on one side, by the lack of systematic knowledge, and on the other side, by the overwhelming amount of personal accounts of users, watchdogs and public rhetoric's. Both extremes and the features per se of the technologies have discouraged and complicated the empirical studies, especially in daily life and in ordinary contexts (leisure, work, personal contacts) and only recently articles and reviews suggest academic accounts of individual and social interaction with new pervasive technologies (Markupoulos et al. 2005; Vargas Solar 2005).

Specifically, a literature review of the studies concerning privacy reveals that the level of attention is high for all the aspects concerning the institutional and public impact of surveillance technologies, while few studies and empirical investigations have addressed the social and relational elements of privacy (Margulis 2003a). Several investigations and experiments tend to concentrate on the measurement of the impact of pervasive technologies on individual users, but paid less attention to the emergence and establishment of particular relational attitudes towards technology adoption (privacy awareness) and the release of personal details (privacy trade-off). Specifically, the creation of rules of conduct concerning identity and personal information exchange among group of pairs or communities is still to analyse in social circles showing different levels of IT expertise and different levels of personal involvement in technology framed contexts and situations.

Part of this negligence is due to the methodological limits that constrain researchers' activity and the difficulty to approach from a non-positivistic perspective the impact of technology in social and relational life. Commonly the empirical study of the impact of 'new' technologies is associated to the impact of an intervening event or factor on a priori situation of

deficiency; but in the case of pervasive technologies the setting is different as these devices collide with daily life increasing the pace and the opportunities of individual interactions as well as the chances of being controlled and to control personal relationships. Consequently the introduction of technology in the living environment can be properly associated to the setting of a 'natural experiment' where the researcher, as observer, is afforded the opportunity to study differentiation processes inside social groups (Becker H. 1998).

There are of course drawbacks in adopting this perspective; which account for methodological limitations and critics to the use of natural experiments in social sciences. A natural experiment or quasi- experiment is characterized by a low level of control over the situation by the observer, who can make inferences and re-construct practically the process of causation. Participants to a natural experiment (of course this is a defining label, as we are all participating to the experiment of each other's life), on the contrary, have control over their single decisions concerning the impact factors, but in most of the cases not on the results of the overall process or its unintended consequences (Odella 2003).

Moreover, the study of natural experiments is frequently restricted to qualitative factors; and even if a sociometric evaluation of elements of the social structure, is also possible, this opportunity is seldom considered feasible and methodologically convincing. Finally, in a natural setting the choice of comparable samples and groups is tied to reality; and only a limited array of possibilities is given, also because ethical issues restrict the impact of specific factors (aka. contagion effect). Again, from a orthodox methodological perspective this determines a reduction in explanatory power of natural experiments, and limits its use to non-academic settings and mostly to practitioners.

Seen from another point of view, the adoption of pervasive technologies in daily life is a true natural experiment which, endowed with a proper *'granu salis'* of inductive reasoning (Glymour 2006), offers the chance to monitor social processes of change. This perspective, however, rather than rely on the re-construction of the situation and the selection of the impact factors (a methodological position which emphasizes forward or a priori control of the experimental setting), tries to benefit from the opportunity to analyze the experimental setting, applying a form of 'reverse engineering' to social contexts.

The term 'reverse engineering' (or RE) comes from the mechanical industry (hardware reverse engineering) and in the last decade spread also in the software industry (software reverse engineering) and in the biological and physical sciences. In general terms, RE is a process of discovery of the inner principles (physical, technological and functional) of an object (or a process) by means of the analysis of its components and operation logic. To put into practice it means to take a part an object to see how it works in order to duplicate or to enhance the object (in common sense, an attitude typical of schoolchildren when dismantling toys and testing home devices). By equivalence, a social situation can also be reverse engineered when the main elements of its occurrence are taken apart and described as components of a more complex interaction process. It is important to highlight that this process does not imply any causal explanation and is finalized above all at identifying the aprioristic assumptions and definition assets of the situation. In the following paragraph I will define more in detail such approach, relying on one specific example to analyze changes in social interactions and communication mediated by a special type of pervasive technologies.

On Scrutinizing Privacy: The Use of CCTV in Urban and Private Living Environments

A significant example of reverse engineering in observing privacy concerns of people is the spread of video surveillance or Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) in urban and private settings, to detect and prevent criminal offences. Urban areas, in particular are represented as public spaces where the trade-off between privacy and safety is to question and this general

attitude has increased with the spread of anti-terrorist measures. The reaction of the public to urban use of CCTV is generally reported with positive response rates in surveys; however specific studies testimony that this response rate is biased as the contact rate in such surveys is already prejudiced by a 'pro-surveillance position' of respondents. Only a selection of the public has a 'pro surveillance attitude' and these subjects happen to be also those ones which respond more frequently to surveys, or accept these type of 'indirect surveillance' as a routine in social participation. So people who systematically avoid to get involved in public opinion surveys on CCTV in public spaces would be paradoxically those individuals with the greatest concern about privacy (Gandy 2003).

Inside private spaces the practice of monitoring in itself, also, has spread outside the 'safety and health' settings where it had been initially introduced and now several work and business, communication and leisure settings are largely scrutinized by surveillance systems which collect and process information. Security analysts suggest that in most of the case relying on CCTV for improving protection of private spaces (homes, private accesses) can be counterproductive as may reduce neighbourhood vigilance and the level of attention of residents. The uncontrolled use of surveillance technologies is also risky not only in terms of potential violation of the individual privacy and freedom of act, but in general can determine a systematic deficit of democracy. Local governments and city boards have tried to reduce such a risk introducing rules of conduct for the retrieval and use of video shot in public area but there is still a lack of coordination among authorities and the private use of CCTV is spreading as a type of virtual watchdogs (Norris, McCail and Wood 2004).

Dismantling the debate concerning the use of CCTV we can higlight first that the real core of the dispute lies in the definition of the borders of privacy. Technology offers the opportunity to monitoring, storing and scrutinizing the behaviour of others, taking advantage of the separation in physical space between the observer and the observed – whether voluntary or not. It also underlines the separation between the dimensions of making (by the observed) and the one of watching (the observer) as two separate activities in daily life and juxtaposes them. It is significant to notice that few experiences of CCTV, till now, have been used to monitor the rural setting and natural habitats, where the presence of visitors and suspicious attitudes of people would be easier to detect.

From the point of view of the institutions, there should be no significant interaction between these two spheres and the menace can be both in the subject acting as well in the subject watching, so it is the activity in itself that has to accountable in order to prevent separation or justify it. A great effort by institutions is thus to re-construct accounts of daily life with monitoring technologies using the more familiar separation between expert or non experts. Web cameras of streets, for example, are not anymore forms of surveillance, but aids to a daily activity and displays of ordinary behaviour in the urban setting (Graham and Marvin 2006), for the benefit of the expert digital public and web-tourists. Also, when the video monitoring activity is performed towards specific social groups, such as the elderly, schoolchildren, disabled people inside hospices, privacy concerns are reduced; the legitimization accounts, instead rely on the assumption that pervasive technologies are inclusive (more than the first wave of IT) and thus can perform as protective devices for the benefit of groups culturally and physically separated from society (non-experts).

Recent attempts to introduce forms of surveillance that go further the one of video monitoring, such as sensors and smart technologies, go beyond the visual. Inside the 'intelligent house' (Callaghan, Graham and Chin 2007) the separation between controller and controlled will be further reduced while paradoxically the personal space of privacy and choice in how to manage a private environment would be more reduced by the adoption of automatic housekeeping devices. Again the accounts to describe this daily experiences recall the idea of a

separation between experts and non experts, instead of the one of controller and controlled; even if the core itself of the living space could not be controlled anymore by the user.

Open Questions on the Social Impact of Pervasive Technologies

As in daily living the impact of PTs is increasing we can foresee that a 'new account' is emerging: social and individual behavior can be explained and modified. But this account was at the core of the historical development of the social sciences and its implications generated hundreds of debates. So taking for granted that the diffusion of PTs is going to modify our society and our way of interacting how can we increase our level of awareness for issues such as privacy, freedom of the individual and social control? Can culture and the reflexivity associated to its forms of representation of technology raise the level of awareness among people and reduce the level of separation embedded in the new technologies?

The answer to such questions, in my opinion, has to be optimistic and provocative at the same time. Social and cultural sciences can indeed contribute to raise the awareness about these issues and promote a more democratic debate concerning the use of technology as well as the increasing adoption of 'objective' scientific standards in evaluation of social relationship. But a different contribution can also come from new opportunities to measure with sociological methodologies (observation protocols, questionnaires, interviews and relational data) the reactions of the users/subjects of pervasive technologies and to evaluate the impact of technology adoption inside specific inside specific culturally situated scenarios. One relevant example is the process of creation, use and reproduction of informal or institutionalized rules for managing information collected inside research organizations and education agencies by means of pervasive public devices (Lyon 2002).

The criteria of evaluation which we can foresee for the future are becoming more and more dependant on the acquisition and the processing of multiple sources of information about the individual. These changes will force also the social sciences and researchers to face new forms of social and cultural differentiation is society, as well as new forms of representation and expression of the identity of groups and individuals. Cultural studies, specifically, with the spread of new forms of technology mediated communication will thus have new tasks to address in their studies of society and technology representations.

References

Andrejvich M. "The work of watching one other: lateral surveillance, risk and governance", *Surveillance and Society*, online journal, vol.2, no. 4, 2005.

Arvidsson A. "On the pre-history of the panoptic sort: mobility in market research", *Surveillance and Society*, online journal, vol.1, no. 4, 2004.

Becker, H.S., Tricks of the Trade: How to Think about Your Research While You're Doing It, University of Chicago, 1998.

Brighenti A., "Visibility". In: *Blackwell Encyclopedia of Sociology*, Blackwell, 2007.

Callaghan Vic, Clarke G., Chin J. "Some Socio-technical Aspects of Intelligent Buildings and Pervasive Computing Research", Intelligent Buildings International Journal Earthscan, vol.1, no.1, 2007.

Cate F.H., *Privacy in perspective*, American enterprise institute for public policy research, Washington, D.C., 2001.

Dearman D., Kirstie H., Kori M. I., "Rendezvousing with location aware devices: enhancing social coordination", *Interacting with computers*, vol. 17, 2005.

Floridi L. "Four challenges for a theory of information privacy", *Ethics and Information technology*, vol.8, 2006.

Gandy O., H,. "Public opinion survey and the formation of privacy policy", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, no.2, 2003.

Graham s. and Marvin S., Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities, and the Urban Condition, Routledge, 2006.

Hetcher S. *Social Norms in a Wired World*, Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Kostakos V. and Little L. "The social implications of emerging technologies", *Interacting with computers*, vol. 17, 2005.

Lyon D. Everyday "Surveillance: personal data and social classifications", *Information, communication and society*, vol.5, no.2, 2002.

Lyon D. The Electronic Eye: *The Rise of Surveillance Society*, Polity Press, 1994.

Lyon D., Zureik Et, *Computers, Surveillance, and Privacy*, University of Minnesota Press Minneapolis, MN, 1996.

Majtenyj L. "Ensuring data protection in East-Central Europe", *Social Research*, vol. 69, no.1, 2002.

Margulis S. "Privacy as a social issue and behavioural concept", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, no.2, 2003a.

Margulis S. "On the status and contribution of Westin and Altman's theories of privacy", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, no.2, 2003b.

Markupoulos P., IJsselsteijn W., Huijen C. e De Ruyter B. "Sharing experiences through awareness systems in the home", *Interacting with computers*, vol. 17, 2005.

Marx, G. T. "A tack in the shoe: neutralizing and resisting the new surveillance", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, no.2, 2003.

Marx, G.T. "Murky conceptual waters: the public and the private", *Ethics and Information technology*, vol.3, 2001.

Milberg, J. H., Milberg S. and Burke S. J., "Information Privacy: measuring individual's concerns about Organizational practices", *MIS quarterly*, June, 1996.

Neill, E. Rites of privacy and the privacy trade : on the limits of protection for the self, McGill-Queen's University press, Montreal, 2001.

Norris c., Mc Cail M. and Wood D., "The Growth of CCTV: a global perspective on the international diffusion of video surveillance in publicly accessible space", *Surveillance and Society*, online journal, vol.2, no. 2/3, 2004.

Odella F., "Conseguenze inattese e genesi dei processi economici: il ruolo delle esternalità nell'approccio sociologico", *Sociologia del lavoro*, no. 92 2003.

OECD, Privacy online : OECD guidance on policy and practice, OCDE, 2003.

Regan P. M., "Safe harbours or free frontiers? Privacy and Transborder Data Flow", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, no.2, 2003.

Stalder F. Opinion. "Privacy is not the antidote to surveillance", *Surveillance and Society*, online journal, vol.1, no. 1, 2002.

Taube W. and Joye D. "Determinants of internet use in Switzerland: Structural disparities and new technologies" in Glatzer W. (ed.) *Rich and Poor: disparities, perceptions and concomitants*, Kluwer, 2002.

Turrow J. and Hennessy M. "Internet privacy and institutional trust: insights from a national survey", *New media and Society*, vol. 9, no. 900, 2007.

Vargas Solar G. "lobal, pervasive and ubiquitous information societies: engineering challenges and social impact, NSRC, France, 2005.

Westin A. F., "Social and political dimensions of privacy", *Journal of Social Issues*, vol. 59, no.2, 2003.

The Conception of Breasts in the Intersection of Age and Gender

Therése Persson

National Institute for the Study of Ageing and Later Life (NISAL),
Linköping University
therese.persson@isv.liu.se

Four interviews on the interviewees' notions about their bodies are used as a point of departure for a discussion on one part of the female body – the breast – as an arena where age and gender intersect. How is the relation between age and femininity given meaning in these narratives, and specifically in the interviewees' accounts about their breasts? The breasts play a part in everyday negotiations on femininity and, as I argue, also in the construction and reconstruction of age. Cultural norms and principles concerning gender order and age order work together, and I describe how the interviewees both adhere to and challenge cultural patterns. For example, in their notions about differences in how much of the breasts you can show when you are twenty and when you are fifty years old. The analysis is focused on negotiations about appropriateness and attractiveness. The results indicate that breasts are related to aesthetic, existential, sexual, reproductive and sensual dimensions. The paper demonstrates that different aspects of the breast are being brought to the fore in different phases of a person's life and in different times in history, and how this is conveyed in the embodied biographies of the interviewees.

The Conception of Breasts in the Intersection of Age and Gender

The following text focuses on how the female breast can be a part of the everyday negotiations on womanhood and age. The paper concerns intersecting notions about femininity and age. My aim is to illustrate how breasts are employed in the narratives of four persons. I will address questions such as: How are the breasts used and in what way does this change through life? In what way does the significance of the breasts change with age? How is the relation between age and womanhood given meaning in the narratives, specifically in the accounts about breasts? What is revealed from the way the interviewees handle conceptions and norms about age and femininity in relation to the breasts?

The data consists of interviews with four persons about their body through life. One topic in these interviews has been the breasts. Other subjects have been what they *do* with their own bodies, for example, how the interviewees arrange their appearances, and how this changes during the life course. How is the body used? How do the interviewees make sense of and interpret their bodies, age, ageing and womanhood? And in what ways do their perceptions of this change over the years and during their life course? I call the stories conveyed to me during the interviews *body narratives*. One reason to focus on the body in the interviews is formulated in an excellent way by Lena, one of the four interviewees:

> "/…/ It is intertwined with all kinds of stratum and levels and contexts. In other words, the body is incredibly *important* for the whole personal identity, and a lot of things are expressed in relation to the body in some way, I think." (Lena)

In these body-narratives, the conceptions of the female breast appear as an arena for the intersection of gender and age. By, in this paper, focusing on the parts of the stories that narrates the breast, I will present my first preliminary analysis on the subject. But first I would like to describe shortly from what point of view I approach these body narratives.

Perspective

Both the interviews and the analysis is based on a poststructuralistic perspective. From this theoretical point of view there are no natural, obvious grounds for gender or age, instead it points to the necessity of focusing on how these kinds of orders are created and made. I try to use the argumentation on gender performativity by Judith Butler in my attempts to understand how the breast, as well as the body, age and sex, is given meaning and is made understandable and real. I understand performative as "a dramatic and contingent construction of meaning" (Butler 1999:177). With the concept of performativity I bring into focus things like for example what one does and do not do with the body, or here specifically with the breast, what one puts one, takes off, shows or hide as well as any kind of gestures and acts. Butler´s questioning of the materiality of the body as something prior to the signification of the body is also used in relation to the material (Butler 1993). The physical bodies or breasts of the interviewees are not explored here, since it is how the interviewees use their breasts in everyday life that is highlighted.

> "/…/ acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality." (Butler 1999:173).

By the work of Butler the illusion of a genuine interior gender core is put into question, and the naturalness of the body and sex is discussed. Although only preliminary this is also inspiring for a possibility to put the naturalness and obviousness of age and ageing into

question. John Storey (2003) argues that the way Judith Butler theorises gender identities as performatively constituted by acts, gestures and so on, is possible to translate also to other identities. My ambition is to use a similar theoretical perspective on identities connected to age. Storey writes, using quotes from Butler: "What Judith Butler (1999: 33) argues with regard to gender identities also, I think, applies to identities in general; that is, an "identity is performatively constituted by the very `expressions´ that are said to be its results." (Storey 2003:91). For Storey all identities are "a performance in culture" and not an expression of nature.

This theoretical perspective also influences the way I approach the interviewees. I focus on how gender is performed and not on the interviewees as women or men. Nor the femininity performed with breasts that started growing during puberty, neither the femininity performed with breasts that are detached on a flat and hairy chest, are perceived as expressions of a genuine gender core. Every kind of body is obliged to resort to perform gender.

Depending on discipline and perspective age and ageing can be considered in different ways. Social or cultural age and ageing is socially and culturally constructed (in difference from biological or chronological age and ageing) (Närvänen 2004:67, Krekula, Närvänen and Näsman 2005:83). Social age refers to socially defined life phases and the meaning of these, to age norms about what is considered appropriate or acceptable for a particular age. Social ageing also relates to cultural patterns and schedules for a socially expected life course. "/…/ age norms are not equal to all, in different life phases, but are also genderized." (Närvänen 2004:68). The social norms on how to be and act in different ages vary according to gender. Cultural patterns on how to be and act as women and men vary according to age. Age, like gender, is a ground for relations of power and practice. Segregation and discrimination based on age can involve different ages (Krekula, Närvänen, Näsman 2005:84). Age can be used to create difference and these differences are often hierarchical.

In her book *A history of the breast* (1997) Marilyn Yalom discusses the different signification of the breast. On one hand, the breasts are associated to the transition from girlhood to womanhood and to sexual pleasure and nursing, and on the other hand they are increasingly associated to cancer and death, says Yalom. According to this it is possible to imagine the contradictory understanding of the breast that may be the result when the cancer affects a very young woman like one of the interviewees, Elin. The socially constructed life course is broken in a threatening way when cancer strikes a person who is in the beginning of adulthood.

Yalom also problemize the ownership of the breast. Does it belong to the hungry baby, to the fashion designer, to the artist who shapes it, to the doctor, to the pornographer or to the woman who wears it? Yaloms questions lead the thought further, and I would like to continue interviewing concerning the breast in the different stages of life. For whom does the breast exist? Does this chance over time? How is the significance of the breast changed through life? How does gender performances change over time, with age, and what role may the breasts have in this?

The Breast – A Sign of Femininity

The breast is perhaps the most evident symbol for femininity. If you put a pair of breasts on a body, you make it feminine. Breasts are used in the construction of femininity.

The breast is an aesthetic sign for womanhood possible to put on and take off, accentuate or conceal. Sometimes persons wire cloth or bandage round their chests to hide their breasts as a way to make their bodies masculine.

During the interview with Rebecca we talk about appearance and how she deals with her own appearance. She shows me some photographs of herself where she is having different stiles; with long hair, as a brunette, as a blonde, with short hair and a beard, all dressed up

with a pink suite, with make-up and without make-up. Rebecca tells me about the wigs. The blond wig is the one she uses mostly and she tells me about when she tried it out and bought it. We talk about make-up, which is something she uses quite often. She also tells me about the "boobs" she bought, making a real bargain, from a scrap dealer who had bought up a whole bankrupts stock. She informs me that there are different variants; the kind you fix directly on the skin with adhesive tape, the kind you put into pockets on the brassiere, as well as the latest kind that you fix directly on the skin and you even can use when you are swimming or running. Her breasts are manufactured by a company that specialises on persons who have been operated from cancer.

When Rebecca told me about the breasts, the make-up and hairstyle, what she *does* with her body and how she arrange her appearance, I got the impression that some parts go together and are used at the same time. Rebecca does not use the breasts alone but together with make-up and a wig. Rebecca considers lipstick as a distinct marker for a female body. She says that even if men make themselves up, they rarely use lipstick. Rebecca thinks it looks strange if she uses the wig without the breasts, but considers that there are many women whose breasts do not show very much.

> Therése: Okej, hm. (.) But is it possible that you wear a wig without boobs?
> Rebecca: No.
> Therése: Do they sort of go together?
> Rebecca: They go together. Otherwise it looks strange.
> Therése: Yes.
> Rebecca: But there are actually lots of women who don´t have very much of breast either.
> Therése: Yes, really.
> Rebecca: But they must, kind of accentuate that in some way.
> Therése: Mm.
> Rebecca: Especially if you are almost one and ninety [metre], then there must be some external characteristic to make it (…). To make tits and lipstick work. Lipstick is a bloody good thing.
> Therése: Yes.
> Rebecca: Because guys may kind of have eyeshadow and mascara, with lipstick it is typically female.
> Therése: So tits and lipstick become kind of symbolic?
> Rebecca: Yes.

In the quote above, Rebecca says that she thinks it looks strange wearing a wig without breasts, and she mentions that if you are flat-chested you need to "accentuate that" in some way. I feel curious about what "that" alludes to, which must be accentuated. It may seem as what must be accentuated is not having "very much of breast", but is this really what Rebecca means? It seems natural to interpret "that" as dealing with being a woman and femininity. Is femininity what should be accentuated? Being a woman without "very much of breast", you need to accentuate your femininity in some other way than by way of the breasts. The less bodily signs of femininity, the more one needs to accentuate the gender performance.

What we do and what we do not do with our bodies could be looked upon as performative practices through which we construct and reconstruct femininity. Accordingly the body can be coded as female or male and the sex is materialised in the body. Which aesthetic signs or elements that comes in use is something to explore further. In Rebecca's story the boobs, red painted lips and the long blonde hair is mentioned as reliable signs of an attractive

womanhood. One way to analyse this is femininity as an active performance, as practice and doing, hard work to convince as a woman and to pass as an attractive, normal, authentic woman.

In sign language the word woman is signed by drawing the contour of a breast with the hand outside the body. Lena tells me how she enjoys playing with different signs of womanhood. She describes how she plays with female attributes and codes, especially in interaction with men. Things that Lena uses in that game are for example high-heeled shoes, short skirts, low cut skirts and lipstick. She calls these things sexy, feminine and stupid at the same time. The response from men seems to be a part of the game. There seems to be a difficult balancing of the work of creating a proper and attractive femininity. One important aspect here is that what is considered a successful, attractive and age appropriate femininity is also connected to class and class bounded taste.

The First Brassiere

The female body is expected to change during puberty with for example menstruation and breasts that start to grow. These changes also induces the young female body to be apprehended and looked upon in a new way, something which may lead to various feelings, such as delight, embarrassment, awkwardness, excitement, fear or indifference. During my conversation with Lena she laughs and tells me about how she felt when her breasts were growing:

> "I remember that the first thing that happened was that the nipples grew and I found it so damn embarrassing. Before the breasts sort of grew, the nipples got bigger. And I found it so embarrassing that I took adhesive tape and taped them up! ((Laughter)). Because they kind of showed under the sweater."

The bulge under the sweater becomes comprehensible in relation to the cultural expectations on what is supposed to happen with the female body in different ages. The growing of the breasts is a physical phenomenon but it is also something that people interpret and understand in different ways. The thoughts about the growing of the breasts are often related to notions of age, female ageing and life course. Ideas about what is considered natural or unnatural for that particular age become present here. Lena, even though she felt embarrassed, tells me about how positive it was for her when her breasts grew, and to buy her first brassiere: "But then, then I wanted breasts too and it was a bit fun to have breasts and to buy the first bra and so, though I didn't really have so much to put in it." (Lena).

Lena tells me that it was fun to have breasts and to buy her first brassiere, despite the hard work taping the nipple. A feeling of embarrassment as the same time as wanting to have breasts is another example of the ambiguous attitude towards breasts, expressed in the narratives.

The first brassiere is a theme present in the narratives and I would like to expand on this topic for a while. Maybe one could resemble buying – or acquire - the first brassiere with a kind of modern ritual that has to do with both age and femininity, and perhaps mostly with the relation between both. Here the boundary between being a girl and becoming a woman is brought to the fore. Acquire the first brassiere could be described as a rite of passage, a social transition in which you become something else than you where before. In that sense you can say that you *do*, *make* or *create* age and also womanhood or femininity. If you try this thought in the perspective of Judith Butlers theory of gender, buying and then carrying the brassiere will not be an expression of womanhood or age, but the action itself will be considered an act that constructs age and gender. Wearing a brassiere is in this case a practice that creates age and makes the body feminine. Age and gender-identity then becomes effects of wearing a

brassiere. Is it possible that the brassiere in some cases becomes a more powerful symbol than the breast itself?

Above you can read what Lena says: "/.../ though I didn't really have so much to put in it." To get dressed with a brassiere when there are no visible breasts does not have the purpose of holding or carrying the breasts. That makes the action of wearing a brassiere interesting. This could concern a woman with rather flat breasts, or a teen-ager such as Lena whose breasts still were not fully grown, or Rebecca, who puts the brassiere with fill-ins on her flat chest for another purpose, as a way to make the body feminine. For whom is this femininity created? Questions rise about which signification the brassiere might have, and to whom the carrying of a brassiere is directed.

The time when a female body is expected to begin to wear a brassiere might depend more on age than on some biological need. The wearing of a brassiere could be seen as a practice that initiates a special phase of the body, also the time in history when a person is a teen-ager have an impact on the expectations of wearing or not wearing a brassiere. During one period a woman might be expected to wear a brassiere, while at another time or place wearing a brassiere might represent repression. The variations of what is common or normal, dashing, well, sound or good is acomplicated by the context of time, space and culture.

The social and cultural expectations on if, how, when and why you should buy your first brassiere vary through time and place. I hope to get a clearer insight in *how* this varies with the interviews I accomplish with persons of different ages. The interviewees have different ages, consequently they have been able to relate about their experiences when they were for example 15 or 45 years old, during different times in history. However I do not assume that the situation is the same for everyone who happens to be in the same age at the same time. Katrin, who is 41, relates that the first time she bought a brassiere was in connection with pregnancy and nursing, when the breasts became filled with milk, heavy, aching and leaking.

The Biography of the Breast: Breasts – Life Course

As discussed above some of the persons I have interviewed have told me about breasts that appear or start growing during their first years of puberty. Some of them remember their first brassiere, how their breasts refer to sexual relations, breasts that prepare for nursing, which aches, and leaks, or breasts that hinder you during athletic lessons. They told me about how they tried to hide their breasts, or that they wanted to show them and even enlarge them. But in the stories there are also breasts that just exist, that you do not even notice. It is evident that breasts are a part of the female body that the interviewees shape and use in a numerous ways throughout life. The breasts manifest, or are given, different meanings in different phases of life and in different contexts.

How the female breast is perceived and how it is used vary through different times, contexts, ages and phases of life. The interviewees tell me about norms about how for example young women are welcome to expose their breasts whereas they rather should be covered after a certain age. Concurrently the interviews contain a degree of ambiguousness in relation to these types of recommendations.

In the interviews are also accounts of how the women have been afraid of their own breasts, and how they've been searching for lumps and deviations. The breasts appear as ambiguous parts of the body. They can simultaneously serve as an asset and a threat. These narratives intercommunicate with bigger cultural stories, notions and norms about the female body and breasts. Aesthetic, medical and moral ideals change over time – even so those related to breasts. The breasts shall sometimes be shown topless on the beach and sometimes be hidden in a swimsuit or bikini. At some times it is perceived that it is preferable to be topless while at other times it is appropriate to covering the breast. Sometimes big breasts are considered attractive whereas at other times the ideal is small breast. In certain times and

contexts the breasts shall be used to nurse a baby – preferably as long as possible – in other times and places, breastfeeding is considered bad and wrong. Depending on current ideals the breasts are either preferred to be uncovered and bared, or dressed and concealed. They are pushed up, pressed in or padded with a brassiere, or sometimes let loose without a brassiere.

The biographies of the breast in my material often adhere to a socially expected agenda over life and the phases of life, accordingly they show a normative life course where special content is expected in relation to different ages, to let a person be considered normal and desired. It is important to point out that this pattern is gender-specific, concerning bodies who are called men it looks in one way and concerning bodies who are called women in another, but the pattern is also heteronormative. According to the notion of a good life, a woman and a man are expected to meet and desire each other, have children and create the heterosexual and normative nuclear family. This notion is normative for how we imagine a good and successful life. Sometimes heteronormativity becomes present in the body narratives, even though the interviewees to some extent also play with, and cross over, the normative boundaries in this matter.

Because the interviews have had a certain biographical approach, the persons who have been interviewed have looked back into the past of their body narratives. They have told me about how their view of their own body has changed over time, as well as what they have done when their bodies have changed. Sometimes a photograph has been used as a support during the interviews. When Katrin shows photographs from the 80´s on a beach where she is sunbathing topless, she tells me that she would never sunbathe topless today. The photographs show that in those days she could lay topless in the sun only wearing a pair of very small bikini-trousers, even in front of the camera. Katrin means that doing the same thing today would feel very odd; in the 80´s it was very common, contrary to what it is today. The story of topless-fashion shows that what is regarded as attractive and appropriate varies over time.

Between Life and Death – On the Different Dimensions of the Female Breast

A biography of the breast tells about fears according to the own breast as well as the searching for tumours and anomalies. Searching through the breasts could be considered an everyday activity that intensifies with ageing, and mammography could be looked upon as a part of a normal female ageing. When the tumour appears "too early" the socially and culturally expected female ageing is interrupted and violated.

The existential dimensions of the female breast are observable in the body narratives. Life-giving nursing as well as breast cancer and death are associated to the breast. This part of the female body is able to create desire and represent sexual and sensual pleasures. The breast has a strong connotation to reproduction and childbirth, but also to mammography, cysts, tumours and fear of death. Different phases of life and different ages bring to the fore different dimensions of the breast.

There is a tension between breast as life-giving and breast as life-threatening, which reveal the ambiguity of the breast. The relation between childbirth and breast may be complicated for some women. Elin, who is 29, had a hormone-conditioned breast cancer a few years ago, and for her a pregnancy may imply new risks. She has a vigilant attitude towards her own body and it is uncertain what the disease and the treatments have lead to, which is a reason for her to worry as soon as she feels pain somewhere. Since the tumour Elin feel afraid about her own breasts and body, a feeling that has lead to a sensation of distance and unfamiliarity to her own breasts. She recounts how this also has made her feel less female or "less as a whole woman".

Elin: Earlier I sort of, I have had difficult and eh, I have sort of been afraid of my own body quite a long time. And as soon as I feel pain somewhere I think that "Now there is something there."

Therése: Mm.

Elin: So I have been living with fear and also felt very rigid because of that.

Therése: Mm.

Elin: And there is kind of the same thing with the breasts. That I like, that they sort of seem totally unfamiliar and this also kind of makes me, eh, you kind of feel less like a woman.

In her essay Kvinnobröst och kvinnlighet – om bröstens symboliska betydelse vid bröstcancer (Female breast and femininity – about the breast's symbolic significance with breast cancer), Renita Sörensdotter (2000) discusses the experiences of the body, of women who have been treated from breast cancer, in relation to the discourses on the female body and femininity in the occidental culture. Her study treats the female breast as a strongly symbolically loaded part of the body, surrounded by criteria for femininity. The cancer struck womens apprehension of their body and identity is affected by discourses about symbols of femininity, symbols like for example breasts. The breast is used in the construction of femininity.

Breasts relate to death in a specific way, by way of breast cancer. Death is also part of the ageing and all ages are related to that in different ways. Elin is happy about having kept her breasts, despite the fear that the cancer might develop again. She believes that the loss of a breast should make her feel less female, just like the fear of her own breasts.

The feeling of being less female is not only related to the personal experience of the own body. Elin tells me that it also has to do with how she believes that men perceive women's breasts. Elin is in a phase of life when she enjoys meeting new people, as well as dating. The aesthetic aspect of the breasts is important to Elin. "/…/ this kind of going out and dating should be very difficult for me, if I did-, if I had lost a breast." (Elin). Therefore, she is pleased that she decided to have only a small part of her breast removed, so small that the surgery today is unnoticeable. Earlier on she felt forced to tell the men she had relations with about the operation of breast cancer, however, now she has finished doing that which makes her feel relaxed.

Elin: I met someone a while ago who not even, he hasn´t even questioned it. We keep in touch but we dont date but he didn´t notice anything. It felt really good!

Therése: Yes, to feel that you didn´t have to tell him?

Elin: Yes, to feel *normal*. Like he, because he really didn´t notice *anything*.

Therése: No, exactly.

Elin: Also that helped. So it also contributed to make me more relaxed.

Therése: Okay, that he, they, well that it doesn´t show.

Elin: That´s right.

Therése: But you think, in what way do you think it would have been different if it showed, or if--,?

Elin: But then I think I would have felt less like a woman. Because I know what men kind of think. Or how they think.

In this way, the imagined male observer may influence the way Elin perceive herself. The sexual and sensual dimensions of the breast may be a matter of attraction, desire and pleasure, but also a matter about suffering, anxiety about meeting up with ideals, or perhaps a matter of indifference. In these four interviewees' narratives about the breast, the male

observer of the breast has a distinguished position. The connection to normative conceptions about heterosexual desire and love is present. In the continuing work with the dissertation as well as the interviewing, it will be important to pay attention to how different types of sexuality, desire and fantasies are admitted space.

A person's self-image is influenced by the perceptions of other people. Rebecca, like Elin, mentions the male gaze as important. For her an appreciative gaze from men helps to deal with the more critical and questioning attitude of others.

> Rebecca: Well, it's not very fun when everybody look in a strange way. But sometimes, as in one occasion last summer, I realised that people were looking, I went to work like that, with long hair, short skirt and boobs.
> Therése: Mm.
> Rebecca: And saw people looking, but good heavens ((laughing:)) tall, blond, long legs, big boobs, of course they're looking!
> Therése: ((with laugher:)) Yes, we all look at that. We do actually.
> Rebecca: And, so sometimes you got this positive response, even if I wasn't interested in guys, it was kind of… we were sitting here having a coffee or a smoke, me and a girl who works here during the summers, a very cute girl who is sixteen years old.
> Therése: Yes?
> Rebecca: And she sat a bit away from me, and then some [men] from abroad, south somewhere, walks by and kind of ((shows, sounds)) starts waving at me!
> ((Both laugh))
> Therése: How nice! How do you feel about that?
> Rebecca: Well, that was fun.
> Therése: That's fun, right, that's like really a kind of appreciation or compliment.
> Rebecca: And I thought of something. Earlier I avoided mirrors a lot, but I don't do that anymore.
> Therése: Okay.
> Rebecca: It's kind of the opposite.
> Therése: Okay.
> Rebecca: Now I look in the mirror all the time.
> Therése: What has changed?
> Rebecca: Well it's because I'm more satisfied now with how I look and, well.
> Therése: Mm, um, good for you. That must make you feel good?
> Rebecca: Yes.

At the end of the conversation above, Rebecca moves on to a subject that other narratives also touch upon, that of being more satisfied with your appearance as you grow older. Rebecca is 56 years old. Katrin describes the same thing, and Lena exemplifies this subject by telling how she, earlier in life, could worry about how she looked, the form of the breasts and the buttocks, and that she felt unsure if she looked good enough; however, today, as a woman in her late forties, she does not care about what other people think. Elin, on the other hand, does not feel very satisfied with her body and does unwillingly show her body undressed, or for example in a bathing suit, to other people.

The breast is a symbolical part of the female body. However, in some passages of the interviews, the physical aspects of the breast are highlighted, that is the part of the body which is not always easily controlled. They might be leaking milk, hurt, or slip out from the brassiere in public places. The practical or material dimension is another aspect of the breast.

Katrin relates about how much pain she had when the milk was beginning to be produced after having her children. She recounts about how the breasts grew, leaked and how she had to

pad her brassiere. The usage of a nursing brassiere became a way to keep control. Body fluid in the wrong places can be regarded as a cultural taboo, or at least provoking or unpleasant. The same thing may be valid for breasts in the wrong place or for breasts that can not be controlled. Katrin describes in an entertaining way a situation doing aerobics, when her loosely fitting brassiere (it was actually an old bikini top that had lost its elasticity, which she used because she thought it would be less warm than an ordinary brassiere) went up above the breasts because of the lively aerobic movements, leaving the breasts to bounce unobstructedly. "And you could really see how it bounced in there, luckily I had a big T-shirt. But then I thought that I really must buy that kind of great sport bra, I can´t go on like this." (Katrin)

When the breast is filled with milk it becomes comprehensible as a food reservoir for the usage of a small child, but the shape and the feel of the breast are also changed. The aesthetic dimension is brought to the fore in this part of Katrins narrative, especially concerning the size of the breasts.

> Katrin: Well, it was kind of fascinating, this with the breasts when having babies, that they could get *so damned* big .
> Therése: Mm.
> Katrin: I mean it´s unbelievable. They were like melons!

Katrin, who earlier in life always had rather small breasts, found it nice to suddenly have big breasts. Afterwards, when she ran out of the milk, the breasts became smaller again. Nowadays she sometimes uses insertions in her brassiere to make the breasts look bigger, because she thinks it looks more attractive.

Listening to these stories is a way to move between different contexts, for example the workout gymnasium or the situation of nursing, That provide differing prerequisites for "breast-performance". And attention is paid to the different ways the breast can be used in different situations. In my dissertation I want to continue investigating the breast's different signification in different contexts, and how the different dimensions may be connected.

The Menacingly "Pathetic"

What is revealed in the way people handle conceptions and norms about age and womanhood in relation to the female breast? One interview express that to show part of the breast in a low neckline may seem attractive on a woman in her twenties but pathetic at a woman in her forties. How do we construct this kind of difference? What kinds of breaches are there in this kind of logic?

23 of January 2005. It is time for an interview in the somewhat worn premises of "The Tenant´s Association" (Hyresgästföreningen) in Solberga. Almost opposite to me is Katrin sitting in the rather uncomfortable corner sofa. We are having some coffee and are talking about body, appearance and age. There is a microphone, an according device and an interview guide on the table. Katrin has makeup on and is wearing jeans and a low-cut shirt. I ask questions about if age matters in what one do with the own body and how one arrange ones appearance, as for example when choosing clothes. Katrin tells me, among other things, that she thinks low-cut sweaters look nice at young women, but "pathetic" at forty-year-old women. Katrin herself is 41. (Notes from interview with Katrin)

The situation described above raises many questions. What does Katherine mean when she talks negatively about women in their forties who wears low neckline, when she herself is 41, and furthermore at the moment in question is wearing low neckline. What does this mean? When a woman in her forties, refers to women in their forties wearing plunging neckline as pathetic, and at the same time wear just that, she opens up for an interesting ambiguity.

Katrin's statement points to conceptions of age and sex in our culture. The conceptions are norm giving and imply a kind of social expectations of how women of different ages are and should be. Here it is a question of how a woman in a specific age should dress. This section shows how cultural notions about age and womanhood, as well as the relation between them, are expressed in Katrin´s narrative, but also how the conceptions are formed in her narrative. The section also shows what Katrin actually *do* with these norm giving notions, by means of everyday actions such as her attitude towards norms and expectations of herself, being a 41 year old woman and the way she dresses. "I think it looks pathetic at a forty-year-old woman and it is as if you want to, it is so evident that you want to look a lot younger if you do that [is wearing a low-cut sweater] when you are forty." (Katrin).

The word "pathetic" has an accusing signification and seems loaded and menacing. It is not only Katrin who uses the expression pathetic. In the narratives the word is applied quite often. Sometimes regarding a skirt considered being too short for the age of the person who wears it and sometimes trousers to tight to be grasped as an age appropriate way to dress.

What is regarded as pathetic here? It is seemingly not only the low neckline itself, but rather wanting to look younger than what you are. In this reasoning, the plunging neckline seems to connote youth, or might even be an aesthetic sign that belongs to youth and young female bodies. Wearing a plunging neckline at other ages is not considered age appropriated. This reveals age norms about what is considered acceptable for a certain age. Just like the brassiere, wearing or not wearing a plunging neckline can be a practice that do, or upholds, differences between people of different ages and different sexes. The breast plays a part in the construction of age.

In Conclusion

The interviews bring about an array of dimensions of the relations between femininity and age. Not only is the female breast used to create and uphold femininity, it is also used in the construction and reconstruction of age. How the breast can, may, or should, be used in the construction of a credible, appropriate and attractive femininity follows an age order. An order that, for example, decides how much of the breast that is socially acceptable to reveal in a plunging neckline. On the one hand the interviewees subsides to norms and ideas on age appropriate behaviour and appearance, since choosing not to, puts them at risk for epithets like "pathetic". On the other hand they challenge social and cultural expectations on how to be, look and behave, being a woman of a certain age. In conclusion the paper illustrates the ambiguous work creating a "proper" breast performance.

We live with and against the existing orders of age and gender in our society. How do those orders interplay, and how do we make them present in our daily life? What characterises the relation between gender and age? How is womanhood constructed over time and life and in relation to age? And how is age constructed in relation to femininity? The purpose of the continuation work of my dissertation is to gain knowledge about how conceptions of age and womanhood, as well as the relation between them, are formed and become understandable in the body narratives. An underlying aim is to make something visible, where age and womanhood and what they mean in relation to each other, seemingly is neutral and evident.

References

Butler, Judith. 1999 (1990). Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York & London: Routledge.

Butler, Judith. 1993. Bodies that matter. On the discursive limits of "sex". New York & London: Routledge.

Krekula, Närvänen & Näsman. 2005. Ålder i intersektionell analys. in *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift*. 2005. Nr 2-3. Intersektionalitet.

Närvänen, Anna-Liisa. 2004. Age, Ageing and the Life Course. I: Öberg, Närvänen, Näsman, & Olsson (red.). 2004. Changing Worlds and the Ageing Subject. Dimensions in the Study of Ageing and Later Life. Hampshire: Ashgate.

Storey, John. 2003. Inventing Popular Culture. From Folklore to Globalization. Oxford: Blackwell

Sörensdotter, Renita. 2000. Kvinnobröst och kvinnlighet – om bröstens symboliska betydelse *vid bröstcancer*. Magisteruppsats i socialantropologi. Socialantroplogiska Institutionen. Stockholms Universitet.

Yalom, Marilyn. 1997. *A history of the breast.* Stockholm: Ordfront.

Negotiating Knowledges in 'Dialogic' Knowledge Production and Communication

Louise Phillips

Department of Communication, Business and Information Technologies, Roskilde University

louisep@ruc.dk

In the literature on dialogic, interactive research, "dialogue" tends to be a vague term, a form of 'empty signifier' with a taken-for-granted positive value. There are relatively few attempts to interrogate the concept of dialogue as a social or discursive construction that constitutes knowledge and power in particular fields of practice. The paper takes the first steps towards *a systematic empirical analysis of dialogue as a social/discursive construction,* drawing on existing attempts that have been made. Dialogue is conceptualised in terms of the *negotiation of knowledges*, focusing on processes of interaction both with respect to the forms of knowledge and with respect to the actors and the construction of actor-identities and relations including relations of power. The paper first briefly sketches out the terrain of dialogic research communication practices which the wider research project has as its object of analysis. Then, a case-study is outlined of the communication of knowledges in an interactive, practice-oriented research and development initiative, and the early stages of an analysis of the case are sketched out. By a focus on the specific case of practice-oriented research and development consultancy, the aim is to show how empirically-grounded insight can be produced into the discursive construction of dialogue in the interactive communication of research-based knowledge. The paper has a practice orientation not only in the sense that it analyses practice but also in that the aim is that the completed analysis will contribute to the design of new communication practices.

Negotiating Knowledges in 'Dialogic' Knowledge Production and Communication[1]

In contemporary societies, the legitimacy of science is not taken for granted and, within the terms of the dominant discourse and in line with a growing marketization of university research, scientific knowledge is called upon to prove its utility as a resource for social innovation (eg. Danish Government's Action Plan, 2003). The influential analysis of Gibbons et al (1994) and Nowotny et al (2001) claims that science/society relations have become more interactive or dialogic, with science being urged to produce "socially robust" knowledge in interaction with the rest of society. Certainly, the boundaries between science and the rest of society can be said to be porous and characterised by continual interaction. Since that interaction takes places through mediated and non-mediated communication processes, the ***communication*** of research-based knowledge has necessarily come to play a central role (see eg Catapano 2001)[2]. A key development here is the growth of so-called mode 2 research whereby research problems are formulated in interaction or 'dialogue' between several different actors and their different perspectives (Nowotny 2007). Thus the context for any research endeavour is a product of a process of communication among a set of stakeholders (Nowotny 2007).

Despite the central role of communication in dialogic research practices, the well-established nature of the fields of science communication and the public understanding of science and the large number of reflexive accounts of dialogic knowledge production practices, dialogic approaches to communication can be said to constitute an "emerging research area" rather than an established field (Anderson, Baxter and Cissna 2004). In the emerging research area of dialogic approaches to communication, the analytical focus is not specifically on the content of research-based knowledge forms but on the *processes* of dialogic communication. And in most reflexive accounts of interactive forms of knowledge production, the focus is not *specifically* on communication processes. The research project on which I base this paper foregrounds ***both*** the production of specific knowledge forms ***and*** communication processes. The aim of my project is to contribute to the emerging research area of dialogic communication studies by ***empirical study of the so-called "dialogic"communication of research*** **and** *what it entails in different contexts of practice in the light of issues of power, democracy and social control*. The theoretical framework draws on dialogic approaches to the analysis and practice of communication (Anderson, Baxter and Cissna 2004) – including those accounts that foreground communication in analysing interactive knowledge production (e.g. Kristiansen and Bloch-Poulsen 2004). Dialogic approaches are combined in the framework with a discourse analytical approach which analyses the communication of knowledge as complex processes of meaning production –

---

[1] This paper is an account of "work-in-process", produced while I am in the process of conducting field-work in relation to three case-studies, one of which is outlined in this paper.

[2] Linked to the dialogic turn, there is huge party-political support for the improvement of the quality of research communication, including in the Nordic countries (see eg. Aagaard and Mejlgaard 2003; Ministry of Science, DK, 2004). Thus a number of concrete initiatives for the promotion of research communication have been launched such as legislation in Denmark and Sweden which has made it mandatory for researchers to communicate their research outside the university (Danish University Law, 2003; Swedish constitutional register,1996:1392), the establishment by the Danish Ministry of Science of a think-tank on research communication in 2003 (Ministry of Science, DK, 2004), and the setting-up of the Danish Research Database and internet portals for research communication in Norway (forskning.no) and Sweden (forskning.se). And often advocates of these initiatives argue for a "dialogue-based" approach (see eg Ministry of Science, DK, 2004).

involving the operation of power – taking place in specific institutional and social contexts which enable and constrain that meaning-making (see eg. Jørgensen and Phillips 2002).[3]

In the literature on dialogic, interactive approaches, "dialogue" tends to be a vague term that is not ascribed a precise meaning – a form of empty signifier (Laclau and Mouffe 1985)[4] almost devoid of meaning, signifying something positive often in a chain of equivalence together with signifiers such as "democracy", "co-operation", "collaboration", "co-inquiry", "interaction with participants", and "negotiation". Thus the positive quality of dialogue is taken for granted so that it requires no supporting argumentation.[5] There are relatively few attempts to interrogate the concept of dialogue as a social or discursive construction that constitutes knowledge and power in particular ways that exclude alternatives. My paper takes the first steps towards *a systematic empirical analysis of dialogue as a social/discursive construction,* drawing on those attempts that have been made (see below). In the wider project on which this paper is based, I draw in my empirical analysis on conceptualisations of dialogue in different dialogic approaches to practice-oriented communication theory which themselves draw variously on theorists such as Buber, Gadamer and Bakhtin (see eg. Anderson et al, 2001; Kristiansen and Bloch-Poulsen; see also footnote 4). I conceptualise dialogue in terms of the *negotiation of knowledges*, focusing on processes of interaction both with respect to the forms of knowledge and with respect to the actors and the construction of actor-identities and relations including relations of power. Thus I seek to *develop* the twin concepts of dialogue and negotiation through empirical study in which I *apply* the concepts. My own approach is itself designed to be interactive – I have entered a collaborative agreement with the actors I am studying, I use an approach to observation in which I make explicit to participants that my observations are based on the co-operative agreement, and my aim is also practice-oriented – I hope to produce an analysis that can be used in the design of new social and organisational practices (both those I have entered into agreement with and others).

---

3   In further analysis to be included in a later version of this paper, I will also draw theoretically on science and technology studies (STS) which research the co-production of scientific knowledge and its contexts, including communication efforts designed to contribute to the public understanding of science (eg. Latour 2005, Law 2004). By combining dialogic STS with approaches to communication and the discourse analytical approach to communication, the attempt is to build a bridge that links communication studies, which provide insights into the communication of knowledge, science and technology studies which provide insights into the production of knowledge and interactive research which practises the production of knowledge in ways that integrate the communication of knowledge in the whole research process rather than relegating it to the end. Furthermore, by drawing on research on the production and communication of knowledge in the natural sciences, humanities and social sciences, the aim is that the insights of research on the natural sciences (for example, research on media representations of the natural sciences and technology such as research on the human genome or genetically modified foods) and research on the production and communication of knowledge in the social sciences and humanities (much less researched than the natural sciences and technology) will be able to cross-fertilize one another.

4.   "Dialogue" often appears to be used in the same vague fashion across different contexts with its positive quality being taken for granted across the board. It may be that a discourse of dialogue has achieved a high degree of hegemonic closure with dialogue as its nodal point (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985), ordering the meanings of the other signs such as "negotiation" and thus partially fixing meaning. However, at the same time, there ARE different, and competing, concepts of dialogue in use across different dialogic approaches to communication theory and practice (Anderson et al 2004) and in my project I will draw on some of these different conceptualisations of dialogue in my empirical analysis thus engaging in a form of deconstruction of the empty signifier, "dialogue".

5   See Plesner (2007) for a similar analysis of the empty signifiers, "communication of research" and "the public".

This paper first briefly sketches out the terrain of dialogic research communication practices which the wider research project has as its object of analysis, making clear the theoretical perspective applied in constructing this terrain. Then, one of the case-studies in the project is outlined – namely, a case-study of a research and development consultancy –and the early stages of an analysis of the case are sketched out.[6] By a focus on the specific case of practice-oriented research and development consultancy, the aim is to show how empirically-grounded insight can be produced into the discursive construction of dialogue in the interactive communication of research-based knowledge.

Constructing a Terrain of Dialogic Research Communication Practices

First, what do I understand by "research-based knowledge"? I define it in broad terms, as knowledge that emanates from research in the social sciences, humanities or natural sciences (see Weigold, 2001 for a presentation of similarly "broad" definitions of "science"). The dialogic turn stands in contrast to the traditional understanding of research communication as the one-way transmission of finished results to the public often via the mass media, based on the so-called deficit model that attributed public scepticism towards research to the public's lack of knowledge and viewed the provision of knowledge as a means to (re)gain the public's faith in science and resolve the legitimacy crisis (Irwin and Wynne 1996). Approaches to the communication of research with dialogic ambitions are practised in a wide range of different social domains. They are often constructed as involving some kind of democratically-conceived knowledge-sharing between the researcher and relevant social actors/stakeholders. To take one example, the dialogic communication of research can take the form of the communication of expert, research-based knowledge in dialogue with other knowledge forms in communication campaigns designed to affect change in relation to, for example, smoking, obesity or the treatment of psychiatric patients.

A second type of dialogic research communication occurs in public consultation exercises officially designed to further public involvement in decision-making (eg. UK's Public Consultation on Developments in the Biosciences, 1997-1999, see Irwin, 2001; GM nation? Debate over the commercial growing of GM crops in the UK, 2003, see Irwin 2006; consensus conferences, see Andersen and Jæger, 1999). A third type is where dialogic research communication, in negotiation with other knowledge forms, is integrated into interactive, practice-oriented research in which researchers and social actors/stakeholders co-produce knowledge in order to further change in practices (see eg. Reason and Bradbury 2001, 2006). Interactive, practice-oriented research encompasses a very broad range of different approaches spanning from participatory research based on democratic, and sometimes emancipatory, ideals to research and development consultancy work taking a interactive approach but without articulated democratic ambitions (see eg. Reason and Bradbury 2001, 2006 and Aagaard Nielsen and Svensson, 2006 on types of research associated with interactive research and action research). The research project on which I base this paper contains case-studies of these three types, with the case-study presented in the paper being an instance of the third type.

In interactive, practice-oriented research, the communication of research-based knowledge is conceived not as the transmission of completed research results to a less-informed audience but as an integral part of the production of knowledge in which the

---

6   For an analysis of the case-study on the second example - the communication of research-based knowledge in change-oriented strategic communication - see forthcoming paper with provisional title "Enacting 'dialogue' in interactive health communication".

researcher and other actors participate actively. According to researchers engaged in interactive research, the production of knowledge takes place through "knowledge-sharing", "collaborative co-inquiry", "dialogue" or a "negotiation" of knowledge forms. There are a huge range of different approaches to interactive, practice-oriented research with different understandings of role of theory and the role of the researcher and relations between the researcher and the field, ideals with respect to democracy and emancipation. Within the field of practice-oriented research, there is a tendency to assume convergence and mutuality among the different participants with respect to knowledge interests and thus to neglect differences in, and potential conflicts with respect to, knowledge claims and interests.[7]

Common to many approaches to interactive, practice-oriented research is a *practical* perspective with respect to theory: theory is used to generate analytical descriptions of the world that are then used as the foundation for interventions by researchers designed to affect change in the world whilst taking into account the interests of the involved actors. For instance, as Pearce and Pearce put it (2001:107) in their account of what they call "practical theory", "[P]rinciples and models provide perspicacious descriptions that answer the question 'What's going on here?' and enable prudent action - that is, they answer the question 'what should I do now?'". Practice- or action oriented researchers interact with key actors including the participants in the research project, other practitioners and theorists, and – at least, officially – they attempt to accommodate to the interests of all the stakeholders. Thus practice-oriented research is engaged in practices not only in the sense that it produces an analysis of practices but also in the sense that that analysis is oriented towards furthering change in those or similar practices. Theory, then, is produced in context and hence is context-dependent. Practice-oriented approaches, then, are in line with, if not directly inspired by, or based upon, post-foundationalist and social constructionist understandings of knowledge as the contingent product of relational practices in historically and socially specific contexts.

Different dialogic approaches to practice-oriented communication theory operate with different understandings of dialogue. Pearce and Pearce (2004), for example, distance themselves from a popular approach among consultants in corporate America whereby dialogue is conceived as an entity designating a particular type of communication. When applied in practice, this approach leads to a form of communication with the following three-part speech act: the speaker first affirms the preceding utterance, for instance, by expressing thanks for the input or by paraphrasing it, then makes a bridge such as "that makes me think of" and then says what it is that she is thinking. Throughout, the speaker strives to speak to the "center of the room" and to avoid "interpersonal dynamics" (Pearce and Pearce, 2004: 45; citing Isaacs 1999: 380). In contrast, Pearce and Pearce align themselves with the set of approaches in which dialogue is not a particular *type* of communication but a *quality* of communication such that one can communicate dialogically in any form of communication. Here, the defining feature of dialogic communication is that the speaker maintains her own position whilst permitting others the space to maintain theirs and is "profoundly open" to hearing the positions of others (2004: 45). They dub this move "remaining in the tension[8] between standing one's own ground and being profoundly open to the other" (2004: 45). It is underpinned by the understanding that one's own perspective is partial and local. And for

---

7 See Hee Pedersen and Ravn Olesen (2007) for an analysis that takes its starting-point in a critique of this tendency and examines the implications of such differences and conflicts for knowledge production and the relations between the researcher and the other participants.

8 This echoes the philosophies of dialogue of Buber, Bakhtin, Freire, Bohm and Gadamer in which tensionality is a key feature (Stewart, Zediker and Black 2004).

Pearce and Pearce, listening plays a central role in the creation of dialogue since it is the precondition for hearing the other's position. In this paper, I deal with this idea of "tension" and, more specifically, the tension between different perspectives, through the concept of the negotiation of knowledge forms.

Empirical Study

The case-study sketched out in this paper is one of two case-studies on interactive, practice-oriented research in the wider project. The case is an example of research and development consultancy in which researchers cooperate as researcher-consultants with participants in a field of practice with a view to furthering change in practices. The other case – not described in this paper – emanates from the field of participatory research in which the researchers, in the name of emancipatory ideals, engage participants in a field of practice as co-researchers in the production of knowledge with a view to practice change.

The Research Questions

The research project, in its present, preliminary phase, is geared towards addressing questions such as the following:

- What happens when different forms of knowledge and participant-identities meet in the dialogic communication of social scientific knowledge? More specifically:
- What happens to social scientific knowledge when it is communicated interactively?
- What kinds of interactions occur when social scientific knowledge and other forms of knowledge meet? [How] can some of such interactions be understood as "negotiations of knowledge"?
- What kind of participant-identities are constructed in communication processes with what consequences for the different actors' scope for action?
- What are the implications of different discursive constructions of "dialogue" for communication between, and the room for action of, the different participants?
- And what are the relations between, on the one hand, the ideals behind dialogic knowledge production and communication with respect to dialogue, power and democracy, and, on the other hand, the concrete practices, whereby negotiations take place between the different participants and knowledges?

In this paper, I reduce the level of abstraction slightly to address three questions through empirical analysis of my case:

- What kinds of knowledges are communicated in the case in question?
- [How] can this communication be understood as a "negotiation of knowledges"?
- And what specific discursive construction(s) of "dialogue" is/are articulated in the interactive communication of knowledge in the case under study and with what implications for the actors' scope for action?

In the project, then, I analyse different discursive constructions of "dialogue", concentrating on the negotiation between different knowledge forms in different types of research communication which are constructed within their own fields of practice as being in some way interactive. In order to scrutinize dialogical ambitions in research communication in the light of questions of power and control, I address the relations between the ideals of dialogic knowledge production and communication with respect to dialogue, power and democracy, on the one hand, and, on the other hand the concrete practices in which negotiations take

place between the different participants and the different forms of knowledge under social, political and organisational conditions that constrain what can be said and done. A key theme is how dialogic discourses work to constitute knowledge and power relations in particular ways that mask, marginalise or totally exclude other ways of knowing and doing by, for instance, connoting a dominance-free site for conversation among equals.

Here I align myself with existing critical analyses of the concept of dialogue and related concepts, such as Kvale's critical analysis of the dangers of dialogic conceptions of interviewing (2006), Boor Tonn's interrogation of "dialogue" and "conversation" as spaces for the discourse of therapy (2005), Kristiansen and Bloch-Poulsen's examination of dialogue as a new form of power (2004) and Weems's deconstruction of "reciprocity" (2006). Kvale challenges the understanding of research as "warm, caring and empowering dialogues" (2006: 480), examining how the concept of dialogue itself works to mask the power asymmetries in interview relations through the denial of power differences and the assertion of mutuality and egalitarianism. And, similarly, Boor Tonn argues that the "privileging of the self, personal experiences and individual perspectives of reality" inherent in the dialogic model individualizes social problems. In a reflexive analysis of their own activities as practitioners of dialogic action research, Kristiansen and Bloch-Poulsen focus on how dialogues enacted in organisations by dialogic action researchers can operate as technologies of power that are "not only transformational" but also work to privilege the position of the researcher and restrict the scope of action of the practitioners engaged as co-researchers (Kristiansen and Bloch-Poulsen 2004: 386). And Weems interrogates "reciprocity" as a concept that is designed as a "liberatory corrective" (2006: 995) to hegemonic, positivist practices of social science but which ends up in the service of those practices through being materialized in texts that reinscribe positivist assumptions and thus reproduce the hegemonic discourses.

Through systematic empirical study of researchers' published texts, Weems demonstrates how researchers' representations of reciprocity may work to maintain hierarchical power relations between the researcher and the researched as contemporary representations of reciprocity operate within a discourse of market logic that conflates efficacy, equity and truth with identification. And on the basis of this study, she questions whether, given its discursive functioning, "reciprocity" is possible or desirable in all contexts. Through empirical study of a series of cases of dialogic communication in different contexts, I attempt a parallel empirical analysis of the discursive construction of "dialogue", without assuming that dialogue necessarily has negative or positive consequences. What different understandings - or discursive constructions - of "dialogue" and the "dialogic" prevail in the different contexts? And what are the consequences of the different discourses for power relations between - and the different scopes of action of - participants in the different practices?

My research design is itself interactive with respect to the two case-studies. I have entered into an agreement with the organisers in both cases that I will give feedback on the basis of my analysis and that I will formulate this feedback so that the implications for practice will be made clear and I will engage in discussion with them about how the implications for practice could form the basis for suggestions or recommendations for change in practice. In addition, I use an approach to observation whereby I take part in frequent discussions with the organisers about what I am observing. With respect to the case sketched out below, I have presented analytical points to the organisers and noted and discussed their comments to my points. Moreover, in the initial analysis presented below, I have taken into account the comments of the organisers to the points I made in discussion with them.

The Case

The research and development project which is the object of the case-study analysed in this paper is not based on explicitly formulated democratic ideals but does operate on the basis of

the view that changes to practices can be made through the researchers' collaboration with the actors in the relevant field. It has the main attributes of mode 2 research including a practice-oriented approach to theory, taking the form of a research and development project with the aim of not just providing an analytical description of practices but of developing or transforming those practices in interaction with relevant social actors. And the formulation of the problem and the design of the project are the product of an agreement between the researchers and the organisation who has commissioned the project.

The project is run by two researchers, Niels and Anna,[9] at a research institute attached to a Danish university and consists of several main features. First, the development part took the form of a series of workshops tailored to members of management in a public organisation on how to run meetings that create more value for external stakeholders and more personal meaning for participants. In the following, I refer to Niels and Anna as researcher-consultants. The idea of meaning and value derive from theoretical concepts developed in earlier research by the two researcher-consultants. The current project and previous research belong to an overarching research initiative on the facilitation of knowledge processes. Second, the course as a whole is understood by the researcher-consultants as practice-oriented, transformative research that draws on theory and the researchers' practical experience with previous projects and research findings produced in their previous research and development projects. It is inspired by design-based intervention research whereby research-based analysis is used to devise and apply a plan – or design – for an intervention and its evaluation (Rothman and Thomas, 1994); the design, then, works on the basis of a vision about how practices could and should be different. This is contrasted to research which, on the basis of a formulation of a problem, produces a critical report on existing conditions, ending up perhaps in a few more or less vaguely formulated pointers as to interventions that could ameliorate those conditions.

Third, the feature which the researcher-consultants view as a primary characteristic that qualifies their project as research-based rather than the work of consultants is the pre-post measurement of meeting practices in the organisation. The aim of such analysis is to carry out a scientific evaluation of the effects of the project; the analysis, then, explores whether and to what extent an improvement in practices has taken place. Much consultant work, it is asserted, lacks this scientific evaluation of the effects of their intervention. The researcher-consultants also view the project as research and themselves as researchers by virtue of their building on previous analyses of similar projects. Another feature of the project is the use of a research method which is popular in mode 2 and action research projects: that of appreciative inquiry which, on the basis of a visionary perspective on change and principles deriving from positive psychology, focuses on positive aspects of organisational practices with a view to developing them further rather than on problematizing weaknesses (see eg Cooperrider, Sorensen, Whitney and Yaeger 2000). Since all of these features are defining characteristics of the project that construct it discursively as one particular type of project, they obviously shape the relations and forms of knowledge that are realised in the project. More specifically, the contract which the researcher-consultants have entered into with the actors in the field works to frame the project and thus has central implications for relations and knowledge forms. For instance, the course of workshops was commissioned by management in the public organisation on the initiative of management not the participants, and although participants were not forced to attend the course, they were encouraged to attend by management. According to the researchers, the commissioning of the project by management meant that the drop-out rate of participants from the first to the second workshop relatively high (5 people

---

9   I have anonymised the researchers by using fictive names and by not identifying the research institute.

attended workshop 1b as opposed to 9 in workshop 1a; 28 attended workshop 2b in contrast to 40 in workshop 2a), as compared with courses where participants themselves take the initiative to attend, either applying for funding from their workplace or paying for it themselves; the researchers make the point that this is a pattern that repeats itself.

The development part of the research and development project took the form of an orientation meeting followed by a series of 3 workshops. The first two workshops were held in April and May 2007 and were duplicated. In the following analysis, I refer to them as workshop 1a and 1b (the first workshop, duplicated) and 2a and 2b (the second workshop, duplicated). The topic of the first workshop (1a and 1b) was how to facilitate meetings that create value while the topic of the second (2a and 2b) was to facilitate meetings that get people involved. The focus of the first workshop was on how to regulate both process and form, while the focus of the second was on how to facilitate meetings that engage and involve the participants. In both cases, the researcher-consultants ran the workshop on the basis of a script that gave a systematic outline of the programme and was detailed with respect to the timing of the different activities. The workshops consisted of a combination of presentations by the researcher-consultants and group exercises which the participants took part in on the basis of instructions by Niels and Anna.

As noted above, I use observation as a main method of data production, creating observational data through field-notes. I combine observation with audio-recording of the workshops, a semi-structured interview with one of the researcher-consultants, informal conversations with the researcher-consultants and analysis of documents produced by the researcher-consultants such as workshop scripts and powerpoint presentations given by the researcher-consultants at the workshops. My observations were underpinned by a theoretical focus on the negotiation of knowledge forms and dialogic relations using the concepts of knowledge negotiation and dialogue. I arrived at this theoretical focus through my reading of literature on dialogic, interactive approaches to knowledge production and communication and my initial discussions with the researcher-consultants. My approach to observation is informed by an ethnomethodological approach to ethnography, such that I am interested in how the phenomena of knowledge negotiation and dialogue are constituted through the active accomplishment of the participants (Silverman 2001). The theoretically informed questions that guided my observations were as follows:

1) What knowledge is constructed discursively?
   How do Niels and Anna construct knowledge claims?
   What kind of knowledge is constructed?
   Is the knowledge presented as being based on experience? If so how? With what degree of certainty? (modality)? What stories are told?
   Is the knowledge presented as being based on research? If so how? With what degree of certainty? What stories do they tell?
   What discourse(s) are articulated?

2) How is knowledge negotiated in dialogue between Niels and Anna and participants?
   When and how do Niels and Anna open up for questions and comments?
   What question does the participant ask or what comments does she/he make?
   Is the question or comment in line with what N/A have said or does it challenge it in some way and if so how?
   How do N and A respond to questions and comments?
   Is the response in line with what the participant has said or does it challenge it in some way and if so how?
   How do N and A interact with one another**?**

First Analytical Steps

The analysis is in its initial stages. In the following, I sketch out some of the themes that I have identified through this initial analysis:

1. Tension between teacher-control and participant activity and agency. And what happens when participants carry out the exercises "wrongly"?
2. The anchoring of the workshops in research. What kind of knowledge is constructed?
3. The negotiation of knowledge. How do Niels and Anna put their knowledge(s) into play with the knowledge(s) of the participants?
4. Time control/time management: How does the tight control of time/tight time-management frame the communication and negotiation of knowledge?

The analysis is based on an approach to discourse analysis that combines elements of Laclau and Mouffe's discourse theory (Laclau and Mouffe 1985), critical discourse analysis (eg Fairclough 1992, 1995) and discursive psychology (eg Potter, 1996, Wetherell and Potter, 1992). The approach unites an interest in how particular discourses construct particular objects and subjects and an interest in how discourses are used as flexible resources in creating and negotiating representations of the world and identities in talk-in-interaction. The focus is on the discursive construction of "knowledge" and the construction of subjects through subject positions. In the following, first analytical steps, though, I have not systematically applied the approach.

Tension between teacher-control and participant activity and agency. And what happens when participants carry out the exercises "wrongly"?

One thread which I am exploring is the tension in relation to teacher-control and participants' agency/activity. The tension can be best identified in those situations where, from the perspective of the observer, things appear to go wrong. The organisers want to control and manage what happens but, at the same time, they want the participants to play an active role through "learning by doing". Thus there is a combination of, on the one hand, teacher-presentations where they put forward their knowledge and, on the other hand, group exercises where the participants work actively in a way that is directed towards their acquisition of some knowledge or some techniques for practice that are based on knowledge that emanates from the presentations. Following each presentation by Niels or Anna, the participants take part in a group exercise in which they themselves apply techniques for facilitating meetings. The participants are supposed to carry out the group exercises in such a way that they adopt the knowledge or techniques for practice. After each group exercise, there is a plenum session in which the participants mention something they learned from the exercise such as a facilitation technique, or, as in the case of role play exercises, the participants that had observed the role-play give feedback to the ones who had taken part. In all plenum sessions, both Niels and Anna and the other participants give affirmative, supportive responses using terms such as "super" and "they were good at….". Niels and Anna also sometimes reformulate what a participant has said, as in the following example from workshop 2b:

> In plenum discussion of what participants had learned from the group exercise:
> Morten: You have to watch out that you don't limit yourself.
> Niels: Super. Not just involvement but adjustment.
> [Morten: Man skal passe på man ikke begrænser sig
> Niels: Super. Ikke bare involvering men kvalificering]

But what happens when the participants do not carry out the exercises in such a way that they learn a technique? And who is the judge of this? Anna and Niels made a judgement of this as part of their assessment of whether the workshop was a success: in one case (the last group exercise on day 2), they noted that the participant playing the role of meeting leader did not do what he should and that the exercise was therefore not a success with respect to giving suggestions for techniques that participants could apply in their future meeting practices. This demonstrates that they have a clear idea of what the exercise ought to achieve in terms of techniques for future practice. Knowledge, then, takes the form of know-how about appropriate techniques for practice. Niels and Anna are aware when things do not go as they ought to. This illustrates the difficult balancing-act that occurs with the use of practical exercises in which participants act freely within the framework of the exercise in order to produce a particular form of knowledge about techniques for practice. What is at stake is a tension between teacher-control, on the one hand, and room for the participants' own activity, on the other; between the aim of producing specific knowledge and of wanting participants to produce that knowledge themselves through learning-by-doing in the exercises.

The use of appreciative pedagogical methods whereby only positive comments are given of participants' performance also creates problems when the participants act in a way that the organisers consider to be wrong. The use of the methods of appreciative inquiry contributes to supporting practices which may not be in line with the aims of the organisers with respect to the knowledge they wish the participants to acquire. For example, Anna says "thank you very much for putting on a good show" ("tusind tak for fin teaterforestilling") which is a positive response although she does not think that the meeting-leader did it well (she told me this in the break following the exercise) and she then opens up for additional affirmative comments. Appreciative or affirmative pedagogical methods were also used to endorse the "wrong" application of a concept presented earlier by Niels or Anna that is, an application of a concept which may not have been in line with Niels' or Anna's understanding of the concept. An example of this took place when someone made the following comment to the meeting-leader's performance and Anna gave the following response:

> Participant: Was that not on one of the slides?
> Anna: Do you mean bridge-building? Yes, you could say that (Translation)
> [Participant: Var det ikke det der står på en planche?
> Anna: "Brobygning mener du? Ja, det kunne man sige" (Danish)]

Anna's judgement at the time (according to what she said to me at the end of the day) was that the meeting-leader had not done a good job in the role-play and therefore it is very possible that the meeting-leader did not perform a "bridge-building" which is a concept that describes a positive technique for facilitating meetings. But nevertheless Anna gives the appreciative response "yes, you could say that" and thus endorses this application of one of her concepts, indicating that the commentator has picked up knowledge imparted in the presentation prior to the group exercise.

The use of appreciative methods, then, appears to preclude the direct challenging of participants' knowledge-claims. Working within the terms of the discourse of appreciation, the researcher-consultant has to present any challenges in an oblique, indirect way and this has implications for the reception of those challenges by participants, as in the next example from workshop 2b. Here all the participants have come together again after the final group exercise and have been asked by Niels to describe a technique they have learned at the workshop that they will take back to their workplace and to say how they will go about trying to apply it in practice in their workplace. One participant, Jan, volunteers and proceeds to give a summary of the discussions in his group. This is followed by a comment by Niels, further

statements by the others and responses by Niels and ultimately a closing statement from Niels:

> Niels: Good, thank you (P). And if I may say to you others. Tell us what's on your own mind. You don't have to give us a fine summary from your group as Jan has done.
> Marianne: This is also a summary of what we have discussed in the group. Of what we have learned today. We were very much in agreement. We will prepare better. Design the meeting, spar with colleagues. Get input from others. We agreed on the techniques
> Niels: Like how one should tackle the situation, you're thinking. Thank you. One more thing from someone else, please?
> Participant: Be precise about why we are meeting, a round, deliberation. And the framework.
> Niels: Super. That's a lot of things there. Why are we meeting, three techniques, and the framework too, Super. That's fine. That's good. We don't need to hear from all of you, all of the groups. Eh. Let's say that's fine now. We've heard some of things you're going to take away with you, what you are going to use. That rounds the day off for today [Niels then concludes the workshop by giving practical information about the next two workshops]

> [Niels: Godt tak (P) Og hvis jeg må sige til jer andre. Fortæl os hvad I har på jeres eget hjerte. I behøver ikke give et udmærket referat fra gruppen som Jan har gjort.
> Marianne: Det er også en opsamling af hvad vi har diskuteret i gruppen. Om hvad vi har lært i dag. Vi var meget enige. Vi skal forberede os bedre; designe mødet, sparre med kollegaer; få input fra andre. Vi var enige i teknikkerne.
> Niels: som hvordan man skal takle en situation, du tænker. Tak En enkel ting fra I andre ja.
> Deltager: Præciser hvorfor vi er på møde, runden, summen. Og så rammen
> Niels: Super. Der er rigtig mange ting der. Altså hvorfor man er på møde, tre teknikker og så rammen også. Super
> Niels: Det er fint. Det er godt. Vi behøver ikke at høre mere fra jer alle sammen, alle grupper. Eh Lad os sige at det er godt. Vi har hørt hvad I vil tage med jer, hvad I vil bruge. Em Det runder dagen af for i dag]

In the above, Niels first gives an appreciative, affirmative comment – "Good, thank you" – before putting forward the suggestion that the others could do it in a different way from Jan. There is no direct criticism of Jan's contribution, and indeed the contribution is given the favourable epithet "good". At the same time, the expression "tell us what you have on your mind" could be taken to imply that Jan had not told them what was on his own mind and that he ought to have done so. The mildness of the implied criticism, though, is supported by the verb "you don't have to"; a stronger criticism would have contained, for example, the modal verbs of obligation you "ought to" or you "should" rather than "you don't need to". The appreciative method, then, can be said to be articulated as a genre (rather than a 'discourse') that defines the activity regulated by Niels as one in which confirmations of participants' qualities are stressed, direct criticisms excluded and indirect ones implicit and mild. Thus contributions which conflict with the aims of the course exercises as defined by Niels go largely unchallenged. The result is that further conflicting contributions may be made, as in the above case whereby the next two contributions also present summaries of the group discussions instead of individual contributions based on what they have "on their mind". Niels' strategy is to continue within the genre of appreciation with the supportive remarks "that's fine, that's good" but to close the discussion, "we don't need to hear more from the

other groups". The only way of stopping the breach with his desired way of doing things without breaking with the appreciative genre is to exercise his authority as workshop teacher and bring the session to the end.

A key question, then, with respect to the implications for the communication of research-based knowledge is how to cope best with the tension between course organiser-control and the dialogic moments where participants have the freedom to act within the delimitations of the group exercise. Following the session in which participants presented summaries of group discussions rather than saying what "they had on their minds", Niels expressed frustration to me, stating that such summaries were a waste of time and that was why he ended the session; within the terms of the genre of appreciation, he was not able to launch a direct challenge. Thus participants may not have learned that their contributions were inappropriate and thus may not have learned how to give appropriate contributions. This is a problem within the terms of the project, as the aim of the project is to further learning by participants with respect to practices. Thus the appreciative approach may here work to impede learning although in general it is an approach that works to further learning through affirming, and thus encouraging, people's own understandings .

Niels and Anna discussed the incident where the meeting-leader did not perform in a way that indicated appropriate techniques for practice and considered whether to change the exercise so that one of them became the meeting leader; in this way, they would be able to guarantee that the exercise was carried out in line with their principles for practice. But were they to do this, the balance would shift away from participant agency and towards teacher-control, compromising the principle of "learning by doing".

While the genre of appreciation restricts possibilities for the regulation of participants, a degree of teacher-control was still exercised through the application of a number of social technologies. A key technology was the regulation of time, whereby strict time-keeping contributed to the creation of a framework for dialogue that was tightly regulated by the researchers-consultants. It was partly through the regulation of time that Niels and Anna exercised and asserted their authority and positioned themselves as teachers/trainers in control of a learning situation. Thus they stated clearly to participants how long they had for each group exercise in which the participants engaged actively, and any attempts to deviate from the timetable were cracked down upon, as in the following example:

> Arne: We start again in 7 minutes
> Anna: No, 4 minutes
> Arne: Ok.
> Arne: Vi starter igen om 7 minutter.
> Anna: Nej, 4 minutter.
> Arne: Ok

The strict time-keeping by Niels and Anna was a constitutive dimension of the workshop as a teaching form that is culturally recognised and institutionally established – a teaching form that combines teacher-presentations and group work by participants. As a teaching form, it is expected that the participants acquire some form of knowledge not purely through teacher-presentations but through their own active participation in which they draw on their existing knowledge qua their experiences of practice. But there is no explicit acknowledgement by Niels or Anna that participants are not just the recipients of knowledge-claims put forward in Niels' and Anna's presentations but are also harnessing their own existing knowledge both in responses to the presentations and, even more so, in the group work. The workshop is structured so that such an interaction takes place but it is not acknowledged explicitly. This may reinforce Niels' and Anna's authority as teachers in charge of the training context. Now I

turn to the issue of what forms of knowledge are communicated and how knowledge-claims are supported.

Niels and Anna present their background and the course itself as based on research. They introduce themselves in the following way:

We come from XX which is a research institution which deals with research that is directed towards development/change in different organisations and social contexts. This is a research project with a development dimension (Translation)

[Vi kommer fra XX som er en forskningsinstitution som beskæftiger sig med forskning der retter sig mod udvikling/forandring i forskellige organisationer og sociale kontekster; det her er et forskningsprojekt med en udviklingsdimension (Danish)].

However, throughout the course, neither Niels nor Anna refers to the status of the course as research nor to the research-based nature of the knowledge they present. Several times, Anna presents their knowledge as experience-based, stating for example, "what we have experienced other places is…" ["det vi har oplevet andre steder er…"] (workshop 1b) or "what we have learned elsewhere is..." (workshop 1b) "[det vi oplever flere steder er].",",we could see from our earlier experience" ("vi kunne se fra vores tidligere erfaring") or "on the basis of our experience" ("ud fra vores erfaring med andre kursusforløb"). Anna always refers to what "we" experience or "our" experience rather than her own personal experience. It is interesting in relation to the social function and status of research that neither Anna nor Niels supported their knowledge-claims during the course by reference to the roots of the knowledge-claims in research. What is primary is the relevance of the knowledge for practice, hence Anna's repeated references to the experience-based character of her knowledge-claims: she knows what she is talking about because she has experienced it before; the use of "we" rather than "I" indicates that this is not "just" a subjective experience but a product of her work with Niels. This assumption that an anchoring in experience has more authority than an anchoring in research echoes, of course, the understanding of other practice-oriented researcher-consultants. Pearce and Pearce (2001), for instance, point out that "the participants in the projects don't care about their theoretical grounding. They are more interested in the feasibility and cost, the potential to achieve demonstrable outcomes and [our] credentials as practitioners" (2001: 106).[10]

The question is whether Niels and Anna ought to stress more the roots of their claims in research. What would be the point of that? One reason would be to give their points more authority. But generally it seemed as if their knowledge-claims were accepted as legitimate by the participants. There were a few cases, though, in which the legitimacy of their claims were challenged. For example, when Niels stated in his introductory talk at Workshop 1a that meetings often lack energy and participants are often tired and lacklustre, a participant broke into the talk with the following comment: "the participants in my meetings do not arrive tired"("deltagerne på mine møder møder jo ikke trætte op"). And another participant (also broke into the talk with the critical comment that there was nothing new in what Niels was saying ("there's nothing new in this"/"der er ikke noget nyt i det her"):

> Arne: For me there isn't so much new
> Niels: Well, super
> Arne: I hope something will come up that I can use.

---

10 Obviously, the converse arises with respect to the classical response of traditional academia: often here claims to theory on the part of practical theorists are met with scepticism by traditionalists and practice-oriented research treated with derision as ungrounded in theory (see eg Pearce and Pearce 2001)

Niels: I'm sure there will.[11]
[Danish: Arne: For mig er der ikke så meget nyt.
Niels: Super godt.
Arne: Jeg håber at der kommer noget jeg kan bruge.
Niels: Det er jeg sikker på at der gør] [Workshop 1a]

Another challenge took place in the form of a questioning of the depiction of current conditions which Niels was in the process of giving in a 30 minute presentation in workshop 2b:

Marie: You paint a picture […] that one should humour to employees. They just have to do their job. They do get 30,000 kroner a month. You draw a picture I can get tired of. [+ something partly inaudible about metal fatigue]
Niels: I hear and understand your metal fatigue thoughts.
Comment from other participant: It isn't necessarily humouring.
[Marie: Du tegner et billede af […] at man skal lefle for medarbejderne. De skal bare gøre deres job. De får jo 30,000 kroner om måned. Du laver et billede jeg kan være træt af. [+noget om metaltræthed]
Niels: Jeg hører og forstår dine metaltanker

All these instances can be analysed as struggles or as negotiations between different knowledge-claims or constructions of relevant knowledge.

Although Niels and Anna never use the term "dialogue", the course can be said to contain dialogic features in that the participants are able and encouraged to act freely in the group exercises within the boundaries set by the stated purpose of the exercise and the instructions given by Niels or Anna. Thus we can talk about some kind of negotiation of knowledge in the sense that input from Niels and Anna's presentations are designed to shape the exercises but the participants need not reproduce the knowledge communicated in the presentations but can draw on other knowledge resources than those of the presentations. And what is communicated from the presentations obviously is a function of the participants' interpretations. The participants' role-playing in the exercises can then be seen as a product of their interpretation of the knowledge-claims put forward in the presentations combined with their understandings of own experiences with meetings in their everyday work practices. Another aspect of the course which is organised dialogically is the comments which participants also make following each role-playing session. In their comments, the participants name a range of techniques which can be used to improve their meeting-management; indeed the list of techniques which is produced is created by the participants in their comments and not by Niels and Anna. Niels and Anna's input takes the form of re-formulations of some of the comments where they re-phrase a comment in words which they present as a fitting description of a technique.

To Sum Up

This paper represents work-in-process that sketches out ongoing research into how "dialogue" and "the negotiation of knowledges" are enacted through the discursive practices of different participants in processes of knowledge production and communication in a practice-oriented research and development consultancy. The overall research project aims,

---

11   All citations have been translated by the author from the Danish.

through a series of case-studies, to produce empirically-grounded insights into different constructions of dialogue in different contexts. The paper does not present a finished set of analyses but rather initial analytical steps towards analysis containing a number of analytical threads that point to the complexity of knowledge production and communication when conceived as interactive by researchers/participants.

One aspect underpinning the complexity is the tension between control/regulation by the researcher-consultant, on the one hand, and participant agency/freedom of action, on the other. I am in the process of exploring this tension by focusing on moments of "crisis" where participants, in some way, challenge or contest the knowledge claims of researchers.

One question of interest is whether a challenge can be fruitfully understood as a question of degree such that more moderate challenges can be understood as "negotiations". With respect to this, an attempt will be made to produce a more nuanced, more empirically sensitive, analysis of "negotiation" than that produced in audience research, where, in the tradition of encoding/decoding theory, a negotiated reading is defined as the partial acceptance of the encoded discourse while an oppositional or resistant reading is viewed as the total rejection of the encoded discourse (see eg Hall, 1980; Morley, 1980). Discourse analysis, including the concept of hybrid discourse arising through hegemonic struggles, and also the notions of tension and tensionality developed by Pearce and Pearce 2004 and key philosophers of dialogue (see Stewart Zediker and Black 2004), can be enlisted here. Another question to be pursued is how power works through the operation of social technologies in the tension between researcher control/regulation and participant agency/freedom of action and the role of "dialogic" moments in relation to that tension. And finally, there will be further exploration of the nature of different knowledge forms and the relational production and contestation of knowledge(s) through the interplay or "negotiation" between different knowledge forms.

References

Andersen, Ida Elisabeth and Jaeger, B. (1999) "Scenario Workshops and Consensus Conferences: Towards more Democratic Decision-Making", *Science and Public Policy* 26(5).

Anderson, Rob, Baxter, Leslie and Cissna, Kenneth (2004) (eds), *Dialogue: Theorizing Difference in Communication Studies*. London: Sage.

Boor Tonn, Mari (2005). "Taking Conversation, Dialogue and Therapy Public", *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*. 8(3): 405-430.

Catapano, P. (2001). "Report: Trends in Science Communication Today- Bridging the Gap between Theory and Practice", *Science Communication,* 22(4): 438-441.

Cooperrider, D., Sorensen, P., Whitney D. and Yaeger, T. (2000) (eds). *Appreciative Inquiry: Rethinking human organization towards a positive theory of change*. Champaign, IL: Stipes Publishing LCC.

Fairclough, N. (1992) *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Fairclough, N. (1995) *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold.

Gibbons, Michael, Limoges, Camille, Nowotny, Helga, Schwartzman, Simon, Scott, Peter & Trow, Martin (1994). *The New Production of Knowledge: The Dynamics of Science and Research in Contemporary Societies*. London: Sage.

Guston, David (1999). 'Evaluating the first US Consensus Conference: the impact of the citizen's panel on telecommunications and the future of democracy', *Science, Technology and Human Values*, 24(4): 451-82.

Hall, Stuart (1980). "Encoding/decoding", in S. Hall, D. Hobson, A. Lowe, and P. Willis (eds) *Culture, Media, Language*, C.C.C.S. London: Hutchinson.

Hee Pedersen, Christina and Olesen, Birgitte Ravn (2007), "What knowledge - which

relations? Dilemmas of a contemporary action researcher". Paper presented to INTER- A European Cultural Studies Conference, 11-13 June 2007. Norrköping, Sweden.

Irwin, Alan and Wynne, Brian (1996). Misunderstanding Science? The Public Reconstruction of Science and Technology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Irwin, Alan (2001). "Constructing the scientific citizen: science and democracy in the biosciences", *Public Understanding of Science* 10(1): 1-18.

Irwin, Alan (2006). "The politics of talk: coming to terms with the 'New' Scientific governance", *Social Studies of Science* 36(2): 299-230.

Jørgensen, Marianne Winther and Phillips, Louise (2002). *Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method.* London: Sage.

Kristiansen, Marianne and Bloch-Poulsen, Jørgen (2004), "Self-referentiality as a power mechanism: towards dialogic action research", *Action Research*, Vol. 2(4): 371-388.

Kvale, Steinar (2006). "Dominance through interviews and dialogues", *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12 (3): 480-500.

Laclau, Ernesto and Mouffe, Chantal (1985). Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics. London: Verso.

Latour, Bruno (2005). Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory. Oxford University Press.

Law, John (2004). *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*, London: Routledge.

Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (2003), "Nye veje mellem forskning og erhverv - fra tanke til faktura - Regeringens handlingsplan", Copenhagen: Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation.

Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation (2004). Forsk og fortæl - rapport fra videnskabsministerens tænketank vedr. forståelse for forskning. Copenhagen: Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation.

Morley, David (1980). *The Nationwide Audience*. London: British Film Institute.

Nielsen, Kurt Aagaard og Svensson, Lennart (2006) (eds), *Action Research and Interactive Research: Beyond Practice and Theory*. Maastricht, The Netherlands: Shaker Publishing.

Nowotny, Helga et al. (2001) Rethinking Science: Knowledge and the Public in an Age of Uncertainty. London: Polity Press.

Nowotny, Helga (2007). http://www.interdisciplines.org/interdisciplinarity/papers/5/languag website "rethinking interdisciplinarity".

Olesen, Birgitte Ravn and Pedersen, Christina Hee (2007). "What knowledge-which relations? Dilemmas of a contemporary action researcher". Paper presented to INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden, Norrköping, Sweden, 11-13 June 2007**.**

Park, Peter (2006), "Knowledge and Participatory Research" in Peter Reason and Hilary Bradbury (eds) *Handbook of Action Research. Concise Paperback Edition.* London: Sage.

Pauly, John (2004), "Media Studies and the Dialogue of Democracy" in Rob Andersen, Leslie Baxter and Kenneth Cisna (eds), *Dialogue: Theorizing Difference in Communication Studies.* London: Sage.

Pearce, Kimberly and Pearce, Barnett W. (2001). "The Public Dialogue Consortium's School-Wide Dialogue Process: A Communication Approach to Develop Citizenship Skills and Enhance School Climate", *Communication Theory*, 11(1): 105-123.

Pearce, Barnett W. and Pearce, Kimberly (2004) "Taking a Communication Perspective on Dialogue" in Rob Anderson, Leslie Baxter, Kenneth Cissna (eds), *Dialogue: Theorizing Difference in Communication Studies.* London: Sage.

Plesner, Ursula (2007)."Sites of negotiation and translations in the mass communication of science", Paper presented to the conference INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden, Norrköping, Sweden , 11-13 June 2007.

Potter, J. (1996b) *Representing Reality: Discourse, Rhetoric and Social Construction.* London: Sage.

Reason, Peter and Bradbury, Hilary (2001). Handbook of Action Resarch. Participatory Inquiry and Practice. London: Sage.

Reason, Peter and Bradbury, Hilary (2006)(eds). *Handbook of Action Research.* Concise Paperback Edition. London: Sage.

Rothman, Jack & Thomas, Edwin J. (eds) (1994). *Intervention Research: Design and Development for Human Service.* New York: The Haworth Press.

Seifert, Franz (2006). "Local steps in an international career: a Danish-style consensus conference in Austria", *Public Understanding of Science*, 15(1): 73-88.

Silverman, David (2001). "Ethnography and Observation", in Interpreting Qualitative Data: Methods for Analysing Text, Talk and Interaction. London: Sage.

Stewart, John, Zediker, Karen and Black, Laura (2004) "Relationships among philosophies of dialogue" in Rob Anderson, Leslie Baxter, Kenneth Cissna (eds), *Dialogue: Theorizing Difference in Communication Studies.* London: Sage.

Weigold, M. (2001). "Communicating Science: A Review of the Literature". *Science Communication, 23(2), 164-193.*

Weems, Lisa (2006). "Unsettling politics, Locating Ethics: Representations of Reciprocity in Postpositivist Inquiry", *Qualitative Inquiry*, 12(5): 994-1011.

Wetherell, M. and Potter, J. (1992) *Mapping the Language of Racism: Discourse and the Legitimation of Exploitation.* Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf.

Windahl, Sven and Signitzer, Benno (1992). Using Communication Theory: An Introduction to Planned Communication. London: Sage.

The Immensity within the Minute: Forging Digital Space

Sheenagh Pietrobruno

Department of English, Fatih University, Istanbul.

Sheenagh_Pietrobruno@yahoo.ca

The Internet is shaped through metaphors into spaces that have their counterparts in the "real" world such as the global city, superhighway or library. Although the generation of online space can be produced by lived embodied practices as users download or upload videos, read and write texts and create and view images, the production of space in this context is primarily phenomenological, produced through the imagination of its users. This paper argues that the Internet resembles the "real" world yet in miniature. A key facet of miniaturization applied to the creation of virtual space is that enclosed within the tiny is the immense. Consequently, by virtue of the imagination of its users, the boundary between large and small dissolves: contained within the miniature controlled world of a computer screen is a vast sphere of seemingly endless possibility. This research builds upon a central concern in cyberculture studies of whether the Internet is a locus of control or freedom, while incorporating an array of fields and disciplines beyond media studies namely philosophy, literary theory, cultural theory and linguistics.

The Immensity within the Minute: Forging Digital Space

"Miniature," writes Gaston Bachelard, "is one of the refuges of greatness" (Bachelard 1958: 155). Enclosed within worlds rendered small through literary means lie gigantic realms forged through the play of language and imagination. What comes to mind when we think of miniatures is probably a collection of mundane and extraordinary objects and places rather than Bachelard's vision of how the grand emerges from the tiny. The world of the miniature is largely the realm of tourism. National and urban landmarks are remodeled into miniature souvenirs or featured in diminutive forms in theme parks. Strolling through tourists shops on Istiklal in Istanbul, for instance, one can find snow-shaker glass baubles holding tiny replicas of the city's celebrated mosques and palaces. Moreover, the splendour of Turkey is captured in the scaled-down park known as Miniatürk, where on display along the scenic golden horn are models of notable historic sites that span Istanbul, Anatolia and the former Ottoman provinces. Miniature worlds designed primarily as tourist attractions abound throughout the globe, offering minute copies of nations, as in the case with Miniatürk, or the entire world, the aim of the Tobu World Square in Japan. Miniaturization is also part of the everyday world of the child; toys and dollhouses, the stuff of childhood, offer reduced and distorted versions of the material world. Commonly associated with domesticity, and the home, miniatures are further relegated to the sphere of the feminine, the delicate and the petite. Nonetheless, with the rise in microtechnology, miniaturization has undergone a metamorphosis. The mechanisms of reduction have transformed military weapons such as cruise missiles and everyday information gadgets – mobiles phones and laptops – into powerful machines. Commenting on how technology has altered the status of the tiny in the contemporary context, Donna Haraway writes, "Minaturization has turned out to be about power" (Haraway 2000: 294). She adds that, "the old fascination of little Anglo Saxon Victorian girls with doll's houses, women's enforced attention to the small, take on quite new dimension in this world" (295). Not only has technology rendered machines littler and potentially more forceful, but the virtual worlds that have become accessible through the Internet and computer technology, as I argue in this paper, are also *miniatures*. I will further show that the Internet as a space in miniature illuminates how cyberspace can be at once a site of control and dominance as well as lack of mastery and potential chaos. Before beginning, I would just like to note that the terms "cyberspace" and "Internet" are used interchangeably even though they are not exactly equivalent. "Cyberspace" describes the world that consists of machines, data and users, whereas "Internet" simply refers to the machines, the network of computers. Cyberspace is often regarded as synonymous with the Internet, as well as with the web and virtual reality (Brooker 2003: 64, 144).

For the Internet to be a world in miniature, it must first be visualized and experienced as a space (Pietrobruno 2006: 211-212). How does it become a space? One of the ways is through the deployment of metaphors. Spatial metaphors that have been used to comprehend the Internet have transformed this assembly of computers into a realm. We project through metaphorical processes our physical conceptualization of space onto cyberspace, and in turn real-space perceptions are being transposed into virtual expanse. Consequently, the Internet assumes through numerous metaphors countless shapes that have their counterparts in the physical world, such as the global city, information superhighway, library, bookstore, shopping mall and boulevard. The tendency to view this network as a realm in terms of real-world experiences further emerges through the usage of language steeped in spatial significance: surf the web, move from one site to the next, enter or visit sites, enter passwords, access homepages, hang out in chatrooms, roam around dungeons and domains, navigate and trespass (Hunter 2003: 7, 16).

The impulse to conceptualize in metaphors is not unique to digital technology. The linguist George Lakoff and the philosopher Mark Johnson argue on linguistic grounds that metaphors underlie most of our ordinary conceptual systems, such as thought processes and the nature of experiences. Generally, we are unaware of how profoundly metaphors structure our conceptual universe. For instance, in citing the example of how arguments are conceived in the English language as a battle, they illustrate how this correlation between arguments and war influences the character of arguments themselves and structures how they are performed (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 4). Through these metaphors, arguments become a battlefield in which there are opponents who win and lose, attack and defend their claims, gain and lose ground, demolish their adversaries, strengthen their positions and get wiped out. Furthermore, metaphors enable us to forge space. Just as spatial metaphors render the intangible realm of the Internet as a concrete space, metaphors, according to Lakoff and Johnson, also structure the physical world by rendering it distinct and confined even when it may not consist of clear borders. They write, "Human purposes typically require us to impose artificial boundaries that make physical phenomenon discrete just as we are: entities bounded by surface" (25). The indistinct becomes contained through language. The visual field, for instance, transforms into a receptacle through the word "field" itself as well as through the prepositions we use to speak about it: expressions such as "to have something in sight" or "out of sight" give the impression that we can enter a visual space which holds the objects that we see within it (30). The idea that the visual field becomes a vessel through metaphors can be applied to the Internet. The metaphors that we use to access the Internet, which we experience primarily as a visual and aural medium, transform this borderless virtual sphere into a container. The common expressions to get "online" and "offline," for instance, convey the idea of entering and leaving an enclosed moving space.

The metaphors we use both in the real and virtual worlds not only frame our perceptions but can also affect our actions and experiences. More precisely, in light of the writings of George Lakoff and Max Black (Black 1993), Dan Hunter shows how metaphors help to determine the kinds of outcomes we can anticipate and presume (Hunter 2003: 16). Consequently, spatial metaphors of both the real and the virtual have concrete effects that materialize and corporealize. Hunter, for instance, illustrates how the metaphor of cyberspace as a place, has led to the application to the Internet of real-world criminal law, torts and constitutional law pertaining to issues of property (3). This has enabled the Internet to be regarded as property just as places become property through law in the real world. Hunter identifies what he terms the "Cyberspace Enclosure Movement," in which laws are being used to increasingly privatize the Internet into cyberholdings (30). The consequence of the cyberspace-as-place metaphor, he laments, is the eventual erosion of the Internet as a digital commons, as privatization will be increasingly facilitated by legal means (30). The metaphor of place that has been projected onto the Internet has significantly determined the real-world deployment of this technology.

Cyberspace as a place could be viewed as one of the many metaphors contained within the range of spatial terms that are cast onto the Internet. Place is commonly used in the geographic sense to denote location. It is also defined in cultural theory as a space to which signification is attributed (Carter et al. 1993: vii). It is in places that we develop our sense of identity as developed through symbolic or psychical associations. Place more often than not conveys the sense of home (Sarup 1996). The metaphor of cyberspace as a place, on which Hunter's work is based, refers more to the definition of place as a geographic location. Consequently, this metaphor enables the Internet to be carved into pieces, distributed and owned, making it similar to the property of the real world, which is associated with actual earth-bound locales. On the other hand, the concept of space is not bounded by stable and rigid borders, as are places transformed into property. Space, furthermore, is not a finite,

uniform, vacant container in which individuals and things are placed. Rather, it is infused with metaphors that in turn mould spaces. Space (both within the real and virtual realms) can take shape through the figurative use of language and, as Bachelard has shown, through the processes of the imagination (Bachelard 1958). As Michel Foucault writes, "Bachelard's monumental work and the descriptions of phenomenologists have taught us that we do not live in a homogeneous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly imbued with quantities and perhaps thoroughly fantasmatic as well"(Foucault 1984: 231).

Although metaphors have transformed the Internet into varied imagined spaces that have their equivalents in actuality, I would add that these virtual spaces share the attribute of being miniatures. The miniaturization of the Internet is produced through a combination of the material and the imagined. The user enters the Internet, so to speak, via the computer screen. At any given time, the only part of the Internet to which users have access is what appears there on the screen in front of them. Consequently, the virtual sphere is tiny in relation to the realspace world that surrounds users such as their actual neighbourhoods, cities, nations or the globe. The size of the virtual world is limited to the actual physical dimensions of the machine. Users can hold this sphere in their hands. As the human body, according to Susan Stewart, has provided our essential means of apprehending and beholding scale (Stewart 1993: 101), the criteria for what constitutes a miniature is also judged in relation to our bodies. The virtual world of the Internet is a tiny realm that we can capture with our eyes and span with our hands. Although the space of the Internet is diminutive through the actual physical size of the computer screen, the transformation of this flat surface into an immense realm is produced by the workings of the imagination. By integrating the philosophy of Gaston Bachelard, I will show how the conceptualization of the Internet as miniature – produced through the fusion of the material size of the screen and imagined projections of the user – brings forth perceptions that reflect pervasive yet contradictory social values that have been bestowed upon the Internet: this virtual sphere enables its users to enter a realm either of control or lack of control or possibly one offering a combination of the two.

How can the Internet, which comprises a gigantic realm of hypertexts and hypermedia, be regarded as miniature? The vastness of cyberspace does not make it any less diminutive. Immensity, according to Gaston Bachelard, is enclosed within the realm of the miniature. Bachelard's ideas concerning miniaturization are part of his theory of space expounded upon in his luminous work *The Poetics of Space.* He integrates a phenomenological approach by envisioning intimate spaces as produced and reshaped through the workings of the imagination. The objective space of a house, for instance – its corners, corridors, cellars and rooms – is less important than how it is transformed through the imagination, a process that resembles the creation of poetry. The childhood home, for example, becomes imbued with figurative meaning that recasts its concrete objective reality. Depending on the emotions and rational faculties of its dwellers, a home can become a place of joy, fear, delight, sadness or magic. The metamorphosis of our first homes through the workings of the imagination renders us all poets (Bachelard 1958: 6). As we daydream of our childhood homes, the images that we find in the recesses of our minds are the ones that we have forged through the poetic processes of our imaginations, not those of the concrete real space (5, 6). But for Bachelard, the space perceived as an objective entity and that transformed by the workings of the imagination are equally real. He writes, "I myself consider literary documents as *realities of the imagination*, pure products of the imagination. And why should the actions of the imagination not be as real as those of perception?" (158, original emphasis).

Gaston Bachelard further explores the intimate space of the miniature. Immensity, according to him, is contained within its realm. To demonstrate how the minuscule and the vast are harmonious in thought, he provides a simple but cogent illustration. When one looks out at the horizon, distance creates miniatures. The miniatures on the horizon are not actually

minute but become tiny through the mind's eye. The imagination captures this immensity and reduces it to a little world that can be more easily possessed, controlled and dominated (Bachelard 1958: 173). As Bachelard writes, "In distant miniatures, disparate things become reconciled. They then offer themselves for our 'possession,' while denying the distance that created them. We possess from afar, and how peacefully!" (172). Through the process of rendering the physical world small so that it can be better possessed, values become both compressed and enhanced in the miniature. To understand how immensity is contained within the small, one must go beyond the logic of "platonic dialectics," which distinguishes large from miniscule, to the "dynamic virtue of miniature thinking," which enables the imagination to encounter the massive within the little (150).

The philosophy of Bachelard pertains to the virtual sphere of the Internet. For users, who are secluded in their homes or offices, to envision themselves linked to an immense universe, they need to produce this space by permeating it with images that recast it as a virtual sphere. The separate webpage that the user is viewing becomes a part of a gigantic realm. In light of the ideas of Bachelard, vastness becomes contained within the miniature space of the webpage through the workings of the imagination. The imaginations of users enclose a virtual realm within the diminutive locus of the computer or laptop screen. Moreover, this immense world in turn becomes small through its accessibility by being virtually at the fingertips of its users, which further renders it tamed and controllable. Horrendous and seemingly chaotic events of the "real world," for instance, can be captured on the Internet, where their containment in this online space seems to render them more manageable. Since the hanging of former Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein on 30 December 2006, videos of this execution, for example, have been featured on the Internet ("Unedited Saddam Hanging Video," 2007). Although these gruesome video images, replayed after the actual hanging, allow viewers to relive the barbarity and brutality of the event, their horror is somehow diminished through the presence of these images within the diminutive sphere of the online video, which can be controlled and manipulated by users. The Internet as a virtual global realm, with all its horrors and delights, is produced and managed through the imagination of its users, who envision its grandeur from the miniscule space of their computer screens. Just as Bachelard's vision of the miniature collapses the boundary between small and immense, Internet users enclose the gigantic realm of the Internet within the minute space of their computer screens. As they move between the large and the small, the social values projected onto the Internet also transform: the Internet becomes both a space of control and mastery via the screen and a place of potential chaos and disorder, as exemplified by the vastness of the potentially unknown imagined Internet space.

Although individuals are involved in constructing virtual space through the workings of the imagination, recent critical research has begun to view the deployment of the imagination as possibly being collective. Arjun Appadurai observes how the mechanisms that underlie the processes of globalization – media and migration – exert a paired effect on the imagination, producing imagined selves and imagined worlds (Appadurai 1996: 3). With the technological developments that have occurred over the past century, the imagination in recent times has metamorphosed in Appadurai's vision into "a collective social fact" (5). The imagination, within the contemporary context, is no longer confined to the spheres of art, myth and ritual but is an essential part of the daily mental work of ordinary people (4). In light of the link between imagination and technology, virtuality then becomes not an inherent feature of the Internet but a social accomplishment (Miller and Slater 2000: 6) that is brought about through the collective deployment of imagination. The imagination enables users dispersed throughout the globe to forge a collection of computers into a virtual space and to envision the single pages of their computer screens as parts of a gigantic realm that acquires diverse shapes in

accordance with the circulation of spatial metaphors such as global city, superhighway and library.

This consideration of the Internet as a miniature that gives rise to both control and lack of mastery counters the dominant perspective in cyberculture studies that the Internet is uncontrolled. The Internet is largely perceived to be self-governing because it is not regulated by a centralized and hierarchical order (Lévy 2001: 91). Cyberspace is frequently described as rhizomatic in light of Deleuze and Guattari's concept of the rhizome, which models the structure of decentered political and intellectual universes that oppose the traditional "arborescent" model of Western thought built on hierarchies and binary oppositions (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). According to Alexander R. Galloway, a closer examination of the actual machines that comprise the Internet protocol reveals how the perception of the Internet as merely chaotic and uncontrolled is indeed a myth. Computer protocols govern how specific technologies are agreed to, adopted, implemented and ultimately used by people around the world, taking into account issues of logic and physics (Galloway 2004: 7). He sets out to explain the way protocol is founded on a *contradiction* between two contrary machines. The first machine, the uncontrollable network, which comprises the Transmission Control Protocol (TCP) and the Internet Protocol (IP), fundamentally dispenses control into independent locales. The TCP and IP are ungovernable. These are the protocols that convey the idea that the Internet is a free space that resists control and hierarchies. The TCP and IP are the principal protocols responsible for actually transmitting data between computers within the network. The TCP and IP function in unison to set up connections between computers and to transmit data through these connections. The design of the TCP and IP, which enables any computer on the network to communicate with any other, is responsible for creating a nonhierarchical transmission of information (Galloway 2004: 8). The second machine, the Domain Name System (DNS), distributes control into firmly defined hierarchies. The DNS, which is constructed like an upturned tree, is an extensive decentralized database that connects network addresses to network names. The root servers at the head of this upturned tree totally control the existence of each lower branch without automatically determining the content of each one (8-9). Consequently, Galloway notes, "The Internet is a delicate dance between control and freedom" (75).

My analysis of the miniature digital sphere also envisions the Internet as a play between control and lack of control, potentially verging on chaos and disorder. A fundamental difference is of course apparent between Galloway's understanding of this dance between control and freedom and my own. Galloway's analysis is based on the workings of a machine, not on the imagination and the metaphors of space. Furthermore, the mastery to which I have been alluding is the sense of the power that users can attain from the micro command post of the computer screen, which is continuously being eroded as they become submerged and overwhelmed by the gigantic perceived disorder of cyberspace. On the other hand, Galloway's reference to the relation between control and freedom that lies at the core of the network is the physical reality of the actual machine, not an imagined sensation. For certain theorists who focus on the Internet as a machine, an analysis that does not consider its physical structure lacks solidity. According to Eugene Thacker, who wrote the foreword to Galloway's book *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization*, a key point that Galloway makes is that "networks are not metaphors" (Thacker 2004: xiii). Galloway's concept of protocol is intended to demonstrate the nonmetaphorical nature of networks. Networks are, according to Thacker, "material technologies, sites of various practices, actions and movements" (xiii). The tendency on the part of cyberculture theorists to analyze networks as metaphors rather than take into consideration the material structure of the Internet is for him "vapour theory" (xiii). Vapour theory, according to Galloway, passes over the computer itself and addresses the information society, as I have just done, in light of metaphors and the

workings of the mind (Galloway 2004: 17). Just as the word "vapour" connotes the insubstantial, this research on the miniature and its connection to online space could be considered merely trivial and meaningless in regards to more serious work conducted on Internet technology. At the same time, the Internet as a machine may have far less impact on users as compared to the metaphors that materialize and corporealize it into spaces. Users are for the most part not aware of the physical reality that structures the Internet. Tim Berners-Lee, the inventor of the worldwide web, writes that "The job of computers and networks is to get out of the way, to not be seen … The technology should be transparent, so we interact with it intuitively" (quoted in Galloway 2004: 65; Berners-Lee 1999: 159). Galloway likens this concealment of the inner workings of the Internet to other phenomena in which the apparatus of production remains hidden: the classic Hollywood film that masks continuity editing or the commodity that removes the process of production (Galloway 2004: 65). Because the machinery of the Internet protocol remains basically invisible to users, we grasp cyberspace in terms of the imaginary worlds we cast upon it, universes that I have argued are miniatures. The Internet as a space in miniature is therefore grounded in the workings of the imagination fueled by metaphors.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Bachelard, Gaston. 1958. *The Poetics of Space*. Reprint, Boston: Orion Press, 1994.

Berners-Lee, Tim, with Mark Fischetti. 1999. *Weaving the Web: The Original Design and Ultimate Destiny of the World Wide Web by Its Inventor*. San Francisco: HarperSan Francisco.

Black, Max. "More about Metaphor." 1993. In Andrew Ortony, ed., *Metaphor and Thought*, 2nd ed., 19-57. Cambridge, UK, and New York: Cambridge University Press.

Brooker, Peter. 2003. *A Glossary of Cultural Theory*. 2nd ed. London: Arnold, 2003.

Carter, Erica, James Donald, and Judith Squires, eds. 1993. *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Deleuze, Gilles, and Felix Guattari. 1987. *A Thousand Plateaus*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Derrida, Jacques. 1973. *Speech and Phenomena, and Other Essays on Husserl's Theory of Signs.* Translated with an introduction by David B. Allison. Preface by Newton Garver. Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1984. "Of Other Spaces." Trans. Jay Miskowiec. In Nicholas Mirzoeff, ed., *The Visual Culture Reader*, 2nd ed., 229-236. London and New York: Routledge, 2002.

Galloway, Alexander R. 2004. *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Haraway, Donna. 1991. "A Cyborg Manifesto: Science, Technology and Socialist-Feminism in the Late Twentieth Century." In David Bell and Barbara M. Kennedy, eds., *The Cybercultures Reader*, 291-324. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.

Hunter, Dan. 2003. "Cyberspace as Place and the Tragedy of the Digital Anticommons." *California Law Review* 91, no. 2: 1-53.

Lakoff, George, and Mark Johnson. 1980. *Metaphors We Live By*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Lévy, Pierre. 2001. *Cyberculture*. Trans. Robert Bononno. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Miller, Daniel, and Don Slater. 2000. *The Internet: An Ethnographic Approach*. Oxford: International Publishers.

"Miniatürk." 5 February 2007. World Association of Newspapers. http://www.wan-press.org/article3129.html.

Pietrobruno, Sheenagh. 2006. *Salsa and Its Transnational Moves*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Sarup, Madan. 1996. *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Stewart, Susan. 1993. *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Thacker, Eugene. 2004. "Foreword: Protocol Is as Protocol Does." In Alexander R. Galloway, *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization*, x-xxiv. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

"Tobu World Square." 5 February 2007. http://www.tobuws.co.jp/default-en.html.

"Unedited Saddam Hanging Video." 5 Febrary 2007. Google Video. http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=5543085919122001921.

Anna Vissi: The Greek 'Madonna'?

Ioannis Polychronakis

Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, U.K.

ioannis.polychronakis@music.ox.ac.uk

In recent years Anna Vissi, the Greek pop-music star whose career has spanned over three decades, has been loudly promoted as the 'Greek Madonna', in an attempt to export her image and music to the international market as well as to redefine and increase her audience and appeal in Greece. While the purpose of this characterisation, which Vissi herself has embraced, is of course mainly commercial, it resonates with several crucial aspects of present-day Greek popular music. By observing the most significant characteristics of Vissi's career, performing styles, personas and reception, this article examines some of the possible meanings of Vissi's new image as 'the Greek Madonna'. In particular, it focuses on the ways, in which she has arguably reaffirmed and/or reinterpreted traditional Greek popular music styles and the authenticity debate surrounding them. It ultimately argues that 'the Greek Madonna' remains typically Greek.

The Discourse Surrounding Anna Vissi and Biographical Background

'Anna Vissi, the singing sensation and Greek beauty'; this glorification of one of the most popular Greek pop stars appears on the internet branch of Billboard magazine, which is an established popular-music publication in the United States.[1] 'Anna, you're a Goddess'; 'Anna, we live in order to hear you sing'; Vissi's fans cry out at her live shows in Greece. Concurrently, to some critics, Anna Vissi is a characteristic representative of the lowest forms of popular culture for promoting 'unsophisticated' taste and 'lowering' cultural standards. She has been referred to, for example, as a 'glitzy but vacuous super-singer'.[2] Positive and negative characterisations derive from the two ends of a critical continuum that has been attributed to Anna Vissi over the years. However, i) the longevity of her career, which has spanned over three decades, ii) the size of her repertoire, which includes almost all different subgenres of Greek popular music, and iii) her ubiquity in the mass-mediated public space reveal one thing: Anna Vissi has been one of the most hotly debated and publicised female pop singers in Greece. This alone makes her a phenomenon worthy of analysis.

Anna Vissi was born in Cyprus on 20 December 1957.[3] In 1973, one year prior to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the turbulent atmosphere on the island made Anna's family decide to move to Athens. By that time Vissi had already started her career, collaborating with famous Greek composers, such as Míkēs Theodōrákēs and Stávros Kouyoumtzēs, and singing principally art-popular Greek music.[4] In 1983 she married Níkos Karvélas, who has become the most influential song-writer of her entire career despite their divorce almost a decade later.[5] He has been responsible for expanding her repertoire and directing it to more commercialised subgenres than the art-popular one, ranging from mainstream Greek pop music to musicals and from rock operas to 'ethnic' songs. Together, Vissi and Karvélas have created many number-one hits, and Anna has become one of the best-selling female pop-singers in Greece.

From the outset I wish to emphasise that, although Anna Vissi has attracted media attention to such an extent that very few popular artists have achieved in Greece, no scholarly project about the socio-cultural significations of the 'Anna Vissi phenomenon' has been undertaken so far. This article endeavours to fill the above-mentioned gap, providing an introduction to the discourse surrounding Anna Vissi, and delving into crucial aspects of contemporary Greek popular music, with which Anna Vissi's career resonates. I shall examine how the 'Anna Vissi phenomenon' became possible in the first place and, subsequently, how it articulates a set of socio-cultural meanings in contemporary Greece.[6]

---

1 Charlotte Dillon, 'All Music Guide, Artists', *The Online Billboard Magazine* http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/bio/index.jsp?pid=266351 (16 Aug. 2007).
2 Jane K. Cowan, 'Politics, Identity and Popular Music in Contemporary Greece', *Kampos: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek*, Vol.1, No.1 (Cambridge: Modern Greek Section, Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages, 1993), p. 21.
3 Dillon, ibid http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/bio/index.jsp?pid=266351 (16 Aug. 2007) and Anna Vissi's official international fan-webpage: http://www.anna-vissi.info/english/biography/01.html (16 Aug. 2007).
4 Art-popular music is considered by some and audiences a fairly elaborate genre of 'good quality' Greek popular music.
5 Pétros Dragoumános, Katálogos Hellēnikēs Discographías 1950-2000 [Catalogue of the Greek Discography 1950-2000], 5th ed. (Athēna: Dragoumános, 2000), p. 131.
6 Any reader, who is not familiar with Anna Vissi and her music, may wish to watch a medley of some of her recent music videos on youtube.com
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Duymqg5-WFs (16 Aug. 2007).

The Rise of 'the Anna Vissi Phenomenon'

In the 1990s, conforming to the European Union's socio-economic and living standards had become an urgent political objective for Greece.[7] The country's modernisation entailed deep changes in Greek society, such as the progressive elimination of nationalistic practices and adaptation to Western European social and political practices.[8] Notwithstanding the controversy fuelled by such a political direction,[9] Greece's modernisation was eventually sustained, with television playing a quite important role in this process. Supporting the increase in foreign economic and cultural investments, newly-launched Greek private television networks imported Western entertainment programmes *en masse*, thus introducing Western commodities to the national audiences and fostering the Greek people's familiarisation with Western popular culture.[10] MAD TV, the Greek equivalent of MTV, began broadcasting in 1996,[11] disseminating 'the MTV aesthetic culture' through music videos, and giving the national music-video industry a considerable boost.

It was exactly then that Anna Vissi became one of the most dominant figures in the national music industry. Her album *Klíma Tropicó* [*Tropical Climate*] was released in 1996 and acquired platinum status within only a couple of months.[12] Vissi became a trend-setting popular artist soon afterwards. However, 'the Anna Vissi phenomenon', and especially its association with Madonna, could not have been only the result of the social and political circumstances described above. An important ideological framework was also in play.

The 'East'-versus-'West' dichotomy has been a significant ideological issue from the foundation of the Greek state in the nineteenth century (1832) until to the present. The Ottoman occupation of the Greek world (1453-1821) led Greek leaders towards 'the West' in quest of support for their liberation movement, the formation of a modern state and its political and economic survival. Since then, 'the West' has been loudly promoted by Greek politicians and the elite as the nexus of a prosperous and pioneering culture, 'the high Other' that should be emulated by Greek people. On the contrary, 'the Orient' has been considered 'the low Other' that should be avoided for being inextricably intertwined with Turkey, its Ottoman past, and the centuries-long Ottoman occupation.[13]

Despite the bitter collective memory of the Ottoman occupation, Greek lower social strata did not have the chance to form close links with 'the West' and kept being influenced by their geographical and cultural proximity to Turkey and the Middle East. 'The contrast between the

---

7   Kōstas Sēmítēs, *Politikē gia mia Dēmiourgikē Helláda* [*Politics for a Creative Greece*] (Athēna: Ekdóseis Pólis, 2005), pp. 38-51. Although Sēmítēs's book is imbued with his political views as president of the Socialist Party (PASOK) and Prime Minister of Greece during 1996-2004, the social and political atmosphere of Greece's heightened modernisation period emerges eloquently.

8   Ibid., pp. 525-52.

9   Ibid., pp. 33-7.

10   The first Greek private television network (Mega Channel) was on air by the end of 1989 and in the course of the 1990s private television flourished. However, lack of sufficient infrastructure initially led private television stations to import British and American programmes, thus reflecting the predominance of the Anglo-American world in the globalisation era. See, Leōnídas Stergíou, 'Hē Historía tēs Hellēnikēs Tēleórasēs' ['The History of Greek Television'] in the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini*, published on 04 Apr. 2006 (in Greek)
     http://portal.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_kathfiles_100030_04/04/2006_149723 (16 Aug. 2007).

11   From the official MAD TV website: http://www.mad.tv/mad4mad/?go=about&abid=16135 (16 Aug. 2007).

12   Dragoumános, *Katálogos*, p. 132.

13   Fouli T. Papageorgiou, 'Popular Music and the Music Industry in Greece', in Alison Ewbank and Fouli T. Papageorgiou, eds, *Whose Master's Voice? The Development of Popular Music in Thirteen Countries* (Westport-Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1997), pp.67-8. Fouli T. Papageorgiou is Director of the Centre for Development Studies Planning and Research in Athens, Greece.

Western taste of the elite and the traditional culture of the masses, with its evident oriental elements', Fouli T. Papageorgiou points out, 'gives the essential background to understanding the structure of the main strands of [Greek] popular music'.[14] Indeed, the 'East'-versus-'West' contrast has been articulated in Greek music throughout the entire twentieth century. For instance, the ban of the Turkish-influenced 'rebétika' songs in the thirties and fifties[15] stirred a huge controversy and so did the 'orientalisation' of Greek popular music during the early sixties.[16]

However, the nineties version of the 'East'-'West' antithesis took a different direction, when the effects of globalisation started dominating the Greek culture. Despite previous deep-seated biases against 'the Orient', the country started accepting its close link to East-Mediterranean culture, yet only in the form of cultural products with a modernised 'ethnic' appearance. Lifestyle television shows started featuring distinguished members of the upper class visiting Athenian night clubs, where fusion popular musics inspired by oriental sounds formed the core of the repertoire. The opening nights of such clubs were also promoted as 'news' on prime-time television.[17] In this way, signifiers of the 'modernised oriental culture' diffused the negative associations with its Ottoman past. It was only during the nineties, therefore that 'the Orient', in the wrappings of the globalised 'ethnic' Other, did eventually make its way to the spotlight of Greek popular culture.

In this light, it should not be considered a mere coincidence that, although Anna Vissi's recording career began in 1974, the first 'pop-ethnic' track, 'Pséftika' ['Fake'], ever to be found in her records was released as late as 1989.[18] Anna Vissi and her music partner Níkos Karvélas were among the first artists to release 'ethnic-pop' tracks. In the course of the nineties, then, Greek popular artists were increasingly inspired by 'ethnic' sounds, thus making the release of 'ethnic-pop' songs a growing trend.

The Comparison Between Anna Vissi and Madonna

In this context, Anna Vissi's artistic and commercial success both in Greece and abroad has been on the increase from the nineties onwards. Her 'ethnic-pop' tracks have incorporated sounds from the East-Mediterranean region, but also 'programmed house and dance-style percussion', 'Cher-style synth-vocal treatments' and 'Madonna-style vocal lines', as the ethnomusicologist Kevin Dawe put it.[19]

This comparison between Vissi and Madonna also appears in the popular press very frequently and Anna has been asked several times to comment on it. One such instance occurred during an interview for Greek Boston Television (GBTV) in 2005. Vissi said then:

---

14   Ibid., p. 68.

15   Ibid., pp. 67-8.

16   The Finnish ethnomusicologist Risto Pekka Pennanen has described 'orientalisation' as 'a process of musical change [whereby] Greek musicians copied and imitated the performance practices of Middle-Eastern and Indian music and even created new musical features based on them'. See Risto P. Pennanen, *Westernisation and Modernisation in Greek Popular Music* (Tampere: University of Tampere, 1999), p. 34.

17   The promotion of show-business became soon a growing trend on Greek media. For example, during the last few years a Greek television station, Star Channel, has focused most of its prime-time news on reports relating to Greek show business.

18   The track 'Pseftika' ['Fake'] was included in Vissi's album *Fotia* [*Fire*] of the year 1989. Dragoumános, *Katálogos*, p. 131.

19   Kevin Dawe, 'Between East and West: Contemporary Grooves in Greek Popular Music (1990-2000)' in Goffredo Plastino, ed., *Mediterranean Mosaic: Popular Music and Global sound* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), p. 225.

It's an honour…She's great, she shook the world! […] we have some similarities in the way our careers have turned out to be…you know, every year I change, I try different things; I mean, I try acting and then, again, I do different types of songs. I think that's the reason why people make this comparison between us.[20]

By accepting it as an 'honour', Vissi has adroitly converted a potential accusation of mimicry into an asset. She has openly used it to stand out in the music industry and promote herself more effectively. Indeed, 'the Greek Madonna' identity gives her the opportunity to be perceived both as the Greek, 'exotic Other', when promoted in 'the West', and as the 'modern', 'progressive' and 'trend-setting' artist that is inspired by 'the West', when promoted in Greece. 'The Greek Madonna' has been fully conversant with the globally accessible musical idioms of contemporary pop and rock, while simultaneously drawing on vocal and instrumental resources from the modern Greek-Mediterranean soundscape. Hence, she enthusiastically adopted the title, which has enabled her to export her image and music abroad, as well as to redefine and increase her appeal in Greece.

More specifically, her CD single *Call Me*, which was distributed in the United States in 2005, put emphasis on the modern-Greek otherness of Anna Vissi, featuring certain music signifiers and 'authenticating' references to her 'Greekness'. The 'oriental-sounding' whirling strings and backing vocals were by and large based on a succession of semitones and augmented seconds, thus acting as ingredients of the 'exotic' and 'ethnic' modern Greek sound.[21] It seems, then, that Vissi, a musician 'from the margins of the global economy', has responded to the demands of authenticity that the pop musicologist Timothy Taylor has attributed to Western audiences.[22] The Greek-rock remix of the same song, which in Greek is entitled 'Eísai' ['You Are'], was performed live by Anna Vissi during the MAD-Music-Video-Awards show in Athens in June 2004.[23] Electric guitars, synthesizers, drums, sequencers and samplers prevailed in a musical idiom largely dependent on the stylistic features of Western rock music. In other words, Vissi here promoted the 'Madonna' part of her 'Greek-Madonna' persona. The 'oriental' musical elements were minimised and used as mere reminders of the initial 'ethnic-pop' version of the song 'Eísai'. In this case, Vissi, a prestigious star from the centre of the national music industry, seems to take the opportunity to experiment flexibly with diverse musical styles. She is allegedly freed from the need of cultural 'authenticity', because she is arguably expected to renovate and spice up once conservative and inward-looking Greek popular-music styles.

The Authenticity Debate Revisited …the Greek Way

The discourse surrounding Anna Vissi revolves substantially around the notion of authenticity, as it is considered a fairly significant issue by both Anna Vissi and her Greek audiences. Greek urban popular music subgenres have been regarded as 'the low Other' in post World-War-II Greek culture and have been criticised as foreign-influenced, corrupt and commercial.[24] Anna Vissi, having contributed much to the latest developments of these

---

20 Anna Vissi on GBTV in 2005 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FGkRWHDes7E (16 Aug. 2007).
21 The official video clip of the song 'Call Me': http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=algXWhcv3Ls (16 Aug. 2007).
22 Timothy D. Taylor, *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997), p. 201.
23 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C7HcDQIkFiM (16 Aug. 2007).
24 Pennanen, *Westernisation*, pp. 11-2.

subgenres, has been negatively situated by her critics at the epicentre of the above-mentioned authenticity debate.[25]

However, in the process of constructing her public persona, Vissi has dexterously given this authenticity debate a moral twist by shifting the focus of attention from the 'authentic Greek' sound to the 'authentic' personal character of a musician. In the previously-referred-to interview for GBTV in 2005 Anna said:

> Everything is great as long as you are not fake; you are who you are, you go out there and you powerfully support and declare what you do and who you are. That's all! …as long as you have talent …you are given something by God…you know, voice![26]

Anna Vissi has painstakingly insisted on publicly supporting the idea of not being a counterfeit person or artist ultimately for her own benefit. While stressing her originality as a character and entertainer, she intentionally does not focus on issues of 'authentic Greekness' music-wise, because her fusion music would not provide sufficient basis for such claims.

In another interview for Greek Antenna TV in 2004 Vissi said: 'There are times when I really wonder whether I am worthy of all the love I receive from the people'. Although this is a self-critical statement, which may be taken to obscure the lustre of Vissi's public persona, it has been a recurrent manoeuvre. Perhaps, it is a strategy, whereby she questions her stardom only to foster her image as an 'authentic' person and artist. In other words, it may be an effort to claim that she is not a diva, but a modest artist, striving to meet the high expectations that audiences have of her. Vissi here seems to be activating a specific rhetoric that has generally been identified by the film theorist Richard Dyer as marked by 'lack of contr', lack of premeditation, and privacy".[27] These 'markers of authenticity' function effectively as such, Dyer says, 'so long as they are not perceived as rhetoric'.[28] And this is exactly what Vissi does. By way of public 'confessions' she allegedly uncovers or brings to the surface aspects of her image, music and personality, only to attempt to control the effects of such a rhetorical manoeuvre on people; only to guide the imagination of her fans in constructing the 'real' Anna Vissi.

I do not wish to question Vissi's sincerity as a character here. This is neither my task, nor my interest. All I want to do is suggest that Anna Vissi is profoundly conscious of her career strategies and discuss the consequences of such consciousness. By virtue of authenticity then, in the context of 'the Anna Vissi phenomenon', the fields of aesthetics and ethics not only do interlock, but it also follows that ethics enhances the impact of aesthetics. Witnessing not a boasting, self-regarding diva, but a modest artist, can make audiences think that, apart from her talent for music, Anna Vissi possesses some highly appreciated moral values as well. Thus, she is perceived by her fans, at the very least, as a 'not unapproachable, packaged pop diva'.[29] Her 'good character' ostensibly enhances her musical talent and helps it shine through. She is constructed and conceived of as the ultimate pop star, whose various public personas are tantamount to the 'singular' and 'authentic' Anna Vissi, who is truly

25 Cowan, 'Politics, Identity and Popular Music', pp. 20-1.
26 Anna Vissi on GBTV in 2005 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FGkRWHDes7E (16 Aug. 2007).
27 Richard Dyer, 'A Star Is Born and the Construction of Authenticity', in Christine Gledhill, ed., *Stardom: Industry of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 138-9.
28 Ibid., p. 137.
29 Charlotte Dillon, All Music Guide http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/bio/index.jsp?pid=266351 (16 Aug. 2007).

'charismatic' from all perspectives, as the distinguished Greek lyricist Évē Droútsa claimed on Antenna TV in February 2006.[30]

'The Greek Madonna' Remains Typically Greek

I would like to suggest, then, that this supposedly 'authentic' Anna Vissi remains typically Greek. This stance can be traced, for instance, in the process of critically adopting and localising the 'Madonna personas', where 'the Greek Madonna' has kept any of their 'unfitting' aspects out of the Greek music industry's game. As Vissi has stated:

> Although I like Madonna very much, I've figured out that we don't resemble in terms of onstage sexual provocation. We belong to different cultures. I have different ways of expressing myself. I surely want to be sexy, feminine and appealing to men, but I don't like reaching filthy limits.[31]

Therefore, Anna Vissi consciously chooses not to embrace those aspects of Madonna's persona to which she cannot relate and which her audiences may reject. Greek society, which is still fairly homogenous, remains highly influenced by the conservatism of Orthodox Church that denounces sexual liberation and the commercialisation of sexuality. Thus, Anna Vissi distances herself from certain aspects of Madonna-the-singer, while aligning with the moral values that Madonna-the-Virgin-Mary represents as a Christian symbol. Hence, Vissi's strategy makes the localisation of the 'Madonna personas' even more effective, as the Greek pop star appears to be embracing both the 'modern' values and the traditional Greek ones.

Thus, the common denominator of all the aspects of Anna Vissi's public and artistic persona may actually be more Greek than it is promoted and purported to be. In further support of this claim, one should take a closer look at the official DVD featuring extracts from Vissi's live shows at the Athenian night-club Diogenes Palace in 2004. Its careful observation leads to the conclusion that Greek elements outweigh the western ones in Vissi's live performances. Situated centre stage, Anna Vissi performs a one-woman show like the 'super-star' who beams in all directions from the epicentre of an alternative 'universe'; the Greek-entertainment 'universe'. This entertainment culture is built upon the notion of interaction between the singer and the audience, which is a very common characteristic in all live music shows at night clubs in Greece.

In Vissi's live shows, in particular, the sense of togetherness shared by Anna and her fans of her shows, which is arguably the most important element of her shows. She banters, plays, and speaks with as many individuals from the audience as possible. She punctuates her singing by speaking to specific people among the viewers, while at other times she invites the audience to sing along or even instead of her. In a reciprocal manner the fans send signs of adoration back to the diva. They are there, because they want to see her sweating in a singing delirium. They are there, because they want to touch her and feel her loving them back. They are there, because they want to experience the Dionysian rapture of 'trancing' through her music and performance. The effect of this communion conspicuously blurs the boundaries between the performer and the audience, the diva and her fans.

The 'Greekness' of this 'trancing' experience is marked music-wise by the sound of the bouzouki instrument and Vissi's 'quasi-oriental' singing style, combined with the suffocating atmosphere of excessive smoking, drinking and carnation throwing. This sort of entertainment

---

30   http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7tbIUJghVs&mode=related&search (16 Aug. 2007).
31   Anna Vissi on MAD TV in 2001 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OTELLzIbbCs&NR 02:17"- 03:15".
      The translation is mine. (16 Aug. 2007).

culture, which is often labelled by the Greeks as 'the Athenian *pista*' ('the Athenian night-club stage'), is supposed to be the quintessence of Greek entertainment. It is also a key element of the Greek show business, as it is the principal way in which Anna Vissi and all those who want to pursue a successful career as popular singers can affirm their stardom. Successful singers, divas, and stars are all constructed or burnt out in Athens by night.

Anna Vissi on the Eurovision Stage in 2006

Accordingly, the semiotics of 'the Athenian *pista*' prevailed in Vissi's stage act when she flew the flag for Greece on home soil at the Athens Eurovision Song Contest in 2006. Despite the fact that her Eurovision ballad 'Everything' had nothing reminiscent of typically 'Greek' music, she incorporated in her performance the emotional intensity and histrionics of 'the Athenian *pista*'. She even kneeled down to perform in throbbing and quivering mannerisms the last chorus of her ballad 'Everything'.[32]

Anna was considered a serious contender for the Grand Prix prior to the Contest, mainly due to the aura of her star status. However, as soon as this particular song was selected to represent Greece in the 2006 Song Contest, Eurovision-related websites and blogs displayed remarks by fans from across Europe, such as the following:

> I am very happy that 'Everything' was selected. Now, I only worry for Anna's performance. If she is too too much dramatic on the stage that night is not good. People of Northern Europe will be put off if they get too much Mediterranean Greek tragedy sorta drama. […] My feeling is that she must perform her great song in an 'unassuming' simplicity.[33]

All things being equal, Anna Vissi's onstage histrionics may not have been identified as particularly 'Greek' by all Eurovision fans and television viewers. Besides, many rock and pop artists in 'the West' are also renowned for their passionate ballad performances. Freddie Mercury performing 'Who Wants To Live Forever?',[34] Axl Rose singing 'Knocking On Heaven's Door'[35] and, most recently, Christina Aguilera in 'Hurt'[36] are just a few examples.

Thus, the aspect which potentially dissatisfied the European viewers, may have been the overall aesthetic discrepancy between Vissi's over-the-top stage presentation and her rather old-fashioned ballad that could not account for such a dramatic performance. Being quite reminiscent of other songs of the same genre back in the eighties and, therefore, being rather out of date, the ballad in question could not move the European viewers as much as it stirred Anna Vissi on stage. However, knowledgeable fans, like the one quoted above, and myself, here acting as a local informant who provides his firsthand experience of Greek music culture, would attest that there was no discrepancy between the style of Vissi's Eurovision performance and the song itself. Her onstage mannerisms drew on performance practices of the overemotional Greek-music entertainment, in the context of which Vissi's Greek

---

32 Anna Vissi's Eurovision performance is featured on the official DVD of the 2006 Eurovision Song Contest. See also: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRJJPpAqzGM (16 Aug. 2007).

33 Posted on esctoday.com by the member called **Good Vibes [29723]** on 15 Mar. 2006 at 00:56:27, http://www.esctoday.com/news/read/5784?id=5784&offset=702#reactions (16 Aug. 2007).

34 Freddie Mercury, live at Wembley in 1986: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BApaVMqAVtc (16 Aug. 2007).

35 Guns 'n' Roses, live at the Ritz, New York, on 02 Feb. 1988: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5wRW7I4Dqc (16 Aug. 2007).

36 Christina Aguilera, live at the MTV Music Video Awards in 2006: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QxJhOZLj1yI (16 Aug. 2007).

audiences perceived her stage act as a typical example of her live performances in Athenian night-clubs and praised her for her passionate interpretation. Contrary to this, on the night of the Eurovision Final the European viewers were rather unimpressed by Anna's idiosyncratically 'Greek' stage act and gave her only the ninth place.

However, Anna Vissi's previous attempts to expand her appeal abroad had been more successful. Her CD single *Call Me*, after being released in the United States in 2005, peaked at number one on Billboard's Hot Dance-Music/Club-Play Charts and at number two on Billboard's Dance Radio-Airplay Charts. As Fred Bronson, a distinguished music journalist who works for the Billboard magazine explained to me in a private correspondence on 28 May 2007:

> [These] two dance charts […] are certainly genre charts. So people who follow dance music might be aware of Anna Vissi, and people who pay attention to what is happening in the rest of the world might know Anna Vissi, but in the general population it would be difficult to find a lot of people who would be familiar with her.

Bronson's interpretation of Vissi's success in the United States corresponds with the Greek-American anthropologist Anastasia Panagakos's findings about the success of Greek popular artists in Canada. Panagakos claims, amongst others, that their success is principally limited to the Greek diaspora.[37]

Conclusion

Although the 'Greek-Madonna' title has been regarded as a useful commercial hook, it ends up only highlighting the potential contradictions between Vissi's marketing and the different ways in which she is perceived by Greek and international audiences. Greeks seem to be happy with Vissi's merely flirting with 'Westernness'. This sort of attitude is enough to make her even more interesting to them, while it does not harm their perception of Anna Vissi as their 'own' Greek diva. Thus, she remains typically Greek and is perceived as such by international audiences as well, because she does not distance herself sufficiently from her Greek persona and identity. Despite the marketing, perhaps she really does wish to remain profoundly Greek. To the extent, then, that the 'Anna Vissi phenomenon' is a central case study of Greek popular music, which has absorbed and articulated recent socio-cultural and ideological changes , it seems very likely that the Greek audiences of Anna Vissi respond to modernisation rather slowly and reluctantly.

Ackknowledgements

References

Cowan, Jane K., 'Politics, Identity and Popular Music in Contemporary Greece', *Kampos: Cambridge Papers in Modern Greek*, Vol.1, No.1 (Cambridge: Modern Greek Section, Faculty of Modern and Medieval Languages, 1993), pp. 1-21.

---

37   Anastasia Panagakos, 'Downloading New Identities: Ethnicity, Identity and Media in the Global Greek Village', *Identities*, Vol.10, Nr.2, 2003, pp. 209-10.

Dawe, Kevin, 'Between East and West: Contemporary Grooves in Greek Popular Music (1990-2000)' in Goffredo Plastino, ed., *Mediterranean Mosaic: Popular Music and Global sound* (New York and London: Routledge, 2003), pp. 221-240.

Dragoumános, Pétros, *Katálogos Hellēnikēs Discographías 1950-2000* [*Catalogue of the Greek Discography 1950-2000*], 5th ed. (Athēna: Dragoumános, 2000).

Dyer, Richard, 'A Star Is Born and the Construction of Authenticity', in Christine Gledhill, ed., *Stardom: Industry of Desire* (New York: Routledge, 1991), pp. 132-140.

Panagakos, Anastasia, 'Downloading New Identities: Ethnicity, Identity and Media in the Global Greek Village', *Identities*, Vol.10, Nr.2, 2003, pp. 201-219.

Papageorgiou, Fouli T., 'Popular Music and the Music Industry in Greece', in Alison Ewbank and Fouli T. Papageorgiou, eds, *Whose Master's Voice? The Development of Popular Music in Thirteen Countries* (Westport-Connecticut and London: Greenwood Press, 1997), pp. 67-87.

Pennanen, Risto P., *Westernisation and Modernisation in Greek Popular Music* (Tampere: University of Tampere, 1999).

Sēmítēs, Kōstas, *Politikē gia mia Dēmiourgikē Helláda* [*Politics for a Creative Greece*] (Athēna: Ekdóseis Pólis, 2005).

Taylor, Timothy D., *Global Pop: World Music, World Markets* (New York and London: Routledge, 1997).

Discography

Eurovision Song Contest Athens 2006, the Official Double DVD, CMC-EBU, C 00208-9. 2006.

Vissi, Anna, *Fotiá* [*Fire*], L.P., CBS Records, CBS 466286. 1989.

—— *Klíma Tropikó* [*Tropical Climate*], C.D., Columbia Records, COL 483908. 1995.

—— *Anna Vissi Live*, Double DVD, Sony Music Greece, COL 202760 7. 2004.

—— *Call Me*, CD single, Vanilla/Moda Records and Sony BMG. 2005.

Internet Resources

Anna Vissi's biographical information:

Dillon , Charlotte, "All Music Guide, Artists", *The Online Billboard Magazine* http://www.billboard.com/bbcom/bio/index.jsp?pid=266351 (16 Aug. 2007).

Anna Vissi's official international fan-webpage: http://www.anna-vissi.info/english/biography/01.html (16 Aug. 2007).

Anna Vissi's official webpage: http://www.annavissi.net (16 Aug. 2007).

Anna Vissi's videos:

A medley of some of her recent music videos on youtube.com: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Duymqg5-WFs (16 Aug. 2007).

Interview for GBTV in 2005: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FGkRWHDes7E (16 Aug. 2007).

The official video clip of the song "Call Me": http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=algXWhcv3Ls (16 Aug. 2007).

The Greek rock remix of "Call Me" in Greek ["Eísai"] http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=C7HcDQIkFiM (16 Aug. 2007).

Anna Vissi on MAD TV in 2001 http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OTELLzIbbCs&NR in Greek (16 Aug. 2007).

Anna Vissi's Eurovision performance on 20 May 2006: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qRJJPpAqzGM (16 Aug. 2007).

Comments on Anna Vissi

Greek lyricist Évē Droútsa on Antenna TV in February 2006:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j7tbIUJghVs&mode=related&search

(16 Aug. 2007). posted on esctoday.com by the member called Good Vibes [29723] on 15 Mar. 2006 at 00:56:27,
http://www.esctoday.com/news/read/5784?id=5784&offset=702#reactions
(16 Aug. 2007).

Christina Aguilera, live at the MTV Music Video Awards in 2006:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QxJhOZLj1yI (16 Aug. 2007).

Guns 'n' Roses, live at the Ritz, New York, on 02 Feb. 1988:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x5wRW7I4Dqc (16 Aug. 2007).

Freddie Mercury, live at Wembley in 1986:
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=BApaVMqAVtc (16 Aug. 2007).

MAD TV website:
http://www.mad.tv/ (16 Aug. 2007), also see:
http://www.mad.tv/mad4mad/?go=about&abid=16135 (16 Aug. 2007).

Stergíou, Leōnídas, "Hē Historía tēs Hellēnikēs Tēleórasēs" ["The History of Greek Television"] in the Greek newspaper *Kathimerini*, published on 04 Apr. 2006 in Greek
http://portal.kathimerini.gr/4dcgi/_w_articles_kathfiles_100030_04/04/2006_149723 (16 Aug. 2007).

Culture & Urban Stories: The Photography Between Cities and Europe. A Sociosemiotics Approach to the European Photography Reggio Emilia 2007

Damiano Razzoli

Department of Communication Disciplines, University of Bologna

damiano.razzoli@gmail.com

The *European Photography*, held in Reggio Emilia (Italy) from April to June, displays the work of European artists. Photography meets the city, its people, and its culture. The theme of 2007, *Cities/Europe*, has a wider scope than last year's *The City*.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze the discourse strategy that underlies the planning and definition of this event with a sociosemiotics approach. Both the text explaining the purpose of the Week and the texts, written or visual, by the artists build up together the meaning of the event itself and constitute a social and cultural reality. In this way photography becomes central to the cultural policy of the Reggio Emilia Municipality, targeting the belonging to Europe.

It helps understand the core of European identity, defined by social and cultural differences, and the interconnected experiences which the photographic discourse refers to and makes intelligible.

Introduction

The event *European Photography*, held from May to June in Reggio Emilia (Italy), displays the work of European artists. The exhibitions are set in important old buildings, some of them not even open to people usually, like a church in restoration or the ex psychiatric hospital. At the same time, café, art galleries, clubs of photographers have been induced to mount their own exhibition. Furthermore, several concerts, meetings, and presentations of similar European projects, have been scheduled. The theme of 2007, *Cities/Europe*, has a wider scope than last year's *Urban Stories*. Six photographers have been invited to give their visual interpretation of cities to create an image of Europe:

> The first thing we have asked the photographers was that they should feel free to present us with the view of the kind of cities that could bear witness to this feeling of boundary, where the transparency, the overlapping and the opacity could be revealed, through which we might we might imagine a Europe that is fading away while at the same time it is being born again, new and different (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 6).

The purpose of this paper is to analyze with a sociosemiotics approach the discourse strategy that underlies the planning and the definition of this event[1]. By discourse, we mean: a) considering the photos realized, their configuration according to Floch (1986); b) considering the event, the global discourse that underlies the project of communication of the event itself. In our opinion, both the text explaining the purpose of the event and the texts, written or visual, by the artists would build up together the meaning of the event itself.[2] We will focus on this inter textual relation.

Nevertheless, it is not clear what implies the focus of the event, which is Europe:

> Although by now the meaning of the world "Europe" would appear to have been fully assimilated, every time the underlying concept is discussed one has a hard time understanding what is actually describes. It describes a unity, an uniformity, but it also would seem to be telling us that there is much that still need to be unearthed (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 6).

The photographic language has been individuated as a medium to research on this issue. In this view, photography should be helpful to grasp the core of the European identity, composed by social and cultural differences, by interconnected experiences, which it refers to and makes intelligible.

The problem we have decided to face belongs to two levels: a) considering that the event is the main project of the cultural policy of the Municipality of Reggio Emilia, what emerges is a strategy oriented to foster a certain idea of Europe that starts from a new semantic investment of the city spaces; b) considering that the photography is identified as the central

---

1   This paper represents the first step of a research still going on for the Municipality of Reggio Emilia. The project of research will end with a publication of an in-depth report which this paper has largerly contributed to. We would like to thanks professor Alvaro Pina who has organized the session *Eu-Euro-Europe: Where is European Photography?* and all the participants to the session. We would like to thanks ACSIS for *Inter: An European Cultural Studies in Sweden*. We would like also thanks the Municipality of Reggio Emilia for the cooperation.

2   In this perspective, we would like to precise that we will use variously the term photography, that for us has a general meaning (language, medium), as much as the terms photograph, photo, image, considered as sign or visual text. Floch recognizes an indefiniteness of the study of photography or photograph, meant as language, or medium, or sign without any distinction (cf. Floch 1986). Our case study, the event *European Photography*, implies a wide point of view that integrates all conception of photography/photograph to be well analyzed (cf. "proposal of deliberation").

medium which can carry on a discussion about European identity, it is interesting to question the reasons why the photography itself has been chosen to build a discourse about Europe. Though on one side the fact that photography remains peripheral to cultural institutions, vestigial in analyses of Europe, dispersed in the interstices of media and scientific discourses, is balanced by the project *European Photography*, on the other side a new issue comes out, regarding the nature of photography: "What do we see when we think of Europe? What can be revealed through the images produced by a vision, such as the photographic one? Can photography show us something so intangible as an idea still in embryonic form?" (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 6)[3]. This is what we would like to probe in the following analysis.

The corpus of analysis we are going to consider is composed by: 1) the official documents of public domain as the "proposal of resolution", that is the document explaining the project approved by the Municipality, and texts of introduction of the event presented in the catalogue *European Photography Reggio Emilia 2007*; 2) the images, with the respective paratexts (Genette 1987), realised by the photographers invited in the section *Cities/Europe*: Marina Ballo Charmet, Jean-Louis Garnell, Cezary Bodzianowski, Aino Kannisto, Armin Linke, Klavdji Sluban. We will not consider each picture and paratext, but the series of pictures on the whole, pointing out how a text could make sense as regards the discourse it subsumes. Our look on the photos will be general and we will concentrate on the similarities among them in spite of the variety of solutions displayed by the artist. We will privilege the analysis of the discourse strategy of the event and the role given to photography.

In the first paragraph, we are dealing with the discourse strategy of the event which is revealed by the laying out set by the Municipality, posing attention on the role assigned to the imagination by the mass-media (cf. Appadurai 1996), so by the photography (cf. Eco 1985), and on the definition of an European culture.

In the second paragraph, we are dealing with photography as a text that refers to a discourse about Europe, being within an exhibition context dedicated to European cities. We will also briefly trace the profile of the semiotics debate on photographic image, on one hand meant as ontologized and undiscussable, on the other constituted by the interpretive saliences of the forms that are inscribed in the image itself[4]. However that may be, our main interest remains the way by which pictures displayed at the exhibition, with their different gazes and different aesthetic solutions, have been used to build a discourse about Europe. In this way, the interpretation of pictures is oriented towards the comprehension of an European identity and their semantic potentiality is found as improved (cf. Violi 1997). An original point of view on Europe should rely on the recorded whole of all the knowledge, beliefs, interpretations, distillate of texts, namely the concept of *Encyclopaedia* (Eco 1984), in the sense that it would activate new connections, within the limits of the text, given by the image, so far not probed.

Europe, Photography, Cities: the Lines of a Strategy

In the beginning, just let us motivating the choice of a semiotics perspectives. The project of semiotics is to bring the *signification* to the core of the cultural processes, eluding in this way the claim for an ontological foundation of cognition and experience (Dondero 2006: 110). For *signification*, semiotics assume a process depending on matters of the world and on interpretations of subjects. It is a social phenomena connected to cultural systems in which people live, speak and interpret.

European cities are the point of view from where it is possible to start looking to Europe. The photography, so placed in between, potentially becomes a way to negotiate the sense of

---

3   This has been the theme of the session *Eu-Euro-Europe: Where is European Photography?* within the program of Inter: An European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden (Norrköping, june 11-13 2007).

4   For an overall view on the theories, cf. Scalabroni 2003, Dondero 2006.

the world, to negotiate a vision of Europe, to recognize a possible European identity, composed by interconnected social and cultural differences.

This remark fits with the purposes of the project *European Photography* as explained in the "proposal of resolution" and the catalogue. For methodological reasons we will focus on the photos and will not investigate other features of the event (i.e. concerts, live performances, etc.), though they are indicative of its profile and they are revealing of the project planned and realized by the Municipality of Reggio Emilia.

The Theme of Europe

Now we examine some passages from the "proposal of resolution", where the theme of Europe is expressed clearly in.[5]

> …By the language of photography and art, the project aims to trigger a reflection about our city: places, identities, needs, expectations, plans, emphasizing the centrality of culture in strategic planning policies…
>
> …The aims is getting in touch more closely with the resources and the expectations of the community, sharing the city planning with people, not only with technicians…
>
> …The identity of the city is the frame which our project is introduced within. It would aim to be a relevant cultural event, able to cast Reggio Emilia beyond the local borders…

Photography would become protagonist and visible in a sensitive context that increases its capacity to carry out a discourse about a predetermined theme. What is recognized as deeply-rooted in photography is its being able to see and its efficacy. Also from the point of view of some Italian sociosemiotics research, according to Marrone (2001: XXXV) and Sedda (2004: 9), photography, as the language, could not be considered as pure representation of the external world, as well as communication is not simple transmission of information. The potentiality of photography would be grasped as openness of possibilities, experimentation of ways of being or giving that the photograph as text partly realized and partly proposes. The Municipality has wanted to catch the possible social role of photography, stating that the whole city should be somehow involved in the event. Let's read again from the "proposal of resolution":

> …The project *European Photography* aims to compare urban visions which should be different, but surprising for their similarity or proximity because of the differences themselves, offering a comprehensive view of what already belongs us…
>
> …It is proposed as an inquiry by photography on what we think as essential for our time. In the age of disorientation, when places lose their meanings, this inquiry regards the relation between people and the places they live, marked by the multiplicity of landascapes: this relation shapes our being in the world…

Investigating by photography our being in the world seems to recall the social semiotics object of study as pointed out by Eric Landowski (1989), that is observing the ways which social communities give rules to themselves and become spectacle of themselves.

European Photography has been planned as a cultural event that arranges the possibility to build up a discourse about Europe. It seems the suggestion of James Clifford (1997), elaborated in ethnographic research, had been followed: Clifford conceives culture as relational, temporary, in unceasing transformation; for him representation as much as

---

5 The original "proposal of deliberation" is written in Italian. Here, we propose our own translation.

explanation or interpretation stays in this process of variation. *European Photography* connects together different concepts of photography, different perspectives, offering a multitude of points of view kept together in a single heterogeneous gaze.

About the idea of heterogeneity, it should be appropriate to mention what Russians formalists (cf. Todorov 1965) meant with culture, a conglomeration of differential and dynamic systems, typified by internal opposition and unceasing sliding (Hermans 1985: 11; cf. Dusi 2003: 25). The Lotman's concept of *semiosphere* comes from here. It is considered as the general whole of culture compared to the biosphere, the whole of the interactive living organisms (cf. Lotman 1985). According to Lotman, there would be cultural subsystems that modify and organize themselves both coexisting separately and meeting each other. The semiotic space is considered as a place of clash among senses that fluctuate between a complete equation or divergence. That is why Lotman sees the *semiosphere* as heterogeneous. This process permits to create a reciprocal and dynamic tension among different entities that produces new courses of sense, new information (cf. Pezzini 2004b). It is so possible to say that in the terms of Lotman's *semiosphere* we can draw Europe as an union of cultural differences.

Thus, the event *European Photography* enhances the belonging to Europe. It compares different diversities, languages and memories which are not shared. In this sense, the value of communication would resides in what make itself harder: translating what seems to be not translatable generates new culture (cf. Dusi 2000; Fabbri 2003). Let's read from the catalogue.

> …Europe, as it turns out, like anyone else, lives a paradox of something that still is becoming and at the same time embodies something which, undoubtedly, has already been. This is why to some extent it has to sink beyond itself, to lose its original vocation, to revoke itself from itself in order to find what it is still in the process of becoming… (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 7)

> …One of the most recognisable features of Europe is what is termed as its multicentrality and multipolarity, a complexity built up around many centres, that act as poles of attraction and interrelation, a variety, a constellation in which for centuries its cities have been stars. Fragmented into hundreds of regions each with the most diverse characteristics, each of which has found ways of building its own culture and history, Europe has always experienced this particular trait as both problematic and potentially rewarding…(Grazioli 2007: 13)

The writer John Berger once said in *Another Way of Telling*: "The look of the world, carried by photography, proposes and confirms our relations to the thereness of the world, which nourishes our sense of being" (Berger 1995: 88). This choice to represent Europe implies a certain idea of Europe: "The world photos reveal becomes tractable" (*ibidem*: 209). European identity is defined by plural and different framings. It seems that the variety of photography may be able to grasp the fact that Europe is still in a planning stage despite it got its name 25 centuries ago, since Middle Age, as the historian Jacques Le Goff said. Le Goff affirms that the long length of Europe is a dialectic between an effort to cohesiveness, unity, and the preservation of diversity (Le Goff 1994: 3). The variability of solutions that photography offers representing Europe explicates somehow the difficulty to single out an absolute objectivity of what Europe is.

The Choice of Photography

We would like to start this paragraph with some passages from the catalogue where the relation between Europe and photography is explained:

…The photographic outlook today is experiencing a variety of forms and results that represents a vast wealth for anyone who is intent on understanding, rather then defending their little space…(Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 7)

…The categories, as in the search for a European identity, run the risk of dulling the identity of our own photographic vision, all the more precious seeing as it is ours: it is our vision. No art, non medium, as the saying goes, highlights this subtlety as much as photography, with its capacity to trigger within us both the sense of reality as well as the subjective sense of vision, without compressing the latter within the confines of the basic view, but opening it to the conceptual workings of the mind, be it intellectually or through the imagination, and without limiting the former aspect through a legitimate, yet often reductive, yearning for tangible reality…(*ibidem*)

As we have pointed out before, the project of semiotics is to bring the *signification* to the core of the cultural processes. This suggestion matches and is derived from the position of Umberto Eco, who considers a photograph as an *index* of something which was *there* and photography as a semiosic phenomena that creates sense for the reason why the impression or illusion of reference, given by the fixed framing, flakes off in the interplay of contents, of interpretations (Eco 1985: 34; 1997: 328). As photography in this event is considered as language, medium, sign, visual text for a cultural reflection about the idea of Europe, the idea of Europe itself fades away and arise again in a multiplicity of objective lens and perspectives. It could not be considered as ontologically founded, but build up by cognitions and experiences arranged in connection. "The photograph begs for an interpretation" (Berger 1995: 92). *European Photography* is meant as an opportunity to negotiate cultures, to negotiate the meaning of Europe through photographs. Reflecting on the concept of *Encyclopaedia*, Eco asserts that meanings, as contents, are identifiable, even if they rise and fall, coagulate and wrinkle (cf. Eco 1997: 238, 409; Bruner 1990: 13). Both photography and Europe are conceived as negotiable, produced and interpreted by preferential points of view.

European Photography assumes three competent observers: the Municipality that sets up the event, the photographer with his or her gaze, the people with their interpretation. So, the event lets see and lets be a certain Europe through different point of view[6]. Our interest is to establish how it is given us the possibility to see Europe through photography. We have decided to focus on the strategy of the Municipality and the photos realized. The meaning of Europe is negotiated through the interpretive work on images. We could mean this process as a socialization of the image: the production of a discourse presuppose a public (cf. Landowski 1989).

At this point, it is important to consider from a sociosemiotics perspective the concept of *relation*: on one hand, it is helpful to consider the Peirce's concept of sign reference (cf. Eco 1975); on the other hand, it is helpful how Saussure posed the problem of the meaning of *signification* as relation of values determined together (cf. Greimas-Courtés 1979). The *signification* so does not reside on the things, but on their relation, on the process of their shaping (cf. Landowski 1989). But, if we want to speak about a socialization of the image, it may be even more interesting referring to Eco. The *signification* is given each time something materially present to one's perception refers to something else (Eco 1975). Photography is put into the core of *signification*, exposed to the semiotics analysis as semiotics faces up to common objects insofar as they participate to the semiosis (*ibidem*). In this paper, photography is meant as a common object participating to the observation and interpretation

---

6   Here we briefly refer to the perspective of Generative Semiotics, with its theory of modality and the concept of actant (cf. Greimas-Courtés 1979; Greimas 1984a). The event *European Photography* develops a global modal competence and displays Municipality, artists and public as actants of a complex discourse on European identities and borders.

of Europe. It helps understand the core of European identity, defined by social and cultural differences, and the interconnected experiences which the photographic discourse with its variable perspective refers to. Could you know more about Europe now? The event aims to open a permanent inquiry on Europe and to appreciate the expressive capacity of photography.

The Focus on the Cities

Europe is represented as many faced through different interpretations, different ideas of what photography is. As we said, these heterogeneity accounts for the planning stage of Europe. The key where the inquiry of *European Photography* starts from is the city, seen as a borderland. The concept of border reminds the Lotman's theory of *semiosphere* (cf. 1.1). The cities are the preferential place where the cultures are negotiated, clash or meet together. Let's start from the passages of the "proposal of resolution":

> …The topic of the border, of the bound, is meant not only in a geographical sense, but also social, psychological, cultural, with the intent to privilege photography as art and cognitive experience that quests for the reality and widens its look to the complexity of places, anthropoligical or geographical, moving from their possible images…

The document explains that one of the goals of the event is to find identities that are interwoven in the facet of cities. The major of Reggio Emilia considers today the cities as "labs in which a new Europe is being created through the cross-fertilisation introduced by diversity, tradition, behaviour, gesture" (Grazioli, Panattoni 2007: 4). Several images mechanically produced has been available for one's own imagination and life. The places on the border become our cities, the people they live in them, and the photography. We quote now from the "catalogue":

> …While electronic and virtual flows bypass any difference and connect everything in one single global network, cities are still the place where reality urges, relationships get entangled, obstacles slacken the rhythm…(Grazioli, Panattoni 2007: 6)

In our opinion, it is possible to question this dualism that places the real city and the electronic flows on two different levels. Bruno Latour (cf. 1996, 2001), who has contributed to develop the *action/network theory*, would challenge the opposition between real and imaginary: in his point of view, electronic flows and networks are (among others) what let being the city in its concrete and real materiality, as infrastructures, technological mediators. Photography is placed in this process.

> …Though Europe and all its cities have been a geographical reality for a long time, this particular historical moment challenges it to make a effort of imagination helping it to find and finally gain its own unity and identity. Cities are the perfect laboratories of this Europe under construction. In the cities, individuals, cultures, habits, attitudes, gestures and signs are well mixed together; contacts have been set for a long time and people as well as objects have already come together. We have to change the way we look to understand Europe through its cities... (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 7)

> …We need to find a fresh look to reduce the dullness of reality, a glance capable of deeply understanding the cities we are living in. We have to go beyond any pre-constituted European identity and find out that very feature common to all our open cities that can be reached by those who really want to know them.…(*ibidem*)

> …The first thing we have asked the photographers who have been invited to produce images for the occasion was that they should feel free to present us with a view of the

kind of cities that could bear witness to this feeling of boundary, where the transparency, the overlapping and the opacity could be revealed, through which we might imagine a Europe or at least catch a glimpse of a Europe that is fading away while at the same time it is being born again, new and different. In the belief that photography plays a fundamental role in this context, embodying this outlook like no other art can hope to do today, we expect that it should manage to convey this in all its breadth… (*ibidem*)

We can outline three different issue: where is Europe moving towards? How does photography build up an effect of sense and account for a possible reality? Where is the process of *signification* placed and which are the pre-arranged goals? We should recognize that these issues converge together. Europe is oriented also by our interpretive attitude, by our look, by the relevance we give to the images. *European Photography* is based on a cultural strategy which gives the images the role to guide a reflection on European arrangement of identities.

Cultural Studies considers mass-media, and thus photography, part of the general tissue of experience (cf. Silverstone 1999). "Images can help us in imagining or understanding a new Europe leaving its old boundaries behind and reviving new and different" (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 7). We would like to introduce here the concept of *mediascape* theorized by Appadurai in *Modernity at Large* (1996). The term *mediascape* means a whole of accounts based on images, possible narration of reality. It is also possible to shape scripts of imagined lives of someone else that is living somewhere else. Imagination is considered here as a social practice that designs a scape made of collective representations. We assume that this scape could be filtered by photography. At this point, it is central to wonder where we could find *European photography* and what is the role every culture, society, group reserve for images.

…In what is commonly termed the age of globalization we are deeply aware of how highly unlikely it is to establish boundaries that may correspond to simple limitations of geographical or geopolitical space, the permanent shifts of the multitudes cause unstoppable flux and turn cities into throbbing places that are totally imbued with this rhythm... (Grazioli – Panattoni 2007: 9)

Photography fixes cities and people in a framing and exposes them to the interplay of interpretation. As Viviana Gravano has suggested in a book called *Crossing*: photography seems to undergo something like the crossing of the cities, both of them preferential places of passage, transit, cultural crossing.

Challenging Photography: the Section Cities/Europe

In this paragraph we focus on the exhibition context. Our interest to analyse the discourse strategy of the event *European Photography* aims to verify how such a project makes photography becoming a collective property. Photography has been selected to be the core of a cultural project. The result of the event is a marked heterogeneity. John Berger has well described the process of cultural construction implied by photography:

The photographer chooses the event he photographs. This choice can be thought of as a cultural construction, that implies the rejection of what hasn't been chose to be photographed. The construction is the reading of the event. Otherwise, the image of the event is a cultural construction, as it belongs to a specific social situation (Berger 1995: 92).

Any photographer invited at the event has faced the theme of Europe, picking up scene, stories, feelings to shot.

> …Europe is not just the object of our discussion but also the vantage point for our observations, while at the same time representing our objective, the purpose of our inquiry. We see inside it and from within it, while at the same time it is our exterior, because it is not just what we identify ourselves in, but also where our prospects lie, in terms of our future…(Grazioli 2007: 13)

The variability of solutions which Europe is represented through singles out the multitude of images potentially makable and the difficulty to find an absolute objectivity. Quoting from an essay by Chamboredon, in Bourdieu's *The Social Use of Photography* (1965), the French Hungarian photographer Brassai, once speaking at the *Semaine pour l'image dans la societé industrielle*, said: "Where to find the absolute objectivity? Even the most important scientists do not find it. De Broglie noticed that the simple act of seeing modifies a phenomena". The photo is the result of a selection that fixes a feature of the reality; it is certainly a transcription of the reality, but oriented, opened to the interpretive activity (cf. Bourdieu 1965; Floch 1986).

We want to start looking into the photos of the section *Cities/Europe* quoting from the catalogue: "The inner differences between photographers is in fact part of the difference at play in the search for signs in the cities and of the European identity that has yet to be formed" (Grazioli, Panattoni 2007: 8). In this way, the semantic potentiality (cf. Violi 1997) of the images would be increased, being devoted to a representation of Europe. Thus, an original gaze on Europe would be connected to the whole of recorded interpretations, what Umberto Eco calls *Encyclopaedia* (Eco 1984), activating connections unexplored, but still within the textual limits given by the image. The photo should be considered not only self-sufficient. The information the medium carries out seems to be in this way not complete, but fragmented; it has to be rearranged (cf. Eco 1979; Fabbri 2003). Therefore, we mean photograph in the terms of Eco (1975) as a complex visual text that allows to start a reflection about European identity, considering the exhibition context and the inner configuration of the photograph itself.

We end this paragraph exploring briefly the centrality of the exhibition context. We are interested in this event because it reveals how is difficult to isolate the photographic image from the place of its inscription (Dondero 2006: 89). Thus, it should be useful to consider what Edward and Harts say about the materiality of photography. On a book titled *Photographs, Objects, Histories. On the Materiality of Images* (2004), they say it is not only image to be the location of the meaning, but also its presentational forms and its uses in society become central to identify photography as object socially prominent (cf. Dondero 2006).

Photograph as Complex Visual Text

The perspective of photographer, what the filmmakers and photographer Wim Wenders (1983) calls *disposition* to the scene that it is possible to find again in the image realized, which configuration is a plastic and figurative disposition of elements, enables to read the world. This suggestion is interesting if moved into the context of *European Photography*. The ethnographer James Clifford wrote about his disciplines that hermeneutics reminds us how cultural reflections are intentional creations: while we are interpreting we build up ourselves (cf. Clifford 1997). *European Photography* is an event intentionally arranged that aims to be an interpretive mediator through photography, shaping an idea of Europe and setting Reggio Emilia within Europe.

Thus our interest is to comprehend how photography means something within a cultural event whose project of communication is to create a discourse through images about European cities. We so consider photograph not only for its own inner textuality (cf. Pezzini 2004a). In these terms, it is helpful to place side by side Floch's analysis of themes, figures

and plastic formants of images (cf. Floch 1986) with a wider perspective, that is inspired by Eco's theory (cf. 1975, 1984, 1985, 1997).

We would start this part referring again to Eco: semiotics faces up to common objects insofar as they participate to the semiosis (cf. Eco 1975). We might consider photography as common object. At the same time, we would consider the issue from Floch's perspective, who prefers to focus on the discourse configurations, analysing how photos produce meaning. The relation between the Eco's interpretive point of view and the Floch's generative point of view allows us to see a) how photographs give many and different interpretations of what Europe is with Eco's concept of *Encyclopaedia*; b) how this heterogeneity is the result of a complex mixture of plastic and figurative *formants* that *thematizes* an issue and create effects of sense (cf. Greimas-Courtés 1979; Greimas 1984b; Floch 1986).

This twofold perspective is helpful even if Eco critics the enhancement of the plastic analysis, seeing photograph as an index (cf. Eco 1985, 1997). However, he reminds us that picking up a *topic*, a theme, from a photograph, helps us to define an *aboutness*: the photographer refers to something (cf. Eco 1979). This implies a generative process that carries out an interpretive strategy. Even if Eco's use of the term *generative* comes from a pragmatist interpretive point of view, we may check how it fits with Floch's generative perspective. Floch means each photograph as construction, selection, hierarchy of geometric configurations. The possibility to recognize and read them is due to a semantic grid that changes according to different cultures. Floch also reminds us that photography does not imply plastic *formants*, but the use of plastic categories to analyze the photograph is useful to explain the rules of shaping of the result (cf. Floch 1986). This twofold perspective so helps us to go beyond the debate on photograph's nature, on one hand meant as ontologized and undiscussable (cf. Bazin 1954, Barthes 1980, Dubois 1983, Schaeffer 1987), on the other constituted by the interpretive saliences of the forms that are inscribed in there (cf. Floch 1986). Although Eco's position of photograph as index (cf. Eco 1985, 1997) is much more closer to the first side, his critics of iconism, his attention on interpretive strategy and his concept of *Encyclopaedia* (cf. Eco 1975, 1979, 1984) offer a possible contact with Floch's position. Floch says that each effect of *iconization* is relative to what is culturally conceived as reality (cf. Floch. 1986; Dondero 2005). Thus, our focus is on interplay of interpretations oriented by a strategy due also to the discourse configurations within the photographs.

The process of *signification*, that is the articulation, the togetherness, between a level signifying and a level signified, is fulfilled and attested by historical and social conventions. We translate and quote a study about the language of photography, by Attilio Colombo (1984, in Marra 2001: 120):

> "If we wished to communicate within the system of photography, we should subscribe a collective agreement, a system of values that has become institutional and that is difficult to change individually. That is why there are photographers who experiment and move on what appears to be already established. They force the limits imposed by conventions".

At the same time, we may consider what John Berger argues about the nature of photography: "Semiological systems each one being a social/cultural construct do indeed exist and are continually being used in the making and reading of images" (Berger 1995: 112). The main convention that seems to bind photography concerns what Bourdieu (1965) said: the nature of photography is connected to realism and objectivity, a convention attributed by society. If we compare this assumption with *European Photography*, our event seems to be kind of untrendy. A photo is produced by a cut, an arbitrary selection, that is the framing fixing a certain facet of reality, something that is not only a mere transcription of reality, but that is oriented, exposed to interpretation.

The image of a family inside a flat (cf. Garnell), or a man wearing a blond wig on the street (cf. Bodzianowski), or pictures of people in a park (cf. Ballo Charmet), or scene of a murder in interiors (cf. Kannisto), or photos taken from above on Cyprus (cf. Linke), or a dark city we are told being Berlin (cf. Sluban) do not immediately refer to Europe. In this sense, it seems to be obvious what Dubois argued: the photo-index affirms the existence of what is in front of our eyes, of what represents, but it does not say anything about the meaning of its representation (cf. Dubois 1983). We may view this problem from an other perspective.

We recognize what we materially see because the image is rendered intelligible by the recognition of an iconic code, according to Eco, "the system that matches perceptive and cultural codified unities to a system of graphic vehicles. These are pertinent unities of a semantic system that depends on a previous coding of the perceptive experience" (Eco 1975: 274; cf. Kant 1997). This position matches with Floch's idea that is possible to comprehend *iconicity* within a culture.

If on one hand the visual perception of a photography moves from an image of the reality, grasping what is in front of the objective lent, on the other hand the photo leaves a blank space that should be filled by the interpretation (cf. Eco 1979) of the photo itself: what does the photo want to communicate to us? What is it telling or revealing to us? What is thematizing? The act of interpretation is by the side of the photographer as much as by the side of the spectator. The photo itself becomes a sign, any interpretable expressive portion of the world according to Peirce (cf. Peirce 1931-58: 1.339; Eco 1979: 39; Eco 1997: 328): what is it relating to? We need to find a limit to the semiosis: potentially the photo refers to anything. The limit we could set for the *Encyclopaedia* is the *universe of discourse* (cf. Eco 1979: 39) which in our case is the reference to Europe.

Thereby, the exhibition context comes in our help to orient the interpretation and to make working the semiosis, tracing all the possible courses and links. The images realized by the photographers have been thought and produced targeting the theme of Europe, that is the core of the exhibition. Not only the photos are important, but also the paratexts, according to Genette (1987), zones, threshold of transition between the image and the spectator in which the informative features of the art are explained: for instance, the name of the author, the title of the photo, the text of comment by the photographer, the sizes, technical and printing features. According to Eco, what a photo relates to as iconic sign could be something like a process of translation vaster and more complex than the elementary process of synonymity or lexical definition. We can not explain a photo in a single word, as much as it seems hard to find a synonym for the term Europe.

By the way, it is possible to set up an event that creates a discourse by images that aims to represent the European identity through the cities. At this point, it would be clearer the reason why Eco (1975: 282) considers an iconic sign as a complex visual text. The potentiality of a visual text lies not in the fact that it depends on a code, but that it establishes a code. We might read the images produced for this event following Eco's suggestions. These images build up a discourse about Europe, considering, with Eco, that the equivalent of an iconic sign is not a word, but a description, a statement, sometimes a whole discourse. These concepts help us to verify how photography has been considered central developing the most important cultural project of the Municipality of Reggio Emilia and help us to understand how photos mean within the frame of the event *European Photography*. These photos refer to a semantic domain concerning Europe. They fit into a predetermined context. It would be possible to establish a way to produce sign functions: ostension as a sign production contributes to change the semantic domain of the images, at least in terms of enhancement (Dondero 2006: 29). In other terms, we should appreciate the complicity, the reciprocal penetration and performativity between the text and the world (Sedda 2004: 4).

The Images of Cities/Europe

If these photos were considered in themself, out of our pregiven context, or fit into an other context, they would be coded and would mean in another ways: we could appreciate a family posing, a cross-dresser in the street, buildings, people in a park, but who knows if the family is European, American, African? Who knows why there is a cross-dresser in this photo? Who knows if this photo from above are really taken over Cypriote lands? Who knows where this park is placed? Or, if these information are partly revealed by the paratexts, what do they mean? A reflection on landscapes, a reflection on the way people rest in park, a reflection on sexual discriminations, and so on?

If not for the context, photos themselves seem to remain uncertain. But even in the context, despite the paratexts, the result is undetermined and not so explicit: some of the photos need to be read with the help of the catalogue to be coherently interpreted (cf. Bodzianowski, Link). Why are they here? Do they tell something about Europe, even conceptually, or not? Besides, answering these questions, we should also consider what Clifford says about fictions, pretences: something that is culturally and historically partial, that has been fabricated, shaped (Clifford 1997: 29). This is the reason why we prefer to find the particularity of one photo rather than the specifity of the photography (cf. Rouillé 1985, Floch 1986): the shaping and the interpretation of a photo is due to cultural conventions. *European Photography* aims to stress and to go beyond these conventions, disclosing new interpretations, new connections and so enhancing the cultural *Encyclopaedia*.

Our aim has been to analyze how photography means in the context of *European Photography*. In this paper we have decided not to deeply analyze each series of photos, but at least we should point out useful features to account for the heterogeneity of the visual solutions, of the ways chosen to represent the relation between cities and Europe. We now present very briefly the six series.

Maria Ballo Charmet has shot immigrants people from eastern Europe in the park of Milan. Jean Louis Garnell has chosen families in an apartment of a condominium in Paris suburbs right after the riots. Cezary Bodznianowki is a polish photographer that dress up like an eastern European prostitute finding connections between Reggio Emilia, Italy, and Emilia, near Lodz, Poland. Aino Kannisto is a photographer that comes back to Helsinki, her hometown, after years spend working abroad, for a reflection on Europe through her own intimate relation with Finland capital, framing herself in fictional scene. Armin Linke is a photographer who brings in surface books of pictures fostered by the Nicosia Municipality that show cities, houses, landscapes along what is not possible to represent expect for technicians, the green line that divides Cyprus in two parts from above, under which a series of water mains branches out, connecting what on surface is divided. Klavdji Sluban has realized a very white and very black gaze on Berlin that seems to come from years and years ago, revealing its dual essence, through the clash of opened and closed spaces.

If we observe the six series of photos (cf. Appendix), we could appreciate the relevance with the theme proposed by the event: the relation between cities and Europe. In the beginning, we should recognize the thematic isotopy[7] of the border, in so far it is the theme of the event as pointed out in the "proposal of deliberation". The photos (cf. Appendix) display situation on the border (a road, a house, a door, a park). Similarly, a border is identifiable in the *past* of the place photographed: the images refer to a shared cultural horizon (Berlin, the city of the wall; Nicosia, divided by the green line in a Turkish and a Greek part). The relevance of the isotopy of the border may be thematized in various way (immigration, cosmopolitism, intimacy, past, geopolitics) and gives us the opportunity to recall the

---

7   The term isotopy in semiotics theory means the recurrence of sign category, both thematic than figurative or plastic, within a text or one of its part. It reveals an interpretive coherence and accounts for the constancy of a path of sense (cf. Greimas-Courtés 1979; Eco 1979; Pozzato 2001).

Lotman's concept of *semiosphere*, a heterogeneous cultural universe in what different elements are in a reciprocal and dynamic tension so that they can create new paths of sense and elaborate new information. Then, it is possible to recognize a second isotopy: the dialogue between spaces and human beings that comes out from the photos. The people represented gain value in relation to the special context they stand in.

Conclusion

What comes out in Reggio Emilia is a comprehensive discourse about photos concerning Europe.

If we meant Europe as a restricted area of *Encyclopaedia* in which texts, interpretations and intertextual connections that might shift or cross the borders of Europe itself, settles, we could grasp the benefit of this conceptual perspective: Europe is not only a geographical space, a half of the Euro Asiatic continent, the results of a historical, temporal progressing, but also a cultural universe that coheres, bringing together multiple perspectives and identities, reciprocally and unceasingly in relation of unity and distinction. If it has been possible by photography, will it be kept as possible by social and cultural policies? Or is the shadow of an encounter still waiting? At least, art should contribute to point to our European horizon, searching for a common well.

Summing up, what we have done in this presentation has been starting from a global level of analysis to comprehend the local level of textuality. That is also the target of the event itself: placing photography within a global discourse concerning Europe and checking what of the image makes intelligible the idea of Europe. By a sociosemiotics approach, we have tried to account for a) the way photography functions within such event; b) the reason why the Municipality has chosen photography to create a discourse about Europe; c) the results obtained. We have mix a semiotics of culture perspective with a semiotics of text perspective to analyze the place of photos and their interpretation in the event. However, this paper misses to not have deeply targeted a more exhaustive plastic and figurative analyze of the photos, but at least the main features, considered as isotopy, have been marked. This gap comes from the choice to focus more on the reasons why photography becomes central to the cultural policy of the Reggio Emilia Municipality. That is why we have largely referred to Eco's theory rather then Floch's category of analyze.

Our decision is due to the necessity, in this first step of research on the event, to see how photography helps understanding the core of European identity, defined by social and cultural differences, and the interconnected experiences which the photographic discourse with its variable perspective refers to. The next step will be focusing more on the images as textuality to verify how they relates to the discourse strategy of the event.

In conclusion, could we know more about Europe now? The event aims to open a permanent inquiry on Europe and to appreciate the expressive capacity of photography. Lévi-Strauss once confessed that the artwork permits to realize an improvement of knowledge. Its essential contribute is to offer a semantic reality (cf. Lévi-Strauss 1961). Thus, photography, as Floch pointed out, has the capacity to create meaning rather than recording or reproducing. What results from *European Photography* is a sense of suspension, of indeterminacy that comes out from the theme of the border. If we would want consider the knowledge as a sharing of differences in a pregiven world (cf. Fabbri 2001, 2003), *European Photography* accounts for the planning stage of Europe, represented with different figurative solutions or interpretations, represented as culturally many-sided, in search for an identity that evidently seems to be found *in between*.

Appendix

Mariana Ballo Charmet
© Comune di Reggio Emilia 2007
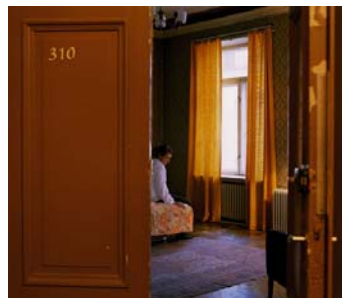

Jean Louis Garnell
© Comune di Reggio Emilia 2007

Cezary Bodzianowski
© Comune di Reggio Emilia 2007
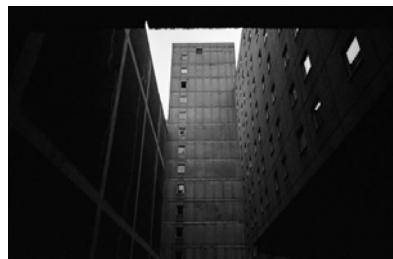
Aino Kannisto
© Comune di Reggio Emilia 2007

Armin Linke
© Comune di Reggio Emilia 2007

Klavdji Sluban
© Comune di Reggio Emilia 2007

Per l'autorizzazione all'utilizzo delle fotografie riportate in appendice, si ringrazia il Comune di Reggio Emilia.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996, *Modernità at Large*, Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press.

Barthes, Roland. 1980, *La chambre Claire. Note sur la photographie*, Paris: Gallimard.

Bazin, André. 1958, "Ontologie de l'image photographique", in *Qu'est-ce que le cinema?*, Paris: Éditions du Cerf.

Berger, John. 1995, "Another Way of Telling", in J.Mohr – J. Berger. *Another Way of Telling*, New York: Vintage.

Bourdieu, Pierre (eds). 1965, *Un art moyen. Essais sur les usages sociaux de la photographie*, Paris: Éd. de Minuit.

Chamboredon, Jean Claude. 1965, "Art mécanique, art sauvage", in Bourdieu 1965, op. cit.

Clifford, James. 1986, *Writing Culture. Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, University of California.

Colombo, Attilio. 1984, "Il linguaggio della fotografia", in *Progresso fotografico*, n°12, Milano.

Dondero, Maria Giulia. 2005, "Floch e le forme dell'impronta", in *E/C*, online review, Italian Association of Semiotics Studies, available at http://www.associazionesemiotica.it

Dondero, Maria Giulia. 2006, "Geografia della ricerca semiotica sulla fotografia", in Basso Fossali, Pierluigi – Dondero, Maria Giulia (eds). *Semiotica della fotografia. Investigazioni teoriche e pratiche di analisi*, Rimini: Guaraldi.

Dubois, Philippe. 1983, *L'acte photograpique*, Bruxelles: Labor.

Dusi, Nicola. 2000, "Introduzione. Per una ridefinizione della traduzione intersemiotica", in *Versus*, n° 85-86-87, pp. 3.54.

Dusi, Nicola. 2003, *Il cinema come traduzione*, Torino: Utet.

Eco, Umberto. 1975, *Trattato di semiotica generale*, Milano: Bompiani (1976. *A Theory of Semiotica*, Bloomington: Indiana U.P).

Eco, Umberto. 1979, *Lector in fabula*, Milano: Bompiani.

Eco, Umberto. 1984, *Semiotica e filosofia del linguaggio*, Torino: Einaudi (1984. *Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language*, Bloomington: Indiana U.P.)

Eco, Umberto. 1985, *Sugli specchi*, Milano: Bompiani.

Eco, Umberto. 1997, *Kant e l'ornitorinco*, Milano: Bompiani (1999. *Kant and the Platypus*, New York: Harcourt).

Edwards, Elizabeth – Hart, Janice. 2004, *Photographs, Objects, Histories. On the Materiality of Images*, London-New York: Routledge.

Fabbri, Paolo. 2000, "Il significante del mondo", in Fabbri, Paolo – Marrone, Gianfranco (eds), *Semiotica in Nuce II*, Roma: Meltemi (da Fabbri, Paolo. 1991, "Le passioni del discorso", in *Carte semiotiche*, n°7, pp. 28-37).

Fabbri, Paolo. 2003, *Elogio di Babele*, Roma: Meltemi.

Floch, Jean-Marie. 1986, *Les formes de l09:46:51'empreinte*, Periguex: Pierre Fanlac (trad. it. 2003, *Le forme dell'impronta*, Roma: Meltemi).

Genette, Gerard. 1987, *Seuils*, Paris: Seuil.

Gravano, Viviana. 1998, *Crossing*, Genova-Milano: Costa & Nolan.

Grazioli, Elio – Panattoni, Riccardo (eds). 2007, *Fotografia Europea. Le città/l'Europa*, Catalogo Fotografia Europea Reggio Emilia 2007, Bologna: Damiani.

Grazioli, Elio. 2007, "Le città/l'Europa", in Grazioli – Panattoni 2007, op. cit.

Grazioli, Elio – Panattoni, Riccardo. 2007, "Introduzione", in Grazioli - Panattoni 2007, op. cit.

Greimas, Algirdas Julien. 1984a, *Du Sens 2*, Paris: Seuil.

Greimas, Algirdas Julien. 1984b, "Sémiotique figurative et sémiotique plastique", in *Actes Sémiotique – Documents*, n°60.

Greimas, Algirdas J. – Courtés, Joseph. 1979, *Sémiotique. Dictionnaire raisonné de la theorie du langage*, Paris: Hachette.

Hermans, Theo (ed). 1985, *The Manipulation of Literature: Studies in Literary Translation*, Londra-Sidney: Croom Helm.

Landowski, Eric. 1989, *La société réfléchie*, Paris: Éd. de Minuit.

Latour, Bruno. 1996, "On interobjectivity"**,** *Mind, Culture & Activity*, 3 (4), pp. 228-245.

Latour, Bruno. 2001, "Une sociologie sans objet? Note théorique sur l'interobjectivité", in Marrone, Gianfranco – Landowski, Eric (eds). "La société des objets. Problèmes d'interobjectivité", in *Protée*, vol. 29, I.

Le Goff, Jacques. 1994, *L'Europa medievale e il mondo moderno*, Roma-Bari: Laterza.

Lévi-Strauss, Claude. 1961, *Entretiens avec G. Charbonnier*, Paris, 10/18.

Lotman, Jurij M. 1985, *La semiosfera*, Venezia: Marsilio.

Lotman, Jurij M. 1993, *Kul'tura i vrzyv*, Moskva: Gnosis (trad. it. 1993, *La cultura e l'esplosione*, Milano: Feltrinelli).

Manetti, Giovanni. 1998, *La teoria dell'enunciazione*, Siena: Protagon.

Marra, Claudio (ed). 2001, *Le idee della fotografia*, Milano: Bruno Mondatori.

Marrone, Gianfranco. 2001, *Corpi sociali*, Torino: Einaudi.

Peirce, Charles Sanders. 1931-58, *Collected Papers*, Cambridge: Harvard Press University.

Pezzini, Isabella. 2004a, "Gli occhi di Saddam; immagini del nemico", in *E/C*, online review, Italian Association of Semiotics Studies, available at http://www.associazionesemiotica.it Pezzini, Isabella. 2004b, "Semiosfera", in Cometa, Michele (ed), *Dizionario degli studi culturali*, Roma: Meltemi.

Pozzato, Maria Pia. 2001, *Semiotica del testo*, Roma: Carocci.

Quintavalle, Arturo Carlo. 1979, "Il territorio della fotografia", in *Enciclopedia pratica per fotografare*, Milano: Fabbri.

Rouillé, André. 1985, "Photographie, art et industrie", in Arrouye, Jean (ed), *Actes du Colloque International de Photographie*, Aix-en-Provence.

de Saussure, Ferdinand. 1908-1909, *Cours de linguistique générale*, Losanne-Paris: Payot.

Scalabroni, Luisa. 2003, "Postfazione" to Floch 1986, op. cit.

Schaeffer, Jean-Marie. 1987, *L'image précaire. Du dispositif photographique*, Paris: Seuil.

Sedda, Franciscu. 2004, "Mediascapes e semiotica della cultura", in *E/C*, online review, Italian Association of Semiotics Studies, available at http://www.associazionesemiotica.it

Silverstone, Roger. 1999, *Why Study the Media?*, London-Thousand Oaks-New Delhi: Sage Publication

Todorov, Tzvetan (ed). 1965, *Théorie de la littérature. Textes des formalistes russes*, Paris: Seuil.

Violi, Patrizia. 1997, *Significato ed esperienza*, Milano: Bompiani (2001. *Meaning and Experience*, Bloomington: Indiana U.P.).

Wenders, Wim. 1993. *Once*, Frankfurt em Mein: Verlag.

Agera fysik – organisera utrymme, professionella kroppar och experiment

Monica Sand

School of Architecture, KTH, Stockholm

monica.sand@arch.kth.se

Acting Physics – Organizing Body, Site and Experiment

Production of experiments – in art and physics - aim to expand the capacity of the body by transforming the scale as well as the perspective of the observer as producer of the experiment. Organization of "professional bodies" produces the space in which this relation in time can be performed in public.

The question "what can a body do?" locates production of knowledge and meaning in an experimentation with the body.

The study concerns three "productions of context" - in a public place, a research site and an interior public university site

1. a 42 meters high swing in a bridge in the harbour of Gothenburg. ("Can Gravitation be Cancelled?")
2. The Atlas detector under construction at CERN, particle physics laboratory, Geneva
3. "Myon Spin", performance with dancers and myon detectors at KTH, Stockholm.

The machines at CERN, the swing and the myon detectors serve as "expanded bodies" in repetitive experiments through bodies "acting physics".

Agera fysik – organisera utrymme, professionella kroppar och experiment
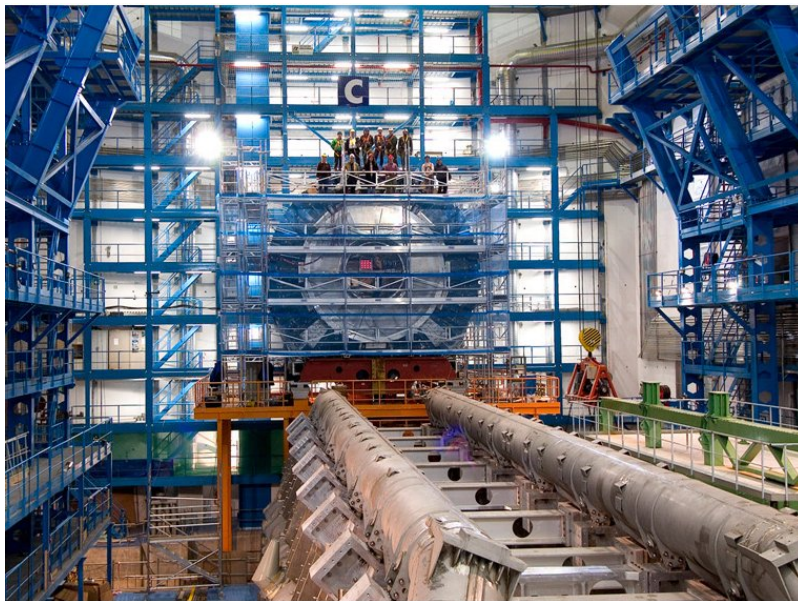

Foto: Pamela Ericsson

Foto: CERN

Foto: Monica Sand

Mänskliga kroppar uppträder centralt i de tre bilder som fungerar som infallsvinkel för ett resonemang om hur produktion av experiment lokaliserar *kroppen* i centrum för verksamheten. Bilderna visar dansare och fysiker som *agerar fysik,* genom att utnyttja gravitationen, konstruera en detektor och agera i parallella tid-rum. De agerar inom sin profession där *den professionella kroppen* samordnar sina rörelser i syfte att expandera sina förmågor. Därmed förkroppsligas fysikaliska kunskaper, men även en *föreställning* om och i kroppen med en utvald scen och relationer mellan dem som agerar och den tänkta publiken samtidigt som de intar ett aktivt kunskapsproducerande utrymme. Organisationen av ett *intellektuellt utrymme*, antar alltid rumsliga dimensioner, ett fysiskt utrymme där subjektet kan lokalisera sin kropp. Om vi försöker förstå den *professionella kroppen* utifrån Spinozas påstående att "vi inte vet vad en kropp kan göra", är det inte den individuella kroppens organ och funktioner som definierar *kroppens förmågor* utan hur flera kroppar påverkar varandra, förminskar eller expanderar sina förmågor med hjälp av olika strategier (Deleuze, Guattari 2004:283 (1988). Produktion av kunskap innebär att experimentera med och expandera kroppsliga förmågor genom ett rytmiskt intagande av utrymme, i syfte att konstruera den plats där kroppen kan definieras och en professionell identitet *iscensättas* under en begränsad tid.

Genom att studera till synes skilda praktiker, som dans, konst och fysik kan vi jämföra hur disciplinerna *agerar* genom hur "praktiken själv, förkroppsligar kunskap i en form som är oskiljbar från dess teoretiska och verbala artikulationer".[1] Hur hanteras den mänskliga kroppen i och genom sin disciplin? Hur tar kunskapsproduktion den professionella kroppen i besittning? Varför är det viktigt att studera kroppen i en kunskapsproduktion,[2] och vad betyder det att definiera den som en komponent i produktion av experiment?

Rytmiskt intagande av utrymme

1. I den första bilden gungar en dansare i en gunga som monterades i Älvsborgsbron i Göteborgs hamn. Den överdimensionerade gungan utgjorde första delen i en serie konstnärliga experiment utifrån den övergripande frågeställningen "Kan gravitationen upphävas?".[3] Syftet var bland annat att uppnå tyngdlöshet en kort stund samtidigt som den relativt lilla mänskliga kroppen expanderade sitt rörelseutrymme och rytmiskt intog en storskalig offentlig plats. Dansare har av tradition ett långt och medvetet förhållande till tyngdkraften. Att *motstå tyngdlagen* var den klassiska dansen uppgift vilket gjorde att dansaren pressade sin kropps förmåga till det yttersta, i hopp och i uppåtriktade rörelser. I den moderna dansen agerar däremot kroppen i en dynamisk relation med gravitationen: "the body was at its most interesting when in transition and at a moment of gravitational loss, that is, when it was falling […] It is in the *falling*, not in being down, that the modern body is at its most expressive" (Dempster 1998:224). Gungan expanderar transformationer mellan jordbundenhet och tyngdlöshet, där kroppen faller och fångas upp igen. Men gungan förändrade dansarens fall, i den överdimensionerade gungan kontrollerade dansaren inte sin kropp *inifrån* utan styrdes *utifrån* när gungans rörelser organiserade dansarens kropp i en rytmisk rörelse.

Bilden är tagen från marken på långt avstånd från bron så att stora delar av brokonstruktionen och gungans aktionsradie finns med i bilden. En mörk antydan till

---

1 "that practise itself […] embodies knowledge of a form irreducible to its theoretical or verbal articulation" (Pakes 2004:1)

2 Elizabeth Grosz menar att studier av 'subjektet för kunskap' betyder att ifrågasätta att det finns neutral eller universell kunskap eftersom kunskapsproducentens kroppsliga lokalisering i en specifik kultur under en viss tid och i ett rumsligt sammanhang är avgörande för hur kunskapsproduktionen ser ut (Grosz 1995:25-43).

3 http://www.zerogravity-art.nu.

mänsklig kropp där gungans lysande vajrar förenas underlättar inte bedömningen av storleksförhållanden, det är nästintill omöjligt att bedöma hur hög bron och därmed hur stor gungan är (gungan monterades 42 meter upp och hängde ungefär en meter ovanför marken). Eftersom himlen är svagt belyst medan de omgivande objekten som bron, huset och marken är mörklagda kan vi dra slutsatsen att bilden är tagen antingen i gryning eller skymningsljus. I mörkret när man knappast kunde se dansaren i gungan, bildade de lysande linorna en triangel mot den mörka himlen. I den rytmiska rörelsen, via den skära soluppgången, sjönk linorna långsamt in i bakgrunden medan dansaren övergick till synlighet.

2. Den andra bilden visar fysiker/tekniker/ingenjörer som står uppställda i den pågående konstruktionen av Atlasdetektorn på CERN (The European Organization for Nuclear Research) världens största laboratorium för partikelfysik,[4] uppbyggd på gränsen mellan Frankrike och Schweiz strax utanför Genève.[5] *Atlas* är ett samlande namn inte bara på detektorn[6] utan även på den forskargrupp som har konstruerat den och det experiment som ska utföras med hjälp av den.[7] Detektorn är placerad ca 100 meter ned under jord i nära anslutning till den nykonstruerade acceleratorn, Large Hadron Collidor (LHC) som kommer att försörja experimentet med partiklar, vilka accelereras till nästan ljusets hastighet.[8] Till skillnad från bron är det inte en välkänd arkitektonisk konstruktion gruppen av människor är inplacerade i; insidan av en detektorkonstruktion visas inte ofta utanför sitt sammanhang. Trots de mänskliga kropparnas närvaro är det i likhet med gungan svårt att bedöma hur hög konstruktionen är eftersom vi inte är säkra på hur stor del av konstruktionen vi ser, om marken är med i bild eller inte. Liksom i brobilden är kropparna knappt urskiljbara, varken som individer eller till antal. Gruppen står tätt tillsammans – vid en förstoring av bilden upptäcker vi att de flesta deltagarna bär bygghjälmar på huvudet – uppställda som på ett skolfoto, vända mot fotografen med ungefär hälften av deltagarna placerade på en högre avsats som om meningen var att alla skulle kunna urskiljas i bild.

Ett laboratorium som CERN präglas av en rad olika rytmer, som beror av experimentet och hur det organiserar det sociala livet. Livslängden på ett experiment, som Atlas, är för närvarande omkring 25-30 år och innefattar en långvarig relation mellan forskargrupperna och maskinen; planering, konstruktion, simulationer, datatagning och tolkning av resultaten, en tidsperiod som närmar sig vad en fysiker hinner med under sin karriär. Den långa perioden kan jämföras med de snabba rytmerna av partikelkollisionerna i experimentet när det pågår, i Atlas omkring 40 miljoner per sekund!

Organisationen av CERN innebär att handskas med dessa olika rytmer. För det första under konstruktionen av experimentet i en rytmisk process som är kopplad till detektorn, den maskin som konstrueras *på plats*. De mänskliga kropparna pendlar däremot mellan sina hemländer och CERN, sprids ut och samlas ihop, organiseras och reorganiseras i olika grupper som namnges och relateras till de maskindelar de ansvarar för (Knorr Cetina 1999). Dessa utsträckta, disparata rytmer förändras och bildar oändligt snabba rytmer när experimentet körs, en alltför snabb rytm för kroppens eget sinnessystem, vilket inte desto mindre påverkar den kroppsliga rytmiska processen men i motsatt riktning än under

---

4 I korta drag är elementarpartikelfysik den gren av fysiken där man försöker förstå hur materia är uppbyggd. De grundläggande komponenterna definieras i termer av elementarpartiklar och fundamentala krafter mellan dem som håller samman materian.

5 CERN startade 1954 med 12 europeiska medlemsländer, idag drivs anläggningen av ett 20-tal länder. Syftet är att samordna möjliggöra avancerad forskning genom att gemensamt konstruera och bedriva kostsamma experiment. www.cern.ch

6 I en detektor kan man avläsa spår av elementarpartiklar med hjälp av olika tekniker. Detekteringstekniker bygger på att ett ämne eller ett material påverkas när en partikel passerar.

7 I Atlasdetektorn hoppas man kunna ge svar på en rad frågor som den moderna fysiken ställer, till exempel varför material har massa och universums ursprung. www.atlas.ch

8 I en accelerator produceras och accelereras partiklar som distribueras till olika experiment.

monteringsperioden. Under monteringen förs allt material *till* maskinen och det underjordiska utrymme där den monteras, medan grupperna av mänskliga kroppar fungerar som en 'monteringsmaskin'. Vid datatagning, när experimentet är i gång, går processen åt andra hållet – *från* maskinen som avger data till de utspridda grupper som pendlar mellan 'platsen för maskinen' och sina hemuniversitet för att kunna börja fungera som en pågående, rytmisk 'tolkningsmaskin'.
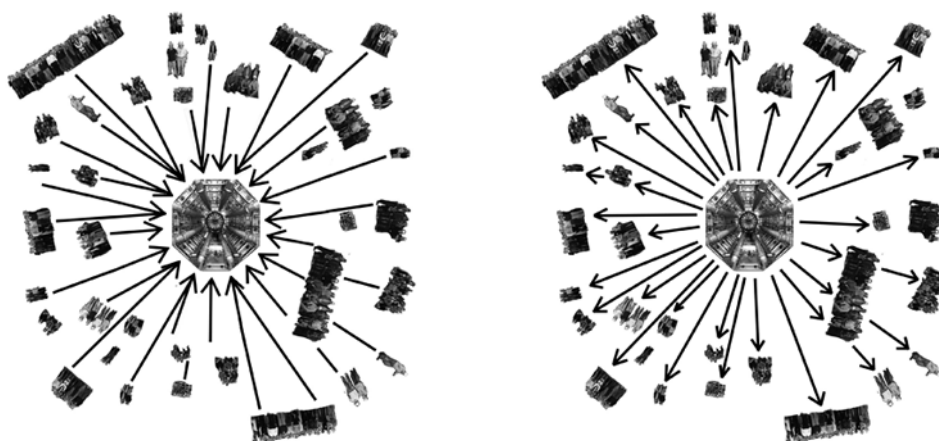
3. Den tredje bilden kombinerar disciplinerna konst, dans och fysik i föreställningen Myonspin[9] som visades i projektet Acting Physics/Fysikens Rum[10] på Tekniska Högskolan i Stockholm. De fem dansare vi ser i bild, agerade i rummet tillsammans med en skulptur som befinner sig utanför bildytan. Skulpturen bestod av fem separata torn som var konstruerade som stapeldiagram byggda av kvadratiska järnrör i olika höjd med en glasskiva i toppen. Under varje torn fanns en liten detektor som registrerade *myoner*, en typ av elementarpartiklar som bildas i atmosfären. Den signal som genererades av en partikel användes för att under en kort stund lysa upp några av glasskivorna genom den lampa som var placerad i varje rör. Ljuset flammade upp för att sedan långsamt avta. Myoner passerar med nästan ljusets hastighet vilket gör att de, trots sin korta livslängd (en bråkdel av en sekund) hinner ner till jordytan och kan ge utslag i en detektor. Den höga hastigheten expanderar tiden och krymper rummets utsträckning enligt Einsteins relativitetsteori – [11]myonerna som rör sig med nästan ljuset hastighet existerar i ett parallellt tid-rum till de mänskliga kropparna som rör sig långsammare. När myonerna vars energi tände skulpturen och passerade dansarnas kroppar sammanföll tid-rummen i en punkt.

Bilden är tagen ovanifrån och visar de fem mänskliga gestalterna utplacerade i en s-liknande formation på det rutade golvet, klädda i svarta likartade dräkter medan de håller ut händerna i olika positioner från kropparna. Gestalterna kastar inte mörka skuggor på golvet, en ljusring avtecknar sig på golvet kring varje mörk kropp. Rummet fylldes av ljud från tornens olika material; glas, trä och metall, en tillståndsmusik där ljuden var komponerade[12] efter en likartad tidsstruktur som bildas av den kosmiska strålningen. Ibland kommer ljuden

---

9   Koreograf Gun Lund, Göteborg (1999)

10   http://web.comhem.se/monicasand/actingphysics/fysikensrum.htm

11   Jfr tvillingparadoxen som brukar användas för att förklara hur relaviitetetsteorin fungerar: en tvilling stannar på jorden och den andra färdas ut i rymden i mycket hög fart, vilket innebär att han sträcker ut tiden medan rummet krymper och när han återvänder till jorden är han yngre än den som levt där under vanlig jordtid.

12   Kompositionen "Muon Song" av Marie Samuelsson, tonsättare, Stockholm (1998)

ett och ett och ibland som kaskader av ljud, grundad på samma matematiska perspektiv; sannolikhetsfördelningen av hur många myoner som passerar under en viss tid.[13]

Åskådarna stod utplacerade på balkonger i fyra våningar ovanför golvet och bevittnade föreställningarna nedanför dem på golvet. Eftersom dansarnas ben och fötter inte var synliga när de rörde sig upprätt såg det ut som om dansarna flöt fram över golvet. Perspektivet förändrade rummet under föreställningens gång; golvet uppfattades som en vägg när dansarna liggande roterade kroppen runt sitt eget centrum med hjälp av benen. Liksom i de två tidigare bilderna är det omöjligt att urskilja individuella drag, och därmed inte heller urskilja kroppsliga skillnader. Inte ens kropparna var entydigt mänskliga. Var det verkligen mänskliga gestalter? Den mörka klädedräkten förstorade delar av kropparna; ovanifrån och vid vissa rörelser mot golvet antog de likheter med stora, obestämbara insekter.

Efter föreställningen bytte åskådarna perspektiv och klev själva ner på golvet för att vandra runt de sju meter höga tornen. Vandringen kring det blästrade glaset gav ytterligare en bild av kunskapens villkor; observatörens position måste tas med i beräkningen och byte av perspektiv ger andra insikter både om rum-tiden och den mänskliga kroppen. Fysikforskningens rumsliga förutsättningar är beroende av hur i det här fallet myonernas indirekta närvaro måste tolkas och definieras i flera olika steg. De små (10x10mm) känsliga kristaller som fungerade som detektorer i vart och ett av tornen, reagerade när en myon passerade genom den, elektroniska instrument förstärkte den svaga signalen och överförde den till ljus, som sorterades i olika nivåer i tornen beroende på hur hög energi som partikeln avgav i detektorn. Den med ord[14] blästrade glasväggen mellan publik och skulptur visade konkret hur tolkningen därefter måste konkretiseras genom att verbaliseras; språket är skört och vackert, ett hinder och samtidigt en öppning.

Experimentsituation

Bilderna visar experimentsituationer där dansare liksom forskare deltar i en situation där ett experiment kan ske genom strategier för att *expandera kroppens förmågor.* Inom fysiken har en slags historiskt rytmisk fråga-svarrelation byggts upp mellan forskare och natur där maskinerna fungerar som det neutraliserade område där fysiker och natur möts (Traweek 1988:17). Den relationen är assymetrisk, inte enbart för att det är forskaren som ställer frågor till naturen, utan för att det enbart är den svarande – naturen – och detektorn, maskinen som förmedlar svaren, som analyseras i den relationen.[15] I mitt arbete vänder jag analysen mot dem som befinner sig på den frågandes sida och istället för att uppfatta det fysikaliska experimentet som experiment med naturen, studerar jag dem som *experiment med mänskliga kroppar.*

Det *konstnärliga experimentet* innebär att iscensätta frågor i ett rumsligt sammanhang, det vill säga att prova platsens potential i relation till frågorna. Det är ur de här synvinklarna jag studerar organisationen av experiment, hur frågor till naturen eller andra frågor förutsätter att mänskliga kroppar organiseras i ett rumsligt sammanhang som förändrar kroppens förmågor. Gränserna mellan de vetenskapliga och de konstnärliga experiment är inte definitiva; i de här fallen utnyttjade konstprojekten teorier och redskap från fysikforskning medan fysikexperiment mycket väl kan beskrivas som en skapande verksamhet.[16]

---

13   Så kallad "Poissonfördelning" efter den franske matematikern Simeon Dénis Poisson 1781-1840.
14   Diktverket "Myonsång" skrevs av Maria Küchen (f.d. Gummesson) (1998)
15   Enligt Knorr Cetina är detektorn den individuella komponent som skiljer forskargrupperna åt, den behandlas och benämns med begrepp som definierar en fysiologisk, psykologisk, moralisk och social varelse (Knorr Cetina 1999:113-123)
16   Frågan om vetenskapens skapande dimension och konstens kunskap behandlar Fredrika Spindler i "att se vetenskapen med konstnärens optik, men konsten med livets" (Spindler 2004). Konst och forskning har under senare år närmat sig varandra, konsten vad gäller frågeställningar och metoder,

Vid genomförandet av ett experiment byggs ett rationellt system upp, som innebär en rad med begränsningar; av material, av tid och en bestämning av plats som utesluter alla andra. Det är inte godtyckligt vad som bestämmer denna begränsning, den kommer ur nödvändigheter, som bestämmer experimentets utformning. I förlängningen handlar det om att ta kontroll över en situation eller "ett samarbete, med situationen i dess helhet. Kontroll är nödvändig för att variablerna objekt, ljus, rum och kropp, ska fungera" (Morris 1997:34) Att 'samarbeta med situationen i sin helhet' kan betyda att modifiera kroppens relation till platsen, kombinera den med redskap och maskiner och därmed låta rytmiska händelser få en utsträckning i rum-tiden. Genom att studera fysikaliska och konstnärliga experiment som uppbyggnader av materiella komponenter riktar jag fokus på hur de 'agerar fysik' med olika förutsättningar och syften när utrymme, professionella kroppar och experiment organiseras spatialt och temporalt. I alla tre situationerna innebär experimenten ett rytmiskt intagande av utrymme, en rytm som produceras mellan de kroppar som agerar, utrymmet där det sker och i olika kombinationer mellan kroppar, redskap och maskiner.

I gungan och i Myonspin är det tydligt hur mänskliga kroppar är en aktiv komponent för den rytm som organiserar utrymmet och som ger upphov till den rytmiska processen. När det gäller fysikforskning brukar sällan den mänskliga kroppen dras in som en komponent i experimentens utformning. På CERN är det en liknande uppsättning synliga komponenter som i gungexperimentet och dansen som är nödvändiga men i betydligt större skala; utrymme, tid, kropp och rytm. Att konstruera fysikalisk teori är i allra högsta grad en rumslig praktik, där konstruktion av maskiner förutsätter samordning med kroppsliga rytmer. Men det är också tydligt att det inte är individuella kroppar som är intressant i en uppbyggnad av experiment. Snarast experimenterar man med den professionella kroppens utsträckning och rörelseutrymme genom att kombinera olika rytmiska processer, i syfte att inta utrymme och organisera tid.

En föreställning

I bilderna ser vi hur dansare och fysiker agerar sin praktik genom att placera in den professionella kroppen i ett experimentellt sammanhang. När det gäller dans är vi vana att dansare agerar och visar upp sina kroppsliga förmågor offentligt, men vad gör fysikerna som står uppställda i sin egen detektor? I samtliga bilder är placeringarna av kropparna resultatet av en urvalsprocess inifrån praktiken själv; gungan hängdes upp i en befintlig bro, fysikerna är placerade i den egna detektorkonstruktionen under byggnation, de fem dansarna är placerade på golvet i en befintlig lokal. Placeringen av aktörerna placerar även in den tänkta publiken i en relation till det som utspelar sig i rummet. Bilden från Atlasdetektorn påminner i sitt utförande om hur en *scen* brukar vara uppbyggd, placerad i ena änden av rummet, med aktörerna i centrum, avskilda och upphöjda över den tänkta publiken, som får en bra synvinkel var de än befinner sig i rummet. De andra två bilderna påminner inte om planerade scenrum utan utnyttjar offentliga platser – utomhus och inomhus – vilket gör att det inte är självklart att de är menade att vara offentliga föreställningar och var det är tänkt att publiken ska befinna sig.

De tre bilderna visar hur man *agerar* genom att (re)presentera den professionella kroppen i relation till arkitektoniska konstruktioner som har betydelse för praktiken, inför en tänkt publik. Gungexperimentet framställde gravitationens påverkan på kroppen genom sitt välkända förlopp där kroppen faller mot jordytan och därefter motverkar fallet. Den förstorade skalan förändrade kroppens relation till gungan, vilket fick kroppsliga konsekvenser eftersom den som gungade inte kunde ge fart för att tillföra energi och därmed förlänga tiden i gungan.

---

vetenskapen genom att börja uppfatta sig själv som uppfinnande och skapande. Ur olika perspektiv skapar båda disciplinerna kunskap – de är *kunskapande.*

Gungans förhållande till tid förändrades genom att varje sekvens förlängdes beroende på att linornas längd ökade. Publikens roll innebar att aktivt omforma sina kroppsliga erfarenheter av att gunga till ett sammanhang där den förstorade gungan iscensatte en vardaglig erfarenhet men i en annan skala.

I Atlasbilden kan vi anta att det inte fanns några utomstående mer än fotografen vid fotograferingstillfället och även om det fanns besökare i rummet var det inte för dem uppställningen gjordes. Scenframträdandet ingår i ett större offentligt rum där fysikern kommunicerar sin position till andra fysiker i andra experiment, men även till gemene man, som får information om forskningens landvinningar. På Atlas websida läggs varje månad upp nya bilder från monteringsprocessen. Genom att visa upp sig i detektorn kan man ge en *föreställning* om den professionella kroppens relation till den detektorkonstruktion där den är inplacerad, jämföra kroppen med konstruktionen, presentera den gruppidentitet som skapats genom den långvariga relationen i uppbyggnaden av detektorn och redovisa sitt beroende av detektorn som förbindelse mellan elementarpartiklar och människa.

Myonspin utnyttjade rummets möjligheter för att förändra den invanda relationen mellan publik och dansare, mellan kropp och rum, mellan osynliga partiklar och synliga effekter av dem vilket iscensatte två olika tid-rum, myonernas och de mänskliga kropparnas. I Myonspin tvingades publiken anta olika perspektiv, först framåtlutade över balkongräcket ovanför scengolvet där de betraktade skulptur och dans ovanifrån, via en förflyttning ner till golvet för att själva röra sig omkring glasväggen som omslöt skulpturgruppen som här nere reste sig högt över publikens huvuden. Perspektiven förändrade relationen mellan aktör och publik, objekt och publik och påverkade rumsliga erfarenheter i de olika positionerna.

Begreppet *föreställning* kan antingen ha betydelsen att "framföra ett sceniskt verk" eller vara "ett system av idéer och uppfattningar" (NE). Fysik likaväl som konst och dans presenterar system av idéer i sceniska föreställningar genom att de *agerar* sin profession. Fysik, dans och konst agerar genom att experimentera med kroppsliga, rytmiska erfarenheter av gravitation, materia, skala, rum-tid, rytm, perspektiv. Den *professionella kroppen* samordnar sina rörelser med andra när de konstruerar den plats där ett system av idéer kan iscensättas. Fysikerna har liksom i konstprojekten valt ut en scen där de agerar fysik.

Lokalisera kroppen

När fysikerna/teknikerna placerar in sig själva i den pågående uppbyggnaden av detektorn för att fotografera sig konstruerar de inte bara ett samband mellan detektorn och den mänskliga kroppen, utan även mellan den individuella och professionella kroppen, vilket gäller även dansarna i de situationer jag studerar. I princip neutraliseras den individuella kroppen och låter den professionella kroppens beroende av ett sammanhang framträda, en relation som definierar en lokalisering av kroppen och därmed ett perspektiv på sin egen position:

"For the subject to take up a position as a subject, he must be able to situate himself as a being located in the space occupied by his body. This anchoring of subjectivity in *its* body is the condition of coherent identity, and, moreover, the condition under which the subject *has a perspective* on the world, becomes the point from which vision emanates" (Grosz 1995:89). Det perspektiv Grosz talar om uppstår ur den kroppsliga lokaliseringen, vad de professionella kropparna erfar i relation till instrumenten och därmed begriper sin relation till omvärlden. Vad betyder det när forskare befinner sig *inuti* sin detektor, när dansaren i gungan inte kan påverka rörelsen när hon rörs av gungkonstruktionen och när detektorn i myonspin synliggör parallella tid-rum med dansarna i det ena och myonerna i det andra. Hur påverkar lokalisering och perspektiv de professionella kropparna om de innesluts i maskinen, om dansarens kropp inte agerar, om tid-rummen imploderar och om skalan förskjuts?

Den neutraliserade position som den professionella kroppen innehar resulterar i ett expansivt intagande av utrymme för verksamheten, ett avgränsande av sin verksamhet och en kroppslig position. Produktion av experiment intar konkret plats och tid när den professionella kroppen införlivar och upptar utrymme för sin verksamhet. Fysikerna i detektorn visar vilka gigantiska dimensioner instrumenten har antagit i nutida fysiklaboratorier (Atlasdetektorn är stor som ett 8-våningshus). Expansionen av detektorn innebär att fysikinstrumentet inte längre är ett objekt som den enskilda fysikern med lätthet handskas med i ett rum, utan instrumentet i sig antar formen av ett fysiskt utrymme som i praktiken kan inrymma hela forskargruppen (drygt 1800 forskare).

När de fysikaliska instrumenten eller offentliga konstruktioner har blivit så stora att de inte går att skalbedöma, fungerar de mänskliga kropparna som fotograferas som rumsliga och tidsliga *skalmått*. Med hjälp av de mänskliga kropparna kan vi urskilja hur gigantiska konstruktionerna är men även hur symmetriska och perfekta de ter sig till skillnad från den mänskliga kroppens begränsningar. Inom konst har skulptur ofta producerats i en skala jämförbar med kroppen, medan ett objekt är mindre än kroppen och ett monument större än den mänskliga kroppen och inom arkitektur används ofta den mänskliga kroppen som ett skalverktyg för att jämföra den med konstruktioner och byggnader. "I uppfattningen av relativ storlek träder den mänskliga kroppen in i det totala kontinuum av storlekar och bildar en konstant. Man vet omedelbart vad som är mindre eller större än en själv. […] Medvetenheten om skala är en funktion av den jämförelse som görs mellan den konstant som utgörs av kroppens storlek och föremålet" (Morris 1997:28-29 (1968)

Kropparna på bilderna fungerar som skalmått för att lokalisera kroppen i förhållande till rummet och till tiden. Men begreppet skala har med *osäkerhet* att göra menade den amerikanske konstnären Robert Smithson; en spricka i väggen kan vara Grand Canyon (Smithson 1996:147 (1972). Sprickan uppenbarar en osäkerhet om vad som är verkligt och hur denna verklighet ser ut. Kroppens relation till platsen stämmer inte. Storleken förändras beroende på i vilken skala vi betraktar tillvaron. Det minsta och det största är bara en fråga om vilken skala man zoomar in på, vilket perspektiv man anlägger.

Att jämföra och skalbedöma kroppen mot konstruktioner fungerar enbart om kroppen och konstruktionen uppfattas som separata enheter. I de situationer vi studerar: gungan i bron, fysikerna i detektorn och Myonspin betraktat uppifrån, kan vi inte göra sådana enkla jämförelser, eftersom samtliga experiment *påverkar och förändrar* förhållandet mellan kropp och gunga, kropp och maskin, kropp och publik. Relationen mellan kropp och sammanhang innebär att kroppen inte fungerar som ett fristående jämförelsemått, den påverkar hela situationen och experimentets utformning, ingår i sammanhanget och förändras av det.

Vad kan en kropp göra?

I bilderna är inte det huvudsakliga syftet att känna igen individuella kroppsliga särdrag. Frånvaro av fokusering på *den individuella kroppen* betyder att det finns andra skäl att placera in och visa upp *den professionella kroppen* i ett specifikt sammanhang som konstrueras inifrån praktiken själv men exponeras utåt mot en publik. På bilderna befinner sig de professionella kropparna centralt. När det gäller dans förstår vi det ofta som att kroppen definierar praktiken, medan kropparna som befolkar naturvetenskap sällan diskuteras i termer av kroppslig aktion.

"By looking at dance we can see enacted on a broad scale, and in codified fashion, socially constituted and historically specific attitudes toward the body in general, toward specific social groups´ usage of the body in particular, and about the relationships among variously marked bodies, as well as social attitudes toward the use of space and time" (Desmond 1998:157).

Koreografi utgör ett organiserande system och en samordning av flera kroppar som vi förknippar med dans där den enskilda dansarens rörelseförmåga uttrycks i ett sammanhang. Dansaren är van att införliva instruktioner i kroppen och omvandla dem till rörelse, men koreograferade kroppar uttrycker inte sin individualitet utan en samordnad koreografisk idé. Därför agerar inte dansaren som en individuell kropp, snarare organiseras ett system av relationer till andra kroppar, som upprättar ett rum där rörelser har en utsträckning i tiden. Inte desto mindre är dansarens rörelser och kroppsliga konstitution ett resultat av hur en kultur definierar en 'normal' och 'naturlig' kropp, där dansen stiliserar, härmar, repeterar, reflekterar kulturella rörelsemönster. (Polhemus 1998:174). Den smala, vältränade dansaren utgör en förfining av ett 'naturligt' kroppsligt ideal. Dansarens förmåga kräver ett digert program av träning, en kropp utan påtagliga brister och en oavbruten kamp mot den egna kroppens åldrande.

Trots fokuseringen på den individuella kroppen, hur den ska skötas, tränas och uppnå sin optimala förmåga, är det inte formella, statistiska eller vetenskapliga kunskaper som kan svara på den spinosiska frågan i Deleuze och Guattaris version: "Vad kan en kropp göra?" eftersom de menar att "We know nothing about a body until we know what it can do, in other words, what its affects are, how they can or cannot enter into composition with other affects, with the affects of another body, either to destroy that body or to be destroyed by it, either to exchange actions and passions with it or join with it in composing a more powerful body" (Deleuze, Guattari 2004:284).

I Deleuze och Guattaris bemärkelse är inte affekt en individuell känsloupplevelse, utan en produktiv drivkraft, där kroppar, maskiner, objekt, begrepp och föreställningar skapar ett sammanhang som överskrider varje individuell kropps förmåga. I den västerländska kontexten är kroppen i huvudsak definierad som ett fysiologiskt och biologiskt system, som gör att fokus koncentreras på den individuella kroppen, som bör arbeta för sin *egen* förbättring. Förstår vi kroppen som ett sociologiskt, kulturellt system kan kroppens förmågor inte förläggas inom den individuella kroppen utan enbart i relation till andra kroppar i ett sammanhang. Den individuella kroppen definieras övervägande utifrån sina begränsningar, brist och oförmåga och hur dessa bör åtgärdas individuellt, medan den affektiva drivkraften känns igen på sin kreativa förmåga att sätta samman, komponera och expandera, genom att använda kroppen, drivas av den, experimentera och producera kunskaper i och genom kroppen.

Experimentsituationerna ger olika exempel på affektiva strategier för att expandera den kroppsliga förmågan, inte genom att rationellt använda formella kunskaper om kroppen, utan genom att *sätta samman* kroppen med andra komponenter. Exempelvis ökar gungan i bron kroppens räckvidd och rörelseförmåga och drar in betraktaren genom att man delar en rytmisk erfarenhet av att gunga, maskinerna expanderar fysikerns kroppsliga förmågor, genom att förstärka förmågor som är nödvändiga för de fysikaliska undersökningarna och i "Myonspin" förändras perspektivet dels genom publikens skiftande lokalisering men även av detektorn som för in en annan dimension av tid och rum. I de här fallen handlar det inte om hur de individuella kroppsliga förmågorna definieras eftersom de expanderas genom hur de komponeras med andra kroppar och upprättar ett affektivt system av *professionella kroppar.* Vad betyder det för de praktiker vi studerar?

Dansarnas kroppar ger uttryck för utopiskt funktionella och välfungerande kroppar där dansarens sinnen och balansförmåga handlar om att handskas med fysiska realiteter genom att tänja sin kropps förmåga till det yttersta genom att repetera samma rörelse ett otal gånger. Dansaren måste observera, disciplinera och kultivera sin kropp och övervinna kroppens tröghet för att få den att fungera bättre och bli starkare. En vältränad kropp är en aldrig avslutad repeterande process.

Fysikerna kommer däremot aldrig att direkt med sina sinnen uppfatta det de studerar eftersom universums ursprung är för avlägset och elementarpartiklarna alltför små. Därför kan fysikernas kroppar i termer av professionella redskap ses som dysfunktionella; de sinnen och färdigheter som krävs i praktiken räcker inte till.[17] Förutom sin alltför svaga syn kommer de inte upp i de hastigheter som krävs för att materia ska interagera, minnet är alltför svagt och opålitligt. Dessutom kan de inte förlita sig på språket, det är för otydligt för den exakthet som eftersträvas utan de måste utvinna ett matematiskt språk som helst ska vara entydigt (Arendt 1998:29 (1958).

Om vi återgår till förutsättningen att "vi inte vet vad en kropp kan göra" är det inte i sig intressant att den professionella dansarens kropp tvingas bli idealt funktionell och fysikerns dysfunktionell inom sin egen praktik, utan att undersöka hur de olika disciplinerna handskas med skillnaden mellan krav och förmåga, det vill säga med kroppens förmåga i relation till hur kroppen och dess sammanhang definieras inom de olika disciplinerna. Inom båda systemen verkar det viktigt att den subjektiva kroppen *inte* påverkar resultaten, via olika inomdisciplinära strategier; dansen genom att ta in kroppen i centrum vilket i praktiken innebär ett uteslutande av flertalet aspekter av den mänskliga kroppen, fysiken genom att neutralisera kroppen diskursivt men i praktiken ta in den via maskinerna. Båda professionernas förhållande till kroppen utgår ifrån att kroppen har begränsningar och att dessa måste övervinnas. Dansens strävan efter den optimalt vältränade kroppen innebär att många dansare enbart kan utföra arbete på scen under ett begränsat antal år. Inom fysiken konstruerar man maskiner som löser dilemmat med de kroppsliga begränsningarna och expanderar kroppsliga förmågor som synförmågan, hastigheten, minneskapaciteten och livslängden.

Dansaren definieras av sin förmåga att röra sig och en dansares viktigaste kroppsdelar kan vi nog vara överens om är fötterna och benen. Trots att kroppen placeras i centrum av danspraktiken är det inte vilken kropp som helst som placeras där – dansen eftersträvar en ideal kropp. Uteslutandet – det man sällan ser på dansscener - handlar inte enbart om 'avvikande' kroppar i form av fysiska, psykiska handikapp, utan även om fysiska skillnader, alltför långa eller kraftiga kroppar och andra fysiska villkor som den åldrande och av graviditeter och sjukdomar erfarna kroppen. Den engelska dansgruppen CandoCo[18] och den svenska koreografen Efva Lilja[19] ifrågasätter i sitt arbete den förutbestämda definitionen av en dansares kropp, genom att undersöka 'vad en kropp kan göra' i praktiken, bortom formell kunskap om vilken kropp som är kapabel och inte och vad som diskursivt definierar en dansares kropp. Därför nöjer sig inte CandoCo med att anlita perfekta vältränade dansares kroppar utan har under många år arbetat med dansare som är döva, sitter i rullstol eller helt saknar ben. Lilja utmanar dansscenkonstens konventioner i sitt arbete genom att arbeta med äldre amatörer och dansare i den aktningsvärda åldern mellan 65-90 år i ett forskningsprojekt som behandlar "Rörelser som kroppens minne".[20] De här nämnda projekten eftersträvar en annan skillnad än den mellan den idealiserade kroppen och den alltför mänskliga, formulerad i en pragmatisk fråga som får sitt uttryck i hur kropparna agerar med varandra och hur de därigenom expanderar kroppslig rörelseförmåga och minne. Frågan är vad just de här kropparna, i det här sammanhanget, i just de här konstellationerna förmår? I fokus står därför inte den individuella kroppens bristande förutsättningar i jämförelse med en utopiskt 'normal'

---

17 Ett handikapp definieras i relation till sammanhanget, dvs. skillnaden mellan krav och förmåga (NE).
18 http://www.candoco.co.uk/
19 Nuvarande rektor på Danshögskolan, Stockholm. Har en bakgrund som koreograf sedan 1982 och ledare för kompaniet E.L.D sedan 1985-2005, och dessutom en lång internationell karriär.
20 Ett forskningsprojekt som med stöd av Vetenskapsrådet, undersökte "Rörelsen som kroppens minne" uppdelad i tre delar "Minnet" 2003, "Med ögat mitt i pannan" 2004 och "Döden, döden!" 2005. http://www.danshogskolan.se/dh/forskning_ku/ku_projekt/rskm.html.

kropp med 'naturliga' och optimala funktioner utan snarare ett affektivt utbyte av rörelser med andra kroppar som tillsammans expanderar förmågorna när de *agerar* i ett gemensamt sammanhang.

Dans och fysik kan på många sätt framstå som de mest extrema motsatser när det gäller hur de definierar kroppens förmågor, men det som intresserar mig är hur discipliner som dans, konst och fysik på olika sätt handskas med kroppen inom sin praktik, genom att *utesluta* vissa aspekter av den och *innesluta* andra genom hur man definierar, experimenterar och exponerar den. Det kan verka som att dansare definieras av sin kropp och fysiker av sina kunskaper, men gemensamt för dem är att de upprättar experimentella relationella system som expanderar den professionella kroppsliga identiteten, kroppens förmågor, utrymmet och tiden där de blir till.

Slutkommentar

Papret presenterar några av de frågeställningar som jag behandlar i min pågående doktorsavhandling med arbetsnamnet: "Konsten att gunga, gå, väva och tänka – organisera utrymme, kropp och experiment" som beräknas vara klar våren 2008.

Referenser

Konst

Küchen, Maria 'Myonsång', (poem för blästrad glasvägg i installationen Kosmisk strålning pågår/Muon, Gamla Gasverket, Värtahamnen, Kulturhuvudstad 98, Stockholm 1998 och Fysikens rum/Acting Physics, Lindstedts väg 30, KTH, Stockholm 1999)

Lilja, Efva "Rörelsen som kroppens minne" (forskningsprojekt med stöd av Vetenskapsrådet, uppdelad i tre delar "Minnet" 2003, "Med ögat mitt i pannan" 2004 och "Döden, döden!" 2005)

Lund, Gun 'Myonspin' (koreografi i Fysikens rum/Acting Physics, Lindstedts väg 30, KTH, Stockholm 1999)

Samuelsson, Muon Song, (tonsatt verk för installationen Kosmisk strålning pågår/Muon, Gamla Gasverket, Värtahamnen, Kulturhuvudstad 98, Stockholm 1998 och Fysikens rum/Acting Physics, Lindstedts väg 30, KTH, Stockholm 1999)

Sand, Monica 'Kosmisk strålning pågår/Muon' (installation 5 torn med detektorer Gamla Gasverket, Värtahamnen, Kulturhuvudstad 98, Stockholm 1998 och Fysikens rum/Acting Physics, Lindstedts väg 30, KTH, Stockholm 1999)

Sand, Monica 'Fysikens rum/Acting Physics' (Lindstedts väg 30, KTH, Stockholm 1999)

Sand, Monica, 'Kan gravitationen upphävas?' (Gunga i Älvsborgsbron; Göteborg, 2002)

Litteratur

Arendt, Hannah, *Människans villkor : vita activa* (Daidalos; Göteborg, 1998 (1958).

Deleuze, Gilles and Guattari, Félix, *A thousand plateaus : capitalism and schizophrenia* (Continuum; London, 2004 (1988).

Dempster, Elizabeth, 'Women Writing the Body: Let's Whatch a Little How She Dances', In: *The Routledge dance studies reader.* Carter, Alexandra (ed.) (Routledge; London, 1998), pp. 223-9.

Desmond, Jane C., 'Embodying Difference: Issues in Dance and Cultural Studies', In: *The Routledge dance studies reader.* Carter, Alexandra (ed.) (Routledge; London, 1998).

Grosz, Elizabeth, Space, time, and perversion : essays on the politics of bodies (Routledge; New York, 1995).

Knorr-Cetina, Karin D., *Epistemic cultures : how the sciences make knowledge* (Harvard University Press; Cambridge, Mass., 1999).

Küchen, Maria, *Om grundämnen : [dikter]* (Bonnier; Stockholm, 1998).

Morris, Robert, 'Anteckningar om skulpturen', In: *Från 60-tal till cyberspace.* konsthögskolan, Kungl (ed.) (Raster; Stockholm, 1997 (1968), pp. 19-35.

Pakes, Anna, 'Art as action or art as object? The embodiment of knowledge in practice as research' (Paper given at the Research into practise: Art and Design 3, University of Hertfordshire 2004)

Polhemus, Ted, 'Dance, Gender and Culture', In: *The Routledge dance studies reader.* Carter, Alexandra (ed.) (Routledge; London, 1998), pp. 171-9.

Smithson, Robert: *The Collected Writings* (Flam, Jack (ed.) Univ. of California Press; Berkeley, Calif. 1996 (1959-1973).

Spindler, Fredrika, *att se vetenskapen med konstnärens optik, men konsten med livets* (Konsthögskolan Institutionen för konstvetenskap Umeå universitet; Umeå, 2004).

Traweek, Sharon, *Beamtimes and lifetimes : the world of high energy physicists* (Harvard Univ. Press; Cambridge, Mass., 1988).

Internet

http://www.atlas.ch
http://www.candoco.co.uk/
http://www.cern.ch
http://web.comhem.se/monicasand/actingphysics/fysikensrum.htm
http://www.danshogskolan.se/dh/forskning_ku/ku_projekt/rskm.html
http://www.zerogravity-art.nu

Cooking, Convenience and Dis-Connection

Frances Short

Independent (affiliated with the Open University and University of Hertfordshire)
francesshort@googlemail.com

In popular UK commentary and much academic and policy discussion, home-cooking 'from scratch', from 'real', 'non-prepared foods' is viewed as grounded in learned knowledge, skilful and vital to family well-being and identity. Using 'pre-prepared' 'convenience foods' on the other hand is usually portrayed oppositionally, as lacking in skill, individualistic and atomising. 'Pre-prepared foods' are regularly presented as destroying processes of acquiring cooking skills, handing down food cultures and connecting generations. Parents who can't cook cannot pass on food knowledge and abilities to their children. Drawing on research that provides insight into the different ways of knowing, approaching and practising cooking this paper will challenge current discourse. It will argue that 'convenience foods' play an important role in the intergenerational transference of skills, that 'convenience foods' can be seen as inclusive and connecting.

Dis-Connection and the Decline of Cooking, the 'Common Sense' View

Though it has often been argued by those working in the social sciences that there is little if any supportive data,[1] over the last ten years or so there has been a growing 'common sense' understanding in the UK, particularly amongst food writers, social commentators and policy makers, that people's cooking skills are in decline. The death of cooking has been foretold.[2] A half hour or so looking through a selection of popular, news-based and government department websites reveals numerous references that accept without debate 'the endangered status of home cooking',[3] that 'these days it's not so much won't cook as can't'[4]. The London Development Agency's 'Better for London' strategy is not alone in failing to consider questioning that 'the way in which we prepare, cook and eat food has changed rapidly in the past twenty years, with a decline in cooking from scratch and family meals, and an expansion in "single eating" and ready meals.' 'There is', it tells us emphatically but without reference, 'persuasive evidence that the decline of cooking skills – both nationally and in London – has, amongst other things, played an important role in disconnecting the public from food…'.[5]

The cause of the deskilling of home cooking is generally and 'naturally' assumed to be the increased availability and use of 'pre-prepared' 'convenience foods' and kitchen equipment such as microwaves, food processors and deep-fat fryers. 'Convenience foods' are more often than not regarded as negative, atomising and dis-connecting. A whole range of foods can now be eaten without the need of a skilled cook the argument goes, 'pre-prepared foods' render the role of the home cook defunct. 'Non-convenience', 'real food' and 'real cooking' on the other hand are 'naturally' assumed to be important in connecting families, in giving identity, meaning and structure – even if this is most usually unqualified and unsupported. In a recent article for the Guardian newspaper for example, Rosie Boycott, one time founder of Spare Rib, the 1970s radical feminist magazine that offered on subscription a dishcloth that read 'First you sink into his arms, then you arms end up in his sink', advocated that 'a woman's place *is* in the kitchen.' (The italics are Boycott's.) 'Not only has home cooking declined', she tells us, 'but in many households pre-assembled dishes are consumed individually, all over the house, when and where family members want. Food – once something that brought adults and children together around the kitchen table – is now', she says, 'yet another way to avoid family life.'[6] Historian Felipe Fernandez-Armesto , in another article for the same newspaper tells us that 'we are facing […] a dystopia in which cooking has surrendered to "convenience" and family break-ups start at the fridge.' 'In microwave households', he says, 'family life fragments'. 'People eat while they are doing other things, with eyes averted from company.' 'They snack in the street, trailing litter, spreading smell pollution and dropping fodder for rats.' Not that it's all bad. 'Cooking will revive', he argues,

---

1   See for example, Dickinson, R. and Leader, S. (1998), 'Ask the family', in Griffiths, S. and Wallace, J. (eds.), *Consuming Passions, Food in the Age of Anxiety*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, pp. 122 – 129 and Sutton, D. (2001), *Remembrance of Repasts, An Anthropology of Food and Memory*, Oxford: Berg Publishers.

2   Fort, M. (2003) 'The death of cooking', in the *Guardian*, May 10th, available www.guardian.co.uk/food/focus/story/0,951915,00.html

3   Blythman, Joanne (2006), 'Bad food Britain', in the *Daily Mail*, June 3rd, available www.dailymail.co.uk/pages/livearticles/news/news.html?in_article_id=3889118in_page_id=1770

4   Karpf, Anne (2007), 'Task for 2007; must teach my children to cook', in the Guardian, January 6th, available http://www.guardian.co.uk/family/story/0,,1982987,00.html

5   London Development Agency (2005), *Better food for London: The Mayor's Draft*, food strategy report available www.lda.gov.uk

6   Boycott, R. (2007), 'Why a woman's place *is* in the kitchen' in the *Guardian*, 26th April, pp. 12 – 15.

'because it is inseparable from humanity.' 'Home', Fernandez-Armesto concludes, 'is a place that smells of cooking.'[7]

In this construction 'pre-prepared' 'convenience foods' (junk foods, packet foods, processed foods …) – Boycott refers to frozen peas, pastry, pies and complete packaged meals, Fernandez-Armesto to baked beans and sandwiches, both mention pot-noodles – are seen as not only morally inferior but also distinctly opposite and 'other' to some notion of 'real' non-packaged, non-convenience foods. In turn, cooking with 'real foods' is one thing, cooking with 'convenience foods' or 'prepared foods' is quite another. 'Cooking from scratch' with 'real foods' requires skill and knowledge. Using 'convenience' and 'pre-prepared foods' is about little more than assembly. Cook School, a food education magazine published for the UK Food Standards Agency approved Focus on Food Campaign informs us, again without clear reference, of how 'more than two-thirds of children say they would like to learn to cook.' Yet 'sadly', 'most twenty-first century children's cooking knowledge is limited to putting together meals or snacks from pre-prepared ingredients, and their understanding of the cooking process confined mainly to what a microwave can do in seconds.'[8]

Using these kinds of foods and technologies is seen as requiring somehow lesser, even distinct and opposite skills than those needed to cook with 'real' 'non-convenience' foods. In debates about the deskilling and decline of cooking, those who use pre-prepared foods are seen as not having the chance to learn to cook 'properly' and therefore as not being able to acquire 'real', 'traditional' cooking skills.[9] It is some undefined collection of 'basic cooking skills' connected with 'cooking from scratch' that are viewed as a 'life skill',[10] some very much unspecified set of 'traditional cooking skills'[11] that is seen as being in decline:

> With the changes in eating habits over the last twenty years, it can be argued that traditional cooking skills – that is taking raw ingredients and turning them into complete culturally appropriate dishes – may be becoming redundant.[12]

A further 'common sense' argument about the dis-connecting role of 'convenience foods' and modern kitchen technologies is that they are integral not only to the deskilling of domestic cooks and cooking but also to the destruction of the process of cooking skills and knowledge being passed from one generation to the next. Julia Barratt, a director of the Chartered Institute of Environmental Health, for example, has said that 'the skills of preparing healthy meals from fresh ingredients have been undermined by the popularity of convenience foods. So girls are too often not learning cooking skills from their mothers and with the disappearance of home economics from schools we're faced with a generation and a half of

---

7   Fernandez-Armesto, F. (2002), 'Meals make us human', in the *Guardian*, September 4th, available www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,791966,00.html

8   *Cook School. The Food Education Magazine* (2007), Vol. 6, Issue 1, April, p. 76.

9   See, for example, Ritzer, G. (1996), *The McDonaldization of Society*, Thousand Oaks, California: Pine Forge Press; Fieldhouse, P. (1995), *Food and Nutrition, Customs and Culture*, London: Chapman and Hall; and Mintz, S. (1996), *Tasting Food, Tasting Freedom: Excursions into Eating, Culture and the Past*, Boston: Beacon Press.

10 See DFES (2007), *Johnson announces multi-million pound package to improve school food and fight childhood obesity*, available www.dfes.gov.uk/pns/DisplayPN.cgi?pn_id2006_0121 and BBC, (2007), 'Anger over cookery classes move', available http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/education/6324887.stm

11 See, for example, Arnot, C. (2001), 'Diet pep talks', in the *Guardian*, Wednesday 25th July, available www.guardian.do.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4227079,00.html and Dillon, S. (2004), speaking on BBC Radio 4's *Food Programme*, February 8th, available www.bbc.co.uk/radio4/factual/foodprogramme_20040208.shtml

12 Caraher, M. and Lang, T. (2001), 'Is there a culinary skills transition? Data and debate from the UK about changes in cooking culture', in the *Journal of the Home Economics Institute of Australia*, p. 5.

young people who simply cannot prepare healthy meals'.[13] Similarly, Prue Leith, chair of the government's School Food Trust has said on more than one occasion that promoting the teaching of cooking in schools – in UK public health and educational policy teaching practical cooking skills is widely accepted as a way of combating the 'decline of cooking' and increased use of convenience foods – is a clear response to the fact that today 'mums and dads can't cook'.[14]

Challenging the Common Sense Constructions and Natural Logics that Surround Debates About the Decline of Cooking and the Dis-Connecting Nature of Convenience Foods

In the social sciences a more analytical and theoretically grounded approach to the study of food practices and choices is often taken. Extending this approach to cooking makes it possible to unpack and examine these accepted, 'common sense' 'truths'. In this paper I will draw on an in-depth qualitative examination of domestic cooking approaches, practices and skills [15] to put forward two arguments. First, that the skill/s associated with using, and the dis-connecting nature of, 'convenience foods' have been both oversimplified and over-exaggerated. Secondly, that 'convenience foods' can be seen as connecting.

The De-Skilling and Dis-Connecting Nature of Convenience Foods Have Been Oversimplified and Over-Exaggerated

In UK social commentary and policy recommendations, cooking skills are rarely if ever clearly defined or described in any detail. They are most usually constructed simply, as being practical, functional, a means to an end. 'Cooking skills' are regularly portrayed and interpreted as a set of delineated techniques and technical competencies such as grilling, chopping vegetables, stir frying, making a white sauce, cooking pasta al dente and so on.[16]

It could be argued that any understanding of the concept of 'cooking skills' is, of course, dependent on how 'cook' is interpreted. And interpretations, it seems, vary both widely and wildly. Whilst dictionary definitions lie more in the area of 'to prepare something to eat by

13   Frith, M. (2006), 'Food "fraudsters" claim credit for ready meals', in *The Independent*, 9th January, available http://enjoyment.independent.co.uk/food_and_drink/news/article337404.ece

14   Meikle, J. (2006), 'Prue Leith to oversee school meals reform', in the *Guardian*, Friday November 10, available http://education.guardian.co.uk/schoolmeals/story/0,,1944293,00.html and Leith, P. (2001), 'Choice for children', in *Resurgence*, No. 205, available http://resugence.gn.apc.org/issues/leith205.htm

15   The study, forming part of my doctoral degree, was carried out for the Centre for Food Policy, then at Thames Valley University (now at City University), London. A qualitative study of domestic cooking approaches, practices and skills it drew on post-structural theories of taste and identity as well as Marxist and feminist perspectives on work, leisure, skill and social value. As well as exploring the identifications and voices of people who cook the study also looked at common, shared approaches to domestic cooking and cooking skills as well as the influence of both approaches and skills on food choices and practices (ie. 'cooking from scratch' and use of 'convenience foods'). Other aspects of the study are discussed elsewhere. See, *Domestic cooking and cooking skills in late twentieth century England* (2002), unpublished thesis. See also Domestic Cooking Skills – What are They? (2003), in the *Journal of the Australian Institute of Home Economics,* 10:3, pp. 13 – 22; Domestic cooking practices and cooking skills: findings from an English study (2003), in *Food Service Technology*, 3, 3 / 4, pp. 177 – 185 and Cooks, Culinary Ability and Convenience Food: Findings from a UK Study (2003), in *Petits Propos Culinaires 73*. Totnes: Prospect Books. See also, *Kitchen Secrets, The Meaning of Cooking in Everyday Life*, (2006), Berg: Oxford, UK.

16   See for example, Lang, T., Caraher, M., Dixon, P. and Carr-Hill, R. (1999), *Cooking Skills and Health*, London: The Health Education Authority; Nestle Family Monitor (2001), No 13, *Eating and Today's Lifestyle*, research by MORI; and Nicolaas, G. (1995), *Cooking, Attitudes and Behaviour*, produced on behalf of the Nutrition Task Force for the Department of Health UK, London: Crown Copyright. See also, for example, British Nutrition Foundation (2007), BNF Food Life Skills, available www.nutrition.org.uk/home.asp?siteId=438sectionId=1130&parentSection=300&which=2

application of heat/energy' type, food writer Cherry Ripe asserts that the meaning of 'cook' is 'to prepare food by scratch'. It 'has nothing to do with 'following the numbered pictograms on the back of a packet, and microwaving for x minutes' she says.[17] This somewhat divisive type of interpretation is hinted at too in Caraher and Lang's discussion of their 'culinary skills transition' theory in which they argue that 'existing technological developments have already had an influence on the home, reducing the maximum cooking skills needed to those of simply re-heating and assembly'.[18] The approach here reflecting 'common sense' arguments (discussed above) that 'convenience cooking' requires some lesser type of skill. Sociologist Anne Murcott's position on the meaning of cook however, is very different. She directs us towards thinking about the way 'cook' can be interpreted as referring to the household task of cooking – of making food, food provision - a task like ironing, shopping and so on.[19] In a similar way, Luce Giard focuses, rather like Murcott, on 'doing cooking' and the very varied skills of French women home cooks, their 'constant calculation of timings and budgets and endless adjustments to the environment and ingredients, social demands and people's likes, dislikes and diets'.[20]

Others academics have pointed out that technological advances can be seen not as 'dumbing down' domestic cooking, but as increasing expected standards and demanding greater competencies. Microwaves and food processors do not necessarily, it has been argued, make cooking simpler and encourage deskilling. Elizabeth Silva has made the point that microwave ovens tend only to be used as 're-heaters' and 'defrosters' and have never replaced thermostatically controlled gas or electric ovens as was originally intended. Perhaps, she suggests, this is because 'cooking from scratch' with a microwave, as opposed to re-heating or defrosting, requires greater skills and/or a more skilled cook than cooking with a more 'traditional' oven. [21] Arguing that technological 'advances' often increase expectations and hence workloads, Ruth Schwartz Cowan describes how in nineteenth century America the widespread adoption of the stove in place of the open hearth led not to less time cooking, but more. With the 'new' stove it was possible to bake a pie, boil vegetables and make a soup all at the same time and this increasingly became what was expected on a daily basis. The technically simpler and much less time consuming one-pot stews and spoon breads of the open hearth system were no longer seen as appropriate or sufficient daily fare.[22]

Drawing on Murcott and Giard's interpretation of 'cook', the issues raised by Schwartz Cowan, Silva and others and the more extended, analytical approach to skill taken by industrial sociologists and workplace analysts,[23] my own qualitative research found that people's cooking skills can be understood as owing little either to the techniques and practical competencies often listed on educational websites and in policy based research or to their construction as either 'assembly' skills or 'traditional' skills. Talking with people who cook

17 Ripe, C. (1993), *Goodbye Culinary Cringe*, St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin.
18 Caraher, M. and Lang, T. (2001), *'Is there a culinary skills transition?* (note xii).
19 Murcott, A. 'Raw, cooked and proper meals at home', in Marshall, D. W. (ed.), *Food Choice and the Consumer*, Glasgow: Blackie and Academic.
20 Short, F. (2006), *Kitchen Secrets,* (note xv), p. 54 referring to de Certeau, M., Giard, L. and Mayol, P. (1998), *The Practice of Everyday Life. Volume 3: Living and Cooking*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
21 Silva, E. B. (2000), 'The cook, the cooker and the gendering of the kitchen', in *Sociological Review*, vol. 48, No. 4, pp.612 – 627.
22 Schwartz Cowan, R. (1983), *More Work for Mother. The Ironies of Household Technology from the Open Hearth to the Microwave*, New York: Basic Books.
23 There is little room to explore this approach in this paper but see for example, Pinch, T., Collins, H. M. and Corbone, L. (1996), 'Inside knowledge: second order measures of skill', in *Sociological Review*, Vol. 44, No. 6, pp. 163 – 186; Singleton, W. T. (1978), *The Study of Real Skills. Volume 1 The Analysis of Practical Skills*, Lancaster: MTP Press; and Wellens, J. (1974), *Training in Physical Skills*, London: Business Books. See also, for a discussion, *Kitchen Secrets* and other papers based on this study (note xv).

reveals the existence, the use and importance, of tacit perceptual, conceptual, emotional and organisational knowledges and abilities. These knowledges and abilities are numerous but include such skills as understanding others preferences and needs, relating consistencies of raw foods to the final 'cooked' versions and managing resources of time, finances and individual know-how. Further, I have found that greater insight into the place of cooking in wider food practices such as family identity and well-being is possible if a more detailed, expansive interpretation and understanding of cooking skill is taken.

A particularly useful position to take I have found is to consider the nature of cooking skills in two different ways – as being task-centred (disembodied) or person-centred (embodied). A task-centred approach to the skills of making, for example, a white sauce would focus on practical techniques such as weighing out ingredients, melting butter, pouring milk, stirring and mixing or using a wooden spoon. It may also consider tacit abilities to judge the best time to add the milk or 'know' when the sauce is 'thick enough'. A person-centred approach however takes context into account. A cook making white sauce for a lasagne may be doing so on a quiet Sunday afternoon when no-one else is in the kitchen. The ingredients have been bought specially and the recipe being followed is in plain view. The cook is keen for the lasagne to be 'good', the white sauce to be 'lump free'. There is however, ample time before the diners expect to be told the meal is ready – timing, therefore, is more or less in the hands of the cook. A different cook may be making the sauce on a Tuesday evening. Dinner needs to be ready promptly as another member of the family is going out and younger family members are running in and out of the kitchen claiming to be starving. And though the cauliflower that needed to be used up (hence the sauce) proves to be rather past its best, no one will mind if the sauce has a couple of lumps. These two cooks will use some of the same skills – simmering, stirring, judging when the sauce is 'thick enough' and so on. However, because they are cooking in very different contexts, with different resources and expectations, they will also each use skills that are more specific to their situation and that particular experience – different organisational and emotional skills for example.

A more sophisticated interpretation of cooking skills such as this is important when it comes to deconstructing the logic that it is 'naturally' and 'logically' 'convenience foods' that are responsible for the (assumed) decline of cooking, the dis-connection of family food practices. Once the meaning of cooking skills is opened up in this way it becomes problematic to approach 'convenience cooking skills' and 'traditional', 'real cooking skills' as being somehow different, never mind two distinct types. An approach that acknowledges context and tacit competencies shows that the skills to make, for example, pasta with a chilled, pre-prepared tomato sauce can be seen as including more than simple assembly. Such skills may include boiling the pasta and judging when it is 'cooked', simmering and stirring the sauce and making sure it doesn't stick to the pan or bubble over the bowl (if in the microwave).[24] In the particular context of a weekday family meal, for example, skills may also include perhaps,cooking whilst also washing up the plates from breakfast, getting to the front door to let in late arrivals and being aware of exactly where the two-year old is when the boiling water is drained from the pasta. The skills used may not be as great or many as when making a sauce from fresh tomatoes and preparing pasta from scratch, from flour and eggs, yet they are also neither wholly negligible nor entirely different.

The split between 'convenience skills' and 'real, traditional skills' is even more difficult to locate when the difficulty of drawing a clear line between 'convenience foods' and 'real foods' is acknowledged. This difficulty became quickly apparent during my study of domestic cooking practices. I found that people who cook do use terms and phrases like 'packet', 'convenience', 'ready-made', 'ready-prepared' and 'processed', yet there is very little

---

24 Based on foods prepared and experiences of cooking recounted by informants who took part in the study that informs this paper.

consistency in the way that they do so. 'Prepared' for example can be used in referring to, or be understood as referring to, such different foods as a ready-to-heat chicken tikka masala and a jointed, skinned raw fillet of chicken. Foods that may be labelled as 'processed' or 'convenience' in commentary and debate such as baked beans, mayonnaise, packet cereals etc are more often treated by people who cook, I have found, as 'real' foods. Foods, that is, that at least on an everyday basis – special occasions can be different – they would never consider making. As with vegeburgers, jam, mustard, pickle and marmalade, fruit yoghurts and desserts, spice mixes and pastes, ice-cream, sausages, biscuits and crackers, bread, pasta, and so on, their use is considered by people who cook absolutely normal and acceptable, just part of the practice of preparing, cooking and feeding:

> Cooking today means a heterogeneous mix of the fresh, the raw and the pre-prepared, the new and the traditional, the technological and the manual. As Tayla described, fresh eggs, white granulated sugar, pre-weighed butter, a packet of biscuits, a hand-held electric whisk, a by-hand lemon squeezer and state-of-the-art convection oven combine to make lemon meringue pie 'from scratch'. John bakes a piece of gammon and then slices and serves it with pre-washed salad leaves, pre-graded but home boiled eggs and store-bought pickled beetroot from a jar for a ham salad. Jaclyn makes speedy salmon coulibiac from organically produced fresh salmon filleted in the supermarket, and a packet of frozen, bought puff pastry, which she cuts beautifully into leaf shapes for decoration.[25]

Talking to people who cook I found that drawing a definite and distinct line between morally good connecting foods and superior 'real cooking skills' and morally poor disconnecting 'convenience foods' and inferior 'assembly skills', proved to be neither possible nor true to the findings of the study. The language and understanding of domestic cooking regularly used in social commentary, educational, food and public health policy does not 'fit', and hence allow insight into, the practice itself, the lived experiences and approaches of people who cook.

Convenience Foods Can Connect

In my studies[26] I have found people who cook differentiate not between 'cooking from scratch' and 'convenience cooking', as many commentators and policy makers do, but between 'proper cooking' and everyday 'doing the cooking'. 'Proper cooking' is that which happens on more 'important' cooking occasions. Often, when people want to refer to a kind of cooking they consider (more) 'proper' they use emphasis and intonation. As Jules put it, 'we cook things that are sort of easy and straightforward during the week but at the weekend we try and *cook*'. For Claire, if she's on her own, cooking is just about making food, it's not about *proper* cooking. 'If I'm cooking for myself I'll just cook pasta and have it with pesto', she said, 'I very rarely *cook* for myself. I never really experiment *cooking*-wise'. Put briefly, cooking occasions are hierarchical. Evening meals are more important than those earlier in the day, guests win out over family, adults over children. Weekend food is higher up the hierarchy than weekday food, holiday occasions tend to be thought more important than non-holiday, work-time occasions. A Saturday evening dinner for friends is far more likely to be an 'important cooking occasion' than a Tuesday breakfast. It is equally far more likely to involve 'proper cooking' than it is 'everyday cooking'. 'Proper cooking' entails (an

---

25   Short, F. *Kitchen Secrets* (note xv), pp. 114 – 115. Based on foods prepared and experiences of cooking recounted by informants who took part in the study that informs this paper.

26   I have recently started developing a study of the transference of cooking skills from one generation to another and am currently analysing data from a series of pilot interviews.

appropriate degree of) effort. Effort means making a special shopping trip, using a recipe perhaps, devoting more time to the cooking task, maybe using more complex techniques or longer cooking methods, preparing a more favoured and infrequently made dish and so on. Effort can also be associated with using more highly valued food and ingredients. This means that on these kinds of more important cooking occasions a higher proportion of 'raw' 'real' foods is more likely to be used. (However, using a greater quantity of 'real', 'non-convenience foods' is not *necessarily* part of cooking properly. Cooking for guests, Patrick will always make a proper stock, Liz feels an oxo cube (bouillon) will do. For Mark, proud of his 'quite mean Carbonara', one of the only things he has ever 'really *cooked*', a packet of dried Carbonara sauce mix will suffice. It is at the weekend and particularly if friends are visiting said Moh, an ex-chef and restaurant manager, that he may enjoy preparing a dessert 'from scratch'. Though he is just as likely, he added, to buy something nice from the patisserie round the corner.) Everyday 'doing the cooking' on the other hand is more likely to involve a higher proportion of those foods often labelled 'pre-prepared' or 'convenience'.[27]

It is here that I would like to put forward the argument that everyday 'doing the cooking' can be seen as more 'connecting' than 'proper cooking'. I have found that people are more likely to involve children when they are cooking on 'less important' occasions, say breakfast, lunch or weekday evening meals, with 'less important' foods. On these kinds of occasions when a higher quantity of less valued 'convenience foods' are used (say a pre-prepared tomato sauce and dried pasta, as above), people have less interest, less personal and emotional attachment to the process or result of cooking. Cooking on these occasions is less individualistic, there is less desire from the cook for the meal to be seen as 'theirs', less desire or need to enjoy the process of cooking. Children are more likely to be allowed to 'muck in':

> Occasionally I'll try and get her involved if she's keen to help. I mean she can do things like open a tin or I'll let her stir the beans or something but nothing more adventurous than that. Elspeth

This argument can then be taken further. For the findings of my research show that it is those who identify more strongly with being the 'everyday cook', those who are more likely to use a higher proportion of 'convenience foods', that are most likely to let their children 'help out' or get involved in the cooking. (Note that cooking with children for recreation or with specific intention of passing on skills, say making bread or cakes or following a recipe from a children's cookery book, involves a very different set of relationships and influences.[28]) Cooks with this personal approach, those who view cooking more as a 'job to be done' than a form of potentially identity-giving recreation, are less concerned with the product of cooking being considered as the end result of their (individual) effort, their skills:[29]

> Keeley, who's one, often sits on the work surface whilst I cook and she helps me. She's always really interested in how things are cooking. If they're in the microwave she wants to watch … she wants to watch it till it pings and she wants to watch things under the grill. I think they're both a bit young really [she also has a five year old son] to learn to cook but if you ask them to go and 'find the pasta' or 'find some eggs' or 'find some crisps' they would both know where they were stored and what you did with them.

---

27   The hierarchy of cooking occasions and guidelines for food choices and cooking practices for those occasions is explored more fully in *Kitchen Secrets* (note xv) in the chapter 'What do Cooks Think of Cooking?' which looks at shared cultural approaches to domestic cooking.

28   These different ways of cooking with children are being explored in a new study. See note xxvi.

29   Personal approaches to domestic cooking and being a cook are explored more fully in *Kitchen Secrets* (note xv) in the chapter 'What is a Cook?'.

> They're both quite well aware of what food you need to cook and what food you don't need to cook or what I keep in the freezer and why things need to be in the fridge. Liz

Those who saw themselves as 'interested cooks' and 'keen cooks', though more likely to use a higher quantity of 'non-convenience, real foods' and 'cook from scratch', were also more likely to want to cook alone. And not therefore, with their children. For these cooks there is often more 'tied up' in the process of cooking, a process they see as enjoyable, satisfying and a source of achievement, a process they either do not want to share, do not feel that should have to share or do not feel they can share. Margaret, someone who might be called an experienced 'good cook', (and someone who 'common sense' would say is perhaps the kind of cook 'connected' with her family's food practices) told me how she enjoys the process of cooking. She likes the fiddley little tasks, trying out new ingredients, the time to think and the sense of accomplishment. Yet as a consequence she 'admitted' (for she felt rather guilty about it), she finds cooking with her children rather tiresome:

> When you cook with children you have to mind about not doing things properly. You have to just enjoy it and hope things come out edible and I'm not terribly good at that. Margaret

Like Margaret, Jim also liked to cook. He too saw it as something about which he has a particular 'interest'. Yet Jim worked at home and as a result often found himself taking on some of the everyday cooking (he had children aged one and four who would often be at home at the same time). Even if he felt some of the same kind of annoyance that Margaret did, the aggrieved relinquishing of a potentially enjoyable and satisfying cooking experience, and didn't generally do so on special occasions, Jim would often let his four year old daughter help out with making breakfast or lunch. On these lesser cooking occasions it wasn't too bad. 'You have to make her think she's really helping without really giving her the important bits to do' he explained. Eric had no such problems. 'Not interested' in cooking, Eric was usually only involved in making the occasional sandwich or Sunday fried breakfast. Yet Eric spoke without any obvious awareness of how it might be either potentially enjoyable or perhaps dissatisfying to let his daughter collect the ingredients, unwrap packets and perch on a stool to see the food sliced, chopped and cooked under the grill. Entirely ambivalent about the practice of cooking, Eric was also entirely ambivalent about involving his daughter in the process.

In Conclusion, Considerations for Future Research

In current food debate, individualisation is a motif most usually associated with eating and 'convenience foods'. Microwaves, takeaways and 'pre-prepared foods' are regularly seen as atomising and disconnecting, an encouragement to family members to graze and snack separately throughout the day, governed only by their own schedules. Despite that it often means the dismissal of others from the kitchen, the individualised nature of 'proper' cooking, cooking that has taken on a recreational leisure-focused slant, remains largely ignored. I would argue that this is because, not only is there a deficit of research, but that this is the kind of cooking that tends to be 'naturally' most highly valued. I have found that both informants to my research and social commentators rarely associate cooking skill/s, good cooks and cooking with such as abilities as feeding a family on a budget, self-provisioning, being time efficient or encouraging children to eat. Rather, the 'creative cooking ideal'[30] pervades home cooking practices. The common sense view that constructs skilful cooking as being about

---

30 A concept originally examined by Anne Oakley. See Oakley, A. (1985), *The Sociology of Housework*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

technical success (or failure), being creative and 'professional', making 'different and interesting' food and so on obscures the ways in which it can also be disconnecting and exclusive. Policy and commentary persists down an assumed and unexamined path because dominant discourses naturalise the 'creative cooking ideal' and the meaning of cooking skill (being able to cook) making it difficult to put forward an argument that this is an area of everyday culture worth researching.[31]

For some of my informants 'pre-prepared convenience foods' are seen as obviously liberating. Kate and Dean both feel that pre-prepared food gives them more time to interact, bond and connect with their children because they free them from the chore of cooking. Kate, a 'real ready meal user' (as she put it) was quick to say that she would rather be in the garden playing with her two boys than standing in the kitchen cooking for them. Dean laughed at the idea of he and his partner returning home from work to cook rather than 'hang out' with their young son. My findings however suggest that 'convenience foods' can also be connecting in more subtle ways. Using pre-prepared foods can mean less concern for the cook about 'getting it right', about the food being a reflection of their skills and effort. People who cook care far less, I have found, about whether the butter cake made from a packet mix has risen as perfectly as that which they have made 'from scratch'. They're not bothered about the technical standard achieved when they're preparing beans on toast or making a casserole from a couple of frozen chicken breasts and a jar of mushroom pasta sauce. This kind of cooking can of course be less satisfying for the cook than 'cooking from scratch' because the result is far less a reflection of their ability, expertise or the effort they have taken. But as a less emotional, less individualised cooking experience, it can also be one that is more inclusive.

Further research is required but my findings suggest that the neutrality of 'convenience foods' ('everyday cooking' and less 'interested' cooks) can be seen as positive and connecting. It could be that they allow, even encourage, children and young people into the (their parent's/s'?) kitchen. Certainly it seems an area worth exploring, particularly as analysis of cooking skills shows that 'convenience foods' do not necessarily have to be seen as skill-free, as merely requiring assembly. Maureen, a cook managing on a strict budget but who prefers to 'cook from scratch' whenever she can (her freezer is loaded with bargains she has picked up at the fruit and vegetable market, frozen fish and cheap cuts of meat) told me that she is far more likely to make a cake with her son if they use a 'packet mix'. Cake mixes encourage her to bake with him, she said, because they suit his short child's concentration span, mean less washing up and provide lots of little packages that they both enjoy opening. And he still gets to mix, spread, stir and fold ingredients. It could be argued too that rather than dis-connnect and deskill, they help him learn to cook. With a 'packet mix', just as with a more 'traditional' method, he can acquire cooking skills. He can learn how to appreciate different textures, become acquainted with using an oven, smell a cake baking and judge when it's ready.

Policy should perhaps not immediately abandon it's approach that 'cooking from scratch' is socially and culturally important. My research does show however that it would be insightful and useful to move beyond common sense assumption and systematically explore how food choices and cooking practices connect and dis-connect with family well-being, social identity and the transference of food cultures across generations. These connections are not simple. Had her mother lived today Rosie Boycott tells us, she would undoubtedly have filled her shopping trolley with ready meals, pre-prepared 'beef bourguignon' Lancashire hot pot, even a salmon fillet tastefully wrapped in flaky pastry': food that would expand her repertoire 'without the bother of handling raw meat'. A disconnecting food experience for some, but in her mother's case, Boycott tells us, one she would have considered as very

---

31   These ideas are explored more fully in *Kitchen Secrets* (note xv).

positive. 'She would not even have had to wonder about the living cow or sheep that had formed the basis of the dish, how it had lived and, more importantly to my mother, how it had died.'

Digital Culture and the Challenge to Copyright Law

Lynne Spender

Centre for Cultural Research, University of Western Sydney

lspender@optusnet.com.au

Copyright law was developed almost 300 years ago in a pre-computer, print based world when copying of printed works was difficult and visible. Based on 'ownership' of tangible works, the law granted creators the right to control the copying of their work for 28 years from publication, a period that has now been extended to 70 years after their death. Digital culture is now challenging the economic, cultural and social efficacy of this law. Digital culture has a 'sharing' (non-proprietorial) dimension which promises a more universal sense of ownership of knowledge, information and cultural products. This paper looks at the clash of print and digital cultures in an emerging knowledge economy and argues that it is time to abandon the enforcement of the current proprietary system and to implement an alternative system that encourages innovation, creativity and the development of a vibrant, accessible public domain of knowledge and cultural works.

Digital Culture and the Challenge to Copyright Law

While the thesis that I am working on looks at digital culture and its challenge to copyright law within a broad context of cultural, economic and technological change, today I want to report specifically on some research undertaken in Australia.

Copyright law – essentially the monopoly rights of a copyright owner to control copying of their work – developed in association with print technology and I (and many others) have traced its accommodation over time to new technologies such as photography, the radio, film, video and other tangible creative forms. By adding new provisions and protections, the law has survived for almost 300 years, even though it is arguable that only the most assiduous copyright lawyers now are actually familiar with its provisions. The Australian Copyright Act, for example, now has 560 pages and one wonders who knows what it is about when its rather vague short title is: *An Act relating to copyright and the protection of certain performances, and for other purposes.* Certainly most of the creators that I interviewed understood few of the details of copyright law.

Even so, with a system based on protecting visible and tangible printed works (books, CDs, tapes) it is possible to make rules about copying and to police them. And because they can be policed, it is certainly arguable that people will more readily comply with them – simply for fear of being caught.

But with digital works – which are basically a series of intangible 0s and 1s - the policing is not so easy – but the copying is. So if you want access to digital works and you don't know or don't care whether they are copyright protected works, the risk is probably worth taking. This is attested to by the millions of people who unlawfully download works from the Internet in spite of the very real threat of legal action against them. In America, figures indicate that 60 million Americans regularly trade files. Certainly it is not uncommon in Australia and, I understand from speaking with the Pirate Party here in Sweden, that many people here think that non-commercial filesharing should not be a criminal offence.

So where does this leave copyright law? To find out, I decided to look more closely at creators in what I have called the digital and print cultures.

For 5 years I worked as Director of the Australian Society of Authors (ASA) – a 3000 member professional organization representing Australian writers, poets and illustrators – and then for 5 years as Director of the Australian Interactive Media Industry Association (AIMIA), again with about 3000 company and individual members, who worked in online media as content creators, producers, advertisers, web, games and software-developers. Both organizations are based in Sydney, Australia.

The visible differences between the two cultures were highlighted when I recently attended social functions with women from each. I went with the authors for a social drink – one activity that both groups have in common – at a pub distinctive mainly because it was near a bookshop and had comfortable, if shabby, chairs. We arranged by phone to meet at 3 in the afternoon, a week-day – because they either work part-time in a variety of jobs in order to leave time free to write – or they are academics and of course have all the free time in the world!!

Whether because I am a keen observer of my fellow creators – or merely superficial – I noted that most of the authors looked somewhat shabby – like the chairs. They wore dark colours, flat-heeled shoes, oldish, large and much-used leather or canvas bags containing books, papers, bits and pieces. Average age: 40-50. Drinks ordered: Poets' Corner Red (an inexpensive and ubiquitous Australian quaffing wine) and light beers. The conversation centered on the demise of the publishing industry generally and especially literary publishing, how hard it was to get anyone to look at their work (without paying a manuscript assessor) how hard to get an agent, a publisher, a contract – and if you did finally get a contract – how

hard it was to get reasonable terms and conditions – how little you could earn after years of hard work on your novel, novella, memoirs etc. In a word HARD. My overall response to them and the meeting was that it was a bit – DEPRESSING.

And then I had drinks with a younger group of women (in their mid to late thirties) who meet regularly to 'debrief' about their digital lives. I call them the Digichicks. The meeting was arranged by SMS, and was held at 'any time from 6.30' at the converted warehouse which serves as a home and a workplace (for 4 employees) of one of the group who has an online business called 'momento'. This is a service and software package that allows users to be 'produsers' (a term coined by Axel Bruns to describe those who use digital technology to both produce and use new works) and create their own digital photo albums. Bare flesh and high heeled shoes, designer handbags, Mõet champagne and mobile phones, much laughter and hilarity as stories were swapped and the latest digital gadgets discussed. Digital photos were sent from a blackberry to one of the group who was unable to attend (she was at a wedding where the bride had used her online business to select and order the colour-coded bathroom accessories – from hand soap and candles to toilet paper). Even while chatting, it seemed at least one of the digichicks was connected – to kids at home, to their emails, partners and/or work colleagues. At 8pm two extremely lithe young men in black outfits arrived to apply neck massages to those who had spent all day at their computers. In a word COOL. I was, I realized, very taken with these young women and with their vitality and energy.

It was the contrast between these two groups that led me to thinking about their different cultures – and, as well as considering how they might challenge copyright law, I became side-tracked (as happens in cultural studies) with modern and post-modern identity – 'modernity built in steel and concrete; postmodernity in biodegradable plastic' and of course, 'the death of the author'. But that is another story.

I developed 2 surveys which covered pretty much the same ground although it was clear that the print authors were more comfortable with a paper based survey and the digital participants expected an online survey. Some members of these two groups, mainly the academics, create within both cultures. Even so, there were remarkable 'cultural' differences in terms of their creative practice, their attitudes towards their work and to copyright and their values in relation to digital developments – and, it seemed to me, in the threat that they might pose to copyright law.

So far I have surveyed 30 print based creators (14 women and 16 men) and 28 digital creators (16 women and 12 men).

Table 1.

Print Culture	Digital Natives
64% write for personal satisfaction	52% create for personal satisfaction
22% write to earn a living	25% create to earn a living
44% earn over $10,000 (mainly educational writers)	72% earn over $10,000
	10% 'solitary' creators
100% 'solitary' creators	90% work collaboratively
17% also work in partnerships	

The most interesting responses for my purposes were those that revealed distinct differences that might affect how creators viewed copyright law. Thus it was interesting, although not surprising, to find that print based authors mainly work as 'solitary' creators, that they write more for personal satisfaction than to earn a living and that they do not earn very much from their writing. Australian research – (Throsby and Hollister, 2003) indicates that writers for

example, in 2000-2001 had a median creative income of $4800 – less than the threshold for taxable income!

Digital creators mainly work collaboratively and in teams and they too create more for personal satisfaction than to earn a living. In contrast to the print based authors, most of them earned good incomes from their paid creative work. It is clear that they are used to having their work rewarded and celebrated.

Table 2.

Print Culture	Digital Culture
61% considered themselves well-informed about copyright	76% considered themselves well-informed about copyright
40% actually understood 'fair dealing'	90% understood 'fair dealing'
95% did not know about anti-circumvention provisions	47% did not know about anti-circumvention provisions
44% familiar with 'creative commons'	65% familiar with 'creative commons'
28% familiar with 'open source'	90% familiar with 'open source'

More than half of each group considered themselves well-informed about copyright law but the print-based authors knew less about fair dealing (what you can use of other people's work) and most were unaware of new anti-circumvention provisions for which there are now criminal sanctions in Australian law. Over half were unaware of the creative commons and open source software movements.

By contrast, the digital natives understood more about fair dealing and anti-circumvention provisions and almost all knew of the creative commons and open source movements which Thomas L Friedman (author of *The World is Flat*) sees as an example of the new collaborative, Internet model of 'sharing' information and knowledge.

Table 3.

Print Culture	Digital Culture
Over 50% had work copied	48% had work copied
90% took no legal action - too expensive, not worth the effort	100% took no legal action – no point, not worth the effort, too expensive
72% would contact the copier if feasible; 5% would be flattered	42% would contact; 48% would be flattered

Members of both cultures had had their work copied – about 50% in each case. Both indicated that it was too much effort and too expensive to take any legal action with several of the digital natives also adding that there was no point. Once a digital work is 'out there', it can be copied – the important thing is to be first to publish – first to market is the advantage. The main difference here was that almost half of the digital natives reported that they would be flattered by being copied; of the print authors only 5% would consider it flattering to have their work copied by someone else.

Participants were then asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements:

1. Copyright is stifling innovation and creativity.

67% of digital natives agree but only 17% of print creators.

Taking into account other data from the surveys, this difference in attitudes is not difficult to explain. You will recall from the first slide that 90% of digital creators work collaboratively, mixing bits and bytes from various media forms. For them, copyright law restricts their ability to access, repurpose and develop new products. For authors, 100% of whom work alone with only their thoughts and the printed word, copyright protection supports their much more personal relationship with the work they produce. The idea of copyright law hindering rather than encouraging their creativity would be quite unfamiliar.

2. File sharing is a cultural phenomenon, not a criminal act.

85% of digital natives agree: 16% of print creators agree.

Digital natives for whom computers and software are basic tools, are aware that what computers do is copy – efficiently and cheaply. They are more aware of the collaborative open-source software movement and the creative commons movement and it seems perfectly normal to use digital tools to create new works, to experiment, share and play. It is not surprising that they see file sharing as a cultural phenomenon. Their familiarity with user generated content sites (100% for amazon, youtube, wikipedia) is likely to encourage a different view about the sanctity of 'privately owned' works and as indicated earlier almost half would be flattered if someone copied their work. For print authors however, many of whom still use computers only as word processors, unlawfully copying their work is like stealing their personal property – AND it is not flattering! It is equally unsurprising that **they** see file sharing as exactly the sort of activity that copyright laws should criminalise.

3. It is more important to protect individual creators works than to develop a public domain of accessible works.

54% of print authors agree but only 30% of digital natives agree.

This is an interesting result. While many more print authors than digital creators agree with this, there is still a significant number of print authors (46%) who disagree. This point was made to me by a colleague here at ACSIS and I went back to my raw data and found that of those print authors who disagreed, most were the academics who work in both print and digital media – and who might well have different view from fiction writers, for example, about developing a public domain of accessible works.

The print authors who did agree that protecting individual creator's work was more important, undoubtedly have a greater sense of 'ownership' of the works they create and a greater interest in a system that legally protects them. For the digitals, a public domain of accessible works would be a bonus – it would mean fewer problems with identifying owners for re-use of materials and no need to pay the exorbitant licensing fees that are currently charged for the re-use of copyright material. This also reflects a tendency, identified in much of the research about digital culture, for its members to adopt a less personal and more universal sense of ownership of culture and knowledge, an issue that I want to research further.

4. Obscurity not piracy is the problem on the net.

80% of digital creators agree; only 26% of print authors agree.

For digital creators whose success relies on attention, hits and a community of loyal users, this statement (actually from Cory Doctorow, a Canadian blogger and science fiction writer who has successfully published work on the Internet) highlights a major challenge. Being found is more important than being copied. For print authors, protecting their work from copying seems to be more important than having it published!

5. Creators should be able to designate their work copyright-protected or copyright-free.

A surprising 100% of print authors agreed; 85% of the digital creators agreed.

This was to me one of most interesting findings. In spite of their greater commitment to copyright law, 100% of print creators thought that authors should be able to designate their work as copyright protected or copyright free. In all other areas, the print creators were more conservative about copyright but here they indicated that they would LIKE to be able to determine whether their work is to be copyright protected, suggesting that they too would like a 'play' space to experiment with their work, without it automatically being copyright protected. (I intend to follow this up in further interviews). The digital natives were less concerned about this – and again I will follow this up. Perhaps it is because they are less constrained by or respectful of copyright laws, so they don't really care.

Concluding Comments

My task now is to add these findings and speculations to other observations and research about print and digital culture. There is for example, considerable research about the 'copyleft' protest movement in both law and cultural studies – and there is some evidence that digital natives who have grown up with computers are more likely to be more creative and individualistic and to be rule-breakers rather than rule followers. There is also much information about the new network/knowledge economy and new digital business models based on ubiquity rather than scarcity – all of which will impact on digital culture and on copyright law.

But it seems fairly clear that the attitudes and practices of digital creators will continue to undermine the efficacy of copyright laws that are increasingly complex, punitive and irrelevant to many creators. Demographically it is clear that over time more and more people, globally, will be digital natives – fewer will be print based. Specific studies such as the US National Endowment for the Arts 'Reading at Risk' research, also suggest that fewer people are reading and fewer are using print based products either for leisure or information. If this is so, it is a significant technological and cultural shift.

And perhaps print based authors will tire of being seen as shabby and poor (although I think some still claim it as a badge of honour). Perhaps they will surrender some of the copyright protection that hasn't done them much good – and decide to join the more collaborative, less copyright-committed digital natives. If they do, the one thing I can safely predict is that sales of expensive champagne will go up – and copyright law in its current form might come down.

Poetry as Historiography: The Routine Poems of Franklin Cimatu

Grace Celeste T. Subido

Department of Language, Literature and the Arts, College of Arts and Communication, University of the Philippines Baguio

gctsubido@upb.edu.ph

Baguio City, nestled in the Cordillera Mountain range in Northern Philippines has, throughout history, been the site of numerous encounters between native and foreigner. Originally an Igorot settlement, it was "re-invented" during the American Colonial period to serve as host to their primary rest and recreation facility. Today, the city is home to a heterogenous population and remains a fertile meeting ground for various peoples and cultures. This paper explores the idea of "Baguio," an "invented space," as likewise possibly the site of invention and re-inventions.

This paper employs postmodern theory in an analysis of the poetry of multi-awarded, tri-lingual, contemporary Filipino writer based in Baguio City, Franklin Cimatu. It focuses particularly on this writer's "Routine Poem Series."

Launching off from the Lyotardian perspective of the postmodern as "incredulity to metanarratives," the paper then examines the various manifestations that reveal the liminal nature of the writer's poetic practice and the anti-metanarrative impulse which pervades this body of work. The paper investigates the various interrogations of **T**ruth, **I**dentity and **H**istory, the metanarratives that make absolutistic claims. The study likewise explores the notion of hybridity in an attempt to interweave subjectivity, context, and poetic practice.

Poetry as Historiography: The Routine Poems of Franklin Cimatu

The study of language has revealed that language is not merely a tool by which to state things or declare facts. It is a complex system which individuals employ for various purposes, an idea that an examination of literature as discourse would corroborate. This paper reveals how poetry can function in performative, rather than constative mode. As the former, it continues the postmodern project of interrogation to be able to open up new vistas of possibility and enable departures from the boundaries of existing configurations.

A reading of Frank Cimatu's poetry leaves one with a strong sense of uncertainty. There is a peculiar sense of elusiveness in the poems such that these seem to refuse to give in to interpretation using traditional reading strategies which signals the need to summon an alternative approach to enable the reader to venture into interpretation using a variety of possible modes of entry into 'difficult' or 'resistant' texts. It was thus that I thought of approaching this body of work from the perspective of postmodern theory.

Franklin a.k.a. King a.k.a. Frank Cimatu is a Baguio boy, journalist, Physics major, Fine Arts student and winner of awards in various writing contests. In 1987, he took third place in the poetry contest held by the *Galian sa Arte at Tula* (GAT [Crucible for the Arts and Letters]) and went on to become a two-time winner for poetry in the prestigious Philippine national writing contest, the Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards for Literature with a third place finish in poetry in English for "Living in the Movies: Poems" and the first prize for Tula (poetry- Filipino Category) for "Desaparecido/ Desaparadiso: Mga Tula ni Juan Caliban" ["Desaparecido/Desaparadiso: The Poems of Juan Caliban] in 1991. The following year (1992) he came in second in the *Makata ng Taon* [Writer of the Year] poetry writing contest of the *Surian Ng Wikang Pambansa* [Institute for the National Language] . In 1995, he garnered second place in the short-lived Procyon Awards in Manila, Philippines. In 2003, he was adjudged the top prizewinner for poetry in the *Philippines Free Press* Literary Awards. Franklin Cimatu also writes short stories and has won a *Philippines Free Press* award for the essay in 1994.

The study of Cimatu's poetry from the perspective of postmodern theory jumps off from Jean-Francios Lyotard's definition of the postmodern. "Postmodern," Lyotard writes "would have to be understood according to the paradox of the future (post) anterior (modo)" (Lyotard 2001, p.62). The modern would refer to that which is current, the 'now.' The addition of the prefix enmeshes the proposition in a conundrum of being 'after now, now.' Lyotard situates the postmodern within modernity.

> It is undoubtedly part of the modern. All that has been received, if only yesterday (…) must be suspected . . . . In amazing acceleration, the generations precipitate themselves. … A work can become modern only if it is first postmodern. Postmodern thus understood is not modernism at its end but in the nascent state, and this is constant (Lyotard 2001, p.60).

The definition seizes time and transforms it into space. This is the postmodern moment. It is a space of uncertainty, interrogation, negotiation and awareness that "everything is text." Barthes (1968, p.64) elaborates: "We know that a text is not a line of words releasing a single "theological" meaning (the "message" of Author-God) but a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centers of culture."

Lyotard's position is one which questions "meta-narratives of history" or the "overarching narratives and stories" which provide the "foundations of modern thought" that enable claims to 'truth' and 'objectivity' (Mcrobbie 1994, p.64). For Lyotard, all these meta-narratives on which 'rules' are founded are fictional constructs. 'Facts' exist only within a

provisionally accepted framework and notions of 'truth and objectivity' are not fixed, steady or permanent. There are no absolutes; things are neither stable nor static.

> For Lyotard, the Enlightenment promised science as pure knowledge and as narrative-free practice, but that picture of pure knowledge was itself part of a very powerful story which helped legitimize capitalist exploitation. Therefore, beware of meta-narratives. Knowledge is not pure or in the minds but moves in a game. (McRobbie 1994, pp. 64-65)

The postmodern admits the idea of relativity of perspective and with the absence of common ground from which to interpret 'reality,' universalistic claims are no longer possible. There is no single story, narrative, or **H**istory. It is, after all, not the narrative per se that Lyotard was incredulous of, but the *meta* narrative—the variety that claims primacy over all other narratives. In the same manner, the product of historiography (the writing of history) is a poetic construct. History is no longer seen in terms of past and present but a text formed at the intersection of particular contexts and subjectivities. History is not fixed or permanent, but a 'provisional truth' that begins with every narration. It is no longer stable in its commonly accepted definition and through the strategy of counter-memory, the 'truth' of **H**istory can be challenged.

> The postmodern awareness is that both history and literature are discourses, and thus not to be talked in terms of truth, as much as 'whose truth'. History then, in Foucault's terms, may become 'counter-memory': the process of reading history against its grain, of taking an acknowledged active role in the interpretation of history rather than a passive viewing role. Counter-memory intervenes in history rather than chronicles it. This intervention is precisely the role of the postmodern literature which Linda Hutcheon called 'historiographic metafiction.' The historiographic metafictionist refuses the possibility of looking to and writing about the past "as it really was." Rather, s/he takes on the active role and 'does' the past, participates, questions and interrogates (Marshall 1992, p.150).

Through counter-memory, the process of signification or the "process whereby meaning is produced and at the same time as subjects fabricated and positioned in societal relations" (Marshall 1996, p.96), rather than the act of validation of past history (of "what really happened") and of past representations is highlighted. The relevant question shifts from the close-ended question "What" to the open-ended "How" and "Why."

This paper examines representative poems in Franklin Cimatu's "Routine Series." The writer originally envisioned 13 poems for this series, which draws from research on *bodabil*, the Filipino version of the vaudeville, and his "rediscovery" of an early Filipino writer, Carlos Bulosan. Six of these "Routine Poems" are included in the anthology which has been appended. Others are currently underway

Whereas the word "routine" is one which calls in ideas of habit, and monotony, compliance and repetition, Franklin Cimatu's "Routine Poems" may perhaps be seen as the writer's most active engagement with **H**istory. "Routine," too, brings in the ideas of "rule," "conventional exercise," the notion of "constructedness" and the mechanisms of control which metanarrative employs to be able to authenticate **T**ruth within a particular perspective. I indicate the terms here with initial boldface capital letters to refer to the metanarratives which make absolutistic claims. The poems included in this collection draw inspiration from scripted stage acts, more particularly the vaudevillian routines of figures from Philippine *Bodabil*, Pugo and Tugo. In some poems, this "scriptedness" is extended to contemplations on the plight of migrant workers. Perhaps, the main idea which underlies these poems is that familiar adage: the whole world, is a stage where we are all players, and it is by pure circumstance that we are assigned the "roles" we must play.

"The Sweet Pea Routine" (2002c) is a component poem of the "Routine Series." This particular poem reveals the wide variety of sources and structures from which postmodernism appropriates in its parodic re-presentation. Here, "parody" is used in the postmodern sense which contains the terms intertextuality, appropriation, ironic quotation, pastiche and is reflective of the critical nature of postmodern practice (Hutcheon 2003).

> [T]his parodic reprise of the past of art is not nostalgic; it is always critical. It is also not a-historical or de-historizicing; it does not wrest past art from its original historical context and reassemble it into some presentist spectacle. Instead, through a double process of installing and ironizing, parody signals how present representations come from past ones and how ideological consequences derive from both continuity and difference (Hutcheon 2003, p. 89).

The poem illustrates how postmodern procedural poems can take on shapes that do not derive from traditional poetic structures. "The Sweet Pea Routine" is reminiscent of a music video montage or television channel surfing with a remote control:

The Sweet Pea Routine

"And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sack-cloth, and they shall weep for thee in bitterness of heart and bitter wailing."

-Ezekiel 27:31

P (juggling the ball):	O The Time Is Not For Taking Prisoners
T (jiggling the ball):	Kill all above the age of ten
P (jingling the bell):	O Lord, our Father, our young patriots
T (jiggling the bell):	Idol of our heart, go forth in battle
P (giggling the bull):	Be thou near them—in spirit—
T (gaggling the bull):	We also go forth from the sweet peace
P (haggling the bill):	Sweet peas
T (baggling the bill):	Of our loved ones to smite the foe
P (bangling the boll):	Filipinos come quick
T (bandling the boll):	Heaven watch the Philippines
P (handling the ball):	Keep us safe from harm
T (tolling the bell):	Damn, damn the Filipino
P (rolling the bill):	Pockmarked, khakiac ladron
T (bolling the claude):	Underneath the starry flag
P (browing the robert):	Civilize him with a krag
T (irving the john):	And we've got a Filipino
P (redding the otis):	Dear mom
T (cummings the e.e.):	This shooting human beings
P (stribling the t.s.):	Beats rabbit hunting all to pieces
T (harding the warren):	Sweet pieces
P (shearing the george):	We killed a few to teach a lesson
T (whiting the george):	And you bet they learned it
P (cushing the harvey):	Westward, Philippines through Hawaii
T (hawking the stephen):	Eastward. Hawaii through Philippines

P (pauling the linus):	Which do you prefer? plague before leprosy
T (channing the ed):	Or leprosy before plague
P (kipling the rudyard):	The end of the flight's a tombstone white
T (pershing the john):	With the name of the late deceased
P (lessing the doris):	And the epitaph drear: A Fool lies here
T (tao-shing the kwan):	Who tried to hustle the East
P (marking the twain):	They say I've got brown brothers here
T (marking the agustin):	But I still draw the line
P (rooting the elihu):	He may be a brother of Big Bill Taft
T (makiling the maria):	But he's no brother of mine
P (keesing the felix):	This country of thee
T (stalling the carl):	Sweet land of liberty
P (macli-ing the dulag):	And keep us forever
T (bashing the head):	And keep us forever
P (heading the bash):	Come out colonel, the ball has begun.

THEY SAID IT, NOT US. Lines 1-2 from Gen. Jake "Howling Wilderness" Smith. Lines 3-6 from Mark Twain's "War prayer". Line 8 is the first line of Lenny Bruce's "How to Talk Dirty and Influence People. Lines 10-11 and 37-38 from Irving Berlin's "Heaven Watch the Philippines." Lines 12-15 is the U.S. Army's version of Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic". Line 16 is from Carson McCuller's "Reflection in the Golden Eye". Lines 17-19 from a letter of one of the soldiers. Lines 20-21 from Pvt. William Christner. Lines 22-25 from a condensed version of Thomas Brackett Reed's writings. Lines 26-29 from Kipling's "Naulakha." Lines 30-33 from a song. The last line from Major Wilder Metcalf of the Kansas detachment awakening his sleeping commander, Col. Frederick Funston, after the Grayson affair that started the U.S.-Phil. War.

On its surface, the text appears to be very highly cohesive, this being primarily because of the repetition of structural elements, especially on the left hand side of the text as printed. Cohesion is primarily achieved by manipulation of elements on the lateral / syntagmic plane through replacement of letters to form new constructions, which may not be explicitly intelligible (juggling-jiggling-jingling- giggling- gaggling-haggling, etc.), but nevertheless convenient in allowing for an intermediate stage in the mutation into the next possible intelligible construction. As one component of the surface structure of the word is replaced, it recalls the previous construction and at the same time, accentuates its difference from the latter. As letters are displaced and replaced one at a time, the shifts are gradual; there are no gaps.

As the poem progresses, the game becomes more elaborate as words are manipulated to transform family names into verbal forms (browning the robert, redding the otis, irving the john, etc.). Further into the poem, this 'play'[1] on words transforms into a 'game' of punning (Sweet peace, sweet peas, sweet pieces) where meaning is likewise re-created through the double act of recall and displacement.

The text's structure in terms of cohesion seems very tight, yet the poem itself does appear to be very coherent. In the same manner that it is possible to create a sentence which may be

---

1   Use of term here incorporates the idea of "volatility" with "game", "contest." Lyotard (1985) employs the term "joust".

grammatically sound but essentially senseless, "meaning" in the traditional sense of the word, up to this point, eludes the reader.

To create the poem, the writer has wrested lines and phrases from their original contexts and joined these in "cut-and paste" fashion to create the poem, which is essentially a script of a dialogue for the characters, Pugo (P) and Tugo (T). In addition, the left column portion, which contains 'stage directions'(as represented by the items enclosed in parentheses) for the 'dialogue' recall Saussurean linguistics ('Cat is cat because it is not cap or bat.'). This poem is particularly interesting. Difference in articulation of words on the left side has its cognate decontextualized statement on the right. The poem charts the slippage of meaning in language.

The poem draws attention to the impossibility of a neutral perception of 'reality' and 'truth' in the impartial, 'objective' sense. "Meaning" is not found in the word itself, but is provisional and determined by the "rules" at play within the system in which it is articulated (in the case of this particular poem, the parenthetical "stage directions" which determine the manner in which the speaker makes the statement). On one hand, it echoes with the idea of the arbitrariness of signs within language. On the other, it conveys the idea that facts do not exist in the objective sense. As the oft-quoted line goes, 'everything is text,' and absolute truth, reality and certainty are thus put to question. The foregrounding of ambiguity ensures that the text remains open. There can no longer be claims to universality since truth and reality are relative. Hutcheon, in A *Poetics of Postmodernism* (1988), adds:

> The question of historiography, the writing of histories within present-day constructions and concerns, reproposes the infinite space of analysis… In writing, the past is re-presented, linguistically and put together, fabulated, and becomes a narrative, a story, a literary genre (cited in Chambers, 1990, 109-110).

Fact and fiction are apposed so that illusion and reality become impossible to differentiate. The "Hawes-Hare Cutting Routine" (Cimatu 1996a) a pun on "The Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act," a bill which ensured the presence of US military presence in the Philippines long after the declaration of Philippine Independence, describes the scripted nature of a magic act that is designed to sell an illusion, a routine too, which has been 'played out' at certain points in actual history.

THE HAWES-HARE-CUTTING ROUTINE

"Make Thee bald; and poll thee for thy delicate children; enlarge the baldness as the eagle; for they are gone into captivity for thee"—Micah 1:16

O The Time They Are A Men's Soul Tryin'

Bare souls, dead souls, but mostly the well-heeled ones

Who got themselves into the World War II collaboration trials

And Pugo and Tugo laid low for a while and grew their hair back

Lest they be suspected of le coolalabooration

Like those French maidens who cavorted with Nazi soldiers

And were rounded-up, Burma-shaved and paraded

On the avenues and cursed and pelted.

Pugo and Tugo before they grew back their hair were the main act

In the voodooville about to make a comeback. Their hair back,

They found themselves unknown. They sought a living

As stagehands now, sometimes being called back to testify,
"Yes, you, on the third row, seat number twenty-seven, come up
And show the audience if there's a trick or we'll saw you in half"
Or "We'll shoot you" or "Frighten you till your hair stands up."

Once a famous Indian magician on an Asian visit
Came and asked Pugo before the show to sit
On the third row, seat number twenty-seven so he can call on him
And testify that Tugo, also supposedly taken randomly,
Was actually sawed in half. That being the agreement,
"Yes, you, on the third row, seat number twenty-seven, come up
And tell us if this was actually sawed in half."
And Pugo, being Pugo and not you,
Told the truth and proceeded to show
How it was all done with mirrors.

And all the more, others were copying their acts
With names like Pogi & Togi, Pago & Tago, Pugak & Tugak.
All shaved heads and nothing else.

In the U.S. Hall of Justice, Truth and the American Way
Representatives Hare & Hawes & Cutting got their acts together
For the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act
Which was ratified as the RP-US Military Bases Agreement
Which was ratified as the comebacking act of Pugo & Tugo
Which was called the "How's Hair Cutting Act"
Which they might have misspelt but not misinterpreted
Which goes like this:
        Tugo on the first night sat on the bare stage
And asked everyone in the audience to cut his hair
With scissors, knives, hands or teeth
And one by one they went up there until he was completely bald
And then it was Pugo's turn in the second night
Then you on the third row seat number twenty-seven and so on.

The poem ends with the following stanza:

Filipinos go bald thinking it's in their genes
Filipinos get bald thinking it's the fashion
Not knowing they are a part of the longest, continuous post-

Modern symbolic rebellious deliberately spontaneous

Vaudevillian act still going on. Never know

Your time to go.

Similarly, "The Numero Routine" (Cimatu 1996b), expounds on an imaginary 'vaudevillian sketch' which is a system whose 'secret' is 'encoded in numbers. The poem illustrates the all too human propensity to piece together narratives from the rubble of the past, to make these fragments 'work' anew, to confer 'sense' on what would otherwise be chaos. "The Numero Routine" begins with a quote from an article on the *Bodabil*:

> "The lack of script meant this part of the Bodabil was left to oral tradition, and to this day, nobody has compiled these comedy sketches developed by the country's best comedians ever. One example is the sketch called…"

> --J.P. Fenix

THE NUMERO ROUTINE

O The Times When They Were Yang and Yin

The moro-moro's moribund and the buddhaville's in.

T'was pistaym and people'd rather go high than sober

Not that it matters but you must remember

The time when Pugo & Tugo hit on the idea

Of the Numero Routine. Hilariously morose

Not that it matters but you must remember

How it goes.

A lady would write a number on a paper

And show it to the audience except for Tugo

Who was meditating on the left corner of the theater

Because he was clairvoyant, you see, Great Swami Rabindranath.

X-ray Visionary with a (hee haw) crystal ball for a head

But turbaned now and held by a rope so he won't levitate.

So he knows. But he doesn't really and Pugo

Has to tell him somehow or else their scam be discovered.

So he hits Tugo on the head, the number of times corresponding

To the digit itself. Sometimes he would shout to him the number

Of words equal to the digit again. Example: 4

Or so it goes.

      Until the lady

Writes the digit "0". The audience

Burst out laughing when they realize Pugo

Can not hit Tugo and can not tell him so.

So Pugo mimicked the moon, the stars wheeling.

The cycle of life and death, Wagnerian ring sung down low.
And of course, Tugo wouldn't know
And invariably gave the wrong number.
And they had the same routine and no one came to resist
Not that it matters but you must remember
That a war has started and the, 'is it safe now?' Japanese
Wanted Pugo & Tugo to corroborate, sorry, collaborate
With them. Not that it matters but you must remember
Art doesn't owe anything to politics
And collaboration was not a dreaded word for an artiste
And bodabil is low-brow, unidealistic and populist
So they did not want to collaborate just because
But you cannot say to the Japanese, "Noh!"
Because that means kabuki where they get disemboweled anyway
So the Numero Routine had to stay
And Pugo and Tugo would bash each other on the heads
But instead of hitting numbers, they hit on letters instead—
One for "A" to twenty-six for "Z" not counting punctuations.
And the letters spell telegraphic messages
For the guerillas in the audience to transcribe.
So messages like MEETING IN ZAPOTE required 179 bashes
Not that it matters, but you must remember
That Pugo and Tugo used real baseball bats instead of cardboard
To demonstrate to the audience the "horror of war."

It was unfortunate that the duo weren't awarded
The highest medal of civilians, comedians and the brain-dead.
As no one in the audience
Were aware of the message.

But the war has not really ended
As in some small hours
I still feel a dull throbbing on my head
Which I try to calculate to the letter
And pen in hand, try to decipher.

(1989)

In the end, the poem takes on the mien of an act of rationalization to 'explain' a present condition. It is the human mind that creates the connections between and among the essentially separate frames/stories/narratives. In all narratives, the speaker/subject is completely entangled in narrative production where fidelity is not to **T**ruth but to possibility

and plausibility of the story fashioned from the flotsam brought in by unpredictable tides in what Iain Chambers (1990) refers to as a "poetics of the possible."

As with "The Hawes-Hare-Cutting Routine," the mechanisms that lie beneath the surface are revealed and truth is 'de-naturalized.' Nothing is congenital; everything is constructed/written/inscribed. Fact does not occur in its regularly accepted 'objective' sense, but like the 'found object', is a fragment transformed at the hands of an artisan in conformity with the his present desires, "foregrounding above all the textuality of its representations" (Hutcheon 2000, p. 88).

Within the postmodern space is a perceptible shift from either-or constructions to both/and propositions. "The End-Of-The-Road Routine" (Cimatu 2002b) brings in the idea of the inseparable twin binaries through the figure of Siamese conjoined twins Chang and Eng, and their alternative incarnation, Pugo and Tugo who must coexist to ensure each other's survival in a space of inextricable opposites. The poem can be seen as a postmodern interrogation of the notion of static, unitary **S**elf animated by **T**ruth.

The final section of the poem reads:

Dream dies first. The last three hours

Eng spent alone; Chang, his other half, slackened

Like the murdered body strapped to its murderer

Under the Boxer Codex to make vivid the remorse.

The last moments spent in guilt and terror

Yet wanting his half-brother to be nearer.

Face to face in hope of resuscitation.

The unshared agony of Pugo took decades.

But all the same: The ant will bring home

But will not partake of the grasshopper. Like an unborn twin

Lodged forever in his brother; Tugo withered within

The cicatrix left on the head, smaller

Than birthmark and dormant throughout the solo act

Called "The Normalcy Routine" including a TV sitcom

That endeared us every Thursday night at seven.

Then the mole grew, re-creating

The partnership.

The situation recalls a word in Ilocano, a Philippine language— "*cadua*," which roughly translates as "the double" (dua=two or "the/my other (one)," in the spirit of companionship. In the case of Pugo and Tugo, the idea of composite self gains an added nuance. The "other" never truly disappears. It only lies dormant, perhaps undetected, waiting to 'recreate the partnership.'

How does one make sense of things that come to him from the past? Narrative is a 'mechanism,' an 'envelope,' 'genre, a 'medium'—a "process, relying on an untotalizable range of effects … [N]arrative is fundamental to most, if not all societies and cultures throughout history." Each narrative is a unique construct (Wolfreys 2004, p.163). 'Historiography' is a word which invokes, above all, the act of storytelling. History is but another compendium of the countless stories that human beings like to tell each other about each other and about themselves.

There is an amusing story that tells how Frank Cimatu came to be known as 'King.' 'Angking' was his mother's pet name for him, he avers, which would make the transformation into 'King' rather convenient and highly plausible. Further prodding, however, encourages the revelation that this is not entirely accurate. At some point, or so the story goes, the family had a dog. The dog died; a space had to be filled; affections required reshuffling. Being the youngest, he was the logical replacement for the pet, whom they had fondly called 'King.'

Franklin Cimatu, born in Baguio City in the Philippines in 1965, is an intersection of many stories. Like the offspring of many others born in this city to migrant parents, Cimatu's genealogy begins elsewhere. And like many others too, the attachment to the city goes much deeper than the fact that this is his place of birth. Baguio's history is a narrative of invention, intervention, displacement and reconfiguration, attributes, which have likewise figured prominently in the personal history of Franklin Cimatu.

Like others who grew up in the Baguio of the 60s and 70s, he remembers a place which is now long gone. The entire city was a virtual playground where no boundaries were set for games of hide-and-seek, and the game ended only when it got too dark. The entire city was his backyard and the gang would wander into Burnham Park clad in their pajamas. He remembers the Shaolin movies in the old Luna Theater at the city's Malcolm Square, now taken over by a warren of used clothing stores. He recalls the grove of pine on the hill that he played in as a child, where now only one pine tree remains. He remembers the house of his youth, shaken to the ground during the 1990 earthquake which devastated the city and many areas in the Northern Philippines. Poems reflect the transitory nature of past experiences.

Today, the facades of this past reality may have waned but their essences persist with puissance in the poet's "homeland" where he is firmly rooted. For Franklin Cimatu, this homeland goes by the name: "Baguio". It is a floating world that has been forged in the furnace of his personal consciousness—a world largely his own, which adheres to the protocol of invention and revision. These processes are paramount. "'Baguio' is not the actual Baguio for me anymore," he says, "it has become a mythic place. It may not be worth it but what can I do? I was born in Baguio [so] I might as well make a myth out of Baguio. I like the poetry of place. [One has] to have roots somewhere."(Cimatu 2002a)

Baguio, the geographical area may wane; it does not matter because the "Baguio" of the poet's creation endures and continues to expand. It is a world that has built its foundation on a suitcase incessantly filling with memories that are continuously folded and refolded. In this poetics of the pack rat (interestingly also called the mountain rat), Cimatu travels through a most unusual jungle where the only constant is inconstancy, and where endurance requires incessant revision, reinvention, and endless appropriation.

Cimatu expounds on his poetic process: "…when you tell me a story, then it becomes mine after a while. I will have wrested it from you." On the series that he refers to as the "Routine Poems," he adds: "The seed of the routine poems started in 1988 when I read an article in the *Sunday Inquirer Magazine* about Pugo and Tugo routines (purportedly for the Bodabil musical which was set for staging at about the same time) and that not one of these routines can be recalled by the sources. … So it became my *Eureka!* moment. Why not invent the routines of Tugo and Pugo and make them [mine] somehow? (Cimatu 2003)

Routine is generally understood as a repetition of that which has already been done but in this case, memory becomes re-articulation, a re-membering in cybernetic mode. This is nostalgia of the postmodern variety where the conjured world is " not simply the final stage of a poignant narrative…it is also the site of the ruins of previous orders in which diverse histories, languages, memories and traces continually entwine and recombine in the construction of new horizons" (Chambers 1990, p. 112).

Cimatu continues: "It's like Borges conjuring his own world. It's not my world, but it's my way of saying that time and space are relative—that anytime is my time as long as I lay my word on it, that anyone becomes me because I conjured them in my poem"(Cimatu 2002a).

The statement seems to imply the desire for a stable center in which to anchor consciousness, yet at the end is the return to the enigma of being 'rooted in rootlessness' and the idea that ultimately, the only stories that anyone can truly tell are those that are his own.

Perhaps, this desire for coherence is prompted by an impulse to be reactionary. Then again, perhaps it is not. The former would imply the existence of a self desperately trying to preserve its center; the latter implies a hybridity that resists the centripetal pull of a defined focal point. The former is spurred on by a consciousness that seeks comfort in the maintenance of "the order of things"; the latter is one that revels in the prospect of excitement in chaos. Fritjof Capra (1977) quotes physicist Werner Heisenberg as an epigraph to the book *The Tao of Physics*:

> It is probably true quite generally that in the history of human thinking the most fruitful developments frequently take place at those points where two different lines of thought meet. These lines may have their roots in quite different parts of human culture, in different times or different cultural environments or different religious traditions: hence if they actually meet, that is, if they are at least so much related to each other that a real interaction can take place, then one may hope that new and interesting things may follow.

Like the city of his birth, Cimatu's poetry is a place of blending and intermingling. Poetry is propelled by an impulse that compels the individual to negotiate between worlds and faced with uncertainty, plunges him headlong into a new phase in the occupation of mapping out the uncharted terrain that lies ahead. In true postmodern fashion, the enterprise is not one that seeks to affirm the Self with Identity or to validate History. Poetry as liminal practice is one that creates the ruptures that permit forays into boundless realms of possibility. It is one, which seeks out to probe into the highly charged interstices, which at once connect and divide.

For Franklin Cimatu, poetry is that exploration. It is not a quest for stasis in definition in the certainties of "What is?" but an adventure into the infinite possibilities unleashed in the fecund and volatile nexus that is a Möbius band of "What if?"

References

Primary Sources

Cimatu, F. [King Cimatu].1996a. The Hawes-Hare-Cutting routine. *Philippines Free Press,* 3 August, p. 70.
—— [King Cimatu]. 1996b. The numero routine. *Philippines Free Press,* 20 July, p. 40.
——.2002a. Interview by Grace C. T. Subido, 15 March, Baguio City. Tape recording.
—— 2002b. The end-of-the-road routine. TMs.
—— 2002c. The sweet pea routine. TMs.
—— 2003. Re: News last week. E-mail letter to Grace Subido. August 1.

Secondary Sources

Barthes, Roland. 1968. The death of the author. Translated by Stephen Heath in *Image-music-text*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1977, 156. Quoted in Brenda K. Marshall. *Teaching the postmodern: Fiction and theory,* 122, London and New York: Routledge, 1992.
Capra, Fritjof. 1977. *The tao of physics*. Colorado: Shambala Publications, 1976. Reprint, Bantam Books (page references are to the reprint editon).

Chambers, Iain. 1990. *Border dialogues: Journeys in postmodernity.* London and New York: Routledge.

Hutcheon, Linda. 2003. *The politics of postmodernism,* 2d ed. New York and Toronto: Routledge, 2002. Reprint, New York: Routledge (page references are to the reprint edition).

Lyotard, Jean Francois. 2001. Answering the question: What is postmodernism? in *Postmodern Debates,* 53-62 . Readers in Cultural Criticism Series, Edited by Simon Malpas. London: Palgrave.

—— and Jean Loup Thebaud. 1985. *Just gaming.* Translated by Wlad Godzich. With an introduction by Samuel Weber. Translated by Brian Massumi. Theory and history of literature series, ed. Vlad Godzich and Jochen Schulte-Sasse, volume 20. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Marshall, Brenda K. 1992. *Teaching the postmodern: Fiction and theory.* New York and London: Routledge.

McRobbie, Angela. 1994. *Postmodernism and popular culture.* London and New York: Routledge.

Williams, James. 1998. *Lyotard: Towards a postmodern philosophy.* Oxford: Polity Press in association with Blackwell Publishers.

Wolfreys, Julian. 2004. *Critical keywords in literary and cultural theory.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Appendix: The Routine Poems

The writer originally envisioned 13 poems for this series, which draws from research on *bodabil* and his "rediscovery of Carlos Bulosan." Six of these "Routine Poems" are included here. Cimatu says that "Asparagus," published in *Philippines Free Press* is actually part of this series.

Poems included in this collection are the critical texts which appear in the form which represents the author's final intentions. An exception has been made in the case of "Asparagus" which was published in the *Philippines Free Press* in 1996. Both the published copy and the original text as component part of the "Routine Series" are included in the following collection.

A.

ASPARAGUS *

In memory of Phillip Vera Cruz

The time before dreams, real jobs and the Resurrection
Was the only time the asparagus in California could be harvested.
The ground plowed weeks before the spears at their most tender
It was always before dawn when you stick your knife under roots
And proceed to yank the green shoots out. A half mile of asparagus
Cradled in your left hand, dumped in sleds, packed in crates,
Loaded for the East Coast, peeled to their whiteness and dissolved
In soup for dinner. We also dream of their women at night
Overwhelming them with wreathes of dance tickets meant to last forever
As you slow-waltzed your inner rage groping for inner thighs,

Hard-hearted hands tracing the tender lines of officious longing.
Maybe she, too, knew that passion, the stubborn hold of grape tendrils
But love is a land of opportunity we will never be granted
Citizenship. Desire is another state where jobs are hopeless.
A half-mile of asparagus to work on. A half century of love's reversal.
You let her rest her head on your left shoulder like a harvest of green spears
Imagining a love dissolving at ten cents a minute on a $2 daily wage
Before the unnecessary illusion of a vanished ocean as the band was dismantled.
You go back to a bunkhouse with walls translucent like skin lampshade,
A sniper's bullet piercing easily like Cupid's arrow across a labor leader's
Valentine heart. You mail to P.I. you studio portrait of suits and pomade
Dedicating vacuous assurances of doing fine, settling down and coming home
And not why in the small hours the asparagus were at their most tender
And the shoots like taxi dancers waiting for love deciding to hold back
The dawning of the Dream and the rebirth of everything we longed for.

————

* "On Friday, April 7, 1939 Good Friday a general strike was declared. This was an unprecedented strike—not a single Filipino asparagus cutter reported for work. Within 36 hours, the million dollar asparagus industry capitulated. There was a caucus among the farmers. They gave up. And the Asparagus farmers won the strike"

   Sebastian Inosanto, The History of Trinity Presbyterian Church, 1974

Published: *Philippines Free Press* (Feb. 24, 1996)

 (In an interview in 1992, the author notes that this poem was originally conceptualized as a "routine poem," and that revisions were made for the 1996 publication. The following is the same poem as a component poem of the "Routine Series.")

A-1.

The Asparagus Routine

In memory of Phillip Vera Cruz

"For every head shall be bald, and every beard dipped: upon the hands shall be cutting and upon the loins sack cloth." Jeremiah 47:5
O The Time Between Dreams When The Stars Stopped Stirring
In Spring's small hours when only then their asparagus could be harvested
The ground plowed weeks before and their spears were at their most tender.
It was always before dawn when you stick your knife under the roots
And proceed to yank the green shoots out. A half mile of asparagus
Cradled in your left hand, dumped in sleds, packed in crates,
Loaded for the East Coast, peeled to their whiteness and dissolved
In soup for dinner. We also dream of their women at night

Overwhelming them with wreaths of dance tickets meant to last forever

As you slowdanced your inner rage groping for inner thighs,

Hard-hearted hands tracing the tender lines of officious longing.

Maybe she, too, knew that passion, the stubborn hold of grape tendrils

But love is a land of opportunity we will never be granted

Citizenship. Desire is another state where jobs are hopeless.

A half-mile of asparagus to work on. A half-century of love's reversal.

You let her rest her head on your left shoulder like a harvest of green spears

Imagining a love dissolving at ten cents a minute on $2 daily wage

Before the necessary illusion of a vanished ocean as the band was dismantled.

You go back to a bunkhouse with walls translucent like skin lampshade,

A sniper's bullet piercing easily like Cupid's arrow across a labor leader's

Valentine heart. You mail to P.I. your studio portrait of suits and pomade

Dedicating vacuous assurances of doing fine and coming home

And not why in the small hours the asparagus were at their most tender

And the shoots like taxi dancers awaiting love deciding to hold back

The dawning of the Dream that even the stars stopped stirring.

"On Friday, April 7, 1939 Good Friday a general strike was declared. This was an unprecedented strike—not a single Filipino asparagus cutter reported for work. Within 36 hours, the million dollar asparagus industry capitulated. There was a caucus among the farmers. They gave up. And the Asparagus farmers won the strike"

Sebastian Inosanto, The History of Trinity Presbyterian Church, 1974

(Copy from the author, Unpublished TMs)

B.

"The lack of script meant this part of the Bodabil was left to oral tradition, and to this day, nobody has compiled these comedy sketches developed by the country's best comedians ever. One example is the sketch called…"

--J.P. Fenix

THE NUMERO ROUTINE

O The Times When They Were *Yang* and *Yin*

The moro-moro's moribund and the buddhaville's in.

T'was *pistaym* and people'd rather go high than sober

Not that it matters but you must remember

The time when Pugo & Tugo hit on the idea

Of the Numero Routine. Hilariously morose

Not that it matters but you must remember

How it goes.

    A lady would write a number on a paper

And show it to the audience except for Tugo

Who was meditating on the left corner of the theater
Because he was clairvoyant, you see, *Great Swami Rabindranath.*
X-ray Visionary with a *(hee haw)* crystal ball for a head
But turbaned now and held by a rope so he won't levitate.
So he knows. But he doesn't really and Pugo
Has to tell him somehow or else their scam be discovered.
So he hits Tugo on the head, the number of times corresponding
To the digit itself. Sometimes he would shout to him the number
Of words equal to the digit again. Example: 4
Or so it goes.

                                 Until the lady
Writes the digit "0". The audience
Burst out laughing when they realize Pugo
Can not hit Tugo and can not tell him so.
So Pugo mimicked the moon, the stars wheeling.
The cycle of life and death, Wagnerian ring sung down low.
And of course, Tugo wouldn't know
And invariably gave the wrong number.
And they had the same routine and no one came to resist
Not that it matters but you must remember
That a war has started and the, 'is it safe now?' Japanese
Wanted Pugo & Tugo to corroborate, sorry, collaborate
With them. Not that it matters but you must remember
Art doesn't owe anything to politics
And collaboration was not a dreaded word for an artiste
And bodabil is low-brow, unidealistic and populist
So they did not want to collaborate just because
But you cannot say to the Japanese, *"Noh!"*
Because that means *kabuki* where they get disemboweled anyway
So the Numero Routine had to stay
And Pugo and Tugo would bash each other on the heads
But instead of hitting numbers, they hit on letters instead—
One for "A" to twenty-six for "Z" not counting punctuations.
And the letters spell telegraphic messages
For the guerillas in the audience to transcribe.
So messages like MEETING IN ZAPOTE required 179 bashes
Not that it matters, but you must remember
That Pugo and Tugo used real baseball bats instead of cardboard
To demonstrate to the audience the "horror of war."

It was unfortunate that the duo weren't awarded
The highest medal of civilians, comedians and the brain-dead.
As no one in the audience
Was aware of the message.

But the war has not really ended
As in some small hours
I still feel a dull throbbing on my head
Which I try to calculate to the letter
And pen in hand, try to decipher.
(1989)

C.

THE HAWES-HARE-CUTTING ROUTINE

"Make Thee bald; and poll thee for thy delicate children; enlarge the baldness as the eagle; for they are gone into captivity for thee"—Micah 1:16

O The Time They Are A Men's Soul Tryin'
Bare souls, dead souls, but mostly the well-heeled ones
Who got themselves into the World War II collaboration trials
And Pugo and Tugo laid low for a while and grew their hair back
Lest they be suspected of le coolalabooration
Like those French maidens who cavorted with Nazi soldiers
And were rounded-up, Burma-shaved and paraded
On the avenues and cursed and pelted.

Pugo and Tugo before they grew back their hair were the main act
In the voodooville about to make a comeback. Their hair back,
They found themselves unknown. They sought a living
As stagehands now, sometimes being called back to testify,
"Yes, you, on the third row, seat number twenty-seven, come up

And show the audience if there's a trick or we'll saw you in half"
Or "We'll shoot you" or "Frighten you till your hair stands up."

Once a famous Indian magician on an Asian visit
Came and asked Pugo before the show to sit
On the third row, seat number twenty-seven so he can call on him
And testify that Tugo, also supposedly taken randomly,
Was actually sawed in half. That being the agreement,
"Yes, you, on the third row, seat number twenty-seven, come up
And tell us if this was actually sawed in half."

And Pugo, being Pugo and not you,
Told the truth and proceeded to show
How it was all done with mirrors.

And all the more, others were copying their acts
With names like Pogi & Togi, Pago & Tago, Pugak & Tugak.
All shaved heads and nothing else.

In the U.S. Hall of Justice, Truth and the American Way
Representatives Hare & Hawes & Cutting got their acts together
For the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act
Which was ratified as the RP-US Military Bases Agreement

Which was ratified as the comebacking act of Pugo & Tugo
Which was called the "How's Hair Cutting Act"
Which they might have misspelt but not misinterpreted
Which goes like this:
                              Tugo on the first night sat on the bare stage
And asked everyone in the audience to cut his hair
With scissors, knives, hands or teeth
And one by one they went up there until he was completely bald

And then it was Pugo's turn in the second night
Then you on the third row seat number twenty-seven and so on.

Filipinos go bald thinking it's in their genes
Filipinos get bald thinking it's the fashion
Not knowing they are a part of the longest, continuous post-
Modern symbolic rebellious deliberately spontaneous
Vaudevillian act still going on. Never know
Your time to go.

D.

THE END-OF-THE ROAD-ROUTINE

 "The audience warmed up to two bald heads hitting each other endlessly. Some even attribute Pugo's developing cancer to those early days of gimmickry." Emmie Altamirano, THE ESSENTIAL PUGO

O The Times They Were A-Chang/Eng
Dreams And Responsibilities, Duty and Eng/Changment;
Circus freaks bound with one heart
And one navel only: Twins,

Siamese, identical, fraternal
Or papier-mache, depending on the clamor
Of the audience in their local vaudevilles: identicals
Leading wars and wardances in African deserts
Being fearless incarnations of gods and hyenas;
The Americans who find horror where we find
Our lucky charms, tried to pull Chang away from Eng,
Pricked their united states arranged their marriages.
But Pugo & Tugo only have their heads shaved
To translate mutual relationships to umbilical.

Duty drinks excessively to benumb Passion,
Who gets the hang-over. Eng/Tugo gambles
And Moral Obligation gets its pockets picked;
But always their cooperation gets front billing:
Pratfalls instinctive, cue cards all in the mind.
Touchiness and sibling rivalry becoming an obsession,
Becoming a parody: Chang and Eng arrested
For assaulting each other. Pugo and Tugo
Biting each other's ears, bashing each other's heads
With kerosene cans and Russian novels, with determination
And uncatcha-cha-chable rhythm like warriors in that Ifugao epic
Throwing and catching only one spear among them
When they thought the other was not looking,
Hitting the message that the war
Is in the heart of your brother.
That the African Desert (*hee haw)* is on the head
Of your brother. Endlessly, Stopping only
To accumulate calluses on the skull
For pain to become banal and routinary.
Or so it seemed.
   Dream dies first. The last three hours
Eng spent alone; Chang, his other half, slackened
Like the murdered body strapped to its murderer
Under the Boxer Codex to make vivid the remorse.
The last moments spent in guilt and terror
Yet wanting his half-brother to be nearer.
Face to face in hope of resuscitation.
The unshared agony of Pugo took decades.
But all the same: The ant will bring home
But will not partake of the grasshopper. Like an unborn twin

Lodged forever in his brother; Tugo withered within
The cicatrix left on the head, smaller
Than birthmark and dormant throughout the solo act
Called *'The Normalcy Routine"* including a TV sitcom
That endeared us every Thursday night at seven.
Then the mole grew, re-creating
The partnership.

E.

THE HOLTVILLE ROUTINE

"One day, a Filipino came to Holtville, with his American wife and their child. It was a blazing noon and the child was hungry. The strangers went to a little restaurant and sat down at a table. While they were refused service, they stayed on, hoping for some consideration. But it was no use. Bewildered, they walked outside. Suddenly, the child began to cry with hunger. The Filipino went back to the restaurant and asked if he could buy a bottle of milk for his child.

  "It's only for my baby," he said humbly.

  The proprietor came out from behind the counter. "For your baby?" he shouted.

  "Yes sir," said the Filipino.

  The proprietor pushed him violently outside. "If you say that again in my place, I'll bash your head!" he shouted aloud so he would attract attention."

> Carlos Bulosan, AMERICA IS IN THE HEART
>
> (on which this routine was based)

O The Time They Were To Everything
And a time to every purpose under heaven
And a time to plant and a time to reap they were there
From the fish canneries to grape valleys, from orange orchards
To pineapple plantations we are called till it's time to go
And Pugo and Tugo goes to see these farms in California
And just in time to rest they goes to speak to Filipinos against hunger
And hate and miscegenation laws and a time to unite
And unbeknownst to all five detectives goes inside the hall
And just when the two were in their act, light goes out
And the five detectives goes bashing heads and shooting
And Pugo and Tugo leave and the five goes out with them
And just when they're about to escape, Pow! Light goes out in them
And they goes into this car and later, Pugo wakes up
And he goes moaning, *"Owww"* and Tugo like a Bessie Smith blues
And that goes Owww-onlee fo' my beheeybee"

And one of the detectives goes bashing Pugo and Tugo's heads

And he goes, "For a friend in Holtville"

And the car goes through the woods and stopped

And one goes to Pugo, "Can you understand the language?"

And Pugo goes dumb, pantomiming that he can't

And another goes punching him and another dragged Tugo and another

And another goes unconsciousing them further

And another goes tying the another to a tree and undresses him

And another goes, "He's a well-hung son-of-a-bitch"

And another goes back to the car and gets tar and feather

And goes tarring and feathering them

And meanwhile Pugo goes conscious

And while the detectives goes blindly drunk

And Pugo goes to the bushes and carries Tugo on his back

And so they goes out to the road unnoticed

And after a while Tugo goes semiconscious

And Tugo's ghost goes on with the routine

And they goes to a crossroads

And Pugo goes, "Where'd we go"

And he goes, "And a time to mourn and a time to dance"

And he goes, "And a time to gather stones for H-O-L-L-Y-W-O-O-D"

And he goes, "And a time for peace and a time for signing for war"

And he goes, "It's 1941. For the poor, it's the only hope's here."

And he goes, "Will I go?"

And Tugo's ghost goes, "Go"

(Unpublished, copy from author, March 2002)

F.

THE SWEET PEA ROUTINE

"And they shall make themselves utterly bald for thee, and gird them with sack-cloth, and they, and they shall weep for thee in bitterness of heart and bitter wailing."

                                        -Ezekiel 27:31

P *(juggling the ball):*	O The Time Is Not For Taking Prisoners
T *(jiggling the ball):*	Kill all above the age of ten
P *(jingling the bell):*	O Lord, our Father, our young patriots
T (jiggling the bell):	Idol of our heart, go forth in battle
P *(giggling the bull):*	Be thou near them—in spirit—
T *(gaggling the bull):*	We also go forth from the sweet peace
P (haggling the bill):	Sweet peas
T *(baggling the bill):*	Of our loved ones to smite the foe
P *(bangling the boll):*	Filipinos come quick
T *(bandling the boll):*	Heaven watch the Philippines

591

P *(handling the ball):*	Keep us safe from harm
T *(tolling the bell):*	Damn, damn the Filipino
P *(rolling the bill):*	Pockmarked, khakiac ladron
T *(bolling the claude):*	Underneath the starry flag
P *(browing the robert):*	Civilize him with a krag
T *(irving the john):*	And we've got a Filipino
P (redding the otis):	Dear mom
T *(cummings the e.e.):*	This shooting human beings
P *(stribling the t.s.):*	Beats rabbit hunting all to pieces
T (harding the warren):	Sweet pieces
P *(shearing the george):*	We killed a few to teach a lesson
T *(whiting the george):*	And you bet they learned it
P *(cushing the harvey):*	Westward, Philippines through Hawaii
T *(hawking the stephen):*	Eastward. Hawaii through Philippines
P (pauling the linus):	Which you prefer? plague before leprosy
T *(channing the ed):*	Or leprosy before plague
P *(kipling the rudyard):*	The end of the flight's a tombstone white
T *(pershing the john):*	With the name of the late deceased
P *(lessing the doris):*	And the epitaph drear: A Fool lies here
T *(tao-shing the kwan):*	Who tried to hustle the East
P *(marking the twain):*	They say I've got brown brothers here
T *(marking the agustin):*	But I still draw the line
P *(rooting the elihu):*	He may be a brother of Big Bill Taft
T *(makiling the maria):*	But he's no brother of mine
P *(keesing the felix):*	This country of thee
T (stalling the carl):	Sweet land of liberty
P *(macli-ing the dulag):*	And keep us forever
T *(bashing the head):*	And keep us forever
P *(heading the bash):*	Come out colonel, the ball has begun.

THEY SAID IT, NOT US. Lines 1-2 from Gen. Jake "Howling Wilderness" Smith. Lines 3-6 from Mark Twain's "War prayer". Line 8 is the first line of Lenny Bruce's "How to Talk Dirty and Influence People. Lines 10-11 and 37-38 from Irving Berlin's "Heaven Watch the Philippines." Lines 12-15 is the U.S. Army's version of Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic". Line 16 is from Carson McCuller's "Reflection in the Golden Eye". Lines 17-19 from a letter of one of the soldiers. Lines 20-21 from Pvt. William Christner. Lines 22-25 from a condensed version of Thomas Brackett Reed's writings. Lines 26-29 from Kipling's "Naulakha." Lines 30-33 from an anonymous song. The last line from Major Wilder Metcalf of the Kansas detachment awakening his sleeping commander, Col. Frederick Funston, after the Grayson affair that started the U.S.-Phil. War.

(Unpublished, copy from author, 2002)

Film and Ideology – Remarks on a Complicated Relationship

Fredrik Sunnemark

Section for Cultural Studies, University West, Sweden

fredrik.sunnemark@hv.se

To argue that films are ideological products is not in any way controversial. Rather, this is the very basis for much discussion, understanding and critique of film. But still, this is an understanding that is very much in need of further critical examination. What does it mean to say that a film carries and transmits ideological notions? The answers to this question actualize several different notions of film as well ideology.

Are films ideological in the sense that they mirror they society in which they are created? Or are they ideological since they discuss and provide certain perspectives on this society? Is it possible that there are different ideological projects in the same film depending on which of these perspectives one chooses?

In the paper, these questions are examined on a theoretical level as well as through examples from the films *King Kong*, *Pretty Woman* and *American Psycho*.

The Different Manifestations of Ideology in Film

This paper is a presentation of a part of an ongoing research project named "Film between Industry and Aesthetics". My project within this larger project is, as this paper, called Film and Ideology.

The purpose of this project is, in short, to discuss and analyze how and in which ways films are ideological. This may seem to be a quite simple question – since it is an everyday statement – but what do we really mean when we say that a film is ideological or has an ideological meaning? This question may have, as one soon realizes, several different answers. These different answers constitute the starting point for my discussion. In this paper I will point out six of them.

The first possible answer is perhaps the simplest: a film is ideological since it *expresses ideology*. That is that the film consciously delivers a political argumentation. It has a more or less outspoken political and ideological ambition and tries to argue its standpoints as convincingly as possible. Within this category there are naturally different degrees, the expressed ideology can be more or less at the focal point of the film, but the core is that the film is a conscious ideological product that treat its topic in this way.

This, however, must not be confused with the second category, which I believe is the most common meaning of arguing that a film is ideological, namely that it *reflects ideology*. That is, a film is ideological in the sense that it reflects contemporary ideological patterns and structures. The film reflects the society in which it was created and its dominating values can be seen in the film. This means that ideology here is something much more unconscious and automatic than in the first category, where ideology is consciously conveyed, and forms a structured argumentation. Here films are ideological whether they want to be it or not, they simply reflect their context. This is for example how ideology in film in the main are understood by Michael Ryan and Douglas Kellner in their book *Camera Politica* (1988) in which they argue that movies constitute a seismograph by which one can read and understand ideological transformation in and of the American society.

Related to ideology as expressed and ideology as reflected is also a third category that is perhaps hard to clearly distinguish from these categories: A film can be ideological in the sense that it *discusses ideology*, that is that it consciously or unconsciously criticizes *or* supports certain notions regarding societal issues. And typically for this category, which also is what distinguishes it from the above two categories, it is often not clear whether the film actually supports or criticizes that which is depicted in the story.

A typical example of this is a film containing stereotypes of any kind. How to view and understand this from an ideological standpoint? Are stereotypes in movies challenging or reinforcing stereotypical notions of the society? That this depends on the film is the obvious answer, but still: it should not be neglected that this poses an intriguing question, because who decides and controls this meaning and in which way is this meaning created? To challenge stereotypes, they have to be depicted, but this may also create meaning that in fact reinforces the stereotypes. For example, many films that has immigrants in Sweden as its central theme falls into this category. Saying that they discuss ideology is to say that they do so in an unconscious as well as conscious way. Conscious since they take part in an ongoing debate, but unconscious since they cannot control their own meaning since they for narrative reasons have to play with and use stereotypes that have ideological consequences.

This category – that films are ideological in the sense that they discuss ideology – is as said hard to distinguish from the two preceding categories; films are ideological in the sense that they express ideology and films are ideological since they reflect ideology. Of course, the purpose here is not to find watertight categories – they obviously do not exist as such and ideology in all senses presented in this paper can be present in the very same film depending

on your viewpoint (that is actually one of my main points: the same film can send radically different ideological messages depending on which category that is at the forefront of the analysis) – but there are some subtle differences between the categories I have spoken of thus far: Ideology as expressed is conscious of its own existence, ideology as reflected is or pretends to be unconscious of its existence and ideology as discussed is conscious of its existence, but unconscious of its (creation of) meaning.

The forth category, to move on, takes this a step further: *Ideology as subconscious*. It may seem to be a small genre of film interpretation that falls into this category, but the truth is that it can be found in much scholarly film discussion since there is a large psychoanalytical influence within this tradition. It is also very much the understanding of the cinematic workings of ideology that is permeating Slavoj Žižek's work (for example 1989, 1991 and 1994).

Here the ideological moment is seen as something unspoken and almost unutterable that still communicates between film and audience through common subconscious structures and symbols alligned with the fundamental fantasies that we use to make the world comprehensible. For example, Žižek (1994) argues that the production of David Lynch is fundamentally about the dissonance between reality, viewed from afar, and the absolute nearness of the real. Another example is Barbara Creed's *The Monstrous-Feminine. Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis* (1993) where *Alien* is used, understood and analyzed as a manifestation of the theories of Jacques Lacan, and where the Jaws-figure in the film by the same name is understood as a *Vagina Dentata* (an interpretation Creed's is one of many examples of).

These examples illustrate the fundamental presuppositions of this category and how it works analytically. Ideology, or meaning in itself, is something that only can be conveyed and understood by the analytical specialist and is something that is, realistically, very far from what goes through the mind of most viewers when watching the film. But it still has this very profound meaning, and refrains from being just the fantasies of the analyst, by communicating a certain ideological fantasy of the world with the subconscious of the viewer.

This may perhaps seem to be akin to the old understanding of ideology as false consciousness. And in a sense it is, albeit with the Lacanian and Žižekian twist that all consciousness is false and that this is something that we enjoy as well as fear. But there is a further category that is much more connected with Marxist comprehensions: *Ideology as a cinematic experience*. With this category we leave the understanding of ideology as something in one way or another embedded in a certain film and its meanings. Instead we here meet cinema as machinery that in itself and as such portrays and promotes an ideological understanding of the world in a Marxist sense, that is, ultimately, that it gives the impression that our existence, the world and its history are idealistic instead of materialistic.

This category – and this understanding of the connection between film and ideology – is very much linked to an Althusserian understanding of ideology. Cinema and the act of viewing cinema constructs the individual as a subject open to interpellation through imposing upon it an upside-down version of reality and through naturalizing the unreal as real. The perhaps most clear theoretical expression of this understanding can be found in Jean-Louis Baudry's classic text "Ideological effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus" (1970/1986) in which he argues that the cinematographic technique produces specific ideological effects that themselves are determined by the dominant ideology of society.

This leads to the sixth category, in a terminological if not thematic sense. And here we again meet a more common understanding of how films are ideological. If one takes the step from the screen, from the analyst and from the apparatus to the *audience* one quite soon encounters what can be called *ideology as effect*. Here ideology is something that is primarily connected with film through the values it produces in the society in which it is transmitted and

exists. Ideology is not primarily something that precedes the film, or even not primarily something that exist within the frames of the film itself, but rather something that it produces and creates. This is naturally related to the other categories presented, all senses of ideological meaning presented so far are of course related to the society in which they exist, but ideology as effect makes this situation its focus. It is something that comes to exist in people and have direct bearing on how they conduct their everyday-lives.

In its most vulgar version this leads to highly simplified arguments such as pornography creates rapists, violent movies creates violent children, drug-use on film creates alcoholics and so fort. But leaving these naiveties aside, understanding ideology as an effect is related to understanding film, and other symbolic activity, as a discursive process that creates meaning which consequences are that the interest of some is put before the interest of others and that this inequality is constantly played out in the concrete practice of living.

So far the different categories of what can be meant by arguing that a film is ideological. This discussion has been a kind of abstract exegesis, so I will in a moment try to give an example of how this kind of reasoning can be used when trying to understand and analyzing films. But before that tough, it is also necessary to mention that this presentation has not included the kind of discussion of the notion of ideology that it in a sense rests on and needs. So let me just briefly mention that the six relationships between film and ideology that I have spoken of can be understood as loosely tied to six different notions of ideology, or at least six different strands in the tradition of ideology theory.

Expressed ideology is related to a descriptive or neutral notion of ideology as within the political science tradition as well as Leninist-Marxist circles. Ideology as reflected is, on the other hand, much more tied to a critical notion and understanding of ideology as developed within the western Marxist tradition, by the Frankfurt School and typically also, within this specific context, by Adorno and Horkheimer. Ideology as discussed refers to ideology as something much more unstable, transformative and undecided, whose meaning is constantly fought over in society. This is akin to the theories of Laclau and Mouffe in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy* (1985/2001) where the meaning of so called floating signifiers are decided by, in short, their relationship with what is called nodal points that stabilizes and decides meaning. Ideology as subconscious is naturally related to this, but more directly connected with Žižek's use of Lacan in his development of the notion of ideology. Ideology as a cinematic experience have already been described as closely tied to Althusserian notions, while ideology as effect related to discourse as process is a theoretical perspective once developed in an article by British sociologists Trevor Purvis and Alan Hunt (1993), a perspective that also is indebted to the theories of Althusser.

The Presence of Ideology in *King Kong*, *Pretty Woman* and *American Psycho*

What then to do with all this? In my project this theoretical discussion is developed through a critical examination of different ways of analyzing four specific films and an effort to develop the different strands of meaning that exists in this material. The films I use in my analysis are Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsacks's *King Kong* from 1933, Peter Jackson's remake of the same movie from 2005, Gary Marshall's *Pretty Woman* from 1990 and Mary Harron's film version of Bret Easton Ellis novel *American Psycho* from 2000. This analysis is split up in two sections, the discussion of the King Kongs forms one part and *Pretty Woman* and *American Psycho* forms another.

In these two analyses I try to show that if the film-pairs are read against each other, it creates interesting ideological complexities that can be understood and further developed by using the different understandings of ideology in film that is outlined in the above.

Concerning *Pretty Woman* and *American Psycho*, which I otherwise leave outside this short presentation, these films can be said to be related to each other in several ways, not least do they include scenes that are very similar, however in a much inverted way. But the overarching structural ideological relation between the two films is in short that *American Psycho* is an expressed ideological critique of the ideology that *Pretty Woman* reflects. Understood this way Richard Gere's Edward Lewis and Christian Bale's Patrick Bateman are two different representations of the same ideological character. This is a quite instant observation – it is probably hard to find a more clear expression of the commodity-centred, neo-liberal and neo-conservative American 1980s with its gender and minority rights backlashes than *Pretty Woman* and *American Psycho* is obviously a satire over this decade and its values – but there are also subtexts within these films that can be further developed with the different theoretical categories. The issue of using and transgressing stereotypes are interesting from the perspective of ideology as discussed; for example Julia Roberts' character in *Pretty Woman* has been interpreted as symbolizing the concept of gender as performance (or even the concept of *queer*) (*Teaching 'Pretty Woman'* 2003). Ideology as subconscious is also highly actualized – *American Psycho* can in one sense be said to take place in the subconscious of the 1980s, or even more narrowly to *be* the subconscious of *Pretty Woman* – as is ideology as effect, which is exemplified by the debates that both films (and of course the novel) created.

To read the two King Kong movies against each other and finding and analyzing ways interpreting them poses in some way similar, but also different problems. If there is a meaning-creating time-relation between *Pretty Woman* and *American Psycho* – one movie unconsciously speaks of its own time by encapsulating it within itself and the other movie uses its distance in time to project and make conscious the consequences of this unconsciousness – the roughly seventy years that separates the two King Kong movies creates a very special situation for the analyst. This because *King Kong* from 1933 and *King Kong* from 2005 are quite identical. Yes, the special effects are better, the sound is better and so on in the 2005 version which also is longer, but the story, and the filmic representation of the story, is exactly the same. The only thing that has happened to the film, other than in small details, is that it has moved in time. But what are the consequences of this for the ideological content and meaning of the film?

Besides being a classic horror-movie and a milestone in the history of special effects, *King Kong* is a movie that contains clear racist elements and the ideology of racism is therefore intimately interwoven with the film. This much has many times been pointed out in the interpretation history of the 1933 movie. The racism of the film is not monolithic however. It exists on different levels and is related to different types meaning and therefore also of different ways of understanding what meaning is and how it is created.

One racist theme in *King Kong* emanates from understanding it as an ethnographic movie typical of its time as Fatimah Tobing Rony does in the book *The Third Eye. Race, Cinema and Ethnographic Spectacle* (1996). Cooper and Schoedsack who made the movie were originally documentary ethnographic filmmakers and, of course, the movie itself is about an ethnographic film-excursion. From this viewpoint *King Kong* explicitly delivers a colonial world-view complete with Western modernity's superiority over the naturalized other. The representation of the natives of Skull Island is also a key part of this racist stratum. The film represents the unconstrained as well as controlling gaze of the West and the racialization of the other.

Another understanding of the films racist element is much more connected with its relation to the American context in which it was made. Here King Kong can be read as a symbol for the waves of African Americans that migrated from the South to northern metropolises during the time. Not least is the gorilla-figure closely connected with the black

man. The chaos Kong creates by his sheer presence mirrors the fears of white America and the end of the film its symbolic revenge. The racism of the film is a reflection of a white society afraid of and disappointed with emerging black civil rights and increased presence in the North. Kong in chains brought to the nation from overseas also invokes the days of slave trade and slavery.

This is also related to a third possible manifestation of racism in the movie that represents the sexual elements of this ideology. From this viewpoint the movie is about white man's fear of the black man's sexuality and its effects on white women. Kong himself is a subconscious representation of the fear of the white man and is connected with a long tradition of depicting African Americans as animalistic rapists, as for example can be seen in *The Birth of a Nation*. Kong climbing up on the at the time most sacred symbol of white America's modernity and superiority – the fallitic The Empire State Building – gets a specific meaning within this context. The shooting down of Kong here comes to represent the white subconscious wish of black castration.

These meanings, depending on viewpoint, exist in the 1933-movie – and can quite easily be recognized as in turn expressed, reflected and subconscious ideology. But do they exist in the 2005 movie?

When answering this question it is helpful to distinguish levels of meaning and the workings of ideology with the help of the categories expressed, reflected and subconscious. The expressed racist ideological elements of the 1933-movie is in one sense naturally still the same in the 2005-movie, since it is the same story, told in the same way, even though the colour, sound and actors are different. The natives of Skull Island are also in the 2005-movie depicted as almost colonial caricatures. They are violent, animalistic, pre-modern and devoid of most things that resemble Western humanity. The film-expedition still represents the superiority of Modernity and the absolute righteousness of the modern colonial gaze. Their conquering of the island and their capturing of Kong is still the fantasmic adventure of the white man. As for the leading female character, Anne Darrow, her part still mainly consists of screaming and wooing the leading male characters (including Kong) as an object of sexual desire.

In this way, the films express the same ideological fundamentals. But still, an understanding of the expressed ideology needs to take into account the historical, societal etcetera situation it is expressed in. The 2005 movie is not – as is the 1933 movie – a movie expressively about its own time. Instead it incorporates within itself a relationship with the historical time it depicts. The 2005-version's allegiance to the original speaks of this. The movie attempts to create a safe-haven for itself by attempting to refer to nothing else but the original movie in an almost pastiche-like manoeuvre. In this sense, the 2005-movie declares itself as not being for real and therefore not responsible for the ideas it projects. That responsibility is projected back to the original movie and the 2005-movie is therefore able to express the same ideological elements while distancing itself from their realness. It is racism with a wink of the eye: the ideology that is expressed in the 1933-movie is also expressed in the 2005-movie, but it is so in an ironic or even cynical manner.

But if we leave the level of expressed ideology, what society and what ideology does the 2005-*King Kong* reflect then? If the 1933-movie reflects an American society grappled with white fear of bourgeoning African American civil rights and continuous migration waves, the 2005-movie reflects a post-civil rights, post-multiculturalist, postmodern society. It reflects a simulacra-existence where nothing is for real, not even racism and, for that matter, sexism. It reflects a society focused on the consumption of enjoyment and a fetishization of a history that is rendered harmless by a dissociation from itself.

But as the subconscious sexual-racist element speaks of – the ironic smile is often painfully aware of its own character.

References

Baudry, Jean-Louis (1970/1986) "Ideological Effects of the Basic Cinematographic Apparatus". In: Philip Rosen (ed.). *Narrative, Apparatus, Ideology. A Film Theory Reader*. New York: Columbia University Press pp. 186–298.

Creed, Barbara (1993) *The Monstrous-Feminine. Film, Feminism, Psychoanalysis*. London: Routledge.

Laclau, Ernesto & Chantal Mouffe (1985/2001) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy. Towards a Radical Democratic Politics*. London: Verso.

Purvis, Trevor & Alan Hunt (1993) "Discourse, Ideology, Discourse, Ideology, Discourse, Ideology…". In: *The British Journal of Sociology* Vol. 44 No 3 pp. 473–499.

Rony, Fatimah Tobing (1996) *The Third Eye. Race, Cinema and Ethnographic Spectacle*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

Ryan, Michael & Kellner, Douglas (1988) *Camera Politica. The Politics and Ideology of Contemporary Hollywood Film*. Bloomington, Ind: Indiana University Press.

Teaching 'Pretty Woman' (2003) *Discussion*, WMST-L File Collection. http://userpages.umbc.edu/~korenman/wmst/pretty.html.

Žižek, Slavoj (1989) *The Sublime Object of Ideology*. London Verso.

Žižek, Slavoj (1992) *Enjoy Your Symptom! Jacques Lacan in Hollywood and Out*. New York: Routledge.

Žižek, Slavoj (1994) *The Metastases of Enjoyment. Six Essays on Woman and Causality*. London: Verso.

Films

American Psycho (Mary Harron 2000)

King Kong (Merian C. Cooper and Ernest B. Schoedsack 1933).

King Kong (Peter Jackson 2005).

Pretty Woman (Gary Marshall 1990).

Taking the Girls' Room Online: Similarities and Differences Between Traditional Girls' Rooms and Computer-Mediated Ones

Malin Sveningsson Elm

Department of Media and Communication Studies, Karlstad University

malin.sveningsson@kau.se

Previous studies have pointed at the girls' room's importance for girls identity work. The "internet generation" is no different in this aspect. Girls still stage performances, where they experiment with roles and styles. The difference is rather that where it used to be done in the girl's room at home, the identity work is now often found online. The question proposed in this paper is whether Internet communities can be seen as extensions or online versions of the girls' room. By using results from quantitative content analysis of 250 personal profile sites of female users aged 15-20, this paper discusses the similarities and differences between traditional girls' rooms and the computer-mediated ones at Lunarstorm.

Even though the activities performed resemble each other, the computer-mediated girls' room distinguishes itself from the traditional one in at least one important respect: what used to be done in privacy now takes place in public. Here, Erving Goffman's concepts 'front stage' and 'back stage' are used to make sense of the nature of the two forms of girls' rooms, to show that while the traditional girls' room correspond to the backstage region, the computer-mediated one rather represents a front stage setting, where performances are made.

Taking the Girls' Room Online: Similarities and Differences Between Traditional Girls' Rooms and Computer-Mediated Ones

During the last decade we have seen a dramatic growth in the number of users and online places aimed at communication and community. Many of these online arenas have young people as their explicit target group and the largest groups of users are also found among young people (SCB 2004).

In Sweden, one of the most frequented online meeting places is a web community called Lunarstorm (www.lunarstorm.se), which is also the most visited web page in all the Scandinavian countries. It has 1.2 million members, which is quite impressive considering the fact that the entire Swedish population amounts to only 9 million inhabitants. As is true for many other online communities, Lunarstorm too is especially popular among young people. It is the web site where young Swedes spend most time – on average 45 minutes a day. Half of the users are under 18 years old, the single largest group found among 15 to 20 year-olds. Within this age group, 85% of all Swedes visit Lunarstorm on a regular basis (i.e., at least once a week). Out of the same age group, 28% visit Lunarstorm every day.[1] Here, they hang out together, they take part of the content of each other's personal sites, including diaries and photo galleries, they write messages to each other, solve each other's quizzes, and they read and write entries in each other's guest books.

Media has often addressed young people's doings in Lunarstorm and similar online places, and addressed the fact that they spend a considerable amount of time in such places. Lunarstorm has even been called "Sweden's largest youth recreation centre online" (Söderhjelm 2002). As is shown by statistics over use, Lunarstorm is apparently a place where young people hang out together in their everyday interaction. It has come to constitute a room of their own of sorts.

The question proposed in this paper is whether and how Internet communities can be seen as an extension or an online version of the teenagers' room, or more precisely, the girls' room. Here, I will look upon what activities take place and discuss what similarities and differences there may be between the traditional girls' room and the computer-mediated ones at Lunarstorm.

The Importance of Finding a Place of One's Own

The adolescense is a period of exploring and experimenting, and of trying out various alternative identities. Here, modern society confronts individuals with a complex abundance of choices, while at the same time, it offers little guidance as to what they should choose (Giddens 1991). Young people of today are not bound by the constraints of rules and norms of old patterns of life, which implies a freedom to find their own way of life (Ganetz 1992). However, it also implies that they stand without the support that traditions used to be for individuals' life choices. They are expected to make decisions and form identities on their own, in a world where the power of authorities has diminished, and where, at the same time, there is an abundance of different roles and ideals to choose from. The way to an independent identity goes through experiments, and by trying various roles, sometimes alone, but more often in the interaction with others. It is by mirroring oneself in the gaze of others that one develops a sense of who one is and who one wishes to be (Harris 1998). Here, I look upon identity, not as a static entity, but as something that is developed over time in the interaction with other individuals (Mead 1934; Goffman 1959/1990).

---

1   Statistics according to the managers of Lunarstorm, available at: www.lunarworks.se, November, 2005.

The lives of young people are to a great extent controlled by adults, such as parents, or representatives from institutions such as school and youth recreation centers. Therefore, says Ganetz (1992), one of the distinctive marks of youth culture is the seeking for places where they young people can be on their own with peers, without interventions from parents or representatives of adult authorities. These "free places", says Ganetz, are absolutely necessary for the individual to seek, experiment with and create her/his own identity. The free places of boys have traditionally been territories set up in streets and other public places. For girls and women, on the other hand, these spaces have often been experienced as dangerous, and therefore, historically, boys and men have been more visible in public (Lewis 1993; Ganetz 1992; McRobbie and Garber 1976). As McRobbie & Garber note (1976: 115), girls have traditionally also had to be careful not to "get into trouble" and "excessive loitering on street corners might be taken as a sexual invitation to the boys".[2]

Previous studies have pointed at the girls' room's importance for girls' identity work. Instead of working with identities in the street, as the boys, girls have instead often mainly sought their free spaces in the home, at shopping malls, or in other places that offer some security (but on the other hand are also more controlled and supervised by adults). It is in the girls' room, or within the "culture of the bedroom" (McRobbie and Garber 1976: 213) that girls have gathered together in cliques to engage in identity work. Typical activities have been to chat, read magazines, and listen to records. The consumption of media and popular culture thus constitutes an important part of the activities. Through the media, the girls gather information on what different identities may be available for them to choose between, but media consumption is also a way to gather information about the value and status of various identities and identity markers. Thus media can perhaps be said to replace the authorities of old times. But the media and their products are also identity markers per se, as is the case with for example music subcultures: what kind of music you listen to is an important marker of what group or subculture you identify with.

The social aspects of the "bedroom culture" should not be neglected. Along with being a room for working on identity, the girls' room is also a room for working with relationships. It is here that the young women get together and share their most intimate thoughts, hopes and dreams, and where they compare and scrutinize ideals, and chisel out their identities together (see also Ganetz 1992).

Finally, one of the perhaps most important activities in relation to the young women's identity work concern the production of style. Here girls are involved in the "rituals of trying on clothes, and experimenting with hair-styles and make-up" (McRobbie and Garber 1997: 115). The identity work takes a concrete form in the experimentation with styles, involving trying on different clothes, accessories and other items. This may be done in solitude, but is perhaps more often done together with friends, and in dialogue with the media. Even though the production of style may be done in various settings, such as for example clothes shops and fitting rooms, the perhaps most important part of this experimentation goes on within the frames of the girls' room, which can be seen as a free space in its being protected from public view and control.

The Internet as a Room of One's Own

As was said in the introduction, during the last decade, the internet has come to constitute an important place for social interaction. It has sometimes been seen as specifically important

---

2   As several authors have noted, however (c.f. Drotner 1991/1996; Göthlund 1997), to the extent that this dichotomy really existed, during the last decades it has decreased, as girls have come to take an increasing part of public places, thus becoming more visible, and boys have come to spend more time in the boys' room at home, alone or with friends, for example in front of the computer, TV-games or, more recently, playing poker.

for women and girls, being a public, unsupervised arena – but visited from secure places like the home, the school or the library (Sveningsson Elm 2006). Even though researchers and media alike have pointed at the prevalence of harassment and inequalities online (Cherny and Reba Weise 1996; Herring 1993, 1994), the internet has also frequently been called a "safe haven" for women, as well as for girls engaging in identity work (Stern 1999, 2004; Thiel 2005; Grisso and Weiss 2005). [3] According to Stern (1999: 23) rather than using their home pages to merely "publish information", authors use their pages to construct identity. Here, they can try out various roles and identities, in safety at home, while at the same time the medium provides them with an audience in which to mirror themselves. As Thiel (2005: 197) puts it:

> /…/IM provides a ripe landscape for a girl to shift from identity to identity (for example, student to sexpot), and from moment to moment /…/. This is an opportunity for a girl to better understand who she is and *play* with who she wants to be in the future- an opportunity not afforded to past generations (and to lower classes now).

Entering the Field

Web communities are a kind of Internet arena where several types of activities may take place. They may provide opportunities for users to create their own web pages, take part in discussion groups and chat rooms, but they may also contain search engines and links to further sites. However, the point of web communities is often for users to seek for contact and community, where the opportunity of sharing experiences, knowledge, values and outlooks is an important reason for users to join (Sveningsson, Lövheim, and Bergquist 2003). Some web communities are directed towards specific groups of users, while others, such as Lunarstorm, are more loosely organized with respect to interest or demographics, and have social interaction as their main or only goal. Web communities also vary with respect to openness: whereas some web communities are open for all Internet users, others (e.g. Lunarstorm) demand that users first register as members, and provide offline name, address and social security number in order to take part of the content.

Lunarstorm can be described as a platform hosting several different modes of communication.[4] It has discussion groups on hundreds of different topics. There are public arenas where users can communicate and/or exhibit their creative work such as photos, paintings and texts. Users also have personal pages (called "krypin" or "nests" in English) where they present themselves to others, write diaries and gather resources they wish to share with others. The units of analysis were 500 nests – 250 maintained by male and 250 by female users aged 15-20. In this paper, I have chosen to focus on the 250 nests of the female users[5]

---

3   The aspect of security is important not only for women – men who display alternative gender identities may also profit from the absence of physical reprisals as a consequence of their performances.

4   Lunarstorm is managed by a limited company, and includes some commercial elements. Membership is free of charge for the users, but is instead financed by commercial advertising and by market research. There are also additional pay services, offering for example more disk space and more advanced communication tools.

5   I have the permission of the managers of Lunarstorm to do this study. However, I did not seek informed consent of the 500 users whose nests were subject to quantitative analyses. Here, I followed the recommendations of Association of Internet Researchers (Ess and Jones 2003), according to which material from the Internet can be collected and analyzed without informed consent, on condition that the arena that is studied is public, and that the studied material is not sensitive (see also Sveningsson 2001, 2001, 2003; Sveningsson, Lövheim, and Bergquist 2003; Sveningsson Elm forthcoming). All names and other information in the nests that may lead to the identification of users, or people referred to in their nests, have been altered.

Lunarstorm has a friend finder facility where users can specify the characteristics of other users they wish to find. To get a sample of users, I used this friend finder facility, specifying age and gender, while letting city of residence vary with users. This was done in turn for female users 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 years old, and for male users of the same age groups (users are classified as being 15 from their 15th to their 16th birthday, and 19 from their 19th to their 20th birthday, hence the users in the sample are between 15 and 20 years old even though the age group 20 was not included in the search). This resulted in a sample of 50 users from each age and gender group, i.e., 500 in total. [6]

At the time I collected my data (2004-2005), nests could have 13 sub-pages: pres, guest book, diary, friends, clubs, roots, hot, quiz, lists, collage, stuff, party and status. In this study, I chose to delimit the scope of study to three sub-pages: pres, stuff and collage pages.

All users have a "pres" or presentation page. The pres is the starting point where visitors arrive when clicking other users' name links. It is here that first impressions are created, and where visitors decide whether to proceed to look at the other sub-pages, sign the guest book or take other initiatives to contact. Pres pages vary greatly in how much information users provide. Some do not give any information at all, besides the user name (which appears automatically as soon as the user has registered as a member). Others write detailed descriptions about themselves, their background, interests and relationships to other people. On "stuff" pages, users publish material such as photos, texts, drawings, sound files, video clips, links to web sites and other material. "Collage" pages work like photo albums. The main difference from the stuff page is that the material is more clearly organized and that users have more disk space at their disposal and can thus publish more material. [7]

A quantitative content analysis was made of the "pres", "stuff" and "collage" pages of all 500 nests. Quantitative content analysis has been described as the objective, systematic and quantitative presentation of the manifest content of a message (Østbye et al. 2003). As other quantitative methods, it is supposed to be independent of who is doing the analysis, and so the units of analysis (i.e., what parts of the content are to be counted) are usually decided and fixed before the analysis takes its start. In other words, content analyses are usually deductive. However, in this study, the approach was inductive. In the analysis, I looked for what aspects of self the young people expressed in their nests, but I did not know beforehand which aspects these would turn out to be. I therefore let the data gradually give rise to the categories for analysis. The method used could thus be described as a hybrid – quantitative content analysis with streaks of thematic analysis or grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin 1990), or the other way around: a thematic analysis where the resulting categories became subject to a statistical analysis.

The analysis started with the pres page of each nest. There, all components such as texts, links, pictures and other graphical elements, as well as the graphic design were described. Similar inventories were made for the stuff and collage folders. I wrote brief descriptions of 50-250 words of each nest, and classified them according to what aspects of self each user emphasized. These aspects of self will in the following text be referred to as "themes". I chose not to limit myself to a certain number of themes, but all themes that were expressed were included. The number of themes per nest therefore ranges from 0 to 23, with a mean of 4,28 and a median of 4. When classifying the themes, no consideration was taken into how large extent a certain theme was stressed, but data were treated on a nominal scale where all cases

---

6   Information about age and gender is acquired automatically by Lunarstorm's software in the registration process, i.e. when the users provide their social security number. Even if this decreases the risk of gender crossing, it is of course still possible that some of the users have provided fake social security numbers to appear to be of another gender or age than is actually the case.

7   Collage is an additional pay service, but is frequently enough used to be included in the analysis. 279 of the 500 users in the sample had a "stuff" page, and 225 had "collage" pages. In both cases, there were slightly more women than men, however not as to make the difference significant.

of occurrence were given the value one and the rest of the cases the value zero. A survey of the material resulted in 94 different themes. In order to make the material more manageable, the themes were grouped into 20 overarching categories.

What Young Women Seem to do at Lunarstorm

By looking at the results from the quantitative study, we get an idea of what kind of material and what activities are frequently occurring among the young women in their nests at Lunarstorm (see table 1). The table below shows the frequency with which different categories occurred in the material – i.e., what kind of material the young women display in their presentations of self. I will here focus on the categories that are represented by more than 20% of the female users, i.e., the six most frequently occurring categories.

Table 1. What young women display - categories

	Rank	Sum	%
	Young women	Young women	Young women
Relationships	1	196	78.4
Cultural interest	2	118	47.2
Feelings	3	76	30.4
Animals	4	73	29.2
Party	5	52	20.8
Exposure of body	5	52	20.8
Work & Education	7	46	18.4
Sport	8	45	18
Humor	9	36	14.4
Motorvehicles	10	19	7.6
Technology	11	15	6
Political interest	12	14	5.6
Exposure of status	13	13	5.2
Cooking	13	13	5.2
Ethnic origin	15	9	3.6
Heterosexual desires	16	7	2.8

The kind of material that tops the list above all concerns social relationships. The category 'relationships' is the one with most occurrences among the young women, where as many as 78.4% present or put emphasis on their social relationships in their nests. Within the category, there are 3 themes, or different types of relationships: friendships, romantic relationships and family relationships. All three score high in comparison with other themes in the material, but it is above all friendships and romantic relationships that are stressed (among the young women, 65.6% present friendships, 42% present romantic relationships and 28% present family relationships).[8]

The kind of material that occurred second most often are found in the category 'cultural interests', which are stressed by as many as 47.2% of the users. This category is constituted by the themes music, literature, poetry, theatre, film and TV, and can thus be said to correspond to the consumption of media and popular culture. For some of the themes within the category, there is also a division of whether the interest is as a fan or as practitioner of the activity. The most frequently occurring theme is music/fan (28% of the girls), but poetry/practice (12%) and art/practice (7.6%) ranks quite high too. Other references to the consumption (and production) of media or popular culture occur: movie/fan (5.2%),

---

8   See also Sveningsson Elm 2007.

literature/fan (3.2%), art/fan (2.8%), tv/soapopera, music/practice and dance/practice (all 2.4%), anime/manga/cartoon (1.6%), theatre/practice and literature/practice (both 0.8%). The fact that cultural interests seem to be so widespread among young people have been notified by authors such as Kirsten Drotner (1991/1996), who explains this interest with the assistance that young people often can get from aesthetic practices in their identity work.

The third most frequent category is 'feelings', where as much as 30.4% of the young women in various ways express and discuss feelings and emotions in their nests. Also this is something that may be typical for the "culture of the bedroom" or for "girl culture", where a considerable amount of time is often dedicated to discussing feelings and relationships, especially romantic ones (see for example Ambjörnsson 2004).

Something that I have not seen mentioned anywhere else in accounts of typical girls' room activities, but that was frequent at Lunarstorm, is references to domestic animals. I do not know how this should be interpreted, but there is a clear difference between the nests of men and women here, where as much as 29.2% of the young women, but only 7.6% of the young men make references to their animals.

Something that *is* typical for youth culture, however, is talking about parties – both those that have already occurred and planned ones. This is also obvious in the nests of the young women, where as much as 20.8% address such issues, typically in the form of published pictures, or in references to specific parties as especially enjoyable occasions. The publishing of such material can, of course, also be seen as a way to further strengthen the ties within the group of friends, and to create a sense of group membership.

The last category that is expressed by more than 20% of the young women is 'exposure of the body', where 20.8% of the young women put focus on displaying their physical appearances (Sveningsson Elm 2006). Much of the content in this category can be interpreted as manifestations of a women's production of style. The girls experiment with various outfits, accessories, hair-styles, make-ups, postures and facial expressions. They then take photographs, alone and/or together with friends, and the photographs are then published in the nests. The purpose of these photographs may be multifaceted. First, it can be seen as a will to show off one's physical appearance, and to display oneself as beautiful or sexy. This is also the interpretation most often being done, by popular media and by the users themselves. However, it can also be interpreted as a search, and an exploration of a feminine gender identity. It may very well be another manifestation of the same phenomenon as Ganetz describes in the activities going on in the fitting rooms of clothes shops, where young women squeeze themselves in together, in order to try various styles and combinations of clothes and accessories. The purpose of such activities can be summarized as a quest to see "Could this be me?" The question being explored is then the teenager's eternal "Who am I?". However, it here gets yet one more dimension in that the young woman also has to ask herself and position herself in relation to the question "Who am I *as a woman*?" (Ganetz 1992).

In this survey of the material we can thus conclude that the kind of activities going on in the young women's nests at Lunarstorm coincide very well with the activities that have been described as typical for the "bedroom culture". To a great extent, it concerns social interaction and social relationships – to engage in them, but also to discuss relationships to other individuals – be it friends, romantic partners or family members. The consumption of media and popular culture, too, such as popular music, movie, TV etc, is another aspect typical for the "bedroom culture", which seem to take up much space in the young women's nests. Finally, the production of style, which is often occurring in the nests of the young women, is one of the activities that have been pointed out as one of the most typical for the "bedroom culture".

Mediation Making a Difference?

Having stated the similarities, we should perhaps also ask ourselves what are the differences. danah boyd (2007) lists four specific properties that she sees as unique for (computer)mediated public sites in comparison with un-mediated ones: persistence (what is written online may be accessible for a long time afterwards), searchability (people and their online activities can be found online), replicability (conversations can be copied and pasted into other contexts) and invisible audiences (online communicators do not know who may overhear conversations or observe their online actions). The last of these properties is closely related to what I see as the perhaps most obvious difference between the traditional girls' room and the computer-mediated girls' room at Lunarstorm, namely the relationship between the private and the public.[9]

The activities of the girls' room as we know them have traditionally been performed in the private room, as Thompson (Thompson 1994: 38) puts it: "in privacy, secrecy or among a restricted circle of people". This has both its advantages and drawbacks. The advantage associated with doing identity work in the private room is of course that one is protected. One can freely experiment, alone or in the company of close and trusted friends, and try out new roles, in the safety it means to know that one will not be judged or scrutinized until one is prepared to step out of the room. In other words, one is in full control of the situation. However, the very same properties at the same time also constitute the drawbacks. One has less opportunity to be seen by other individuals; and thus has less opportunities of trying different roles against an audience to see what different reactions result from them, and in this way to develop one's identity in dialogue with others. It may also be that the specific friends who are included in the restricted circle of people of the girls' room may be constraining and exert more social control than other people would. Hence, the privacy of the traditional girls' room, making the young women invisible, at the same time brings them both freedom and limitations.[10]

In the computer-mediated girls' room of Lunarstorm, on the other hand, one has a potentially huge audience. What, then, does it mean that what used to be a private affaire now has thousands or even millions of potential spectators? On the one hand it means that one gets to be seen. One can try different roles against a real audience and not merely an imagined one, as in the girls' room. On the other hand, the fact that the audience is real also means that consequences of the experimentation will be real. The internet has been depicted as a safe haven, and it is true that repercussions will in most cases be less serious than in real life. Sanctions, both immediate and physical ones may of course result, but typically not as often and not as serious as in "real life". But still, there may be consequences. One can get bullied online, and one can get a bad reputation at school or encounter problems at work as a result of one's online actions and interactions (boyd and Heer 2006). And one can get into contact with people who may harass or abuse others. This is something that popular media has often focused on, pointing out that while parents believe their children to be in safety at home, in fact, through their computers they may be in even greater danger than out in the streets of their local community, being exposed to millions of strangers with dishonest intentions (Olsson 2006).

---

9 Although 'public' has sometimes also been used to denote issues relating to the state or to politics, I will here understand "public" in a more general sense: as being 'open' or 'available' to the public. What is public is then "what is visible or observable, what is performed in front of spectators, what is open for all or many to see or hear or hear about. What is private, then, by contrast, is what is hidden from view, what is said or done in privacy or secrecy or among a restricted circle of people" (Thompson, 1994:38).

10 A parallel to this can be seen in ethnologist Lena Gerholm's account on Muslim-Arabic body practices (Gerholm 1998).

When looking at the differences between the traditional girls' room and the computer-mediated girls' room, Erving Goffman's concepts of 'front stage' and 'back stage' may be useful (Goffman 1959/1990). Goffman made use of dramaturgical metaphors to describe the interaction between individuals, notably their presentations of self. Whenever individuals seek to make a certain impression on others (which they do most of the time), this is seen as a 'performance'. The person who is seeking to form the impression is an 'actor', and the people in front of whom the actor performs is an 'audience' (Goffman 1959/1990).

'Front stage' refers to when the actor is involved in doing a performance. The concept can be divided into two aspects: the 'setting', which is the place where the performance takes place, and the 'personal front', which can refer either to the equipment or items needed to perform, or to the personal characteristics of the actor.

'Back stage', on the other hand, is when the performing person, the actor, is present but the audience is not. The actor is either alone, or in a group in which the members cooperate around the performance - a team. Back stage is a place or a situation in which the actor can relax and step out of character, and it can be used for preparing and rehearsing the role until it is time to step out before the audience again.

My (and Goffman's) use of the term 'audience' is clearly different from traditions within media studies, aiming at describing the consumption of media content. According to those traditions, 'audiences' are generally seen as related to the private sphere, whereas the 'public' is seen as related to the public sphere (even though Livingstone (2005) seeks to challenge this dichotomous view and points to the ways audiences and publics are increasingly intertwined). Goffman, on the other hand, does not place the audience in either of the categories, because performances (in his sense of the concept) can take place in both public and private settings. However, it may still be more likely, or at least more common, for front stage regions to be found, for performances to take place, and thus also for audiences to be present, in public places, where there is more chance that there will be people present who can be part of the audience. At the same time, it is more likely that the back stage region, where the actor can step out of character and relax, is found in a private setting, where the actor is alone or among close friends and/or relatives.[11]

Applying these concepts to the girls' room and the computer-mediated girls' room, we see how things are being turned on their head. The activities that were earlier described as typical for the "bedroom culture" seem to fit perfectly into the description of back stage, being primarily aimed at rehearsing before performances: either girls would dress up for going out, try out different combinations that would be suitable for future occasions, or they would educate themselves in dialogue with friends and popular media as to how to look and behave.[12]

> While boys could spend a lot of time 'hanging about' in the territory, the pattern for girls was probably more firmly structured between being at home, preparing (often with other girls) to go out on a date, and going out. (McRobbie and Garber 1976: 213)

In the opposite manner, the activities that take place in the computer-mediated girls' room at Lunarstorm – the social activities, the consumption of media and popular culture, and the

---

11   On the other hand one may very well put on performances for these people too. It should be noted that 'back stage' is a relative term and exists only in relation to a *specific* audience. Whenever performers are not alone, they are in a performance, says Goffman. In the back region, another performance may be given before the other team members, although typically, the roles that the actor performs before different audiences will differ slightly.

12   Although as Ganetz (1992) points out, the production of style should not be seen as merely a preparation, but also as a pleasurable activity and an aesthetic practice in its own right.

production of style – take place in public. What used to be done back stage, as a preparation, has turned into a performance in its own right. And the front stage that is made up of places like Lunarstorm is not merely any little street corner with a few potential spectators – the audience is potentially huge. So, instead of being able to, as in the girls' room, hang around and relax, either alone or with other team members (i.e., one's friends), the computer-mediated girls' room has become yet a front stage setting – an arena in which the young women perform in front of others and thus have to think about how to look and how to act, even before going online. So much for that safe haven. The question is thus if the computer-mediated girls' room can be described as a room of one's own at all. Despite its similarities in terms of what activities take place, I would say not. Perhaps it should rather be compared to the fitting room. In the same way as Ganetz (1992: 225) describes the fitting room, the computer-mediated room provides the girls with a tempting mixture of the public and the private:

> It is a close and intimate place protected from public view and control, while at the same time, it lies outside of the walls of the home and in a public area, which makes it more exciting and gives a feeling of freedom.

Changing Views on Public and Private?

What, then, does it mean that what used to be done in the safety of the back stage region now takes place in public, and how do the young people handle the publicity of their online interactions? It is not only that the computer-mediated girls' room *is* public, with the consequences this may imply, but the young people at Lunarstorm are in most cases also very well aware of the public nature of the place, and of the risk, or opportunity, as it may sometimes seem, of being observed. The users' practices suggest that they do not consider their personal pages, including personal profiles, diaries and photo albums as specifically private – quite the contrary. For example, they often put out 'ads' in the more publicly visited spots of the web community, where they urge people to come visit their personal pages, to watch and comment upon their photos and diaries and sign their guest books. Not only do the users seem to be aware of the risk of having their material observed by others – the attention from others is often what in effect is sought for. Thus, there are indications that the users tend to see the web community as an opportunity of public exposure, something that is further supported by social welfare secretaries who have been doing field work among young people at the web community in question (Englund 2005). According to these social secretaries, users often seem to see online environments as their chance of getting their 15 minutes of fame, and they are often influenced by the content of reality TV and docu-soaps, where extremely intimate matters are often at display. We thus see how the ideas surrounding private matters seem to have changed, and the tolerance towards both exposing and being exposed to intimate matters in public spaces have been heightened. As I have suggested elsewhere (Sveningsson Elm forthcoming), we may not even expect any privacy online anymore.

This may be part of a larger picture. During the last decade, we have come to see what was once private made increasingly public. What started as talk show confessions, reality TV and docu-soaps, where ordinary people's private lives became the subject of TV entertainment, broadcast in prime time national TV, has developed into a formidable universe of confessions and exposures of intimate matters in public. In personal web pages, personal profiles at web communities and social network web sites, and blogs, we see a good deal of personal information being exposed in public. People write and publish their online diaries, accessible for anyone with internet access, they provide personal information, including full

name and real life address, and they even share pornographic pictures of themselves with people they meet online (Daneback 2006).

In his book 'Liquid modernity', sociologist Zygmunt Bauman suggests that, while theorists such as Jürgen Habermas feared that the public would colonize the private sphere, what we see in today's society is in effect an inversed process where it is rather the private that is colonizing the public sphere:

> The 'public' is colonized by the 'private'; 'public interest' is reduced to curiosity about the private lives of public figures, and the art of public life is narrowed to the public display of private affairs and public confessions of private sentiments (the more intimate the better). 'Public issues' which resist such reduction become all but incomprehensible. (Bauman 2000: 37).

The colonization of the public, says Bauman, is due to a process in which individuals to an increasing extent are made responsible for their lives – in short, individuals have no one else but themselves to count on to make decisions and choices to make their lives more successful and satisfactory.[13] And should anything in their lives turn out to fail, they have no on else but themselves to blame. This concerns all aspects of life, from matters of career and wealth to fitness and health. Media and other public surfaces are filled with individuals, speaking as private persons about their private matters. These individuals, says Bauman, offer themselves as examples, although they do not take the role of counsellors who can advice others. Rather, by watching them the audience can on the one hand get a sense of not being alone with their private problems, while on the other hand also getting some guidance on how to deal (or some times rather not to deal!) with their own life situations.

The exposure of private matters in public space has doubtlessly made people think differently on intimate matters, where much suggests that the opinions of what kind of material and information should be kept private, have changed. People do expose more intimate matters now than they used to do just a few decades ago. But the exposure of private matters also seems to have made people think differently about the way public space is to be used. As Bauman (2000: 40) puts it:

> For the individual, public space is not much more than a giant screen on which private worries are projected without ceasing to be private or acquiring new collective qualities in the course of magnification: public space is where public confession of private secrets and intimacies is made.

As the private is colonizing the public, the public to an increasing extent has come to display properties that we have traditionally associated with the private sphere and its activities. The aspect discussed throughout this paper, activities that used to be performed in the girls' room now taking place online, in public, may be seen as yet one example of the same overarching phenomenon.

However, the fact that some activities are moved from the private to the public does not necessarily mean that the nature of impression management and presentation of self is fundamentally changed. To return to Goffman's terminology: even though the tolerance may increase, the limits being stretched for how much intimacy we show in public, and even though our opinions of how public space is to be used may change, there are still certain things that actors will most likely want to do in privacy also in the future. Among them, we find people's need to draw back between performances, be they on- or offline, to relax, to

---

13 This should be seen in relation to what was said in the introduction, about the uncertainty and confusion that abundance of possible roles to choose between, combined with the lack of authorities, gives rise to.

rehearse performances, and to chisel out and explore new possible roles and identities. Even though an increasing part of people's everyday lives may be exposed in public, I believe there will always be a need for back stage regions in which to do this. It is likely that for the young women of today, these activities will still be done in the privacy of the traditional girls' room. However, they will probably not take place until the computer is safely turned off.

References

Ambjörnsson, Fanny. 2004. I en klass för sig. Genus och sexualitet bland gymnasietjejer. Stockholm: Ordfront.

Bauman, Zygmunt. 2000. *Liquid Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

boyd, danah. 2007. Social Network Sites: Public, Private, or What? *Knowledge Tree* (13).

boyd, danah, and Jeffrey Heer. 2006. Profiles as conversation: Networked identity performance on Friendster. Paper read at Hawai'i International Conference on System Sciences (HICSS-39), Persistent Conversation Track., January 4-7, 2006, at Kauai, HI.

Cherny, Lynn, and Elizabeth Reba Weise, eds. 1996. *Wired women: gender and new realities in cyberspace*. Seattle: Seal Press.

Daneback, Kristian. 2006. *Love and Sexuality on the Internet*, Institution for Social Work, Gothenburg university, Gothenburg.

Drotner, Kirsten. 1991/1996. *At skabe sig - selv. Ungdom, aestetik, paedagogik*. 2 ed. København: Gyldendal.

Englund, Anneli. 2005. Fält/förändringsarbetare Socialkontoret Centrum, Norrköping.

Ess, Charles, and Steven Jones. 2003. Ethical decision-making and Internet research: recommendations from the AoIR Ethics Working Committee. In *Virtual Research Ethics: Issues and Controversies*, edited by E. A. Buchanan. Hershey: Idea Group Publishing.

Ganetz, Hillevi. 1992. Butiken, hemmet och kvinnligheten som maskerad. Drivplatser och platser för kvinnligt skapande. In *Unga stilar och uttrycksformer*, edited by J. Fornäs, U. Boëthius, H. Ganetz and B. Reimer. Stockholm/Stehag: Bruno Östlings förlag Symposion.

Gerholm, Lena. 1998. Raffset och slöja. Om tre engelska kvinnors hanterande av muslimsk-arabiska kroppsliga praktiker i äktenskap över gränser. In *Behag och begär. Kulturella perspektiv på kroppens, intimitetens och sexualitetens tranformationer.*, edited by L. Gerholm. Stockholm: Carlssons.

Giddens, Anthony. 1991. Modernity and self-identity. Self and society in the late modern age. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1959/1990. *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin books.

Grisso, Ashley D., and David Weiss. 2005. What are gURLs talking about? Adolescent girls' construction of sexual identity on gURL.com. In *Girl Wide Web. Girls, the Internet, and the Negotiation of Identity*, edited by S. R. Mazzarella. New York: Peter Lang.

Göthlund, Anette. 1997. *Bilder av tonårsflickor. Om estetik och identitetsarbete*. Linköping: Linköping studies in Art and Science.

Harris, Judith Rich. 1998. The nurture assumption: Why children turn out the way they do. New York: Free Press.

Herring, Susan. 1993. Gender and democracy in computer-mediated communication. *Electronic Journal of Communication* 3 (2).

———. 1994. Gender Differences in Computer-Mediated Communication: Bringing Familiar Baggage to the New Frontier. Paper read at American Library Association annual convention, June 27, at Miami.

Lewis, Lisa A. 1993. Being Discovered: The Emergence of Female Address on MTV. In *Sound and Vision: The Music Video Reader*, edited by L. Grossberg, A. Goodwin and S. Frith. London: Routledge.

Livingstone, Sonia. 2005. On the relation between audiences and publics : why audience and public? (online). London: LSE Research Online.

McRobbie, Angela, and Jenny Garber. 1976. Girls and subcultures: An exploration. In *Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain*, edited by S. Hall and T. Jefferson. Oxon: Routledge.

———. 1997. Girls and subcultures. In *The subcultures reader*, edited by K. Gelder and S. Thornton. London: Routledge.

Mead, G.H. 1934. *Mind, Self, and Society*. Edited by C. W. Morris. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Olsson, Christer. *Härligt - men också farligt* [Aftonbladet] 2006 [cited 2007-06-23. Available from www.aftonbladet.se/vss/debatt/story/0,2789,934409,00.html.

SCB. 2004. Privatpersoners användning av datorer och Internet 2004.

Stern, Susannah R. 1999. Adolescent girls' expression on web home pages. Spirited, sombre and self-conscious sites. *Convergence* 5 (4):22-41.

———. 2004. Expressions of identity online: prominent features and gender differences in adolescents' world wide home pages. *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* 48 (2):218-243.

Strauss, Anselm, and Juliet Corbin. 1990. Basics of Qualitative Research. Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques. Newbury Park: SAGE.

Sveningsson Elm, Malin. 2006. Att visa sin kropp på Nätet. Om ungdomars självpresentationer på Lunarstorm. *LOCUS* (1).

———. 2006. Young men's gender- and identity work in a Swedish Web community. In *AoIR Internet Annual Volume 4*, edited by M. Consalvo and C. Haythornthwaite. New York: Peter Lang.

———. 2007. Young people's presentations of relationships in a Swedish Internet community. *YOUNG* 15 (2).

———. forthcoming. How do various notions of privacy influence decisions in qualitative internet research? In *Internet Inquiry: Dialogue among Researchers*, edited by A. Markham and N. Baym. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Sveningsson, Malin. 2001. *Creating a Sense of Community. Experiences from a Swedish Web Chat*. Linköping: Linköping Studies in Art and Science.

———. 2002. *Ethical Aspects of Research in a Web Chat Community. A case study for Ethics Working Group, Association of Internet Researchers* 2001 [cited 15/01 2002]. Available from http://www.cddc.vt.edu/aoir/ethics/case.html.

———. 2003. Ethics in Internet Ethnography. In *Virtual Research Ethics: Issues and Controversies*, edited by E. A. Buchanan. Hershey: Idea Group Publishing.

Sveningsson, Malin, Mia Lövheim, and Magnus Bergquist. 2003. *Att fånga Nätet: Kvalitativa Metoder för Internetforskning*. Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Söderhjelm, Simone. 2002. Tonåringar klär av sig på Nätet. Pornografiska bilder på Lunarstorm och andra sajter. *Aftonbladet*, 9 October.

Thiel, Shayla Marie. 2005. IM me. In *Girl wide web. Girls, the Internet, and the negotiating of identity*, edited by S. R. Mazzarella. New York: Peter Lang.

Thompson, John B. 1994. Social Theory and the Media. In *Communication Theory Today*, edited by D. C. D. Mitchell. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Østbye, Helge, Karl Knapskog, Knut Helland, and Leif Ole Larsen. 2003. *Metodbok för medievetenskap*. Malmö: Liber.

Conversations Across Borders: Men and Honour Violence in U.K. and Sweden

Suruchi Thapar-Björkert

Department of Sociology, University of Bristol, United Kingdom

s.thapar-bjorkert@bristol.ac.uk

The media, in particular, in U.K. and Sweden has been implicated in disseminating decontexualised discourses, which define, construct and represent the ethnic minority communities (for example, the Turkish-Kurdish, Iraqi-Kurdish or Pakistani Muslims) as 'violent' and locate the issue of honour violence as a 'cultural' problem. A corollary to this understanding is that honour related violence (HRV) is conceptualised as irreconcilable differences between cultural values of some ethnic groups and the values of Western society. Sociologists and anthropologists have departed from these approaches and highlighted the prevalence of gendered and sexualised violence in the white Swedish and British populations but which is not approached or analysed in a culturalist and essentialist manner. These debates and rebuttals have placed honour violence at the centre stage of government and non-government attempts at combating gendered violence. However, one of the central arguments of the paper is that analysis on honour violence has inadvertently focused on men as 'perpetrators' and women as 'victims' of violence. This paper argues and departs from such analyses on two levels- first, in order to analyse the political and social complexity of honour violence, we need to look at the various subject positions that women as well as men occupy in relation to HRV: as perpetrators, as witnesses, victims and as combatants. Second, all measures to combat violence need to engage men. In relation to the latter, the paper will engage with the ongoing work of the Sharaf Heroes in Sweden (Sharaf Hjältar).

Introduction

In 2000, the United Nations Population fund (UNFPA) report, *Living Together, Worlds Apart: Men and Women in a Time of Change* estimated that around "5000 women and girls are killed every year, across the world, because of dishonour". Gender-based violence that uses 'honour' as a means of justification is prevalent in many countries such as Turkey, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Britain, Jordan, Brazil, Egypt, Ecuador, Israel, Morocco, Sweden and Uganda[1]. Underpinned by the indefensible notions of honour (*izzat, sharaf*) and shame (*sharam*), honour killings appear to be on the increase, transcending social, cultural and national boundaries. The practice of honour killings transcends class and social boundaries and is not confined to the impoverished rural areas, but prevalent among the educated elite in the cities as well**.**

The term honour violence is associated with a range of oppressive and discriminatory practices, which may/may not result in the 'murder' or 'killing', but are equally and importantly harmful. I would like to draw attention to the fact that the reality of honour violence stretches beyond the 'act' of violence itself. Instead one has to draw attention to the inequalities and power disparities in social institutions that nurture and promote specific forms of direct interpersonal oppression and violence. Also, structural inequalities permeate the 'ordinary' lives of men and women differently-impacting in gendered ways. Often the potential development of an individual or group is held back by the conditions of specific unequal relationship and they underachieve in relation to their capabilities. Some analysts have conceptualised this as a form of structural violence, which nurtures other forms of symbolic and direct violence as well (Galtung 1996, also see Sen 1999).

Contextualising Conversations on Honor Violence

In Sweden, the discussion about violence against 'women of foreign origin' or 'immigrant women' has been the subject of debate since the second half of the nineties. Several cases were brought to attention by the media, where girls and women of 'foreign origin' were either killed or severely beaten by close male relatives. This sparked off a debate in the media on 'oppression' in different cultures and the discussions were fore grounded after January 2002, following the murder of Fadime Sahindal, a Kurdish-Swedish woman[2]. The fact sheet titled "Governmental support for vulnerable girls in patriarchal families" (February 2002)[3] reflected the urgency with which the government chose to act on the issue. According to an article in *Quick response* (2002),[4] the murders of Sara, Pela Atroshi and Fadime Sahindal were treated in different ways in the media. When Sara was murdered in 1996, the focus was more on the 'individual'. Her family was described as problematic and it was reported, that the boys that murdered Sara, were drunk at the time of the incident. When Pela Atroshi and Fadime Sahindal were murdered, instead of 'individual explanations', the media discussed the murders in relation to 'culture clashes' and 'honour' respectively. For example, the murder of Pela Atroshi, was, according to *Quick response*, mentioned as 'the Kurd murder'. The debate also entailed the idea of 'culture' – how the concept of honour could be seen as something that belonged to the 'Kurdish culture'. In all the three cases, a debate on immigrant men and boys who 'can't accept the girls´ wishes to choose their own lives' was raised.

---

1   SeeCIMELand INTERIGHTS:Combatting Crimes of Honour through data, documentation, networking and development of strategies- http://www.soas.ac.uk/honourcrimes/CimelandInterightsfinal.htm.

2   Fadime Sahindal was a 26 year old Kurdish- Swedish woman who was shot dead by her father on 21st January, 2002.

3   Regeringens insatser för utsatta flickor i patriarkala familjer Fact Sheet, Feb 2002.

4   "Flickmord, kurdmord eller hedersmord" 2002-02-28 www.quickresponse.nu The idea behind Quick Response is to follow how the Swedish news media reports on immigration, integration and xenophobia.

At the time of the murder of Fadime Sahindal, the administrative boards of the major city counties were commissioned to hasten the work on creating shelters for vulnerable girls in patriarchal families.[5] It is also possible to regard the murder of Fadime Sahindal as a wake-up call that gave the issue greater political dignity. Fadime Sahindal, who was threatened by her family, was already publicly known by her engagement on the issue. In November 20, 2001, she gave a speech in Parliament during the seminar 'Integration on whose terms?' Her murder on January 21, 2002, was a shock and on the anniversary of her death, the Swedish tabloid, *Aftonbladet*, published an article written by Prime Minister Göran Persson where he describes Fadime as a symbol of the 'right to a life in safety and freedom.'[6] In 2005, former minister, Jens Orback was present at a ceremony in memory of Fadime Sahindal, symbolic of the importance attached to the issue by the Government.

The international conference 'Combating Patriarchal Violence Against Women – Focusing on Violence in the Name of Honour' (7-8th December 2004) was an organised public forum where the Swedish Government together with other countries expressed their responsibility on the issue at an international level, and encouraged global networks on the issue. As the Minister of Democracy and Equality of Sweden, Jens Orback states, "we had not focussed on these problems until a few years ago… till we had these types of murders."[7]

HRV, in Sweden, has been approached in many different ways. Firstly, the issue has been intensely debated in the media though some of the decontexualised analysis has led the media to disseminate discourses which define, construct and represent the ethnic minority communities as 'violent' and locate the issue of honour related violence as a 'cultural' problem[8]. A corollary to this understanding is that honour related violence is conceptualised as irreconcilable differences between cultural values of some ethnic groups and the values of Western-host society. Academics and practitioners in the field have taken the media to task and instead argued against simplistic understanding of honour related violence. In particular, feminists have argued for a greater cross-cultural understanding and have pointed towards the prevalence of gendered and sexualised violence in the white Swedish population but which is not approached /discussed in a cultural and essentialist manner (Mulinari, 2004, Apkinar, 2003). Feminists have also warned that the concept of 'cultural relativism', often used for explaining (and respecting) cultural differences, can "become a danger rather than an asset to feminist agendas (particularly when) cultures appear neatly, prediscursively, individuated from each other, in which the insistence of 'difference' that accompanies the 'production' of distinct 'cultures' appears unproblematic; and the central or constitutive components of a 'culture' are assumed to be 'unchanging givens'". This then re-enforces "essential differences" between Western cultures and Non-Western cultures (Narayan 2000:95).

In 2003, the researcher Masoud Kamali was commissioned by the Swedish State to examine issues of power, integration and State discrimination.[9] In the summer of 2005, the first part of Kamali's report was presented that suggested that the Swedish integration politics was based on an 'us' that will integrate and a 'them' that will be integrated. In the report Masoud Kamali also regards the media debate on 'honour killings' as an example of

---

5   Länsstyrelsen i Stockholm, *Rätten till sitt eget liv* (2002), "Förord".

6   Artikel av Göran Persson med anledning av årsdagen av mordet på Fadime Sahindal. *Aftonbladet* 2003.01.21.

7   Interview with Jens Orback, Former Minister for Democracy, Metropolitan Affairs, Integration and Gender Equality in the Ministry of Justice.

8   Interestingly, some Kurdish women argued that there was a 'cultural dimension to the honour killings' and viewed them as different from other kinds of violence. They pointed out the logic of 'honour culture' where male control over the females and their sexuality was of utmost importance. For a discussion on this issue see Mikael Kurkiala (2003).

9   "Ny utredning om diskriminering, integration och makt" Pressmeddelande 22 december 2003, Justitiedepartementet.

discrimination.[10] He also argues that it is "a myth that reveals profound prejudices, perhaps racism, to claim that a special honour culture exists."

Kamali's criticism is mainly based on the cultural connection commonly made when speaking of honour violence, while culture is never mentioned in connection with 'Swedish' men beating 'Swedish' women. In the anthology (2004) *The debate of honour murders— feminism or racism?* Kamali criticizes the debate in media after the death of Fadime Sahindal to be one-sided when culture is used as a model of explanation for the so-called honour murders. He comments: "The same line of reasoning should in the name of consequence be used to explain why people of Swedish origin commit crimes of paedophilia. It could then be argued that since most paedophiles in Sweden that have been reported or convicted are of Swedish origin, paedophilia is a part of Swedish culture." Such a statement in his opinion was just as groundless as all other statements that build on cultural essentialisms or suggest that the problem lies with a specific culture[11]. In *Dagens Nyheter* (050602) former minister, Jens Orback commenting on Kamali's view of *so called* honour violence suggests that honour violence is a part of a general patriarchal violence in society—"but to shut one's eyes on the different expressions of violence, is to also shut one's eyes on how to reach solutions".[12] However, anthropologists such as Mikael Kurkiala warn us that "acknowledging the cultural dimensions of human acts and motives, need not imply that all members of a community are pre-programmed to react in the same manner...(and) pointing to the culturally specific elements of honour killings need not mean belittling other forms of abuse against women, including those taking place in the West" (Kurkiala, 2003:7)[13].

In her thesis *Heder på liv och död* – Life-and-death honour (2003) – Åsa Eldén describes how when she started her research, she was met by scepticism and the view that the issue had little to do with 'us' (2003:6). The issue of "honour killings" in 1996-1997 was, according to Eldén, extremely sensitive and was pictured in the debate as something "we Swedes" would never be able to comprehend.[14] In subsequent essays, Eldén (2004:93) refers to the 'cultural context of honour' as a normative frame of interpretation in which the behaviour of the individual (woman) cannot be separated from the honour of the collective (of men). Alden argues that the women she has interviewed in her research have contrasted the 'Swedish' to the 'Arab/Kurdish' construct and loaded one contrast positively and the other negatively. The former signifies gender equality and the other oppression against women. Also, women in their narratives, according to Eldén, 'oscillate' in their stories. For example, "Arab/Kurdish may be filled with a content where the collective takes precedence over the individual, while at the same time its loading may alternate between positive (safety, community, love) and negative (limitations, constraint, subjection)" (2004:95). Eldén argues for a "analytical perspective that connects culture, violence and gender", to comprehend honour violence (Eldén, 2004;96).

In Sweden, some cities have reported incidents of honour violence such as Eskilstuna, Uppsala, Umeå. In 2005, a 20-year-old man was found stabbed to death in an apartment in

---

10 De los Reyes & Masoud Kamali (2005) Bortom vi och dom – Teoretiska reflektioner om makt, integration och strukturell diskriminering, s 55 f.

11 Kamali, Masoud "Media, experter och rasism" i *Debatten om hedersmord – feminism eller rasism* 2004, s 23.

12 "Även Orback ser brister i integrationspolitiken" *Dagens Nyheter* 050602.

13 Kurkiala 92003) points out that the number of women killing in honour killings is small compared with the number of women killed by ethnically Swedish males; Similarly a report, National Council For Crime Prevention (BRÅ) by Lotta Nilsson (2002), points out that in research conducted in four counties in Sweden: Stockholm, Gotland, Dalarna and Östergötland, one percent of working women were exposed to violence within intimate relationships in one given year, BRÅ-report 2002:14.

14 Nationellt råd för kvinnofrids seminarium den 8 maj 2001. "Våld mot kvinnor med invandrarbakgrund – vad vet du?"

Hågsby, Småland. A 17year old boy claimed to have committed the murder, but his whole family, a mother, father and a 16 year old daughter were detained in custody. The murdered man had a relationship with the girl in the family. They are all from Afghanistan seeking asylum in Sweden. The murder has been discussed as a honour related murder in Swedish media[15].. It has been speculated that the daughter could also be threatened, since it is a widespread practice in Afghanistan and Pakistan that both parts in a 'forbidden' sexual relationship must be killed to re-establish the honour.[16]

The difficulties associated with culturalist-essentialist explanations for honour violence and the inherent danger of vilifying specific ethnic groups has also influenced the debates in the United Kingdom amongst practitioners, policy makers and academics. In 1998, Rukhsana Naz from Derby, was killed by her mother and brother.[17] She was strangled by her brother "while her mother held her feet". The mother and the brother were imprisoned for life at Nottingham Crown Court in 1999. On October 12, 2002, Abdalla Yones murdered his 16-year-old daughter Heshu because he "feared that she was becoming Westernised". The case of Heshu Yones attracted considerable media attention and wide coverage was provided by broadsheet and tabloid press in U.K (Daily Mail 2003, The Sun, 2003). The media forwarded a problematic understanding of the killing (similar to statements made after the murder of Fadime Sahindal in Sweden) as a feature specific to the 'other' ethnic minorities in Britain, evident in phrases such as a 'clash of cultures', 'fanaticism in other faiths', and 'barbarism' (The Mirror 2003). The U.K. judge, Neil Denison, QC, in Yones murder trial stated: "In my view the case was a tragic story of irreconcilable *cultural differences* (my own emphasis) between traditional Kurdish values and the values of Western society" (The Observer November 21 2004). Such statements, made by the U.K. judge, have in the past, influenced the judiciary and the police to proceed cautiously on 'murders' where cultural practices are involved. However, Metropolitan police commander, Andy Baker, commented that 'murder is a murder' and often, in the matter of honour killings, multiculturalism too often became an excuse for 'moral blindness'.

Media debates on honour violence in the U.K, also re-enforced dialogues between governmental and non-governmental debates on how best to define the issue without essentialising or being 'culturally bound' in their analysis. I identify three main approaches: The first approach analyses the practice as a form of domestic violence. As Teertha Gupta and Ann-Marie Hutchinson, Barristers at Renaissance Chambers[18] point out.[19]

> Genital mutilation, honour murders, facial tattooing and acid baths and scaldings: these are different international guises of the kinds of domestic violence that have been visited mostly by men upon women for time immemorial

There are advantages of understanding honour killings within a framework of domestic violence since it enables one to move beyond culturally essentialist explanations or an over-focus on practices within 'foreign cultures'. Rahila Gupta (2003:3) from Southall Black Sisters states that "honour killing, like forced marriage or dowry abuse needs to be integrated into the mainstream fight against domestic violence…singling out honour killings risks

---

15 http://svt.se/svt/jsp/Crosslink.jsp?d=28854&a=490934&lid=puff_490999&lpos=rubrik
16 This system is referred to as karo Kari.
17 She had been married in Pakistan at the age of 15. She had returned to England, leaving her husband behind in Pakistan. Soon she became pregnant by the boyfriend that she had met at school.
18 Renaissance Chambers, the Chambers of Henry Setright QC and Brian Jubb, is a leading family law set including a leading team of immigration practitioners.
19 Teertha Gupta and Ann Marie-Hutchinson (2005), Honour Based Crimes and Murders, *Law Society*, Working Paper, p.8. Teertha and Ann Marie specilaise in child law, international child abduction and the repatriation and protection of children and adults from domestic violence within the context of forced marriages.

promoting a racist agenda rather than gender equality". However, Diana Nammi from the Iranian and Kurdish Women's Rights Organisation (IKWRO) believes that to consider honour killings under the umbrella of Domestic Violence is wrong because "honour killing is a deliberate act, a planned killing and the perpetrator is actively looking to kill".[20] Though some of these links are tenuous, it has been observed that often domestic violence and oppression precedes any serious attempt of honour killing.

The second approach is to look at honour violence through the issue of forced marriages. Vinay Talwar at the Forced Marriages Unit, which works between the Home Office (HO) and Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) comments that, "the forced marriages have an element of honour in them…honour is used to justify violence and the burden of honour is placed on women". The third approach argues for adopting an integrated approach and understanding honour crimes as part of Violence Against Women, since acts committed in the name of honour are not that different from other acts of violence against women (Kelly and Lovett 2005).[21] As Liz Keeler (2001) points out that "if we limit our focus, we will not be able to develop an overall accurate understanding of violence against women, but will contribute to the invisibility of one or more aspects of it" (Keeler 2001:7). At the same time feminists have alerted us that viewing all acts of violence against women in Black, Minority and Ethnic (BME) communities as 'honour' related is also a form of discrimination and racism. So for example, an act of violence that takes place in a White community could be seen as an act of Domestic Violence but a similar act in a BME community, is identified as Honour Violence.[22] In other words, though culture and religion are used to justify honour related crimes, it would be incorrect to suggest that HRV is a cultural practice of any specific community. In fact, feminists who have taken issue with multicultural policies argue that either the 'multicultural' state adheres to non-interference with issues related to minority communities. Or when the state intervenes, it works through tainted lens and can advocate 'preventative strategies' that are specially tailored for BME communities and different from strategies proposed for the White communities. This essentialises and constructs BME communities as different and re-inforces power relations between men and women of different ethnicities. However, Abu-Odeh (1997) suggests that if even we adopt VAW integrated approach, it will be difficult to resolve the tensions between honour violence and crimes of passion. For example, Abu-Odeh argues that a crime of passion can only involve an individual and could be related to issues of sexual jealousy. On the other hand, honour crimes involve the rationale of collective injury or insult to collective honour – so rather than involving individuals, they involve the family and in some cases the community.

Though these different perspectives on defining and analysing honour violence are enriching, it can become difficult for various governmental and non-governmental actors in the field to formulate consistent guidelines for both identifying and preventing further violence. Also, like in Sweden, there are no available statistics on honour killings in U.K and as Nasir Afzal from Crown Prosecution Service says "we never monitored it before and U.K. is coming in late on this issue and has to learn a lot". Some suggest that there are approximately 12 murders a year that are honour-related but this figure relates to 2003/2004 [23]. However, "these do not include crimes that fall short of a murder- such as forceful abductions, forced marriages, forced imprisonment'. The national newspaper, The Guardian,

---

20   Personal Interview with Diana Nammi.
21   It has been pointed out that in the United Kingdom, the term violence against women has in the past decade come to represent mainly domestic violence. It was important , according to Marianne Hester (2007) to create change, it was important for women's groups to focus on domestic violence as a 'single issue, even if DV is not separate from and indeed overlaps with, other violences against women (2007:1433).
22   Hannana Siddiqui, Southall Black Sisters.
23   R. Cowan (2004) Death Threat Couple Still Running- 11years on, Guardian, June 28.

reported that in U.K. 117 'murders' were being investigated as 'honour killings by the MET police".[24]

Moving On

Though debates in U.K. and Sweden may not have been able to resolve the myriad tensions within analyses on violence, nonetheless, they have placed the subject of honour violence at the centre of national concerns. However, this paper argues that its important to move beyond the web of language and definitions and analyse the political and social complexity of violence in both the countries, including the positionality of different actors who are caught within the cycles of violence. Paradoxically, while the role of the 'collective'[25] is identified as an important characteristic of honour violence, the role of all genders and generations, which constitute a 'collective', is largely ignored.

We need to move beyond statements such as 'HRV is a problem created by men' and explore the complexity of this deeply entrenched social issue. This entails looking at the various subject positions that men can occupy in relation to HRV: as perpetrators, as victims, as 'silent witnesses' and as combatants.[26] I will argue that men are culpable in honour violence and also vulnerable from that violence. The empirical data,[27] on which this paper is based, suggests that men can be *victims* of HRV in five ways.[28] **first**, based on their sexual orientation,[29] **second**, in relation to economic issues, such as if caught in theft or other economic violations, **third,** by being associated with the woman victim and **fourth,** men can be victims of gender patriarchal norms which disciplines younger members of the family, irrespective of their gender. They are often coerced to kill their own sisters and many men commit crimes under fear or threat of violence. They often do not dare to say 'no', due to cultural pressure, even when they feel that things are not right. Men themselves are forced to marry their cousins or girls 'they don't love'. **Finally**, younger male members of the family are at times expected to 'own' the honour killing, thus protecting the 'real' perpetrator, such as the father or the mother.[30] The above ideas are indicative of what Kaufman (2004) calls "the contradictory experience of power" for men. Kaufman argues that there may be a dissonance between the power that society bestows on men and the actual lived experiences of powerlessness. Normative understandings of femininity project women as being in need of protection from men by other men. This, while reiterating the essentialised vulnerability of women, misrepresents the lived gendered male experiences of powerlessness.

Women who are symbolic bearers and transmitters of 'culture' to the next generation can also play an important role in condoning honour violence. Working within the parameters of patriarchal norms, they are often complicit in these killings, by either remaining silent, by supporting/abetting in the killing, acting as informers or by perpetuating the same norms as

---

24 'Death Before Dishonour', *Guardian Unlimited*, 2004.

25 'Collective' is understood as both 'family collective' and 'community collective', where the dynamics of one is shaped by the other.

26 By being silent witnesses, men can benefit from the patriarchal system as well. This brings into sharper focus how the 'collective' works in sustaining HRV practices, thus distinguishing it from specific forms of spousal domestic violence.

27 Based on research project completed for Integrationsverket in 2006 (Integration Board), Sweden called State policy, strategies and implementation in combating patriarchal and 'honour-related' violence in U.K., Sweden and Turkey.

28 V.Sundaram and Stevi Jackson (2006), point out that men's violence is a 'gendered phenomenon whether its victims are men or women; (2006:4).

29 Also see the Government factsheet, 'Government Inisiatives to Help Young People at Risk of Violence in the Name of Honour, *Regeringskansliet*, Ministry of Justice, november 2004.

30 Unni Wikan (2005) points out that in societies where the murderer is given a reduced sentence if he is under age, it happens that the family gives a younger brother the task of carrying out the killing. 'The honour Culture' accessed at http://www.axess.se/english/2005/01/theme_wikan.php.

they encountered as young girls. But women in most instances have to shoulder the responsibility for their own death, implicit in statements such as 'she brought dishonour and shame to the family'. Thus, paradoxically, honour is something that is often associated with women only.

Why involve men?

The greatest hesitation among organisations, academics and activists in Europe has been to involve men in combating violence even though the media has increasingly debated the issue of HRV and the initiatives that are (or need to be) in place for combating violence.[31] In a programme, 'Women's Hour' on BBC Radio 4, there was a discussion on 'honour killings' by Hanana Siddiqui (Southall Black Sisters) and Nasir Afzal (Crown Prosecution Service). Also, an example of combating HRV was drawn from the work of Fatima Shaheen, a Member of Parliament who heads a new parliamentary committee on combating HRV in Turkey. Her new approach is to have a more 'pragmatic' approach and to stress the fact that "honour killings" can "tear a whole family apart, putting the men in jail and children in the jail". She has been visiting prisons and talking to men about their honour killings, emphasising that "its not a man vs. woman conflict". She says that "you have to get the message across that this is a family's problem, a society's problem". The programme did not take the latter issue further but it is still significant that some individuals, in government positions, do realise the significance of opening a dialogue with male perpetrators of violence. There is a need to focus on the needs of the 'victims' of violence, but without taking the responsibility away from men. As Jeff Hearn (1998) argues that "if men are to take feminism seriously, as within a pro-feminist perspective, then one of the most urgent tasks is for men to change men, ourselves and other men" (Hearn 1998:2; also see Connell 2003). It is also important that in order to engage men as agents in combating violence, we need to know more on their attitudes towards this social issue. Also, I would argue that to view HRV solely as a women's issue or to focus on women only, is not a sustainable solution. If we are combating, what we recognise as gender-based violence, then men should have a political responsibility to combat violence as well. Moreover, an over-emphasis on men, as perpetrators, could lead to men being projected as always a part of the problem rather than as part of the solution (own emphasis). Similarly, the former Swedish minister, Lise Berg, argues that men should be as much involved in the work of gender-equality as women (Berg 2004:198).

While state institutions in U.K. lead on research on men as perpetrators of violence, they are hesitant to engage men in combating honour violence (HRV). They are also sceptical of the idea that men can occupy positions of vulnerability in everyday life. The dominant opinion among practitioners in U.K. is that men can be victims of honour violence though it may not happen on the same scale as it does for women. Thus men and women face honour violence differently. As Saba Johri from *Imkaan* states,[32] "men also come under pressure for upholding honour and respectability but not to the same degree that women are expected to uphold. Women experience penalties for transgression that may not be imposed on men". Similarly, the Southall Black Sisters argue that there are also differences between men and women 'victims' of honour. First, men tend to have greater power within the community and tend to be able to escape some pressures. Second, when men transgress, the family is quicker

---

31 There have been initiatives to involve men such as the White Ribbon Campaign. This campaign was initiated in Canada in 1991 and marks a commitment by men never to commit, condone or remain silent about violence against women. The campaign encourgaes men to do educational work in schools, workplaces and communities and also to support local women's groups.(www.whiteribbon.ca).

32 Imkaan is a national policy training and research initiative in the U.K., dedicated to providing support and advocacy to the specialist refuge sector, supporting Asian woman and children experiencing violence. Imkaan has raised awareness and build capacity of individuals.

to forgive them and third men also have more economic freedom than women, and can take decisions to leave their family more easily than women, if things start going wrong. Nasir Afzal from Crown Prosecution Service suggests, that "even when the male was a victim of honour violence, the motivation for the attack was the woman…but the bulk of cases would involve women". Ian Lewis from Renaissance Chambers argues that in the context of HRV:

> There are male victims …that is., the males who are associated with the female who is the primary victim…so far example in an adulterous relationship…or an elopement…the male victim would not be the immediate family member but the man outside the family, the outsider who is threatening the honour of the family by associating with the woman victim…

In a recent trial in the U.K., Arash Ghorbani-Zarin, 19 years, was found stabbed 46 times in a car in Rosehill, Oxford. The Iranian Muslim had a relationship with the sister (Miss Begum) of his killers, Mohammad Rahman, 19 years, and Mamnoor Rahman, 16 years (brothers to each other). They were allegedly ordered to kill Mr. Ghorbani-Zarin, due to the "shame and dishonour" brought to the family by his relationship with Manna Begum whose father had planned for her to have an arranged marriage. In summing up the trial, Mr. Justice Gross said that the "Western-style relationship" caused a "battle of wills" in Miss Begum's family, as she resisted pressure to conform (BBC News, 4th Nov, 2005). Though the judge draws on the differences in culture and lifestyle by referring to 'western style' relationships as enabling individuals to have more sexual freedom, what is significant is that the case highlights the importance of viewing men as both perpetrators and victims of social systems.

In U.K., unlike in Sweden, there is no organised involvement of men in combating violence. Nasir Afzal from the Crown Prosecution Service states that in the United Kingdom, there are male dominated organisations such as The Muslim Parliament and The Council of Sikh Temples who have spoken out eloquently on the subject of HRV, but they are very different from the men's groups in Sweden. These organisations have argued that religious faith cannot be used for committing violence.

> There are very few males who stand up on the stage that condemn the issue of HRV. So I don't think that as yet, that we will find large numbers of men will come out and speak on the subject. It will happen with time. But there is a desperate need in U.K. to have male-role models but these role models should come from the community themselves and not have individuals, such as me, from government authority who imposes their ideas on them. Also men who have a personal reason (being victims themselves) for getting involved…one example being that the man has his sister murdered in the family she married………men should have a personal willingness.[33]

However, it has been articulated by practitioners working in the field of violence that community leaders in U.K., mostly male, can be extremely patronising to women who are working on HRV. Also, as Nasir Afzal points out, community leaders respond better to government officials who work on different subjects, including honour violence rather than just HRV and "it is easier sometimes for men to work on this issue because they do not have the same obstacles put in their way as women activists experience".[33]

There are a few cohorts and initiatives such as *U.K. Men's Movement* and *Sure Start*[34] that reiterate essentialist – culturalist ideas about HRV; that honour violence is a feature of *other* countries and not U.K. and second that ethnic groups can only talk about it since they are most exposed to it in *their culture*. For example, statements such as "I understand honour-

---

33 CPS, Nasir Afzal.

34 Sure Start is partly funded by Social Services.

killings as related to Indian notions of honour" or that "I feel hesitation to talk about violence with *Asian* men".[35] One of the respondents also said that "I am not sure what HRV means but there are two women in the office of *South Asian* extraction – you can speak to them".

The Sharaf Heros Project

Sweden is one of the only European countries that has some programmes in place for involving men to combat violence. One that is frequently mentioned is the so-called The Pite-rebellion (Pite-upproret).[36] This male network for the protection of women against violence was created after a woman in Piteå was beaten to death by a man close to her, in the autumn of 2004. The Pite-rebellion received a lot of attention in the media and a number of male-networks were created around Sweden to combat violence. These networks are, however, not specific for combating honour violence.[37]

The organizing of men against violence has also been getting attention at Government level. In the spring of 2005, the former Swedish minister, Jens Orback, called for a joint meeting of various men's organizations, to build a common platform and sustainable commitment from men[38] In the press release, Orback is quoted:

> In order to find solutions, men must learn to see how they are themselves part of the problem. If they don't see the superiority and subordination they are a part of and don't commit themselves to break down structures, these structures will remain.[39]

In an article in Swedish daily newspaper, Dagens Nyheter, Orback called the meeting "one of his most interesting as a minister."[40] What is implicit in Orback's arguments is that power inequalities in social structures, together with varying levels of oppression, constitute a more threatening form of structural violence and we should combat both direct violence (direct physical assaults and killings), and structural violence. Otherwise as Johan Galtung (1969) argues, "… otherwise (we may) be catching the small fry and letting the big fish loose" (Galtung 1969:172).

In a personal interview, Jens Orback stated:

> Men have to take responsibility…either they are part of it or they have to struggle against it…men cannot remain neutral. If men are the core that we have to tackle with…then they have to be involved. Some might argue that men may not change but my social democratic, humanistic upbringing suggests that everybody can change.

Jens Orback mentions separate but interconnected levels of activities that may have different objectives but they all work towards combating violence. He mentions the national organisation called 'Mens Network'(Manliga nätverket), which serves as an 'infrastructure' for other organisations which are coming up in other parts of Sweden, (such as Piteå, Malmö, Lund, Västervik) to combat men's violence against women. According to Jens Orback, some men have voluntarily come together because they 'have had enough'. The second set of related work is with individuals like doctors, psychiatrists who are working with men 'who are loosing their control'. Finally, there are specific groups called Sharaf Heroes whose work is concentrated on honour violence.

---

35 Interviews with Alex Smith and George Dermot.
36 http://www.piteupproret.se.
37 For example in Norberg, there is a network 'Manligt nätverk for Kvinnofrid'
38 Ny plattforn för män mot kvinnovåld, *Dagens nyheter*, 20050318
39 Inbjudan till presskonferens – Män om mäns våld mot kvinnor, Pressmeddelande 17 mars, 2005
40 Ny plattforn för män mot kvinnovåld, *Dagens Nyheter* 050318

I will now engage with the ideas of the Sharaf Heroes (Sharaf hjältar) project in Sweden[41] that strongly believes that men are agents and victims of violence but also believe that no FIGHT AGAINST VIOLENCE is complete without engaging men. The Sharaf Heroes refer to 'honour related life', because they see it as a continuum of violence- where besides physical violence, different forms of oppressive behaviour can co-exist. As Ahmet states:

> First of all, I do not want to call it honour violence; I want it to be called honour related life, or honour related oppression. - - - When talking of the violence, maybe only the active part is considered. To me a girl who doesn't chose her own boyfriend – that is a life, and that is oppression.

The Sharaf Heroes cannot be regarded as a men's organization but rather a men's project that works preventively for changing attitudes towards honour violence. It is organized on a 'voluntary' basis and the initiative actually comes from an established group, Elektra (which works to prevent honour violence and to help youths that are exposed to violence) at Fryshuset in Stockholm.[42] Sharaf Heroes (SH) received money from the county administrative board of Stockholm. The first group was created in 2003 by the initiator Arhe Hamednaca.[43] Arhe Hamednaca states that he has been trying to work against different kinds of oppression and is committed to the issue of honour violence.[44] Arhe Hamednaca along with Ahmet Benhur Turkoglu aim to have young men and boys as role models; to work preventively; to create more Sharaf Heroes; to continue the dialogue on HRV and to change attitudes against HRV.[45] The goal is to create a Sharaf Heroes (SH) group at the municipal and local levels and later one in every school. One of the advantages of establishing a SH group at school level is that first; school is a pivotal place of change of attitudes and understandings on honour violence. Second, it creates young people as role models that understand and can communicate with each other and often share the same vocabulary. Third, it creates a gendered dialogue within the school on the subject of violence.[46] Kaufman (1998) argues that, children are often socialised into expectations of behaviour by our society at a young age'(Kaufman 1998). Thus we need to start early (my emphasis) in combating violence.

Ahmet states:

> I now have a group with the right values. They have influenced their surroundings. Even the family. It has not changed completely, but it won't hinder [the boys]. It gives them the space they need. The families are influenced and treat their children differently. And that is because of one [individual] in the family. And they can do a lot more. They influence segregated immigrant-dominated areas; they influence that area! They change the attitudes of their friends. They act when they see a girl treated wrongly. So they really can

---

41   Most of the interview material is derived from conversations with the initiator and project leader Arhe Hamednaca and Ahmet Benhur Turkoglu.

42   http://www.elektra.nu.

43   New groups have been started in Södertälje and Sollentuna. Interestingly, when Arhe first approached Fryshuset with his idea of working with young boys, he was advised to get in touch with immigrant organisations. However, Arhe feels that immigrant organisations are 'based on ethnicity and culture' and their focus is often on preservation of one's culture. Arhe comments that the immigrant organisations keep claiming that 'they don't want to be Swedish…they don't want to be assimilated'. Sharaf Heroes are critical of the 'immigrant' mentalities but paradoxically they also forge their 'immigrant' identity in accessing public forums.

44   He also fought as a guerrilla soldier in Eritrea for many years, before coming to Sweden.

45   www.elektra.nu/db/artiklar/sharaf.htm. The project is aimed at young boys (seventeen years onwards), who live within an "honour culture".

46   At times the class room environment can become tense but it has to do with the ways the school teachers have prepared the class and partly dependent on the nature of the discussions.

influence. We have changed some of them totally…some of them cheered when Fadime was killed. But now they fight for women's rights. So the change may happen.

Kickis Åhré Älgamo from Rikskriminalen, supporting this idea suggests that "you need to have 100% of the community to combat violence, not only 50%". Åhré Älgamo also believes that the government should take responsibility and implement the Sharaf Project in every school. She says that 'One Sharaf Hero project is a good start but it will not solve the problem in the whole country'. However, it has to be said that in the ongoing Sharaf Heroes work, few men and boys choose to voluntarily commit themselves against the oppression of women. Yuksel Said at Linnamottagningen comments on this:

> Men have not come out saying: 'We are against honour related thinking, we are against discrimination and oppression of women, and we will create a voluntary organization like Kvinnors nätverk and have this platform'—It is because it mainly concerns the woman. It does not concern [the men] directly. That's why you don't see many organize voluntarily—And at the same time it takes a lot of courage, because maybe you will be questioned a lot. 'We were called whores'. I miss men that will say: 'You may call us without honour, whore customers or I don't know what… anything, but we believe in ourselves and well'… We think that it should be changed'.

The above concerns of Yuksel Said (and supporting the earlier comments by Jens Orback) suggest that it is necessary, though difficult, to challenge the embedded patriarchal attitudes where men think that violence is something that affects women only and thus only women should organise against it or are nervous that if they do participate, then their identity and sexuality as 'real men' will be questioned. Ahmet supports this and comments:

> … most of them think it is strange when I say that I work at a feminist organization, and that I am a feminist. Then the first thought is: Is he a fag? Is something wrong with him?

Alan Berkowitz (2004) reiterates that men who work to end violence against women are challenging the dominant culture and the understandings of masculinity that maintain it. "Thus male activists are often met with suspicion, homophobia and other questions about their masculinity" (2004:4). The other side to the coin is that if only women 'own' violence, then they encounter the risk of isolating themselves in a struggle that can be enriched through men's involvement.

Changing attitudes of young men leans towards the analysis of Crooks et al (2007), who working within a pro-feminist framework identify three ways that men can engage in anti-violence initiatives: through treatment programmes for batterers, which are integrated into a responsive criminal justice system, men playing an active role in addressing violence against women in their professional and personal lives and thirdly men who are not violent in their relationships but who have not yet made a personal commitment to be part of the solution for ending violence against women (Crooks 2003:218). It is the third group of Crook's study that bears similarities towards the Sharaf Heroes project.

Supporting the expanded definition in the 2004 Swedish government fact sheet[47] that identifies men as perpetrators and victims of violence, Arhe Hamednaca of the Sharaf Heroes project illustrates the ways in which men *can be victims* of honour-based violence.

---

47 *Government Initiatives to help young people at risk of violence in the name of honour*(Fact Sheet, Nov 2004). The fact sheet states that "...attention must also be paid to the situation of boys and to young people who are threatened because of their sexual orientation".

> The boys are the extended arms of the dads. The dads just call and say: 'Mohammed, where is the girl, have you seen her?' That is a problem. If we work with boys, it means that we change the boys so that they dare to say no. The other reason also being that the boys themselves, most of them, in fact, want to lead a modern life. The new generation, not all of them think in this way, but they have to, they are afraid. The pressure, the cultural pressure is huge on them. They need somebody to give them support, then maybe it would be possible to distance themselves from this. The third thing: they are also victims in some way. They are forced to marry cousins or girls they don't love. There are arranged marriages. In another way he is also a victim, even if he isn't killed, right? The worst thing that could happen to a boy, when a sister commits a crime according to their norms, is that the entire family sits down and decides that it is his task to kill the girl. He is forced to do it. And I think that most of them do it against their own will. And then is the case that there is nothing worse than killing your sister, to be forced to do this. What a hell of a life to live all your life. When you analyse all that, the boys are victims too. The grade of victimhood may not be the same as the girls', but they are victims too. And then I think it is worth it to work with boys, but the most important part is two things: the boys of today are the future husbands of these girls *and* the future dads.[48]

What comes clearly through in this quote is that men are often coerced to kill their own sisters and many men commit crimes under fear or threat of violence. Often the family makes this decision collectively. However, while identifying the vulnerability of boys as victims of honour violence, the Sharaf Heroes are aware of gendered differences, that is, while women's bodies and sexuality is 'totally' controlled, men can have more freedom and control over their lives.

Both Arhe and Ahmet suggest that their positionality as immigrant men has facilitated their interaction and dissemination of their ideas among their audiences. They have been able to approach youth in "suburbs, ghettoes such as Norsborg, Hallunda, youth recreation centres". They suggest that:

> A Swede would not do that. Imagine a Swede talking about these things at a youth recreation centre with immigrants. The first thing he will encounter is: What the hell do you know about that? You are a Swede! What do you know about it?

On the other hand, they have received mixed responses from the public. They have been threatened and many social groups have viewed their efforts as "working against culture and religion". They have encountered statements such as: "You are a traitor; you betray your own people; you betray the culture you grew up in." More pertinently women have spoken against their efforts and defended their religion and culture. This is interesting and challenges the often media informed discourses on HRV that women need to be protected and rescued from the 'barbaric', fanatic' men.

During the autumn of 2005, the Sharaf Heroes group in Södertälje were forced to take a temporary break in their work, because the project leader was threatened to death. "Our women should not play sex as Swedish women" was the message in the letter to the project leader. Eduardo Grutzky, (responsible of social projects at Fryshuset) comments, in an article that, "when you try to question the power relationship between men and women you get opposed".[49]

Finally, Sharaf Heroes also discuss issues associated with racism and discrimination and Ahre Hamednaca suggests that he wants the boys/young men to reflect on what racism could mean. Ahre emphasises that it is not so much the hostility but the fear of the 'unknown' or in many circumstances, ignorance of the other, that could be interpreted as racism. As he stated:

---

48 Interview with Ahre Hamednaca.
49 *Sharaf hjältar mordhotade*, Arbetaren Nr 45, 2005

> Fear exists in all societies. You don't feel safe if you don't know me. And then that fear may be sometimes interpreted as racism.

Sharaf Heroes have received international attention for their work. Scotland Yard has invited them by to the U.K, but they generate mixed reactions among individuals from both Statutory and Voluntary organisations in U.K. For example, some individuals working in organisations such as Imkaan see Sharaf Heroes as 'vigilantes' and though organisations see the contribution of men as important, they emphasise two points: first that "men's engagement should not be at the cost of women's involvement". Second, men's engagement highlights the issue of representation, – "who speaks on behalf of whom",[50] a subject, which over the last two decades has been debated between 'western' and 'third world' as well as amongst privileged feminists within third world countries.

Engagements/Disengagements: Afterthoughts on the Sharaf Heroes

The Sharaf Heroes project has raised important ideas on the subject of honour violence. Some distinguishing features of their work can be identified as follows – **first,** they have broadened the definition of HRV from physical acts of violence to include everyday forms of oppression as a form of violence. This is important because coercion, threats and undermining an individual's dignity and integrity constitute forms of symbolic and structural violence. **Second**, they challenge the idea of an umbrella term such as 'patriarchal violence'. In a personal interview, Jens Orback stated that HRV "is a form of patriarchal violence…patriarchal violence has to be seen as part of the overall male violence that occurs all over the world". However, Arhe suggests, "it is not the same thing," Arhe emphasises the difference between the 'individual' and the 'collective':

> But the difference is that when Kalle kills Kerstin it is individual. He does it himself; he's a lone maniac. Either he has had too much beer to drink, or he is jealous, or it may be anything. He isn't assigned the task by the family. But honour related violence and life is… It is a collective… It is the entire family that sits down and decides that I should do it [kill the girl/woman] against my will to save the family honour. In addition to that, I'm a hero after I've done it, the family hero. But Kalle is not a hero. He is a disgrace. That is the difference.

Ahre Hamednaca also suggests that there are a lot of "girls of foreign origin" who do not have the right to decide over their own lives. These girls may not always be exposed to violence, but they could be controlled and monitored in other ways. However, it's only when a girl resists that it erupts in violence and then become more public and visible to the society. He claims that it is wrong to mix up "honour related life" with the structural patriarchal oppression that he claims affects women of Swedish ethnicity[51].

> The difference – the Swedish woman of today – she has the basics, she can live her life as a human being. She can choose her future…whether to get an education, whether to leave home, whether to get a husband, children… …But the other part: the woman living under

---

50   Nalini Sinha is a member of *Imkaan* and Forced Marriages Unit.

51   Ahre also draws a distinction between patriarchy in Sweden and patriarchy in 'home countries'. In countries without a strong democratic government, human rights are not honoured. Often small communities make their own rules – to defend themselves and HRV is a feature in these societies. However, in Sweden, Ahre claims, patriarchy works differently. It is an 'individual' society, you can stand on your own and society gives you support. I think that while these observations are useful, we cannot contextualise all experiences of HRV through these lens. For example what explains HRV in India- a long standing democracy.

honour related life. She has no chance. She is oppressed from the start. Somebody owns her. She does not own her body. That is the difference.

Third, the Sharaf Heroes are critical about the use of the word, 'culture' or the way in which honour related violence has been explained as a 'clash of cultures'. Ahre Hamednaca would rather like to understand the problem as a 'clash with human rights'. He suggests that instead of demanding people to adhere to human rights, we try to excuse them by saying that it is difficult for them, because they are in a clash between their 'origin' culture and the 'Swedish' culture. Ahre Hamednaca is also critical of the projected view that the problem is of being "between two cultures".[52]

> And that is why I think sometimes when politicians, and everybody…say "culture clash". That is wrong. I don't think that my culture clashes with your culture. When I speak of the rights of children and the rights of women, that is not Swedish culture to me. That is universal rights, you see?

However, the issue of human rights is difficult to disentangle because the human rights discourse is a huge canvas of rights and legislations, which is not always easy to understand. But more importantly the question that should be asked is if people are aware of these rights? Associated with this is the idea that we cannot make judgements on individual's ideas of freedom, if they do not conform to our notions, since individuals and social groups can understand 'oppression' differently. Assigning the category 'oppressed' to individuals who perceive their social reality differently can be disempowering as well. Ahmet talks about an exchange with a girl in Rosengård in Malmö who did not want to be perceived as oppressed and opposed the ideas of the Sharaf Heroes:

> **Girl**- Here I come, fighting for the rights of woman and then I get attacked by a girl. I just could not understand why it happened: but as soon as I started to talk to her I understand that they are so oppressed -they don't understand that they are oppressed. She sees it plainly as the way it should be. That it is right. So, she says to me: I'm getting married soon.
>
> **Ahmet** 'Oh yeah, that's good! Have you been going out for long?'
>
> **Girl-**'No.'
>
> **Ahmet-** 'But then how are you going to get married?'
>
> **Girl-**'Well, dad showed me three guys and I got to choose which one to marry!'
>
> **Ahmet-**That is her freedom. – To choose one out of three. That's her interpretation of freedom. That just gives a quick picture of how they live.

Though the above quote raises interesting ideas, I think the discussion is problematic, because one cannot impose ideas of freedom and equality on individuals whom we perceive as 'victims'. The meaning of 'freedom' and 'equality' is subjective and time contingent. According to Ahmet many of the young girls and boys he meets do not associate positive qualities with being 'Swedish'.

---

52 Interestingly, a psychotherapist from 'Save the Children, Sweden, Rädda Barnen' suggests that they have deliberately chosen not to use the phrase honour related violence and instaed use the phrase: 'är du flicka, lever i två kulturer och behöver prata om det?.'Are you a girl, living in two cultures and want to talk about it'. The psychotherapist believes thatgirls and boys dont want to be placed under a category or label of honour violence. For example, she explains, a young girl feels that her parents do not allow her to do things that she wants to do, but she may not conceptualise it in terms of honour violence.

> You don't defend yourself but you defend your family. Because you are brought up to defend the family. The family is the most important thing, more important than society, in their opinion. That is why. And the first argument you hear when talking to boys is: 'But what do you mean? Should I make my sister a whore? Let her out to fuck whoever she wants? Is that what they're after? If it is a girl, it is the same. 'What, are we bad because we don't behave like Swedish girls?'

Several ideas are entangled in the above quote. First, I don't think its problematic, as Ahmet thinks, that his respondents defend their families. Making judgements or adopting an oppositional discourse on 'defend(se) of family' can be perceived as a 'cultural attack' by some immigrant groups. Also we need to bear in mind that familial networks are often the chief building blocks of social capital for immigrant communities. Secondly, there is a risk that if some affluent families move away from 'deprived' residential areas, they leave behind a section of Swedish population who could be in a less advantageous position (for ex, less affluent or experiencing problems associated with marginalisation). The latter, then are seen, as representative of 'Swedishness' and this could explain the heightened insecurity of specific immigrant cummunities. Thirdly, it is understandable that given this social context, if an 'immigrant' girl has a 'Swedish' friend, she might risk getting a bad reputation, and may generate problems in her immediate family and wider immigrant community. As Ahmet affirms:

> So in these areas there is a rumour that if these immigrant girls have Swedish friends, then the girl gets a bad reputation. And she will find it difficult to get married in the future. So they didn't want their daughters to have anything to do with the Swedish girls, which is a pity.

Initiatives to involve men in combating violence are gaining considerable momentum and there will always be point of departures between the women's movement, with a long history of activism, and the burgeoning men's movement. However, identifying areas of engagement and developing dialogues, which are informed by the lived gendered realities, is the first step towards a concerted attempt at tackling violence against women.

References

Akpinar, Aylin (2003), 'The Honour/Shame Complex re-visited: Violence Against Women in the Migration Context' in *Women's Studies International Forum*, Vol.26, No.5, 425-442.

Berg, Lise (2004), 'Swedish Government Initiatives to Help Young people at Risk of Honour Related Violence' in *Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges'*, ed. By Shahrzad Mojab and Nahla Abdo, Istanbul Bilgi University Press.

Berkowitz, Alan. D. (2004), *Working with men to prevent violence against women: An overview*, VAWnet (National Resource Centre on Domestic Violence), http://www.alanberkowitz.com/articles/VAWNET.pdf.

Connell, R.W (2003, Oct-21-24) The role of men and boys in achieving gender equality'. From the Expert Group Meeting on 'The role of Men and Boys in Achieving Gender Equality (no.EGM/MEN-boys-GE/2003/bp.10.Brasilia, Brazil: United Nations Divison for the Advancement of Women.

Crooks Claire (et al), (2007), 'Engaging Men and Boys in Preventing Violence Against Women: Applying a Cognitive-Behavioral Model, *Violence Against Women*, Vol.13, No.3, pp.217-239.

De los Reyes, Paulina (2003) Patriarkala enklaver eller ingenmansland: våld, hot och kontroll av unga kvinnor i Sverige, Integrationsverket, Norrköping.

Eduards, Maud (1997) The Women´s shelter movement I: Gustafsson, G (red) Towards a new democratic order? : Women's organizing in Sweden in the 1990s Stockholm: Publica: Nordstedts.

Eldén, Åsa (2003) Heder på liv och död : våldsamma berättelser om rykten, oskuld och heder Sociologiska institutionen, Uppsala universitet.

Eldén, Åsa (2004), Life and Death Honour: Young Women's Violent Stories About Reputation, Virginity and Honour- in a Swedish Context', In Shahrzad Mojab and Nahla Abdo (eds). *Violence in the Name of Honour: Theoretical and Political Challenges*, Istanbul University Press.

Galtung, Johan (1969), 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, Vo.6, No.3, 167-191.

Galtung Johan., 1996 *Peace by peaceful means. Peace and conflict, development and civilization*, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Sage Publications. See also Galtung, *Violence and its Causes*, Paris:UNESCO, 1981.

Gupta, Rahila (2003), 'A veil drawn over brutal crimes', http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1054858,00.html.

Hearn Jeff (1998), The Violences of Men: How Men Talk and How Agencies Respond to Men's Violence to Women, Sage: London.

Hester, Marianne, 2004, Future Trends and Developments: Violence against Women in Europe and East Asia, in *Violence Against Women*, vol.10, No.12, pp1431-1448.

Kaufman, M (2001), Building a movement of men working to end violence against women', *Development*, 44(3), 9-14.

Kaufman, M (1994), Cracking the Armour: Power, Pain and the lives of Men, Toronto, Canada:Penguin.

Keeler, Laura ed. (2001), *Recommendations of the E.U. expert meeting on violence against women* (Reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2000:13), Helsinki, Finland: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

Kamali, Masoud (2004) "Media, experter och rasismen" (red) Larsson, Stig & Englund, Cecilia *Debatten om hedersmord – Feminism eller rasism* Svartvitts förlag Expo, Stockholm.

Kurkiala Mikael (2003), 'Interpreting honour Killings: The story of Fadime Sahindal in the Swedish Press.(1975-2002), *Anthropology Today*, Vol.19, No.1.

Keeler, Laura (ed). (2001), *Recommendations of the E.U. expert meeting on violence against women* (Reports of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health, 2000:13), Helsinki, Finland: Ministry of Social Affairs and Health.

Mulinari, Diana (2004) 'Hon dog for hon ville bli svensk' in Larsson, Steig etal *Debatten om Hedersmord: Feminism eller racism*? Stockholm: Svartvitt, pp72-92.

Narayan, Uma (2000), 'Essence of Culture and a Sense of History: A Feminist Critique of Cultural Essentialism' in Uma Narayan and Sandra Harding (eds)'*Decentering the Centre: Philosophy for a Multicultural, Post-Colonial and Feminist World*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.

Odeh Abu-, (1997) 'Comparatively speaking: The 'Honour' of the East' and the Passion of the West, *Utah Law Review*, pp.287-307.

Schlytter, Astrid (2004) *Rätten att själv få välja* Lund: Studentlitteratur.

Sen, Amartya. (1999) 'Development as freedom', NY: Alfred A. Knopf, cited in *State of World Population Report 2000.*

Sundaram, V and Jackson, S (2006), 'Upholding the myth of masculinity: The Gnedered production of Violence Victims', in *Violence Victimisation as a gender specific process*: Phd thesis.

Wikan, Unni (2003) *En fråga om heder* Ordfront förlag.

The Everyday Seen Through a Camera Phone

Karin Wagner

Department of applied IT, IT University of Göteborg

karin.wagner@ituniv.se

What does the everyday look like? Some answers to this question can be found when looking at moblogs on the Internet, where anyone with a mobile phone camera can post their freshly taken pictures. Here we find photographs of meals, road repairs, toddlers, visits to the laundry room, holiday outings and new hairstyles in a proper mishmash. It would even be hard to imagine a motif that would fall outside the boundaries of the everyday. Questions that come to mind when watching these image databases are: Is the everyday necessarily something harmless? Are recurring events more everyday than unique ones? Does the everyday have to be presented in an everyday manner, or are extravagant photographs of the everyday conceivable? These questions are addressed with examples taken from various moblogs.

The Everyday Seen Through a Camera Phone

In 2006, the Göteborg Opera launched a campaign to sell season tickets. A leaflet was sent out to households in the area, urging people to leave the daily chores behind with this request: "Fight the everyday and go to the opera".[1] The exuberant typography of this text recalls the style of the 70s, and the background image shows a kitchen sink, half full with dishes. The same text was printed on a Wettex cloth (a dishcloth commonly used in Sweden) that came with the leaflet. The range of colours of the photograph is limited to grey and white and there is no dirt to be seen on the dishes, the atmosphere of the picture is sterile and chilly. The association of washing up to dirt is played down and the emphasis is put on the boredom of everyday life, represented by the sink, in contrast to the voluptuous life of the opera, represented by the colourful typography of the text. The kitchen sink seems to be the ultimate metaphor for everyday life, both in verbal and visual language. The "kitchen sink drama" is the very opposite to the heightened dramatic world of the opera and a picture of a sink is an unambiguous way to hint at the everyday on the cover of an advertising leaflet.

A kitchen sink is one, but far from the only, answer to the question what the everyday looks like, which is the main question of this paper. Quite a few more answers can be found when looking at moblogs on the Internet. These are sites where anyone with a mobile phone camera can post their freshly taken pictures, often taken on the fly, when going about their daily business. The first moblogs saw the light of day in 2004, when the camera started to be a common feature of mobile phones. I have been studying this phenomenon since 2006, within a project called "From celluloid to pixels: Network and ritual around e-cinema and mobile phone camera". The part of the project concerning e-cinema is conducted by ethnologist Magnus Mörck. The theoretical framework for the project is the actor-network theory of Bruno Latour. Visual analysis, participatory observation, surveys and interviews are among the methods used. I will explore different themes in the material, one such theme is the image of the everyday.

The moblog is not the first forum on the Internet for telling the world about one's everyday life. Personal homepages and online diaries have been established on the Internet for a long time. The blog has gained increasing popularity in recent years, with its emphasis on chronological order and frequent updates. Most blogs contain only text, but many combine text with images. Publishing photographs on the Web requires transferring them from a digital camera to a computer before uploading them. This procedure is bypassed in moblogging, where pictures can be sent from a mobile phone as soon as they are taken. The main characteristics of a moblog are this immediacy and the juxtaposition on one page of images from many different people. Most moblogs display the latest pictures as thumbnails on the start page, and when a visitor clicks on a thumbnail he proceeds to a page with at larger version of the image and possible comments, and from there he can explore the rest of the member's pictures.

The moblogs I have chosen to study are northern European sites like the Swedish mobilblogg.nu, the British moblog.co.uk, the Danish albinogorilla.dk and the Dutch moblog.nl. When you enter a site and consider becoming a member, there are often guidelines written by the moderators. This is an excerpt from the introduction of the Danish site:

> It is called moblogs, weblogs that can be updated from your mobile phone. This is not your grandmother's dusty photo album. It is engaging stories and fragments of people's

---

[1] Månadens Print, bidrag #98
http://www.resume.se/manadens_kampanj/manadens_print/maj/index.xml?_id=97&_type=Print 070801.

lives, as it happens here and now – from the holidays, the concert, the wedding, the party, the office or simply from the pizzeria round the corner.[2]

Moblog.nl urges their members to "walk in the street, see a funny moment and shoot a photo with your mobile phone."[3]

The moderators on Swedish mobilblogg.nu explain that there are three main purposes of the blog: to publish pictures of everyday events in one's life, to put the mobile phone camera to a meaningful use and to come together in a community and share one's pictures with other people. They point out that taking photos with a mobile phone is different from taking photos with a normal camera. Due to the fact that you always carry your mobile with you, pictures can be taken in the spur of the moment, hence these pictures have a special character. They show all sorts of activities going on right now.[4]

The British site does not have any guidelines like these, but nevertheless contain many pictures from the everyday life of its members. Common to these four moblogs are photographs of meals, road repairs, toddlers, pets, household chores, recently read books, holiday outings, streetlamps at night and new hairstyles, to mention only a few of the many topics being dealt with. It would even be hard to imagine a motif that would fall outside the boundaries, a question I will return to later. The everyday is such a vast and at the same time vague concept, that it is hard to pinpoint. The everyday can be seen as drab and monotonous and at the same time as remarkable and delightful. It has an ambivalent character and is maybe best described as having no qualities. It goes by unnoticed, something taken for granted, like the air we breathe, according to Ben Highmore.[5] Another cultural studies scholar, Rita Felski, observes that the studying of the everyday entails a contradiction, in that the everyday ceases to be unobtrusive and unconscious the moment a spotlight is turned to it. Her notion of the everyday involves three aspects, time, space and modality, which she associates with repetition, home and habit. She concludes that the everyday is best described as a way of experiencing the world instead of an activity.[6]

Routine and repetition is commonly associated with the everyday, as is given in the word itself: the everyday is something that happens every day. The actual act that is repeated can differ greatly from individual to individual; dog owners walk their dogs, celebrities sign autographs, cashiers count money and so forth. Some routines are experienced by many people, such as coming to work, having a cup of coffee and saying god morning to the fellow workers. This routine is performed daily on the Dutch moblog, where members take a snapshot of their coffee mugs and post it to the blog. The accompanying text often reads just "Good morning" in slightly varying colloquial expressions (Goede morgen becomes meuning, mogguh, mogge etc.). The pictures show similar variations: the cup may be shown standing beside the coffee machine or on the desk in front of the computer, but the set-up remains about the same from one day to another. In this way a morning get-together routine is created that involves people working in different locations. One day, 18 April 2007, I noticed that someone had started the day with a picture of himself raising the cup to his mouth in a greeting gesture, and then the others followed suit. This shows that members manifest the team spirit of the group by echoing picture composition, and that communication through text is not the only way to keep an Internet community alive.

Before going to work people go through morning routines in their homes. In Sweden, it is customary to subscribe to a morning paper and have it delivered to one's house. Having to

---

2   http://albinogorilla.dk 070801.
3   http://moblog.nl 070801.
4   http://www.mobilblogg.nu/o.o.i.s/43 070801.
5   Ben Highmore, Everyday Life and Cultural Theory. An Introduction (London 2002), p. 1.
6   Rita Felski, "The Invention of Everyday Life", *New Formations*, 39 (1999/2000), pp. 15-31.

start the day without reading the paper would annoy many people, which is evident from the following morning drama. One spring morning at 6.09 *filipwiberg*[7] posted a picture of his breakfast table, which shows a glass of coffee (or chocolate), a glass of water and a bowl of porridge, but no newspaper. The caption reads "Breakfast without YA… Pull yourselves together, paper distributors!"[8] Four minutes later the follow-up picture is posted. "Now it has arrived! The morning is saved! Phew…"[9] is the caption of this picture, and we see the paper on the table beside the coffee and the porridge. Order has been restored. In this mini picture story we have been able to get a glimpse of this member's morning routines and the upsetting of this routine.

Figure 1.

When the coffee is finished it is time to go to work. Public transportation offers plenty of opportunity to scrutinize fellow-passengers, but taking a photograph of somebody on a bus is not so easy with respect to personal integrity.[10] One morning on his way to work, *Bluemood* took this photo of a man's leg and foot, showing signs of hurry.[11] The hem of the trousers has been tucked into the shaft of the sock and the shoelaces haven't been tied, but are hanging loose on the floor. The caption of the picture is "Somebody had to hurry to the bus?" The rest of the text tells us that Bluemood himself had to run to catch the bus this morning, although he starts later than usual. He finishes the message with a "GOOD MORNING, for

---

7   The members' own usernames are used in this paper.
8   filipwiberg, Frukost utan YA… Skärpning tidnings utdelare
    http://www.mobilblogg.nu/filipwiberg/2007/05/28/06:09:25/frukost_utan_ya_skarpning_t.html
    070801 YAstands for Ystads Allehanda, a local newspaper from the South of Sweden.).
9   filipwiberg, Nu kom den! Morgonen räddad! Puh…
    http://www.mobilblogg.nu/filipwiberg/2007/05/28/06:13:56/nu_kom_den_morgonen_raddad_p.html
    070801.
10 According to Swedish law, Personuppgiftslag (1998:204), it is forbidden to publish personal information, photographs included, about a person without his or hers consent.
11 Bluemood, Någon har haft bråttom till bussen?
    http://www.mobilblogg.nu/Bluemood/2007/05/31/07:21:41/nagon_har_haft_brattom_till_bu.html 070801.

636

sure". An early morning bus ride to work may seem monotonous but for someone with a keen power of observation a low key event like this can be turned into a greeting message to the moblog community and the blog's wide audience. The photo is presumably of a complete stranger, but the text is written in first person and is about Bluemood's own morning. The narrative works through this tension of an individual point a view of the text and the anonymity of the image.

Figure 2.

Skitmorgon

10 Maj 08.25 2007

Fast jag vet med säkerhet att jag kom ihåg att ta fram jobbnyckeln när jag bytte väska i morse och blev sjukt stolt över mig själv just för att jag kom ihåg så finns det ingen nyckel varken i byxorna, jackan eller väskan. Så nu sitter jag här och trycker under en jätteräka och väntar på att någon annan ska komma i hyfsad tid till jobbet så jag slipper vänta allt för länge. Lycka till med det.

601 visningar
[Till barfotas mobilblogg]

Authumn is a Breeze - H&M
Låt dig inspireras av höstens nya trender. Bli höstvacker!

Coola kläder på nätet.
Hejdlöst stort urval och t-shirts, toppar och coola tröjor.

Google -annonser

Kommentarer

Sol (ej inloggad) — 10 Maj 09.20 2007
Åh så VÄRDO. Och vad är dealen med räkan?

barfota — 10 Maj 12.36 2007
Den hängde lite med mig medan jag satt av tiden bara. Schysst gjort av den fast jag tycker att räkor är synnerligen skabbiga insekter.

Saphira — 10 Maj 15.01 2007
Riktigt nice jätteräka! ;-)

Sol (ej inloggad) — 10 Maj 15.19 2007
Luktade den inte illa?

h2 — 10 Maj 20.26 2007
Räkor ÄR inte snygga. De är säkert inte trevliga heller. Hade den varit riktig hade den säkert knaprat på din hjässa, barfota.

barfota — 11 Maj 09.46 2007
Räker äter väl bajs? Är min hjärna bajs alltså? Trevligt. Det kan juh förklara vad som hände i går egentligen för i morse när jag tog på mig jeansen så låg juh nyckeljäveln så klart i fickan. Samma ficka som jag letade i minst fem gånger igår. Gaaaah!

pest — 14 Maj 15.59 2007
Jag håller med Sol, men inte i helhet... Värdo var ordet... men snarare så att du, barfota, är värdo på att leta i fickor!

Och var när och hur började räkor äta bajs?

florist i all ära, men hur gör djur, det är inte du det...

Skriv kommentar:

"Crap morning" is a story of a morning routine gone wrong.[12] The blogger *barfota* has forgotten her work keys at home, although she was absolutely sure she had put them in the right bag. Now she is sitting outside her job waiting for a colleague to arrive. The photograph is hard to grasp, it depicts a shrimp, and one needs to contemplate it for a while before one realizes that the shrimp is probably a sticker glued on to a shop window. In this story the text and the image do not have an evident connection, except for her friends who recognize the place where she works. For strangers, the picture of the shrimp can work as a teaser, tempting the visitor to click on the thumbnail picture on the first page and see the larger version of the picture and read the text.

---

[12]   Barfota, Skitmorgon http://www.mobilblogg.nu/barfota/2007/05/10/08:25:26/skitmorgon.html 070801

Figure 3.

Oj!

30 Jan 09.49 2007

Om man bara är tre år så är det inte alla gånger så lätt att låta tallriken stå kvar på bordet. Men, har man inget och göra så lär de små liven hela tiden skapa nya arbetsuppgifter till dig. Nu var jag ju direkt inte sysslolös innan denna lilla tragedi drabbade mig. Detta med tanke på att jag var i fullfärd med att bädda hushållets sängar när olyckan drabbade mig med full kraft. Nåväl, filmjölken är upptorkad och nu skriker en överfull diskbänk efter min uppmärksamhet.

102 visningar
[Till paddes mobilblogg]

Kommentarer

YoNaZ   30 Jan 09.56 2007

Hoppsan!

Skriv kommentar:

Skriv bokstäverna **GTNF** här:

Namn:

E-post:

SKICKA

There are other every day events that find their way to the moblog that are not necessarily part of a routine, but could rather be characterized as mishaps. Photographs from the kitchen region mostly show cooking and finished dishes to admire, and sometimes a washing up scene. A mishap happens quickly when children are having their meals and one such incident was documented by *padde*, in a picture labeled "Oh!".[13] It depicts a bowl lying upside down on the floor with sour milk spilled all over. The legs of chairs are visible, black legs for normal chairs and a white one belonging to a high chair, which we can assume was the place of the culprit. The text tells us about how small children seem to create an endless stream of tasks for their parents. This morning padde was not exactly idle, as he was busy making the beds and soon has to attend to a kitchen sink overfull with dishes.

---

[13]   Padde, Oj! http://www.mobilblogg.nu/padde/2007/01/30/09:49:04/oj.html 070801.

638

Figure 4.

Hata!

26 Mar 12.15 2007

idag e en sån dag man bara skrattar när man möts av en sån här syn. i vanliga fall hade jag dött! men idag i solskenet gör det inte så mkt. de går ändå, för världen är ju ganska underbar!

388 visningar
[Till vickys mobilblogg]

Svensk nätbutik med skor
Brett sortiment av märkesskor. Fri frakt/retur. 1 månad öppet köp.

Hitta Skoaffärer
Hitta rätt till företag, personer, telefonnummer och branscher.
Google -annonser

Kommentarer	
Prinsessan	26 Mar 12.15 2007

:O)

| magnusb | 26 Mar 18.21 2007 |

imponerande attityd! min syster har jobbat på wedins och jag kan tänka mig att hon inte skulle reagera på samma glada sätt :-)

| Afaf | 26 Mar 20.41 2007 |

Ja men Vicky visst är det så att allt blir så mycket bättre med lite solsken. Folk blir gladare och därmed trevligare,. nu menar jag INTE att du inte är trevlig för du är bloggens egna lilla solsken

| Bluemood | 26 Mar 21.15 2007 |

Redaktörens val 2007-03-26:

Visst gör solsken, såväl ute som i sinne, att allt känns så mycket lättare, även när allt rasar :-D

| Saphira | 26 Mar 21.25 2007 |

ja här har allt verkligen rasat
även bildligen! :)

| tjuren | 27 Mar 11.04 2007 |

Är det hemma i din garderob Vicky?

| Cyblood | 27 Mar 16.48 2007 |

hehe ser inte så roligt ut jue :P

| vicky | 27 Mar 18.09 2007 |

tjuren: skulle kunnat vara, dock seer man skillnad eftersom jag har mest vagabondkartonger hemma hos mig o på bilden är det gabor, rieker o dorndorf kartonger! :D

| Bluemood | 27 Mar 18.19 2007 |

Aha!

| sima | 28 Mar 15.30 2007 |

Men det ser ju nästan lite coolt ut! Tänk att allt inte har rasat i en enda jättehög =)

| vicky | 28 Mar 21.10 2007 |

sima: haha jättecoolt! eller inte, sånt händer nästan varje dag så här års!

| pest | 29 Mar 17.14 2007 |

skön inställning - nog är det även skönt att kunna vara på ett svalt lager när världen utanför smälter oxå va?

| vicky | 29 Mar 23.01 2007 |

svalt lager?!?! välkommen till oss vi har 30 grader på lagret redan!

Mishap can also happen at work, as the picture "Hate!" by *vicky* is an example of. [14] She works in a shoe shop, and one day when she entered the stockroom she was met with the sight of a pile of shoeboxes that had tipped over and were leaning towards a wall. In contrast to the title (Hate!), the text is about her being in such a good mood because of the sunshine that not even an incident like this can disconcert her. Other members give her supportive comments and admire her for her brave attitude. One member writes that he has experienced something similar when he worked in a shop.

In all these examples there is a high recognition factor. Most of us have been waiting for the newspaper in the morning, been in a hurry on our way to work, have forgotten our keys, have cleaned up after children or stepped into a storeroom with falling boxes, but without thinking about documenting it, let alone publishing it. This is the kind of stories that fit into a moblog but have previously lacked a forum.

---

[14]   Vicky, Hata! http://www.mobilblogg.nu/vicky/2007/03/26/12:15:09/hata.html 070801.

Many bloggers update their albums frequently, every day or a couple of times a week. The act of photographing becomes part of the daily routine as does the procedure of uploading it. Using computers entails many routines; starting up the computer, logging on to services and doing backup, all these are routines familiar to computer users. But taking photographs regularly is not as easy and requires some effort.[15] When I started moblogging I set up as a goal for myself to post one picture a day, something I have not been able to achieve. At night, when I realize I have failed to perform "the moblogging routine", I feel a little guilty as if I were going to bed without having brushed my teeth. From studying frequent bloggers I have concluded that making moblogging a routine in itself makes it easier to keep it up. *sibner*, another member of the mobilblogg.nu, usually says good morning to the community and often takes photographs of his lunches and other meals.[16] The time stamp of the posting informs the visitor that the picture was taken at that very moment, so a lunch photograph is not just a document of a lunch but at photograph actually shown at lunchtime. I have already mentioned the morning greetings on the moblog.nl and they also have a tradition of taking photographs at lunch and label them LF, short for "lunch fotografie". Moblogging does not only involve representing the everyday but becomes integrated in everyday life as a routine in its own right.

Like other uses of a mobile phone, moblogging fits into the intervals that occur between everyday activities.[17] One can take a photograph while waiting for a bus, sitting in the dentist's waiting room, etc. It can also be a way to postpone a household chore one is reluctant to do – instead of getting started with vacuum cleaning right away, one can take a photo of a gamepad, post it to the moblog and suggest that one would rather play video games than clean up the house.[18]

Are recurring events more everyday than unique ones? It depends more on the character of the event than its frequency. If I lose one shoe once in my life, that would be a singular incident, but it would still be everyday, in contrast to losing a relative in an accident, which would be non-everyday even if it happens more than once. The examples above show us unique events, but they take place within the scope of some daily routine. Maybe the best way to represent routines and repetition is to show the disruptions of them. Another way would be to gather a large number of pictures of the same routine, e.g. of people going to work in the morning, and then the sheer amount of similar pictures would convey the meaning of the word. One can imagine a long wall covered with pictures of streets taken by drivers on their way to work. It would be possible to retrieve quite a few photographs like this from the moblog archives. The archives are organized in strict chronological order, as essential to the medium of the blog, textual, photographic or otherwise. One can browse the collective archive or one member's archive at a time. Some moblogs offer search facilities, but to look for a special type of image or a special theme is mostly like searching for a needle in a haystack.

The volume of the databases increases every day, and there are some similarities between the moblog archives and the archives of Mass Observation, a project launched in Great Britain in 1937. The project was initiated by a group of writers who wanted to investigate everyday life in Britain.[19] They wanted to apply anthropological methods in their own country, not only in exotic countries, as was customary. A number of observers were recruited, both unpaid volunteers, who gave accounts of their own lives, and some semi-professional observers,

15   Poth99, Mobilbloggning - den första tiden (2006) p. 25.
16   http//:www.mobilblogg.nu/sibner 070801.
17   Mizuko Ito, Daisuke Okabe, and Misa Matsuda (eds.), *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian: Mobile Phones in Japanese Life* (Cambridge, Mass 2005) pp. 263-264.
18   Bluemood, Hmm här ligger den å skräpar…
      http://www.mobilblogg.nu/Bluemood/2007/04/22/14:03:02/hmm_har_ligger_den_a_skrapar_.html 070801.
19   Mass Observation. Recording Everyday Life in Britain http://www.massobs.org.uk/index.htm 070801.

intent on observing other people. The first phase of the project lasted to 1949, and the result was a huge archive that was difficult to present and disseminate to the participants and the general public. One attempt was to use the principle of montage, where different fragments are brought together and create an unexpected reaction. The montage form hade been developed by the surrealist movement and by Soviet film-makers, especially Sergei Eisenstein.[20] The huge book, edited by Charles Madge and Humphrey Jennings, about how people experienced the coronation day of George VI in 1937, *May 12th – Mass Observation day-surveys* makes use of the montage form in order to leave the work open to interpretation, but the critics turned it down. It was found difficult to comprehend and lacking in homogeneity.[21] The artist William Shaw writes in his blog:

> Jennings imagined he was kick-starting a new literary form; in fact *May the Twelfth* led nowhere, baffling and irritating critics. I'd like to believe that Jennings was just ahead of his time. Maybe he'd have thrived more in the age of the blog, a genre which is creating a new style of short-form, observational literature, (albeit – so far – a generally narcissistic one).[22]

The start page of moblogs have some of the characteristics of a montage, with the stream of recent pictures coming in, shown side by side with chronology as the only ordering principle. Most of the time pictures do not make any special sense together, but on 9 August 2007, I posted a picture of bins with computer junk, mostly old pc's, and the next picture that arrived showed a brand new Apple laptop. The two pictures together symbolized to me the frantic pace of obsolescence in the world of IT.

Many pictures show social events where people are happy together. Is the everyday necessarily something harmless? It is probably not, but most people prefer to let serious problems out of the moblogs. Sometimes a member attests to being low-spirited, and sometimes the perils of alcohol is a subject touched upon.[23] Forming a picture of what the everyday looks like is difficult, but it is even more difficult to imagine what representations of the everyday are missing. In finding an answer to this question, participatory observation has been valuable. Once I felt tempted to take a photograph of the messy room of one my teenage children who had been ignoring my request for tidying up, and then I realized that that would be exactly the kind of photograph that one would not publish on a moblog. Domestic quarrels is a subject usually avoided in this context. Loyalty to ones family goes before the need to cover all aspects of everyday life.

Another question I have been thinking about is if the everyday has to be presented in an everyday manner, or if extravagant photographs of the everyday are conceivable? They are indeed, as *A view from an apartment* by Jeff Wall gives proof of.[24] It is a highly elaborate picture of an everyday situation, included in a book about remarkable photographs.[25] In my opinion, the moblog archives contain many good pictures, despite the fact that many bloggers

---

[20] Another prominent example is the German philosopher and literary critic Walter Benjamin's unfinished The Arcades Project, where he used the literary montage as a method. Wolin, Richard. *Walter Benjamin, an Aesthetic of Redemption* (Berkeley, 1994) p. xliii.

[21] Ben Highmore, Everyday Life and Cultural Theory. An Introduction (London, 2002) p. 93.

[22] William Shaw, Unmadeup http://www.nsblog.co.uk/wshaw/914/.

[23] Sotarn, Alkohol http://www.mobilblogg.nu/Sotarn/2007/08/15/20:59:32/alkohol.html, familjensnygg, I natt har jag tagit hand om en full flicka på 16 år. Hällt ut dåligt hembränt som hon druckit :- (http://www.mobilblogg.nu/familjensnygg/2007/05/13/11:35:30/i_natt_har_jag_tagit_hand_om_e.html 070815.

[24] Sheena Wagstaff, "Beyond the Threshold", *Tate etc*. issue 4 summer 2005 http://www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue4/inthestudio4.htm 070801.

[25] Howarth, Sophie (ed), (2005) Singular images. Essays on Remarkable Photographs, pp. 119-123.

are reluctant to see moblogging as a creative activity, at least when it comes to themselves.[26] The surrealist approach to the everyday was to look for the uncanny, and we can see the legacy of this approach in the series "air superioritea" by *mat*, one of the moderators of moblog.co.uk.[27] A cup of tea is thrown into the air and its trajectory is documented in five pictures. Tea is spilled out and the splash is frozen in the photographs. The picture is similar in its conception to Philippe Halsman's *Dali Atomicus,* where Salvador Dali is caught in the middle of a jump while painting, and a chair, water and cats seem to be hanging in the air.[28] In *air superioritea* the everyday phenomenon of drinking a cup of tea is made strange and unfamiliar through photography. Here we have come a long way from the mundane act of coffee drinking displayed on the Dutch moblog.

Rita Felski thinks modern literature show a paradoxical relation to everyday life, in both wanting to accept it as it is and to transform it.

> …it also tries to redeem the everyday by rescuing it from its opacity, de-familiarising it and making us newly attentive to its mysteries. Yet this very act of magnifying and refracting taken for granted minutiae transcends the very dailiness it seeks to depict. Literature's heightened sensitivity to the microscopic detail marks its difference from the casual inattentiveness marking the everyday experience of everyday life.[29]

What is left of the everyday once it has been highlighted through pictures on the Internet? I think that the everyday has fared rather well in the context of moblogs. First of all, moblogs have more modest pretentions than modern literature. The chat in the comment threads are generally held in a light, conversational tone, and most of the photographs are not taken with the intention to win the first price in a photo club annual competition.[30] The approach to taking photography is itself everyday, analogous to Felski's conclusion that the everyday could be seen as a way of experiencing the world. Secondly, the presentation form is well suited to the everyday. Ben Highmore remarks that

> If for example, the everyday is seen as a flow, then any attempt to arrest it, to apprehend it, to scrutinize it, will be problematic. Simply by extracting some elements from the continuum of the everyday, attention would have transformed the most characteristic aspect of everyday life: its ceaseless-ness.[31]

On the start page of a moblog, images arrive in a constant flow, sometimes slower, sometimes faster. It does not have the characteristics of a film, where the pace of 24 frames a

---

[26] In a survey conducted among members of mobilblogg.nu in May 2007, I asked "Have you developed your ability to create pictures", and about 57% (of 120 respondents) answered no, 15 % yes, 22 % a little (3% did not answer the question, 4 % answered evasively.).

[27] mat, air superioritea http://moblog.co.uk/view.php?id=234010 This image also appears in a collection/comptetion called Extreme cuppa, on the member ActionAid's moblog, where he writes "We want people to send in photos of themselves having a cuppa in extreme and unlikely situations. **The best mug shot will win a top of the range digital camera!!!"** http://moblog.co.uk/blogs.php?show=13075 070801.

[28] Philippe Halsman, *Dali Atomicus* http://www.iphotocentral.com/Photos/csphoto_Images/Full/CS9598.jpg

[29] Felski, 1999/2000, p. 26.

[30] Ilpo Koskinen uses the term "visual sociability" in his study of how people use the possibility of sending images to each other. He refers to Georg Simmel, for whom sociability meant mixing with people in an enjoyable and easy-going way. *Mobile image* (2002), pp. 36-27. Alternative spelling and other alternative language use in chat rooms is ascribed by Malin Sveningsson partly to the "informal and playful ambiance generally prevailing in chat rooms.". *Creating a Sense of Community* (2001)*, (p 168). The social interaction in virtual communities can also be compared to how relations are built up in physical neighbourhoods, see e.g. Marianne Gullestad, *The Art of Social Relations* (1992).

[31] Highmore, 2002, p. 21.

second gives the illusion of movement. There is no need to arrest the flow, because one can extract "one of the elements", a single image, and still retain the ceaseless-ness.

Thirdly, and lastly, moblogging remains within the everyday by virtue of its incorporation in an everyday routine. Taking a snapshot of an everyday event, knowing that it will immediately find its place on a webpage and reach an audience, has become part of many people's daily lives.

References

Felski, Rita, "The Invention of Everyday Life", *New Formations*, 39 (1999/2000): p. 15-31

Gullestad, Marianne (1992): *The Art of Social Relations*, Oslo: Scandinavian Univ. Press.

Highmore, Ben, (2002): Everyday Life and Cultural Theory. An Introduction, London: Routledge.

Howarth, Sophie (ed), (2005): *Singular images. Essays on Remarkable Photographs*, New York: Aperture

Ito, Mizuko, Daisuke Okabe and Misa Matsuda, (2005): *Personal, Portable, Pedestrian. Mobile Phones in Japanese Life,* Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

Koskinen, Ilpo, Esko Kurvinen and Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen (2002): *Mobile Image*. Helsinki: IT Press.

poth99 (2006): Mobilbloggning - den första tiden, n.p.

Sveningson, Malin, (2001): *Creating a Sense of Community*, Linköping studies in arts and science, 233, Linköping : Tema, Univ..

Wagstaff, Sheena, "Beyond the Threshold", *Tate etc.* issue 4 summer 2005, http://www.tate.org.uk/tateetc/issue4/inthestudio4.htm

Wolin, Richard, (1994): *Walter Benjamin, an Aesthetic of Redemption,* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Image references

barfota, Skitmorgon http://www.mobilblogg.nu/barfota/2007/05/10/08:25:26/skitmorgon.html 070801.

Bluemood, Någon har haft bråttom till bussen? http://www.mobilblogg.nu/Bluemood/2007/05/31/07:21:41/nagon_har_haft_brattom_till_bu.html 070801.

padde, Oj! http://www.mobilblogg.nu/padde/2007/01/30/09:49:04/oj.html 070801.

vicky, Hata! http://www.mobilblogg.nu/vicky/2007/03/26/12:15:09/hata.html 070801.

Assessing the 'Fascist Filter' and its Legacy*

Frederick Whitling

Department of History and Civilisation, European University Institute, Italy

Frederick.Whitling@eui.eu

The extensive physical alterations to the city of Rome in the Fascist period have arguably created what I refer to as a 'Fascist filter', which will be tentatively discussed here. This paper investigates perceptions of what I refer to as "low status ruins" from antiquity in the modern city of Rome, focusing on the Servian wall in the context of the Termini train station in Rome. What are the possible functions, meanings, and practical implications of ruins in a modern cityscape? How are they 'remembered' or envisaged as (classical) heritage? I will in the following tentatively discuss the possible *contextual value* of Ancient ruins in Rome, focusing on the legacy of the 'Fascist filter'.

---

* This paper is based on an oral presentation, hence the absence of references.

Introduction

The normative 'master narrative' of Ancient Greece and Rome as the foundation on which Western civilisation rests, incarnated in the classical tradition, still implies that we 'understand' antiquity, that there are 'direct channels' (tradition) through which 'we' (as Europeans) are in direct contact with 'our' past. The complexity of classical tradition and what I have chosen to call the 'Fascist filter' arguably rule out the possibility of such comprehension. Hence I argue that understanding the role of antiquity as cultural heritage requires recontextualisation, a higher degree of interdisciplinary perspectives, as well as deep cultural self-reflection on the foundations and applied uses of the notion of national and European 'identity'.

I

The following investigates the delicate balance between the destruction and the preservation of the *Servian wall* (the Republican city wall also commonly referred to as the 'agger', constructed approximately 378 BC), in the urban context of the *Termini* station in Rome. The longest surviving stretch of the wall – named after Servius Tullius, the sixth of the seven legendary kings of pre-Republican Rome – is located in a fenced-in small green area beside the main entrance to the station.

Despite its sheer size, it is remarkably inconspicuous and anonymous in the context of the station and the adjacent piazza. Reconstructed, or re-erected, fragments of the retaining wall of the *Agger Servianus* can be found in the *McDonald's* restaurant in the shopping gallery on the ground floor of the main station building. The agger itself consisted of a great amount of earth and stones piled along the inner side of the wall, with a moat on the outer side of the wall as further protection. Hence the side of the remaining tufa blocks that make up the Servian wall, facing the Piazza dei Cinquecento in front of the station, was not actually visible in antiquity (at least not while it remained in defensive use).

Material remains, or the ruins that have been consciously preserved or passed through historical selection processes, are discussed as a stratigraphic palimpsest. They are thus related to debates, opinions and prejudice or preconceptions regarding the role of classical heritage in urban planning. My ongoing research thus deals with issues of consensus and conflict regarding evaluation and perception of classical heritage in the dichotomy between preservation and destruction. Questions of ideological continuity from the Fascist period and implications of decisions on cultural heritage and urban planning will also be included here.

Key clusters of concepts or themes pertinent to this study are:

- Archaeology, heritage, identity, and nation-building
- Perception of classical heritage through the 'Fascist filter'
- 'Low status ruins', and evaluation of Ancient remains

The present investigation covers two periods of particular interest, which I refer to as 'Termini I' (1867–1874), 'Termini II' (1938–1942 & 1947–1950). I also take the intermediary periods into account, but I choose to focus on the periods of obvious physical change (destruction and construction). The study is thus not intended as an exhaustive study of the Termini station per se, the Servian wall and the station are used as examples of a more wide-ranging discussion concerning cultural heritage and urban planning.

Cultural heritage arguably needs to be constantly legitimised and infused with meaning in order to avoid moving exclusively towards preservation and musealisation. The explosion in human growth and increasing urbanisation is in deep conflict with this notion. Material cultural heritage is in this way in ongoing 'competition' with political and economic interests,

as well as with the logistical pressure of urban development. Furthermore, the notion of classical heritage is intertwined with a certain amount of exclusivity based on specialised knowledge and a certain 'elitism', which further complicates the issue.

Analysis of the rhetoric surrounding the Servian wall can offer examples of how cultural heritage can be manipulated in political decision-making – in the balance between the pressure for change and urban development on the one hand and cultural heritage preservation on the other. If ruins or relics are perceived as 'reminders of the past', preservation produces a selection of what is to be reminded and reflected upon, with a clear connection between political decisions and perceptions of the past. If 'the past' is viewed as a monolith, it is easily transformed into a political identity-affirming tool.

The Termini station provides a striking paradox in the combination of a truly modern station (this applies to both Termini I and II), with its role as a 'gateway' to the arguably most outspokenly historically self-conscious city in the Western world. The Termini area can thus be characterised as an 'urban node', as a meeting place, and as a vibrant, living part of the city. At the same time it constitutes a kind of internal suburbia or periphery within the city centre itself. Termini is thus from this perspective the 'ultimate' postmodern site in terms of a confrontation of the distant past with the present.

From a cultural heritage and cultural identity perspective, the station can be seen as a potential arena for marketing cultural heritage and for 'city-branding'. The station as such is also highly involved in urban logistics, most importantly the new Metro lines. Can economic incentives 'afford' (not) taking cultural heritage integration into account? I am thus investigating changes in evaluation of recontextualised archaeological remains with an outlook to possible present and future suggestions for the contextualisation of urban cultural heritage.

The conspicuous ruins of the Servian wall outside Stazione Termini remain to this day, but only narrowly escaped destruction on a number of occasions since the preparations for the construction of the central railway station in Rome. The inclination towards preservation ('la volontà di tutela') essentially prevailed over time. My research on this topic aims at clarifying why and how this happened, and how it might be interpreted in a wider context.

II

We might arguably choose to focus on the 'edges', borders, or thresholds between archaeological sites and their surroundings in creating an 'active level' associated with the present. We may therefore legitimately think of archaeological sites in terms of scenography, and integrated versus separated space. It is important to discuss the contextual value of archaeological sites based on their 'connectability', their contested interpretations and meanings, as well as their maintenance.

The notion of 'low status ruins' mentioned earlier, suggests an off-the-record internal hierarchy of importance regarding Ancient remains in Rome. Ruins that are simply *there*, or decontextualised, such as the Servian wall, are reduced to a historical 'backdrop', of marginal specific importance, with a highly uncertain symbolic significance as a result.

This amounts to a question of didactics, which might be expressed in terms of physical presence vs. visual perception, visibility vs. invisibility, and transparency vs. intransparency. I am aware of the crudeness of the categorisation of 'low status ruins', and indeed of the concept itself. At first sight the Servian wall cannot really be classified as a 'low status ruin', as it has in fact been preserved. The examination of the reasons for its preservation (generally speaking its physical size in combination with vague associations of an abstract 'historical importance' to Roman and Italian identity), might however influence a more nuanced classification of its 'status' in terms of contextual value and cultural heritage preservation.

I identify three different perspectives on heritage evaluation particularly relevant to this study:

- Document value (contextualised historical characteristics)
- Experience value (architectural, aesthetical, and environmental value)
- Contextual value (summarised contexts – surroundings, landscape, and topography).

The division between 'document value' and 'experience value' is inspired by similar authorised procedures of the Swedish National Heritage Board. My notion of 'contextual value' is dependent on the two former categories, as it in effect summarises and assesses them from a more comprehensive perspective.

One of the most important questions for the future development of a city such as Rome is how to add function and contextual value to the experience of various parts of the city. As stressed earlier, this is in direct conflict with 'logistical pressure', technological development, and financial demands. My research thus aims at infusing meaning, not primarily extracting it. The process is tentatively regarded as one of extracting past meaning(s) in order to infuse them in the present, and to constructively discuss present and future cultural heritage preservation.

Protection of heritage and patrimony has long enjoyed a rich tradition in Italy. Partly due to a lack of outspoken national sentiment prior to 1860, Italian cultural heritage was seldom associated with 'Italianness', but rather based on territorial claims. The classical tradition, with the city of Rome as one of its main foundations – reinforced by the educational rite of passage of the Grand Tour from the mid 17th century until the early 19th century – enabled claims to Roman history and material remains of European dimensions. This dynamic between the 'general' European level of heritage, and the nation-building project amplified by Fascism in Italy regarding antiquity, has hitherto not been satisfactorily resolved. I would argue that attempting to trace changing nuances of heritage evaluation might facilitate the present and future of such undertakings.

Ruins in a sense constitute the 'skeleton' of urban environments. Breathing new life into remains of the Ancient past entails dissecting the foundations of the classical tradition, as well as placing these remains in dynamic contexts, avoiding solidified narratives and interpretations. We are faced with, and have to deal with, a double palimpsest in Rome: we have no option but to view antiquity, or at least ancient material remains, through what I refer to as the 'Fascist filter', mainly due to the extensive physical alterations to the city in the Fascist period, as well as the in my view incomplete and fragmented aspect of the monumentality of Fascist architecture. The weight attributed here to the Fascist filter is justified by the pivotal importance of focusing on antiquity on an identity discourse level during, as well as after, the Fascist period (1922–1943).

III

At the time of the first Fascist urban interventions (in the 1920s and 1930s), the city of Rome was 'saturated' typographically and symbolically. If we accept the distinction of the 'three Romes' (based on Mussolini's conceptualisation of the 'third Rome'), then the 'first Rome' was that of Ancient Rome, the 'second Rome' was symbolised by Papal authority and the Catholic Church. The 'third Rome' was similarly conceived of as synonymous with the new Fascist layer.

Such topographical urban layers can arguably be 'read' or interpreted as a stratigraphy. Mediaeval 'Ancient architecture recycling' is for example embedded in the second Rome. For the sake of legitimacy, Fascism thus had to create its own layer in Rome. The strategy later employed by the Fascist regime can be summed up as an appropriation of old layers in the

centre and the creation of new layers in the periphery of the city. This layer in turn joins forces with its predecessors in a complex and specifically Roman urban palimpsest.

What I refer to as the 'Fascist filter' is therefore to be understood as an acknowledgement of the effects of the major alterations of the cityscape (both horizontally and vertically) carried out during the Fascist period, as well as the subsequent appropriation of these alterations (the completion of the Termini station in 1947–50 provides an excellent case in point). There is no doubt that this 'filter' thus incorporated previous filters, primarily those of the 'first' and 'second' Rome.

The Termini station was completed after the war, and was far from the only architectural project to be finished (not destroyed or rebuilt) after the fall of the Fascist regime. Other examples are for example the planned 1942 Esposizione Universale di Roma (EUR) area; as well as Via della Conciliazione leading up to he Basilica of St. Peter, and the Vatican on the other side of the Tiber.

The cluttered Borgo by the Vatican emphasised the 'wow' factor in suddenly reaching Piazza San Pietro through Bernini's colonnade. The Fascist approach, based on monuments and buildings in 'grand isolation', focused on the 'liberation' of ancient monuments – indeed of antiquity itself – which radically decontextualised the Roman cityscape and urban texture. This general aspect of completion and appropriation is hence substantially influential to my conceptualisation of the 'Fascist filter'.

It is plausible to speak of a gradual shift after the excavation and development of the Termini station, from an almost purely *financial value* of the Ancient ruins in the area during the expropriation phase before Termini I in the 1860s, to a primarily *topographical value* in the 1930s (certainly by 1936, see below). The gradual development of a 'cultural heritage policy' can thus be discerned, very likely synchronised with the quite sudden modernisation process in Italy from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, arguably until the fall of the Fascism during the Second World War.

In 1936 the Fascist regime decided to demolish the old Termini station, as a realisation of the new systematisation of the railway amenities of the capital included in the 1931 Piano Regolatore; and to start constructing the side structures for a grandiose new station, designed by the architect Angiolo Mazzoni, suitable for the coming Esposizione Universale di Roma of 1942. The new station complex should be understood in the light of rapid modernisation, of logistical preparations for the Esposizione Universale; as well as in the context of 'lo sventramento' – in short, the complete destruction of less favourable architecture and whole areas of the city. The main building of the present station was completed in 1950 and features large stone slabs with a huge undulating roof (commonly referred to as the 'dinosaur'). The new station was opened for the 'jubilee year' of 1950.

The identity crisis in Italy after the fall of Fascism might well have influenced the decision to change course regarding the completion of the station. The original design was however not entirely abandoned, as the main building was literally built on the foundations of Mazzoni's unfinished project; which again highlights the 'utilitarian', or practical, approach to Fascist architecture and urban planning, also characteristic of the Italian post-war era.

The Servian wall has gradually become part of a museal context, which includes Palazzo Massimo and the Diocletian baths. After celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary of the present building, and the preparations leading up to the expected 'invasion' of pilgrims for the Millennium celebrations in 2000, the station was renamed *Roma Termini – Stazione Termini Giovanni Paolo II* in 2006. The Servian wall has gradually been decontextualised and marginalised within the station complex itself, the original idea of incorporating it into the building no longer being advocated, as recent expansion of the commercial area has obstructed the original view of the wall from within the station building.

In conclusion, the Servian wall seems to have been kept primarily as a 'reminder', or as an open-air museum piece, rather than as an important structure per se. The symbolic importance of the wall, as testimony par excellence to the early defence of the city, appears to have been instrumental in its survival during construction of the Termini station and the Piazza dei Cinquecento in Rome in Rome.

Journalism and Royalty: Historicizing the Myth of the Mediated Centre

Kristina Widestedt

JMK, Stockholm university

widkri@jmk.su.se

Provided that there is a dominant centre of power in society, the media have always regarded it their responsibility to cover that centre. For symbolic reasons at least, the head of state personifies the national power centre, whereas the citizens inhabit the periphery and are supposedly dependent on the media to get information from the social centre.

Today, national centres of power tend to be represented as synonymous with the actual buildings that symbolise the concentrated leadership of politics – the White House in the US, 10 Downing Street in the UK, the Kremlin in Russia. The Swedish equivalent of this is Rosenbad, the Government's Office. Historically, however, the national 'centre' of Sweden has been the Royal Castle.

In spite of Swedish monarchy being de-politicized in 1974, king Carl XVI Gustaf and the royal family are still represented as if they were part of our national centre, and royal family occasions continue to take on their traditional character of media events.

The aim of this paper is to deconstruct and reconstruct the myth of the mediated centre as a historical product, and to explore the state of this myth at different stages in time. I will do this through an examination of visual and verbal press material from three Swedish royal weddings – in 1888, 1932 and 1976, respectively.

Introduction

One of the most frequently applied and important justifications of journalism is its close connection to democracy – without journalism and the news media, democracy would apparently be impossible in modern, highly populated nation-states. This focus on the democratic functions of journalism derives not only from journalists and media companies, but also from scholars such as Jürgen Habermas, whose theory of the public sphere (1962/1989) laid the philosophical ground for advocating the necessity of media in democratic societies.

This question seems no longer open to discussion, and the degree of freedom of the press is easily converted into a measurement of the state of democracy. For example: since 2002, the international organization RSF (Reporters sans frontières; Reporters without borders) publishes an annual World Press Freedom Index, measuring the state of press freedom in the world. The index is based on 50 criteria for assessing the liberty of the press, assembled in a questionnaire distributed to partner organisations of RSF and their correspondents in 168 countries worldwide (http://www.rsf.org/article.php3?id_article=19391, accessed 2006-10-24). Although the index is explicitly concerned only with violations of press freedom and disregards violations of human rights, in news reports of the results of the survey journalists and media are made to "stand for" democracy as a whole, in a metonymical relationship. Countries with a high index rate are branded not only as enemies of press freedom, but governmental actions taken against journalists and media companies are equalled to state violence against private citizens.

Background: The Theory of the Myth

This is only one example of how the media are placed – or place themselves – in the very centre of society, as the beating heart of democracy. In his book *Media Rituals* (2003), British media scholar Nick Couldry elaborates extensively on what he calls "the myth of the mediated centre". This myth is based on two assumptions. Firstly, the assumption that there is a natural symbolic centre in society, the values and events of which we should all be familiar with. Secondly, the assumption that the media have legitimate and necessary access to that centre. The myth of the mediated centre thus tells us that we are dependent on the mass media for obtaining knowledge about the central values and the important events in our society. All alternative ways of communication are more or less ruled out by this myth. The idea of the social centre being a mediated centre stems from the media, and as citizens in the periphery we are unwittingly made to understand and accept not only the importance of being informed of what goes on in the centre, but also that this information is provided only by the media. In Couldry's words:

> The idea that society has a centre helps naturalise the idea that we have, or need, media that 'represent' that centre; media's claims for themselves that they are society's 'frame' help naturalise the idea, underlying countless media texts, that there is a social 'centre' to *be* re-presented to us. (Couldry 2003: 46)

Thus, the myth of the mediated centre does not tell us that the media are the symbolic, cultural, political or whatever centre of society, but it does tell us that the media encircle this centre like the walls of a medieval city, that they grant themselves the right to keep this centre under constant surveillance and to administer all communication both ways between the centre and the periphery outside.

Researching the Myth: Aim and Material

Couldry plants the myth of the mediated centre firmly within the contemporary context of today's "media culture" or "media society", where the media are omnipresent and pervade everything. However, if the constructed character of this myth – as all myths – were taken seriously, it should be possible to trace its origin to a certain period in time. Thus, the aim of this paper is to deconstruct and reconstruct the myth of the mediated centre as a historical product, and to explore the state of this myth at different stages in time. I will do this through an examination of Swedish journalism in daily and weekly press.

Provided that there is a dominant centre of power in society, the media have always regarded it as their responsibility to cover that centre. For symbolic reasons at least, the head of state personifies the national power centre, whereas the citizens inhabit the periphery and are supposedly dependent on the media to get information from the social centre. Today, national centres of power tend to be represented as synonymous with the actual buildings that symbolise the concentrated leadership of politics – the White House in the US, 10 Downing Street in the UK, the Kremlin in Russia. The Swedish equivalent of this is probably Rosenbad, the Government's Office. Historically, however, the national 'centre' of Sweden has been localised in the Royal Castle. In spite of the Swedish monarchy being de-politicized in 1974, king Carl XVI Gustaf and the royal family are still to a considerable extent represented as if they were part of our national centre, and royal family occasions continue to take on their traditional character of media events. In order to enable a consistent historical perspective of this study, I have chosen to examine the myth of the mediated centre in press material from three Swedish royal weddings – in 1888, 1932 and 1976, respectively. The analysis covers visual and verbal reporting from daily and weekly press.

Quantitative overview of the material

Daily papers: Aftonbladet (AB), Dagens Nyheter (DN), Svenska Dagbladet (SvD)
Weekly magazines: Idun (1888), Svensk Damtidning (SvDam; 1932 and 1976)

Wedding I: Prince Oscar & the noble Ebba Munck, Bournemouth, March 15, 1888
Period of study: March 14-31 in the dailies; January through March in Idun
Number of journalistic items: 59 (whereof 8 in Idun)
Number of visuals: 7 (only in Idun)

Wedding II: Prince Gustav Adolf & princess Sibylla, Coburg, October 19-20, 1932
Period of study: October 16-24 in the dailies; N:o 44 in SvDam
Number of journalistic items: 45 (whereof 15 in SvDam)
Number of visuals: 107 (whereof 45 in SvDam)

Wedding III: King Carl XVI Gustaf & ms Silvia Sommerlath, Stockholm, June 19, 1976
Period of study: June 18-20 in the dailies; N:o 26 in SvDam
Number of journalistic items: 134 (whereof 14 in SvDam)
Number of visuals: 283 (whereof 74 in SvDam)

This schematic overview demonstrates first and foremost an immense increase in the use of visuals, and also increasing – as well as more concentrated – media coverage of royal weddings generally. Due to the technical development during the 20th century speeding up the photographic publication process, the later observation periods are shorter than the first, but still cover the wedding reporting in its entirety.

More detailed information on the material demands a closer analysis of themes and categories in texts and visuals. We can easily increase our knowledge of the wedding reports by posing a couple of straightforward questions:

- In what ways are the relations between royalties, people and media (= centre, periphery and media) depicted and constructed in texts and visuals?
- How does journalism report and/or reflect on its own participation in the royal weddings?

In the following, the weddings are treated chronologically, starting in 1888.

1888: "Warm and Incere Congratulations from the People of Sweden to the Young Prince and His Bride!"

The engagement between prince Oscar, second son of king Oscar II, and the noble Ebba Munck, lady-in-waiting to crown princess Victoria, caused some turmoil in Swedish high society. Male members of the royal house were not allowed to marry beneath their rank, and Ebba Munck was considered "a woman of the people", in spite of her noble lineage. In order for this marriage to be possible at all, prince Oscar had to produce a formal, written request to the king (his father), asking for permission to marry the woman he loved and to denounce his right to the throne along with his royal titles and privileges. This letter, as well as the king's formal letter of consent, was printed *verbatim* in the press, where also a considerable interest in the future legal position of the prince was apparent.

The formal and social difficulties hindering the union of prince Oscar and Ebba Munck endowed the wedding reports with an unmistakably romantic flavour, reminiscent of old folk tales about pure-hearted princes falling in love with beautiful but poor girls:

> …one of the fair maidens of the court…has won a King's son…in spite of prejudice and paragraphs she won as her husband the man her heart has chosen…her gentle being…her warm and full heart…she, whose beauty, amiability and other characteristics have attracted a prince's attention and captured his heart…does well deserve the happiness bestowed upon her…

> …a member of the Swedish royal house…the young prince…has given up the velvet cloak and the princely crown…has declined the prospect of glory and power…generally admired and loved for his modest personality and his humane openness…on his way to win a lasting popularity…

The wedding ceremony in St Stephen's church, Bournemouth, was described in vivid detail in the daily papers as well as in the weekly magazine. Additionally, the magazine presented an exclusive woodcut depicting the ceremony in the choir.

The readers are clearly imagined as royal subjects, with somewhat subordinate positions on the social ladder. Being but vaguely gendered in the daily press, they are explicitly addressed as women in the magazine. A considerable part of the reporting in the dailies consists of the rendering of telegrams sent to the newly-weds from different educational and military associations or organisations all over Sweden, which supposedly serves an integrative function across regions and social positions, and actively includes the male population in the tributes. The inclusive mode unites the papers and the people in heartfelt exclamations such as that in the section title, "warm and sincere congratulations from the people of Sweden to the

young prince and his bride", or "we are convinced that all our female readers join us in cordially wishing the newly engaged couple good luck".

Another prominent trait in the reporting is the consumerist perspective towards the audience. Apart from actual commercial objects such as plaster busts, paintings and pictures of Ebba Munck or the couple being advertised, the papers devote considerable space to two different types of self-advertising. One is the extensive and competitive promotion of exclusive visuals, indicating the 'must-have factor' of the issue in question. Another is the frequent reference to the presence of numerous international papers and journalists at the wedding, indicating the general news value of the event. The first type can look like this:

> On the occasion of prince Oscar's engagement to miss Ebba Munck, this issue is published today Monday instead of Friday. We have undertaken this change so that *Idun* may have the opportunity, before any other paper, to present their honoured female readers with the very newest portrait of the day. It is produced in the atelier of the court photographer Gösta Florman and cut in wood by Mr W. Meyer. (*Idun*, n:o 5, 1888)

Notable here are the status-signalling title "court photographer" (which adds a touch of grandeur to the magazine) and the almost explosive news value of the portrait of the bride-to-be, which is believed shortly to appear in many other papers. All Idun's 7 visuals on the occasion of this wedding are held forward as exclusive originals. The most promoted illustrations appear in n:o 12, and are referred to in a special appendix numbered 11 ½:

> This week's issue of *Idun*, intended to be a festive issue on the occasion of prince Oscar's marriage, cannot be published until the beginning of next week, since several illustrations, manufactured especially for *Idun* by a most distinguished foreign illustration company, have not reached us in time due to severe weather conditions. […] The festive issue will contain a number of illustrations, among them the actual wedding ceremony in St Stephen's Church in Bournemouth (exquisite woodcut) etc etc.

The apparent wish of the press to be connected with cutting-edge technology, already before the break-through of press photography, is perfectly consistent with modern journalism's occupation with 'the new', 'the current', 'the very latest' (cf. Schudson 1978, Hartley 1996). By permitting reporters and photographers to take part of and technologically reproduce such an intimate family event as a wedding, the royal family supports and helps push this desire for technological modernity. At the same time, however, traditional elements of the event are held forward, such as the Swedish queen's ceremonial arrival at the church.

Despite the use of the latest technology, journalism positions itself within the bourgeois private sphere rather than in the public sphere (Habermas 1962/1989) – the images of the newlywed couple acquire the status of private family pictures, and their wedding is depicted as if it were just as important to remember as a wedding within one's own family. In the extensive wedding reports, the royalties are in fact not primarily constructed as power holders or sovereigns but rather as members of the readers' (extended) family, and journalism adopts the role of this family's central figure, the inquisitive and well-informed aunt or uncle who knows everything about everyone and is thrilled to share this with absolutely anyone.

Despite this constructed familiarity, the centre/periphery model does not quite apply in late 19th century Sweden. The organisation of society emerging in the 1888 wedding reports is more hierarchically than centrally oriented, with the king on top and the subjects beneath him, and the media adopting the role of communicator between top and bottom rather than the distributor of one-way information from the ruler to the ruled. The media pride themselves at

being given access to the wedding ceremonies and thereby having the opportunity to bask in the glory of the royal personages, but this is presented as a privilege gracefully bestowed on the media by royal benevolence, not as mandatory democratic procedure. This is a very important difference from today's naturalised conception of the mediated social centre, where every major event is preceded and followed by countless press conferences and press reports. The journalism of 1888 obviously predates the myth of the mediated centre, and thereby also describes a different society, a society where family and friends probably were of greater importance than the media as channels of information and formers of opinion. However, journalism possesses a certain social status, acquired partly through its graciously sanctioned, physical presence to the royals at the wedding, partly through its outspoken use of the latest technical equipment, symbolising the rapid progress of industrialist society.

1932: "Gustaf Adolf expresses his gratitude on 30 meters of sound-film"

The wedding of prince Gustaf Adolf, grandson of king Gustav V, to the German princess Sibylla of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha was in many ways a classic royal wedding, knitting the family ties of the royal houses of Europe closer to each other. Accordingly, one of the most striking elements in the press reports from Coburg is the verbal and visual parading of innumerable royalties with a considerable variety of more or less complicated titles and origins. The media's preoccupation with royal and ex-royal titles and family ties reflects the turmoil on the European continent in the period between the world wars, when old nations fell apart and new nations and ethnic communities were consolidated or strove for independence.

Another striking element in the reports is the parading of Nazi uniforms – only a couple of days before the royal wedding, the city of Coburg hosted the celebrations of the 10-year anniversary of the S.A., and made Adolf Hitler an honorary Coburg citizen. Add to this that the mayor, who led the civil marriage ceremony, was a uniformed member of the NSPD (although civilly dressed during the ceremony), and that princess Sibylla's father, grand duke Carl Eduard, had arranged for S.A. and S.S. soldiers to assist the ordinary police force during the festivities, and the settings of the wedding begin to take on their particular and time-bound appearance.

The traditional fairy-tale narrative is somewhat missing in the reports from Coburg, and the renderings of the royal protagonists are rather impersonal and not respectful in the same way as they were in 1888. Due to the fact that the wedding takes place in Germany and not in Sweden, the hooraying and flag-waving citizens in the streets are not Swedish subjects but inhabitants of Coburg, and nationalist-royalist sentiment does not quite present itself. Rather, the Swedish media depict a specifically German setting – made up of *Hochzeit-Bier und Würstchen*, *Stahlhelme* and swastika banners – which appears quite strange and even slightly threatening, in spite of the age-old family ties between Swedish and German royalties. More than anything, the Coburg wedding is represented as a grand spectacle, and the press invites Swedish readers to watch and be amazed at this predominantly visual event.

Journalism combines two discourses in the reports from this wedding: on the one hand the traditionalist discourse, stressing history, dynasties, lineage and heritage, and on the other hand the modernist discourse, stressing the rapidity, accuracy and complexity of (media) technology. The obvious fascination with cameras, film cameras and microphones constitute a parallel track to the wedding reports. As demonstrated in the section title above, "Gustaf Adolf expresses his gratitude on 30 metres of sound-film", these tracks are united into a story of the merging between tradition and modernity, between history and progress. It is actually quite difficult to tell which part of the headline is the most important, "Gustaf Adolf expresses his gratitude" or "on 30 metres of sound-film".

The sound-film event appears in all four papers, and contains several elements of interest to this study. It begins with an American company (Fox) filming a brief interview with the

prince at an occasion when neither the German nor the Swedish filmmakers had their camera equipments ready. A little later, however, the Swedes and the Germans join their film forces and manage to persuade the prince to express his gratitude for the gifts and congratulations. His speech and the consecutive dialogue with the film photographers are extensively quoted in three of the papers, while the fourth (the evening paper *Aftonbladet*) contains an interview with the Swedish filmmakers. The prince's speech is 'reviewed' by a German film technician, who says that the prince has "a splendid voice for sound-film" and would be a great success in film business. Thus, the prince transcends the traditionalist royal discourse and enters the discourse of technological modernity, the realm of the media.

The merging of these two discourses is also made visible in some of the photographs from Coburg, where the journalistic thrill of achieving a kind of technological domination over the royals is almost tangible.

Brudparet i pressfotografernas kameraeld.

Figure 1. From *Svensk Damtidning*, No. 44, October 1932.

Picture 1 (above) is captioned "the bridal couple under the press photographers' camera fire", and shows the newly-weds entering the courtyard through a vault in the far left of the image. Photographers with camera equipments are surrounding the courtyard, kneeling behind the royal Mercedes or crowding in the thorny rose bushes in order to get their pictures of the royal couple. Obviously, the gathering of members of the international press corps in Coburg possesses considerable news value in itself; this is but one of many similar images, depicting the interaction between media and royalties. The frequent military metaphors in the articles – "cannonades of camera shots", "battalions of filmmakers and photographers beleaguering Coburg Castle", "murdering fire from the photographers' batteries" – imply that there is a sort of battle going on. Evidently, journalism is at war with royalty, and possibly, this war is

about the control of the social centre. What we see in the visuals and texts from Coburg is in fact the scaffolding of the myth of the mediated centre, the machinery of the journalistic working process laid bare for everyone to see and admire – and in due course legitimize.

When it comes to the relations between royals, media and audience, the earlier hierarchical organisation of society seems to be approaching the centre/periphery model, and rather than satisfying the royals' demands for respect and subordination, the media increasingly strive to simultaneously create and satisfy a public demand for rapid and stable access to newsworthy events such as royal weddings. As we have seen, however, the royals take advantage of the new media technology too, in order to strengthen their position in the national centre. The centre is contested, power relations are unstable – but citizens are unmistakably directed towards the periphery.

1976: "'YES' – AND THERE WAS A QUEEN. 500 Million Witnesses to the Wedding on TV"

In 1976, the 30-year-old king Carl XVI Gustaf married tourist hostess Silvia Sommerlath from Heidelberg, West Germany. They met during the Olympic Games in Munich 1972, when Carl Gustaf was still a crown prince, and managed to keep their relationship a secret for almost four years. At the time of their wedding, the papers were teeming with fairy-tale narratives about the ordinary girl who fell in love with a king and won the love of his people. Apart from the enormous extent of the press coverage, the reports from this wedding stand out in two important aspects: national(ist) sentiment is uninhibitedly evoked, and the central role of national as well as international media in this event is emphasized and taken for granted. A few headlines can exemplify these tendencies:

"This is Silvia: our new queen"

"How beautiful she is, the people cheered"

"180 000 happy Stockholmers in royal revelry"

"The bridal couple in radiant cortège. Blue-and-yellow flags. Happy onlookers in quadruple lines. Salutes and cheers for the royal sloop"

"Here is my Silvia – your queen"

"Welcome to us"

"The day we got a queen. SILVIA'S FAIRY-TALE WEDDING"

"Joyful family ceremony in front of millions. 200 years since the last time"

"The picture TV couldn't show: The kiss Sweden has awaited for four years"

"Not one colour-TV left for hire for the wedding tomorrow"

"We saw everything up close – except the kiss"

"Perfect TV-wedding for millions. 180 000 by the cortège"

This is obviously not just any royal wedding; the huge media attention is legitimized by a purely quantitative news value – 500 million people cannot possibly be wrong, this really was

an important event made public by the media. The great number of television viewers worldwide justifies the enormous media coverage, which renders possible the huge public attendance of the wedding through the media, in a perfect circular definition.

The media's participation in the royal wedding 1976 is neither status rising (as in 1888) nor challenging (as in 1932) – it is simply a normal and necessary element of contemporary society. By this time, the myth of the mediated centre is completely naturalised and therefore invisible. The media make a point of complementing each other; what is not seen on TV is shown in the press, and the other way around, in the tailor-made model of the mediated social centre. The wedding reports from Stockholm 1976 surely sketch the contours of a media event, coronation style (Dayan & Katz 1992) – except that the king of the day is not the Swedish king, but the media themselves.

Beyond the Myth

These analyses have demonstrated that the myth of the mediated centre is a journalistic construction, with a history and a pre-history. The material of this study does not, however, render it possible to tell more exactly when this myth was naturalised. Neither does it allow for conclusions about the present state of the idea of the mediated centre. Still, I believe this study does accomplish something important in deconstructing the myth and foregrounding its processual character, as well as acknowledging the crucial role of different journalistic genres and modes of representation in the gradual establishment of this myth.

Couldry (2003: 66) stresses the close connections between media events and the construction of an idea or a sense of 'the centre', something which the present study confirms and also displays in visual and verbal detail. In a later article (2004), Couldry sketches a possible itinerary for media studies beyond the media-centrism implied and promoted by the myth of the mediated centre. This route leads out of the national centres and into the periphery of local, subcultural and alternative media. I would however propose another road to get beyond the mediated centre. This is the path of historical media studies, a direction I have briefly described in this study. Studying the past is an eminent way to get perspectives on the present and thereby be able to understand it differently. A final *caveat* should be added, though: studying the past does not mean focusing entirely on change and ignoring continuity. Too much of media studies is oriented towards change, and fails to see the things that remain the same, or that change very slowly in Braudelian *longue-durée* fashion. The myth of the mediated centre is undoubtedly central to contemporary journalism (and to media studies), but it has not always existed, and will not continue to exist forever. This is something that can be learned from historical media studies.

References

Couldry, Nick (2003), *Media Rituals. A critical approach*, London: Routledge.

Couldry, Nick (2004), Transvaluing Media Studies: or, beyond the myth of the mediated centre, in Curran, James & David Morley, eds, *Media and Cultural Theory*, London: Routledge.

Dayan, Daniel & Elihu Katz (1992), *Media Events: the live broadcasting of history*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP.

Habermas, Jürgen (1962/1989), *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hartley, John (1996), Popular Reality: journalism, modernity, popular culture, London: Arnold.

Schudson, Michael (1978), *Discovering the News*, New York: Basic Books

The Titled Nobility of Europe (1914), London: Harrison & Sons.

www.rsf.org, accessed 2006-10-24.

Domesticity, Spirituality and the Igorota as Mountain Maid

Anna Christie K. Villarba-Torres

Department of Language, Literature and the Arts,
University of the Philippines Baguio

kendi_416@yahoo.com

My paper is a critical study of images of the Igorota in various Philippine texts, from literature and history to popular visual forms. Informed by postcolonial theory, the short story *Sam-it and the Loom* by Filipino writer Lina Espina-Moore may be read as an attempt to depict how American women fit into the colonial design in the Philippines, the Cordillera in particular. I argue that the representation of the Igorota in the story encapsulates what Filipino historian Vicente Rafael calls "colonial domesticity", or the assumption that in constructing 'home' in the tropics, "the structures of the public and private are mobile and indefinitely reproducible, capable of translation across cultural bodily spaces" (Rafael 2000). It would thus be interesting to look at how American women manoeuvred into the public and private spheres where the Igorota figured prominently. This will allow me to foreground the Igorota's cultural and spiritual negotiations in the light of her colonial past and in the midst of an increasingly competitive global present.

Fiction and Colonial History

My paper is part of a critical study of images of the Igorota in various Philippine texts, from literature and history to popular visual forms like the photograph, postcard and print advert. In the short story Sam-it and the Loom by Lina Espina-Moore, I focus on the Igorota's spirituality. Espina-Moore's narrative may be read as an attempt to depict how American women fit into the colonial design woven in the Philippines, the Cordillera in particular. I argue that the representation of the Igorota in this story encapsulates what Filipino historian Vicente Rafael calls "colonial domesticity," of the assumption that in constructing 'home' in the tropics, "the structures of public and private are mobile and indefinitely reproducible, capable of translation across cultural bodily spaces." Moreover, Rafael adds that domesticity is marked by ambivalence that "alternately enables and disabled the construction of the uneasy divide between the public and the private in the empire" (Rafael 2000). It is thus interesting to look at how American women manoeuvred into the public and private spheres where the Igorota figured prominently.

Sam-it and the Loom is part of a collection of a dozen short stories in Cuentos (all succeeding references are to this edition), written between 1958 and 1980 and published in 1985. Author Espina-Moore is a fictionist and journalist who belongs to the post-Second World War generation of Filipino writers in English. She was married for 17 years to C.S. Moore, an American lumber company executive. During this time, she lived in the Central Cordillera provinces and wrote novels and short stories in English and Visayan (language of peoples living in the Philippine Visayan islands). Espina-Moore was born and raised in Cebu City, southern Philippines.

In the story, Sam-it, a young Igorota seeks refuge among the weavers of the Episcopalian Women's Workshop in the city of Baguio after her husband, Dakyon had taken another wife because "she did not bear him children." Her weaving skills improved immensely at the Mission looms but her supervisor Miss Jean Brown later facilitates her employment with the Allens, an American couple residing in Baguio. Mrs. Matilda Allen teaches Sam-it many Christian ways. But upon the untimely demise of Mr. Allen, Sam-it witnesses her mistress' spiritual disintegration.

Colonial Domesticity and Spirituality

Rafael posits that American women who wrote in and on the Philippines during the early part of the American colonial rule invested colonialism with "a sense of the domestic and the sentimental" (Rafael 2000). Interestingly, this is evident not only in their letters and memoirs but also in the fiction of Filipino writers like Espina-Moore who may have witnessed and perhaps even countered their voyeurism in colonial gaze. I also argue that spirituality plays a major role in the colonial investment, oftentimes infused in/with the domestic and sentimental.

After her perceived failed marriage to Dakyon, the young Sam-it seeks solace in the American constructed leisure space of Baguio, "among the Christians," where capitalism had crept into supposedly sacred institutions like the Episcopalian Church. In the guise of domesticating the native, the Mission Workshop capitalized on the Igorota's weaving skills by teaching her "to weave on the more complicated *Ilocano* loom." This allowed for the use of more colours and designs which were a hit with the tourists. Sam-it becomes adept at either the Igorot or Ilocano loom, so "visitors [would stop] longest with her to watch her weave."

The domesticating act was a shared commitment among the American colonial rulers, so the most promising subjects had to be 'nurtured,' whether in the public sphere of the Mission Workshop or the private home of American expatriate couples like the Allens. Following the

metaphor of entrepreneurship, Miss Brown 'loans' Sam-it to the Allens because Matilda is "a good woman and en excellent mistress", but she informs the young girl that she is free to return to the Mission if her private employment proves unfavourable.

The body is vital in the creation of an ideal domestic space. The servant becomes "a copy of the domesticated white body [of his/her mistress] while at the same time appears[s] radically different and distant from that body" (Rafael 2000). Mrs. Allen is responsible for Sam-it's cultural crossdressing. She gives her housemaid her

> ...first American dress, a middy blouse with a pleated skirt which reached down to the ankles...a muslin slip, muslin bloomers, white cotton stockings and tennis shoes (Espina-Moore 1985).

In codifying the Igorota's body "as it should be", Mrs. Allen was applying the prevailing discourse of the female body as a temple of modesty, decency and morality that sought to instil order in the colonial scheme of things. Notably, this is evident especially among the supposed unclad and filthy natives like the Igorots. Apart from habiliments, domesticity included aping the bourgeois lifestyle of the typical white American family. It should be noted, however that many Baguio and even Manila resident Americans were "not originally reared in wealth" and thus only too quickly "took to bridge tables, drink and *amahs* [nannies]" (Sams in Cogan 2000). Mrs. Allen makes it her business to let Sam-it hear the houseguests complimenting the mistress of the house for masterfully training her servant top prepare biscuits, ginger cookies and tea. Sam-it may have expertly followed the baking instructions but her reward of appreciation is of no much to her mistress' whose mentoring skills are incomparable. Even the leisurely act of reading is dominated by the mistress. Sam-it's prized possessions included a copy of *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* and *Little Women*, chosen by the mistress perhaps because of their uncontroversial content and proliferation of prim and proper female characters.

Domestic acts were infused with lessons in spirituality to emphasize the coherence and stability of the colonial design. Mrs. Allen swiftly lectures Sam-it on the primacy of Christian marriage when she learns of Dakyon's initiative to win back his former wife. She expects her maid to wear American clothes during Sunday Church services to signal her effectiveness as a Christian mistress. Respectability in white American middle class society meant having a firm grip on domesticity and spirituality in both public and private spheres.

The Loom: Appropriation and Spirituality

The loom is the central image in the narrative. First, it identifies Sam-it with her indigenous Cordillera culture. As a skilful weaver, she was familiar with the "primary colours and geometric designs of her people." Second, the loom signifies Sam-it's adaptability. She had no difficulty adjusting to the loom of the lowland variety. As a colonial subject, the Igorot native became adept at weaving together the strands of pagan upland and civilized lowland cultures.

More importantly, the loom is symbolic of Sam-it's appropriation of the American colonial encounter. Appropriation allowed for the acquisition of foreign influences but at the same time provided ample space for the native to make necessary adjustments for her personal interest and satisfaction. To illustrate, Sam-it knew how to tell time, the Western way. Mrs. Allen had taught her how. But she continued to rely on her instinct:

> ...it was simpler to look up through the kitchen window where in summer months teatime was when brilliant sunlight touched the treetops (Espina-Moore 1985).

When Mr. Allen dies in an accident at the mine sight, his wife is devastated:

> ...she stayed in her room for many days without seeing and talking to anyone. No one saw her cry. Not even Sam-it her broth and tea thrice a day (Espina-Moore 1985).

The colonial order was patriarchal in nature. As Rafael points out, "[e]mpire building historically has been associated with popular projects for the reconstruction of manhood in the United States." But in the domesticating mission, the chief agents were white women, "charged with the duty of upholding middle class morality and respectability amid the barbarism of a colonized people" (Rafael 2000). And in carrying out such duty, dependency on the native was paramount.

With the spiritual foundation of her private sphere gone, Matilda Allen succumbs to spiritual deterioration:

> ...she screamed and pulled her hair. Then she flung herself on [Mr. Allen's] bathrobe on the floor. She screamed, cried and mumbled. She pushed and squeezed her face into the bathrobe (Espina-Moore 1985).

Sam-it takes matters into her hands. She affirms her dual spirituality: "I, Sam-it [am] both Christian and pagan." She seeks audience with a *mambunung* (native doctor-priest) to drive the *anito* (spirit) out of her mistress, even offering herself as intermediary should the spirit be that of Mr. Allen. Cordillera studies scholar William Henry Scott points to how Christian reformers have attacked indigenous paganism as "a religion of unreasoning, unreasonable, and pauperizing fear," yet he is quick to add that "the daily life of the faithful pagan does not give the immediate appearance of uncertainty, apprehension or terror, on the contrary, the pagan faces the world of frightening uncertainty with a great deal of confidence and psychological poise" (Scott 1969).

After Mr. Allen's funeral, Mrs. Allen becomes more reticent; even the visits of Miss Brown whom Sam-it regarded as the mambunung of the Christian God are futile. When mistress tells servant that Mr. Allen had come in the night and that she would soon join him, Sam-it is not surprised. She performs the functions of her dual spirituality when she finds her mistress dead the following morning. She sings "Rock of Ages," a classic Church hymn, delivers a traditional chant in praise of the kind couple and tells the spirits that a *cañao* feast will be held for them in her village and finally performs a cleansing ritual of passing over a blade of grass over the eyes, ears and mouth of her mistress.

The discovery of Matilda Allen's 'bundles' of dog ears and the skeleton and feathers of a bird complete with the animals' life histories unnerved Miss Brown and the other Church ladies. They realize their failure as spiritual mentors in the public sphere, prompting Miss Brown to ask, "What right have we to be making new Christians when we have no patience, no heart, no time for our own?" Suddenly, to Sam-it, Miss Brown was a *mambunung* no more. Ironically, it is Sam-it, the native housemaid who in her appropriation of Christianity effectively feels the position of spiritual confidant.

Image of the Mountain Maid Magnified

In the end, I pose the question: how did the native Igorota see her subject position? Historical accounts of white women privilege their voyeuristic and colonial gaze in representing the Igorota. But the colonial eye/I of white American women failed to comment on a return gaze from the colonized (Holt 2002). Sam-it may have been silent but it is this very silence that provides a fitting answer to Gayatri Spivak's query of whether the subaltern can speak. Sam-it returns the gaze by appropriating deed, not

word. Espina-Moore's narrative offers us a window of opportunity to witness Sam-it's return gaze. Though she herself is not bereft of contradictions, neither is she a mere saccharine mountain maid (pun intended).

'Mountain Maid' is the label of a popular product line of jams, jellies and other mountain produce established by the nuns of the Good Shepherd Convent in Baguio City. Through the entrepreneurial skills of the good sisters, Mountain Maid has become part of the city's iconography. Domestic and foreign tourists simply must purchase even just a jar of *ube* (purple yam) or strawberry jam or a canister of peanut brittle or angel cookies when they visit Baguio to bring as *pasalubong* (homecoming gift) to friends and relatives.

Semiotically, the label embodies the lot of Sam-it and other Cordillera youth after American colonization. These Igorot youth have been educated and Christianized by foreign and local authorities. The Good Shepherd sisters in particular began with a residential program that administered to six Igorot girls from Mines View, Baguio City in December 1952. Originally conceived as a catechism class, the program to be what was later known as the Pelletier Hills School, an accredited institution that offered elementary and high school education for girls. Mountain Maid as a cultural symbol began with a musical group of twenty Igorota teenagers who called themselves the Mountain Maids. Sister Mary Rosary Bonifacio, the *impresario* of the group discovered the musical talents of the girls and had other professionals and volunteers hone these talents. Soon the group was performing beyond the gardens of Pelletier Hills. The sisters saw this as an opportunity through which the girls could "portray their very own cultures and values for the entire world to appreciate." For the sisters, wearing native costumes and singing songs of "peace, homeland and humanity" was a step toward self-representation because it taught the girls "how to be critical of both [foreign and local cultures]" (Bacaltos and Mendoza 2002).

However various shifts in vision and mission led to the closure of the school. Instead, it came to be known as Pelletier Hills Residence, which catered to or served as 1) group living for girls in need of protection but not rehabilitation; 2) temporary shelter for girls and women in crisis; and 3) a hostel for college students and working girls (Bacaltos and Mendoza 2002). After the 1990 earthquake that rocked Baguio City and other Luzon provinces, another developmental shift led to the establishment of the Mountain Maid Training Centre (MMTC) whose motto became "winning with inferior resources: a superior strategy for helping the poor" (Bacaltos and Mendoza 2002). Thus was born Mountain Maid's new cultural and entrepreneurial symbol.

Interestingly, the work force of the MMTC consists of Cordillera youth whose education is subsidized by the sale of the products and who, as the Good Shepherd sisters had envisioned in the nineties, would render community service to their provinces of origin upon graduation. Yet the gigantic tarpaulin poster portraying smiling Igorot lasses and lads clad in their respective provinces' native garb belies any growth in their self-representation. Apparently, their exotic mountain culture continues to be their main selling point, not their accomplishments or what they are trying to make of themselves. Unwittingly perhaps the good sisters, in their imagined affinity with the Cordillera native, have literally drawn from these young people's cultural capital to market their food products. It is interesting to note that in taking the entrepreneurial term, the MMTC emphasized the spirituality of the project proponents. In their project proposal they cited, among other reasons:

> They [the sisters] were offering a product [strawberry jam] made by the hands of religious, a product characteristic highly appealing to Filipinos who consider anything touched by religious to have been blessed (Bacaltos and Mendoza 2002).

But the hands that actually toiled were those of the mountain maid. In a sense therefore, the culture of the mountain maid and now her male counterpart have been commodified

to meet the expectations of the local and even global consumer. The logo, conceptualized by Sister Mary Assumption boasts a crisp, no nonsense linguistic product marker. However although it does not capitalize on any other visual exotic appeal, such as the stereotypical image of an Igorota, costume and all, it, by its sheer simplicity and straightforwardness, nonetheless signifies domesticity and the pastoral idyll.

In the realm of literature, Sam-it, like her loom, is able to negotiate every "warp and woof" of her hybrid culture and spirituality. Perhaps it is time the mountain maid and lad be allowed to leap beyond the advertising frame to foreground their negotiations, their own 'warps and woofs' amidst an increasingly globalizing scenario.

References

Bacaltos, Rosemary and Mendoza, Mary Fe, eds. *Celebrate: 50 Years with The Good Shepherd in Baguio* (Baguio City 2002).

Cogan, Frances. *Captured*. University of Georgia Press (Georgia 2000).

Espina-Moore, Lina. *Cuentos*. New Day Publishers (Quezon City 1985).

Holt, Elizabeth. Colonizing Filipinas: nineteenth century representations of the *Philippines in Western historiography*. Ateneo de Manila University (Quezon City 2002).

Rafael, Vicente. White love and other events in Filipino history. Ateneo de Manila University Press (Quezon City 2000).

Scott, William Henry. *On the Cordillera*. MCS Enterprises, Inc. (Manila 1969).

Walking The Cognisphere:
Navigation and Digital Media on The Go

Robert Willim

Department of European Ethnology, Lund University Sweden

robert.willim@etn.lu.se | http://www.robertwillim.com/

The paper deals with the ways an advanced digital technology like GPS (Global Positioning System) is integrated with the mundane practices of wayfinding and moving on foot. I will use N Katherine Hayles take on the concept cognisphere: "The cognisphere gives a name and shape to the globally interconnected cognitive systems in which humans are increasingly embedded." The concept deals with the ways that humans and machines are co-existing in complex systems of data flows. Then, how can the ideas about a cognisphere be related to the anthropologist Tim Ingold's discussions about bodily mobility, walking and cognition? Use of digital media like GPS devices puts the ideas about cognition and mobility in a new light.

How mobile are mobile media? How are media developed for navigation used when moving on foot? By looking at the combination of locomotion and media use, some of the crucial questions concerning the cultural dimensions of media use can be scrutinized.

Navigation is a goal-oriented movement, it can be described as the process or activity of accurately ascertaining one's position and planning and following a route. Different kinds of technologies have through the years been used for navigation or wayfinding. Maps, chronometers, sextants, compasses, itineraries and today the more widespread use of the GPS-system (short for Navigation Satellite Timing and Ranging *Global Positioning System*) are some examples of navigation technologies. In this text I will mainly concentrate on use of GPS-devices.

The American satellite-navigation system GPS is used in a number of contexts. Objects are equipped with GPS-receivers or transmitters that communicate with the 30 satellites that are operating within the system. GPS can be combined with other kinds of technological systems to be used for identification, positioning and handling of information. To be able to use GPS-equipped devices you are dependent on a complex system of digital technology, satellites and the whole industry that is running it all. To approach uses of this complex system N Katherine Hayles´ ideas about a *cognisphere* can be an useful entrance.[1]

> In highly developed and networked societies like the US, human awareness comprises the tip of a huge pyramid of data flows, most of which occur between machines. (…) Expanded to include not only the Internet but also networked and programmable systems that feed into it, including wired and wireless data flows across the electromagnetic spectrum, the cognisphere gives a name and shape to the globally interconnected cognitive systems in which humans are increasingly embedded (Hayles 2006:161).

Advanced technological systems are intertwined with human exercises. What interests me is the use of an extremely advanced technological system to enhance mundane practices like walking and wayfinding. The technology makes new actions possible, but at the same time it frames possibilities. The geographer Nigel Thrift has written about these prerequisites and notes how digital media and technologies with embedded software become part of invisible or unconscious technological patterns and structures. Technology become a kind of *epistemic wallpaper* (2004:585). Extremely complex systems can be integrated in our lives and be experienced as uncomplicated ingredients of everyday life. In an industrialized society we at a daily basis use systems which we just understand fractions of (Willim 2006).

I will now look at some cultural dimensions of media or technology enhanced navigation and walking, and I will take my departure point in uses of the GPS. A lot of what has been written on navigation is coupled to shipping or other kinds of vehicular mobility. However, when concentrating on the ways that navigational technologies are combined with locomotion and with walking and excursions on foot, the navigational augmentations of the body can be examined in relation to the bodily practices of movement and the experiences of place.

Technologies and locomotion

Navigation media like the GPS, are by their nature meant to be used when moving around, or to track the movements of actors and objects. When this is written GPS-receivers are divided into a number of categories, for different kinds of usage. Depending on models they have been developed for mounting in different vehicles, for use with laptops or mobile phones or to be used when on foot. The various areas of use for GPS-devices are however in flux. New

---

1   Hayles has drawn the concept from Thomas Whalen, who 2000 presented a text on knowledge spaces, in which he used the term cognosphere: "The earth provides us with an atmosphere, a hydrosphere, and a biosphere. We have created, for ourselves, a knowledge sphere. Maybe, for aesthetic purposes, we should call it the cognosphere."(Whalen 2000:1).

applications and convergences of technologies are being developed at high speed. Yet GPS-equipment haven´t become obvious parts of most people's everyday lives. It's a kind of technology which haven't yet slipped into the "technological unconscious" (Thrift 2004:585). GPS-equipment is however spread more and more and is turning into one of these complex systems that are domesticated, and day by day habits and corporeal routinizations are growing in connection to the technology. Therefore it is especially interesting to look at this kind of technology which is still often considered as a future technology but which is on the brink of becoming integrated in everyday practices.

I will now concentrate on the kind of devices that are used to position yourself and find your way when on foot. And then especially the kind of products with graphical user interfaces (GUI) equipped with maps and representations of different kinds of spatial information. In the following description from the company Garmin, some of the features of such a GPS for outdoor use, are mentioned:

> On the road, on the trail, or on the water, the Garmin GPSMAP®60 series is your ideal guide to the great outdoors. Both the 60Cx and 60CSx versions are rugged, waterproof, full-color navigators that feature a built- in autorouting basemap and include a 64 MB microSD card for storage of optional MapSource®topo, marine or city street map detail. High-sensitivity GPS receivers assure improved reception in tree cover or canyons. And both units feature auto-save of track data to help guide you back to any point along your route. In addition, the "sensor version" 60CSx includes an electronic compass and barometric altimeter – making it the trailblazing tool of choice for hikers and climbers.(Specifications for Garmin GPSMAP60CSx www.garmin.com)

This map-equipped GPS is marketed as something "for the outdoor enthusiast on the go"(www.garmin.com). It is a fairly advanced technology which also encourages locomotion and bodily mobility. But locomotion and advanced technologies haven't always been compatible.The anthropologist Tim Ingold has written about walking in different cultural settings (2004). He writes about the "sitting society" which has characterized the last 200 years of the Western world. He accentuates the role technologies like the boot and the chair have had in these societies. Footwear like shoes and boots have diminished the movability of our toes and have thereby reduced the lower extremities to a kind of "stepping machines". The chair have also contributed to an increased value of mind over the body. He writes about a dominant mindset of the Western world, about a split, "an imagined separation between the activities of a mind at rest and a body in transit, between cognition and locomotion"(ibid:321). He continues to critically describe this mindset:

> Only when the mind is set at rest. No longer jolted and jarred by the physical displacements of its bodily housing, can it operate properly. As long as it is in between one point of observation and another, it is effectively disabled (ibid:322).

When taking the point of departure from these thoughts it is especially interesting to analyse the role that navigation technologies play when people are moving around. A number of electrical and digital artefacts are developed and designed having a sitting user in mind. The chair or similar furniture are expected to be used when using artefacts like personal computer, game consoles or TV-sets. The chair or the sofa has become a natural property in connection with consumer electronics. But even when the computer is designed to be mobile, in the form of laptops, the user is expected to sit when using it. Otherwise the laptop would be hard to have in the lap[2] Ingold argues that the chair is central if we are to explain our relations to

---

2   There are of course exceptions to this design principle. Some workplaces are equipped with vertical adjustable tables which makes computer based work more ergonomic. In the end of 2006 Nintendo

corporeality and how we value different senses in the Western world. The chair "illustrates the value placed upon a sedentary perception of the world, mediated by the allegedly superior senses of vision and hearing, and unimpeded by any haptic or kinaesthetic sensation through the feet (ibid:323).

It is, as mentioned, when taking departure point in these thoughts that it becomes highly interesting to analyse how a complex digital technology like the GPS is used. Its user interface is to a high degree visual. The visual (or graphical) information presented on a screen shall then be coordinated with other bodily perceptions and with the moving body. How is this done in practice?

Caching In

> Geocaching is an outdoor treasure-hunting game in which the participants use a Global Positioning System (GPS) receiver or other navigational techniques to hide and seek containers (called "geocaches" or "caches") anywhere in the world. A typical cache is a small waterproof container containing a logbook and "treasure", usually toys or trinkets of little monetary value (www.wikipedia.org)

To analyse the use of GPS I've taken part in the practices of *geocaching,* and also discussed these practices with experienced geocachers. Geocaching is a phenomenon that has grown in a number of countries. It started 2000 in USA, and have become a widespread movement (Kelley 2006). By using websites like *geocaching.com* the exact coordinates for different points over the world can be presented. At these points small boxes or containers, so called caches, can be hidden. The coordinates can be downloaded to a GPS-receiver, after which the hunt for caches can take place in the landscape.

Geocaching is a good example of how advanced digital technology have moved out in the terrain. At one occasion I followed the geocacher Scrapman on a tour through the landscape in southern Sweden hunting for small boxes. We both brought a Garmin GPS-receiver, but also paper prints from geocaching.com that described the caches. The coordinates for the different caches had been downloaded from the web and were stored in the GPS-devices like *waypoints*.

We started by car. When we approched the caches we started our search on foot. The colour screen of a Garmin GPSmap 60 CS showed a map on which a small arrow was moving along the map representation as we moved through the landscape. By oscillating between the information from the screen and our perceptions of our physical surroundings we could move until the arrow was close to the waypoint on the screen. Then Scrapman switched the device to a mode where numbers indicated the distance to the cache… 7 meters, 4 meters… By moving around and trying different directions we could soon home in on the target. This cache was hidden in a small hole in a tree. We opened the box, checked the log book stored in it, and wrote a note that we had found the cache.

Coordination

What does this kind of practices, and the use of these technologies, mean for the ways people experience places? How are the technology-based experiences entwined with the experiences of place. The GPS-receivers are parts of a complex system, extremely hard to grasp entirely. When we move around in our surroundings aided by GPS we are dependent on the represen-

---

launched the game console Wii, which have motion sensitive game controllers designed for bodily movement. The gamer is encouraged to leave the sofa and move around when playing. In this way more parts of the body than the hands are used. Eg. when playing a tennis game the gamer is expected to move and hit an imagined ball with the game controller.

tations shown on the screen of our device. The interface of the screen is integrated in the experience of place. Signs on the screen are compared, related to and coordinated with perceptions from the physical landscape. The screen and the technology demand "certain kinds of structured engagement, which are both geophysical and also phenomenological in that they may alter our understanding of space, time and movement" (Thrift 2004:585).

It is important to accentuate that even if this to a high degree is a visual coordination of perceptions from the screen and the surrounding landscape, it is also a practice involving large parts of the human body, not least the feet. Tim Ingold remind us that we seldom perceive from a fixed point, but more often from "a continuous itinerary of movements (…) if perception is thus a function of movement, then what we perceive must, at least in part, depend on how we move" (Ingold 2004:331). When it comes to wayfinding, and the experiences of spatiality that is coupled to these activities, it is especially important to emphasize how locomotion is connected to perceptual activity. Cognition and locomotion are tightly connected, and "cognition should not be *set off* from locomotion, along the lines of a division between head and heels, since walking is itself a form of circumambulatory knowing"(ibid).

When me and Scrapman moved through the landscape in hunt for caches it became obvious that large parts of our bodies were engaged in the search. And the technology was integral to the practice. Not least when we came close to our goal we experienced an evident coordination between, not only bodily coordination and what we could see in the surroundings, but also a coordination with the information that was offered by the GPS. Bodily movement, visual perception and information from the human-machine cognisphere were integrated.

In one of my discussions, with a group called Team Global, we recurred to a certain peculiarity of the GPS-devices we used. If you don't move around, the GPS will most likely start to present strange information. Standing still and just slightly moving the hand holding the device would lead to peculiar info on the screen. To get the correct information you have to take some steps, so the device can fetch accurate information from the satellites. Using the GPS-devices at the time this is written require locomotion. You have to walk to be synchronized with the cognisphere. This is an interesting break with the logic of the sitting society of the Western world that Ingold describe.

Who's The Guide?

When I was moving around in the landscape with Scrapman we weren't alone in the terrain. We had company. A question emerged: Who guides who? N Katherine Hayles writes about a subtle change in subjectivity that the cognisphere is bringing about.

> Incorporation of intelligent machines into everyday practices creates distributed cognitive systems that include human and non-human actors; distributed cognition in turn is linked to a dispersed sense of self, with human awareness acting as the limited resource that artificial cognitive systems help to preserve and extend (Hayles 2006:162)

The waypoints we had in our GPS-devices can be compared to the crosses that mark a hidden treasure on a map. In fictituos treasure hunts some protagonist is trying to interpret some mapmakers signs and symbols. The mapmaker is present on the treasure hunt through the map, through the representation of the world. This presence make the map a technology of power. Doreen Massey have dicussed the role of the map and its relations to geography and space. Maps are selective, and "…through their codes and conventions and their taxonomic and ordering procedures, maps operate as a technology of power" (2005:106).

In a similar fashion the one who has placed a cache is present in the practices of homing in on the waypoint that represent the location of the cache. When publishing a cache on Geocaching.com the user can also publish additional hints that combined with the geographical

coordinates can be an aid in the search. The coordinates and the hints are working as guidance. The map, the software and the interface of the GPS-device, the satellite system and the hints from the website are aids during the search. So, who is or what is the guide? It is hard to exactly put the finger on who's doing what in these situations. And if we talk about maps as technolgies of power, who's in control in this distributed system? The human carrying the GPS-device is enmeshed in the interlacements of the cognisphere. As part of this distributed system of cognition and actions you may feel like part of something greater, something which is hard to grasp in its entirety. Human awareness is the limited resource that the artificial cognitive system, highlighted through the points of interaction at websites and in handheld devices, help to preserve and extend.

Being on The Screen

Images of maps and other kinds of information from wayfinding technologies have to be coordinated with the perceptions we get from different places. In a GPS-receiver the static map become something fluid. The image is updated as the user move through physical space. To an unexperienced user this gradual change can feel confusing. If you are used to do the visual walking on a static paper map, then it can be an awkward experience with a gradually updated image on a screen. But also this kind of technology and this interface is domesticated. After a while the interface of a gadget may turn into what is experienced as a natural extension of the body. To an experienced user, screens and other parts of the equipment is transformed into the fabric of everyday life. The technology become part of the technological unconscious and is turned into a kind of epistemic wallpaper (Thrift 2004:585). But also for experienced users this domesticated technology can offer kicks.

Scrapman talked about what he called microscopic kicks when he was moving around in the landscape with his map-equipped GPS. On the screen you can follow your own movement. You see a small cursor moving over the screen, how it is passing through a map representing the surrounding landscape. You see how a path is meandering in the landscape in front of you. On the screen the path is rendered, and some centimeters from the cursor a winding blue line crosses the representation of the path. The cursor approaches the blue line, you hear a rippling sound, and when you raise your eye from the screen you can see how you move toward a small creek. It is this kind of situations that can give Scrapman small kicks. Light is shed on the almost magical complexities of the cognisphere. It can be fascinating to experience how your bodily movement and your locomotion is mediated through a complex technological system to be represented as occurences on a small colourful LCD-screen.

To make the cursor move, bodily movement is required, and the exact workings of the GPS communicating in realtime with three or four satellites is also necessary. Then the software in the device can render your movements on the screen. There's a suggestive gravitation in this kind of prosaic technology use. Marshall McLuhan have written about how "men at once become fascinated by any extension of themselves in any material other than themselves" (McLuhan 1964/1994:41). The question is however how gender-specific this fascination is? There can be a generally human fascination in experiencing how movements and actions are represented in our surroundings, not least when it is all mediated through an advanced system. Related situations occur through use of a number of screen based interfaces, where the actions of the user is mediated through a complex and opaque technological system, to be represented in events on the screen. (Willim 2002:84ff).

Now we approach the question about which technologies that are experienced as intriguing or as part of a bland mundane "epistemic wallpaper". When this is written map-based GPS-devices still have a quite small dispersion. Car mounted variants are however installed in more and more vehicles. Not least taxi´s are equipped with GPS-devices. When riding in the backseat of a taxi-car, looking at the screen of the GPS, you can see how the car is moving

through a maze of streets. Sometimes the driver is guided by an electronically generated voice which tells him the distance to different landmarks and when to turn. After a while the fascination for this system fades away. It is just another hi-tech-system integrated with another advanced technological system. The car is in itself a conglomerate of technological systems, operated within the frames of the traffic system, which is continously dependent on coordination and maintenance. The GPS is another technological artefact, integrated with the system of the car which often considered as a mundane part of modern life.

Another system which offers information about the location of a moving passenger is the inflight-system of airliners. On screens mounted in front of the passenger seats the movements of the airplane can be followed. Dots representing cities like Ulan Bator and Nuuk can be noted on the screen, whereafter you can lean towards the window to get an aerial view of the geography. The fascination felt in these situations is maybe not primarily based on the fact that the movement of the airplane can be represented on a screen, it may rather be fuelled by the possibility to be 10 000 meters above Greenland or Mongolia and at the same time be seated comfortably eating snacks. There can be a slight feeling of chimera as you during a nightflight sit in the hum of the dark cabin trying to sleep, looking at the planes movement on the screen. You could as well sit at home in your armchair. ”Am I really above Sibiria now?”

If we compare these uses of positioning technologies with the uses of GPS when on foot, there can be a more evident contrast when the satellite navigation system is used as you step by step plod your way forward on a trail through the woods. This contrasting effect can be effective to maintain a fascination for the technology. But as this use of the technology is more spread, and as it is more integrated in everyday lives of people, also this fascination will probably fade into the unnoticed backdrops of daily practice.

Digital Media on The Go

How do uses of this mobile technology affect our relationships to bodily movement? Tim Ingold has, as mentioned before, been critical to the low status of practices of walking in Western societies.

> the reduction of pedestrian experience that has perhaps reached its peak in the present era of the car, is the culmination of a trend that was already established with the boot´s mechanization of the foot, the proliferation of the chair, and the advent of destination-oriented travel. (Ingold 2004:329)

Can it be that the development of new digital mobile technologies lead to a reconciliation between cognition and locomotion? When we are using advanced systems like the GPS to navigate when we are moving on foot, we are not only walking through the landscape, we are also walking the cognisphere. The human body move through its surroundings and through systems in which it co-evolves with different kinds of technologies.

Nigel Thrift (2004) have discussed the consequences of the spread of new technologies based on secluded processes of calculation. He accentuates new ways of localisation and the uses of coordinate-systems. The ways that the GPS is used when this is written, is just a forebear to the development he describes. He points at how experience and knowledge of places varies quiet a lot between different cultures. Therefore, it is probable that the use of new GPS and Internet connected devices also will contribute to new ways for people to relate to places. The cognisphere is transformed and expanded as new technologies are used. Thrift accentuates eg how a new vocabulary describing spatial configurations is emerging as much greater cognitive assictance is routinely available (Thrift 2004:599f). To walk the landscape, aided by digital media connected to different kinds of networks, will also be to walk the cognisphere.

These navigational technologies stem from, or partly remediate, earlier map technologies (cf Bolter & Grusin 2000). Does this mean that pros and cons of the map as a technology of

power is transduced to the new applications? Does eg the panoptic gaze of the map move into the new contexts? The panoptic view from outside/above has been widely criticized as opressive. Not the least Michel de Certeaus ideas based on the dichotomy of strategy and tactics is a often cited example (1984).

> Certeau links "strategies" with institutions and structures of power, while "tactics" are utilized by individuals to create space for themselves in environments defined by strategies. In the influential chapter "Walking in the City," he describes "the city" as a "concept," generated by the strategic maneuvering of governments, corporations, and other institutional bodies who produce things like maps that describe the city as a unified whole, as it might be experienced by someone looking down from high above. By contrast, the walker at street level moves in ways that are tactical and never fully determined by the plans of organizing bodies, taking shortcuts or meandering aimlessly in spite of the utilitarian layout of the grid of streets. This concretely illustrates Certeau's assertion that everyday life works by a process of poaching on the territory of others, recombining the rules and products that already exist in culture in a way that is influenced, but never wholly determined, by those rules and products (wikipedia.org).

In this game between strategies and tactics the map is an instrument to grasp and survey larger areas. But as geographer Doreen Massey points out, this critique can be somewhat simplifying. "Not all views from above are problematic – they are just another way of looking at the world. (…) The problem only comes if you fall into thinking that that vertical distance lends you truth (ibid:107). Massey goes on to explain how she instead is worried by the ways that maps give the impression that "space is a surface – that it is the sphere of a completed horizontality"(ibid). Instead, she wants to accentuate the spatial as process, as something ongoing and uncompleted in space and time, juxtapositions and chance in an amalgamation that is hard to predict.

The question is if uses of advanced digital systems like the GPS strengthen the accentuations on space as something dynamic that Massey asks for? Something happens when you look at and use a screen that is more than a static eventless surface. Instead you can see your own movements represented on the screen. In continuation of today's uses we may most likely see upcoming technologies whose interfaces become something more dynamic, where you can experience representations of an environment in flux. Your own, as well as others´activities and changing objects may be represented on the screen. The map as a static surface becomes something more dynamic. This may in turn lead to transformations in the experiences of space.

> This is space as the sphere of dynamic simultaneity, constantly disconnected by new arrivals, constantly waiting to be determined (and therefore always undetermined) by the construction of new relations. It is always being made and always therefore, in a sense, unfinished (except that 'finishing' is not on the agenda). (ibid)

The uses of these more dynamic technologies transform social and cultural patterns and processes. The software-based map of GPS-devices represents space not only as distances and spatial relations but also as rhythmic patterns. These technologies may combine spatial and temporal representations in new ways which highlights human experience of the spatial as something also temporal. "Human beings have always been rhythm-makers as much as place-makers"(Mels 2005:3 cf Highmore 2005). In these new spatio-temporal configurations the questions concerning power, control and subjectivity may change as the cognisphere is transformed and enhanced to include new technologies and actors.

Entwinements and Disconnections

To use digital media, as well as a number of other types of advanced technologies, puts us in the cognisphere. In the use of new technologies the situation, the experience and the practices can feel awkward and mystifying. What's really happening, what will happen if I do like this? However, after a while, even the most complex of technologies will be absorbed by everyday life, and can turn into epistemic wallpaper. A central part of the human interactions with the world is the way that technologies are integrated with routines and handlings. Artefacts that feel strange when we first meet them are sucked into the concurrent messyness and inconspicuousness of everyday practices.

N. Katherine Hayles accentuates the role of technologies for human existence. (1999). One of her points is to see "the body as the original prosthesis we all learn to manipulate, so that extending or replacing the body with other prostheses become a continuation of a process that began before we were born (ibid:3). The borders to the cognisphere are not easy to detect. Already in the 1960ies Marshall McLuhan pointed at the importance of technologies as a kind of prosthesis. ´Technology work as extensions of our bodies and abilities. When we get accustomed to these extensions, they simultaneously numb parts of our senses" (McLuhan 1964/1996:44). Technologies offer new possibilities, they may augment our bodies, but they simultaneously deprive. This becomes obvious in relation to navigation technologies. The GPS eg. gives us new possibilities for positioning and wayfinding, but it may numb our competence to navigate without the technology. It's not hard to imagine what would happen if a person who is relying on the guidance of technology in an unknown terrain suddenly is deprived of the abilities offered by the technology. "If we run out of batteries, this war is screwed" as an american soldier in Iraq expressed this dilemma in an article in the magazine *Wired* (2003). The US forces are using more and more handheld and mobile technology to be able to use GPS and Internet out in the fields. Then it is important that the technology works and that the cognisphere is accessible. If the user is shut out from the system, his abilities are numbed.

Now finally, let us make an imaginative journey to a fictitous future world to reflect over what could happen when a technological system is not accessible. In the novel "Down and out in the Magic Kingdom" Cory Doctorow write about a future where humans to a high degree are incorporated in a cognisphere:

> In Cory Doctorow's Down and Out in the Magic Kingdom, things are not well in the land of Space Mountain. The operations of Disney World, in this glimpse into the near future, are administered by "ad-hocs", volunteer groups devoted to retaining the old-fashioned charms of the amusement park in a society that has otherwise undergone radical change. Now that you can back up the contents of your brain and download it into a fresh clone, death has become obsolete. And rather than acquiring wealth, people are concerned with earning Whuffie, a measure of good will and admiration among your fellow immortals.(From the Amazon.co.uk review)

The protagonist Jules is drawn into a battle about the ways that the different attractions in Disney World should be redesigned. At one occasion he gets disconnected from the systems that maintain a human existence in the society he lives in. The description of the disconnection can convey a feeling of what it means to loose the support of technology.

> This is how you hit the bottom. You wake up in your friend's hotel room and you power up your handheld and it won't log on. You press the call-button for the elevator and it gives you an angry buzz in return. You take the stairs to the lobby and no one looks at you as they jostle past you. (Doctorow 2003:187)

When Jules is disconnnected from the system, his social identity and his ability to navigate through everyday life crack. Without his technological extensions he has become a non-person. The situation can sound like pure science-fiction, but is in a way fully realistic today. The artefacts that I've discussed here, namely GPS-equipped devices, can help us to navigate in a physical terrain, but the same devices are also social and cultural navigation instruments. More and more models of mobile phones are enhanced with different types of communication applications and tools to organize everyday life. They are also equipped with GPS-receivers. Such a device have functionalities that make them more or less necessary once they are integrated in the everyday.

Combinations of mobility, social interaction and technology use offer new opportunities. The price is dependence. Expanding the cognisphere by use of new digital media opens up new possibilities. But it may also numb us, make us vulnerable. Without the technology we might loose our bearings, both geographically and socially. If we run out of batteries, we are screwed. But it is also a reminder that as humans we are unconditionally entwined with our environments, our fellow beings and the technologies with which we co-evolve.

References

Bolter, Jay David & Grusin, Richard 2000 *Remediation – Understanding New Media.* Massachusetts: MIT Press.

de Certeau, Michel 1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Doctorow, Cory 2003 *Down and Out in the Magic Kingdom.* New York: Tor books.

Hayles, N. Katherine 1999 How We Became Posthuman. Virtual Bodies in Cybernetics, Literature, and Informatics. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hayles, N. Katherine 2006 Unfinished Work. From Cyborg to Cognisphere. In: *Theory Culture and Society* Vol. 23(7-8): 159-166.

Highmore, Ben 2005 *Cityscapes. Cultural Readings in the material and symbolic city*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ingold, Tim 1998 Culture on The Ground. The World Perceived Through the Feet. In: *Journal of Material Culture* Vol. 9(3): 315-340.

Kelley, Anne 2006 *Local Treasures. Geocaching Across America.* Santa Fe: Center Books on American Places.

Massey, Doreen 2005 *For Space.* London: Sage.

McLuhan, Marshall 1964/1996 *Understanding Media. The Extensions of Man.* Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Mels, Tom 2005 Lineages of a Geography of Rhythms. In: Mels, Tom (Ed.). *Reanimating Places. A Geography of Rhythms.* Aldershot: Ashgate.

Norman, Donald A 1998 *The Design of Everyday Things.* Massachusetts: MIT Press.

Thrift, Nigel 2004 Movement-Space: The changing domain of thinking resulting from the development of new kinds of spatial awareness. In: *Economy & Society* Volume 33 Nr 4 November 2004: 582-604.

Whalen, Thomas 2000 *Navigation Through Knowledge Spaces.* Paper presented at the Banff Summit on Living Architectures: Designing for Immersion and Interaction, Banff Media Institute 23 Sept.

Willim, Robert 2002 *Framtid.nu – Flyt och friktion i ett snabbt företag.* Stockholm/Stehag: Brutus Östlings bokförlag Symposion. [see http://www.framtid.nu/]

Willim, Robert 2006 Under Ytan – Om digitala föreställningsvärldar och dold komplexitet. In: Willim, Robert (ed.) *Virtualiteter. Sex essäer.* Lunds universitet: HEX 001. [http://www.hex.lu.se/] *Wired*. Issue 11.06. June 2003.

Trying to Make a Difference.
Political Involvement in Everyday Life

Maria Zackariasson

Department of culture studies and oriental languages,
University of Oslo, Norway

maria.zackariasson@ikos.uio.no, m_zackariasson@yahoo.se

When the media writes about young people and political action, they usually focus on the big, spectacular demonstrations and protests. Those are the kind of political actions that are most visible to the public, and they thus get the most attention. In my study of political involvement among youth, based on interviews with young people in the Global Justice Movement, I show that many individuals see other, less visible ways of acting politically as just as important as the big manifestations. Seemingly trivial choices in everyday life; what you buy, what you eat, how you travel etc. are by them seen as political actions, in those cases when they are motivated by political opinions and values. To keep up a "politically aware" lifestyle is however not always easy.

In my paper I give examples of how the interviewed individuals reason around the connection between such inconspicuous actions, their political involvement and their long term goal to change the world.

677

Trying to Make a Difference. Political Involvement in Everyday Life

The media image of young people's political involvement is to a large extent focused on large, spectacular manifestations and demonstrations. The occupation of the Youth House in Copenhagen in 2007, and the clashes with the police when they evicted the young occupants, is one recent example, which has been preceded by reports from the large scale demonstrations against the war on Iraq and mass demonstrations in connection with top meetings around the world, such as the EU summit meeting in Gothenburg in 2001. In the newspaper articles and news reports on TV, we thus encounter the most conspicuous forms of political actions. Those directed outwards, to the public, whose chief purpose it is to gain attention and possibly start a debate around certain political issues.

But there are also more inconspicuous forms of political action, which are privately performed, and where the aim is not primarily to gain attention, but to try to make a difference, even if that difference may appear as rather inconsequential, at least from an outside perspective or at a first glance. In this paper I am going to discuss the concepts of political involvement and political action, with a particular focus on such private, everyday actions, using examples from my research project on youth who are active in the Global Justice Movement in Sweden and Norway.[1]

Background

My study is based on a fieldwork where I followed three groups (two Swedish and one Norwegian) for about a year each. Two of the groups belonged to the organization Attac and the third group was organizing a local so called Social Forum. The groups are thus examples of the local level of what is commonly called the Global Justice Movement, a transnational movement consisting of a number of organizations, networks and activist groups that among other things want to work for increased and spread democracy, and that are critical of neo-liberal economic theory and of some of the negative effects of globalization (Della Porta & Diani 2006, Klein 2002).

Attac was established in France in 1998, and has with time spread to Europe and Latin America in particular, but to some extent also to other parts of the world. The organization was established in Sweden and Norway in the spring of 2001. Attac has a platform with several goals: They want to introduce taxation on currency transactions, the so called Tobin tax. They argue for completely abolishing the national debts for the poorest countries in the world. They want to increase democracy and the influence of national governments and individuals, and diminish the influence of the market and multinational companies (Clinell 2000, Ergon & Abrahamsson 2001).

The Social Forum-movement stems from the World Social Forum, which originated in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001. The main idea was to promote democracy and create a meeting place for people engaged in different movements and groups, and to be a counterpart to the annual economic top meeting in Davos (Polet & Houtart 2001, Ponniah & Fisher 2003, Wennerhag 2006). Since then there have been arranged various regional, national and local Social Forums around the world, in addition to the annual World Social Forum. The group I followed arranged such a local Social Forum in a middle-sized Swedish town. At the Social Forum-weekend that was the result of almost a year of preparations, approximately 60 local groups and organizations came together for a weekend filled with seminars, workshops, lectures and cultural activities.

During the fieldwork I attended the regular meetings and some of the other activities arranged by the groups, in addition to interviewing around 20 of the younger members. This

---

1 See Zackariasson 2006 for further details about this project.

is in other words a qualitative study, where individual experiences and narratives form the foundation for the analysis. The individuals I interviewed were between 19 and 27 years old. There are very few teenagers in these organizations, partly because they work with rather complicated issues that take some time and energy to get into, and partly because they are not youth organizations and thus not focused on attracting teenagers.

Political Involvement – Interest, Convictions and Action

One of the key concepts within my study is political involvement. All of the young individuals that I interviewed could be said to be politically involved, and they generally regarded themselves as being that as well. Exactly what they included in the concept of political involvement, differed slightly from person to person, but there were a few requirements that stood out as necessary to fulfil, for a person to be regarded as politically involved. First of all he or she had to be genuinely interested in political and societal issues. These issues did not necessarily have to belong to the sphere of party politics, but could also concern aspects that are sometimes filed under headings such as "human rights issues" or "environmental issues", instead of as "political issues".[2]

To be seen as truly committed, the interest in politics was expected to be combined with ideologically or emotionally based convictions, or a kind of "inner fire". Anita, one of the young women I interviewed, explained that she had for a long time not considered herself to be sufficiently committed, even though she was active in an environmental organization and very interested in politics, because she did not feel that she was adequately emotionally engaged in the issues she was working with. It was not until she, after several years of being active, read Naomi Klein's influential book *No Logo* that she got really enthusiastic and finally felt emotionally engaged as well as intellectually (Klein 2002). At that point she also started to see herself as truly politically involved (Anita 2004.06.16).

The last requirement for an individual to be considered as truly politically involved, was that the political interest and ideological/emotional engagement were also applied in practice. All of the participants in my study were politically active, primarily in the Global Justice Movement through their involvement in Attac and the Social Forum. A majority of them were also active in other organizations. Some were members of political youth organizations or active in student politics, and many were active members in human rights or fair trade organizations such as Amnesty International, the Red Cross or the World Trade Shops – an organization that works with fair trade through importing goods directly from farmers in the third world and selling their products in their own shops in the Western world.

They generally had a rather wide view on what could be counted as political action. If there was a political motivation or purpose behind the action, they were likely to regard it as political. Amanda for instance helped organizing a film festival each year, and she defined this as a political action. She explained that one of the aims with the festival was to promote other films than the ones from the large film companies, and from other parts of the world than the Anglo-Saxon countries. This way of understanding her work with the festival, contributed to her defining it as political, even though such a political aspect was not part of the festival's official image (Amanda 2002.04.11). Such a broad view of what was to be seen as political action, was prominent in several of the other interviews as well.

---

2   What is seen as politics is from time to time rather narrowly defined, as in a large investigation of organisational practice in Sweden, from 2003 where the term "Political organizations" is reserved for political parties, youth parties and environmental organizations, while peace organizations and "Groups for international issues" such as Amnesty International, are categorized as "Solidarity organizations" (Vogel, Amnå et.al 2003). I use a much wider definition of politics, where social movements, action groups and political NGO:s are also seen as political organizations.

In this sense my data differed from the results presented in certain other studies that have been done on political activity among youth. One British investigation on political interest and engagement among 14-24 year olds, noted that a large percentage of the individuals asked had a rather narrow view on what could be seen as political action. They saw politics mainly as something that concerned grown-ups, and particularly politicians, and consequently as something that did not interest them or relate to them. At the same time they replied to other questions in the survey that they had participated in actions that the researchers would define as political – such as signing petitions, joining protests for local issues or writing letters to the editor in newspapers. Since the youths in the study did not see politics as something they were interested or active in, they themselves did however not label such actions political (White, Bruce et. al. 2000).

Political Action – Spectacular Events

That the young individuals in my study had a broad understanding of the concept political action, made it easier for them to live up to the strong emphasis on the acting individual that is present in the official texts of Attac and the World Social Forum (found on their websites, in brochures, flyers etc.). One of the main ideas presented there is that all individuals have the potential of influencing the future of the world and that everyone ought to take the chance to do so (*Attac Norway*; *Attac Sweden*; *Fórum Social Mundial*). If the motto is that "Another world is possible" then the message is that we must all join in to make it happen.

How this is to be done in practice is however not completely clear, or rather, there are many ways of being active and trying to affect things. Not all political actions are, moreover, seen as something positive. In the Scandinavian countries this is especially true as soon as there is any sort of violence in the picture. The media reaction around the demonstrations in Gothenburg in 2001 is one of several examples of this. In the immediate media coverage of the events, the blame for the confrontations with the police was to a very large extent put on the protesters. Later investigations have criticized both the demonstrators and the police, but initially it was the demonstrators at large who were portrayed as the culprits. That a majority of them wanted to voice their opinions in a peaceful manner, was an aspect that got lost in the massive focus on the violence (Flyghed, Mathiesen, et al. 2001; Häggqvist 2002; Göteborgskommittén 2002; Lundälv & Liliequist 2002).

Not even all non-violent political activities are automatically seen as positive contributions to society. A British study has shown how the generally peaceful demonstrations against the war on Iraq, organised by many school pupils in Britain in 2003, were described in the media in terms of youngsters skipping school, and how the initiators were sanctioned in various ways (Cunningham & Lavalette 2004). Even though this was a case of traditional political, non violent actions, such as sit ins and demonstrations, they were in other words not primarily seen as legitimate political actions, but as some kind of youth revolt or protest against society.[3]

The participants in my study were generally sceptical to using violence as a method for achieving political goals. Their scepticism was founded partly in ethical or moral judgements, and partly in a view that it was counterproductive to use violent methods in the Scandinavian countries. They assumed that the issues they wanted to fight for, would not get any attention anyway, if they used violent methods, since the media and public debate would just be centred on the violence and not on the political issues as such.

---

3   This may be seen as one example of how age can be significant for how political interest and engagement is understood and interpreted. Some of the participants in my study had experienced that others would connect their age to their political interest or opinions, like Jenny who had encountered the view that she would probably stop being a left wing radical once she got a bit older and wiser (Jenny 2002.09.27).

What kind of actions they regarded as the most effective ones for actually achieving results, varied from person to person, and in relation to what kind of goals they were aiming for. Some of them considered large manifestations, protest actions and demonstrations as the best way of influencing politicians and policy makers. My fieldwork was done at a time when there were many large demonstration marches against the war on Iraq, and a majority of the participants in the study had taken part in such events. Most of them had also participated in other demonstration marches, for example on the first of May, or in connection with more local issues. Demonstration marches were by many seen as something that made them feel as parts of something bigger, and as something which gave new impetus to their political involvement (cf. Blehr 2000, Engman 1999). But some remarked that they felt such events to be too much of a show, with not enough potential for actually affecting the political processes. Alva was one of those who talked about how she used to participate in demonstrations when she was younger. But by now, at the age of 26, she had lost faith in them, and had started to see them as mainly positive for the people participating, without any real power to influence political decisions. She instead saw actions such as writing polemic articles in the newspapers or starting email-campaigns to politicians as much more worthwhile and efficient political methods (Alva 2002.05.22).

Small Actions with a Major Significance

But the significance of a particular action does not necessarily depend on what effects it may have. To *do* something can be an important part of political involvement whether or not the doing achieves direct visible results. Thus, even small, everyday actions can be meaningful to the individual and can be interpreted in political terms; a point demonstrated by several of those I interviewed. Twenty three year old Anita was a college student who also worked part-time in a small shop, and she talked about how her political convictions could influence her attitudes towards the customers:

> Anita: I have ... a bit of an exaggerated attitude to waste /.../ It gets me down when I see people using a lot of plastic bags and things like that /.../ I feel like I should start commenting on it. I work in a shop and I don't feel like giving customers plastic bags. They have to ask for them, like (laughs). Absolutely. /…/ I feel that everything very much hangs together. It has to do with our greed culture. People grab what they ... Or rather, without any thought, use a lot of things they don't really need. They could have used a rucksack instead. It's not all about people having to lower their living standard, or eating less or not being allowed to watch telly, and all that. It's about a number of things that seem to have to do with common sense. (Anita 2004.06.15)

Anita's refusal to automatically offer plastic bags to her customers might be seen as not having any real effect on the total amount of consumption in the world. But for Anita it was a meaningful action she clearly related to her political convictions. Her refusal to hand out plastic bags unnecessarily, can thus, in all its simplicity, be seen as a political action, since she linked it to her view of distribution of resources and consumption. If such an action had been motivated by the store manager's order to save plastic bags, on the grounds of economic expediency, it would have had an altogether different meaning.

It became a significant political act for her, regardless of whether anyone else would interpret it in the same way, by the fact that Anita herself was conscious of on what grounds her action was based. Her reluctance to offer her customers plastic bags acquired, thereby, a symbolic meaning, at the same time as the customers themselves probably did not notice her act and were not conscious of her motivations for it. But a personal act of this kind can also be seen to have tangible consequences in the longer term, on the premise that if all the shop assistants in the world did the same as Anita, it would have a significant effect on

consumption. The refusal to hand out unnecessary plastic bags can then be likened to recycling, or being a vegetarian for ethical reasons. The solitary individual probably does not expect his or her recycling to have much effect on the refuse mountain but chooses to continue recycling anyway, in the hope that it can be beneficial should everybody else do the same. Anita's actions can thus be said to be both about doing what she feels is right for her, as an individual, and having the aspiration to be a good example, and about the conviction that if sufficient people did the same thing, the collective act would have a positive effect.

Political Convictions in Everyday Life

For some of the individuals I interviewed, the political convictions influenced many areas of their daily lives. It could affect consumption, insofar as they tried to buy environmentally friendly products or fair-trade goods, but also travelling and transport, the use of media and even the relationships to friends and family. This was exemplified in the interview I made with Marie:

> Maria: Another thing I thought of was this: Do your views influence your commitment, do they, like, influence your daily life? Do you act in a different way?

> Marie: (hesitates) It's a difficult question, really, because you don't know how you'd act if you weren't the person you are.

> Maria: Yes, that's right. Put it this way, then: Are there some situations in which you think about what you're doing as a result of your values, for instance, what things you buy, or ...

> Marie: Yeah. Yeah, I buy organically labelled food and fair-trade and that kind of thing. Of course, I do that. … And then I've become rather media conscious. So I try to make an effort to buy different newspapers. So that when I come to new places, I want to buy the local newspaper. And I'm happy to buy … "Stockholms Fria"[4] or international newspapers if I see them. I think that makes a bit of a difference. … Then I try not to fly unless I really have to. That has some effect too. … And then I discuss a bit with my family, but not really that much. But you can influence your environment by simply discussing in it. Even if I don't always do that. It depends a little on the situation. /…/

> Maria: Do you have a car?

> Marie: No. But I'd like to get a car, if I had a bit more money, I think. But I think I'd make an effort not to use it routinely. … just use it when I wanted to go on an outing or go somewhere special, or if I was going to buy something heavy.

> Maria: You commute by train to Viksta? [where she had recently got a job] Or bus?

> Marie: Mmm, train. But it's a mixture of economic and practical and environmental thinking.

> (Marie 2003.01.19)

That Marie's everyday actions were influenced by her political opinions and convictions, comes across as something quite natural, almost self evident, for example in the way she only mentions in passing that she usually buys organically labelled food and fair-trade articles. It is clear from her reasoning that this was not something she carefully considered each time, but was a natural part of her pattern of consumption. The picture she presents of her day-to-

---

4   *Stockholms Fria Tidning* – independent newspaper in Stockholm.

day life and its relationship to her political convictions can, in many ways, be seen as an example of political involvement almost becoming a lifestyle. In that sense her attitude to her political involvement resembles Anthony Gidden's concept *life politics*, where he argues that politics in the late modern era has come to be more about life style than of life choices (Giddens 1994 cf. Beck 1996, Breines 1982).

But political convictions integrating too closely with everyday life was not always thought of as being altogether positive. Just like Marie, Rikke described how her political involvement was interwoven with other parts of her life, but she was unsure as to whether political ideals should guide day-to-day life to too great an extent:

> Rikke: /…/ I'm happy to give up things to help others have a better life, I think. Well, apart from the fact I've never especially had to do anything like that. But I think I probably would do it. /…/ That is, even though I grew up in a very posh neighbourhood and my parents had a lot of money, as I grew older I didn't need to have branded trousers and stuff like that…And yes, I did use my old bicycle for as long as it worked, and…And yes, I did buy second hand clothes at jumble sales and in Salvation Army shops, if I found something I liked.
>
> Maria: Would you say your political commitment influenced your everyday life?
>
> Rikke: Yes.
>
> Maria: Especially when it comes to shopping and….
>
> Rikke: Yes. And I mean...As a matter of fact, I discussed this a bit yesterday… /…/ A lot of people think that politics is just a hobby, or something you do in your free time, like playing football with the lads. But for me it's not like that. I think it's just as important that you should, up to a point, practice what you preach.
>
> Maria: Mmm.
>
> Rikke: /… / I mean, it's not possible, really, to separate /…/ the person and their political beliefs. And, of course, I'm cheating all the time, aren't I ... I shouldn't eat meat but I do. And you'll find me in Burger King from time to time, okay ... It's obviously completely impossible to live like that. Because all products are a problem in a way ... /…/ You can't go and become a complete eunuch in that area, can you? But /…/ it isn't as if I've suddenly become another person when I come back from a meeting. It's part of what I am, politically. And I hope that's the way it'll stay, that I won't make a u-turn at some point like, in a way, so many of the generation before me have done.

(Rikke 2004.03.31)

At the same time as Rikke emphasised the importance of practising what she preached she also realised it was difficult, and not completely desirable, to consistently allow political convictions to influence every day-to-day decision. Lina spoke in a similar vein when she described how she had moderated her behaviour over the years, from allowing a major part of her day-to-day life to be influenced by such aspects, to eventually developing a much freer attitude:

> Maria: Is your everyday life influenced a lot by how you see, like, the distribution of resources and such stuff? Do you think of such things when you're shopping and that kind of thing?
>
> Lina: That's kind of interesting, as a matter of fact, because I've done that really, really a lot. But now it's beginning to change, because I've come to realise, in a kind of way, that

the more I put in a load of energy to do … work for Social Forum and work as a personal assistant and help X [an elderly disabled man amongst her circle of acquaintances], I don't have the energy! I was a vegan for a while. And I only used organic stuff … it became too much, like: how do I live as an individual and does that influence things? But after a while it feels as though I'm putting too much energy into it. It can sometimes hinder you from choosing practically, that you can work on something with a bit longer perspective, in some way. Because … for example, now I've started to eat, not meat, but fish and milk and eggs, simply because it's much easier when you eat out and when you're travelling and visiting people. So they don't need to feel awkward and criticised. So it's kind of interesting that I've changed, as a matter of fact. In that time. And it really feels, actually, as if … it's not the end of the world, either. But that … maybe it's like I start to believe it's more important with structural change than that I, as an individual, follow my convictions to the letter.

Maria: And before that you thought that if every individual …

Lina: Yes, then I thought more that you ought to live as a good example, in a way. If everyone did, then it would be different.

(Lina 2003.02.22)

Lina, Marie and Rikke thus perceived their day-to-day actions as being an important way to achieve change. Lina, however, ultimately found that trying to live in an exemplary way required too much energy and left too little time to work on issues requiring a longer perspective. Furthermore, she was not happy that her lifestyle choices could be perceived as being critical of others, that her personal choices could make others feel awkward. That Lina eventually chose to abandon a way of behaviour that echoed the Kantian "duty" ethic – where all should live their life as though it could be elevated to general law – can also be understood in the light of the representational crisis which in many ways has taken place within Western society (Hastrup 1995:163ff; Beck 1996:214ff). When there is no longer a single truth it is far harder to maintain that my particular way of looking at things is the right way. The firm conviction of how humanity should live so that the future of the world will unfold in the best possible way can, in other words, come into conflict with a more post-modern influenced notion that what may be a good lifestyle for one, is not necessarily the same for others (cf. Weeks1995:140).

Trying to Change the World

The small, inconspicuous day to day actions, that Lina, Marie and Rikke talk about in the interviews, and that also others participants in the study mentioned, would not necessarily be defined as *political* actions, in surveys of young people's political involvement. They are not tied to any political organization, and not to any clear-cut political ideology, but still they have a clear political value for those who perform them. This is one example of how a subject-oriented study of political involvement, where the individuals' definitions of politics are given space, may contribute to new understandings of politics and political action. Even though they may not appear as particularly significant actions from an outside perspective, they may be genuinely meaningful for the individual performing them.

This optimistic view on the meaningfulness of everyday actions, was quite consistent with a more general optimism concerning the ability to accomplish changes, which a majority of the participants in the study expressed. One of the reasons that have been put forward for why young people appear not to be particularly interested in politics and societal issues, which has been a recurrent theme in the public debate during the last few years, has been that they are disillusioned, and do not think that anything they can do would make any difference. This was

definitely not a view that was shared by the participants in this study. They all had the ambition to try to influence, not only their own future, but the future of the world, and they saw these personal, small actions as one way of contributing to this, alongside with other types of actions such as organisational work and large scale demonstrations etc.

Those small, inconspicuous actions were in other words directly linked to large structural issues such as free trade agreements, the distribution of goods on a global basis or increased democracy, at least in the eyes of the individuals themselves. This is an aspect of political involvement and political action that would be well worth further investigation.

References

Attac Norge. [web page] (2007.09.01) (URL: http://www.attac.no.)

Attac Sweden. [web page] (2007.09.01) (URL: http://attac.se).

Beck, Ulrich (1996) *Att uppfinna det politiska. Bidrag till en teori om reflexiv modernisering*. Göteborg: Daidalos.

Blehr, Barbro (2000) *En norsk besvärjelse. 17 maj-firande vid 1900-talets slut*. Nora: Nya Doxa.

Breines, Wini (1982) *Community and organization in the New Left. 1962-1968: the great refusal*. New York: Praeger.

Clinell, Bim (2000) *Attac. Gräsrötternas revolt mot marknaden*. Agoras skriftserie 3. Stockholm: Agora.

Cunningham, Steve & Lavalette, Michael (2004) "'Active citizens' or 'irresponsible truants'? School student strikes against the war", *Critical Social Policy* 24 (2): 255-269.

Della Porta, Donatella & Diani, Mario (2006) *Social movements. An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Engman, Jonas (1999) *Rituell process, tradition och media. Socialdemokratisk första maj i Stockholm*. Stockholm: Etnologiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet.

Ergon, Jens & Abrahamsson, Hans (2001) *En annan värld är möjlig. Attac*. Stockholm: Manifest kulturproduktion.

Flyghed, Janne, Mathiesen, Thomas & Dahl, Øyvind Brungot (2001) *Göteborg 14. til 17. juni 2001. 15 norske beretninger fra EU toppmøtet*. Oslo: Thomas Mathiesen.

Fórum Social Mundial. [web page] (2007.09.01). (URL: www.forumsocialmundial.org.br)

Giddens, Anthony (1994) *Beyond left and right. The future of radical politics*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Göteborgskommittén (2002) *Göteborg 2001. Betänkande*. Statens offentliga utredningar, 2002:122. Stockholm: Fritzes offentliga publikationer.

Hastrup, Kirsten (1995) *A passage to anthropology. Between experience and theory*. London: Routledge.

Häggqvist, Patrik (2002) "Farhågor och förhoppningar. Göteborgs-Postens bild av protesterna mot EU-mötet sommaren 2001" i Liliequist, Marianne & Lundälv, Jörgen (red) *Gatans politik. Göteborgsdemonstrationerna juni 2001. Ur mediernas, polisernas och demonstranternas perspektiv*. Gävle: Meyers.

Klein, Naomi (2002) *No logo: no space, no choice, no jobs, no logo. Märkena, marknaden, motståndet*. Stockholm: Ordfront.

Lundälv, Jörgen & Liliequist, Marianne (2002) *Gatans politik. Göteborgsdemonstrationerna juni 2001 ur mediernas, polisernas och demonstranternas perspektiv*. Gävle: Meyer Information och förlag.

Polet, François & Houtart, François (2001) *The Other Davos. The globalization of resistance to the world economic system*. London: Zed Books.

Ponniah, Thomas & Fisher, William F. (2003) *Another world is possible. Popular alternatives to globalization at the World Social Forum*. London: Zed Books.

Vogel, Joachim, Amnå, Erik et.al. (2003) *Föreningslivet i Sverige. Välfärd, socialt kapital, demokratiskola*. Levnadsförhållanden, 98 Stockholm: Statistiska centralbyrån (SCB).

Weeks, Jeffrey (1995) *Invented moralities. Sexual values in an age of uncertainty*. New York: Columbia Univ. Press.

Wennerhag, Magnus (ed.) (2006). *Aktivister. Sociala forum, globala sociala rörelser och demokratins förnyelse*. Atlas: Stockholm.

White, Clarissa, Bruce, Sara & Ritchie, Jane (2000) *Young people's politics. Political interest and engagement amongst 14- to 24-year-olds*. London: National Centre for Social Research.

Zackariasson, Maria (2006) *Viljan att förändra världen. Politiskt engagemang hos unga i den globala rättviserörelsen*. Umeå: Boréa.

Cited Interviews

Alva 26 years old, Sweden, Attac & Social Forum. Interview 2002-05-22.
Anita 23 years old, Norway, Attac. Interview 2004-06-15.
Jenny 25 years old, Sweden, Attac & Social Forum. Interview 2002-09-27.
Lina 19 years old, Norway, Social forum. Interview 2003-02-22.
Marie 28 years old, Sweden, Attac & Social Forum. Interview 2003-01-19.
Rikke 25 years old, Norway, Attac. Interview 2004-03-31.

Spectacular Queens and the Morals of Excessive Femininity: A Feminist Approach to Public History

Cecilia Åsberg

Gender Studies, Utrecht University, Holland and

Linköping University, Holland/Sweden

cecilia.asberg@let.uu.nl

Popular history is the stuff of connection, belonging and citizenship. It offers us imagined community (Anderson 1983), and more precisely, a shared historical imaginary (Dawson 1994; Elsaesser 2000). Through new and old media, imagined communities stretch beyond national borders and provide us with both opportunities for understanding ourselves, for mirroring and critical reflection, as well as for creative interventions. As expressed in for instance film, books, journals and websites, popular history seems increasingly popular in the North European context. In this paper I will tentatively approach a select range of popular versions of historical queens, like Queen Christina of Sweden and Marie Antoinette of France. Both are in the historical imaginary connected with excessive life styles, with arbitrary and wasteful ways that came to abrupt ends (abdication and decapitation). But their distinct and well-known personas have also provided a source of pleasure as they have echoed powerfully throughout contemporary popular culture as well as within a feminist imaginary of alternatives. In magnified proportions these queens, in two different ways of doing their gender, open up a space for consumerist, ruthless, exaggerated and anything but natural versions of femininity. In this paper I will explore the appeal of such performances today in relation to issues of cultural citizenship and subject positioning, history in public and the morals of excessive femininity.

Spectacular Queens and the Morals of Excessive Femininity: A Feminist Approach to Public History

I would contend that in this new era of women's history we need to look for history in unexpected places. I mean this in two senses: one, literally thinking about where we find historical documents pertaining to women's history or what we might categorize as historical documents of women's history, and two, locating women's history in interdisciplinarity. In other words, perhaps it is time we looked outside the field and its organizations for additional places for acceptance of women's history.

Black women's movement historiographer Kimberly Springer, *Journal of Women's History* 2004, issue 16, p.28.

Many feminist historians share a reflex, motivated by sheer necessity, of looking for history in unexpected places. Sharing that inclination, but, as Springer suggests, "located in interdisciplinarity" as a cultural scholar rather than as a historian, I am in this paper interested in historical manifestations produced by and for *non-historians*. Also outside the scholarly field of history and historiography, and by non-historians, is history used, practiced and produced. The assumption here is that historians not necessarily are the drivers of historical assessments. That public production and consumption of history by a much wider and more heterogeneous cultural collective of non-historians, significantly marks current political and cultural shifts, consistencies and conditions and thus are crucial to study in order to get at understandings of the past in the present. This is such a cultural study. More precisely, it is a partial mapping exercise of public history as displayed in cinematographic media, in film as this medium is embedded in a context of other popular history expressions. I am in this paper, yet very much work in progress, zooming in on the cinematic life of *historical queens* with analytical instruments from the interdisciplinary toolbox of feminist cultural studies (cf. Franklin, Lury & Stacey 2000; Jones 2003). In particular I draw on feminist inter- or rather transdisciplinary sensitivities towards the relation seeing and knowing, power and subjectivity, vision and visuality.

One of the most debated tenets of feminist film theory and other critical and creative studies of visual cultures suggests that there is a certain collapse of woman and image (Mulvey 1975; Doane 1991; Stacey 1994). There is a troublesome merge of female identity and the image of herself as seen by herself and others. As suggested by such visual approaches, this creates a spectacular implosion – early on referred to as the masquerade of femininity. Echoing Judith Butler's (1990) influential insistence on sexual difference as embodied performance without essence, this was theorized already in 1929 by psychoanalyst Joan Rivière. However, after Laura Mulvey's work on the dominance of the male gaze in classic Hollywood film and later discussions of female agency, on the frank possibility of female spectator positions as seer and knower within such a frame of "to-be-looked-at-ness" feminist takes on visual culture has dovetailed into a complex and rich field with many creative and critical intersections on power and subjectivity (cf. Smelik 1999). Gendered looking relations have further been joined analytically with racialized ways of looking, for instance with what has become known as the imperial gaze (McClintock 1995; Bloom 1999). Masculinities have further also been theorized as masquerade and spectacular performance (Stacey 2005). Of relevance for my argument here is but excessive femininity and the public masquerade of womanliness in historical cinema. Important for this argument is how feminist film scholar Mary Ann Doane (1991) took up "the excess of femininity" and recuperated Rivière's notion. The feminine masquerade was for Rivière a woman's (pathological) psychic defence, an identity forming coping strategy that in the end works to make genuine womanliness and masquerade the same claustrophobic thing. Doane saw however in the masquerade also as a potential site of resistance. Implying a certain awareness and distance of

the Self with its assumed and worn mask, the masquerade exposes femininity as a non-stabile construction rather than a permanent essence. Like how Butler's heteronormativity generates "psychic excess", the mismatch between the woman and her femininity works as a potent destabilization of dominant gender discourse (where women are the carriers of gender and men signals neutral and unmarked humanity). Critiques of ways of looking and becoming subject in a visually dominated culture are thus in my argument paired with an emphasis on the potential for resistance.

The early feminist film studies focus on representations (of women) and the social impact of the medium of cinema, on semiotics and psychoanalysis, clashed to some extent with Marxist critiques of the film industry. The representationalist approach (sometimes referred to as cinepsychoanlysis) emphasised film as an influential system of cultural signification while socialist (feminist) approaches singled out the material conditions of film production and consumption. Following feminist theorists like Donna Haraway from the field of science studies as a form of cultural studies, I see no reason to analytically continue or sustain such a modern wedge between meaning and materiality (Haraway 1991). Both feminist film studies strands conjoin namely in a fruitful manner in an emphasis on audiences, processes of subject positioning and publics. This means for me an approach that does not interpret films as individual, self-contained and independent works. Rather it is an attempt at understanding their changing intelligibility by noticing the codes, cultural sign posts and interpretative assumptions that imbue them with different meaning for different audiences in different situations. It signifies moreover an extended attention towards more than "the text" and the materialization of the same. It is an sensitivity towards intertextual and interpretative relations and material-semiotic contexts. Such an entangled analytical strand underlines further the importance of engaging with the all-encompassing visual cultures that are creating and sustaining embodied subjectivities and knowledges as allocated along intersecting axes of significant power differentials such as class, gender, ethnicity, age etc. It is in the vein of such feminist cultural approaches and along such analytical tenets that the cinematic figuration of the historical queen can be read as a tell-tale marker of how contemporary cultures involved with history-making assess public femininity and womanliness as spectacle and masquerade.

The Queen as Analytical Prism: Approaching Public History Differently

If historians in their work generate questions, "public history" is more often about producing answers (Black 2005). But that is not an exhaustive public history definition. Public history is here seen as officially manifested products of larger patterns of sociocultural experience, collective memory – of the historical imaginary. It is the fruit of a "public" that is simultaneously consumer and producer of discursively shaped landscapes of historical pasts. Actually just the very noun "public" is a slippery customer. Cultural scholar Michael Warner (2005) calls the very idea of a public one of the central fictions of modernity, but shows how this fiction nonetheless has had powerful implications on the organisation of social life in the USA. (And, I assume, wider.) On the one hand, in everyday language the term "public" often signals the social totality of "people in general". On the other, there can be several publics as more or less official cultural communities. However, as Warner shows in his case studies, as one of them gets addressed as *the* public it clearly precludes the existence of others.

Then there is also the understanding of a public as a kind of audience or a crowd witnessing an event, like a theatrical play, a concert or football match. Here drawing on Michel Warner's and Lauren Berlant's work on cultural citizenship, publics and counterpublics, these two understanding of publics are in practice slightly overlapping and analytically they can also be merged with a third understanding of publics, namely the social communities of readers of different texts, or as in this case, movie-watchers (cf. Berlant 1997). This kind of interpretative community, to use Stanley Fish's term, comes into being

only in relation to texts (in the wide sense of the term text, as "cultural text", so films can be included) and their circulation, which implicates the here addressed publics of Hollywood costume dramas. Public history is thus approached in the sense where these three meanings of "public" overlap, impact collective world views and creates a background for identity formations. But, I approach narrowly only one, however expressive, slice of the many possible expressions of public history, namely the cinematic production of public history. Even more narrowly, I only discuss films with the motif of past queens as such a genre relates to an interpretative community – and in particular I will engage with Sofia Coppola's 2006 movie *Marie Antoinette*. My argument consists of close readings and an investigation of how this particular film signals a gendered shift in attention and a slightly altered *modus operandi* of public history more widely.

Most often public history takes the shape of past individuals or events that are iconic manifestations of a national History with a capital H, i.e. a canonized rendition of a discursively contained and widely agreed upon chronologically ordered past (cf. Åsberg & Axelsson 2007). Seldom is history in public settings about sketching long-term economical dynamics, imperial geopolitics or sociocultural processes. Importantly however, I argue that the distinction between historians and non-historians renditions of the past are a tricky one to make against the analytical horizon of "the historical imaginary" as a more inclusive, collective and psycho-social source limiting worlds in the making (Dawson 1994). Such expert-amateur distinctions become even fuzzier when an analysis of public history entails the uses of museums and professional historiographers, historical art and spectacular media technologies for both educational and revisionary purposes. In this piece I am however foremost interested in the parts of the public historical landscape that has defied scholarly attention due to its low status and association with vulgar, feminized and popular media cultures.

For long not quite regarded as worthy of proper study, the uses of history and public history as the cultural concerns and interrogations of history are nowadays emerging as a rich and various topic for interdisciplinary scholars apprehensive of gender and sexuality, race/ethnicity and nationality, age and ableness and other power differentials (Dawson 1994; Bal et al 1999; Aronsson et al 2000; Boym 2001; Burke 2001; 2004). Studies of public history can cover statues in urban settings, popular history journals, historical films as well as the commitments and work of living history societies. Such variations on public or popular history in the widest possible understanding of the term popular (as liked by many, as engaging people on a wide social scale and as entailing commercial, often visual, media cultures), takes in reality place in both public and private settings, in print and digital media and not always, as in Hollywood productions, with outlandish resources and the full assistance of contemporary imaging technologies at hand.

The Queen's Popular Reign

The cinematic motif of the historical queen – struggling with dignity and conflicting social demands on her royal Self – has for a century occupied an enthralling position in mainstream film productions. A Hollywood classic is the romantic film *Queen Christina* (Rouben Mamoulian, 1933) where Greta Garbo (who had an exceptional influence over the final production and casting procedures) stars as the 17th century Swedish queen. I will in the following use the Swedish name Kristina when providing a synopsis of the historical figure and Christina when dealing with her many popular apparitions. However, both figures are the material-semiotic product of story telling practices, myth, and fiction, and effectuate embodied subjects. The historical Kristina deserves further elaboration in order for me to discuss her appearance and appeal in digital, print and celluloid form.

Garbo as Queen Christina (1933).

The daughter of queen Maria Eleonora and king Gustavus Adolphus (who died in the religiously connoted battlefield in the Thirty Years War) was born into the imperial power struggles of Europe and lived an exceptional life that has appealed to many recent popular historians (see for instance Veronica Buckley's novel *Christina – Queen of Sweden*, 2004 or award-winning book *Silvermasken* by historian Peter Englund, 2006). However, the choice of the androgynous and exocentric Garbo for the classical Hollywood romance cannot be seen as merely a matter of a commonality of national belonging through birth. Gender being an issue right away with Kristina, the myth much spread not least by the real queen herself, says she was delivered from her mother with the birth signs of a great leader and fact is that throughout her childhood she was, against the gender conventions, raised as a true Machiavellian prince with education and training in hunting, philosophy, theology, and in several languages. In her time, Kristina gathered Descartes and many other famous European intellectuals for tutorials and debates at the Swedish court. At the age of six, when her father died in 1632, Kristina became queen and ruler of Sweden. Rumours were quickly spread throughout Europe about this intelligent and well educated young queen that hosted such generous love for arts, science and books. She chocked the European world when she, at the age of 26 denounced the Swedish throne and converted from Protestantism to the Catholic faith. The reasons for this conversion have been much debated.

The quest for her motif has also been the narrative drive in many contemporary Swedish popular history novels about her multidimensional life that I draw on her in my Kristina-depiction. Of course the spectacular abdication was a triumph for the Pope that welcomed her with great splendour in Rome. She was at this time, writes Peter Englund (2006), the most famous, despised, celebrated and slandered woman in Europe. Kristina was very active in the cultural and intellectual life both in Sweden, on her journeys through Europe and in Rome. As Englund points out, the European world was a stage where she performed as peace maker, cultural radical, diplomat, queen without country and finally as pious woman buried with great catholic honours. She refused throughout her life to subordinate herself both to a

husband (she never married) and also, as it seems, to the rules of the Pope in Rome (cf. Englund 2006). In Kristina's own biography she prides herself of having a female bedfellow and emphasised, in dressing and words, the masculine features she saw fit for herself as a European ruler. Now century-old, sexist historical debates and investigations of whether the queen was born a hermaphrodite, whether she was a nymphomaniac or a lesbian, and further, the rumours of her intimate relations with other women – has made her a full-blown figure of unsettled sexual discourses (cf. Borgström 2002). In recent years the queen's performance of masculine femininity (in contemporary terms) and of sexual undecidability has on the one hand made her something of a queer feminist icon. Appealing to many European women scholars, Christina is nowadays a multifaceted feminist icon mirroring ideals of independency, struggle, agency, will to power and breaking with gender protocol. On the other hand, young male Swedish bloggers writing about national royal history condemn her consumption habits as detrimental for the Swedish finances due to her investments in art and science.[1] The sexual struggles imbuing the mythic-historical figure of queen Christina is thus not lost on an audience interested in women's history and the subversion of hierarchical gender conventions. Conversely, it generates less excitement with a young, predominantly male, audience, who automatically connects reckless consumption with femininity (an assumption I will belabour further) and who are eagerly interested in royal Swedish history but less informed by feminist scholarship.[2]

The sexual politics of consumption is however not an explicit theme in the 1933's Hollywood drama where Garbo's Christina rather struggles with dignified ruling and a heterosexual femininity in the disguise of masculine clothing. In the strictly choreographed romantic love scene, Garbo's Christina comes out rather as red-blooded heterosexual woman otherwise confined by strict royal protocol. In the final scenes of the film, Christina famously resigns from her throne in order to "see the world" after that her secret lover, a Spanish diplomat, has died in her arms duelling for her honour. Thus, today this film can be read as tragic romance, depicting a strong woman bereft of her (heterosexual) love and thus forced

---

1   See for instance "The full list of Swedish rulers", written in Swedish, at the portal Passagen Debatt where the rulers are ranked by their contribution to the nation by the pseudonym "btt" March 25, 2006. Here Kristina is ranked very low with the motivation that she was intelligent and educated, but did nothing of historical value. Further, she is said to have difficulties separating her own and state property, and to have recklessly given away large possessions to the aristocracy and left the state finances in ruin for her successor. At:
    http://debatt.passagen.se/show.fcgi?category=3500000000000014&conference=6000000000000081&posting=19500000003305778 (last accessed 2007-09-19).

2   Commenting on works which have investigated women's role as consumers, feminist cultural scholar Angela McRobbie (1999:38) observes that women's place in present society have changed and that such changes need to be accounted for. She exemplifies with British statistics from 1996; 25 per cent of the labour force works part-time, and 65 per cent of these workers are women. 42 percent of the births are to unmarried women, and half of all marriages fail. More than 20 per cent of the households are headed by unsupported single mothers and a majority of the part-time workers need to rely on income support to come up to a so called living wage – then talk in uncomplicated terms about women constituting the bulk of consumers without taken such factors in consideration is not politically or scholarly viable. Instead, concludes McRobbie, such figures suggest that women in Britain are making sacrifices and struggling hard to make ends meet. Further, Dutch scholar Joke Hermes makes a powerful analogy (2005). She points to a paradox, while men consume more due to their larger incomes, consumption is feminized – regarded as vulgar. It works through the same double standard gendered logic that makes soccer/football an honest, working class game while shopping is the insignificant, shallow activities of silly women with nothing better to do.

into independency and life as a queen without both country and spouse. In the time and Western context of this movie, this take must have sustained a discourse of the necessity of women's burgeoning emancipation, independence and freedom of movement.

Importantly, this is but one among many films about powerful past European queens. With mainstream film productions such as *The Queen* (Stephen Frears, 2006) – about the now ruling Queen Elisabeth II (brilliantly played by Helen Mirren) who struggles with her royal duties in a media-saturated world after the death of Princess Diana – the motif of the historical queen gained further acknowledgement among critics. In the Dutch, German and Austrian context the empress Elisabeth of Bavaria, Austria and queen of Hungary, nicknamed Sissi, has often been compared with Princess Diana. As a successor Diana is very similar to Sissi, the 20th century popular culture icon, regarding her mythical heritage. Sissi, popularly known as a "free spirit" with liberal ideals and a sensitivity towards the socially disadvantaged, gained mythic status after her tragic marriage to the Emperor Franz Joseph and discomfort at the strict Hapsburg court in Vienna where she was denied any influence over her own children. She embarked on journeys around the Mediterranean to ease her depression and illness to later return with enhanced confidence and a political mission.[3] She was a skilled classicist and spoke several languages – among them Greek and Hungarian. She consolidated the Austrian-Hungarian relation and became a much loved queen of Hungary – the country she openly preferred over Austria. So the popular story goes. It is of course also foremost her renowned, and much attended to, beauty; her distinguished lovers; her attempts at leading a Garbo-like (pre-Garbo) secluded late life (to hide her aging: she refused to have any photographs or paintings done after the age of thirty) – and not least, her dramatic death at the hand of an Italian assassin that further has made her the object of Sissi-tourism, popular history books (Hamann 1986), operas, musicals and not least a renowned teve series (showed every Christmas on Dutch, German and Austrian television), a Hollywood film with Ava Gardner and a German cinematic trilogy starring a teenage Romy Schneider in the title role from the mid 1950s. Injecting the historical imaginary with another tragic woman figure defined by death by fame and beauty, Elisabeth of Austria functions thus in many ways as an iconic precursor to Princess Diana – as testified to by the numerous websites dedicated to the memory of "Sissi". In that vein, the dimensions of drama and romance, spectacular death and how female audiences seem to partially identify with or feel empowered by the bombastic fate of past women royalty remain the most compelling feature of the queen figure. Most often they are publicly enunciated as belonging to such an audience, being the "people's princess" (Diana) or "the people's empress" (Sissi) – really being "every woman" in the Chaka Kahn-sense of the famous pop tune, and further inspiring something good, free and beautiful that can be found in every woman. At one of these websites, selling the film *Sissi – Forever My Love* (Ernst Marischka, 1962), this appeal of the queen film is vividly described in a manner useful to my argument:

What a wonderfull movie it is. ....Sissi was "the people's empress." She lived in the country, loved the simple life, loved animals, horses, was not pretencious (sic). It's that aliveness, that free spirit in her that the prince falls in love with. This movie has so much to offer. It's such a priceless gem! I can so wax eloquent for I don't believe it'll let you down. It's got romance, drama, life lessons...it's a family movie, a chick-flick, a couples' movie. As you walk with Sissi through the various stages in her life you love and embrace her and, by so doing, you love and embrace life itself. The power of Sissi is that she's you...all women long to be Sissi...and all of us, in our own way, can and should aspire to the greatest and loftiest ideals that Sissi did in her lifetime. Regardless of your actual life situation, this movie will empower you to release the hidden "Sissi" in you.

---

3   See further the website Austrian Culture Personalities; "Sissi - Elisabeth of Wittelsbach (1837 - 1898)" at http://www.aboutaustria.org/personalities/wittelsbach.htm (last accessed 2007-09-20).

(Anonymous, at VideoMediaOnline.com)

"Sissi" of Austria (1830-1916),
by Franz Winterhalter

The most celebrated monarch, measured by the sheer number of portraitures in historical costume dramas and novels, is however without a doubt Elizabeth I of England, i.e. "The Virgin Queen". Sarah Bernhardt (1912), Bette Davis (1939), Miranda Richardsson (1986 in a comical portrait in the BBC production *Black Adder*), Cate Blanchett (1998 in *Shakespear in Love*), Helen Mirren (2005) and Anne-Marie Duff (2006) are a few of the many actresses that have played Elisabeth I. Among the many novels inspiring recent cinematic renditions of this queen are *I, Elizabeth* by Rosalind Miles and the block-busters *The Virgin's Lover* and *The Queen's Fool* by Philippa Gregory (also translated to Swedish in 2006 and 2007). In the Swedish setting, popular history articles, novels (such as Veronica Buckley´s best-seller *Christina – Queen of Sweden*, 2004 and translated to Swedish the same year) or award-winning Swedish books such as *Silvermasken* by historian Peter Englund (2006), or *Historien om alla Sveriges Drottningar* (2006) by the controversial popular history writer and journalist Herman Lindquist, has similarly propelled the popularity and wide interest in the figure of the historical queen. So, the cinematic motif of historical queen seems not merely well established in wider cultural layers. It seems especially pertinent and protruding today with an exponential growth of the number of films featuring such past royalty. The figure of the past queen has not lost her power to mediate struggling femininity under constraints, but she has changed her looks and takes on history.

Marie Antoinette – The Queen of Excessive Femininity

Further in my paper I aim to explore the drives and cultural effects that such a popular interest in historical queens seems to engender with regard to the recent film *Marie Antoinette* and the less attended to areas of the imaginary landscapes of public history often regarded as decadent and low, vulgar and feminine. It is here a matter of how past queens, gets imagined and visualized as mythic and historical figures while simultaneously mirroring contemporary concerns with power and subjectivity, beauty and public femininity. In that sense the cinematic queen works as my analytical prism of such entangled relations without

any pretence on covering all of what public history entails. For the reader not so informed by women's history, a blunt historical reminder is perhaps overdue about the loaded modern relation where "public" plus "woman" spelled whore. Similarly, the connection between reckless consumption and femininity needs revision in the light of the historical, yet prevailing, gendered differences in income and patterns of expenditure. Today the figure of the historical queen spells many complicated and heavily gendered transgressions between the private and the public, but also between wealth and poverty. For sure, the historical queen is a figure of certain discursive unease as seen already with the case of Swedish Queen Christina. Cultural concerns about class, sexuality and beauty – but also with race, ethnicity and national belonging – intersect with such mass-mediated portrayals. In my feminist quest for alternative worlds, past and future, and other, alternative subject positions on the verge of emerging in such settings, the cinematic figure of the queen thus becomes important as a site of both historical retention and transgression. This I hope to show further with the case of Sofia Coppola's film *Marie-Antoinette* (2006).

Kirsten Dunst as Marie Antoinette.

Directed and produced by Sofia Coppola (previous productions include the widely acclaimed independent film *Lost in translation*, 2003 and *The Virgin Suicides,* 1999*)*, this, her third feature film, was released for cinema in Europe in 2006. Coppola wrote the film manuscript inspired by the sympathetic biography *Marie Antoinette. The Journey* by Lady Antonia Fraser (2001). Fraser has previously written other popular history books, many of them oriented towards women's history and queen-themes like, *Mary Queen of Scots* (1969), *The Warrior Queens* (1988) and *The Six Wives of Henry VIII* (1992). The film won several prizes

and awards and became available on DVD in most European countries in 2007.[4] Further, it led to a renewed interest in Fraser's book and in the queen's historical life in general. The starring actress Kirstin Dunst has moreover featured in several Marie Antoinette-period inspired fashion articles in glossy women's magazines. This puts light on how the different media formats, like the print, the celluloid and the digital (DVD) versions are commercially tightly linked as intermingled and co-dependent media on a market of popular history in the widest possible sense of the term as history in public. The film itself is hard to label genre wise, it plays out and mixes the biography, the period film, the costume drama and the music video. It definitely puts pop in popular history.

Providing a synopsis to this film – heavily themed on the figure of the misunderstood girl queen – I can start with saying that it can roughly be divided intro three parts based on aesthetical differences signalling three stages in the queen's life. These are first, her arrival from the Austrian court and her introduction to the behaviour codes of Versailles; secondly, her socially squeezed royal situation and escape into excessive consumerism, and thirdly, her maturing as young woman and mother while taking up a more "natural life" and lastly her majestic farewell to Versailles as the film ends. The main middle part of the film engages thus in the frivolous life of the unhappily married queen after her king's coronation. (Marie Antoinette, I learn from the official film site, was never crowned herself due to the strained French finances and not least her yet at the time unstable status with a marriage that eventually took seven years to consummate. Hence, this brings further light to how her position at the court was never anything but highly insecure.)

The 14 year old archduchess of Austria (starring a blond and pale-skinned Dunst with a US accent) is introduced together with her mother, the sturdy empress of Austria (embodied by actress and rock legend Marianne Faithful) in the austere Hapsburg court of Vienna. Throughout this film the aesthetics and visual display of colours and looks are of the uttermost significance. It is however not authentic historical colours, like royal blue or burgundy that is used, but pastels. Most characteristic is the use of cold hot, "chock" pink – a colour never used until the 1950's. No attempts what so ever are made of bringing accurate historical colours to the set; brown and sepia, as colours signalling crusty historical layers, are instead completely banned. It is here a matter of bringing the past alive in the present through contemporary recognition of popular culture references. Most famously, in one of the extravagant shoe shopping scenes a pair of 21st century light blue Converse sneakers is placed to evoke teenage pop culture. The film is further driven by a 1980's new romance aesthetics in both choice of music and graphic design.

---

4   enting or buying the DVD version of Sofia Coppola's Marie Antoinette provides ample material for an analysis of how public history usage, however much part of commercial mainstream culture, can take unexpected shapes. In contrast to going to the cinema and see that particular film in the public space of the movie theatre, watching the DVD at home (or at work) supplies the viewer with an abundance of extra material. The special features meny includes "The Making of Marie Antoinette", Deleted scenes, Marie Antoinette Theatrical Trailer, Marie Antoinette Teaser Trailer and "Cribs with Louis XVI" – the latter being an ironical paraphrase to MTV Cribs where celebrities – most often black male hip hop stars – show off their luxurious homes. The fully costumed actor playing the king of revolutionary France (Jason Schwartzman) welcomes the viewer with the obligatory "Yo MTV, welcome to my home" and proceeds with showing the Versaille's Hall of Mirrors and other facilities, pointing to the chandeliers, barock paintings, flamboyant marble works, the expensive fabrics and the outdoor fountains with ironic mimicking comments about how this is "Hundred percent velvet", "not `cristall´, but hundred percent real crystal". Further, the king points to portraits and statues of royal family members and refer to them as his family, his "dogs" that in the midst of abundant wealth and success "keeps me sane". All these phrases are scripted from MTV Cribs. This special feature is in a sense typical of the production's iconoclastic take on the past and the historical monument of wealth and luxury that is the Chateau de Versaille – today a museum that the film team gained unprecedented access to for the making of the film. Meanwhile filming Versailles was kept open to the public.

Marie Antoinette, in a girlish light-blue dress, white apron and a black hair ribbon, is introduced symbolically as a naïve Alice in Wonderland-look-alike, unaware of the spectacular future awaiting her. Further, the ill-fated, childish queen-to-be is brutally uprooted and enters her new country literally stripped of everything Austrian. She meets her father-in-law, the aging satyr king (played by Texan actor Rip Torn) - later on she also encounters his lavish mistress Madame Du Barry (played by Italian director, writer and actress Asia Argento) – and her future husband, Louis XVI (embodied by Jason Schartzman). Continuously, she is initiated into the rigorous court protocol by a starched Comtesse de Noilles (Australian film star Judy Davis). The latter figure was, according to the historical biography that inspired the film script, secretly referred to as Madame Etiquette by Marie Antoinette (Frasier 2001:92).

The admonitory address of the empress's voice, telling the teenaged Marie Antoinette how all eyes will be on her and how the future of the bond between the two nations is in her hands continues in the film from the first scenes as a voice-over reading disciplining letters to the new Dauphine of France. This articulates several evocative takes on mother-daughter relationships, where for instance an actress like Marianne Faithful might signal the popular yet derogatory take on the disciplining motherhood of second wave feminism versus the glossier third wave feminism of both Coppola and Dunst celebrating the power and rights of girlhood (cf. *The Virgin Suicides*, 1999). Nevertheless, the mother-daughter relation theme woven into the film opens up for many interpretations, but it is done sympathetically from the view point of the daughter.

Eager to avoid the so called fallacy of internalism, as the assumption that the effects on consumers of media texts simply can be deduced from a semiotic analysis of the texts themselves, I want yet to point out some further instances of sympathetic recognition constructed between the viewer and the historical figure. This (historiographical) shift in sympathies (for Marie Antoinette) works from exposing the details of her private life. Further, it functions also through a closing off of the already know historical fact of her grim death which further enhances the ability for the viewer to at least temporary identify with, and sustain sympathy for, the young queen. It is also effectuated with several references to other media, to music genres, romantic stories and their intended audiences.

As the film engages with her personal passions and development from a teenager to a mature young woman it seems to partly follow cultural scripts from short novels in glossy women's magazines and the Harlequin romance as Janice Radway delineated it in her classical reception study *Reading the Romance* (1987). Such typical features of the romance that can be detected include the drastic removing of the heroine from her familiar surroundings, meeting an aristocratic man and dealing with sexual tensions that in the end, by the display of unexpected tenderness from the part of the hero, reconciles the heterosexual couple. Such characteristics of the romance have been interpreted to ideologically reconcile also heterosexist patriarchy. That is, if an audience univocally simply were to take the dominant discourse to heart and never elaborated on interpretations – which, taking my own reading here as example, clearly is not the case. Further, there are several mismatching narrative themes of the romance and this film.

While the romance script makes the heroine initially antagonistic towards the hero due to his early sexual advances, this film works quite contrary through the hero's sexual indifference, catastrophic for Marie Antoinette's status as queen. Unlike the romance heroine, she needs desperately instead to be sexually confirmed (in a public manner) if not to loose her position and power. Perhaps this cinematic turn away from the romance script as analysed by Radway in the mid 1980's, resonates with a contemporary awareness of the heterosexual demands on public femininity (to be married or in a long term relation for instance). I hope to now have added light to a mode of attention to the historical queen that is relating to other

women's genres. This implies that this film is targeting a predominately female audience – rarely addressed otherwise in dominant popular history media such as popular science journals (Åsberg 2005).

The "lever", the ceremonial rising and dressing of the royalties, and the "grand couvert", the public dinner, are together with views from the failed marital bed, repeated scenes that display the queen's psychological development under such simultaneous abundance and exquisite scrutiny. Constantly watched by all, not least her mother (the Austrian empress who from afar carefully monitored each detail of the French court), yet simultaneously in a situation empowering her to satisfy her every whim, the teenage queen is depicted as growing up under extraordinary circumstances. She was mistrusted as potential Austrian spy and thus never allowed any political influence by her husband. Further, confined by a court life where the most intimate parts of her life from menses and make-up, to sex and child birth (the aristocratic spectacle of the royal accouchement) is publicly witnessed she flees into decadence, shopping and extravagant consumption of cakes and candy, clothes and shoes, fashion and gambling. Apparently ill-prepared for the Versailles court, steeped in scandal, gossip and conspiracy – and not least the complex system of privileges jealously guarded by strict rules of precedence, the kind-hearted, young Marie Antoinette rebels thus like a teenager in Coppola's film through decadence and indulgence – but also through excessive charity and breaks of the royal protocol by improper gestures of direct kindness towards poor commoners.

The massive, official website accompanying the film – in itself a small digital archive of film-contextualizing popular history, describes useful historical facts on how she early on in her reign was lauded as "an example of compassion".[5] The irony is emphasised in the whole production (film, website and extra material) with the infamous phrase, falsely accredited to the queen (and previously to other historical queens), "Let them eat cake". This is played out by a wicked, dark-lipped, queen in a fantasmic dream scene in the film which is directly countered by the rosy scene of the "real" queen's comment on the mean propaganda pamphlets: "I would never say that". On a grand scale, this wicked queen image is what the film sets out to debunk as ahistorical and the mere product of monumental, revolutionary propaganda machine. In commentaries the director and actresses (like Judy Davis) explain the project of investigating if anything can move the image of the queen as an historical villainess produced by the powerful new media of the time.

"I want candy", The Queen of Excess.

Pamphleteers and libellants were a major agent in bringing on the fall of the queen, rather than her mythic extravagance or the political ideas and movements of the revolution. According to the website, her spending was but a drop in the ocean compared to the king's

---

5   The official site for Marie Antoinette The Movie:
     http://www.sonypictures.com/homevideo/marieantoinette/index.html (last accessed 2007-09-21).

coronation costs, his catastrophic decisions straining further the impoverished by the 7 Years War French finances with supports to The American War of Independence. According to Fraser and the complete Marie Antoinette production, the queen, as both a woman and foreigner, became the convenient scapegoat in a war of public relations. The massive amount of graphic and demeaning descriptions of the queen's conspicuous consumption (she became known as Madame Deficit) and illegitimate relations created the infamous image of the wickedly excessive queen with direct sexual and gendered overtones. Where the film avoids to repeat such imagery, the website introduces historical material such as the 1775 pamphlet Les Nouvelles de la Cour who started the trend. While the king was portrayed as inadequate and impotent, the queen was imaged relieving her sexual frustrations with her friend Princess de Lamballe (later assaulted and killed by a mob). The lesbian motif of the period pamphlets, intended as derogatory, became later paired with orgiastic sceneries where the queen have sex and off-spring with all kinds of court and family members or showing off her royal "bijoux" (genitals). This resonates to some extent with the historical treatment of the 17th century Queen Christina of Sweden who also was depicted in both celebratory and denigrating manners in period media. Queen figures like Christina and Marie Antoinette, but also Sissi and Diana, have gone through history as great spenders, leading wasteful and consumerist and not least sexually unwarranted lives. Hence their historical legacy is very much one of sexual difference.

There were radically different accounts of the queen within 1790s feminisms, that is, already in Marie Antoinette's days. Madame de Staël published (1793) a defence of the queen. Olympe de Gouges dedicated her 1791 feminist tract, "Declaration of the Rights of Woman" to Marie Antoinette. In so doing, they appealed to the Queen's ability to place gender before rank. British feminist oriented contemporaries, like Mary Robinson, argued that Marie Antoinette was "one of us," a woman like "us" whose essential femininity was the basis for sympathetic mourning after the public decapitation. Yet, for others like Mary Wollstonecraft, Marie Antoinette was rather "one of them," a woman whose essential femininity aligned her, instead, with a decadent and corrupt female sexual power. However, many of the entangled themes, contrasting takes and evoked sympathy for this icon of victimized womanhood, martyred royalty and motherly sacrifice have an uncanny resemblance to the later treatments of queen figures such as Sissi and Diana. Clearly Marie Antoinette was a figure of unsettled discourse over excessive femininity, as she is yet today. Media-savvy and knowledge invested young women of today are not passively observing the struggle over to whom the historical queen belongs.

Rose, a Swedish woman blogger in her 20s, living in Australia, at her site, "Pajama Empress", expressed not just her excitement about the film, but also her well-informed interest in the historical figure as a controversial woman reverberating in her own lifeworld:

Saturday, May 5 (2007) Antoinette and Other Things
Less than two weeks until Marie Antoinette comes out at Blockbuster. It's embarrassing how excited I am.

The film had mixed reactions when it came out, as did Antonia Fraser's take on the Austrian Queen of France when she wrote her biography. The people who disliked the film attacked the lack of narrative and dialogue, the unusual and sudden ending point, the endless scenes of frivolity, and the modern soundtrack. Usually I would try to be diplomatic and at least consider their collective point of view, but it just seems so petty for them to criticize Fraser's opinion on Antoinette and indirectly Sofia Coppola's film making abilities just because they don't agree with what is being said.

Last year I wrote an essay on Antoinette, taking a rather sympathetic view – the main conflict of the essay was about the reality of her character versus public opinion. It was a

great essay, but I definitely took a softer view on her than did most historians. I suppose I know a little bit of what it feels like to be young, naive and impressionable, and thrust into unforgiving circumstances far away from the people who have previously been your everything.[6]

Like this well-articulated viewer, the cinematic production, the website and Fraser's foundational book, are continuously subscribing to a sympathetic image of Marie Antoinette. The book and the film depicts her as graceful and young, slightly naïve and definitely heterosexual – and further, sexually rather inexperienced (until she meets Count Fersen). But this is not innocent or unambiguous on a cultural scale signification. Marie Antoinette is through the choice of actress and historical sources publicly "white-washed", a term with both racial and sexual implications, and presented as "pure" and "German" in the hegemonic heterosexual and clearly racialized sense. This even as she, on the posters and in seduction scenes of her extra-marital affair – which also are reproduced in the teaser trailer – is represented as a full-blown, pin-up-ish seductress hiding her sexualized body behind a conveniently arranged fan. With the recognizable visual conventions of soft porn the Queen is here presented as a classical nude, but simultaneously also as a mature sexual woman. Seductively she looks directly into the camera and hence establishes a relation of desire between the film character and the viewer. Interestingly enough, this looking relation cannot in any simple sense be framed as the classical voyeurism of the male gaze as theorized by Laura Mulvey. The audience, the publics intended for this piece of pop history, are instead positioned as woman-identified-women, heterosexually oriented or even queer (perhaps as queen-identified-queens), but distinctly woman-friendly.

The intended audience is called upon, not with historical accuracy, but with teenage pop culture references and signs of recognition, hailing young adult women and perhaps also (unhappily) married, middle class women sympathetic to the misunderstood queen figure. The appeal of the film is also created through a kind of historical revisionary politics where the intimate, personal and private life of the young queen is used to counter the dominant historical image of Marie Antoinette as the villain queen of decadence. This is an ambivalent move. To some extent it repeats the public trauma of being deprived of privacy and personal integrity intrinsic to contemporary fandom. Since it concerns a no longer living, most often denigrated, public figure, I would see it as a move of democratization of historical heritage. The queen is made the queen of everybody – an historical "people's queen", in many ways both pioneering and renewing the tradition of empress Sissi and Princess Diana. In that sense Coppola follows the period feminist treatment of Marie Antoinette as "one of us", but the film has by its large audience of fans further been interpreted through contemporary stars. Marie Antoinette is for instance repeatedly likened to pop star Paris Hilton, another excessively rich and scandalous daughter of a (business) empire, at various websites.[7] The movie posters play also with the motifs of rumour, scandal and fame; "At 15 she became a bride. At 19 she became a queen. By 20 she was a legend". A creative fan has further made and published on You Tube a new music video of Marie Antoinette film scenes to Madonna's song Material

---

6   See: Pajama Empress, "Antoinette and other things" at
http://pajama-empress.blogspot.com/2007/05/antoinette-and-other-things.html (last accessed 2007-09-24).

7   See, for instance, the website Untfredag.se: All tom nöjesliv i Uppsala, the article "Frossa och frottera" by Paola Langdal, at http://www.untfredag.se/avd/1,1786,MC=15-cat=248-AV_ID=575616,00.html (last accessed 2007-09-24); Alexander Dunefors' film review "Kostymdrama för 2000-talets publik" at http://www.moviezine.se/filmsidor/marie_antoinette.shtml (last accessed 2007-09-24); Mick La Salles blog page "Paris Hilton and Marie Antoinette" at
http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/blogs/mlasalle/detail?blogid=38&entry_id=17267 (last accessed 2007-09-24). Entering "Marie Antoinette + Paris Hilton" in a Google search generates however 534 000 hits within ten seconds.

Girl and made the picked scenes correlate with the lyrics.[8] All this, since the examples are manifold if just looking at You Tube, signals how the historical figure of the queen seem to resonate with female publics not otherwise connected to historical assessment. Further, it is a movie in line with the second wave feminist slogan "the personal is political". Deprived of political status, the queen's recognizable private situation is implicitly imbued with political relevance. So however, sexually modest and innocent Marie Antoinette is presented there are underlying themes of feminist politics, of women-identified-women relations in the production and of revising the ingrained androcentric mode of historiography.

As the film moves into the final stages of her life at Versailles, when she has matured and become a loving mother of two surviving children (the oldest child, a seemingly feminist-trained daughter of five responds to flattery "I am beautiful if I think so") and changed style from excessive consumption to amateur theatre, harp virtuosity and a "natural life" at Petite Trianon and her Hameau, a complete, model country village. Of course, this still excessive and frolic life is commented by the electric guitar chords of the song with the significant title "Natural's Not in It" by Gang of Four. The glamorous and excessive bright, pink and pastel colours of the flower arrangements, and her lavish outfits matching the salon draperies turn towards the end of the film to more somber and austere colours as the threats of the revolution becomes tangible. The character scene par excellence, when the queen shows exquisite courage, is when the Paris mob, thirsty for the blood of the sexually defamed queen of deficit and decadence, finally reaches Versailles at night time. The cinematic epitome thus when the queen bravely and alone steps out on the balcony and greets the people with a deep bow of respect to the subjects she aimed to serve but was so sadly out of touch with. The film too never engages with the details of the people. The mob remains a dark and threatening mass with torches but without individual characteristics. The French revolution is rather thus depicted through the empty and trashed scenes of Versailles interiors demolished. Further, the film never shows the humiliating years in prison nor the queen's famous death – explicitly staged to publicly debase her. The movie ends with the queen's goodbye to a morning misty Versailles through the window glass of the carriage taking her to Paris.

I would contend that this film *par excellence* depicts womanliness as masquerade. Through biographical introspection from the point of view of the young queen and through a combination of the excessive style and fashion borrowed from both the queen's period and the late modern pop genres, the construction of queenhood, as the symbolic epitome of public femininity, becomes apparent. More importantly, the constraints and confinements of such public femininity are embellished with the tragic queen figure. The isolation of Marie Antoinette in the midst of a gargantuan court culture is constantly emphasised as is her unhappiness in the midst of material abundance. Her extravagant consumption does not hide but highlight the inauthenticity and mismatch of the masquerade. Through abundance the masquerading queen becomes a spectacle of excessive femininity. What is taken to heart is however not the fatal lesson of her historical example, but the intensity and rebellious power of excessive femininity as a site of shared resistance towards claustrophobic conventions. Sadly, this cannot easily be concluded into a celebration of cultural resistance. I see rather this recent film and the many other previous expressions of royal femininity discussed as an indication of how the mythical figure of the historical queen not at all has played out her role in our contemporary cultures. She seems in fact more needed and desired than ever.

---

8   See "Marie Antoinette-MaterialGirl" by director "mpavsweet" at
     http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z_Un-kxjBCw (last accessed 2007-09-23).

History in Unexpected Places: Concluding Comments for Further Work

Past queens stir public emotions. Christina, Marie Antoinette and Sissi – as well as the more contemporary version of scandalous royalty, Diana of Wales, have all oxymoronically been called upon as the Princess, Empress or Queen of the People. While Diana's image in all its complex cultural work was not touched upon in detail here, her kind of cultural iconicity is easily comparative to that of Christina, Sissi and Marie-Antoinette. All of them are in the historical imaginary connected with excessive life styles, with arbitrary and wasteful ways, abrupt ends and intense public interest. They were privileged women whose charity work never in their time entailed the prospect of social change, but who in our time can be turned into signs of a potential shift in the politics, aesthetics and rhetorics of public history. As signifiers loaded with cultural meaning and fraught with both instructing gender protocol and transgression, they embody the undescidable nature of historical femininities constantly subjected to social constraints and morals and simultaneously escaping final exhaustion. Their distinct and well-known personas have also lingered and provided a source of pleasure as they have echoed powerfully throughout recent renditions as well as within a two century old feminist imaginary of alternatives. In magnified proportions these queens, like popular history Kristina and pop history Marie-Antoinette, in two different ways of doing the femininities available to them, signalls a space for consumerist, knowledge thirsty, ruthless, exaggerated and anything but natural or given embodiments of femininity. They burst open the encaging masquerade of ideal femininity and becomes cultural figures of spectacular excess – and of unease. Christina shares another cultural legacy with Marie Antoinette as iconic historical queen from more than a century later: being the target of malicious propaganda that to a large extent has survived to present day. They were early victims of bad PR and unforgiving historiography; in that sense media stars between satire and excess.

Given, the costume drama is of course not a particularly high regarded source for historians. But for someone interested in understanding history in the present, this kind of material – however ahistorical and faux – tells a lot about the present, the intended audience, about emerging or lingering cultural anxieties, projections or motifs in need of processing. That is, about the discursive formations of the cultural fantasy landscapes that surrounds and permeates and connects both historians and non-historians with the past in the present. What can be called our collective historical imaginary hinges to a large extent on key events and battles, individual kings and warlords – but also on the occasional woman ruler. Such occasional woman rulers – troubling the conventions of connecting femininity with the private, intimate and powerless, and, masculinity with the public and powerful – works as historical icons overloaded with, sometimes conflicting, meaning. However, the various annunciations of the historical queen, the prismatic figure I worked with here, seem particularly imbued with cultural morals, lessons for the afterworld and hindsight evaluations, devaluations and re-evaluations regarding ways of combining power and femininity. Clearly, the case of the Swedish queen Christina seem to support this argument. In that sense the queen figure carries morals of excessive femininity. The history lesson can however be learnt in different ways. I believe this is particularly true regarding a recent cinematic version of Queen Marie Antoinette if compared to previous Elizabeths, Sissis or queen Christinas.

This paper started with a quote by Black women's movement historian Kimberly Springer that inspires reflection on what counts as history proper and where women's history today is found and accepted. In line with Springer's suggestion to look for history in unexpected places – and further, with interdisciplinary tools, I argued here that historical assessment is taking place in the midst of mainstream popular culture. And further, that such public history – as the asymmetrical production and reception of Sofia Coppola's Hollywood film *Marie Antoinette* – is an additional site where women's history is even lovingly dealt with, revisioned and renegotiated. Such scattered women audiences might even be theorized with

Michael Warner's term counterpublics, as they in many ways seem to lack the power to transpose themselves to the level of generality as the official public of public history. They seem to be random fans that share a love for the historical queen figure and form an interpretative community but not a coherent public.

With the humour and pop cultural references used both in and outside the film, the strong discursive currents of unease that is propelling the queen figure are strongly put forward. For instance in the film *Marie Antoinette*, it is visually exposed how the queen excels in candy and cake, flowers and fashion, parties and shopping to the New Romantics, post-punk music of Siouxsie and The Banshees, Radio Dept. and not least the well-themed Bow wow wow song "I want candy". Also, she encounters her lover, the Swedish count Axel von Fersen, at a masquerade ball, styled on the 1980's star Adam from Adam and the Ants. The impressionistic rather than painted style of the photo, the exaggerated pastel colours and embellished interiors together with the retro-music, mixed with classical and contemporary pop music (Air, Aphex Twin and Strokes) creates an iconoclastic take on dominant image of Queen Marie Antoinette, but also on the genre conventions of the period piece and the historical costume drama. The product addresses teenage angst, rebellious and bubbly youth, beauty regimes as well as the unhappy yet desperate to please married woman with an indifferent husband. And such unsettled expressions connected to excessive femininity are merely some of the features imbued into the queen figure.

My argument concerned further how historical queens in popular history books or Hollywood film sustain femininity as masquerade. Apparently, theirs is a masquerade that is highly cherished for its imperfections, cracks and fissures. The culturally much belaboured figure of the past queen exhibits the claustrophobia of constrained womanliness as public masquerade. The cultural iconicity of the queen lies foremost in her ability to make the female masquerade into a spectacle of rebellious, excessive femininity. It is as such a potential site of indirect resistance towards the confinements of femininity that the historical queen can become a highly desired figure for large, yet unofficial, publics that only can dream of the reckless consumption and extravagant living such royalty enjoyed. The popular feedback, such as the aggressive male blogger's condescending comparisons between Paris Hilton and Marie Antoinette – or the many fan-creations made of Marie Antoinette clips on You Tube, tells how such mass text moves through and touches upon the informal space of women's lifeworlds. This indicates further that the therapeutic need for such excessive queens is not fading. Quite the contrary. Perhaps is it here however that the promises of past queens can be realized. With the growing interest in vulgar history, in women's historical lives and even individual destinies public history found in unexpected places might become a site of social change and revision for the future.

Bibliography (all media)

"Antoinette and other things", Pajama Empress; blogg at
http://pajama-empress.blogspot.com/2007/05/antoinette-and-other-things.html
(last accessed 2007-09-24).

Aronsson, Peter (editor): Makten över minnet. Historiekultur i förändring. Lund: Studentlitteratur, 2000.

Bal, Mieke, Crewe, Jonathan & Spitzer, Leo (editors): *Acts of Memory. Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hannover, London*:* Dartmouth College, 1999.

Berlant, Lauren: The Queen of America Goes to Washington City: Essays on Sex and *Citizenship*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1997.

Black, Jeremy: *Using History*, London: Hodder Arnold, 2005.

Bloom, Lisa (editor): With Other Eyes. Looking at Race and Gender in Visual Culture University of Minnesota Press: Minneapolis, London, 1999.

Borgström, Eva: "Manlighetsmotivet i drottning Kristinas självbiografi", in Makalösa kvinnor. Könsöverskridare i myt och verklighet (ed. Eva Borgström), Alfabeta, 2002.

Boym, Svetlana: *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York: Basic Books, 2001.

Buckley, Veronica: *Kristina. Sveriges Drottning* [Original title *Christina - Queen of Sweden*], Uddevalla: Albert Bonnier, 2004.

Burke, Peter: Eyewitnessing. The Use of Images as Historical Evidence London: Reaction Books, 2001.

Burke, Peter: *What is cultural history?* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.

Butler, Judith: Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. New York: Routledge, 1990.

Coppola, Sofia: *Marie Antoinette*, Film DVD, 118 min, Pathé Distribution, 2006.

Dawson, Graham: Soldier heroes. British Adventure, Empire and the Imagining of Masculinities, Routledge: London & New York, 1994.

Doane, Mary Ann: Femmes Fatales: Feminism, Film Theory, Psychoanalysis. New York: Routledge, 1991.

Englund, Peter: Silvermasken – En kort biografi over Drottning Kristina. Uddevalla: Albert Bonnier, 2006.

Franklin, Sarah, Lury, Celia & Stacey, Jackie: *Global Nature, Global Culture* Sage: London, 2000.

Frasier, Antonia: *Marie-Antoinette*, Stockholm: Forum 2001. [English title: *Marie Antoinette – The Journey*].

"Frossa och frottera" *Untfredag.se: All tom nöjesliv i Uppsala*, article by Paola Langdal, at http://www.untfredag.se/avd/1,1786,MC=15-cat=248-AV_ID=575616,00.html (last accessed 2007-09-24)

Gregory, Philippa: *I drottningens närhet* [English title: *The Queen's Fool*]Viborg: Damm, 2006.

Gregory, Philippa: *Jungfruns älskare* [English title: *The Virgin's Lover*] Viborg: Damm, 2007.

Hamann, Brigitte: *The Reluctant Empress: A Biography of Empress Elisabeth of Austria*, Knopf, 1986.

Haraway, Donna: Simians, Cyborgs, and Women: The Re-Invention of Nature, New York: Routledge, 1991.

"Hela topplistan – Sveriges regenter", website by "btt" at Passagen: http://debatt.passagen.se/show.fcgi?category=3500000000000014&conference=60000000000 00081&posting=19500000003305778 (last accessed 2007-09-24).

Jones, Amelia (editor): The Feminism and Visual Culture Reader, New York: Routledge, 2003.

"Kostymdrama för 2000-talets publik", film review by Alexander Dunefors at Moviezine; http://www.moviezine.se/filmsidor/marie_antoinette.shtml (last accessed 2007-09-24).

Lindquist, Herman: Historien om alla Sveriges Drottningar. Från myt och helgon till drottning i tiden. Stockholm: Norstedts, 2006.

"Marie Antoinette. The Movie – The Official Site" at http://www.sonypictures.com/homevideo/marieantoinette/index.html (last accessed 2007-09-24).

"Marie Antoinette-MaterialGirl" at You Tube, by director "mpavsweet" at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=z_Un-kxjBCw (last accessed 2007-09-23).

McClintock, Anne: Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest, New York: Routledge, 1995.

McRobbie, Angela: In the Culture Society: Art, Fashion and Popular Music, Routledge, London, 1999.

Mamoulian, Rouben: Queen Christina, Film DVD, 97 min, 1933.

Mulvey, Laura.1999. "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema". In Visual Culture: the Reader, edited by J. Evans and S. Hall. London: Sage Publications. [Orginally published 1975].

"Paris Hilton and Marie Antoinette", Mick La Salle's blogg at http://sfgate.com/cgi-bin/blogs/mlasalle/detail?blogid=38&entry_id=17267 (last accessed 2007-09-24).

Radway, Janice: Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy and Popular Literature. London: Verso, 1987.

Riviere, Joan: "Womanliness as Masquerade", in Formations of Fantasy edited by Victor Burgin, James Donald and Cora Kaplan. London and New York: Methuen, 1986, pp. 35-44. [Orginally published 1929].

"Sissi - Elisabeth of Wittelsbach (1837 - 1898)" (anonymous) at the website Austrian Culture Personalities, http://www.aboutaustria.org/personalities/wittelsbach.htm (last accessed 2007-09-20).

"Sissi – Forever My Love" at VideoMediaOnline (anonymous): http://www.videomediaonline.com/sissiforevermylove.html (last accessed 2007-09-24).

Smelik, Anneke: "Feminist Film Theory" in Pam Cook and Mieke Bernink, (eds), The Cinema Book, second edition. London: British Film Institute, 1999, pp 353-365. See also: http://www.let.uu.nl/womens_studies/anneke/filmtheory.html (last accessed 2007-09-24).

Springer, Kimberly: "Unexpected: Women, Sources, and Histories" in Journal of Women's History, 16.4 (2004), pp. 28-33.

Stacey, Jackie: Star Gazing – Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship, London: Routledge, 1994.

Stacey, Jackie: "Masculinity, Masquerade, and Genetic Impersonation: Gattaca's Queer Visions", in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, vol 30, 2005, pp. 1851-1877.

Michael Warner: Publics and Counterpublics. New York, London: Zone Books, 2002

Åsberg, Cecilia & Axelsson, Bodil: "Digital performances of Gendered Pasts", in Cyberfeminism in a Nordic Light: Digital Media and Gender in a Nordic Context. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Press, eds. Malin Svenningsson Elm & Jenny Sundén, 2007.

Åsberg, Cecilia: Genetiska föreställningar. Mellan genus och gener i populär/vetenskapens visuella kulturer. Linköping Studies in Arts and Science, 2005.

Ideological Meaning Consistence in News as a Cultural Text: The Presentation of Paris Riots in Hürriyet and Sabah Newspapers

Ömer Özer
Anadolu University, Faculty of Communication Sciences,
Department of Journalism, Eskişehir-Turkey
omerjk@mynet.com

Alaaddin F. Paksoy
Media and Communication Studies Master Student,
Stockholm University, Stockholm-Sweden
afpaksoy@yahoo.com

This study is about the riots which took place in Paris in November 2005. It aims to define the ideological production in news discourse. In theoretical base, a hegemonic ideology definition was made which is parallel to hegemonic reading in the frame of cultural studies and the meaning process of this definition was also emphasized. Teun Adrian van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model is used during the study. The ideological production was determined by the analysis of news appeared in Hürriyet and Sabah daily newspapers in Turkey concerning Paris riots. The results of the study demonstrate that there is not enough context information in news; the event could be explained by social, cultural and economic reasons. It is seen that the news are popularized, personalized and reduced to its subject. The results of the study have been expressed by means of "ideological atmosphere" concept.

Keywords: News Discourse, Ideological (Re)production, Critical Discourse Analysis, Paris Riots, Structural Bias Problem, Ideological Bias, Ideological Atmosphere.

Introduction

This study analyses the presentation of Paris riots which started at the end of October 2005 in Turkish newspapers, Hürriyet and Sabah. According to these newspapers, the reason of these events was because of 3 immigrant young people. The story says "they escaped from police because of ID control and then they had electricity shock when they hided at a transformer station. 2 of them died and 1 of them injured who has Turkish origin. After that situation, some violence events had started by the people who are from the same social class of these 3 young people. In this study, these events were named as "Paris Riots". For the research, the news which were published between 25th October 2005 and 15th November 2005 were selected. These dates represent the starting date of riots and its disappearance in the agenda. In this process, Hürriyet had published 15 news and 36 photographs and Sabah had published 18 news and 37 photographs. The reason of that time sample can be explained like that: Sabah had started to publish news about these riots everyday since 31st October when the same situation is 4th November for Hürriyet[1]. Since 15th November, the related news started to lost its permanency[2].

The main hypothesis of this research claims that media reproduces the ideology in news discourse. The main aim of the research is to find out if the ideological presentation – which is valid for media – (Hall et al 1978; İnal 1992; Özer 1997; 1999; 2001; 2006; 2007; Özer ve Dağtaş 2003) exists in Turkish newspapers when they are analyzed within news about a social event which happened out of Turkey. Hürriyet and Sabah are popular newspapers which can be put in a central point. They can also be identified as the newspapers that "offical ideology" is produced in. The relevant news of this research was analyzed with the help of van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model. It is possible to say that there are serious amount of research since 1990s which were constructed with the help of van Dijk's model in Turkey.[3] In these researches, generally the events which were about Turkey were analyzed (Ertan-Keskin 2004). The originality and importance of this research is because of its material sample which has a foreign origin. Also the results and conceptual inferences which were formed according to that results contributes the originality and importance of this research.

Theoretical Basis

Critical news researches within the cultural studies have been started in 1970s which were about ideological production in news. Hall (*et al)*'s research (1978) can be shown as a fundamental resource. In an important level of this study, some results like "media is the secondary definer of events" were found. At the back of these kinds of researches, it is possible to suggest that reproduction of ideology can naturalize the material reality. In these researches, textual analyses and their structure which tends to reproduce the hegemony and ideology (Smith 2005) were discussed.

Critical news researches got many concept and theories from structuralism. Barthes' "denotation and connotation" inference is very important in this point. According to him, connotation is next to denotation, they always have a mutual action, thus they seem to be in a

---

1   To start publishing news about riots in November may cause of its permanency in these dates or the different important discussions in Turkey's domestic agenda before November. Of course, these estimated reasons may not reflect the reality but it is interesting to see that they have started to publish these related news everyday.

2   If it is thought in terms of "meaning", also from that time, the meaning in news are almost equal to the meaning of news which were included in the research sample.

3   It will be enough to remind 2 PhD. theses among the first studies by using van Dijk's model in Turkey. For example Inal's study emerged a basis to promote Dijk's model in communication field. İnal 1992; Ülkü 1992.

unity (Coward and Ellis 1985). Myth, which is known as connotation, can be successful when it is not explicitly emphasized and when it says "this is like it should be" and when it universalizes the history (Coward and Ellis 1985).

Althusser's ideas were brought to field in the beginning of 1970s. Althusser separated ideological state apparatus (family, law, politics, syndicate, church, media) from police, government, army, etc. and named the latter as state's pressure apparatus (1991). For Althusser, ideology always has a materialistic existence and ideology was written for state apparatus and practises. In this point he names individuals as "subject" (1991). By this claim, according to Althusser, it can be understood that "subject" is in a passive situation. Althusser's subject emerges in language and discourse. In media text, subject is called and named.

Even he is not from structuralism, Gramsci's (1992) "hegemony" concept is also important. In a nutshell, hegemony can be defined as the strategies of dominant power to get support from all people who are under its control (Eagleton 1996). Like Althusser, also Gramsci emphasized the importance of ideology in consolidation of social structure and relations (Teo 2000: 11). One of the important point to produce ideology is media. One of the basic hegemony strategy is "common sense" (Gramsci 1992). Media is functional in provision of "common sense" (Fiske 2003). About news text, media's functionality shows itself in the activation of ideological practises which exists in discourse. This point can be connected to cultural studies' view on media which is evaluated as the place of elite power's institutional, ideological and discourse reproduction place (Lembo 2000).

In this point, it is fruitful to look at ideology-discourse relationship: ideology produces the reality in a specific discourse. Thus, it systematically constructs the domination relationships in discourse. Due to its domination, dominant class' ideology names dominant class and also the class which is under domination. The thing which activates meaning in language is also this ideology. According to Hall (cited in Stevenson 1997), discourses have dominant meanings which constructs the meaning of the message. Ideological discourses refer to "already knowns" and approve itself in a common knowledge depot. At the same time, it reproduces in an eclectic way (Hall 1999). Ideological discourses may add subjects which are already using language to their self world representation method. This means the emphasize of ideology in discourse and the necessity to discuss its articulation by discourse (Hall 1999). Analysis of discourse provides a way to clarify the ideologies which were stated in written, verbal and visual texts. Discourse is not a simply grammatical practises; it states a specific topic and constructs the knowledge about it. The analysis of discourse does not only examine how language and representation produce the meaning. It also examines the formation of identities and subjectivities and relationships between representation, meaning and power (Hall cited in Meyers 2004).

Discourse, using of language and texts are the most important social practises in the formulation of ideologies. If we want to understand what ideologies are in real, how they operates, how they are formed, changed and produced, and what they are doing, we need to look intensively to their discourse aspects. Language is a practise which forms a reality and something which is written or said about world is articulated in an ideological configuration (van Dijk cited in Kuo ve Nakamura 2005). Media has a central role in the production of dominant ideology. It has an ideological function like family, church and school (Kuo and Nakamura 2005). The critical analysis of discourse provides to clarify the dominant ideology which is stated in written, verbal and visual texts. Critical discourse analysis emphasizes the necessity to analyse the media language role critically. According to critical discourse analysts, the ideology in news cannot be easily seen. It is situated in selected language forms. Ideological practises which were situated in news discourse can only be clarified by critical

discourse analysts. To clarify ideological practises in news discourse means to clarify how social inequalities are reproduced (Kou ve Nakamura 2005).

The ideological production in news discourse is clarified by "meaning". Signification is on connotation level and it states the ideological aspect of media/news discourse. Signification deals with arguable topics as a real and positive power and it affects the results. Signification of events is a part of something which is for contention, because signification is the media where the collective social meanings is created (Hall 1999). Signification refers to ideology that it produces the reality in a specific discourse. This ideology systematically setups the relations of domination in discourse.

Critical media theorists who were affected by Althusser and Gramsci's ideas emphasized the idea which claims that the dominant ideology is produced and reproduced in news discourse. According to them, the self-reproduction of capitalist societies depends on the acceptance of dominant ideology by majority (Lodziak 1986). In this process, media helps the majority to accept the dominant ideology (Lodziak 1986). Dominant ideology is reproduced in news media. Moreover, dominant ideology is reproduced in news discourse. "To read invisible parts of messages in news means to reach dominant ideological practises." (Özer 2001).

Finally, before the analysis, it is useful to emphasize a point: According to Stuart Hall (1993; 1999a; 2005), the three types of reading style are hegemonic, controversial and oppositional reading. This research is parallel to the hegemonic reading which has a direct impact on the readers. In this respect, it may be suggested that the other two styles have also hegemonic content. The reason of this can be explained like that: Immanent meanings which were in the messages of texts are coded in central media establisments. Everytime, the power of that centers are more than receivers who re-interpret the meanings (Morley and Siverstone 1990 cited in Morley 2005). Even the audiences are infinite active in the process of interpreting of media presentations, it is not true to equalize the active and the powerful one (Ang 1990 cited in Morley 2005). It is possible to unify that situation with the idea of stabilization of meaning in the beginning. This refers to the narrow point which is between Hall's hegemonic reading and oppositional reading. When it is interpreted in critical news research, it is possible to claim that ideological practises are not only in hegemonic reading, also in other ways can enter to receiver's thinking process.

Critical Discourse Analysis of Paris Riots

By means of theoretical part of this study, the analysis of Paris Riots was grounded on Teun Adrian van Dijk's critical discourse analysis model. The reasons why this model were selected is its ability to clarify news structure and more importantly ideological presentation of news and its accordance to Turkish news language. Model was applied to news according to some interpretations and evaluations about it.

van Dijk has a plenty of studies on discourse, discourse analysis and model. (1983, 1985, 1988a, 1988b, 1991, 1993, 1995, 1998, 1999; 2003). Dijk considers the news as a form of public discourse. Furthermore, he mentions about the significance of the contextual factors shaping the basis of the news discourse (1988b). Dijk handles the news narration in two different linguistic analysis styles constituting "syntactical" and "semantic". The news syntactic is the grammatical structure of the sentences used. Semantic is about the meaning of the words, sentences and thereby all the discourse. Van Dijk's discourse analysis model is composed of two parts: "Macrostructure and microstructure". The macrostructure is investigated under two headings: "Thematic analysis and schematic analysis". News follows a hierarchical scheme such as, stories or arguments. The production of news is being carried out thousands times everyday under the heavy restrictions of professional routines, time, trained people and printing. This is organized by a scheme (1988b). The scheme mentioned

summarizes heading-the lead together (1991). Meanwhile, they carry out the task of introduction to the text together with the summary that has to explain the meaning of the text's macro structure completely because the main event, participations, and time take place in the lead. Summary together with the lead indicate the upper level of the scheme (1983). The text is also included in the scheme. Besides, it is possible to learn the theme of the news from headings and the news. In the macrostructure analysis, headings, the lead, main event, sources of the news, background and contextual information, and the evaluations of the news by the sides of the events, and such elements are dealt with.

In microstructure analysis, syntactical analysis, local coherence, lexical choice and rhetoric analysis are carried out. In the syntactic analysis, the structure of the sentence use is inspected. Lexical choice is highly significant in terms of ideological construction. The fact that the same person can be defined as terrorist or freedom fighter is a common example given about this subject. In the news rhetoric, to make the news persuasive and convincing, the quotes from the witnesses are included as well. At this point, photographs are also the examples of being persuasive and convincing (van Dijk 1988a; 1988b; 1991).

Headlines

When all the headlines are evaluated together, it is possible to claim that they reflect the main idea of the text and form the lead paragraph. Headlines (Hürriyet): 1. Paris Intifada has burned Sarkozy; 2. Sarko has blazed (4th November 2005). 3. Guerrilla raid in Paris at night; 4. Paris guerrilas (5th November 2005). 5. Europe is uneasy (6th November 2005). 6. Car burning record; 7. Rebellion is at the heart of Republic (7th November 2005). 8. The first blood in rebellion. Subtitle: After dead of 2 muslim young person who escaped from police, one person died in riots in France. Riots have also spread out to Germany and Belgium; 9. The first loss of life; 10. The first lead (8th November 2005). 11. Even Zidane's father cannot vote; 12. OHAL[4] in Paris (9th November 2005). 13. The rebellion of secular youngs (10th November 2005). 14. Here's Muhittin from Urfa (11th November 2005). 15. Handshake with ghetto in Paris (12th November 2005).

It is not possible to see place, time, period and the answer of "who" in each headlines. 4th and 13th headlines is an example of a huge generalization which did not care about people's gender, age and race. 5th headline includes all European countries. 1st, 2nd, 11th and 14th are personification examples.

In headlines it may be claimed that the primary roles of that story which includes violence are Sarkozy and Paris guerrilla. Cars are burned, leads are flown, blood and lives are lost in this story. When one side of fight (Paris guerrillas) was proceeding, the other side (Sarkozy and/or French Government) fell in a situation which requires to use what it has in its hand (OHAL: Extraordinary situation administration).

It may not be true to say that there is a negative attitude about actions of activists in Hürriyet's headlines. On the contrary, it is possible to say that it tried to legitimatize their riots. For example, riots were defined with the word "Intifada" which refers to Palestinian struggle against Israel. In terms of headlines, the word "rebellion" presents an important level. Rebellion refers to contumacy against dominant because of rebels' reasonable claims in terms of their point of view. Thus, it may be claimed that the words "Intifada", "burned" and "rebellion" legitimatizes actions in the next headlines like "blood, loss of life, etc.".

Another problem in headlines is related to personification of riots and reduction of the problem into the struggle between France Interior Minister Sarkozy and young people of

---

4   OHAL:Turkish abbreviation which refers to "extraordinary situation."

ghettos who were called as a "mob" by Sarkozy. Maybe Sarkozy behaved wrongly, but to restrict a problem with one person cannot be enough to explain the reality.

Hürriyet also legitimatized France's OHAL (Extraordinary situation administration) application. For example, it is normal to see effort against rebels. Also, because of rebellion other countries were disturbed, rebels raided (3rd headline), shot by gun (10th headline), drained blood (8th headline), killed someone (9th headline) and burned vehicles (6th headline). Moreover they did these for 2 young people who escaped from the police and died because of electricity (8th lead). All these are practises which can spoil law and order, and these can be seen as reasons for intervention right of French Government. This approach indicates that Hürriyet tried to present rebels positive with the name of "guerrilla", but on the connotation level it presented them as the responsible. It may be useful to add Hürriyet's matching of 2 sides in terms of power. The power of rebels was put on the same level of French Government which plans to use all power that it has. It is a discussion how it reflects the reality. Also, rebels had an othering process in Hürriyet (15th headline). *"Handshake with ghetto in Paris"* means that there is a ghetto in Paris and it indicates the other side who is against ghetto. Headlines of Sabah: 1. Urfa bitter in Paris (31st October 2005). 2. We did not do a wrong thing (1st November 2005). 3. Paris "street war" spreading (2nd November 2005). 4. Chirac: It is better to calm down (3rd November 2005). 5. One week passed for riots, Paris is in alarm (4th November 2005). 6. The rebellious have spreaded 20 suburbs (5th November 2005). 7. LE "CIVIL WAR". 8. Black anger is spreading (6th November 2005). 9. Guerrillas who came from virtual environment. 10. "We will not stop till He stops"; 11. After selecting target on internet, they attack automatically (7th November 2005). 12. 68 subordinateds jumped to Europe; 13....And anger of ghetto has spreaded to Europe; 14. They killed by beating (8th November 2005). 15. "55 law code" is on operation (9th November 2005); 16. "We can burn in daytime too" (10th November 2005). 17. Surrounding by three thousand police in Paris (14th November 2005). 18. Ghetto rebellion has become a "white uprising" (15th November 2005).

As seen in Hürriyet, all headlines have information reduction in it. The 1st, 7th and 9th headlines whose predicate does not refer to an act are an example of generalization. "Black anger is spreading" and "They killed by beating" are a typical fiction example. Thus, fiction looks like generalization but refers to an act. The size of violence and parties of situation were hidden in headlines. "Urfa bitter in Paris" headline was presented as a metaphor and the bitter which is used in Urfa (a city in the south east of Turkey) kitchens were connected to bitter of the young person and his family.

The story between 2 parts were also presented as a violence in Sabah's headlines. It is clear in the 3rd, 4th, 5th and 17th headlines. The 12th and 13th headlines tell that the struggle also reflected to onlookers. Though their proceeds, the other side prepares some preventions and use what it has against rebels (15th and 17th headlines).

The story between 2 parts were also presented as a violence in Sabah's headlines. Because of that, same evaluation for Hürriyet is also valid for Sabah. The acts which were defined by the words like "Black anger, rebellious, subordinateds, ghetto" were shown as legit. The 10th headline reduces the riots into Sarkozy. The "He" in the headline is Sarkozy. Sabah showed Sarkozy as the fundemental reason of the so called "civil war", loss of life and all rebellion.

Sabah could not avoid to legitimatize French Government's practises. " '55 law code' is on operation, We can burn in daytime too, Surrounding by three thousand police in Paris" can be seen as examples for this situation. When Sabah tried to present the rebel people in a positive way by means of using the words like "ghetto, subordinateds, black anger", at the same time it presented these people with those expressions: the people who caused rebellious (the 6th headline), the people who caused civil war (7th headline), the people who did street

fight (the 3rd headline), the people who had murdered (14th headline), the people who burned around (the 16th headline) and the people who did everything until Sarkozy resigns. All these are practises which can spoil law and order. The person who was forced to resign is the person who is one of the first responsible of law and order. Thus, French Government was presented as a state which does not have any other chance than intervening the riots. Because of that "55th law code" was brought to agenda (14th headline) and three thousand police was there for surrounding (16th headline). Gradually, this situation legitimatized the violence of French Government which is also valid for Hürriyet. Thus, when Sabah called the rebel people as "guerrilla" (9th headline), but on the connotation level it presented them as the responsible of riots. Also the matching of 2 sides in terms of power is same in Sabah like Hürriyet. The power of rebels was put on the same level of French Government which plans to use all power it has. Additionally Sabah also had some "otherings" like Hürriyet did. Ghetto rebellion has become a "white uprising" means to put 'ghetto' and 'white' to opposite sides. The transformation here is just on an act basis. Ghetto did not become white.

News Lead: Presentation of the Main Event and Consequences

Lead: The rebellious in France ghettos has not been stopped which has started 1 week ago due to the dead of 2 young person because of electricity and injury of a young Turkish when they were escaping from police. Foreign Minister Nicholas Sarkozy is in a problematic situation because of these riots. Sarkozy was criticized because of his weak control on riots and his bad expressions about ghetto people. His dream to win The Presidency elections now seems difficult. He cancelled his abroad trip and checked a police station in a ghetto region (Hürriyet 4th November 2005).

Lead: "The riots which have started due to injury of a young Turkish and dead of 2 young person have passed 1 week. The Prime Minister Dominique de Villepin organised an extraordinary meeting with his ministers. Sarkozy who said "we will clean the dirty people from the streets" was blamed to increase the tension (Sabah 4th November 2005).

The main event was announced in the leads and the news value was attributed by means of violence riots. The protest riots which have started because of dead of young people when they were escaping from police was presented as the main event. Increasing of riots were shown as the result of this main event. The escape and dead of young people is not the main event. Because the news about these dead people were published 6 days after their dead. In this process, main event has transformed and riots happened. News value was attributed to riots in terms of this point (consequence of main event). Lead is a micro-story. It presented news texts summary with some examples. News texts were filled by main event's details.

When you look to the examples, two newspapers almost have the same content. It is not right to connect this situation to the content of these periods' agenda. The important thing in this point is to be able to see the ideological meaning map which is drawn according to these riots. In all news which are related to this topic, it is easy to find these expressions: "The rebellious in France ghettos has not been stopped which has started 1 week ago due to the dead of 2 young people because of electricity and injury of a young Turk when they were escaping from police. Starting point of news were written like that. This situation presented some excuses for acts of rebels, (the dead of 2 young people because of electricity and injury of a young Turk; injury of a young Turk and dead of 2 young people.) but at the same time, news text refers to the illegal way of their acts which spoil law and order (2 young people when they were escaping from police; injury of a young Turk, and dead of 2 young people…): "It contains both meanings: Police is the representative of law and order; The people who escaped from the police had some illegal acts." Gradually, it is possible to reach a meaning like: if they did not escape from the police, they would not die and all these riots would not happen. The consequence of main event on ideological level is closed with this

meaning. Newspapers cannot avoid by the occurance of this kind of meaning. Journalism practises and news writing rules cause a meaning like that. Thus, when the headlines and the leads are evaluated together, even if the activists are right, a meaning is occured that they spoil the law and order of society. It is possible to emphasize that this meaning represents all texts. Furthermore, the events which are in headlines and reduced into 2 parts (and/or person) were presented in leads with the same meaning. In other words, the starting of riots were reduced into mistakes of 2 young people and Sarkozy in leads, then it was personalized. For sure on connotation level, these statements can be accepted as the consequences of riots.

News Resources

Sabah published 4 news by its own correspondents. 1 news was published by the name of "foreign news" department. It did not publish any name for other news. Even if these news can be seen as news agency news, it is possible to claim that these news were produced and transformed according to Sabah's ideological point of view. On the other hand, Hürriyet used its correspondents names. This can show that all news were presented according to Hürriyet's ideology. The more important thing is, even they came from different resources, all the news which passed the editorial process have the same meaning as an ideological text. Macro structure analysis gave this result.

Background and Context Knowledge

The reason of ideological production in news discourse is connected to the absence of background and context knowledge. It is useful to emphasize one point about example events. Paris riots were reduced to 2 youngs' escape from the police; Interior Minister Sarkozy commented the situation with "mob" expression. Both newspapers tried to write about the real reason of these riots. For example, it is possible to see that the main reason was shown as "unemployment" by implicit or explicit expressions. These kinds of informations melted in the structure which was built by means of conflict. Thus, experiments were not enough to put the riots to a context which was stated above. The information boxes which were put in news in Hürriyet can be seen as an example for this kind of news. According to related news, a football club manager stated that the first problem has started during a football match between France and Algeria. That person also added that activist are not accepted to any job. But this information was not sufficent when it is evaluated among all news. The news about Zidane's father's problem about not to have the right to vote indicates the injustice in legal rights. Sabah newspaper published some interviews which is about ideas of some French football players who grew up in these kind of neighborhoods. 3 football players refered to problems of people who lives in ghettos. But the news which consist of these informations are quite short and filled just some lines.

Micro Structure: Syntactic Analysis, Lexical Choice and Rhetoric

News were generally written by active sentence structures. Active structured sentences can be used to analyse the representation configuration of newspapers. Generally newspapers used active structure when a French Government representative or an activist is the subject of the sentence. The meaning in these sentences supports the meaning which was found in macro structure. It is also possible to say that these meanings show that both sides of riots are determined: A group of young person, with their anger, burned 9 cars last night. Minister Sarkozy said that he would go to "dangerous and unsafe" suburbs 1 day in every week. The young groups who throw stone to police in some places, … they burned 2 police car and a police depot. Sarkozy said "guilties will be sentenced. Rebuplic cannot accept violence".

When the words were used by Sabah are checked, it is possible to see that riots were presented with a specific meaning: "Youngs, angry youngs, youngs who escaped from police, immigrant youngs, white young French, ghetto rebellion, 'white uprising', subordinateds, rebel, gangs, street fights, street war, civil war, black anger, anger of ghettos, activists, African immigrants, immigrants, immigrant young, rebel leader."

When these words are checked, it is clear to see that a meaning occurs that the activists are not French or at least not pure French. They are immigrants and came from Africa. The statement "white young French" were not used to identify them. Oppositely, they are defined as the "other". Words prove that the origin of riots comes from ghettos. But when the total of words are evaluated, this meaning emerges: The young people who live in ghettos became angry and started rebellion. Young gang members fought on the streets. And an civil war has started and it lasted as a street war. It is clear that news were built on violence. The violence happened because of African black immigrants. This cannot mean just a positive meaning. Their life may be full of difficulties, but instead of this situation, the news presented them as the responsible of violence.

Some words which were used in Hürriyet as follows: "Guerrilla, secular youngs, Intifada of Paris, 2 youngs who escaped from police, The youngs who started rebellion in Paris ghettos and burned cars and buildings, 2 African young person, ghetto uprising, rebel youngs."

Same estimations can be done for Hürriyet too. Maybe the only different thing in Hürriyet is its definition about Sarkozy who is defined as Sarko. These kind of nick names may include positive meanings. But in examples some negative content were also seen like "Sarko has blazed".

Newspapers used some photographs which showed the fired public places, young fighters, police, fireman, etc. to make the news more convincing (rhetoric). Most of the photographs are same. Some numbers were given. Some interviews with activists and their families were published. All these things reflects the plausibility of news. The meanings of photographs can be explained like this: A photograph includes a burned car and a fireman. This photograph does not only explain the violence on the street of that car, it also emphasizes that all ghetto streets are like that. All photographs which have a meaning related to violence are in that direction. Thus, the thema which was explained in texts were also supported by photographs. Gradually, the meaning tends to emphasize that the situation can be like that, the law and order can be spoilt, all of them are because of rebels. In another photograph, black women are on the street with their children in their laps and they seem to leave that place. Ghettos of Paris became a place which is not good to live. This situation's responsible was shown as the rebels who spoilt the law and order.

In this point, it may be fruitful to emphasize a point which can give examples about photographs' (and also text) ideological content. When Saussure explained the concept of sign, he did not explain "referent" concept (Hall 1999). In the relationship of "signifier" and "signified", the example of cat in photograph, if this cat is equal to the meaning of a real cat on the streets, it refers to "referent". In this context, the views in photographs explain the situation in Paris. This shows that a violent life exists in Paris, but not the source of violence. To show the source of violence, it should show the comparison of ghetto and the opposite life of it. Different point of views can only be provided by this way.

Result and Discussion

In this study, The Turkish newspapers Hürriyet and Sabah's representation about the riots which happened in Paris in October-November 2005 were analysed. Hürriyet and Sabah reproduced the ideology in theirs' news discourse which was related to the event (Paris riots) which happened outside of Turkey. The direction of ideological production in 2 newspapers

was more than similar, it was found almost same. In the aspect of this production, it was seen that the event were reduced to escape of 3 young people from the police and the death of 2 of them. Because of reducing the riots into the beginning, generally the violence on the street were reflected and the meaning was occured which shows the fugitives as the responsible person. Thus, the people who lived and caused the events were presented as the spoilers of law and order. But another reason was also possible to start these big riots. The background which produced this propose is the social unequality which increases gradually in France. This point was also emphasized in news but it was very weak, restricted and crushed under the presentation of violence. Thus the immigrant policy and the attitude in violent riots of France Government was legitimatized. Besides, the police oriented precautions of the government was presented as meaningful. But in Cumhuriyet (another Turkish newspaper), in an article (not news), the social unequalities at the back of these riots were emphasized. The article talked about the gap between classes and refered to a research which conducted in France. The results of research showed that the riots are coming soon very seriously. Even when the events are evaluated in this context, it is necessary to question the reasons of 2 young people's escape from police. As a summary, reducing of the news into the death of 2 young people can show the configuration of ideological reproduction in news discourse. All 2 newspapers tried to put their news into a context and they weakly refered to social unequality. "The normal life in Paris was destroyed by 2 youngs who escaped from police". This meaning was a configuration of ideological production and some weak points about social unequalities could not cover it.

To make the riots simple and to reduce them into personal level were also seen in the example of Interior Minister Nicholas Sarkozy. Personalization is clearly seen in all news. When the events were personalized, the background of it was kept. Some news reduced the reaction about social unequalities into some person. It was presented as if the real problem of activists was Sarkozy, not their life problems because of social unequalities. Also in the presentation of riots, a violence content story was obvious between Interior Minister Sarkozy and activists. French Government and activists were equated in terms of power balance. The power of activist was put to the level of French Government and what it has in its hand to cope with activists.

Basically, it is understandable that the newspapers want to support activists according to their attitudes in news texts.[5] They presented excuses to legitimatize the acts of activists. But when they want to do this, they also showed the activists as the people who spoilt the law and order and the normal life of people. According to news, the source of violence is clearly activists. This is also stated by them. But for law and order, the government acts depended to regulations. In this point, the question emerges itself: "is not it the real source of violence French Government?" Actually, social unequalities and discriminations are violence itself. Thus, this kind of violence which was because of French Government was legitimatized in news text. Also when newspapers try to support activists, they did not avoid to other activists. This attitude proposes the reproduction of the exist. This problem is a constructional problem for news establishments and the reason comes from the news production and writing practises. Because of this problem, newspapers could not avoid from these productions.

When they are technically checked, van Dijk's proposals were confirmed in news. News were presented with some numbers, photographs, etc. to prove the messages. But the photographs became the proof of the meanings which were produced in news texts. As a summary, the ideological meaning in photographs is "where rebellion happens, violence and

---

5   It is also possible to deduct that this attitude's reason can be the dominant approach of Turkey to France. Also the religion of activists can be shown as another reason. Some examples were found about this situation but they were not put into research area.

these kind of views can be the results". Gradually, law and order spoils, normal life turns into abnormal.

It is conceptually possible to understand the presentation of some events on the same ideological level by the newspapers which are ideologically close to each other. Because, media establishments cannot avoid ideological production and they produce the ideology according to their ideological atmosphere. Ideological atmosphere concept refers to the parallel position of ideological production and reproduction of news and the ideological construction of the media establisments. Thus, all media companies produce ideology, but its configuration can be different in different media companies. Media establisments are ideologically biased in news. This is a structural bias problem. For example the language of news cannot be neutral; it shapes our point of views and it refers that news cannot be presented objectively. It is also important to emphasize Hackett's (1985) idea about objectivity. He claims that it is better to discuss the meaning of objectivity before its application to news.

According to our results, the news that we analysed have a narrative disclosure (Bennett and Edelman 1985), they are typified, covered by dominant ideology and closed text (Eco cited in Fiske 1987: 94).

This study may bring a proposal. This kind of analysis can be more meaningful when it is built on a comparison study between different countries newspapers presentations. Analysis can be done on some topics/problems which are related to 2 countries or it can be organised on 2 different countries about their representation of an event which is about a 3rd country.

References

Althusser, L. (1991). *İdeoloji ve Devletin İdeolojik Aygıtları*, Translation: Yusuf Alp and Mahmut Özışık, İstanbul: İletişim.

Bennett, W.L. and Edelman, M. (1985). "Toward a new political narrative." *Journal of Communication*, 35(3): 156-171.

Coward R. and Ellis J. (1985). *Dil ve Maddecilik*, Translation: Esen Tarım, İstanbul: İletişim.

Eagleton, T. (1996). *İdeoloji*, (Ideology) Translation: Muttalip Özcan, Ayrıntı.

Ertan-Keskin, Zerrin (2004), "Türkiye'de Haber İncelemelerinde van Dijk Yöntemi", in *Haber Hakikat ve İktidar İlişkisi*, Der. Çiler Dursun, Ankara: Elip: ss. 391-405.

Fiske, John (1987). *Television Culture*, Methuen.

Fiske, John (2003). *İletişim Çalışmalarına Giriş*, Translation: Süleyman İrvan, Ankara: Ark.

Gramsci, Antonio (1992). "Culture and Ideological Hegemony", in *Culture and Society*, Ed. Jeffrey C. Alexander and Steven Seidman, Cambridge University Press: 47-54.

Hackett, A. Robert (1985), "Decline of a Paradigm? Bias and Objectivity in News Media Studies", *Mass Communication Review Yearbook*, (5), ss. 251-274.

Hall Stuart vd. (1978) Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order, GB: Methuen.

Hall, Stuart (1993). "The Television Discourse-Encoding and Decoding", in *Studying Culture An Introductory Reader*, Ed. Ann Gray and Jim McGuigan, Edward Arnold: 28-34.

Hall, Stuart (1999). "İdeolojinin Yeniden Keşfi: Medya Çalışmalarında Baskı Altında Tutulanın Geri Dönüşü", Translation and Editing: M. Küçük, *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji*, Ark: 77-127.

Hall, Stuart (1999a). "Encoding, Decoding", in *The Cultural Studies Reader*, Ed. During Simon, Roudledge: 507-517.

Hall, Stuart (2005). "Kodlama, Kodaçımlama", in *Medya ve İzleyici*, Der. Şahinde Yavuz, Vadi: 85-97.

İnal, Ayşe (1992). An Analysis of Turkish Daily Press: Event Selection, Text Construction and News Production, *ODTÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü*, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ankara.

Kuo, Sai-Hua and Mari Nakamura (2005). "Translation or Transformation? A Case Study of Language and Ideology in the Taiwanese Press", *Discourse and Society*, 16(3): 393-417.

Lembo, R. (2000). *Thinking Through Television*, Cambridge University Press.

Lodziak, Conrad (1986). *The Power of Television: A Critical Appraisal*, New York: St Martin's Press.

Meyers, Marian (2004). "African American Women and Violence: Gender, Race, and Class in the News", *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 21(2): 95-118.

Morley, David (2005). "Etkin İzleyici Kuramı", in Medya ve İzleyici, Ed. Şahinde Canbaz, Translation, Yiğit Yavuz, Vadi: 99-104.

Özer, Ömer (1997). Krizin Engellenmesi ve Haber Söylemi: Türkiye'deki İranlı Muhalifler'e Yönelik Siyasal Şiddet Haberleri (1985-1996), Unpublished Master Thesis), *Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Gazetecilik Bölümü*.

Özer, Ömer (1999), "Haber Söylemi: Türk-Yunan İlişkilerine Yönelik Haberlerin Türk Basınında Sunumu", *İletişim*, 1: 121-155.

Özer, Ömer (2001). "Kazanılmış Hakkın Tersine Çevrilmesi: 1 Mayıs 1996 Olaylarının Türk Basınında Sunumu, *İletişim*, 9: 109-36.

Özer, Ömer ve Erdal Dağtaş (2003), "Haber Söylemi: 11 Nisan 2001 Tandoğan Meydanı'ndaki Esnaf Toplanmasının Medyada Sunumu", *İstanbul Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Dergisi*, (Sayı: 16-Bölüm 1), ss. 281-307; (Sayı: 17-Bölüm 2), ss. 165-187.

Özer, Ömer (2006), "Ideological Aspect Of The News: The Representation Of Eğitim Sen's (A Union Of Education) Demonstration In Turkish Press", Paper Presented, Communication and Remaking Social World (Communication-2006), 12-16 June, St.Petersburg, Russia.

Özer, Ömer (2007). "İdeolojik Atmosferin Kapsama Alanı: Bozüyük Olaylarının Ortadoğu ve Ülkede Özgür Gündem Gazetelerinde Sunumu Örneğinde Haber Söyleminde Yapılan İdeolojik Üretime İlişkin Yeni Bir Çözümleme", In pressing process.

Smith, Philip (2005). *Kültürel Kuram*, Translation: Selime Güzelsarı and İbrahim Gündoğdu, Babil.

Stevenson, Nick (1997). *Understanding Media Culture*, Sage.

Teo, Peter (2000). "Racism in the News: A Criticle Discourse Analysis of News Reporting in two Australian Newspaper", *Discourse and Society*, 11(1): 7-49.

Ülkü, Güler (1992). A Textual Analysis of News in the Turkish Press, Unpublished PhD Thesis, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Western Language and Literature Department of Linguistics*, Ankara.

van Dijk, Teun (1983). "Discourse analysis: Its Development and Application to the Structure of News", *Journal of Communication*, 33(2): 20-43.

van Dijk, Teun (1985). "Structure of News in the Press", in *Discourse and Communication: New Approaches to the Analysis of Mass Media Discourse and Communication*, Ed. Teun A. van Dijk, de Gruyter: 69-93.

van Dijk, Teun (1988a). *News as Discourse*, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Publication.

van Dijk, Teun (1988b). *News Analysis*, New Jersey: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates Publication.

van Dijk, Teun (1991). "The Interdisciplinary Study of News as Discourse", *A Handbook of Qualitative Methodologies for Mass Communication Research*, (Der.) K.B. Jensen and N.W. Jankowski, London: Routledge. 108-120.

van Dijk, Teun (1993). "Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis." *Discourse and Society*, 4(2): 249- 283.

van Dijk, A. Teun (1995). "Discourse Semantics and Ideology", *Discourse and Society*, 6(2): 243-289.

van Dijk, A. Teun (1998). *Ideology*, Sage.

van Dijk, A. Teun (1999). "Söylemin Yapıları ve İktidarın Yapıları", in *Medya, İktidar, İdeoloji*, Translation and Ed. Mehmet Küçük, Ankara: Ark: 271-327.

van Dijk, Teun A. (2003). "Söylem ve İdeoloji Çokalanlı Bir Yaklaşım" in *Söylem ve İdeoloji Mitoloji-Din-İdeoloji*, Ed. Barış Çoban and Zeynep Özarslan, Translation: Nurcan Ateş, Su Yayınları: 13-112.