



Paper from the Conference “Current Issues in European Cultural Studies”, organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 15-17 June 2011. Conference Proceedings published by Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=062. © The Author.

Current Issues in European Cultural Studies

June 15–17, Norrköping, Sweden 2011

Editor
Martin Fredriksson

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Linköping Electronic Conference Proceedings, 62
ISSN 1650-3740 (online)
ISSN 1650-3686 (print)
ISBN: 978-91-7519-993-1

Linköping University Electronic Press
Linköping, Sweden, 2011
http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=062

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Plenary- and Spotlight Sessions

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Current Issues in European Cultural Studies: Introduction to the Proceedings of the 2011 ACSIS Conference in Norrköping, 15–17 June 2011

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This is an introduction to the proceedings of ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies: ACSIS Conference 2011’, held in Norrköping, 15–17 June 2011. The conference was organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS), whose director Johan Fornäs here presents a background to the event. The text is based on his plenary opening and closing of the conference, and at the same time serves to introduce these conference proceedings.

CURRENT ISSUES IN EUROPEAN CULTURAL STUDIES

‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’ was the title of an international conference organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 15-17 June 2011. This gathering event for all kinds of contemporary cultural studies in Europe today defined cultural studies as widely as the Association for Cultural Studies (ACS) and its Crossroads conferences, encompassing not only the dominant Anglo-American branches of this transnational field but also all other thriving currents of critical and interdisciplinary cultural research that have since the 1980s transformed cultural studies from a particular school of thought to a polycentric, glocal and open-ended intellectual field.

The conference focus was on the greater European area, in turn comprising a large number of local, national and regional subcurrents. All such geographical divisions and boundaries are always necessarily contestable, and one may well argue against how we have delimited the general scope of the conference as well as the regional areas covered by each of the five spotlight sessions. We all have shifting ways of grouping and organising our field, and it is instructive to also have a look at official definitions. For instance, the Council of Europe includes 47 member states, whereas the European Union only has 27 members. Colonial links also connects tiny areas in Africa and the Americas to the Eurozone, making borders even fuzzier.

Also, the way Europe is subdivided into regions differs greatly. For instance, United Nations statistics subdivide Europe into four regions where Britain belongs to the North and Germany and France to the West, while those who acknowledge Central Europe as a fifth region usually include both Germany, Poland and Hungary there.

We instead heuristically chose to link the Netherlands to the German-speaking countries in the Central Europe spotlight session, restricted North Europe to the Nordic countries and West Europe to Britain, and kept the border between South (Mediterranean) and East (“New”) Europe deliberately open. There is no “correct” version, and we could just hope that the constellations we constructed would at least make it possible to in each session highlight certain patterns, and in the final plenary jointly discuss both commonalities and mutual differences between cultural studies branches in various parts of Europe. This hope was confirmed, as the spotlight sessions turned out to offer a fascinating overview over key trends in the field today.

The plenaries and most of the group sessions had no such geographical boundaries. Instead, they dealt with ‘current issues’ in contemporary cultural research. Besides the final plenary summing up the region spotlights and pointing towards the future, we identified four such key topics. ‘Cosmopolitan issues’ dealt with place, community, glocalisation and citizenship. ‘Cosmic issues’ scrutinised the increasingly precarious interplay between nature and culture. ‘Chronotopic issues’ focused on remembering, narrating and history. ‘Convergence issues’ combined materiality and representation in intermedial crossroads.

ACSIS is since 2002 a national centre for interdisciplinary cultural research (www.acsis.liu.se). This is thus ACSIS’s tenth year of activity, and next spring we can celebrate the happy ending of our first decade. Our vision and goal was to establish a networking hub that would strengthen cultural research by crossing both geographical and topical borders, linking national universities with international currents and disciplinary with transdisciplinary discourses. We have managed to arrange this great series of successful conferences, a national mailing-list network, a stream of individual exchanges and visits, and installing a very important coordinating body in the form of our national board with one representative from each Swedish university, chaired by Professor Dan Brändström.

Activities also since 2009 include an open access academic journal *Culture Unbound: Journal of Current Cultural Research*, published by Linköping University Electronic Press (www.cultureunbound.ep.liu.se). This has become a praised resource, supplementing established print forums such as the *European Journal of Cultural Studies*, together offering useful publishing opportunities for European scholarship. We have also engaged in ongoing debates, for instance by publishing an anthology on Swedish cultural studies and an issue of the journal *Kulturella Perspektiv*, devoted to the tricky question of how to evaluate the usefulness of cultural research, which was also the focus of a conference in 2008.

It is not easy for critical and interdisciplinary cultural research to gain acceptance and find space for expanding in these times of highly problematic changes in basic conditions for education in so many countries. How to balance justifiable demands for societal usefulness with equally crucial requirements of relative autonomy and critical creativity remains a difficult task. Under shifting labels, cultural studies has emerged as an increasingly open and inclusive alternative for humanities and social science scholarship, with a capacity to bridge basic critical research with imaginative interchange with non-academic spheres of society and a clear awareness of the urgent issues of today. In the various sessions of this conference, one could trace some of the most disputed frontlines of today's cultural research in various parts of Europe, showing how both the drawing of boundaries and the transgression of them are mutually implicated in our intellectual practices.

The conference was generously supported by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond), the WennerGren Foundations, Linköping University's Faculty of Arts and Sciences and the City of Norrköping. Johanna Dahlin was conference organiser, assisted by Martin Fredriksson, and Svante Landgraf edited the program book. The ACSIS board and some European board members of the ACS supported at various moments of the process in which we initiated this event and laid down its key parameters. The invited plenary moderators and voluntary session organisers filled our basic ideas with fascinating contents in terms of the topics and speakers now presented in the programme, with more than 50 individual sessions. A set of local young scholars generously assisted with technicalities in all sessions.

In all, some 230 cultural studies scholars gathered in Norrköping for this event. The gender balance was even (54% women), and participants came from (at least) 27 countries, roughly half (51%) from Sweden and 42% from the rest of Europe. 8% (19 individuals) came from the UK, 6% (14) from the Netherlands, 4% each from Denmark (9) and Turkey (8), 3% (7) from the USA, and participants also from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Canada, Croatia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovenia, Spain and Switzerland. From Sweden, some 20 universities were present, among them Stockholm (11%), Linköping (10%), Lund (5%) and Södertörn (4%). As for institutional belonging, the many disciplines and interdisciplinary fields represented are even more difficult to categorise. In a falling scale, participants were affiliated with cultural studies, media studies, history, ethnology, literature, sociology, music, art, gender, education studies, geography, political science, anthropology, STS, ethnic studies, philosophy, archaeology, architecture, language, economy and religion.

The Council of Europe and the European Union have together established five official symbols of Europe: a flag, an anthem, a day, a motto and a currency. (For a critical and interpretive study of these and a wealth of other identifying European symbols, see Johan Fornäs: *Signifying Europe*, Bristol: Intellect Press 2011.) These may well all be challenged and were also contested by scholars at this conference, who chose to define Europeanness in alternative or oppositional ways. However, it seems to me that at least the motto is relevant for us today too, as we are also 'united in diversity': finding these kinds of gatherings useful and inspiring not in spite of our mutual differences but precisely because of them. The field of cultural

studies really derives its attraction by its ability to make us meet so many others who look differently on the burning issues we are facing today.

These conference proceedings offer a glimpse of the polyphony orchestrated by the 2011 'Current Issues in European Cultural Studies' conference. More echoes will be heard in future monographs, anthologies, journal articles and theme issues – and new research initiatives.

Cosmopolitan Issues: Knowledge and Mobilities in a World of Borders – Panel Introduction

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Twenty years ago cosmopolitanism was new. At least there was a circulation of claims that cosmopolitanism had assumed new and different forms from its ancient and Enlightenment precedents. Beginning with Paul Rabinow’s (1986) call for a ‘critical cosmopolitanism’, these claims began to escalate as a host of qualifying adjectives rapidly attached themselves to the term: Benita Parry’s (1991) ‘postcolonial cosmopolitanism’, Mitchell Cohen’s (1992) ‘rooted cosmopolitanism’, James Clifford’s (1992) ‘discrepant cosmopolitanisms’, Bruce Robbin’s (1993) ‘comparative cosmopolitanisms’ and Homi Bhabha’s (1996) ‘vernacular cosmopolitanism’. This efflorescence of ‘new cosmopolitanism’ had many purposes and we need to rehearse these to consider how it has moved on:

- An attempt to resolve problems in liberal political thought without recourse to universalisms;
- A means of taking stock of cultural diversity in an increasingly globalised world;
- A method for undoing ethnographic practices that assumed the local shackling of the ‘native’;
- A way of describing the mutating relations between the nation, the state and capital;
- A critical means of cutting across discourses and practices of human rights and international law;
- An attempt to confront the weakening status of secularism before various movements of faith and affect.

The early 1990s was a heady moment when the market economy seemed to be breaking free from the constraints of territory and, for some, the dialectic between labour and capital seemed to be dissipating. Arguments for the ‘new cosmopolitanism’ were theoretically hitched to notions such as the space of flows, the global/local nexus, post-nationalism, imag-

ined communities, alternative modernities and the borderless world. Perhaps some conference participants here today still conduct their empirical investigations within this conceptual matrix. But it is the gambit of this panel that the conjuncture has moved on.

This is not to claim that we live in a world of resurgent nation-states. Nor is it to suggest that images of disjunction, hybridity and complexity have given way to some kind of new order, whether we label it neoliberalism, the '9/11 decade', the anthropocene, commonwealth, or the era of India and China's rise. Perhaps one way to chart the drift of the debate on cosmopolitanism is to say that there is now greater attention to operations as opposed to representations of the global. The proliferation of concepts such as assemblage, infrastructure, mobilities, standardization, connectivity and contagion is an index of this shift. We tend ever more to think of the global as an effect of particular, fragmented and material operations. Finance, science, political norms, advertisement, music, tourism or migration: each of these domains depends for its global reach on specific forms of connectivity. Each of these forms of connectivity is linked to different materialities or media: information technology, documentation, transportation or architecture. There is a burgeoning interest in the different kinds of logistical calculations, translations, citations, affective imitations and knowledge practices that govern the ways in which global operations link up the contemporary world.

At the same time there is a realization that global processes have led not to a diminution but rather to a proliferation of borders. Far from the image of a borderless world we live in a time of new enclosures and differential inclusions. No longer metaphysical lines defining the edge of territories, borders now cut through the middle of political spaces, marking out different kinds of urban limits, holding zones and funnel necks. As studies of the European migration regime or Australia's 'Pacific Solution' have shown, they have also been increasingly externalized or pushed beyond the official frontiers of continental space. Borders are no longer marginal but central to contemporary cultural, political, economic and social processes. This is not merely because they have the capacity to block or obstruct mobilities. Borders always have two sides. They connect as well as divide.

What does this have to do with the social force of cosmopolitanism? This is a question that the panellists today handle in different ways, touching down in different parts of the world, each with a particularly anxious resonance for contemporary Europe: on the one hand, China, and on the other hand, Greece. If China has emerged as an economic power that shifts the balance of the world away from the North Atlantic axis, Greece is wracked by sovereign debt. China and Greece are nations that sit at opposite poles of the current economic transition, and needless to say there are links, such as China's investment in the Greek ports and logistics sector. The possibilities and prospects for cosmopolitanism in both these sites look very different from the new cosmopolitan prognoses of the 1990s.

John Urry discusses how a distinctive cosmopolitanism crosses with a strong cultural nationalism for Chinese scientific elites who seek to create low-carbon innovations. While Alexandra Zavos asks how the deepening economic crisis in one of Europe's principle borderlands induces a deep crisis of politics and sovereignty. The speakers come to quite different (but related) conclusions about the purchase of cosmopolitanism on the contemporary global conjuncture. But perhaps this is precisely the point. Since if we are to continue to conduct cultural and social analysis under the sign of cosmopolitanism we need to ask how it crosses the political and economic processes that make the contemporary world.

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Nature as a Cultural Resource¹

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The question is after cultural resource for criticism of technological progress or even for resistance against it. By cultural resources Böhme does not mean just values but cultural practices which may substantiate in social movements associations, even laws. He enumerates four of them: Nature, Creation, Subjectivity, and History. The paper raises the questions

- Are there equivalents to these resources which are quite effective in Euro in other cultures?
- Does not technological progress eat up the resources which were “dispositives” for its own development, i.e. restrictions as well as patterning conditions?

¹ An extended German version of this text has been published in: Elisabeth List, Erwin Fiala (eds.), Grundlagen der Kulturwissenschaften. Interdisziplinäre Kulturstudien. Tübingen and Basel 2004

VALUES OR CULTURES

One of the most important factors affecting the future of mankind is the progress at technology. In my paper I shall ask how far human values are endangered by technological development and, conversely, how far certain restrictions placed on technology by these human values can be justified. It seems to me, however, that to specify such values and to legitimise certain restrictions on technological progress would be a very abstract undertaking. We philosophers are often satisfied if we can present conclusive arguments in our papers and books. Technological development, by contrast, is a very concrete and powerful movement which impinges on and changes the living conditions of human beings throughout the world. I should like to call this process the globalisation of technical civilisation². It serves little purpose to agree in an abstract and universalistic way on certain values which might possibly be endangered by this process. In my view we ought rather to ask about the resources which are available in the various regional cultures of humanity to enable those regions to come to terms with technological development. I am not, therefore, asking about human values in general, but about values which are realised in cultural praxis, that is, in modes of living, in customary behaviour, in institutions and, more generally, in forms of communal life. I am not asking in general terms about the cultural resources for assimilating the effects of technology. Instead, I shall argue from the background of European or even more specifically German history and experience. And I am quite aware that the situation looks different looking from the perspective of a different cultural history.

In what follows I shall be concerned with defining more precisely the traditional resources which have been involved in the critical debate with technology in Europe. This will lead on to the critical thesis that we are now in a situation in which these resources themselves are being consumed by the development of technology.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CRITICAL DEBATE OVER TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT IN EUROPE

I believe that we can identify four major cultural resources which have fed the critical side of the debate over technological development: nature, creation, subjectivity and history. These are headings which, as soon as they are stated, may refer to nothing more than values. This makes it all the more important to investigate how far they have been, or still are, an integral part of cultural practices.

Let us begin with the theme of nature. This concept has been one of the most important characteristics of European culture as a whole. Since Greek Sophism nature has represented one side of a dichotomy, or a pair of opposites, by which practically all the moments of the European culture and world-view have been structured. For example: nature versus law; nature versus technology; nature versus mind; nature versus civilisation. These pairs of opposites have the peculiarity that they place the human being and human forms of existence at the centre, but at the same time tear them apart. For nature is that which exists of itself, while its antithesis is that which has been created by human beings. The human being is itself the criterion by which the opposites are split apart, since it is always to be found on both sides. What is decisive for the project of modernity, however, is that it places itself unambiguously on one side, positing the mastery of nature as the true goal of humanity's development. The project of freedom is understood as emancipation from dependence on nature. It is no wonder that

² Wolf Schäfer in his article on Global Civilization and Local Cultures. A Crude Look at the Whole, in : Intern. Sociology Sept. 2003, Vol. 16 (3), 301-319 has – following Max Weber and Robert Merton – legitimized the differentiation between civilization and culture. I agree with him that this is crucial in analyzing what the globalization of technology means for local cultures.

whenever this project has taken concrete form, that is, when it was to be realised through technical development, it has aroused opposition. The counter-movements are found in practically all areas of culture, in pedagogy, in agriculture, in medicine and even in art. If Enlightenment philosophy advocated the disciplining and control of inner nature as an educational ideal, that is, mastery of the body and the suppression of bodily impulses, this gave rise to a counter-movement seeking to give scope to the spontaneous development of the child, and aiming to promote the expression of human sensuality through what was called the education of nature. Through its “discovery of childhood”³ as an autonomous, self-contained phase of human development which is not merely a precursor to adulthood, this kind of pedagogy did also influence the educational mainstream. The pedagogical systems of Montessori and Waldorf and the school of Summerhill should be mentioned here as separate movements.

In the field of agriculture the technological appropriation of nature has been carried forward primarily through the industrialisation of agriculture, by its mechanisation and “chemicising”. From the first this process has met with opposition from the rural economy, and in Germany has prevented the complete industrialisation of agriculture up to now. Nevertheless, the methods of industrial agriculture, mechanisation and the widespread use of chemicals, have also penetrated rural farming operations. However, in our century “organic” or biological-dynamic forms of farming have been developed, and have become firmly established both legally and economically through the introduction of special brands, quality criteria and marketing systems.

In the field of medicine, the opposition to modern technical-pharmacological medicine has led to the development of natural healing methods, homeopathy, anthroposophical medicine and similar “alternative” healing procedures. What is important here is that these tendencies do not consist merely of counter-concepts and alternative theories, but are establishing an alternative praxis and specific healing professions. For example, a special case in Germany which should be mentioned here is the profession of the *Heilpraktiker*, or non-medical practitioner, which has become a social institution through the recognition of a specific training course and a diploma, but especially through recognition by the insurance system.

Finally, art should be mentioned as the last specific area of cultural praxis in which nature has been cultivated in opposition to the mainstream of the Enlightenment project. Here, the classic example is the antithesis between the French and the English landscape gardens. While the French park expresses the human will to subordinate nature by exact, geometrical planning, the objective of the English landscape garden is to make visible the autonomous activity of nature, and to create, by means of conscious arrangement, natural scenes of the kind which might have been produced by nature itself. By contrast, the mainstream of European art, like the project of modernity as a whole, is dominated by the emancipation from nature, and especially by a rejection of the classical maxim that art should be an imitation of nature (mimesis). In the art of 20th century, however, we find tendencies in which artists work within and with nature. I’m thinking of a genre such as land art, which articulates and makes visible nature as such, and of artists who deliberately allow nature to collaborate in their works, exposing them to weathering, for example, and integrating an element of decay and evanescence into the artistic process. There are also artists who see it as their task to enable people to rediscover their own natural, bodily level of existence, and to develop their sensuality, through the experience of art.

I have now said enough about nature for the present, especially as it repeatedly overlaps with the other three themes I wish to discuss. One might think, for example, of the widespread development of the nature-protection movement since the late 19th century. Through the

³ Philippe Ariès, *Die Entdeckung der Kindheit*, München 1978.

activities of associations, this has become a reality to the point where it has affected legislation.

I shall now turn to the theme of creation. This is related to the theme of nature, but is distinguished from it by an entirely different form of cultural integration: creation is a fundamental conception of Christian-Judaic religion. The whole cosmos, and especially nature, is regarded as a divine product. In the beginning God arranged the world in a certain way, and at the end of the process of creation He Himself observed that this arrangement was good. This means, however, that by virtue of the idea of creation the state of the world is God-given, and is to be regarded as a divinely sanctioned order. Now, there is no doubt that the position of man within creation is highly ambivalent. On one hand, he is himself a creature among creatures, and is obliged to respect the divine order of creation. On the other, he is elevated above the mass of creatures in that he is held to be made "in the image of God", and has been entrusted with the task of "having dominion over the earth".⁴ This task arising from creation was certainly used at the beginning of modernity's project to legitimise the radical domination over and technical appropriation of nature. Yet, on the other hand, a different attitude developed out of the respect for nature, and gave rise in Europe to very significant cultural praxis and to opposition to the unfettered technicising of nature - of both external and human nature - an opposition which was supported by the churches. Implicit in the idea of man's creaturely nature is an acknowledgement of animals as fellow-creatures, and this idea has been adopted as a principle of animal protection legislation in Germany.⁵ According to this law, animals must be respected as fellow-creatures. Furthermore, there is significant resistance from the Catholic Church to the manipulation by medical technology of the entire reproductive sector, that is, the process extending from conception to the birth of human beings.

I shall now turn to the third of the themes I mentioned, subjectivity. Unlike nature and creation, subjectivity is a value which does not go back to antiquity, but is itself a product of modern thought and modern modes of living. It is true, there is a background to subjectivity within Christian-Judaic religion: it stems from God's concern for the individual human being, in that God both addresses the individual person and calls that person to account: "I have called thee by thy name."⁶ However, subjectivity in the sense of a view of the world focused on the individual human subject and governed by the notion of the non-fungible responsibility of the individual person, is a product of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, that is, of the French Revolution on one hand and Romanticism on the other. Here, too, it must be said that subjectivity is not merely an idea, but is integrated into forms of living and is secured by social institutions. Thus, since the French Revolution there have been individual human rights, and since Romanticism the custom of the individual choice of the marriage partner.

Subjectivity as a way of life and as a social institution is at present developing into an important resource for resistance to the unrestricted manipulation of human beings. Subjectivity is one of the most important moments in the concept of human dignity. The inviolability of personal dignity requires that people's subjectivity be respected in one's dealings with them. This self-perception by human beings, or this interpretation of human dignity, underpins, for example, the ban on cloning in Europe today. To clone a human being would be to endanger him in his uniqueness and non-fungibility, and, I would like to add, in his entitlement to regard himself as a new, original subjective entity. On a world-wide scale, that is, at the level of UNESCO, the understanding of human beings as subjectivities is underpinned by

⁴ Bible, Genesis 1,28

⁵ For detailed analysis see my book *Ethics in Context. The Art of Dealing with Serious Questions*. Cambridge/Engl. 2001.

⁶ Bible, Isaiah 45,4

the ban on reducing them to their genetic equipment. The UNESCO declaration on gene technology contains a passage according to which a person's identity cannot be equated with his or her genetic code.

Finally, I come to my last theme, that of history. To have a history, to be embedded in a history, was not discovered as a value until the period of Romanticism. Only in a period which, through social revolutions, industrialisation and technicisation, confronted human beings with an incessant annihilation of the past, and imposed on them constant partings, did connectedness to the past become an autonomous value. This, too, it must be said, was by no means an abstract value; to live historically became a way of life and gave rise to social institutions. A multitude of tradition-orientated associations came into being, devoted, for example, to cultivating traditional dialects and traditional music, to preserving regional costumes and, lastly and most important, to protecting and fostering regional values. The movement to protect regional homelands is the real source of the nature conservation movement in Europe.⁷ The latter was never concerned with the conservation of nature as it may have been in itself, as a wilderness, but with landscape as it had been shaped by history. Historicity as a cultural resource therefore means resistance to the arbitrary remodelling of the given environment by technology. It demands that innovations should respect tradition and incorporate the new harmoniously in the old. This means respecting not only built monuments but also natural monuments. In Germany, both of these are anchored in different forms in the Basic Laws of the federal states. Nature conservation has been declared a state responsibility, and encompasses not only the protection of nature as such, but of nature as a human living-space.

Important social movements have drawn their strength from the resource of historicity, and are still active today in the form of associations and interest groups. Unlike my other three themes, that of historicity contains a moment which makes it especially capable of assimilating technological developments. If a mode of life is determined by historicity that certainly does not mean that it only generates resistance to innovations. Rather, that which is to be preserved is understood as a human product - nature as a landscape cultivated by man, for example - so that the aim is not to reject any change, but to foster the preservation of continuity.

When I review these four resources for coping with technical progress, it seems doubtful to me whether they can be universalised. At any rate, I am aware that these themes are embedded in certain constellations of European cultural history. And I wonder whether functional equivalents, with similar potential for coming to terms with technology, could exist in other cultures. Nature was originally conceived in contradistinction to the consciousness of free self-development in the Greek polis. The concept enjoyed a renaissance in the period of Rousseau, when civilisation was experienced for the first time as oppressive and restrictive. The understanding of the world as a whole as the creation of a God is an expression of Judaeo-Christian religion. Subjectivity came into being in conjunction with the bourgeois revolutions in Europe in the 18th century. Historicity is a concept which evolved in opposition to the Industrial Revolution about 1800. These four, nature, creation, subjectivity and historicity, have formed the resistant framework within which technological development has been channelled and retarded, but also, in part, constructively shaped. This means that scientific and technical progress up to now has had to conform to legislation regarding nature conservation and animal protection that industrial innovations have to pass official tests of their environmental and social compatibility that progress in medical technology is bound by respect for human dignity and is governed by laws and approval procedures. All this works more or less well. The question raised by the globalisation of technical civilisation, however,

⁷ R.P. Sieferle, *Fortschrittsfeinde? Opposition gegen Technik und Industrie von der Romantik bis zur Gegenwart*, Munich 1984, esp. Ch. 13.

concerns not only the possible universalisation of these resources for coping with technical progress, or the presence of functional equivalents in other cultures; it is also the question how far and for how long we can continue to rely on these resources.

THE EROSION OF THE RESOURCES FOR COPING WITH TECHNOLOGY

The sceptical thesis I would like to put forward now is that the advance of technology is itself progressively destroying the resources which have enabled it to be constructively assimilated in Europe up to now. This is bound up with reasons which oblige us to say that we now live in a technical civilisation. In our century technology has itself taken on the status of a civilising factor and has thus marginalised traditional cultures, even in Europe. We are no longer dealing with civilisations or cultures which only make use of certain technologies; rather, the technologies have themselves acquired a function which shapes human and social life. This process can best be described as a technicising of all spheres of life.

This process is seen perhaps most strikingly in the case of nature. Even today, people are still apt to invoke nature when advocating alternatives to technicised modes of life or attempting to curb technical developments. But what is nature? Has not nature been investigated and understood in an experimental, technical context since Galileo? Did not Descartes equate the knowledge of nature with its technical reproduction? Have we not long included in nature not only what is already given, but what we produce technically, for example, super-heavy elements or polymeric fibres? The more we succeed in reproducing nature technically - and this includes the areas of medical and genetic technology - the less easy it is to understand how one could draw a boundary between the natural and the artificial which would command respect. If this boundary shifts or becomes completely blurred one wonders what basis is left for resistance to the genetic manipulation of species, including man, to transplant technologies and the arbitrary modification of ecotopes. If nature is not simply that which manifests itself and is therefore given, but is that which is producible in accordance with natural laws, then the concept of nature loses its normative significance as a sphere which must be respected and cared for, and which sets limits to technical development.

The situation is very similar with the concept of creation. Since the trial of the physicist Galileo, the role of the churches in shaping our view of the world has been in retreat. Since the church has been obliged to leave it more and more to natural science to say what nature is, the concept of creation has been progressively devalued. It was essential to the concept of creation and to the order predicated on it that creation was completed on the seventh day, in accordance with the Bible. The pressure of natural science on the Christian churches has obliged them to reinterpret the concept of creation in a form compatible with the theory of evolution. This has given scope to theological ideas which were originally regarded as heretical - pantheistic ideas that God is nature, and ideas of a permanent creation. Today, such ideas have become acceptable under the heading of Process Theology. It is clear from this, however, that the concept of creation, the idea of a fixed entity which must be respected, has been abandoned: nature as permanent creation continues to develop further, and can therefore also be developed further by human beings.

If the erosion of the religious resources has been primarily a result of the adaptation of theology to science, technology itself is penetrating the cultural area I referred to by the concept of subjectivity. This is happening in various ways. Psycho-pharmaceuticals are making it possible to manipulate the sphere of the emotions - precisely the sphere which is essential to subjectivity as a realm of responsibility. The identity of a human being, which was founded culturally on his or her responsibility for biographical continuity, might be reduced to a pure fact by the method of the genetic fingerprint. On the other hand, the technical production of a diversity of realities constructed of images and data opens the possibility for individuals to multiply their own identities. For many people life on the Internet is becoming a part of their

real life, but in it they split themselves into a multitude of identities on which they cannot and need not confer any unity. There are cultural practices - in this case the use of psycho-pharmaceuticals for non-therapeutic purposes, the criminological technique of the genetic fingerprint and storage of such fingerprints in databases, and virtual play on the Internet - which are dissolving away the possibilities of resistance based on invoking an individual subjectivity which should be respected.

Finally, we come to the theme of history. Here, there is a famous example - admittedly, an example in a novel - of how history can be destroyed. Orwell's novel 1984 envisages a situation in which the past is re-written by manipulating existing data in order to adapt it to current policies. That is a fiction, and no doubt an exaggerated one, but it does show the possibilities open in principle to technology. On a concrete level, we have today the problem that a photograph can no longer be used as an historical document because of the possibility of technical manipulation. However, technology can make the past disappear not only in this negative way, by erasing and re-writing it, but by the precise opposite, by keeping it present without any loss. History as cultural praxis requires forgetting and remembering, it requires tradition. But electronic data carriers have the tendency to keep everything present without distinction or loss. Whether positively or negatively, the technical possibilities in the management of data, texts and images are depriving the past of its weight, of what might be called its inertia, and thus of its potential to resist innovative developments in the present.

CONCLUSION

This brings me to my conclusion. What I wished to show you is that European culture, which can be regarded with some justice as the mother of modern technological development, once contained the resources to cope with this development. Modern technology has the potential not only to expand the modes of human existence to an unprecedented degree, but also to destroy humanity actually, or to destroy qualitatively what we have regarded up to now as human values. From the experience of European culture I have tried to show which resources have been available up to now to determine and secure the content of human values by cultural praxis. I am far from wishing to recommend these possibilities, developed within the context of European culture, to the family of humanity as a whole, especially as I am extremely sceptical, as you have seen, whether these resources will be sufficient in the long run to withstand the divergent tendencies of technological development.

Cultural Studies and Sociology of Culture in German Speaking Countries: Relations and Interrelations

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Over the last three decades attitudes toward cultural studies in Germany have developed in contact and conflict with different disciplines like ethnology, anthropology, sociology and sociology of culture , literary studies and last but not least Kulturwissenschaft(en). On the one hand there is a strong interest in how cultural studies views and analyzes popular culture, media culture and the everyday. On the other hand borderlines between humanities and social science remain; these lead to criticism of and conflict with cultural studies and its achievements.

In my paper I will discuss some of the problems concerning the perception/reception of cultural studies among practitioners of Kulturwissenschaft(en) and sociology and I will draw on the role of cultural studies in thematizing cultural change and conflicts, and its ability to do so in a way that points out that culture and politics matter.

PINPOINTING CULTURAL STUDIES IN THE GERMAN SPEAKING REGION

Over the last three decades we saw different phases within the reception of cultural studies in the German speaking region as well as in Germany itself.¹ The reception first started in the 1970s and took great interest in questions of ideology and youth culture analysis with a focus on forms of resistance and style, that developed in the 1980s (cf. Göttlich/Winter 1999).

Within the 1990s the focus switched more and more on popular culture as well as on media and television studies. Television, texts and audiences became a side of struggle with mainstream media and communication studies, especially in the implementation of the decoding/encoding model as well as in analysing the active audience and media reception.

Another scope lies on the culture of the everyday and questions of identity in different research projects within European Ethnographie and Kulturwissenschaften. But although in media studies questions of identity and power in a global mediasphere became a central topic at the turn to the new century. Beside this main areas of interest that show a strong relation with media and communication studies and Kulturwissenschaften we also find particular interest in gender studies and the record of qualitative methods within cultural studies.

Taking this short sketch of cultural studies reception in the German speaking region as a starting point for my discussion on the current relationship with Kulturwissenschaften and/or Kultursoziologie (sociology of culture) one can say that attitudes toward cultural studies have developed in contact and conflict with different disciplines like ethnology, anthropology, sociology and sociology of culture, literary studies and last but not least Kulturwissenschaft(en).²

In general the broad reception of cultural studies within thirty years shows a strong interest in how cultural studies views and analyzes popular culture, media culture and the everyday. Against this background cultural studies in Germany as well as the German speaking region is not a newcomer. But in Germany we don't have any university institute, chair or professorship that is exclusively dedicated to cultural studies. What we can find instead are university institutes, where people work within different research projects - mostly within media studies - on or within cultural studies with an interdisciplinary understanding. To put it short: Whereas cultural studies in the UK, Australia and the US has achieved an identity of its own, even if it is no discipline, culture studies in the Germany as well the German speaking region have not reached that state.

Despite of this broad reception, what remains are borderlines between humanities and social science; these still lead to criticism of and conflict with cultural studies and its achievements. Even when most of the conflicts seemed to be resolved, what remains are not only theoretical and methodological problems. Especially when we focus on the relation of Kultursoziologie with cultural studies within German sociology we also meet different traditions of cultural critics. But behind this differences, when reflecting this relation, it comes

¹ Speaking of cultural studies in Germany or the German speaking region is not at random. Already the reception in Austria, Switzerland and Germany has different occasions and takes part in different university systems, the perspective on culture often has the same roots within the Geisteswissenschaften. So it cannot be avoided to speak for the "region" as one, even when the problems referred to are treated and considered different in accordance to the nation and its academic institutions, where cultural studies is done. When discussing the relation of cultural studies and the sociology of culture the text mostly refers to the situation in Germany.

² This is partly true for the reception in the GDR that took part in the 1970s and early 1980s with a special interest in youth culture analysis and the writings of Raymond Williams. After the fall of the wall this special Marxist perspective on cultural studies was not continued.

true what Inglis already highlighted for British Cultural Studies, that "of all sociology's 'strange others', cultural studies is perhaps the least unfamiliar" (2007: 99).

The reason for the ongoing existence of struggle with this differences in cultural criticism is interesting because it was the cultural studies way of dealing with questions of culture that generate a new interest in the sociology of culture at the beginning of the late 1980s. For many students of sociology a new perspective on culture was opened, whereas the Kultursoziologie in the tradition of Weber, Simmel or Mannheim and also the Frankfurt critiques seemed to be a too special stuff even for academic teaching at many universitys at this moment. The problems that grew out of this special situation lead to different questions of possible combinations, as well as at the existence of opposition, between cultural studies and the sociology of culture as well as Kulturwissenschaft(en), and are not easy to handle.³

It turns out that the main question of all still is, if the opposition cultural studies is faced with has to do with the recognition that they are still emergent in different ways but not a project or a special German-formation by its own, or do we simply have different traditions of looking at culture and communication that cannot easily be combined. Different concepts of culture are still helpfull when they are used to theorize cultural developments or problems. They hinder scientific research and development, when entrance requirements are made up of them. My aim with this paper is to show, that there is a sociology of culture within cultural studies that all sides in this game can benefit from.

To do this we have to look briefly at the specifics of how cultural studies is recognized in Kulturwissenschaften and German sociology when we want to understand some of the ongoing oppositions before we can consider in a next step how to handle the different positions and which role the sociology of cultural studies can play nowadays.⁴

WHAT IS CULTURE ANYWAY?

Up to now, as many of you know, the term culture has not been an easy word, especially in Germany and german language, where it falls under the influence of the humanities, e.g., Geisteswissenschaft, which claims to hold definitory power in cultural questions. So culture has the status of a theoretical concept; it is no simple word; in some ways it is a sort of "Weltanschauung". And this defines the first borderline between cultural studies and Kulturwissenschaften as well as Kultursoziologie in a classical understanding:

According to Geisteswissenschaft – whose offspring is Kulturwissenschaften, and which has designated this youngster as its legitimate heir - cultural studies are interested only in the "everyday", as well as in social practices, rather than in questions of "Sinn" [i.e., "Meaning"]. But can this be the main reason for the opposition or is this only the surface, which conceals the main reasons when dealing with culture in the way cultural studies stands for?

In an introductory book on Kulturwissenschaft by Hartmut Böhme and others (2000), intended to orient students to Kulturwissenschaften, we find at least only three pages on cultural studies, in the form of opening remarks that function not only as signifier for the still existing borderline. Viewed closely, these pages revitalise stereotypes on cultural studies as positioned in opposition to culture – that is, to culture in the sense in which Geisteswissenschaften normally uses the term - that -in my opinion - do not supply no further understanding of cultural studies.

³ We worked on this topic in different academic circles and on different occasions in conferences and workshops within the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie as well as the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Publizistik- und Kommunikationswissenschaft since the 1990s.

⁴ We can not look in detail at all aspects of the reception over the last thirty years.

The main arguments in this text highlight that in Cultural Studies "is [after all the years of academic success in the UK and USA] no theoretical concept or theory that is solid and that stands against the backdrop of a consensus. Terms like "contextualization" signal, with respect to method, that only heterogenous elements are combined. "Othering" is just another term for the alliance of ethnography and cultural anthropology. "Mapping" tends to give cognitive maps of cultural phenomena and the discourse on minorities works as an instrument to differentiate and to particularise the [Kollektivsingular] collectivised individual culture."

For the authors "the risks of this development are evident" because "within the sphere of influence of ethnic and minority groups, the term culture tends to lose its analytical and synthetic function within ideological critique. The place of the traditional canon is taken by a poorly considered new canon of particularities combined in an additive way." (Böhme et al. 2000: 13)

I think this passage gives a good impression of how cultural studies are viewed and how in a certain way the problem of the term culture remains unresolved. Apart from this opposition with Kulturwissenschaft things are a little bit different in relation with sociology. Again Inglis can be cited here with his hint that cultural studies and sociology of culture are warring twins. For him, "(t)hey 'agree to have a battle', because the battle brings certain gains in identity for them both. But beyond rhetorical displays of dissimilarity between them, once one examines their shared epistemological assumptions, one sees that it is actually their very likeness that compels them to engage in the ritualized conflicts they embark upon." (Inglis 2007: 118)

In this paper I will not further discuss the reasons for this likeness. Instead of this I will give some hints on how to overcome the opposite both sides stick to when the term culture is mentioned even when there is a likeness. And this is done by showing, that there is a special sociology of culture within cultural studies from which we can start to build a cultural studies formation in Germany as well as an transdisciplinary setting for the study of culture.

A GERMAN FORMATION OF CULTURAL STUDIES?

Generally spoken the reception of cultural studies stands for the opening up of new horizons in the Kulturdebatte (cultural debate and criticism) over the last thirty years within the German speaking academia. This can be seen as a good starting point to discuss not only the specificities of sociology of culture within cultural studies. It must also become clear, if cultural studies deals with questions of culture, why the critical view on cultural studies starts with the assumption that it is about culture and that Kultursoziologie has to say more about it than cultural studies.

The problem has to do with the term culture itself and the understanding that is associated with this term. To prevent a misunderstanding, we can refer to Grossberg in his latest book, where he denies that cultural studies is about culture (Grossberg 2010: 8). But when we do so, I doubt that things become clearer in the German speaking region, because in a certain way, many people think that when cultural studies is not about culture than it must be that it is about power, because this is the second feature that is highlighted when speaking about cultural studies in many discussions. And many people doing cultural studies highlight this aspect too. As one result, power and culture are often dealt with in an essential or substantial understanding, whereas the question of culture and cultural theory can help to sociologize instead of essentialize the understanding of power as well as culture.

One solution to sociologize the term culture in a cultural studies way is, when we go back to Williams understanding of culture Hall strongly refers to that provides an understanding of culture as ongoing processes as practice. In this perspective cultural studies' methodological value derives from Williams' basic principle of avoiding language which massifies others (Williams 1958: 306). Williams suggestive formulation relates 'culture' to the sum of the available descriptions through which societies make sense of and reflect their common expe-

riences. To put it short it is here where cultural studies deals with questions of cultural practices in a sociological way of understanding and thematizing the production and reproduction of social life and the everyday. And this prospective comes along with questions or problems of power and hegemony starting with the early work of Thompson and Williams. In reference with this argument, we can follow Grossberg's arguments a little bit further.

Cultural studies [...] is concerned with describing and intervening in the ways cultural practices are produced within, inserted into, and operate in the everyday life of human beings and social formations, so as to reproduce, struggle against, and perhaps transform the existing structure of power. (2010: 8)

And according to this task cultural studies itself is a certain practice. Taking this argument, we have to discuss a way that allows to deal with the problem of power within cultural theory as one problem amongst a bundle of sometimes more important questions than power. I think of questions how practice reproduces culture and society. Here we are at the core of all thinking within Kultursoziologie or Kulturwissenschaften in "opposite" to cultural studies, so that within the reception many people don't get this point right that cultural studies is not about culture or power but about its different practices.

To achieve a first turn in our perspective we can rearticulate this special understanding, like (again) Grossberg puts it in Cultural Studies in the Future Tense. "Culture" is the deepest and most solid rock of our common sense.

Instead, too often, the concept of culture - and other related categories - is assumed, appropriated, generalized and even universalized. (Grossberg 2010: 169)

And I will add that we can say this for power too.

If we take this argument, we can imagine how the struggle for the term culture leads to nothing more than to erect oppositions. The main difference between cultural studies and sociology as well as Kulturwissenschaften lies not in the term culture or power as such or in a special way of cultural criticism but in the two/three disciplines' outlooks on cultural processes and everyday practices.

When we compare the agenda for sociology of culture with that for cultural studies from this point, we can start to consider if it is worth while to search for an agenda of compromise and interdisciplinary or if it is better to go one's own way than to attempt such a perspective.

When "[...] cultural studies is not about interpreting or judging texts or peoples, but about describing how people's everyday lives are articulated by and with culture" than "(c)ultural studies is about the historical possibilities of transforming people's lived realities and the relations of power within which those realities are constructed and lived, and it is about the absolutely vital contribution of intellectual work to the imagination and realization of such possibilities." (Grossberg 1999: 24)

From this point of view only cultural studies can be defined as political in the strict sense of the term; as proactive. That means that cultural studies don't work in a sense, Meaghan Morris criticized when telling us "that cultural studies, in spite of its self-conception as inclusive, was at best a sieve that sorted the fragments of everyday experience into those it could collect into a particular narrative of celebration/resistance and those it could not." (Couldry 2007: 14)

When this development was true, then the outcome is not far away from the idea, the opposition represents. But we can argue the Kultursoziologie as well as Kulturwissenschaft is more above the battle and abstracted from the everyday. Given this description, one has to ask if the need exists to bring together cultural studies and Kulturwissenschaften in the German speaking region to reach the aim of building an own formation. Perhaps cross-fertilization within intellectual questions is beneficial; if so, the question can be addressed only if we define how

intellectual work matters. The position held by Kulturwissenschaften is deeply rooted in the history of the German university system, and, hence, in the role in which many scholars see themselves. From this point of view cultural studies in German speaking countries faces the problem that Kulturwissenschaften in some ways tries to substitute itself for cultural studies in order to evade, to efface, the political implications of the newer discipline.

RÉSUMÉ

At least, there can be no simple answer to my questions and the problems discussed if there is a chance for a cultural studies formation in Germany. The idea of cross-fertilization with Kultursociologie or Kulturwissenschaft puts more questions onto the agenda than it can clear away. And the way to discuss the sociology of cultural studies is faced with the assumption that sociologies strange others are not sociology (cf. Göttlich 2007).

Whilst the question how the positions of sociology or Kulturwissenschaften and cultural studies can cross-fertilize one another seems to be a logical one, I doubt if bringing together such different intentions helps to overcome the borderlines that individuals can cross, or even for themselves abolish – but that still are maintained directly behind the backs of people who decide to meet with open minds.

Through such combinations, cultural studies runs the risk of becoming one element in the "garbage can" as which Kulturwissenschaften was described by Dirk Baecker (1996). And - even if there is a good reason to combine the positions of sociology and cultural studies - we have to face the further question of how this may help academic circles in the German speaking region to overcome their fear of the popular (culture), especially when cultural studies is seen as the popular's strongest agent.

It such a situation is better, I think, to do cultural studies as a constant demonstration of what we can contribute from this sociologically concerned and active position, than to search for a cross-fertilization that will not help to overcome the borderlines between both traditions. Cultural studies cannot provide another discipline with an excuse for losing touch with the the everyday and its politics. It is, like Nick Couldry pointed out, a concern to hear the range of voices that characterise the social terrain, and not reduce their complexity. But this concern overlaps with cultural studies' 'politics': its aim of responsibly accounting for others in its account of the social world (cf. Couldry 2000: 126-130).

It was not my intention to erect borders where no borders are. But coming a long way in this reception of cultural studies one can be astounded when arguments in this confrontation go around in a circuit and don't reach the next step that lies in the challenge of transdisciplinarity.

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Cultural Studies in Portugal: The Present Scenario¹

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In this paper I discuss the situation of cultural studies in Portugal by looking into its presence in Portuguese universities and research centres, especially through their master and doctoral programmes. My results suggest that cultural studies is experiencing a fast academic expansion. Yet, the name ‘cultural studies’ continues to cause unease in some academic quarters (namely, in literary studies) and there is ambiguity regarding what is meant by it. My results also suggest that the current expansion of cultural studies in the academia is entangled with top-down institutional changes, closely related to the Bologna process and the growing importance of the cultural industries, as part of a more general shift to the ‘new economy’.

¹ This research was funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT).

CULTURAL STUDIES IN PORTUGAL: THE PRESENT SCENARIO

It is not easy to describe the present situation of cultural studies in Portugal. To start with, there is no Portuguese Cultural Studies Association, which might provide us with some hard facts concerning, for instance, the number of members (an index of how many people actively identify with this practice), its founding moment (which would give us an idea of when and under which circumstances cultural studies – or its naming – became important) or the record of past and present activities (always a good indicator of what is going on in the field). Furthermore, there are no regular publications overtly committed to cultural studies topics or a cultural studies approach. On the whole, it is difficult to say how many people are doing cultural studies in Portugal today and how this is being done; even more difficult is to establish whether it makes sense to speak of a *Portuguese* Cultural Studies, a question far too complex to address in this short overview.²

What is beyond doubt is that Portugal has not remained immune to the cultural studies' 'success story' of the nineties. The ideas and theoretical framework that informed the debates on culture and power in the Anglo-American world have found their way into the Portuguese academia. As in other regions (such as Scandinavia), cultural studies came in tow with the growing attention that popular culture, youth culture and the media started to receive within the social sciences. Its appearance in the humanities was more controversial: cultural studies' trademark attack on the canon, together with its challenge of disciplinary boundaries, met with resistance in more traditional quarters, namely literary studies. English and American departments (perhaps for linguistic reasons) were probably the first to take an interest in it – one of the pioneers of cultural studies in Portugal was Professor Álvaro Pina, based in the English Department of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon.³ Nevertheless, the debate also reached Portuguese (Silvestre, 1999) and German departments (Sanches, 1999),⁴ eventually impacting on Classical and Romance literature departments, as the recent changes that have taken place in the Faculties of Letters of the Universities of Coimbra and Porto suggest.⁵

A glimpse at the master and doctoral programmes currently on offer in Portuguese universities leads one to conclude that cultural studies is on the rise. 2010 saw the launching of two doctoral programmes in this area: one of them, announced on the official web site as the 'first doctoral programme in cultural studies in Portugal', is being jointly ministered by the Universities of Aveiro and Minho (two younger state universities located in the north); the other is

² Álvaro Pina and the group of graduate students that emerged around the 'Culture and Society' programme were active in the foundation of the Iberian Association of Cultural Studies (IBACS), which took place in 2001, at the University of Alcalá de Henares. Between 2002 and 2005, the group was also involved in the organisation of the three editions of the 'Language, Communication and Culture' international conferences, as well as the 9th International 'Culture and Power' Conference. For the latter's announcements and programme, see: <http://mundiconvenius.pt/2003/cultural/> (last accessed 19/05/2011).

³ Álvaro Pina and the group of graduate students that emerged around the 'Culture and Society' programme were active in the foundation of the Iberian Association of Cultural Studies (IBACS), which took place in 2001, at the University of Alcalá de Henares. Between 2002 and 2005, the group was also involved in the organisation of the three editions of the 'Language, Communication and Culture' international conferences, as well as the 9th International 'Culture and Power' Conference. For the latter's announcements and programme, see: <http://mundiconvenius.pt/2003/cultural/> (last accessed 19/05/2011).

⁴ This makes it difficult to connect cultural studies exclusively to Anglo-American studies. One should also refrain from assuming a clear-cut separation between the humanities and the social sciences: Sanches' article (1999) was published in *Etnográfica*, one of the major Portuguese anthropology journals.

⁵ This makes it difficult to connect cultural studies exclusively to Anglo-American studies. One should also refrain from assuming a clear-cut separation between the humanities and the social sciences: Sanches' article (1999) was published in *Etnográfica*, one of the major Portuguese anthropology journals.

offered by a private college, the Faculty of Human Sciences of the Portuguese Catholic University, based in Lisbon, as part of a vaster inter-institutional programme called 'the Lisbon Consortium'. Both programmes represent an effort to bring together research interests that are common to the humanities and the social sciences, especially around the topic of communication.⁶

This interdisciplinary leaning has been felt in other postgraduate and research programmes, even in the humanities, proving favourable to the implementation of cultural studies: as part of its M.A. programme in Anglo-American Studies, the University of Porto now offers courses in cultural studies, inter-art studies and women studies; the Centre for Comparative Studies of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon (in fact, a centre for research in comparative literature) actively endorses interdisciplinarity, as reflected in its major areas that range from intercultural studies to European literary and cultural studies and inter-semiotic or 'inter-art' studies. Finally – to finish this short review – since 2010 the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra has been offering an M.A. and a PhD in Feminist Studies – the only programme of the kind in Portugal – as well as a doctoral programme in the 'materialities of literature'. Both programmes are still very much literature-oriented; however, the former – taught in association with the Centre for Social Studies (CES), an internationally reputed research centre directed by sociologist Boaventura Sousa Santos – is also described as 'interdepartmental' and accepts students from all academic backgrounds (including the social sciences). As for the latter, it proposes to study literature vis-à-vis the new technologies of communication and the other arts, stating as its ultimate aim to contribute to the renovation of literary studies in Portugal as part of 'the larger project of rethinking the Humanities in the era of new media'. According to the programme, students are expected 'to develop skills and research methods associated to the scientific domains of theory of literature, cultural studies, interart studies, digital humanities, and other emerging fields'.⁷

The Bologna accords – a document signed in 1999 that laid the foundations for the creation of a common European Higher Education Area – has no doubt played an important role in this 'interdisciplinary turn'. The pressures to comply with the Bologna guidelines, which encourage a more flexible curriculum – one that allows students to customise their education and become more mobile within the European zone – have made the engagement with cultural studies a somehow natural, if not inevitable, thing (indeed, most of the new programmes acknowledge Bologna).⁸ A second factor that could help explain this sudden institutional interest in cultural studies is the growing concern with the cultural industries, as part of a more general shift to the 'new economy'. The idea that culture, through the cultural indus-

⁶ This makes it difficult to connect cultural studies exclusively to Anglo-American studies. One should also refrain from assuming a clear-cut separation between the humanities and the social sciences: Sanches' article (1999) was published in *Etnográfica*, one of the major Portuguese anthropology journals.

⁷ In Coimbra, following the Bologna-oriented reorganization of 2007, the new Department of Languages, Literatures and Cultures (which brings together people doing Classical, Romance, Anglo-American and Germanic studies) now offers an M.A. in Literary and Cultural Studies (basically, a comparative literature programme). Similarly, since 2007, the Department of Portuguese and Romance Studies of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Porto offers an M.A. in 'Literary and Cultural Studies and Inter-arts', which merges previously separate M.A. programmes in literature. For more details, see 'Relatório da concretização do processo de Bolonha, anos lectivos de 2006/2007 e 2007/2008', http://sigarra.up.pt/flup/web_gessi_docs.download_file?p_name=F12785065/Relatorio_Bolonha_FLUP20092.pdf (retrieved 19/05/2011), p. 12.

⁸ The former programme is a partnership between the Communication and Society Research Centre (CECS) of the University of Minho and the Department of Languages and Cultures of the University of Aveiro; the latter is associated with the Centre for the Study of Culture and Communication (CECC) of the Catholic University.

tries, holds the key to the country's economic problems shapes the two doctoral programmes in cultural studies analysed above (namely, the one jointly run by the Universities of Aveiro and Minho and the one run by the Catholic University). Both programmes mention the cultural industries: the former promises to 'produce' professionals in the areas of 'cultural creation, cultural promotion, cultural animation, cultural mediation and cultural dissemination', its main objective being to turn out qualified professionals to work in public libraries, book publishing, the production of information and cultural events, cultural associations, embassies, institutes, foundations, cultural centres and the like.⁹ The latter could not be any clearer about its commitment to interact with the 'cultural economy', which it describes, in the brochure of the Lisbon Consortium, as a growing economic sector already responsible for 2.5% of employment in Portugal.¹⁰ This programme is specifically designed to provide qualifications in the areas of cultural programming and management. Its incorporation in the 'Lisbon Consortium', alongside key elite institutions like the National Theatre Museum, the Portuguese Film Institute, the National Cultural Centre, the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, the Culturgest and the Lisbon Municipal Council¹¹, certainly places it in a strong position to achieve that goal.

It would seem that the current expansion of cultural studies in Portugal is more to do with top-down institutional changes (one could even speak of a general favourable 'mood') than with overt academic confrontations that lend credence to cultural studies' international reputation as an intellectual practice with a critical/ political edge. Nevertheless, the name 'cultural studies' continues to cause some unease in certain circles. This is the case of the Catholic University, which refers to cultural studies, in the Portuguese version of its promotional material, as *estudos de cultura* ('studies of culture') rather than *estudos culturais*.¹² This could be a matter of translation option, but the syllabi of some of the courses included in this doctoral programme do point to an understanding of culture that falls in line with the Kulturkritik tradition, in Francis Mulhern's terminology (2000), rather than the theoretical work that has been at the core of the cultural studies project.¹³

To conclude, cultural studies seems to be experiencing a rise in the Portuguese academia; furthermore, this success story is being largely built at an institutional level. In practice, this means that a growing number of students and researchers have now a place where they can do

⁹ For the programme in Feminist Studies, see: www.uc.pt/fluc/depllc/Cursos/3cic/EF/ (last accessed 29/08/2011). For the 'materialities of literature' programme, see www.uc.pt/fluc/depllc/Cursos/3cic/ML/ (last accessed 29/08/2011).

¹⁰ In practice, the reforms carried out in Bologna's name have also meant the streamlining of higher education to accommodate market-oriented goals, hence the mixed feelings these reforms are likely to arise among cultural studies scholars.

¹¹ See the English brochure of the Lisbon Consortium: www.fch.lisboa.ucp.pt/resources/Documentos/brochuras_cursos/FCH_Consortium_brochura_FEV11.pdf, especially p. 3. The Portuguese version can be accessed at: www.fch.lisboa.ucp.pt/resources/Documentos/brochuras_cursos/Brochura_Consortium_Portugu%C3%AAs.pdf (retrieved 18/05/2011).

¹² The National Cultural Centre is a cultural society founded in 1945; the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation is the longest-running private Foundation in Portugal (it is also one of the most active, especially in the arts). Finally, the Culturgest is the cultural branch of Portugal's biggest bank – still state-owned at the time of writing, but probably not for long.

¹³ Interestingly, the Catholic University opted for the use of 'studies of culture' instead of 'cultural studies' at this year's conference of the Portuguese Association of Anglo-American Studies (APEAA). While featuring in the international brochure of the Lisbon Consortium, the term 'cultural studies' is nevertheless deemed inappropriate in another English-speaking (but now national) context. This brief example brings home to us cultural studies' national and international power entanglements.

cultural studies – even if not exactly under the same label or meaning exactly the same thing to everyone. There certainly is a positive side to this ambiguity, which may allow different kinds of valuable work to be done. Yet, there is also the risk of cultural studies losing its critical edge. One of cultural studies’ original strengths was its ability to engage with the ‘here-and-now’ and establish meaningful connections between apparently disconnected things (such as culture and society or knowledge and power). Faced with an acute economic crisis and a programme of extensive public cuts (in line with the recent IMF-EU-ECB intervention), Portugal is now experiencing a moment of fast change. Among other things, a new culture-power alignment seems to be emerging. There is no lack of research topics, concerning, for instance the new orthodoxies formed around the ‘cultural industries’ and the ‘new economy’ (cf. Oakley, 2004; Miller, 2004); the relationship between national and transnational cultural studies projects (or even between cultural studies and other intellectual movements); the apparent conversion, in some academic quarters, of cultural studies into ‘intercultural studies’, and so on.¹⁴ These are times of intellectual confusion, which call for more critical thinking. Whether cultural studies will become an actor in such an intellectual endeavour remains to be seen. This will certainly depend on our ability – as cultural studies practitioners – to understand the national, local and institutional conditions of our own practice.

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¹⁴ In Portugal, this trend is especially evident in the Centre for Intercultural Studies (CEI), based in ISCAP, Porto. Their research interests include: intercultural representations (with a focus on literature and cinema), comparative law across cultures, intercultural communication, translation studies, cultural tourism, travelogues and gender studies. See their website at: <http://www.iscap.ipp.pt/~cei/english.htm> (last accessed 10/09/2011).

Notes on Cultural Studies, History and Cosmopolitanism in UK

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This paper briefly reviews aspects of the historical relationship between cultural studies and history in the UK university context and illustrates the specificity of cultural history approaches by drawing on the author’s own work on cosmopolitanism.

NOTES ON CULTURAL STUDIES, HISTORY AND COSMOPOLITANISM IN UK

In this brief paper I will raise a few points about cultural studies and cultural history and their historical relationship to each other in UK -- particularly at the institution at which I work -- and then illustrate some of these points by drawing on my own research on cosmopolitanism.

So first a very short history of cultural studies at the University of East London (UEL) where I have worked since 1983 and where I am currently co-director with Jeremy Gilbert of the [Centre for Cultural Studies Research \(CCSR\)](#). UEL was the home of the first undergraduate Cultural Studies degree in the country, founded in 1981. In those days the programme was not modularised and I arrived when the first intake was in its third year so the broad framework of the course had already been established. What was distinctive about its design was that all students had to do a 'core' and options in one of three main strands: philosophy, literature or popular culture. The core, running through the three-year course was a more or less chronological 'history' starting in the 17th century, so from the start was an indication of the way different knowledges were prioritized. It was influenced by Raymond Williams' work and focused on the history of class formation and class cultures, 'race' and colonial power, women's lives, popular experience, everyday life, sexuality and the politics of resistance and consent etc --- all the things you would expect a radical innovative department to be concerned with but at the time still very unusual. Marx, Gramsci, Foucault, Stuart Hall, Edward Said, Juliet Mitchell, Sheila Rowbotham, Angela McRobbie and Marshall Berman were among the influential thinkers students (and staff) were expected to read.

The teaching group came from a range of disciplinary backgrounds: sociology, history, literature, philosophy, history of art. A few of us had been linked in one way or another to CCCS in Birmingham. All were on the left. Through the collective teaching of carefully planned courses we taught each other and ourselves. We also produced collaboratively a couple of key volumes of essays in 1990s using this mix of intellectual approaches: *The Expansion of England: Race, Ethnicity and Cultural History*, edited by Bill Schwarz (1996) and *Modern Times: Reflections on a Century of English Modernity*, edited by Alan O'Shea and myself (1996).

From the beginning there was some tension in the group -- mostly productive tension -- between the 'proper' historians, those who had been trained as historians, whose interest and objective it was to 'uncover' and piece together features and narratives of the past, particularly of an unfamiliar or hidden past, and those whose disciplinary orientation had been developed in sociology and 'theory' and who were more concerned to track the genealogies of the big political questions of the present, whose interest was conceptually driven. (For a discussion of these divisions see Geoff Eley 2005; John Tosh 2006).

In general I think the direction of the influence between these two broad camps was predominantly from cultural studies to history. Over the last decades there has been a tremendous expansion among the more orthodox historians of what counts as acceptable historical source material and how to make sense of it, as well as a more reflexive consideration of the sociopolitical embeddedness and constructedness of all versions of the past.

Cultural studies in Britain has had an impact not only on history in its various traditions but on all aspects of the humanities and social sciences -- on sociology, geography, literary studies, gender studies, urban studies, language studies, visual culture, media studies, psychosocial studies, philosophy, anthropology, economics, art history and fine art practice (indeed the plethora of 'studies' on this incomplete list is itself evidence of this shift). All these are among the established university 'disciplines' in the UK that have been transformed by the more iconoclastic, flexible, interdisciplinary, political and contextual approaches of cultural studies. So does this mean -- as Jeremy Gilbert has suggested in the blurb for this

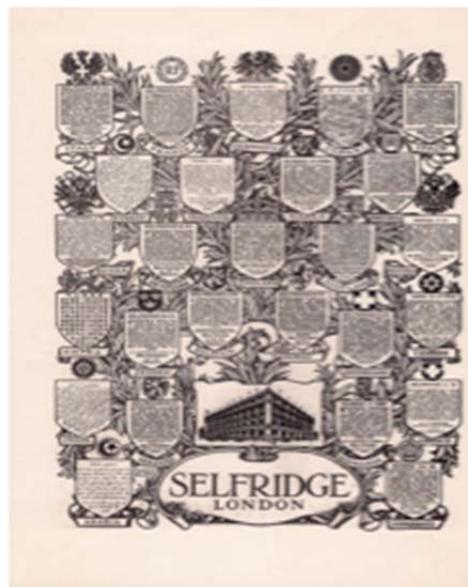
session – that cultural studies and cultural history have lost their critical specificity and usefulness?

I think not. I will use my own cultural historical work to illustrate this claim. There are of course many other appropriate examples but my book [Visceral Cosmopolitanism](#) (2007) is what I know best and it does effectively exemplify the shift in that it doesn't fit comfortably into any critical mode except cultural studies /cultural history. This is in broad terms because it privileges argument, draws on an expanded archive (sources include ballet narratives, costume design, department store promotions, contemporary fiction, film, photographs and social science texts, media reports, psychoanalytic theory, biography and autobiography -- including my own) and, in the tradition of cultural studies, is less preoccupied with adhering to methodological convention than I think are its closest neighbours, history and sociology.

It is also an example of 'British cultural studies' in its thematic focus and its concern with the specificity of postcolonial race relations, cultural difference, gender and everyday life in the UK context.

Yet it wasn't in the first instance driven by existing conceptual concerns despite my rootedness on that side of the methodological divide. My theoretical and historical interest in cosmopolitanism did not precede my work in the archive. In fact at the time there was practically no scholarly research on the topic. I came across it by chance when I was working in the archive of the department store Selfridges looking for evidence of the impact of imperialism on commercial culture before World War One. I found no references to empire at all but a good deal in the founder Gordon Selfridge's own daily syndicated newspaper columns about how pleased he was that London was losing its insularity and becoming more cosmopolitan and modern. He wanted his store to be at the heart of these changes and publicised the launch in 1909 with full-page advertisements in all the major newspapers in the world welcoming customers in twenty-six languages, among them Arabic, Japanese, Hindi, Russian, Yiddish and Esperanto.

**'All nationalities meet at Selfridge's and all are welcome'.
Advertisement from 1909 launch campaign in 26 languages**



As well as being a cosmopolitan moderniser, Selfridge was also an enthusiastic supporter of the contemporaneous movement for women's suffrage. So this was the starting point of my pursuit of historical manifestations of cosmopolitanism across the span to the twentieth

century. Although the concept emerged from the archive rather than an already existing theoretical debate, it was nevertheless shaped by the conceptual material I had already been working on – by gender, modernity, and commercial culture. This already-established groundwork explains the distinctive focus, argument and conclusions of the book.

So the main concerns of the book are:

1. To explore cosmopolitanism in relation to everyday popular and commercial modernity -- to look at its vernacular and domestic expressions -- at the micro- narratives of cosmopolitanism and personal interaction in the local context -- at home, in London.
2. To analyse it as a structure of feeling and aspiration part of modern consciousness: hence as an empathetic, inclusive and sometimes unconscious cluster of identifications with and desire for difference or the 'other'; as an intuitive sense of self part of common humanity with a disregard for borders. This the 'visceral' cosmopolitanism of the title of the book. The focus is on the allure of difference rather than the repudiation of difference - on antiracism rather than racism.
3. To foreground questions of gender and the position of women in relation to this structure of feeling. In the book I argue that women have been the historical drivers of cosmopolitanism in twentieth century Britain for a number of reasons, including their more intimate relationship to mainly male migrants from abroad; their greater participation in popular modernity through consumption and the movies and, more contentiously, their greater disposition to empathise with cultural others.
4. To explore and explain the geopolitical specificity of London. How do the meanings and experiences of 'multiculturalism' and epidermal difference differ in London from US cities such as Chicago or other (post)colonial metropolises of the West such as Paris and Amsterdam? What are the differences between UK and other European countries with sizeable intakes of migrant populations? How relevant is the historical specificity of UK class formation and the British privileging of class culture and language to the current outcome?
5. To track the historical development of cosmopolitanism from an oppositional culture a hundred years ago to the cultural mainstream today – to look at change. This is the 'normalisation' of my title. I trace cultural and 'racial' difference from 'alterity' to mere difference. The term alterity (drawing on Sennett and others) expresses the provoking quality of the unknown unclassifiable other.
 - For those who have not been to London: what does this normalisation consist of? As Caribbean-British playwright Kwame Kwei Ameh points out in his recent radio programme 'The London Story', one in three Londoners were born outside UK. London, he says, is 'a city at ease with itself', 'the California of Europe', 'proud of its diversity', and one which has changed enormously since 1970s.
 - One way of measuring the change is to look at what is often considered the limit point of 'integration' – that is to say sex and marriage between different cultural groups. These are now commonplace in UK cities and, although the figures are inevitably contested, it is estimated that about 62% of young males of Afro-Caribbean origin under 30 and in a relationship are with white partners or someone from another ethnic group. The figure for young Afro-Caribbean women is about 50%. There is a similar tendency among other ethnic and 'racial' groups though the figures are lower. The phenomenon operates across the class spectrum and includes the Queen's cousin who is married to a

Nigerian. Diana and Dodi are another instance (see chapter 7). These figures are many times higher than in US or elsewhere in Europe.

6. My focus is not on plurality and co-existence or on multiculturalism, but on cultural mixing, merger, indeterminacy, fusion and mutuality, on 'mongrelisation' as a historical process, on 'impurity' and 'how newness enters the world' (as Salman Rushdie has put it, 1991). Stuart Hall also refers to our 'mongrel selves' in 1992.

It is important to stress that the book only explores certain aspects of the culture. As I reiterate throughout, xenophobia, racism and racialised imaginings are tremendously significant currents in the history of twentieth century Britain and have co-existed in varying degrees of tension with cosmopolitanism and antiracism.

So how, more concretely, does the fact that I locate myself in cultural studies and identify myself as a cultural historian distinguish my work on cosmopolitanism from that rooted in other disciplinary approaches?

1. It is different from the work of sociologists like Ulrich Beck who, despite his focus on the 'cosmopolitanisation' of 'the fundamental concepts and institutions of modern society' doesn't explore the specificity of different countries, historical change or gender or the quotidian practices and feelings of cosmopolitans. My approach is also different from sociologists of cosmopolitanism like Urry and Hannerz who, although more concerned with disposition, focus largely on intellectual and emotional detachment, on seeing difference from afar, not on identification or empathy.
2. It is different on the whole from the work of postcolonial theorists who for very good reason have focused on the injuries of racial and cultural difference rather than its allure, on racism rather than antiracism (though Stuart Hall and Homi Bhabha both refer fleetingly to the ambivalence and desire which lies at the heart of interracial relations). However, there is quite a bit of overlap between 'visceral cosmopolitanism' and Gilroy's notions of 'conviviality' and 'planetary humanism'.
3. Conventional historians have been ambivalent about 'modernity' and the blending of the textual with everyday culture, as for instance in the eclectic approach adopted by Marshall Berman in his seminal 1982 text *All That Is Solid Melts Into Air: The Experience of Modernity*. The thematic and theoretical concerns of my book and my methodological approach are similarly unconvincing for many historians -- though judging from the number of recent invitations from history departments to talk about the work that seems to be now changing.
4. But my book also has a different emphasis from the work of the more radical cultural historians whose focus has tended to be on the invention and consolidation of a conservative English 'tradition', on 'conservative modernity', on the legacy of Empire and melancholia about its loss (see eg the work of Bill Schwarz, Alison Light, Wendy Webster, Chris Waters, Sonya Rose and contributors to the journal *British Cultural Studies* on the 1950s and 1960s) not on the more positive developments of antiracism and engagement with migrant others. (My new research is on this topic and period. I am currently looking at the work, much of it unpublished, of anthropologists and sociologists, mainly women, among them Ruth Glass, Ruth Landes, Sheila Kitzinger and Judith Henderson, who were involved in 1950s and '60s race relations research in UK).
5. Feminists have on the whole not yet addressed the specific relationship of women to cosmopolitanism (though see the work of Ulrike Vieten). There has been some attention

in the work on global cities to gender difference but not as far as I am aware on issues of cultural interaction and the everyday as raised in the book.

6. Psychoanalysts and theorists drawing on the framework of psychoanalysis have been concerned on the whole to explain the unconscious factors underlying prejudice and the repudiation of difference rather than its attraction, see eg Freud (1930) on the 'narcissism of minor differences'. In general there has been very little interest in the psychodynamics of inclusivity and empathy or in gendered differences in response to belonging and cultural 'otherness'. Bracha Ettinger's theory of the matrixial is among the exceptions.

It is not only a broadly cultural-history interdisciplinary approach which distinguishes my work from that of others concerned with the rapidly expanding topic of cosmopolitanism. There is also the more iconoclastic tradition of 'arguing against' which has characterized much cultural studies research from its inception and which here has been combined with my insistence on viewing everything through a feminist lens. My perspective has also been influenced by my personal history and psychic formation, an account of which, in an autobiographical chapter, I interweave with the main narrative of the book. This is where I explain my interest in the topic -- a contextual element too often missing from most historical accounts which tend to present themselves as somehow unembedded in the vicissitudes of life outside the text. Finally, it is also worth noting that my conclusions and the way I write --- the construction of a more progressive reading of British encounters with cultural and epidermal difference in the last century is also the outcome of a generally more optimistic albeit argumentative disposition. This is not a problem per se, and is not a disavowal of more melancholic readings, but like all factors which influence our understanding of the past and present, needs to be noted.

So in conclusion: the general message I want to convey for this spotlight session is that cultural studies in Britain, and especially at UEL, has strengthened 'history' and accounts of the past though the boldness and breadth of its themes, archive and method, its use of cultural theory and its consciousness of contextual and biographical factors. Conversely, historical consciousness has also influenced much cultural studies. A questioning of chronology and causal association is likely to yield a more complex picture than is often the case in textual analysis, which is so often the dominant mode in our discipline. We need to contextualise not only our data but also our argument in historical, geo-political and autobiographical terms. As cultural studies scholars we must remember not to invoke and critique theory as though it were produced in a vacuum -- without roots. All theorists are people who live at specific historical moments and produce theoretical propositions as part of their engagement with or against other theorists and bodies of thought in specific historical and political contexts.

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Parallel Sessions

Contemporary Families:
Representation and Negotiations

Kinship on TV¹

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During recent years, DR the Danish public service television station has launched several documentary serials that focus on kinship and genealogy. Serials such as *Sporløst* (Find my family), *Ved du hvem du er?* (Who do you think you are) and *Slavernes slægt* (Slaves in the Family) all focus on biological kinship either as the primary topic of the series or as an organizing and meaning giving device that provides a point of identification that can simultaneously serve as a vehicle for telling other stories.

All of the serials, however, privilege a biocentric notion of kinship and a tight relation between biological kinship and identity, taking for granted that knowing one’s biological kin automatically leads to a better understanding of one’s personal identity. The paper discusses the possible implications and consequences of this conceptualization of kinship, and it is argued that while the serials reproduce biocentric notions of kinship, they also in practice illustrate how pragmatic kinship is.

¹ An expanded version of the analysis of Find my Family will appear in *MedieKultur* (Frello. Forthcoming). In Danish.

KINSHIP ON TELEVISION

Over the last 5–6 years Danish public service television (DR) has aired at least four serials that one way or the other focus on people searching for their unknown relatives. While one of them, *Slaves in the Family*, creates a narrative that is focused on criticizing Danish colonial history through family histories (Frello 2004/2006; 2010, Marselis 2008), the rest of them are tightly managed concept-driven reality type tv.

The search for unknown relatives always – that is, in all of the serials – involve travelling to foreign countries. This is an interesting aspect in itself – what the image of the journey adds to the story about kin lost and found and how travelling out is metaphorically turned into travelling ‘home’ in some sense – home to your true identity (Frello 2008). However, in this paper I will concentrate on the specific construction (or constructions) of kinship that is going on, and on the possible consequences of this construction. I will use examples from two of the serials: *Find my Family* (Sporløs) and *Who do you think you are?* (Ved du hvem du er?). Both of these are internationally applied formats. *Find my Family* is Dutch (originally titled *Spoorloos*) and *Who do you think you are?* is British.

KINSHIP, KINNING, RELATEDNESS

If you want to study kinship, the obvious choice is to turn to anthropology. Kinship has been a central topic for anthropology since the birth of the discipline. However, the role attributed to kinship and the theories applied in studying kinship have changed considerably. Basically there has been a move from a structural or functional understanding of kinship as a basic feature of culture, to an understanding that focuses on practice and discourse. This change means that kinship is not so much considered something stable that can explain other cultural phenomena. Rather it is seen as negotiable and changeable and dependent on relations of power.

Kinship, in our part of the world, has traditionally been understood in terms of blood relatedness. The “indigenous assumption in Euro-American folk beliefs” (Carsten 2000:8) is a biocentric (Howell 2007) and biogenetic one (Carsten 2004, Kim 2007, Yngvesson 2007). However, it is a notion that has a specific history and cultural context, and a notion that is under pressure.

If we look at kinship practices in our part of the world today, we will find that they come in very different forms. This is due to new reproduction technologies, new genetic knowledge and technology, and a considerable political and cultural change when it comes to rules and acceptance concerning homosexuals and transgender persons – including possibilities of parenthood for singles and non-heterosexual couples.

As Signe Howell points out, relations of kinship involve a process of kinning. It is not simply a question of establishing who is related to whom. Notwithstanding biology, kinship needs to be practiced in order to be. Therefore, some anthropologists also prefer talking about ‘relatedness’ rather than about ‘kinship’, because ‘relatedness’ precisely points to the fact that relations can be of many kinds, and that the important issue is not blood and biology, but the meaning that is attached to specific relations and how we practice them (Carsten 2000; 2004).

AMBIVALENCE: BIOCENTRISM AND PRAGMATISM

These reconceptualizations of kinship are very much in line with the general constructivist turn that the social sciences and the humanities have gone through during the last twenty years or more.

Meanwhile, popular media go on producing biocentric narratives about the decisive role of biology in securing a strong and stable sense of identity for the individual. In the kinship serials on Danish television, the biocentric narrative functions as a master narrative in the sense that it is a dominant narrative that denies its own narrativity (Somers 1994).

I will argue, however, that while the serials reproduce biocentric notions of kinship, they also in practice illustrate how pragmatic kinship is, and how much it depends on the process of kinning, no matter how biocentric the narrative is.

Hence, my argument is twofold:

- The master narrative of the serials is biocentric. And because it denies its own narrativity, it is also normative.
- Despite the denarrativization of the biocentric master narrative, there are considerable cracks in it, and this demonstrates that kinship is also always pragmatic.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SERIALS, FIND MY FAMILY AND WHO DO YOU THINK YOU ARE?

In the following, I will give a brief description of the serials, Find my Family and Who do you think you are? and a few illustration of how the biocentric master narrative is conveyed.

Find my Family is a Dutch concept that has been exported to a number of countries, such as Denmark, Sweden, Australia and the United States. It is extremely popular in Denmark. It is usually in the top ten of non-news programs on DR.

In each program we follow a person who is looking for an unknown close blood-relative. Often the protagonists are transnationally (and transracially) adopted and have no memory of their birth parents. Or they were brought up by their Danish birth-mother, while their non-Danish father is unknown to them. The producers of the program organize a trip where they bring the protagonist to their country of origin or their father's home country in order to unravel the history and find the blood relatives. The search is completely planned, controlled and conducted by the producers. The protagonist has no active role in the search.

The programs are designed to evoke emotions. Emotions are part of the marketing of the serial. E.g., the description on the Swedish homepage on tv4 says:

“During the emotional travel back to the past, the participants are confronted with unknown parts of their lives and the missing bits finally fall into place.”

(“Under den känslofyllda resan tillbaka till det förflutna konfronteras de medverkande med okända delar av sina liv och de saknade bitarna faller slutligen på plats”.)

Hence, it is an emotionally charged journey even before it starts. In the programs, the close connection between biology, identity and emotion is constructed in a wide variety of ways through the use of images, voice-over, interview with the protagonist, music and the role of the journalist who is in charge of the search.

Furthermore, most of the protagonists contribute willingly to the biocentric narrative. The following quote can serve to illustrate this:

Well, it is like my whole life. It is so huge, you know. Because I lack a part of me. Because there are so many questions, you know. It is simply beyond description. It takes up so much room. And it will definitely make my life perfect. (Adriane) (Jamen, det er lige før, det er hele mit liv. Det er så utroligt stort, altså. Jeg mangler jo en del af mig. Der er jo så mange spørgsmål ikke også. Det, det er jo simpelthen ubeskriveligt. Det fylder meget. Og det vil i hvert fald gøre mit liv fuldendt.)

Who do you think you are? is a British format that has also been exported to several countries, including the United States and Denmark. In the program, we follow celebrities in search of their family history, assisted and guided by the producers. The search always involves a journey to far away places (at least in the Danish version), and it centers on the more colorful

ancestors and the hidden, dark stories. It concludes with the protagonist contemplating what he or she learned from the history, and these contemplations typically focus on how the identity of the protagonist changed due to the knowledge they now have of their family history. A small extract from the program on the Danish tv-journalist Puk Elgård can serve to illustrate this:

Puk Elgård realizes that her ancestors over a period of 300 years include both Vitus Bering, a famous Dane, who spent a large part of his life in Saint Petersburg in Russia, and a poor peasant who due to poverty drowned himself in a small pond. When she contemplates what she learned from the journey, she says, that she is happy that she found out that her family contains these contrasts, because: “All my life has been built on contrasts, so I am not surprised that I needed to embark on a trip like this in order to find out, where I came from” (Puk Elgård) (“Hele mit liv har været bygget op på kontraster, så det undrer mig ikke, at jeg skal sådan en tur for at finde ud af, hvor jeg kom fra”).

And she goes on emphasizing that:

If you don't have the pond [where the peasant drowned himself], then you don't have the golden domes [of the churches in St. Petersburg] either. Then you don't realize it. You don't appreciate things. (Puk Elgård) (Hvis ikke man har vandpytten [som husmanden druknede sig i], så har du heller ikke guldkuplerne [i Sankt Petersburg, hvor Bering slog sine folder], så ser man det ikke, så sætter du ikke pris på tingene).

BIOCENTRISM AND PRAGMATISM

Both serials are overtly biocentric in their basic presentation of kinship. And this biocentric notion of kinship also carries with it an essentialist notion of identity: The basic claim they make is, that when we dig out the truth about our ancestors, we dig out the truth about ourselves.

However, they also both convey cracks in this master narrative, and therefore they also demonstrate that although kinship may be conceived primarily in terms of blood relations. And although blood relatedness may be imagined to be decisive for our identity (as when Puk Elgård tells us that she thought she might be Jewish, and that this possibility made her think that she needed to be involved in the synagogue). Still, the serials also demonstrate that even blood relations are pragmatically included in – or excluded from the identity.

In *Who do you think you are?* the pragmatism is very obvious. Even though the programs very much appeal to the idea of ‘finding yourself’ through learning about your genetic pre-history, still the main purpose is to tell entertaining stories. Sometimes the ancestors in question are very remote – e.g. a cousin to the great great great grandfather. Usually we are provided with a graphic illustration of the family tree, but in Puk Elgård's case, Vitus Bering is apparently so remote, so they give up even illustrating how the relation is. It is simply stated, that Puk is related to Bering who lived 300 years ago. And still, she concludes stuff about her identity on the basis of being related to him, as illustrated earlier.

In *Find my Family*, the pragmatic element is less obvious, but it is there. It is primarily seen in the hierarchization and the replaceability of primary relatives. In the serials, adopted children always look for their birth mother. They never mention the biological father. And they very often state that finding the birth mother will fill out a hole in their identity that has haunted them all their lives. However, when the mother cannot be found – or when she is dead or unwilling to meet them – then the father or some siblings are just as fine. The protagonists typically conclude that the hole in the identity has been filled and now they know who they are, somehow.

TENSIONS IN POPULAR NOTIONS OF KINSHIP

- Biocentric normativity versus practical pragmatism

People who cannot anchor their identity in the knowledge of close blood relatives are routinely met with questions concerning belonging or lack of belonging. They are confronted with the expectation that they lack something and that they must have a deep longing to fill out the presumed hole in their identity by finding their birth mother and/or father.

Examples from the literature on adoptees illustrate that no matter what adoptees may think about their own identity, still their identity is "discursively positioned as potentially crisis ridden" (Petersen 1009:19, my translation, BF).

This suggests that the preferred narrative of the media is not just about innocent entertainment. It has a normative function. Popular tv programs like *Find my Family* and *Who do you think you are?* contribute to this problem because they reproduce and naturalize the biocentric master narrative.

This fact does not, however, necessarily reflect a general exclusive support for a biocentric family practice among the majority of the population. People practice relatedness in all kinds of ways.

Therefore, on the one hand, the biocentric normativity of the programs is out of touch with current family practice. On the other hand, the ambivalence and pragmatism that is found in the programs reflects the ambivalence and pragmatism in everyday life.

What separates adoptees from others may not be some 'lack' or 'hole' in the identity due to not knowing their biological parents. Maybe what they 'lack' is a chance to participate in the general experiments with processes of kinning and de-kinning on par with people who are biological "secure". Knowing your biological ancestors is a privileged position. Not necessarily because it gives you knowledge of your 'identity' or because it makes you feel more 'whole' but because you are recognizable in terms of the biogenetic master narrative. You don't have to account for who you are in the sense that adoptees have to. And maybe this is an important aspect of what attracts audiences to programs like *Find my Family*.

As Yngvesson and Mahoney put it:

Adoption captures public imagination, securing the identities of those who observe from the safe location of entitlement to a 'whole' identity (Yngvesson and Mahoney 2000:83).

Furthermore, we who occupy this 'safe location of entitlement to a 'whole' identity' are free to experiment. We can look for points of identification in our family history and claim that 'blood is thicker than water'. Or we can denounce family altogether and create new forms of relatedness. We are not confronted with the suspicion that we are somehow 'unrelated' and therefore maybe also 'unreliable'.

Maybe what the adoptees 'lack' (if anything) is not 'knowledge' of 'themselves' and their 'identity', but rather the freedom to interpret biology as they please. Pragmatic kinship is for those who have a choice, while people who 'lack' bio-kinship lack the possibility of choosing.

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Contemporary Kurdish Families in Finland: Traditional, Modern or Something Else?

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Family is a central institute that regulates person’s life in Kurdish communities and thus family relations are highly valued. Marriage – as closely related to family – is one of the key factors that maintains desired family relations. However Kurdish family patterns are usually seen and considered to be in terms of traditional for the reason that family have a great power over the individual. Still it is assumed that parents have to give their approval for the marriage. One way of sustaining family ties and family dynamics typical for Kurdish communities in the context of migration is marriage patterns. Example of this is the phenomenon called transnational marriage: an immigrant search for his/her spouse from country of origin and brings her/him back to the country of settlement. However this is not the only way of getting married among Kurds in Finland.

In my presentation I will discuss about the concepts of modern and traditional in the context of migration. Is it reasonable to use these concepts when trying to understand Kurdish families and marriage practices? Are we entitled to call them traditional or should we use other words to describe them?

CONTEMPORARY KURDISH FAMILIES IN FINLAND: TRADITIONAL, MODERN OR SOMETHING ELSE?

This paper is the output of ethical dilemmas I have confronted in my PhD work. I have been struggling with the issue of how to write about 'the Other' especially when 'the Others' are living among us, as our neighbors, colleagues, friends, or as the classmates of our children. How to present other ethnic groups and migrants, in this case Kurds and their way of understanding marriage and family, which in a prompt glance look traditional to us and which are easily presented as traditional in relation to our culture and our 'modern' way of life especially in the media but also in academic texts (see Alinia 2004; Grip 2002; cf. Lievens 1999; cf. Reniers 2001)? Most importantly: how to avoid cultural determinism, exoticising and fostering stereotypes when depicting immigrants and their ways of life?

In this paper I will concentrate on scrutinizing two closely linked concepts – modern and traditional – which I find necessary to discuss with as one way of handling my ethical problems. Even though this conversation is not new in an academic world, I still argue it is highly important to ponder consequences of using concepts which have their roots in Western culture – like modern or traditional – when presenting people with other cultural background than our own. This is particularly important in studies of groups already being marginalized as 'the other'. Especially the recent Finnish political atmosphere which can be characterized 'critical' and suspicious against immigration and immigrants makes me ponder possible consequences of my research concerning those who have been studied.¹

Before conversing on actual theme of this paper I introduce my research questions, theoretical and methodological background of my research as well as subjects of this study: the Kurds. They hopefully give some kind of conception of the research I am conducting.

THE INTELLECTUAL PUZZLE OF MY STUDY AND THE RESEARCH MATERIAL

As an ethnologist I am interested in the dynamics of social and cultural continuity and change in kinship, family and household patterns among Kurds. In more particularly I have set following questions: 1) how migration and transnationalism shapes or influences Kurdish families, persons and their family lives, and 2) what kind of role does marriage have when considering continuity and change in family relations in transnational context? In addition I examine the motives and strategies which families and subjects have in relation to transnational marriages.

My theoretical frame of reference leans on transnationalism. To transnationalism I refer loosely as multiple social, political, economical and cultural interactions linking people across the borders of nation-states. (see e.g. Jackson, Crang & Dwyer 2004; Vertovec 2009) There are two reasons for using transnationalism as my main theoretical foundation. First, the social networks of Kurds living in diasporas are considered to be transnational (see Alinia 2004; Emanuelsson 2007; Khayati 2008; Wahlbeck 1999), meaning that many Kurds have relatives and acquaintances not only in their country of origin but also all over the Europe. These relations have an impact on family relations also in a country of settlement. The second reason is connected to the first one: I am interested in to examine the phenomenon called transnational

¹ In the parliamentary elections which took place on 17th April 2011 Perussuomalaiset (The Finns as the party recently launched its official English name.) became third biggest party in Finland with 19.1 percent of total votes. Especially some of its most visible members became known from their "migration critical", nationalistic opinions. (The result of the elections can be seen for example from here: <http://yle.fi/vaalit/tulospalvelu/2011/index.html>)

marriage which refers to situation when migrants marry partners from their family's country of origin. These marriages are typical especially non-European and non-Christian migrants, and social networks have proven to be in a high importance when selecting an appropriate partner. (e.g. Beck-Gernsheim 2007; Lievens 1999; Schmidt 2008)

Even though (transnational) marriage migration has not been compounded in Finland equally remarkable grounds of immigrating as for example in Norway, Great Britain or Germany, it has increased also in here within last ten years especially among Muslims from Middle East, Turkey and South Africa. For example statistics refer that especially women from Turkey, Iran and Iraq – from the area where most of the Kurds live/have lived – rarely marry Finnish men but prefer marrying men from the same country of origin. (e.g. Martikainen & Tiilikainen 2007; Martikainen & Haikkola 2010.) This is the basis where I have begun with my study.

My primary material will consist of in-depth interviews of Kurdish families and family members. My endeavor is to interview couples whose marriage can be categorized as transnational but also Kurds who are married with a Kurd but whose marriage has no transnational origin. In order to catch up a more profound picture I am also conducting interviews with young single Kurds and their point of view with family and marriage. In addition I aspire to participate in different ceremonies such as weddings, when observation, photographing and field notes play a part as additional research materials. I have also sketched to use statistical data so as to reach a different perspective to my research. However these plans are still more like outlines and not yet very contemplated.

KURDS AS SUBJECTS OF THE STUDY

The migration history of the Kurds in Finland is relatively short. First Kurds came in Finland in 1970s, but most of them have arrived as refugees from the beginning of 1990s until nowadays. In the end of the year 2010 there was living over 8000 migrants and their children who spoke Kurdish as their mother tongue. (Statistics Finland 2011; Wahlbeck 1999.) Even though most Kurds have come as refugees in Finland, migrant's children as well as migrants who have arrived as a child along their family are approaching the age of marriage. International researches have already shown that immigrants with certain ethnic backgrounds (for example migrants from Turkey, Pakistan and Morocco) have tendency to keep on practicing marriage patterns typical for their culture in their new country of settlement also among the second generation (see e.g. Beck-Gernsheim 2007; Lievens 1999; Schmidt 2008; Shaw 2001). This is one of other things I am interested in to figure out in my dissertation whether this is the case also among Kurds in Finland. For now, my very preliminary research material seems to support this picture.

I have confined my research with Kurds from Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Firstly, these countries account for at least 90 per cent of the Kurdish population, and also most Kurds who live in Finland have come from these countries. Secondly, to my knowledge, in a general level marriage practices have certain similar features regardless the country of origin of the Kurds. For example consanguineous marriages as well as arranged marriages have taken place among Kurds especially in past generations but they do exist in some scale also in nowadays. The commitment to the institution of marriage and the family in general is a fundamental part of the Kurdish culture. Kurdish or more generally non-Western family and marriage patterns are easily considered to be traditional by Western people for the reason that family have a great power over the individual. In non-European, non-Christian countries marriage and partner selection is a family matter rather than a merely union between two individuals. (see e.g. Barth 1954; Ertem & Kochturk 2008; Hassanpour 2001; Lievens 1999; Yalçin-Heckmann 1991; Wahlbeck 1999.) In my study I stress I can reach wider range of marriage practices not to

oversimplify the picture of Kurdish marriages and families. I find this important way of breaking stereotypes and too simplistic picture and image of Kurdish marriage and family life.

MODERNITY AND MODERN VS. TRADITION AND TRADITIONAL?

As we know, there are no neutral, ahistorical concepts that lay in a culture-free space, and there is always a risk to use them as such. Self-evidently, concepts route us to see a phenomenon or a subject we are examining as a certain kind of perspective. This affects the way we present the subject. That have an impact on how the results of the research are interpreted in turn, and how they can be applied for example in political, cultural and social contexts. Thus it is not irrelevant what concepts we use and how we do it.

What do we mean by speaking of modern, modernity as well as tradition and traditional? How are these terms connected to each other? According to folklorist Pertti Anttonen (2005: 12–13) the concept of tradition is inseparable from the idea of modernity; both as discursively constructed opposition and as a rather modern metaphor for cultural continuity. He emphasizes that traditions are above all modern's constructions and productions.

The word 'modern' includes meanings 'recent', 'up-to-date', 'new' or 'fashionable'. It is derived from the Latin adjective and noun *modernus*, and it was invented during the Middle Ages from the adverb *modo*, meaning 'just now'. (Calinescu 1987: 13) Modernity is conceived of as modern in relation to non-modern, which is attributed with a variety of characterizations such as premodern, old, antique, old-fashioned, conservative, primitive, feudal, and traditional. In these conceptualizations, change takes place only in the modern, while tradition denotes the lack of change, even resistance to change. (Anttonen 2005: 28, 34.)

Dichotomy between modernity and tradition has its roots in scientific discourse and modernization theories in the nineteenth century, when there was a need to discuss and explain processes of change in Western Europe. Then 'modern' got the connotation of 'improved' and 'advanced' from the older connotation of 'belonging to the present'. (Anttonen 2005: 34.) As Anttonen puts it:

The concept of modern has come to denote a particular historical period, style, socio-cultural formation and mode of experience. It is Western modernity, the post-medieval era in the history of European or Western civilization that is regarded as being intrinsically different from what precedes it in time and space. This is called the 'modern age' or the 'modern period', signifying a stage of cultural development called Modernity. (Anttonen 2005: 27–28; see e.g. Beck, Giddens & Lash 1994)

Theories of modernization usually imply a two- or three-part distinction between traditional societies, modern societies and possibly postmodern societies. The content of the modernization may vary, but it often comprises technology, Western bureaucracy and science, urbanization and industrialization, democracy and human rights. In this context tradition is often understood as the opposite. (Ytrehus 2007: 155)

However tradition can be conceptualized as un-oppositional to modernity then when it is used as a metaphor for cultural continuity, as an indication of the presence of history in the present. Then traditions can be seen as statements in identity politics; they can be said, for example, to symbolize the inner cohesion of a given group. However, such continuity may also receive a negative charge when traditions stand for persisting cultural attitudes or practices that appear to be difficult to accept, for example then when they are in conflict with the law. (Anttonen 2005: 36.)

THE MYTHS OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL STUDIES RELATED TO PRESENTING ANOTHER CULTURE AND ITS PEOPLE

Line Alice Ytrehus (2007) calls as 'myths' some implicit premises that are still present in contemporary cultural studies, criticized earlier but which easily remain embedded in our concepts and models, in which we depict people and their culture that differ from us. Particularly two of these myths are meaningful in relation to discussion of modern and traditional: the myth of contemporary non-Western cultures being traditional and static, and the myth that individuals from 'traditional' societies are governed by their religion and tradition.

In differentiating between traditional and modern societies, Ytrehus (2007) highlights that there is an implicit or explicit understanding that firstly, Western cultures belong to modernity and those which differ from Western cultures are premodern or traditional. Secondly, societies are thought to develop from the traditional to the modern, and in some cases still further. There is a return here to the theory of cultural evolution which presumes that a culture develops from simplicity towards complexity, and that traditional societies do not develop at the same pace as modern. (Ytrehus 2007: 155–156.)

The myth of the static nature of non-Western cultures is widespread in functionalism as well as in evolutionism. This myth that non-Western societies are static is often related to the myth that culture is homogeneous (Ytrehus 2007: 156–157; see also Mohanty 1991). Ytrehus highlights that the relatively static society of the exotic others is constructed by an implicit comparison with ours. The researcher and the reader necessarily make comparisons in interpreting and translating from one culture to another. There are some conventions in anthropology about how the culture of another society is presented, that easily maintain the image of the static culture. That is to say: an ethnographical 'now' (Ytrehus 2007: 156–157; see also Ingold 1996: 201):

The ethnographic present is a particular genre, and thus illustrates that the myth problem is not dependent on what the researcher believes, but is tied to blindness to history embedded in the very form and presentation of the analysis (Ytrehus 2007: 157).

What comes to the second myth related to 'traditional societies' and their relation to religion and tradition, the main thesis is that modern people can choose between several options in a given situation, whereas traditional people are governed by their tradition and culture. This myth includes the cultural determinism which can be seen very problematic. Individuals from 'traditional societies' are easily presented as cultural bearers, rather than as co-constructors of culture. (Ytrehus 2007: 157–159). According to Ytrehus (2007: 159) the cultural determinism is most widespread in descriptions of Muslims. It is usual to describe social relations and social problems in terms of culture especially when presenting immigrants from other countries – the more remote culture/country, the greater the emphasis given to cultural differences (Ehn 1992: 4). It still remains a challenge to avoid cultural determinism in migration and cultural studies.

CONCLUDING WORDS: HOW TO PRESENT PEOPLE WITH DIFFERENT CULTURAL BACKGROUND?

In recent years and decades more and more criticism in anthropology and sociology has been targeted toward the dichotomy of tradition and modernity in the context of globalisation and migration. (e.g. Gilroy 1995; Knauff 2002; Welz 2004; Özdalga 2002) For example the idea that extended family belongs to traditional society while the nuclear family is the result of modern urbanization and industrialization has been challenged (see Baştuğ 2002).

It has been introduced alternative ways of discussing cultural varieties for example in the context of globalization. Rather than understanding modernity and tradition as opposite categories it has been adopted the idea of multiple modernities or alternative modernity; that each society or social group generates its very own version of modernity. The main idea is that modernity and tradition are locally configured and thus there are particular regional forms of modernity. (e.g. Knauft 2002, see also Stark 2006) According to Gisela Welz (2004: 417) this allows anthropologists to acknowledge as modern those cultural practices that co-exist with capitalist modernity but do not conform in any narrow way with the Western model of a modern way of life.

Also Anttonen (1993; 2005) suggests that it becomes meaningless to characterize a society as either modern or traditional if the modern and the traditional are analysed as two aspects of change. When traditions are conceptualized as models or symbolic constructions of cultural continuity, they exist just as well in modernity as in non-modernity. In this approach every society has modern as well as traditional aspects. (Anttonen 2005: 36–37; see also Ytrehus 2007: 156.)

I am attracted to the idea of seeing both modern and traditional in every society. However this does not abolish all the problems related to the issue of presenting people with other cultural background, especially when these people are living among us. I see problems both analysis as well as writing and presenting my results. For example, I have to solve the dilemma of how I will describe Kurds, their family life as well as their ideas of marriage under the impact of Finnish culture and society. I also have to deal with the question of how I should present possible changes in the marriage patterns but not automatically assume that they take place only because of Finnish 'modern' way of life. This would lead me easily to see changes in the light of modernization theory.

This paper raises more questions than answers. However I am not the first one to struggle with these problems. For example Marja Ågren (2006) had pondered same kinds of questions in her study of second generation Finns in Sweden. She highlights the way researcher writes about his/her subjects and their lives and gives a good advice: it should be done in a way that also readers who share the reality of those who had been studied, can understand and approve it as a real (Ågren 2006: 36). Thus I am willing to believe that the ethical problems of my study can be solved. The key to the solution may lie in the interviews, the discourses of the interviewees as well as mutual (re)negotiations between researcher and informants. Most importantly – careful listening of their stories as well as how they speak about their marriages and family is needed – whether they see them traditional, modern or perhaps totally something else.

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Crafting Knowledge

Crafting Knowledge?

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”Crafting knowledge” was a session organised by Anneli Palmsköld and Johanna Rosenqvist, that took place in Norrköping, Sweden, 16 June 2011 as part of the International ACSIS Conferences Current Issues in European Cultural Studies. Together the scholars participating in the Crafting knowledge-session were covering a range of subfields of craft studies today.

The session focused on the explorative question of what an academic approach that put craft theory into practice and made craft practice into theory would consist of. This is also the main question asked in the paper “Crafting Knowledge?” that recapitulates and contextualises the outcome of the session.

The paper draws up tentative categories for how research in, on and through craft can be done. By framing the knowledge emerging from craft and crafting some theories and methods of crafting are discussed. The crafted artefact and the act of making can be considered from many different aspects, for example from an artistic, historical or aesthetical point of view. Conventions of craft, rules about its making, knowledge about and knowledge through craft and crafting are some of the themes presented in a broad scope of cultural studies.

INTRODUCTION

There is a huge interest of craft and crafting in the contemporary society. The Internet is full of craft communities and of tips and tricks for the one who wants to learn more about making things, about techniques and results. Patterns, materials and tools can be bought and delivered from one part of the world to another. The DIY (Do It Yourself) movement is widely spread, contenting people of different parts of the society and of different generations. At the same time professional craftspeople are highly appreciated, for example within the fashion industry. Without highly competent leather craftsmen, there will for example be no exclusive designer bags on the market. But craft and crafting is by no means something new, human being has always been makers and creators of things. To be skilled and competent has been defined as capable of using tools, of finding material and for using this to create useful and beautiful things.

Though craft and crafting is – and always has been - a central part of being and of human culture, these aspects are seldom discussed and researched from an academic point of view. This article is an opportunity to frame some of the ongoing research projects within the craft and crafting field and at the same time discuss some theories and methods used. One example of approaching this field is a project we have been designing for some time. From different point of views (Johanna Rosenqvist is an art historian and Anneli Palmköld an ethnologist) we have come to take an interest in how crafting, gender and performativity intertwine. The project is aimed at examining how craft is performed in different spatial and temporal situations. The starting point of view is that situated performing bodies and their movements are central to what is produced, what materials and tools are being used, and with what intentions. By investigating the performative aspects of craft we want to identify how notions of gender are renegotiated by the practitioners, who, through their choice of visual representation can confirm or challenge the importance of art and other related practices. Inspired by Judith Butler's theories on gender that is concerned with "doing" rather than "being" we want to look at craft from a gender perspective on what is being done. One important aspect of this investigation is to develop methods for participatory research, thus contributing to new methods analyzing what happens in the processes of doing arts and crafts. Gender and performativity is one way to examine craft and crafting alongside many other ways to do research on this field. In the following we will discuss some of those from different perspectives that we call research in, on and through craft. The intention is to briefly explore how craft research can be done in various fields today.

PREVIOUS RESEARCH

International craft as a part of the Do-It-Yourself-movement is an area that has generated an increasing interest over the last few years, in part popularized through new social media (Greer 2008, Adamson 2007, Åhlvik & von Busch 2009). Many practitioners are interested in communicating their material and methodological as well as conceptual aspects of their work. This is a process of verbalizing their silent - or previously silenced - knowledge. Art historian and art theorist Jorunn Veiteberg gives many examples of it in her book *Craft in transition* from 2005.

In 2007 Nina Bondeson and Marie Holmgren published a book about the practical and conceptual aspects of art production. The book is an appeal for recognition of practical knowledge. It brings together the authors' own and others' practical experiences of communicating through their works. Practical art production is in the book defined as the art form that does not depend on text or spoken language for communication.

Through research in our respective fields of research (ethnology and art history), we observed differences and similarities concerning production in different working conditions. In art history research on craft is mainly focusing on the artefact and the artist in relation to a

context of art institutions (cf Robach 2010) as well as contextualizing the craft field itself (Zetterlund 2006 and Rosenqvist 2010). In ethnology Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius has successfully used Actant Network Theory to broaden the scope of the individuals, the objects and their relations when looking at the home- or handicraft movement from an international perspective (Hyltén-Cavallius 2007). Rosenqvist has previously, in the thesis *Könsskillnadens estetik? Om konst och konstskapande i svensk hemslöjd på 1920- och 1990-talen (An Aesthetics of Sexual Difference? On Art and Artistry in Swedish Handicraft of the 1920s and 1990s)*, examined the specific expression of Swedish handicraft has been in different time periods, as seen in relation to the avant garde and contemporary art (Rosenqvist 2007). Palmsköld has in her thesis *Textila tolkningar: om hängkläden, drättar, lister och takdukar (Textile interpretations)* examined how a group of woven interior textiles have been interpreted in different times and place by studying the conditions for manufacturing and use from a gender perspective (Palmsköld 2007). Our special joint interdisciplinary experience derived from the textile field, which is often associated with women and with femininity (Parker 1996). This is further problematized in the anthology *Den feminina textilen* (Svensson and Walden 2005) to which Rosenqvist and Palmsköld both have contributed.

RESEARCH IN, ON AND THROUGH CRAFT

How do we approach the craft and crafting field in order to examine it from different perspectives? We have chosen to talk about research **in**, **on** and **through** craft to describe three possibilities. By categorizing the approaches, we want to highlight the intentionality from the researchers perspective. To be a crafter, designer or artist doing research from within ones professional field, means for example doing research **in** craft, its materials and its methods. From this perspective the questions asked are related to professional skills in doing things. On the other hand to be for example an art historian or an ethnologist means to do research **on** craft, examining different perspectives when looking at craft from the outside and in a wider context. Questions asked can be related to time and space, to aesthetically or cultural historical discussions or to economical perspectives etcetera. To talk about research **through** craft means on the third hand, to start by examining craft and crafting, and by studying this catching sight of other related perspectives and knowledge.

Research in craft

Our stipulated category **in** craft means that research is made from within the field of craft. The aim of the research is to understand the possibilities in doing, making, and creating objects. It can be a question of developing the craftsmanship, as in the case of the work in Hantverkslaboratoriet (or the Craft Laboratory in english) at the Department of Conservation in Mariestad at the University of Gothenborg (Löfgren 2011). The aim of the Craft Laboratory is to develop a better understanding of craft and crafting in the field of conservation. What methods has been and can be used in different conservation projects, which materials, tools and crafting methods are to be preferred and of which consequences. Another example of doing research in craft is the textile designer Britt-Marie Christofferssons work on knitting, when she for some decades has examined the technique using the question: What can one create from a pair of needles and some yarn? (Christoffersson 2009). The creator is in this example a textile designer combining her skills as a crafter and designer in order to make aesthetically interesting surfaces and expressions.

The designer Otto von Busch's extensive research could be categorized in more than one way. As for example in his presentation for the conference Otto von Busch made his paper into an exploration of the notion of "protocols". This could be the case of framing knowledge *about* craft, stating how all collaboration needs rules and that protocols are essential parts of social fabric of conventions and formalities. Protocols are used to reduce friction of the

thoroughly ritualized procedures and communication formats. However, when we bring his research in to the in-craft-category we argue that his main concern is to develop methods for working within the craft field, with the subfield sloyd as a venue. In his thesis Otto von Busch began a fruitful search for analogous or metaphorical stories (of for example hacktivism) to base his models for the world of engaged fashion (von Busch 2008). Now he turned his eye on the world of sloyd and tries to short circuit it with the world of collaborative music making and other makers. The traditional crafts share much of the same tools, materials and interests, von Busch states in his paper. Historically as well as today this has been the case. Still there is much emphasis on the individual genius rather than joint ventures or “co design”. He uses Kevin Kelly’s categories of what might promote a ”scenius” instead of genius, or as von Bush says ”the best of peer pressure”: Mutual appreciation; Rapid exchange of tools and techniques; Network effects of success; Local tolerance (Kelly 2008) to analyze craft scene could be like scene. The empirical study has just began and it is possible to follow the process at <http://www.opensloyd.org>.

Research on craft

If research on craft is a meta level of examining craft maybe we all start here to map out the framing of the field of research. Palmsköld and Rosenqvist have in their previously mentioned research been examining the terms and the frames of handicraft in relation to art and other related institutions such as “sloyd” or “folkart”. The ethnologists Viveca Berggren Torells and Eva Knuts are examining companies producing craft. Their ongoing project “Design, craft and culture” focuses the companies Vävkompaniet and Designbrenner. By investigating “cultural meanings expressed by the craft-practitioners themselves”, questions concerning definitions within the craft field are highlighted. In interviews the practitioners has been asked about what they call their production; the results and why definitions matters is discussed in the paper. Asking people owning and working in companies producing craft is an interesting point of view, often neglected in the battle over definitions such as sloyd, art, craft or design. For the companies definitions can be crucial when it comes to marketing and customer relations; and for the practitioner themselves it is a matter of identity in the professional field. Their research is firmly rooted in methodological discussions concerning visual ethnography and theoretically in the concept of knowledge in action (Pink 2007 and 2009, Molander 1993).

The artist Frida Hållander is consistently trying to prove how the arts & crafts-discourse is being made not only in texts but also in objects and their making. She insists on working on a meta-level and speaks of her contribution as a paper “on craft.” But the approach also implies a practice-based survey, which results in different doings. Hållander suggests (as an hypothesis in her paper at the ACSIS conference 2011 as well as her ongoing research process for her PhD-thesis at Konstfack University College of Arts, Crafts and Design) that the craft practice is a method to problematize and criticize our material culture. She works in a material feminist tradition trying to break up the dichotomies of for example culture versus nature and mind versus body where the one and the other are being given equal importance, such as material and bodies in relation to language (cf Kirby 2006). She puts the theory into the test in a radical gesture by literally crossing out the word craft in the notion of arts & craft – or rather making unhandicraft of the handicraft part of craft by spelling it “konstantverk”. In this hands-on-method of making her mark on the graphic representation of the words she brings in the materiality of the practice and the objects into her writing practice that refutes the hierarchical definition of the crafts from the point of view of the privileged position of the arts while calling out for a radical non-essentialist understanding.

Research through craft

Researching through craft is a way of understanding the field from within but not with the actual craft and crafting processes in focus. Frida Hållander coined the “through craft” as a matter of examining her own trade by exchanging skills with other crafts people. By using the actual practical aspects of craft, it seems to be possible to examine her craft (ceramics) through the eyes of others’. Hållander’s method – “Micro Craft Studies” as she calls it – is represented by the brief study of a class in food sculpting as held by Jurairat Nohom, reflecting on its making of a watermelon. The theory Hållander brings into the discussion is the “attached idea” of knowledge or what could be described by Karen Barad as: an ongoing intra-activity (Barad 2003). In this case between a craft objects and the craft makers.

By using the practical aspects of craft, it seems to be possible to examine and comparing practices in a broader sense. This approach seems to be the result of the relatively new advent of the artistic field of research in academia. To name examples from outside the session room in Norrköping 2011, there are related doctoral thesis in the making where the joint venture of Åsa Ståhl and Kristina Lindström is worth mentioning. They have been writing about the project *Threads -- a Mobile Sewing Circle*, which is designed to support conversations and other means of communication, also looking at how the things produced in the sewing circle might support longer-lasting, future conversations. (Lindström & Ståhl, 2010). Their artistic and academic collaboration is further developed, and at the moment the two are doing a collaborative PhD-project at Malmö University (see <http://www.misplay.se/>).

With a background in textile design and education, teaching textiles in the fashion department of Parsons The New School for Design, David Goldsmith does his action based doctoral research at the Swedish School of Textiles at the University of Borås. “Could fashion learn from fermentation?” is a question asked by Goldsmith when presenting his research project on a small-scaled linen production company in Sweden called Våxbo Lin (cf Goldsmith 2011). The company is based on historical connections to the locally early linen production, as well as craft skills and material, technical and design knowledge. In a metaphorical sense fermentation processes can be compared with small scale textile production, according to Goldsmith. In both cases one is dealing with slow processes – slow food and slow fashion. The critique of the fashion industry from a political, environmental, postcolonial and sustainable point of view is an on-going discussion. However Goldsmith means that fast fashion and slow fashion are not to be seen as contradictions; instead both production systems are needed and should be developed in a symbiosis. A close study of the company Våxbo Lin, within the research project, is in this sense an important contribution to the critical and political discussion concerning the global fashion industry and trade. He states that “localized fashion textile production and use” could be a solution to avoid the disadvantages and “problems of globalized mass-market fashion.”

So what can be learned from this? Andreas Nobel brings forth the underlying disturbance caused by the ancient old hierarchical division between technical and textual knowledge. Nobel is a well known interior designer and a PhD student at Konstfack University College of Arts, Crafts and Design. In his contribution to ”Crafting knowledge” session he described how artistic academic practices have tried to expand the category of knowledge by ”making visible different sorts of practical *knowledges*.” And he refers to recent examples of what’s at stake in the academic turn of craft education where the increased handling of texts is outmaneuvering the craftsmanship. The danger of ”gradually textualizing” a tacit understanding has been voiced before (Ong 1990). Now Nobel raises the stake by claiming his rights as an artist to leave something to the interior design to communicate (or not).

FUTURE RESEARCH

Researching craft and the knowledge it creates can be seen as something benefiting cultural studies simply because human beings are interacting with things as users, makers and creators of things. In formulating the call for the session "Crafting knowledge" we anticipated a focus on the thing and its history, the crafted artefact and its interpretation. Instead the participants all focused on doing or the making of craft. The important aspect of what can be known, acknowledged and said and by what means, is brought up by the artistic researchers. The written word and text are not the only way of communicating, as stated repeatedly.

In future projects we want to further analyze and develop interdisciplinary approaches for the understanding of craft. It seems crucial to examine how craft is performed. We relate the context to the discussion on gender and performativity as expressed by theorists like Judith Butler and Iris Marion Young, (Butler 2007, Young 2008). Butler describes gender as a "stylized repetition of acts" which expresses itself in gestures, movements and styles (Butler 2007:219). The attributes ascribed to gender are performative, she says. Young's study of what it means to be "throwing like a girl" involves examining the movements physically as well as their spacial setting (Young, 2008). She tries to explain how the expected feminine expressions of the female body are creating physical limitations. With Butler's and Young's theories as a foundation we want to investigate the performative aspects of practical skills by focusing on how notions of gender are in practice in different artistic genres.

When taking part of Frida Hällander's discussion, we were inspired to separate the notions of craft and crafting in three aspects: in, on and through. These aspects are useful to think with when doing craft studies. We do not see them as separated from each other but rather intertwined.

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Paper from the Conference “Current Issues in European Cultural Studies”, organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 15-17 June 2011. Conference Proceedings published by Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=062. © The Author.

KONSTHANTVERK **Crafted Vernacular -A practice based research through Craft**

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The paper intends to expand and deepen the field of craft, underline it and dissolve it and thereby demand new points of reference to work from, and doing so through the practices of crafts. Craft is traditionally closely linked with what we could define as a well-established concept, within a so-called Swedish identity. I will highlight different “pottering” works and should be seen as a variety of crackdowns, both historic and contemporary, where the object is to highlight the most relevant dominion in the crafts discourse. The paper also discusses knowledge of bodily work, the handicrafts of a fruit-carving artist and the hands-on-method of crossing concept: ~~konsthantverk~~. From this a micro cosmos is reflected; these heterotopes represent and resonate, “are”, in this sense, antagonistic practices. We are dealing with power relations, bodily work, plastic flowers, watermelons, values, intra-activity, with the authentic - as well as with the technicalities of cutting the flesh out of a watermelon.

INTRODUCTION

The paper will give a general introduction to the composition of the topic and structure of the dissertation project that is in its initiation, 2010-(2014): Crafted Vernacular - A practice based research through Craft, at Konstfack College University of Art, Craft and Design and the National research school in the field of arts.

Craft is today a well-established concept within the Swedish identity. But what is not made explicit in today's Craft discourse? Whose practices matter? Whose body counts? The project will highlight craft's strong discursive relationship to the construction of the vernacular element, which focuses on various artifacts and practices local, dialect and folk elements.¹

One of the core elements and one thing in particular about the research that lies in practice based surveying is that it can result in different doings, in different ceramic pieces. My departing point is my practice as a ceramicist. This also means that the significance of the dissertation project is that I intend on asking the questions from within the actual discourse. By that I mean that the central part of the approach is that the study material is regarded on a meta-level (*on* rather than *in*). But the approach also partially implies *in*; the particular thing about the study lies in the practice-based survey, which results in different doings, in different ceramic pieces. The craft practice is like, I suggest in this text, a method to problematize and criticize our material culture.

MICRO CRAFT STUDIES

To investigate what political and value hierarchies that exist in a craft field is this article's primary aim, and will be devoted to a few selected parts of a initial working method entitled: "Micro Craft Studies". I will then highlight some aspects of those Micro Craft Studies and in addition draw analogues to a contemporary craft field. The research aims to develop heterogeneous readings through the craft field, and will comprise of different crackdowns in practices and theories. According to recent material-feminist theories, the act of crossing out the concept of *hantverk* and the handicrafts of a fruit-carving artist could be applicable in looking at the fields of craft. My ambition has been to legitimize another perspective on craft than the idea of the privileged object canonized during modernism.² One of the studies started at a fruit decoration course with Jurairat Nahom, 2011-04-03.

first two cuts with the knife, then you must remove, remove the meat, otherwise
the flower is not visible

The material understanding, the technicalities, the hardness, succulence and the angle of the knife of cutting the flesh out of a watermelon, that knowledge Nahom has in her body, since the handicraft course at the Primary School in Thailand. This knowledge, that she is passing over to me, how could we look upon this? In recent discussions of artistic research, Susan Kozel mentions that, writing and thinking are practices, just as moving and making are highly conceptually driven. She mentions Merleau-Ponty's notion of reversible or 'chiasmic', where

¹ Vernacular is a term which refers to a archaic language or dialect. There is no direct synonym in Swedish. In Norstedts English-Swedish dictionary, the word is translated to: native, local, popular, popular language, a poem in dialect, mother tongue, local dialect, community dialect, local word, ethnic language. In other words, vernacular represents objects and phenomena which are not formulated by an urban establishment, but rather passed down locally.

² See for example Adamsson, Glenn (2007): *Thinking through Craft*, p. 15, where he discusses the craft concept as something outdated and preserved in relation to contemporary art.

the subject can be seen as two positions reflecting upon one another. Subject and object do not just reflect upon each other, they are attached, as are practice and theory (Kozel 2010:206). This “attached idea” of knowledge could be as Karen Barad calls it - an ongoing intra-activity, where the intra-activity creates a sense of how the world is like, both in language and the body - the material from doing (Barad 2008:134-135). The craft knowledge therefore, with the help of Barad’s theories can be understood as a result of complex intra-activities that explicitly involve both human and nonhuman organisms, cells and discourses, which materializes as subjectivity. With Barad’s theories of intra-activity, it becomes possible to understand how the body materializes in a continuous flow of intra-activity both in and outside of what we regard as physical bodies. The body materializes intra-actively by putting itself in connection with other cells, organisms and discourses. By connecting to the other living and nonliving organisms the entity expands and is constituted again and again as something new. This embodied knowledge through craft: We are all embodied through other bodies construct the notion of inter-subjectivity. We are in a way inter-cooperated with other bodies and cannot separate other humans from our selves.



I would like to proclaim:

-A piece of meat is activated in crafted production.³

The bodily work, that hand, the craftsmanship of cutting the flesh and meat of a watermelon is a big part of how the craft field is formulating itself.

The handicrafts of a fruit carving artist is also highlighted in the dissertation by Charlotte Hyltén-Cavallius. She highlights practices and questions surrounding the aesthetics of handicraft, how they are shaped and reshaped in the intercommunication between local and

³ Inspiration from: 'A piece of meat activated by electric waves of desire, a text written by the unfolding of genetic encoding. (Braidotti 2000: 159 s. 155)' (van der Tuin 2010:155).

international handicraft. The discussion is interesting in regards to handicraft and authenticity, what is authentic is defined by use of natural materials, colours and techniques, and what is not authentic in this regard is labeled artificial (Hyltén-Cavallius 2007:113-114, 219). This question is put to the test when we take a look at the Sami crafts which were not documented in Lilli Zickerman (1859-1949), archive.⁴ Zickerman means that in its foundation, the Sami crafts are interesting, as it is manufactured both by men and women, but materials such as reindeer horn, threads made of animal ligaments and must be seen as primitive and could therefore not be appreciated outside of its cultural sphere. The question is revitalised again when the Thai Cultural Association, with their nylon stocking flower were not admitted into the yearly International Native Costume Day at Skansen in 2003 (Hyltén-Cavallius 2007: 113-114, 219). One significant factor in what may be included in a handicrafts and craft discourse, is *whose* hand has been crafting. To connect the doing of the hand to an individual is the core of the discussion surrounding crafts.

I am coming from a field of contemporary craft that has for many years discussed the notion of the relationship between the two concepts of *Konsthantverk*, *konst/hantverk* (art/craft). The theories of much material-feminist literature (such as Barad) could be applicable in looking at craft discourses and its constant negotiation between the concepts of *konst/hantverk*. The purpose in material-feminism is to bring the material into the forefront in the notion of gender and contradict the notion where many feminists have turned their attention to the socially constructed models where the language, the linguistic and discursive have been a central part to the deconstruction of gender (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008: 1-17). In this, there is the material-feminist desire to break the dichotomies of culture/nature, etc up. As Vicki Kirby (2006) writes in “Judith Butler’s Live Theory”, there she is contributing the material feminism with a discussion on power structures and dichotomies that are broken up and that everything is side-by-side: nature and culture, subject and object, masculine and feminine, material and human bodies, etc. and thereby given the same agents and value. I could make an analogy between the power relationship in the conceptual pair – mind/body – with the concept of *Konsthantverk*, *konst/hantverk*. An additional analogy: ~~Konsthantverk~~, this crossing of the concept of *hantverk* inspired by the text "Language, Power, Performativity - excitable Speech" (Kirby, 2006:84) where ~~nature~~ is crossed out. What is the consequence of crossing out the concept of ~~hantverk~~?

The explicit-flowered, the decorated homes, plastic flowers in ceramic vase has been central in my study.⁵ Which is something the anthropologist Ondina Fachel Leal also talks about in the text *Popular Taste and Erudite Repertoire – The place and space of television in Brazil are also talking about*. Leal examines two homes and their aesthetics, crafts and floral arrangements in Brazil. She highlights the plastic flowers in gold colored vases and find them

⁴ Lilli Zickerman was born in Skövde 1859 and died 1949. She was educated at the Handarbetets Vännerns sällskap och vävskola (The Friends of Handicrafts School of Sewing and Weaving) in Stockholm. In 1899 she started the association Svensk Hemslöjd. Zickerman’s archive consists of twenty four thousand hand painted photographs (with partly coloured surfaces), they are mounted on cardboard as plates and then placed in storage boxes. In 1899 she started the association Svensk Hemslöjd. Zickerman, Lilli (1910-1931): Lilli Zickerman, see Lagerbielke Gunilla & Silfverhielm, Maria 2000, *Den dolda skatten. Lilli Zickermans samling*. The original Lilli Zickerman collection is found in the archives in Nordiska museet.

⁵ The decorated home, it explicitly flowered in contemporary form discussion and crafts area has previously been discussed, for example, including in 1964 by Lena Larsson (1919-1999), see "En smakfull tillvaro", ("A tasty life") "Stockholmsstidningen", *Crafted form*, p. 56. See also Ahl, Zandra & Olsson, Emma (2001): *Svensk Smak – myter om den moderna formen*. (Swedish Taste - myths about the modern form). Or Hermansson, Karin Kakan (2010): "My lesbians funeral", *Vernacular Craft*.

interesting because they are found even in houses that have real flowers planted in the courtyard. From that she stresses,

In a class society, taste situates its generative locus of significance in the dominant culture or the representations that the other social groups make about what the dominant culture is. Thus, the working class imitates what it takes to be the aesthetic elements of the upper class, while the upper class studiously appropriates and labels as 'folk' and 'art' handicrafts, everyday items, and sacred objects from the others, and reconstructs them as exotic other.⁶

Leal examines the classification of the concepts such as "hand-made" and "rural folk objects". Here she states that the working class imitates what it takes to be the aesthetic elements of the upper class, while the upper class carefully adopts and labels as 'folk' and 'art' handicrafts, and in this reconstructs them as exotic other. In this we could stress how the craft fields have been (and still are) formulated from a perspective of keeping an essentialist understanding of craft and the idea of "authentic craft" is relevant to discuss? Taste according to Leal, is often considered to be a very subjective and individual notion, but it is in fact a social standard that establish power relations.

One significant factor in what may be included in a handicrafts and craft discourse, is *whose* hand has been crafting. To connect the doing of the hand to an individual is the core of the discussion surrounding crafts. I would claim that the other is an ideological process which isolates groups (here artifacts) which are considered different from the given norm. I claim in the same way that the things we use are similarly constructed of cultural and social codes. We attribute the artifact hierarchies, class and position stemming from the normality which is formulated by hegemonic structure.

Although the two "Micro Craft Studies"; crossing out the concept of *hantverk* and the handicrafts by the fruit-carving artist Jurairat Nahom, have different artistic and visual strategies, they both contribute to construct the notion of craft. The analogy I draw from Kirby previously could perhaps draw attention to the power relationship on which art has often overshadowed the concept of craft. It could also possibly demonstrate the power relationship that exists in a class and gender perspective, where it is often the female practitioners that dominated the handicrafts fields from the differently structured male-dominated professional fields of art (Rosenqvist 2007:6-10). Here perhaps we can enter the discussion on emotional subjectivity in crafts, unlike the independent objectivity in art with their male overtones in the forefront. Could crossing out the concept of *hantverk*, and the practice of fruit-carving start a negotiation on what could be included as a well-established, deep-rooted concept within Swedish identity? Following, could those aspects of "Micro Craft Studies" reflect and discuss crafts conception as authentic, or give a horizon of the crafts matter in a material culture?

Chantal Mouffe asks in the text "Artistic Activism and Agonistic Spaces", on whether the antagonists movements or an artistic practice can be a way to create opposition, have a decisive role, in a society where the distinction between art and advertising have become blurred and where artists and cultural workers have become a necessary part of capitalist production. We can look at the craft practices as taking an antagonistic approach in relation to the idea of hegemonic order. (I would like to clarify that I am in the "craft practices" includes any practice, my, Nahoms or any other practitioners.) This antagonistic model will attempt to reformulate, disarticulate an existing order so as to install another form of hegemony practices. Mouffe again:

⁶ Leal Fachel, Ondina (1990): "Popular taste and erudite repertoire. The place of television in Brazil".

Today artists cannot pretend any more to constitute an avant-garde offering a radical critique, but this is not a reason to proclaim that their political role has ended. They still can play an important role in the hegemonic struggle by subverting the dominant hegemony and by contributing to the construction of new subjectivities.⁷

Mouffe attempt in the text to describe the artistic practice as an antagonist, but also as an antagonist who has "lost" his position to be critical of current hegemony. But she also considers that we can look at each practices as negotiations, that they contribute to the construction of new subjectivities. Mouffe ideas could we apply to the crafts field. Then we can speak of an antagonistic craft, but also a flattened(craftless) craft. Mouffe denounce an articulation of the various struggles to create a chain of equivalence between them. An agonistic practice also describes that there are a manifold of ideas who will describe a field. Also a manifold voices who are silenced within the framework of the existing hegemony of craft. This articulates that there are not a singel craft, it's a pluralistic activity that formulates the idea of crafts.

SO, WHAT IS AT STAKE?

Although I would like to discuss the craft fields in plural, there are disagreements about what is contained within that concept. The example given on the Thai cultural association with their nylon stocking flowers, that were firmly rejected by the handicraft advisers, raises this question, and shows how essential and significant the issue is, and shows also how excluding and normative the field of craft is as a field. The project stems from the questions: how is craft formulated today? What is its practice and context? The intention of the project is to discuss what might be encompassed in an expanded concept of craft, and wishes to, above all, give prominence to certain aesthetic practices which are not described as an established idea of craft. The topic was also intended to be examined departing from the concept vernacular that refers to the local, dialectal and popular aspects of these practices. In crossing out the concept of *hantverk* and the handicrafts by the fruit-carving, I have displayed contradictions to what craft implicate and driven the question of what craft represents today, and thereby made visible its practice and context. I want it to be a means of opening the crafts discourse to many different types of "doings" and classify them as craft. What is materialized by crafts is political, and it can make visible a variety of value hierarchies.

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Photo:

"Watermelon by Jurairat Nahom", Södertälje, 2011, photo: Hållander, Frida.

Design, Craft and Culture – Some Remarks on Production of Textile Craft in the Companies Vävkompaniet and Designbrenner

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According to anthropological research it is fundamental that aspects of conceptuality and materiality are tied together in handicraft products. Objects have a social history and a cultural biography as well as a material form (Appadurai 1996). Thus analyzing crafting knowledge must involve both looking for bodily competences performed in the meeting with the materials (hand operations, touch, rhythm etc) and mapping cultural meanings on craft. In the ongoing project “Design, craft and culture” this is done through visual/sensory ethnography. Participant observations with video-filming and interviewing are done at Vävkompaniet, a cooperative running handicraft shop, and Design Brenner, private family company for tufting.

This paper brings up cultural meanings on craft, expressed by the craft practitioners themselves. What producers in both companies tell about work practices, inspiration, how they relate to the textile tradition etc. is discussed. Their definitions of the concepts craft, art craft, sloyd and design are especially highlighted. This is important since debate regarding craft as material expression versus craft as conceptual art implies different focuses when it comes to what counts as important knowledge - skill in using the proper raw material and technique to make useful products, or skill to materialize ideas in creative ways?

“DESIGN, CRAFT AND CULTURE” A PROJECT ABOUT KNOWLEDGE IN ACTION

This paper presents ongoing research in the project "Design, craft and culture" where knowledge in action (Molander 1993) – which has often also been called tacit knowledge (Polanyi 1983) – is analyzed and discussed. The aim of the project is co-production of knowledge between academia and corporate world. Our ethnological research is conducted in, and together with, two small scale textile companies. Therefore our focus is on knowledge required while making or buying woven or tufted products, made in predominantly textile materials. Both companies are situated in Sjuhäradsbygden, a part of western Sweden which is often presented as an area with a rich textile cultural heritage and where textile production still prevails.

The two companies are:

Vävkompaniet A cooperative of artisans founded twenty years ago. The members produce textile craft and run a handicraft shop in Borås together. Recently the cooperative also started an on line shop. In September 2011 eight women are members. All of them weave, but some also do products in other textile techniques like knitting, felting or embroidery. In the shop both artefacts produced by the members and by other artisans are sold. The latter are not only made of textile materials but also ceramics, forging and wood and they are sold on commission. Yarn, made from different materials and some tools for producing textile products are also sold in the shop and exhibitions of craft and art are arranged regularly in a special room.

Designbrenner Since 1980 Designbrenner has designed and produced handtufted carpets. They offer customers a unique service involving both design and colour conformed to every single project. It's a family company situated in Holsljunga, a village in the country-side. Designbrenner do not have a shop. They create carpets on demand. Elisabeth Brenner often is the one that designs and Rolf Brenner is the "engineer". He has invented a tufting machine that makes the work less physical demanding.

From the companies point of view one aim of the project is to better understand the values customers ascribe to craft. Another aim is to "put the finger on" parts of the work (including marketing) that may have become matters of routine. Hopefully the research can contribute to reflections on practices that seem obvious and natural. If the craft practitioners become aware of competences previously hidden in the knowledge in action ideally this can be the base for development of for instance new products or different ways to reach customers. From academic point of view we aim at finding ways to transfer knowledge from practitioners actually working with small scale textile production today, to students who may have the same occupation (or profession?) in the future. In that way we hope education of designers (and if the education in hand weaving will be started again also of artisans) at The Swedish School of Textiles will be anchored in real life.

From this follows that the project has three main purposes: 1. To document craftwork and analyze: Which competences (verbal, bodily, technical and others) are used when performing these textile techniques and when buying craft products? 2. To investigate: What cultural meanings on craft in contemporary consumer society are actualized during the design- and production processes in the companies; from idea and possibly sketching, via the material craftwork, to the marketing and sale of crafted products? 3. To explore: What possibilities do visual methods like photography and video give as mediating tools for passing on knowledge in action to students?

CONTENT AND METHOD OF THIS PAPER

This paper will bring up cultural meanings expressed by the craft-practitioners themselves - like how producers in both companies define the concept art craft and what they tell about

their inspiration, how they relate to the textile tradition etc. Thus mostly it deals with purpose number 2; to investigate cultural meanings on craft.

The project is carried through as a multi-sited ethnography. Methodological inspiration comes to a great extent from the anthropologist Sarah Pink's books about visual and sensory ethnography (Pink 2007 and 2009). We are influenced by the view that embodiment (for instance embodiment of knowing) must be studied as a process integral to the relationships between humans and their environments, which Pink does using the concept emplacement (Pink 2009, p. 25). Our research is also guided by consumer researcher Russel Belk's emphasis on the visual, which according to him may help us achieve a different type of knowledge [from what we would gain from speak or written text] "...especially conducive to the goal of non-positivist research to capture the unique human texture of our informants, phenomena and sites" (Belk 1998, p. 311-312). For instance visual ethnography with videofilming helps invoke an understanding of how people actually perform their work, with different (material) tools and in various social settings (Pink 2007, Sperschnider 2007, p. 274).

Based on the conviction that visual ethnography can be used to study embodiment and emplacement, as they are performed or shaped in an ongoing process, one important research method in our project is participant observation. We are studying the practitioners when they prepare the loom or the tufting machine, and at the same time we ask questions about what they are doing and film their body movements. We have also been walking around for short periods in the craft shop together with customers, while video-filming how they touched, twisted and turned the crafted objects.

The analysis of the video-films lies ahead of us though. Instead this paper draws on transcriptions of recorded interviews with members in both companies which were made to get insight into their previous experiences of being artisans/designers as well as of how they usually perform the process from (design)idea to a complete product for sale. According to professor of philosophy Bengt Molander knowledge only exists in the form of knowing persons and it is always bound to the context in which it is put to use. Thus knowledge in action is situated (used in specific situations) and performed in a personal way. Actually knowledge in action can be considered as reflected experience, which can be used for new actions, in different contexts (Presentation by Bengt Molander at NIH in Oslo 2010-12-14). But if sensory perceptions, included in forming such practical knowledge, are to be mediated to other people, they are inseparable from the cultural sensory experience categories we use to give them meaning. Thus what has been called "tacit knowledge" is not just personal and wordless but also connected to broader discourses and situated practices (compare Pink 2009, p. 35). It can be reflected on, and tentatively be given words (to a greater extent the more the practitioner concentrate her or his attention on bodily sensations) (Schön 1983). Questions and words, uttered in a language which fits the events of the practice, can make the practitioners sharpen their attention and direct it at critical points in the practice that they accomplish (Presentation by Bengt Molander at NIH in Oslo 2010-12-14). By interviewing in a conversation-like way, we and the interviewees together created a space for such reflections, where cultural meaning categories regarding craft work and descriptions of crafting practices were put forward and discussed.

When it comes to Vävkompaniet tape-recorded interviews with five members have been transcribed and used as data here. One woman has been interviewed only during video-filming, which means that her opinions will become part of the knowledge produced by this project at a later stage when the video-films are analysed. Another woman is probably soon giving up her membership in the cooperative because of other work. The tape recorded interview with her has not yet been transcribed, and no decision has been made whether it will be used in the project or not. The last member has not been interviewed at all since she doesn't live near Borås anymore and is less active than the others. Thus it must be emphasized that this

paper will not give a full account of all members' possible standpoints. Designbrenner has been interviewed and video filmed. About five hours of interview/conversation with Brenners have been recorded and data about the company included in this paper descends from the first analysis of this material, made while listening through the material.

DEBATES ABOUT CRAFT AND WHY IT MAY MATTER WHAT PRACTITIONERS CALL THEIR PRODUCTS

Craft has been a debated concept for a long time. It has moved about in the borderland between art and design, and from time to time it has been used as a counterpoint to both "design" and "fine arts" (Ihatsu 1996, p. 22). In the 1980s, when scientific discussions about representation reached craft, there was a debate about craft as handicraft or art. In the end of the 90s when the arts historian Sue Rowley (now professor at a department for Creative Arts) in the book "Craft and contemporary theory", emphasized the need for theoretical analysis of craft practices, there were still different positions concerning the character of craft. The discussion was about craft as a conceptual art form, versus craft as material expression. Some thought the most important feature of craft was the possibility of letting an individual idea (concept) be easily expressed in opposition to the rectification of mass-produced design. Others found materiality more important: that you can see the work of the hand in the object and meet the object with your tactile sense. They stressed skill to use the proper raw material and technique to make useful products, as more important than the idea expressed by the product (Rowley 1997). These different viewpoints seem to exist even today. However the point of departure in our project is that the dualism is not fruitful, since according to anthropological and folkloristic research it is fundamental that aspects of conceptuality and materiality are tied together in craft products. Objects have a social history and a cultural biography as well as a material form (Appadurai 1986). There's no point in dividing artefacts in things for use = craft and decorative things = art since for the user most artefacts can change meaning, from being things for use to being exposed as decorative art (Glassie 1989 referred in Nordström 1996).

Just like Rowley (1997) we believe that different aspects of a crafted product are possible to judge positively depending on if the work is seen as conceptual art or craftwork. The fact that different views of the concept craft exists, side by side, must not be seen as a problem; instead it can be enriching. It can lead craftwork in different directions at the same time and strengthen the position of craft in society. But since our project is about knowledge in action we consider that debate regarding craft as material expression versus craft as conceptual art may imply different focuses when it comes to what counts as important knowledge - skills in using the proper raw materials and techniques to make useful products, or skills to materialize ideas and values in creative ways? Thus, since one aim of the project is transfer of knowledge to students, it is important for us to research how "ordinary crafts people" (unlike craft critics and theorists) understand the concept craft, and what competences they have experienced that you need as a textile artisan today.¹ Therefore we have asked the practitioners in Vävkompaniet how they define the concepts craft (hantverk), art craft (konsthantverk) and to some extent sloyd (slöjd) (English wording from Ihatsu 1996).² In the interviews with Designbren-

¹ Compare Ihatsu (1996, p.124) who gives some suggestions for future research of craft, of which one is to find out how those who work in the field define the concepts they have to relate to.

² Corse (2009) in one chapter focuses relations between the concepts art and craft. Ihatsu adds the concept design (1996). She puts art, craft and design in the corners of a triangular model and discusses concepts which can be seen as placed on a gliding scale between them, among others "art craft". In the research about Vävkompaniet the concepts craft, art craft and sloyd seemed to be the most relevant to discuss, while the concept design was hardly brought up at all.

ner the questions about concepts has not been as visible as in the case of Vävkompaniet (so far). Maybe because Designbrenner has moved around the world and the concept design works “everywhere”. At the homepage (www.designbrenner.se) they use words like: handtufted, custom-made design and unique but not words like craft, art-craft or sloyd.

VIEWS ON THE CONCEPTS CRAFT AND ART CRAFT AMONG VÄVKOMPANIET’S MEMBERS

Most of the interviewees from Vävkompaniet basically define craft as different works done by hand. Two of them say that craft is that which you use – and it is implied that they mean in opposition to fancy goods just to look at. A wooden-shoe and what a shoemaker does are for instance considered craft (Interview nr 7). Other examples come from construction work; different works involved when building a house are seen as craft: “Craft can be for example if you think nice banisters in a house. (...) You can say that’s well done craft, but it’s not art craft!” (Interview nr 7). Another woman mentions that “tiling a bathroom” is craft, and she adds that a painter is also an artisan. So while craft for this woman is connected to work done in/on a building, she thinks that art craft is to “create artefacts”, “things... all around” (Interview nr 6).

Another person says: “Well maybe art craft is more something you stand and contemplate”. But in another moment of the interview she also insists that art craft doesn’t need to be fancy goods, instead it can just as well be utility goods; “some artefact you use” (Interview nr 7). Thus that things are made to be used in everyday life obviously doesn’t count as a dividing line between craft and art craft, according to these members in Vävkompaniet. Products that are useful in a practical sense can be labelled either craft or art craft. But there seem to be a common opinion among the interviewees, that it isn’t suitable to define things made only to be looked at and contemplated just craft, instead they must be labelled art craft. One woman would probably rather use the word react than contemplate though, since she emphasizes that art craft doesn’t necessarily need to be beautiful products, the point is to awaken the spectator’s feelings, and art craft can also be things apprehended as ugly or rather disgusting, which exactly because of that make people react in some way (Interview nr 4).

SLOYD AS THE “THE FIRST REAL CRAFT”?

When it comes to sloyd one of the women, when she hears the concept, thinks of textile techniques she learnt at school, like knitting and hooking. Another of the members in Vävkompaniet defines sloyd as “the old handicraft methods, certain ways to conduct work with your hands: ” She says: “I view sloyd as the first real craft, so to speak” The interviewer asks: “Like a basic form? Then it can develop in different directions?” and she answers: “Yes, I think that’s the way I look at sloyd” (Interview nr 6). According to this way of comprehending the concepts sloyd develops into art craft if the designs of the artefacts are made more individual. Ihatsu in her book about the concepts art, craft and design, brings up something similar when she describes craft as a foundation, that has developed in different directions (1996, p. 78). Referring to Walker (1989, p. 38) she states that historically seen craft preceded both art and design, since both emanated from craftsmen’s workshop skills. In the Swedish context it’s not strange that sloyd is called “the first real craft” since awareness of the historical importance of “domestic-sloyd” (hemslöjd) are spread by every museum with cultural history collections and since the tradition to do sloyd – to work with different fabrication techniques with your hands or simple tools to produce material objects – still is learnt to every youngster in school.

A woman who has been a member in Vävkompaniet for a long time tells that discussions about the concepts have occurred now and then in the history of the cooperative: “We have discussed it at some occasions, where we have had to define something somehow: What is

Vävkompaniet? What do we have [in the shop]? Are we a shop for sloyd? No, we don't think so. Or we? At least I don't think so." She also explains that the word "art craft" on the banderols outside, is not put there to distinguish the goods in the shop from sloyd. Instead it is used to pin-point that you can find much more than woven textiles in the shop even though it's called Vävkompaniet (in English: "The weaving company"), since art craft can be made of so many different raw materials. "Members may think differently regarding what they are doing. Some may have the opinion that Vävkompaniet is occupied with sloyd", she says, but based on what she is doing herself she doesn't think so: "I feel that probably I think of what I am doing as art craft, more than as sloyd because sloyd is more when you repeat something. (...) Like fabricating a fork. Yes, something like this you do on an on again", she says and points at a wooden tool for fork-hooking (gaffelvirkning in Swedish)."I do nothing of the kind! I mean I don't fabricate things that look the same all the time. Instead they are more art craft somehow" she tells about her own products (Interview nr 4).

To her the border between art craft and art seems more complicated (and maybe meaningless?) to define, but at least she seems to emphasize even more that art are unique products: "I think there's only one item. If you do an art object, then, in a way, there is only that one. Because you just produce it once, like a painting. Yes, then it's art". Thus in the concept art you include that it is more unique?" the interviewer asked to get this clearer and she answered: "Precisely. And art craft, I think, can be both. It can be one individual decorative thing, but it can also be an object for use". The design is also important when it comes to what shall be defined as art craft, she claims. It must not be the same design [model] all the time, but a unique form; so that if it is an object for use it has its own expression. Regarding textile work she says that art craft can for instance be about using a combinations of colours that you have never tested before when weaving; "...that you not sit there and repeat" (Interview nr 4).

Another member in Vävkompaniet says it's difficult to label what she is doing, but unlike the woman just mentioned above she hesitates to call what she is doing art craft: "I would like to say craft. There's so many different opinions, but I think art craft actually is an exceptional product, a unique product" (Interview nr 5). By pointing at a table cloth and saying that she can set up the weft in a loom and make ten of the same kind, ten that look all the same, she emphasizes that she is not doing art craft. She describes herself as someone occupied with textiles and a member in a group of crafts persons, not art crafts persons. Unlike what her colleague seemed to think she didn't label her work sloyd though. Actually none of the members in Vävkompaniet have called their own work or their products sloyd in the interviews.

During the interviews Brenners do not speak about their work as craft or art craft. Art and design are probably the more suitable concepts to use when discussing this company's work. Elisabeth Brenner has had exhibitions where she has shown art pieces. She has also worked as a designer at e.g. Volvo and as chief designer at Kasthall (in Kinna). Rolf Brenner is textile engineer. Both Elisabeth and Rolf have worked as teacher and they started a hand weaving company in Swaziland, Africa. They call Designbrenner: consult agency and tufting studio. This signal a more "commercial" orientation than Vävkompaniet but at the same time they do not put much effort into PR, and they have chosen to live and work in the countryside. And as Elisabeth puts it: it's a long way to Stockholm where most of costumers, magazines and showrooms are located. Some of their works has been exhibited in art museums. So they are both working with customers to whom they make "one of a kind" carpets and with more artistic objects. They are more "avant-garde" than Vävkompaniet but at the same time they offer a standard collection of carpets.

VÄVKOMPANIET - MAYBE ART CRAFT, BUT NOT “AVANT -GARDE” ART CRAFT OR DESIGN

Previous Swedish/Nordic research on craft has been done partly within the frame of sloyd-research (slöjdforskning), predominantly occupied with knowledge qualities and learning in sloyd in schools (Johansson 2005, Johansson&Porko-Hudd 2007, Gulliksen&Johansson 2009), and partly within artistic research on (art) craft. The latter has recently become a more vital research area, since higher artistic textile education in Sweden according to governmental decisions now must rest on scientific foundations (compare Konstnärlig forskning Yearbook from Vetenskapsrådet 2006, Bondesson&Holmgren 2007). This literature describes art craft with emphasize on art (or at least artistic expression). The testing of materials, and artistic expressions described in these texts seem to draw on theories and/or experimental practices and a critical reflexive approach that the art craftspersons have learnt during university education. The artistic research (Astfalk&Jönsson 2005, Zetterlund 2006) brings up questions about the design- or creation-process which seem relevant to discuss when it comes to much of the work done in Designbrenner. But spontaneously it feels like the (more or less) conceptual or thoroughly ”material-testing” craft, which is brought up by the artistic research ”plays in another division” than the craft done by Vävkompaniet’s members. None of these two types of research totally captures the work conducted in Vävkompaniet.

When it comes to Vävkompaniet it is not uncritical/unreflexive, but less spectacular and less conceptual craft we study and discuss. One of the members thinks that Vävkompaniet is very important for the type of craftworkers she belongs to: ”Here is a forum for us who are no well-known craft persons... or art craftspersons, but want to get our stuff out and hope for someone to like it. That you can get it out like this makes Vävkompaniet really valuable, I think” (Interview nr 6). Even though the members sometimes show their products at exhibitions (for instance in their own exhibition-room) the main display of their products doesn’t take place in (art)galleries but in the little shop’s shelf or display window.

When asked: ”Art craft, craft and sloyd – what’s your opinion about those concepts and what they would stand for?” one of the women in Vävkompaniet, who had been a member about eight or nine months at that time, answered that actually she has never thought about it. Then thoughtfully she said (not unlike others in the cooperative by the way): “Art craftworkers... that stands for quality. (...) Well, but craft, that can be everything from painting a wall...” and she added that in her opinion art craft is better; more distinguished than craft. The interviewer reminded her that banderols outside Vävkompaniet state that art craft can be bought in the shop, just to implicate that by talking like that actually she stressed that the things sold in the shop are superior in some way. She answered by pointing at different things she had produced, as if she wanted the interviewer to judge by herself if the label art craft was appropriate, and rather humble she said that she is absolutely very happy that her things are allowed to be included in the concept art craft. Then she told a story about the turning point in her life when the seed to seeing her products as art craft was planted.

It happened when she visited the big city nearby (Gothenburg), with the purpose of shopping some clothes. When she tried on some garments one shop assistant said that she needed a shawl around her neck, to complete the outfit: “And then she was on her way out to fetch a shawl. And I said: But I have one myself! And then I spun my shawl around me and both the shop assistants said it was the most beautiful one they had seen in a long time.” She thought that it was “insane” that someone who didn’t know her said that something she had done was beautiful, and that the owner even wanted to discuss if such shawls could be sold in the clothing shop. “And then it struck me, oops, can something I fabricate interest others!?”. That experience altered her view of things she produced: “Then it was not just home fabricated handicraft, instead it was art craft!” Eventually this insight that her production could be labelled art craft led her to become a member in Vävkompaniet. She went there and showed

her shawls for those who already were members in the cooperative. They liked her products and suggested that this woman should be elected to be a new member. But even though she at this stage, as a member of the cooperative for some months, could see her products as art craft her identity had not yet fully transformed: “I don’t view myself as craftsperson! (...) It’s too big for me. It’s not me”, she said (Interview nr 1).

This story shows how textile products become art craft when seen as presumptive goods which can be labelled that way, based on how they are fabricated and how they look – and how the transformation of the products from handicraft to art craft is even more emphasized as their producer enters the manifold arena of art craft (or rather when the producer is allowed to enter this arena, since you are elected to be member in Vävkompaniet.) The story is also an example that it has not been evident for the members in Vävkompaniet, just after they have finished education in weaving, that they can view themselves as art crafts persons.

CRAFT AS A HOBBY AND DESIGN AS A WORK

The women in Vävkompaniet tell similar stories about their education, namely that they as adults, during or after periods of work at home taking care of their children, or after changes at previous workplaces, have attended different part time courses in weaving³ and also longer basic folkhögskole-courses (maybe equivalent to community college courses?). One of the four whose stories have been included in this paper, also has attended the (at that time) two year long university course in hand-weaving, which existed until a few years ago at The Swedish School of Textiles. All of them say that after their different courses they were not at all convinced that they would ever work with weaving as more than a hobby. When asked if she at that point thought her production would be something to sell one of the members exclaimed: “No! No. Just pleasure. Just for pleasure I thought. Just fun to know how to do it. Never thought I would sell. And I still don’t, because I am such an amateur. (...) But now since I have become part of this at least there’s the possibility to put something out here [on the shelves in the shop]. (...) And if you notice that it isn’t sold, well then you have to take it back” (Interview nr 7).

Another woman says in a similar way that she never thought she would be a professional weaver. That she has kept on weaving instead has to do with the positive feelings it gives: “I just fell that the whole weaving-process is so satisfying. All of it! If you like colour and form and creativity. (...) It involves everything, weaving, I think”. About the actual weaving she says: “It is somewhat meditative too” (Interview nr 6). To handle the whole process, from warping to the moment when the weave is cut down, gives lots of different sense-impressions and feelings, and this makes the creative process worthwhile doing on and on again. Reward in the form of money for sold goods is not the driving force for this woman’s creative work, just a possible, positive surplus.

The stories about how textile craftwork, as years have gone by, has been more and more important in these women’s life and how they are torn between supporting themselves (and take part in supporting their families) through ordinary work and finding time to work with their textile craft work are similar to stories told by the ethnologist Ingrid Nordström (1996) who, also based on interviews and observations, compare the creative processes performed by glass craftspersons and textile craftspersons. Not even the woman who attended the university course in hand-weaving knew for sure that she would work professionally with weaving after the education and she still has another work as her main occupation. Regarding thoughts about future work when her education was finished she says: “I wanted to have something which had to do with textiles then. But at the same time I didn’t really know...Actually you

³ Including for some distance-courses where most of the work in the loom has taken place at home.

didn't become anything [as a result of the education]. You got an exam in hand weaving, but it's not that now people think you are that and that, so to speak.(...) I mean if you take fashion design or textile design, well then you are designer or something. But what did we become?" Thus it was not at all self evident that she would run a textile enterprise. Not until two or three years as a member in Vävkompaniet she realised that it was about time to start apprehending her weaving as more than a hobby.

Elisabeth Brenner got her (master) education in design in Hamburg (1969). Rolf is from Germany and is educated as textile engineer. They have been traveling around the globe and worked with textile in various ways. In contrast to the members in Vävkompaniet Elisabeth and Rolf has been working with textile, professionally, for a long time and done it purposefully, both as "free lancer", employees and in their own company.

THE PROCESS FROM IDEA TO TEXTILE PRODUCT IN VÄVKOMPA- NIET - A MATERIAL APPROACH

How the practitioners conduct the process from idea to product seems to a great extent connected to how they view craftwork and how they have learnt to work during their education(s). When it comes to Vävkompaniet it is noticeable that the members tell about a more material and sensitive than conceptual approach to craftwork.⁴ This can be interpreted firstly from answers where the interviewees talk about their choices of different materials as a base for their production. When one woman is asked if she can tell a little about what she has produced during the years – like for instance if she has had different periods when she has made different things, or if some more long lasting directions in the fabrication have existed side by side all the time – she answers by mentioning the textile materials she has been working with, in periods: "I have been weaving wollen fabric, and then also paper-yarn and then with metal threads in it". She further explains that she means warp made of paper-yarn and weft from copper thread, which makes a woven material she later can shape in three dimensional structures (for instance fold). When the interviewer asks how she came up with that idea she tells about the pure lust to experiment: "It was precisely this with the materials. Just have to mix them and see what happens!" (Interview nr 6). Another woman, who works with nuno-felting (felts wool onto silk or cotton fabric) expresses the same lust to experiment without having any hypotheses about what will be the result. She says: "I just enjoy doing it. (...) I enjoy mixing colours and observing what happens and so on" (Interview nr 1).

Secondly members' stories about their appreciations of the textile cultural heritage also convey a material approach to craftwork. One woman especially mentions the old habit to use outworn old textiles for new products, and in connection with this she discusses some different textile materials she has used; as if she views the positive value of tradition, which she wants to convey, as inherent in the materials. She mentions both bear-moss (björnmossa in Swedish) which she has used as weft in door-mats, handspun linen yarn "with splinter and straw in it" used for a table cloth and old linen sheets, which she buys at auctions, cuts and uses as shreds for carpets. Another member sees her own work as part of a textile tradition of working with natural fibres: "Actually I find it hard to cope with synthetic materials. Thus one thing I want is that natural materials not shall disappear. Instead they must be available" (Interview nr 5). The last years she has been working especially with hard fibres like piassava, which she has combined with for instance paper yarn.

And thirdly the material rather than conceptual way to work with craft can be interpreted from answers to the question where the members get their inspiration from. One woman,

⁴ Here we see that we ourselves as researchers mirror the separation between feelings and thoughts/intellect. But no other interpretations based in the interview material have been possible to do here.

when she describes the basement room she works in, gives the impression that she is in the middle of her material; it is like a combination of a storage-room and a workshop where she has her stock of textile materials, tools and yarn on the shelves around her. She says it's rather messy but it's "awesome" to be in that room: "There's needles and there's buttons and knitting pins and sewing-machines. And that I think – I believe – is inspiring! You feel: o, there's that. I have to use it for something. And that! It's like: what shall I produce from that? Think I want to see everything around me" (Interview nr 7).

Lately also another woman has been interested in making use of some old material: "I think, well, what materials do I have at home? (...) And then start looking at it, and from that try to find out what to make out of it" (Interview nr 4). And when inspiration to produce something suddenly comes it's important to go on in the material weaving process, thus this woman says: "I have quite a few looms. (...) Because if you have an idea about something, and there's some other thing in the loom, then you have to do that first. That's not good!" Also a third member when asked: "How does your process look when you produce something? Do you sketch?" says: "I both do it and not do it. Sometimes, but otherwise I just see the material – o, I want to do something from this! Now for instance I have lots of silk fabrics at home, in different green nuances. Thus I am thinking of using them for a bag" (Interview nr 6). So for these three women the textile material is often the starting point and not any idea about a message or value that shall be emitted.

Besides the material itself nature seems to be the most acknowledged source of inspiration for the members of Vävkompaniet. One member tells that it is not in an obvious way though, like "wow, now I saw that tree and that inspired me to do this" [this shape or pattern]. Nature as inspiration for her has more to do with putting herself in a certain creative mode or state of mind: "It is there much of it comes [meaning that ideas arise when she is in the nature] (...) You enter something different somehow; another kind of world". She especially mentions that inspiration for colours comes to a great extent from nature: "Like the combination of colours in a flower" (Interview nr 4). Also others have mentioned that nature gives inspiration especially regarding colours.⁵ The combination of colours then can be tested in yarn by the material sketching techniques to wind yarn around a piece of cardboard, which probably was taught at the weaving courses they have attended, or to use strips of coloured paper which are woven together to test new bindings and how colours influence each other. Also weaving a sample is a material way to test the technique. One woman tells: "I am not very much in favour of having any grandiose picture of what it shall become. Instead it's more testing and trying, to get forward. And if it becomes rubbish you throw it away. And it has to further mature for a while. And in that way you have worked yourself through it, and then you can go on with some other thought. So I can feel that I make a sample in the actual weave I am working with" (Interview nr 4). "Learning by doing!" one member says and laughs (Interview nr 1).

Sketching is by the way an occupation these members in Vävkompaniet do not tell a lot about at first. But when asked they mention that they do sketch now and then, with a pen, coloured pens or with aquarelles. One approach to sketching is to do it without any particular purpose, not intended to clarify how a certain product shall look, but just because the lust to sketch appears. They keep their drawings and may find parts of them useful later. One woman tells that besides finding inspiration in textile materials, which she has told about already, also another type of process can take place: "I can walk about a rather long time, thinking of

⁵ There's also "an exception to the rule" consisting of a woman who says that she is not inspired by nature. Instead she has to view objects, for instance at exhibitions, to get inspired. Then she can imagine things she can make herself, in other materials, colours, shapes – but with that which has been made by others as the starting point for her alterations.

something. Find inspiration in books and have some kind of idea about something. (...) When you have reached that far, I am rather certain what I want to do. Then I can draw something”. (Interview nr 4). Sketching at that stage can be good because “then you can see that it works!” as another member puts it (Interview nr 6).

FROM ORDER TO OBJECT AT DESIGNBRENNER - SKETCHING, TECHNOLOGY AND SMALL SCALE PRODUCTION

Elisabeth and Rolf do, so to speak, have parallel carriers. They both produce objects that are considered art. Sometimes they exhibit their art objects at galleries or museums. Elisabeth is very inspired by the plaited hair styles of Swazi women. In her art she also works with other materials than textile. She often uses mundane things to create her art, like rubbergloves, plastic packaging material, old books and iron gratings. Rolf uses the tufting machine in his art. He likes to play with optical illusions. On the other hand they make carpets to customers on demand. A process that sometimes includes doing things they themselves don't find beautiful or interesting. Some architect offices use Rolf skills to tuft. They send him a Photoshop “picture” that he makes into a carpet.

In interviews with Elisabeth sketching has been discussed. A “typical” assignment starts with a meeting with the customer. Elisabeth wants to see what context the carpet will be in. She considers the form of the place, other objects in the place and function. After the meeting Elisabeth starts to sketch (in aquarelle) and gives the customer some different proposals. They discuss yarn and colours in detail. When the customer has decided what design he or she wants Rolf's work starts. He counts on how much yarn they have to order, he takes Elisabeth's sketch and via Photoshop he turns it into a jpeg file and loads it into the specially built machine. He prepares the background and starts to tuft (which isn't quite as simple as it seems here!). Neither he nor Elisabeth uses the tufting machine to create “out of head”, but Rolf talked about students that find it interesting to experiment. One started the machine and changed yarn randomly. Elisabeth and Rolf seem to see the carpets as a way to get “daily bread”, even if the process contains many creative aspects they seems to be, maybe, a little too skilled at what they are doing! There are no surprises any longer.

BRIEF CONCLUSIONS

Both Vävkompaniet and Designbrenner are seen as representatives for small scale textile enterprises in Sjuhäradsbygden, but by interviewing members the large differences between the two companies have become obvious to us. Under the label of being textile enterprises of Sjuhäradsbygden some kind of regional identity is created and maintained for those still working with textile production in the area, but various companies conditions of existence differ strikingly much. To further develop possibilities for selling textile products, in forms which these two small scale textile enterprises have shown are negotiable to do in the region, education of new practitioners should include both hand-weaving (and maybe also other textile techniques made by hand or with simple tools), and knowledge about high tech digital textile production tools, like the tufting machine of Designbrenner. Both experientially based competences in handling textile raw materials in craft processes and competences in problem solving and expressing ideas through sketching in design processes are needed, but off course more or less depending on which professions related to textile production the students want to work within.

Another insight we have had is that we have to be very open minded when asking questions about the creative processes involved in design- and craftwork. Many various ways exist when it comes to forming raw material into a product and there are no clear-cut dividing lines between different paths that craft work can follow. It is not right to talk simply about a process from idea to product though, because it is not always mental representations [ideas] that

lead the process in different directions. Instead another kind of reflexivity is often involved in shaping the craft process in a material, experimental way; a bodily reflexivity which occurs in the meeting between the (textile) raw materials and the body movements (the latter either arm/hand movements made to sense and maybe alter different qualities in the material or movements involving larger parts of the body, performed to master various textile tools).

Cultural meanings on what they are doing [what they are occupied with] influence the practitioner's attitudes to their work. Especially the choice to do sketches with paper and pen (or other materials which produce a visual image) or not seems to depend on the practitioners' views of whether they are doing art craft or design. The members in Vävkompaniet, who say they are doing craft or art craft, tell much about material ways of testing what the result will be (winding yarn or weaving a sample). Designbrenner also use such ways to test what the final product will look like. But in the design process made at Designbrenner sketching to define forms, clarify details, solve problems and also to communicate ideas to a customer seems much more important than in the process of craft work as it is described by Vävkompaniets' members. Even though definitions of the concepts art, craft, art craft and design are floating, and they are seen as complicated to define scientifically (Ihatsu 1996, Corse 2009), still in the every day life of craft practitioners perceived differences between the concepts can be important. They concepts thus contribute to shape practices of craftwork in different ways.

The End

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Knowledge is the Answer. What is the question?

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The knowledge base that constitutes the actual making is often overlooked in research within humanities. One explanation for this might be what John Dewey defined as philosophers being obsessed with the problem of knowledge (Dewey 1958: 21) and which Richard Rorty would develop and problematize further in the book *Hopp istället för kunskap* (Rorty 2003). Maybe artistic and craftsman-like making is not appreciated as knowledge simply because these fields do not let themselves be described within the traditional concept of knowledge. It is sometimes hard to isolate what specific new knowledge is produced in artistic craft-making. But, as Rorty points out, knowledge is sometimes a limited and inhibiting way of looking at learning and understanding. Artistic craft-making may not produce documentable knowledge, but on the other hand it seems to be deeply engaged in other fields of understanding that may be just as important as knowledge. Examples of these fields are: Hope, compassion, understanding as such but also as understanding contradictions, spacial relationships, understanding relationships between body and space, past and present and the sensations of weight, color, form etc. (Graff 2007) Harvey J. Graff *Literacy*, Southern Illinois University Press s. 21)The aim of this paper is to provide impulses for further investigations in this field.

KNOWLEDGE IS THE ANSWER. WHAT IS THE QUESTION?

I want to examine my thoughts in action...

I want to do something in order to be able to think

Mies van der Rohe

Not taking so much into consideration what knowledge is according to scholars on epistemology, but rather focusing on how knowledge is understood in everyday life and what effect this concept of knowledge have in practice this paper suggest that vital ingredients within artistic craft-making is left outside the concept of knowledge. Furthermore it claims that this concept of knowledge is inseparably connected to text as the dominating language for communicating and developing this knowledge. This knowledge through text also seems to favor a kind of thinking that leads to straight explanatory answers. This is sometimes a problem. The system is limited and often comes up with simplifying rational explanations while most big cultural issues, are very complex and often irrational. It seems often world politics and world economy is governed more by emotions than by knowledge.

This epistemological conflict between theory and practice is well known and very old. The debate has been going on ever since the division between knowledge and sensuous experience in Greece more than 2000 years ago.¹ But the search for a solution to the problem, a reunion of theory and practice, body and soul has almost always been made through the language of text, and furthermore text has been a part of the solution, has been made a part of the end result. The effect of the invention of abstracting knowledge through text is seldom problematized. It does of course occur all through history but it is remarkably rare and it is seldom highlighted in our contemporary discussions.

Within the fields of artistic research and tacit knowledge the problem of the division between theory and practice is often handled through trying to expand and change the concept of knowledge with the purpose of making room for other knowledges. The means for this project is often language in the form of words and text. The idea is to create new concepts in order to describe and make visible different sorts of practical knowledges.

Without a doubt there is a lot of interesting work being done within this field, yet the project is far from unproblematic. Describing an often wordless and almost always textless practice in words will inevitably have effect on this practice. It will be gradually textualized (Ong 1990) Muntlig och skriftlig kultur, Anthropos 1990. The effects of this textualization needs to be more critically examined.

To ask a nurse, a cabinet maker, or any other practitioner within the field of tacit knowledge, to reflect on his/ hers practice in words is to bring this practitioner closer to the traditional concept of knowledge mentioned above and, in doing so, he/she is distanced from the original practice. It works (consciously or not) as a control system. The demand for reflection in text brings order in the classroom of epistemology. It means one more victory and a further strengthened position for abstract knowledge.

¹ The craft-makers lost their claim to the concept of knowledge when the ionic-thinkers, the natural philosopher's pragmatic, mechanistic and craft-manlike worldview was discarded by the Pythagoreans religious, mathematic and abstract understanding of the world. The early natural philosophers did not separate nature from technology. They were themselves often practitioners. This was before the slave system was fully developed in Greece. The increasing use of slaves later made it necessary for the Greeks to distance themselves from craft and other physical work through emphasizing the importance of the intellect and repressing body and matter. (Farrington 1965: 46).

THE ONE EXCLUDES THE OTHER

Once (knowledge in the form of) text is introduced into a field of practice it tends to multiply itself. Within academia there seems to be a widely spread, and firm, belief in a sort of additive view on knowledge, meaning that all knowledge is good and the more you get the better. It seems urgent to problematize this standpoint. A few years ago Carl Malmstens verkstadskola, a highly prestigious school for carpentry, furniture design, guitar building and furniture renovation, was taken under the wings of this university. For the students who graduated this meant that they got an academic title. It also meant new courses. With the becoming a university level education comes the demand to adopt to the existing academic concept of knowledge. Now students in guitar building had to spend less time refining the craft of guitar building in order to get the time to study courses such as research methods and theory of science. This was one of the reasons why the head of this internationally renowned guitar building education choose to close down the education. He has now restarted the education outside the university environment with, it seems, an improved result. The student don't get any academic title and they now have to pay for their own education but they do get a more relevant education. The time aspect, though important here, is not the most severe effect that this adopting of alien knowledge conventions and tools have on a practice. Irrelevant or peripheral knowledge also seem to have the effect to turn the center of attention in new directions, which often leads to confusion (Josefsson 1991: 17,30). Another common effect of adopting to textual knowledge conventions seems to be that the number of points of views becomes fewer.

The driving force to understand and explain everything sometimes leads to ignorance. Questions like: What do we learn from this? in a school context, or in an art context; What does this mean? are destructive. These are a type of questions which completely misses the target and actually stands in the way of the learning and of the art experience. It is a Misunderstandings like these are most likely an effect of an over-textualized concept of knowledge. Along with text comes the demand and wish to understand it all, to explain, to search for answers. The driving force becomes the will to unveil secrets, to enlighten parts hidden in the dark etc. Within my field, interior design, it is often the very veil in itself, or keeping the secrets behind the veil secret that is meaningful, and enlightenment is interesting only in relation to darkening.

Still confused but on a higher level

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Cloth, Community and Culture: Växbo Lin

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Exploring the example of the linen manufacturer Växbo Lin in Hälsingland, Sweden, this article begins building a framework for the discussion of that, contrary to the dominant fast fashion mass market sector, slower and more localized fashion textile production and use might be both a symbol of and agent for fostering a low-growth economic system, healthier environmental practices, and social vitality.

INTRODUCTION

Four decades ago the British economist E.F. Schumacher spoke about the need to restore small-scale localized alternative production and use systems as a means to counter the environmental and socio-cultural degradation caused by mass-market growth-oriented consumption society (Schumacher). As global environmental, economic, and social crises have come more apparent, pleas for humanity to create new systems that are not reliant on the hegemonic exploitation of natural and human capital have been made by a host of ideologists in many fields of thought and practice. As is well understood, the industrialization of society and unfettered capitalism have brought immense quantities of material wealth to regions of the world along with immeasurable global environmental and social damage. Two centuries ago, the textile sector, here referring mostly to forms of clothing, apparel and fashion, lead the way to automatized and industrialized mass-consumption. In recent decades, what sustainable fashion researcher Kate Fletcher calls “growth fashion” (2010), has become radically more internationalized and distributed in both production and consumption. In an oft-cited study, Pietra Rivoli takes her readers on a tour to the dozens of locations linked by modern transport and communication systems that are involved in the process of making a simple t-shirt. Like other production practices, the deleterious effects are beginning to be recognized and addressed. Yet, while a multitude of mitigating efforts are underway. Since Schumacher’s time, the majority of the clothing/fashion industry has moved to much larger scale and much more decentralized systems. The often environmentally violent and socially disgraceful results of this hyper-attenuated mode have been chronicled by many, most recently by Lucy Siegle in *To Die For: Is Fashion Wearing Out the World?* This is not to say that damages might not also occur in small scale systems, but considering that few small scale systems are in operation, the blame for the damages must fall in the current paradigm.

In *Small is Beautiful*, Schumacher, although writing two generations before today's vastly more *technopolized* (Postman) inter-connected, mass-producing, and mass-consuming world, expresses the urgent need for regionally oriented production and use systems reliant on technologies appropriate to specific places. Recognizing that because we treat the natural world as income rather than capital we are on a collision course, Schumacher states that

(W)e must thoroughly understand the problem and begin to see the possibility of evolving a new life-style, with new methods of production and new patterns of consumption: a life-style design for permanence (21).¹

In arguing for elevating human development over economic development, he calls for the creation of millions of rural and small town manufacturing sites (185) to re-awaken our appreciation of our profound dependence on nature and thereby avoid the destructive effects of mechanized and dispersed production and consumption patterns. Such community-scaled or local sites, instead of prioritizing the production of the largest quantity of goods by the fewest number of people as is usually the case with the high-tech internationally fashion sourcing model, would instead favor lower-tech, locally based systems and solutions that, appropriate to each location, value full employment of humans before full employment of machines. “It is more important that everybody should produce something than that a few people should each produce a great deal” (184).

Schumacher considered three categories of capital: “fossil fuels, the tolerance margins of nature, and the human substance” (21). Whether or not we are at peak oil production, whether

¹ Schumacher's prescient articulation is now widely accepted. Significantly it has been explicitly recognized by the 2011 publication of the first national assessment of the economic value of an ecosystem, the United Kingdom's National Ecosystem Assessment.

or not we can rely for many hundreds of years on new clean technologies for exploiting other fossil fuels such as coal or can shift to renewable sources of energy, it is clear that we have reached the tolerance margins of nature to support the aggregate global pressures of mankind. More recently, Hawken (*The Ecology of Commerce* 14) posits that it is too late for a sustainable economy, and that we must instead create a restorative economy that can potentially repair the damage from already having violated earth's limits:

The economics of restoration is the opposite of industrialization. Industrial economics separated production processes from the land, the land from the people, and ultimately, economic values from personal values. In an industrial extractive economy, businesses are created to make money. Their financing and ability to grow are determined by their capacity to produce more of it. In a restorative economy, viability is determined by the ability to replicate cyclical systems in its means of production and distribution. The restorative economy would invert many fundamentals of the present system...restoring the environment and making money would be the same process.

Many sense or have concluded that the human race has reached some sort of metaphysical or potentially transcendent moment. This shift may be as radical as other major previous historical changes of human history, such as the development of agriculture or the transition from feudal to industrial society. Renowned artist Michelangelo Pistoletto envisions a "third paradise", a new stage of human consciousness that will result in an elegant harmonization of the intelligence of nature and the intelligence of humanity (Pistoletto). In another vision, Jeremy Rifkin speaks of a new era of enlightenment resultant from the evolutionary need to overcome the contemporary calamitous environmental, social, and economic crises that we collectively face. Rifkin theorizes that the advent of instantaneous global communication could provide the means for a new era of humanistic empathy for human differences and communion with nature. Acknowledging Schumacher, Daly, Sen, Latouche, Bello, and other leading figures of the argument for steady-state economies, Peter Jackson has re-emphasized the folly of equating prosperity with growth. Nonetheless, and notwithstanding the increasing number of actions that are being taken to improve things, global material consumption and carbon dioxide emissions continue to increase (International Energy Agency).

One of the smaller-scale behavioral changes occurring in industrially developed parts of the world is the trend toward consuming locally produced food. Shopping at farmers markets², subscribing to community supported agriculture, and home gardening are ways that people are re-connecting with their sources of food. These actions are said to enhance a sense of community, mutual responsibility, and likely lead to better physical health than using large-scale industrial food systems (Pollan; Petrini; Schlosser). In the textile sector, there are very few models of production and use that are as local. The increase in the wearing of second-hand clothing and do-it-yourself fashion are sometimes cited as initial or symbolic indicators or steps toward living within healthier environmental parameters. Moreover, there are thousands of small-scale and bespoke producers around the world, and commerce is growing between craftworkers in developing countries and customers in wealthier countries that are in, in terms of production if not use, more localized than the norm. Whether or not such small producers fit into the rubric of *fashion* per se, they are certainly part of the varied, complex, and overlapping clothing sectors (industrial/artisanal; global/local; fashionable/antifashionable) that must be reconsidered if we are to understand how this vast matrix adds or subtracts to our lives.

² In the United States, the Department of Agriculture reports a 17 percent increase in the number of farmers markets between 2010 and 2011. <http://www.ams.usda.gov>

FASHION

Fashion is defined by almost all who study it to be based on material newness and constant physical change, but its symbolic and expressive value is what distinguishes it from the practical needs that are met with clothing. Welters, in summarizing the consensus, relays that costume historians generally believe that fashion, as it is more or less commonly understood today, began in Europe in the middle of the fourteenth century. At that time changes in dress style began to occur every few generations. If such a clear date cannot be fixed without question (there are many conceptions about what constitutes fashion and therefore when it began) the origin of continually changing fashion is undoubtedly linked with the transition from agrarian to industrial economies (Barnard). With the systemic changes caused by industrial and technological revolutions, the pace of fashion has increased rapidly. The frenzy of iterations is what “sustains” most of the global fashion industry today. Freeing fashion from its compulsion to “eat itself” (Fletcher in Chapman), in other words, decoupling fashion from constant change and mass-market race-to-the-bottom hegemony, would appear to be key to solving environmental, social, and cultural damage that fashion is causing worldwide.

Expanding on what was said above, fashion is a primarily symbolic performance—representing oneself through what one wears, showing that one is both an individual and simultaneously part of a group. Authors describe both the unique aspects and commonalities that are represented by terms such as clothing, apparel, style, fashion, dress, and adornment. It is perhaps useful to note some of the less common terminology. Barnard introduces “anti-fashion”, a term representing symbolic clothing that rarely changes form, such as religious vestments or royal coronations. Kawamura speaks of “opponents of fashion” such as Mary Wollstonecraft who likened fashion to slavery (11). Vinken, in *Fashion Zeitgeist*, calls “postfashion” the dissolution of our borders that mark out stylistic regions (67). Non-fashion cultures might be thought of as those in which dress is indigenous, such as extremely isolated areas of the world, or as happened in China during the Cultural Revolution when trend and individual expression in clothing choices were extremely curtailed.

A half a century and a continent away from the Mao Suit, in the spring of 2011 an advertising campaign by a leading Nordic fast fashion retailer, Gina Tricot, had the tag line “New Fashion Everyday”. The irony of course is that much of Gina Tricot’s products, like so many other fashion retailers’ stock, is made in China. That fashion is intrinsically tied to growth-based capitalist (or at least post-feudal) economies, is no surprise to anyone living in a saturated market economy. In the words of Barnard “fashion follows, almost by definition from this kind of socio-economic organization” (18). In light of what is increasingly understood as a kind of epidemic consumption mania, and with the reminders from scholars that not all clothing is fashion, the question should be asked if what is often called mainstream fast fashion these days should even be described as fashion. In other words, is the stuff most of us are wearing really fashion? A self-evident majority of industrial fashion consumed seems neither to express individuality (how could it when garments are produced in the hundreds of thousand if not millions of identical units) nor membership in a group or class (since the vast bulk of what is consumed cannot be clearly associated for example, with a particular socio-economic group or ethnic identity). It could be argued that mainstream fashion is perhaps closer to pathological behavior than a means to self-expression or symbolic associations.

Reviewing the developing field of fashion studies, Kawamura in *Fashion-ology* notes that fashion “is not visual clothing but is the invisible elements included in clothing”. The mysterious space between the visible and the invisible is a powerful creative driver of fashion; yet class, status, quality, and regional differences that historically were easily apprehended have become much less “seeable” as homogenous fashion has become ubiquitous. Hybridizations and local adaptations are common to specific places (Maynard), but

particularly in the developed world, there is little apparent sartorial diversity. Aspects of a t-shirt wearing individual's invisible reality such as wealth, education, or “class” are fairly undetectable based on garment alone. A top-quality linen yarn might have sheen and a cool smooth hand, but it is imperceptible if it is therapeutic or toxic, hand-cultivated by monks or machine harvested. Fiber origin, the supply and production network, processes, and pricing are invisible to the consumers of nearly all forms of modern clothing. But these unseen realities, as well as visually apparent expressions, such as local interpretations, re-assignments of meaning, personalized alterations of finished goods, recycling of all sorts, are gaining importance in the creation of fashionable clothing. Though linguistically ironic, efforts at transparency via simple hang tags with producers' stories and complex corporate websites with emissions calculators are increasingly communicating invisibilities. It seems to this writer that the symbolic meanings that are conveyed by the invisibilities of fashion may soon conform more to standards of healthy production and use systems. In such a style system, what a garment is will be as important as what it looks like. Perhaps paradoxically this may allow the visible aspects of fashion to become again more diverse, more meaningful, and connected to what Carbonaro has referred to as a new “aesthetics of ethics”. These sorts of apparent and inapparent qualities of fashion are especially relevant today as branches of fashion show micro-signs of evolving from a sector nearly exclusively based on the growth-based global business model to models that are trying to align with the ideals of steady-state, multi-local (Manzini) economies. As will be explained further, the case of Våxbo Lin is a good place to consider what modes fashion might take in the sort of restorative economic models that are proposed for human survival. Before arriving at the discussion of Våxbo Lin, a brief overview of what constitutes fast fashion and a somewhat more in-depth description of slow fashion are given.

FAST FASHION

The United States is habitually shown as the evilest culprit of over-consumption because of its disproportionate use of the world's resources. Yet very high apparel consumption patterns occur throughout the (once upon a time) well-capitalized world. While in theoretical terms there is a significant difference between fashion and clothing, in import-export terms both are aggregated under the term apparel. The majority, in some cases almost the totality of what is worn in the “western” world is manufactured in the “east”. These items are however produced with globally sourced raw materials, and are often finished closer to the eventual market. Undergarments made of American grown cotton might be spun and knitted in Asia, cut and sewn in the Caribbean and then shipped still again to the US for printing, packaging, and eventual sale (Rivoli). In the US, close to 97 percent, and in the UK, close to 90 percent, of clothing is (re) imported in this way (American Apparel and Footwear; Defra). In weight, this accounts for, in the US almost 13 million tons (EPA), and in the UK nearly two million tons (Defra) of clothing per year, most of which eventually goes to landfills (Allwood).

Sweden, the country in which Våxbo Lin is situated, is popularly thought of at the vanguard of environmentalism (The Reputation Institute in The Local), yet in terms of per person use of industrially produced “fashion”, it is similarly profligate to the US and UK. In a recent background paper produced by MISTRA, the Swedish based Foundation for Environmental Research (Cato) the following statistics are given:

In 2008, about 66,000 tons of clothes were imported, equalling 7 kilos per person and representing an increase of 28% since 2002;

13 percent of “direct sale to consumers” in Sweden is clothes and shoes to compare with 35% for food. The total direct sale value was 546 billion SEK in 2007;

Every year, the average Swede discards 22 kilos of clothing and textiles while only 17.5%

goes to reuse or recycling. According to Myrorna [the Salvation Army in Sweden], it collects around one third of this, around 10,000 tonnes per year, mainly for reuse;

94% of women aged 16-24 purchased clothing at least once per month already in 2001.

The total consumption of clothes and shoes in Sweden has escalated during the last ten years.

Millions of individuals are employed, frequently at exploitive wages and in poor working conditions, worldwide in the production of fashion/apparel. Although some are hired to do handwork at points in production where machine use is problematic or impossible, the mainstream textile, clothing, and fashion sectors' modus operandi is to produce more material volume with less human input. This mass-market-production model of manufacturing is the paradigm against which emerging and as yet unknown alternative modes of production and use need to be imagined. Fast Fashion in the context of this paper describes not only business models and consumer behavior patterns that rely on just-in-time production, daily changes of retail stock and style, and high-volume very temporary use, but the matrix of operations and behaviors that could be said to be too fast, whatever its measured absolute speed, to be slow enough to harmonize with humanity's unquestionable place within Bello's "envelope of the environment". It is well-documented and increasingly known to producers and consumers that the dominant global fashion sector is radically unsustainable. Grievous problems include exploitive labor practices (see Ross; Shell; Hawken et al.); toxic production and use practices, (see Slater; Siegle; Defra); and the diversity-diminishing effects caused by monolithic mass-market hegemony (see Maynard; Barnard). This is not to say that the industry is not monetarily successful or that its output is not enthusiastically consumed, nor that the material comfort attained through employment and use of products that the sector provides is not of value. The salient point is that fast fashion practices such as the race to the bottom for cheap labor, the externalization of the cost of natural capital, and compulsive consumption, are without doubt a profoundly noxious set of problems. The apparel system, and therefore the fashion system, needs a deep and lasting re-invention.

SLOW FASHION

The term slow fashion is understood in many different ways but has been in use in the fashion sector since at least 2003 (Fletcher 2011). In *The Ecologist* in June 2007, Fletcher writes:

Slow fashion is about designing, producing, consuming and living better. Slow fashion is not time-based but quality-based (which has some time components). Slow is not the opposite of fast – there is no dualism – but a different approach in which designers, buyers, retailers and consumers are more aware of the impacts of products on workers, communities and ecosystems.

...In melding the ideas of the slow movement with the global clothing industry, we build a new vision for fashion in the era of sustainability: where pleasure and fashion is linked with awareness and responsibility (Fletcher 2007a).

While I find it problematic to reconcile that slow is not the opposite of fast, the essential message is the need for change. In pre-industrial times people were of course intimately connected with the manufacture and wearing of their clothing: All manufacturing could be said to have been slow. Yet just as industrial food production has caused people in highly

industrialized economies to loose basic knowledge of the journey food takes, it is equally if not more so the case that industrial fashion has caused people to be radically detached from all that occurs previous to clothing's appearance at a mall, high street outlet, or supermarket. In "Clothes That Connect", (2007b), Fletcher articulates ways in which individual actions, small-scale production systems, new forms of fashion ownership and use could do a systemically healthier job of fulfilling our practical and expressive needs. Heterogenic and unique styles, changed expectations (clothes that you would not want to launder, or that are pre-ordained to have multiple lives), and the deeper interactions that are encouraged by people connecting through small and knowable networks are among the many potential change agents that fit under the umbrella of slow fashion. In a similar vein, Manzini proposes a "scenario of a multi-local society". In such a society, local products for local markets are essential cultural building blocks. They embody holistic value created through internalizing environmental, socio-economic and political ramifications of their production and use. Products made within these so-called distributed economies are "linked to the place of origin and to the cultural and social values that characterize [or presumably might re-characterize or restore] their conception and production" (Manzini 84). Contemplating how such production and use might be manifest in the realm of fashion—plausibly the most far-flung industry of all—is fascinating.

Although fibers and fabric have been traded long distances and inter-culturally for millennia (silk garments from the east were known in Scandinavia since at least early medieval times), the normal situation in the hyper-commoditized societies of today is for individuals to be out of touch, literally and figuratively, with the complex myriad of resources, processes, and reverberations that come together to provide a sweater or a pair of pants. From the author's personal experience, it is possible to say that very few of the international group of young people who begin their study of fashion design and marketing at a well-known fashion college in New York arrive with enough knowledge of fabrics to confidently know that wool comes from sheep or that polyester is made with petroleum. This comment is not given to denigrate these students. Who among them has had an opportunity to harvest a plant or shear a sheep, run a spinning machine, or know what it is to dress a loom? Apparel production practices are extremely obscured. Such lack of knowledge is noted as a simple measurement of how industrial culture has cleaved the life experience of textile production from the life experience of textile use.

Despite a potential connotation, slow fashion does not aim for a wholesale return to the pre-industrial past. It does however often look backward to models of more locally integrated methods to pair with contemporary knowledge, in the hope for a fundamentally new (fashion) future. In this way, it has like many fashion movements before it, political aims. Slow fashion could certainly be understood as sustainable fashion but slow fashion is preferred here because it perhaps is more easily associated with the dream of a restorative economy. Perhaps the name restorative fashion will someday be employed. An example of pure slow fashion, if it existed, would test the status quo of high-speed constant change and growth in material throughput. Envisioning a new-fashion utopia philosophically connected to the 20th century arts and crafts movements, and correlating to many other contemporary design manifestos, a trio of master's students from the Blekinge Institute of Technology in Sweden aggregates in plain language many of the commonly espoused factors that form a concept for an alternative:

...seeing the big picture, slowing down consumption, allowing diversity, respecting people, acknowledging human needs, building relationships, valuing resourcefulness, maintaining quality and beauty, creating profitability, practicing consciousness (Slow Fashion: Tailoring).

In November 2008, fashion theorist Hazel Clark proposed that:

The slow approach presents the prospect of fashion minus many of the worst aspects of the current global system especially its extreme wastefulness, human exploitation and lack of concern for environmental issues. But the slow approach is more than a literal opposite to fast fashion. The term is used to identify sustainable fashion solutions based on the repositioning of strategies of design, production, consumption, use and reuse...The meaning of the term continues to be discussed by uncountable numbers of fashion followers, bloggers, critics, business people, producers, and wearers (Changing Fashion).

In contrast to calls requiring systemic changes, The New York Times' fashion fabulist Suzy Menkes, seems to miss the larger picture in at least one recent article when she calls Hermès' autumn/winter 2011 collection slow fashion because it embodied "a belief that fine clothes should be made with exquisite materials and are meant to be embraced and long-loved..." Not only fine clothes and exquisite materials are part of slow or sustainable fashion. Though luxury high priced fashion of lasting quality is a part of the slow equation, articulations of slow fashion aspire to make slow fashion common. Lucy Seigle, equates slow fashion with the sort of mostly industrial production network that existed in England (and elsewhere) until a few decades ago. It was

...a rather impressive peacetime army of tailors, machinists, cutter, finishers, colourists, weavers and of course designers. They were served by the sort of infrastructure, of farmers producing sheep for wool, slaughterhouses producing for the leather trade, cobblers, menders and recyclers (who in those days took the more prosaic form of rag and bone men), that today's sustainable style warriors can only dream about (To Die For 12).

Considering the above, the tag Slow Fashion stretches to allow for many different sometimes discrete factors and modes that alleviate the negative aspects of making, selling, and wearing of garments. While a pure model of slow fashion does not yet exist, from couture through the discounted mass-market, examples of what might be considered slower fashion do.

What would fashion look like if people again wore clothes that were made, not just cut or sewn, or repurposed, but completed created in their community? Well-known designer Isaac Mizrahi's experimentation with salmon skin, Camilla Norrback's emphasis on eco-friendlier wool and linen textile production, Samant Chauhan's work with handwoven "raw" silk, or Proenza-Schouler's collections that are sewn from unique artisanal fabrics are just a few of the hundreds of hints at localization in the luxury category. Many and more and more small producers, such as From Somewhere, Junky Styling, and TRAIIDremade are repurposing and upcycling textiles to produce unique and popular garments and accessories. Experimental enterprises offering fashion alternatives such as the San Francisco based Permacouture, the demonstration project The One-Hundred Mile Suit by artist Kelly Cobb, or the internationally focused low-tech/high-tech clothing business called IOU. Congruently, the DIY (Do It Yourself) movement is flourishing. The continuing proliferation of home knitting in Europe and North America is frequently given as a marker of a new fashion ethos, as is the vibrant revival of vintage and used clothing. Fair(er) trade is paramount to many fashion companies. Pioneers in this realm such as People Tree have gained strength, visibility and sales. Together with the many other thousands of small-scale makers they are forming what I will call a "long nose-to-tail"³ fashion economy. At a corporate level, initiatives abound in the march to

³ Long nose-to-tail is my coinage referring to Chris Anderson's labeling of the new long-tail economy that is comprised of the large quantity of people who were previously out of the core "target" of production who are now specifically reachable through the Internet and related technologies. Long-nose-to tail attempts to

sustainability, and these actions might be seen as part of a overly broad definition of slow fashion, even if the overarching business model is that of mass production and time-efficiency. Global giants, including Walmart, Nike and H&M, by virtue of their huge scale and established focus on growth, rank in the top ten of organic cotton purchasers. Primarily through their huge orders, global organic cotton sales have increased about forty percent each year since 2001 (Textile Exchange). Few or no businesses selling clothing on the global market are not concerned to some degree with environmental and social responsibility.

The categorization of these changes is underway. Black's 2008 Eco-Chic, showed a diverse collection of case-studies of eco-friendlier fashion; Brown's 2010 Eco-Fashion conveniently organizes very often overlapping trends into five categories: community and fair trade; ecological and slow design; recycle, reuse, and redesign; new models; and designer and corporate initiatives. Similarly, the 2010 exhibition Eco-Fashion: Going Green, at The Museum at FIT, used six logos to identify half a dozen themes within as conceived of by its curatorial leaders Jennifer Farley and Colleen Hill. These were: repurposing and recycling; material origins; dyeing and production; quality of craftsmanship; labor practices; and treatment of animals. Insights into the green fashion business have been shared by many in The Future Fashion White Papers (Hoffman). In her 2010 article *Slow Fashion: An Invitation for Change?*, Fletcher states that creating slow fashion, as was creating slow fashion's older sibling Slow Food, will require commitment to truly macro-economic logic:

Above all else, slow culture is an invitation to think about systems change in the fashion sector and to question the role of economic growth, underlying values, and worldviews in fashion so that a different and truly "richer" society develops. It does this by framing the fashion sector as a subsystem of the larger system of economics, society, and planetary ecosystems and recognizing that in order to change fashion, economic and social practices that shape, limit, and give meaning to the sector have to be part of [if not the essence of] the fashion debate.

VÄXBO LIN

Context

Växbo is a small hamlet in Hälsingland, Sweden, some 270 kilometers northwest of Stockholm. Hälsingland, a historical province that is now part of the Norrland region, is an area well known for its eighteenth and nineteenth century flax cultivation and linen production. It goes without saying that Sweden is today a highly developed country, but it was later than other European countries to industrialize. According to Brück, "nonprofessional handicraft production of textiles and garments prevailed until the second half of the nineteenth century, when the boom began for the textile industries, lasting about one hundred years" (7). It useful here to note that it is still not unusual to find in modern Sweden traces and re-incarnations of this handcraft tradition, what in Swedish is called *hemslojd*. Urban and rural shops, notably Svensk Hemslojd in Stockholm, and others throughout Sweden, sell high-quality handmade textile goods, and not only to tourists. Weaving is a somewhat popular hobby, and basic textile arts are still taught in many Swedish primary schools.

During the industrial revolutionary era, cotton, wool, and linen fabric production became centered in particular areas. The region surrounding the southwest city of Borås experienced the first wave of textile industrialization in 1870 with the introduction of cotton

meld that idea with the popular culinary phrase "nose-to-tail" to indicate the delights of frugality within sustainable-gastronomy imperatives.

manufacturing. Further north, the wool industry became centered in the city of Norrköping, and the industrial manufacturing of linen took hold in the south-west and north-east area including Hälsingland. But for many previous centuries, indeed millennia before various forms of industrialization occurred, flax, the plant that produces linen fiber, was grown throughout most of Sweden (Jonsson). Archeological finds show that flax was cultivated in southern Europe since around 7000 BCE (Heckett in Collins and Ollerenshaw); in more northern areas including modern-day UK and Ireland since Neolithic times (Fairweather and Ralston); and in Denmark from about 1600 BCE. European linen was traded with China at least since 1300, according to one source because it was “the only western article that could bear the cost of transportation as far as Peking” (Lopez in Collins and Ollerenshaw). Jonsson, in her study of linen production in Sweden, describes the proto-industrial system of seventeenth century Hälsingland as

a complicated network of mutual dependence and competition between different actors such as flax-growing and linen-trading farmers, peasants' wives and poor widows working as spinners and scutchers, local town merchants also trading in linen, and line-buying wholesalers in Stockholm (210).

Jonsson refers to the eighteenth century as the golden age of linen manufacturing in Europe, with an increase in manufacture and exportation in the important linen producing countries. In Sweden during this time there was also increased production and commerce, though exports apparently did not occur. In certain regions of the country “the production of linen came to be the most important livelihood beside farming, and linen from those areas was sold and distributed all over the country” (209). As was the case in other parts of the continent, the beginning of the early nineteenth century is the beginning of the end for almost all of the Swedish linen industry. Over this period, a series of events, including the growing demand for cotton, competition from the Russian Empire, disturbances of war, the Great Depression, and opportunities for earning in the timber industry brought about a greatly diminished market. Later changes in domestic attitudes and environmental concerns eventually caused all commercial cultivation of flax for fiber to cease (Collins and Ollerenshaw; Jonsson). The tradition of giving linen dowries lingered into the twentieth century, but in Sweden flax grown for fiber ended by 1965 (FAOUN). Interestingly, Sweden is today the ninth largest producer of linseed in the world, albeit its output is a tiny fraction of the production share leader Canada.

Today there are only a handful of commercial linen fabric weaveries in Sweden. Among them are four small companies: Ekelunds in Västra Götaland, founded in 1692; Klässbols in Värmland, founded in the early twentieth century; Hälsinge Linneväveri in Hälsingland, founded in 1980s, and Växbo Lin founded in 1989. Judging from their marketing, self-presentations and the characteristics of the actual textiles, all of these manufacturers take considerable pride in their heritage, social significance, and technical methods. All four necessarily use imported yarns or imported fiber. Together they offer a range of home furnishings from luxury table linens through eco-elegant dishrags. Similar to the surviving interest in hemslojd, appreciation for the specific tactile, visual, and durable qualities of linen goods remains in contemporary Swedish culture. It is common for Swedish apartment houses and homes to have a mangle, the hand powered or electric machines that are used to flatten linen fabrics. In the author's Swedish apartment building's shared laundry area, there are four fabric straightening and flattening devices: an iron, a *lakanshållare* (sheetholder) for pulling fabric taught; an early twentieth century heavy duty room size mangle with extra beams and surrounding wide tables for folding; and a smaller electric mangle that works very well for napkins and tablecloths. While it is true that many fewer people than in previous generations

now use these devices, for those who care about linen they are still relied upon to create the sheen, the flat crisp hand and knäckebröd-like drape, of linen fabric.

Material and Immaterial Value

In 2011, a visitor to Hälsingland would discover a heavily forested mountainous area, and would likely be enchanted by red-rose painted timber bridges, sheds, farmhouses, and mansions situated throughout the flatter areas of the landscape. Many of these buildings are decorated with strongly colored genre and floral motifs first-painted in an earlier time. Linen fabric fragments of local origin have been identified from the third century (Sweden Next World Heritage Sites). Now with about 15 employees, and the two owners, Växbo Lin was opened in 1989 as the dream incarnate of Rolf Åkerlund. At a time when the local linen industry was virtually extinct, Åkerlund's passion was to restore not only the physical spinning and weaving processes to the area, but the intangible community-culture that it had previously fostered.

My parents' flax farm in Växbo must have made a big impression on me. The women's hands that pulled the flax, the smell of flax retting in the lake and on the drying racks, and on the roof of the chapel.

I remember the flax breaks' monotonous thump through Växbo Valley during quiet autumn evenings. Then, after some years of absence from the homestead, I returned to Växbo with a growing enthusiasm to develop the linen tradition.

One thing led to another and a collection of enthusiasts undertook to build a modern industry for linen processing. It is with some measure of pride that we spin and weave in Växbo, well aware of the historical legacy we are entrusted to pass on (Växbo Lin).

Åkerlund's awareness of the cultural contribution reverberates two decades later as the concept of material prosperity is being reconciled with new formulations of prosperity that factor in less tangible aspects such as quality of life and happiness (see Stiglitz). Indeed, the feeling of buying a culturally identifiable product is key to the development of this business whose niche products' represent a far more vertically integrated and reasonable supply network than the majority of manufacturers of "similar" products.

In 2005 Hanna and Jacob Bruce, Stockholmers with family roots in the area and backgrounds in human resources and graphic design, took ownership. In an interview in *Vävmagisinet*, Hanna Bruce describes the chance re-meeting with Åkerlund that led the couple to buy the business. After having been a tour guide at the factory when a teenager, she had had a dream about one day running the company. While visiting Dalarna on their second wedding anniversary, Hanna accidentally met Åkerlund and joked that she was ready to buy the factory; coincidentally, Åkerlund had said that morning to his wife that he was ready to sell (15). Although neither she nor her husband had textile backgrounds, they believed they had a chance and committed to new lives. With the important collaboration of the designer Ingela Berntsson, the team has updated the product line. Their current range of products is mostly for household use: tablecloths, napkins, dishtowels, yardage, towel, but they also are selling clothing. All of their fabrics exhibit a design ethos that clearly values simplicity. Many of the fabrics have clean stripe patterns and precise twill variations that are a hallmark of cloth made with bast fiber. The current collection shows off elegant natural-color fibers and many bright dyed colors, including a sunny yellow, a pine green, and a rich pink that would be easy to associate with the regional flora. In the area of innovating in texture and fabric care needs, Berntsson has created a kind of substantial linen crepe toweling that is highly absorbent and needs no mangling to look good. A signature item has become their small dishcloth, now sold

along with other products of theirs in many museum and gift shops in Sweden. This dishcloth is made in a large variety of colors of strong yarns that form a fairly stable open weave. In the opinion of this writer, it is effective and pleasant to use. The marketing information connected with this product reminds users that the fabric can be tossed into the compost heap after its active life has expired. Berntsson relates that in her childhood she was forming her thoughts about nature. The fabrics that Berntsson, who trained at The Swedish School of Design and Crafts, designs exhibit a master's understanding of linen's innate physical characteristics. Here she speaks of the fiber's aesthetic properties:

...unbleached, the natural colours of linen range from a warm beige to grey, depending on the growth conditions of the flax, the soil, the climate and the retting. Ever-changing colours, representing life itself. Eternally beautiful, these are designs for each and every day throughout a lifetime (Selvege).

...it is more beautiful the more it is used, also an aspect of sustainability. You don't have to buy new stuff. I often think of young people buying a handtowel of unbleached linen, to use for the rest of their life (Gustavsson).

According to Gustavsson, Berntsson “felt it important for the products to have some connections with the factory surroundings” (17) and spent time in Hälsingland visiting heritage centers and museums. “People used a lot of linen in Hälsingland, and also appreciated it by taking care of it and saving it.” says Berntsson.

The Växbo Lin factory building, a large red-painted shed, holds the mid-century restored spinning and weaving machines that were brought to Sweden from France by Åkerlund. They make a lot of noise and break down not infrequently, but there have a nostalgic charm and are well cared for. Compared to modern machinery, these instruments seem a part of an almost craft like process. Because of their age and the challenges of maintaining the looms, the volume of irregular fabric is high. Hanna Bruce estimates flawed fabric at about thirty percent of production. At the factory sales outlet both first quality items at full price and seconds at a discount are available. Set about a thirty-minute drive from Bollnäs, a city of under thirty thousand people, the small rural spot where the factory is also includes a pub, historic farm buildings and manufacturing sheds, which are connected via paths and small roads through the woods. Summer time is by far their peak period, with an astonishing number of Swedish and international visitors each year, most of whom arrive in tour busses. On the whole, sales volume has nearly tripled in the years since changing hands to the Bruces. Hanna described concern about having had to raise prices, but their sales have not suffered. The business has recently opened a sales and showroom in Stockholm, and Växbo Lin's output is now sold through approximately 400 retailers around the world (Vävmagasinet; Hanna Bruce). The company's marketing materials are attractive, friendly, and convey aspects of their product and community's story. To complete the experience, at the point of sale a purchase can be gift wrapped in simple, “eco-evocative” paper, a decorative sprig of dried flax seedpods and a simple blue flax flower label. Hanna Bruce shares some of the material and immaterial values that go into their work:

It's not the quality of linen we want to alter, but ways of thinking about linen. And we are aware of the cultural heritage aspect. Though we don't want to get stuck in it. Our main assets on the market are that our production is based in Sweden, and we do eco-labelled high quality products. And our history too.

Being able to tour the factory, meet the workers, take joy in the natural beauty of the location, in other words to connect (if briefly) with the community and context of production self-evidently and importantly increases the intangible worth of the products.

Hanna's Stripped Dress and the Local Challenge

Växbo could be considered a slower rather than a slow business. To take one example, the Bruces would prefer to use locally grown flax, thereby making it slower, more local. But for the reasons described earlier, there is no fiber flax commercially grown in Sweden. Currently the spinnery uses fiber from France (Vävmagasinet), and additional yarns are imported from Italy when the pace of weaving exceeds, as was the case in pre-industrial times, the rate of spinning. Asked if it would be possible to do the whole process locally, Hanna indicates the lack of cultivation and infrastructure:

As it stands today, there are no [flax] processing plants left in Scandinavia, and the amount of raw material we use is far too small to make building a new plant viable. But nothing is impossible and we would be the first to welcome it.

Furthermore, there are questions surrounding reliability, quality, and even the environmental soundness of cultivating and processing fiber flax in modern day Hälsingland. The impact of the water retting process that was used in times past is said to cause damaging effluents. Could a safe retting system be created? A modern precedent for local growing in a similar industrial situation and climate existed. The twenty person Jokiiipin Pallava linen weavery in Finland, provided eco-certified textiles from Finnish-grown flax for a period of time, but no longer, stating that, “In Finland, the cultivation and continuation refinement of linen has been downgrading again since the temporary revival in the 1990s.” (www.jokiiipinpellava.fi).

Competing pressures make the creating of a healthy supply and use chain extremely difficult. How does a company, even one that were free from financial constraints, determine the overall value of choosing between stringently organic fiber or that which is grown using eco-friendlier practices? In view of overall life cycle analysis the answer is rarely clear, and the Bruces, along with millions of other producers and users struggle to find the best route. In light of the concept of living within carrying capacity, should this small business limit its material growth to the size of the existing factory?

Illustrating more of the choices that need to be made in the vague and overlapping territories of “superficial” and “structural beauty”, I come back to color. The dyeing stage of textile manufacturing is generally the most environmentally harmful. Green chemistry is in the eyes of many the best road to sustainability. Others make a case for a grand-scale return to using plants, mollusks, and minerals. In the food, fashion and cosmetics and other industries, there is a marked trend toward the use of natural dyes and natural pigments. But as with other debates between naturally or synthetically derived substances, establishing which methods are best is often problematic. Växbo Lin either dyes its self-produced yarns with a nearby synthetic dye house or buys them in from an Italian yarn house that uses the same fibers. As mentioned earlier, the vivid color palette makes an appealing and well-selling assortment. Would their business, their employees, their community, the world, be better served by using the more nuanced and less predictable colors that result from natural sources? If a decision were then made to use natural pigments, would it make aesthetic or carbon emission sense to import to Sweden pigment produced by the harvesting of a thriving but invasive bivalve on the coast of France or through the local hand cultivation of weld and fungi?

Few of Växbo Lin's textile products are clothing, but two pieces made with their own linen fabric stand out. A pink and white bouncy flaxen dress that Hanna often wears, and Jacob's subtly colored no-mangle shirt. They are not just tangible good-looking objects; they seem to be flagging a broader vision. During my first visit to the Hälsingland outlet, a dress form displayed a plain green linen scarf, a striped linen dress, a flappy linen jacket, and a linen purse with a linen rope strap that in a bygone era might have been used to raise a heavy sail. Together, Hanna's dress, Jacob's shirt, and the dress form's ensemble, on whole looked more

meaningful and more fashionable than most of the consciously “fashionable” fashion that I have seen in recent years in New York, London, Paris or Stockholm.

Fabricating a Future

Many have written, particularly of the slow food movement, there are considerable social, environmental and economic benefits that accrue from the ability to know and be a part of the “the who, what, where, when, why and how” of production and use. Like other more-localized textile producers Växbo Lin seems to be part of a fashion backlash against the dehumanizing effects of too much technology and unchecked globalization, but the mapping that I have thus far accomplished, has not included an ethnographic study or quantitative investigation that could contribute to proving or disproving the value of any one particular example of localized production and use. In sum, this work to date is perhaps what mathematician and pedagogue Caleb Gattegno would refer to as “putting words into circulation”⁴ while aware that their reverberation and reiteration will be what will allow the accretion of meaning.

A network of interconnected questions arises when pondering what truly slow/local/restorative fashion systems might emerge.

- How slow does fashion need to be to be slow? What sorts of slow fashion already exist? What are the measurable and immeasurable dimensions, the positive and negative values of such systems? How do they compare with best practice industrial systems?

- What levels of technology and degrees of sovereignty are appropriate at various points in a multi-local fashion world? What is the right balance between self-sufficiency and interdependence?

- As they once brought the world into an industrial economy, can textiles and fashion be leaders toward a restorative economy? If fashion as we know it cannot survive without a growth-based economy, can it transition to a “steady-state fashion” that would express the ideals of a new model of prosperity?

- If new forms of slow and local fashion can bypass or invert old forms of growth-fashion, what aesthetic form would these sorts of dress take? How would they feel and how would they function? Can attractiveness be synchronized with beauty if beauty necessarily enfolds fundamental human concerns such as equity, well-being, and meaning? What values, visible and invisible, would slow fashion garments convey? With meaningful adaptations, could fast fashion also be slow fashion?

- What hundreds of practical actions, from education through changed logistics, from regulations through perhaps even a spiritual shift, will need to happen to build such a fashion?

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⁴ Through personal conversations with his wife Shakti Gattegno at a number of language-learning and education theory seminars and teacher-training workshops.

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Cultural Studies of/in the Republic of Turkey:
Issues and Dynamics at Work

Cultural Studies in Turkey: The State of the Art

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Recent socio-political developments have rendered cultural studies of the Republic of Turkey an ever-widening field of study, as they lead apparently to a probable paradigm shift in a society that was once thought to be purely Western-oriented. The analysis of this transformation is before all else a cultural studies task. Accordingly, this paper has two aims: one, to make a a brief survey of cultural studies work that has been done so far in Turkey; and two, draw attention to the increasingly heterogeneous character of cultural studies in the country. Indeed, cultural studies in Turkey is marked by a phenomenon: there is a pronounced “divorce” between “Anglophone” Turkish scholars and “merely Turcophone” ones.

CULTURAL STUDIES IN TURKEY: THE STATE OF THE ART

Recent socio-political developments have rendered cultural studies of the Republic of Turkey an ever-widening field of study. Since the accession to power of Recep Tayyip Erdoğan's pro-Islamic Justice and Development Party in the autumn of 2002, cultural allegiances and pacts of forgetting, whether they be ethnic, religious or ideological, are being realigned, restructured or renegotiated. The imperatives of globalization collude, leading apparently to a probable paradigm shift in a society that was once thought to be purely Western-oriented. Questioning both the foundational maxims and the insistent new requests has become a cultural studies task.

This leads perforce to another, even more immediate task, that of taking a close look at cultural studies in Turkey. This essay aims accordingly to present the current state of cultural studies in the country. It discusses the history of cultural studies instruction and practice in Turkey and notes the existing university programs, then examines the major problems facing the practice of cultural studies in Turkey today. It is hoped that the information it provides would serve as reference for anyone interested in the subject.

This essay argues moreover that the current state of cultural studies in Turkey renders it somewhat incapable of appraising fully the present situation in which Turkey finds itself.

FROM ITS BEGINNING TO ITS PRESENT STATE

1. British Council Courses

As noted at the beginning of an article on the education and practice of cultural studies in Turkey by Ayşe L. Kirtunç and the writer of these lines, it is difficult to pinpoint the exact time when cultural studies began in Turkey as scholars who became cognizant of the “cultural turn” applied its methodology in the courses that they gave long before any formal departmentalization, or opening of courses so labeled occurred (see Pultar and Kirtunç 2004). It is a fact, however, that the British Council representation in Turkey began in 1992 in Istanbul “British cultural studies” courses. As Laurence Raw, one of the instructors, explains, the courses were “9-month courses on British and Comparative Cultural Studies, including units on nationalism, multiculturalism, class, gender and race. Very British-focused, with topics of little interest to local audiences (e.g. class); however, the Council did offer scholarships for students to go and complete an MA in Warwick.”¹ The courses were given originally by, besides the Briton Raw, employed at the time at the British Council, two Turkish academics, Cambridge-educated Cevat Çapan, professor of English language and literature currently at Yeditepe University in Istanbul, and the late Cem Taylan (d. 2001), also a professor English language and literature, who was teaching at the Western Languages and Literatures department of Boğaziçi University (see Raw and Taylan 1993 on their experience of teaching these courses). The British Council started in 1993 courses in Ankara, taught originally by Can Abanazır of the Department of English Language and Literature at

¹ One of the students, Derviş Zaimağaoğlu, received one of these and completed his MA degree in Warwick (Raw, e-mail message to author, 26 August 2011). Cyprus-born Boğaziçi University graduate Zaimağaoğlu would go on to become, as “Derviş Zaim,” a well-known director, with such award-winning feature films as *Tabutta Rövaşata* (*Somersault in a Coffin*, 1996), *Filler ve Çimen* (*Elephants and Grass*, 2000) and *Gölgeler ve Suretler* (*Shadows and Faces*, 2010). He would also co-direct with the Greek Cypriot Panicos Chrysantou the documentary *Parallel Trips* (2004) “in which the two directors, from opposite sides of the divided island of Cyprus, recorded the human dramas that unfolded during the war of 1974 and the legacy that remains today” (“Derviş Zaim”). For an interview Raw conducted with his former student, see the chapter “Derviş Zaim: 'To Return to the Past Means Embarking on a New Journey'” in his *Exploring Turkish Cultures* (2011).

Hacettepe University. Then in 1995 the British Council started such courses in Izmir; these were taught originally by Oxford-educated Pete Remington teaching at the time at the American Culture and Literature² department of Ege University, and Andrew Fletcher. These courses were

“organized in collaboration with the U of Warwick, Centre for British and Comparative Cultural Studies (which later became the Centre for Translation and Comparative Cultural Studies before being closed in 2007),” as Raw indicates (e-mail message to author, 26 August 2011).

Along these courses and “initially planned as a resource for comparative cultural material” (Raw, e-mail message to author, 26 August 2011). the British Council representation in Turkey started a cultural studies website entitled “CSSG Cultural Studies Study Group” (<<http://warlight.tripod.com/>>) maintained by [the Turkish] Cenk Erdil, and last updated on 16 September 1999. Listed at the top of the webpages of the site is “Cultural Studies in Turkey.”

“The program came to an end in 1999,” as Raw puts it, “when the then Director of the British Council decided to put all their money into English Language Teaching, and opened a Teaching Center in Istanbul” (Raw, e-mail message to the author, 26 August 2001).³

2. *Ege Cultural Studies Symposium*

The American Studies Association of Turkey (ASAT) organized in the spring of 1995, on 10-11 April 1995 to be exact, a two-day “cultural studies” seminar at Ege University, in collaboration with the American Culture and Literature department of that university. Sociologists in Turkey may perhaps uncover other roots for the beginnings of cultural studies in this country; for the writer of these lines, one source, if not *the* one, is the work initiated by Americanists, among them then three active members of ASAT: Gülriz Büken (then member of the Department of History at Bilkent University, president of ASAT 1994-2011), Ayşe Lahur Kırtunç (then member of the Ege University American Culture and Literature department, and later its Chair), and Gönül Pultar, the writer of these lines (then member of the Department of English Language and Literature at Bilkent University, vice-president of ASAT 1994-2000, founding editor-in-chief of *Journal of American Studies of Turkey* [JAST] 1994-1995, and later founding president of the Cultural Association of Turkey 2005-present). These scholars were cognizant of the cultural turn through not only their individual interests and international contacts but also their association with such colleagues as Raw, who taught at Bilkent University before integrating the British Council, and Remington, teaching at the Ege University American Culture and Literature department, as well as younger colleagues who were returning from postgraduate studies they pursued in universities in the West where they had specialized in cultural studies.⁴

² This is what American studies is formally called in Turkey.

³ Raw remarks that the English language Teaching Centre in Istanbul “was closed three years later, as the Turkish government objected to a British Embassy-sponsored organization challenging their language schools. Since then the Council has done absolutely nothing to promote British interests, while Cult Studs has lost a lot of its edge within UK, especially after the closing of the Birmingham Centre & the Warwick Centre” (e-mail message to the author, 26 August 2011).

⁴ Such a young scholar was Boğaziçi University graduate İrem Balkır (1965-2006) who received a doctoral degree in Cultural and Critical Studies from the University of Pittsburgh in 1993 and joined the Department of American Culture and Literature at Bilkent University in 1994. Balkır, who initially was immediately adopted by the American studies community in Ankara, made an ASAT member and elected to its executive committee, meanwhile attended and presented many papers at ASA and MELUS conferences in

The Ege April 1995 seminar took place in one auditorium only, with solicited presenters delivering papers to an audience made up of interested faculty members, guest faculty from neighboring 9 Eylül University, and students probably compelled to attend. Titled “The Red, the Black and the White,” it was an exercise in US ethnic studies.⁵ By common accord, it was decided it would be repeated on a larger scale, and Ege University through the person of Prof. Seçkin Ergin, then Chair of its Department of American Culture and Literature, agreed to play host to it annually. Kırtunç took over the responsibility of the organization of what was to become a symposium, in fact a full-fledged conference, and the next year, tapping into her own international contacts and network of colleagues, announced it world-wide, with the due call for papers and all the paraphernalia.⁶ The number of participants of this first Ege University International Cultural Studies Symposium, organized in 1996, immediately rose to almost 150.

Dubbed CSS - Cultural Studies Symposium, and organized in the month of May annually until 2005, the conference has since been organized biannually. Titled “Change and Challenge,” the “Ege University 13th International Cultural Studies Symposium” took place on 4-6 May 2011. Proceedings volumes to have come out so far are *Crossing the Boundaries: Cultural Studies in the UK and US* (1997) edited by Raw, Büken and Günseli Sönmez İşçi (then chair of the Ege University Department of English Language and Literature, and co-organizer of CSS the first few years); *The History of Culture: The Culture of History* (1998) edited by Raw, Büken and İşçi; *Popular Culture(s)* (1999) edited by Büken, Raw and İşçi; *Dialogue and Difference* (2000) edited by Raw and Kırtunç; *New Cultural Perspectives in the New Millennium* (2001) edited by Kırtunç, Büken, Raw and Rezzan Silkü; *Globalization and Transcultural Issues in the New World Order* (2001) edited by Remington, with İşçi and Büken as advisory editors; *Selves at Home, Selves in Exile: Stories of Emplacement and Displacement* (2003) edited by Kırtunç, Atilla Silkü, Kenneth W. Rose and Murat Erdem; *Inside Outside In: Emotions, Body and Society* (2005) edited by İşçi, Dilek Direnç and Züleyha Çetiner Öktem; *[City in (Culture)] in City* (2005) edited by Kırtunç, Eleftheria Arapoglou and Erdem; *When Away Becomes Home: Cultural Consequences of Migration* (2007) edited by İşçi, Direnç and Gülden Hatiboğlu; and *Memory and Nostalgia* (2009) edited by A. Silkü, Erdem and Patrick Folk. The first four volumes were published by the British Council; the fifth one (*New Cultural Perspectives in the New Millennium*) was co-published by ASAT and the two departments involved; and the remaining ones were published by Ege University.

As can be seen from the titles (which are also the titles of the symposia), CSS was focused at first on Anglo-American topics, and conducted solely in the medium of instruction of the organizers, i.e. English.⁷ However, the Turkish element seeped in quickly. Papers on Turkish themes found a place in the symposia, and subsequently in their proceedings—a state of affairs that was only natural for a discipline such as cultural studies that is by definition inimical to boundaries. Thus, an audience basically made up of Turks found themselves listening to papers in English on purely Turkish topics. A case in point is the paper presented

the USA, and also served as Acting Chair of her department from 1997 to 1999, was adamant to her dying days of *not* being an Americanist but a cultural studies scholar.

⁵ Five scholars, among them the writer of these lines, presented papers and films on Native Americans and African Americans.

⁶ This first Ege symposium was organized by, besides ASAT and the Ege University Department of American Language and Literature, the Department of English Language and Literature of that university, with the British Council through Raw and the USIS (United States Information Service), as it was called then, through contacts the ASAT presidency had among its officials, acting as sponsors, funding the trips to Turkey of keynote speakers from their respective countries.

⁷ The biannual conferences and their proceedings feature, in contrast, papers/essays in Turkish as well.

by sociologist Nuran Erol in 1999 on *arabesk* music⁸ (see her “Arabesque Culture as a Metaphor of the World in Turkish Society” in *Dialogue and Difference*). The discussion that ensued, on a purely Turkish predicament, was conducted in English by Turkish participants—and seemed incongruous.

It is basically to remedy this incongruity that a group of scholars got together in the fall of the same year in Ankara to form a “Group for Cultural Studies in Turkey.”

3. *The Group for Cultural Studies in Turkey / Cultural Studies Association (of Turkey)*

As noted above, the formation of this group originated from the Izmir conferences, and among its (eleven) members⁹ were several scholars who had been organizing and/or attending CSS. The feeling that led to forming a group was that if cultural studies is to be pursued in Turkey on matters to do with Turkish culture, it should be done first and foremost in Turkish. One other consideration, conscious or not, may have been, although this was never openly voiced, the wish to extricate cultural studies in Turkey from the monopoly of the British. To my knowledge, none of the members, except for Laurence Raw perhaps, knew that the British Council had terminated its courses. The webpage was there (and still is), apparently provided by the British, with the ambiguous “Cultural Studies in Turkey” heading.

Almost all the members of the Group had had prior experience in associations, and the general feeling at first was that this inter-university group could hold out without formalizing its existence. This was without counting with the need to ask for funding. When The Turkish Science and Technology Foundation (TÜBİTAK) started to give out funds for which the Group could apply for its conferences, there was no way but to become institutionalized. Thus *Kültür Araştırmaları Derneği* (KAD, Cultural Studies Association) was founded in March 2005, in Istanbul where Gönül Pultar, who had been elected Chair of the Group at its second meeting in November 1999, had moved (see <www.kulturad.org>). As there was no radical break from “group” to “association,” this essay will consider the activities of the two together (see the chapter “Recognizing Difference: Interdisciplinarity and the Cultural Studies Association” in Raw 2011).

CONFERENCES AND COLLECTIONS OF ESSAYS

The Group, which started meeting once a month, began its activities very modestly with a two-day seminar, with solicited speakers and invited participants, on the subject of migration in early summer 2000 at METU, organized by Group member Yıldırım Yavuz. It then launched what was to become biannual conferences, with the one in Kemer, Antalya in fall 2001 entitled, as translated into English, “Modernity and Culture.” The book which came out

⁸ A type of music generated on the fringes of the mainstream, reflecting the woes of the migrants from rural areas to big cities.

⁹ Besides Büken (since then retired from Bilkent University), Kırtunç, Pultar (since then retired from Bilkent University, currently the president of KAD) and Raw (who moved to Başkent University in Ankara after his job at the British Council was over), there were: professor of sociology Bahattin Akşit (at METU at the time, now at Istanbul's Maltepe University), Central Asian studies scholar Çiğdem Balım Harding (at Manchester University at the time, now senior lecturer at Indiana University), Mutlu Binark (at Ankara's Gazi University at the time, now professor of communication studies at Başkent University), anthropologist Emine O. İncirlioğlu (since then retired from Bilkent University, currently KAD's vice-president), professor of Turkish literature Talat Halman (Bilkent University, chair of the graduate Turkish Literature department, and now additionally Dean of the Faculty of Humanities and Letters), professor of English language and literature Himmet Umunç (at Hacettepe University at the time, now head of the Department of American Culture and Literature at Başkent University), and professor of architectural history Yıldırım Yavuz (METU). Some of them have then become members of KAD.

of it is *Kültür ve Modernite* (Culture and Modernity), edited by Pultar, Emine O. İncirlioğlu and Bahattin Akşit (both Group members) and published in 2003.

This was followed two years later by the, as translated into English, “Cultures of Turks / Cultures of Turkey” conference organized in the southeastern city of Van in 2003 jointly with Yüzüncü Yıl University. The book to come out was *Türk(iye) Kültürleri* (Cultures of Turks / Cultures of Turkey), edited by Pultar and Tahire Erman (METU), and published in 2005.

It is as KAD that a conference was held in 2005 jointly with Koç University (Istanbul) entitled, as translated into English, “Identity and Culture.” Two books came out: *Kimlikler Lütfen: Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Kültürel Kimlik Arayışı ve Temsili* (Identities Please: The Search for and Representation of Cultural Identity in the Republic of Turkey) in 2009, and *Ağır Gökyüzünde Kanat Çırpma: Sovyet-sonrası Türk Cumhuriyetlerinde Kültürel Kimlik Arayışı ve Müzakeresi* (Batting Wings in Heavy Skies: The Search for and Negotiation of Cultural Identity in the Post-Soviet Turkic Republics, in press) on the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the fall of the Soviet Union, both edited by Pultar.

KAD also organized in Istanbul, in the fall of the same year (2005) a two-day seminar in collaboration with the Heidelberg-based MESEA (Society for Multi-Ethnic Studies: Europe and the Americas) entitled ““Ethnic Identity?: (Trans)National and (Bi/Multi/Poly)Cultural Aspects.” The book that came out of it, the collection of essays entitled *Imagined Identities: Identity Formation in the Age of Globalization*, edited again by Pultar, is forthcoming from Syracuse University Press.

The next year, KAD organized another conference, in the city of Kütahya (the ancient Kotyaion/Cotyaeum) in Western Anatolia, in collaboration with the municipality of that city. It was focused on a specific subject, “Idil (Volga)-Ural Studies” as translated into English, on the culture of the ethnic groups of the Volga-Ural region (home to the three autonomous Turkic republics of Chuvashstan, Tatarstan and Bashkortostan) within the Russian Federation. The working languages of this international conference were Turkish, English, Russian and Tatar.

The next biannual KAD conference, entitled “E/Im/Migration” took place in 2007 in Şile, a suburb of Istanbul, organized this time with Işık University, boasting of a campus directly on the sea in that popular sea resort town. It was followed in 2009 by a conference in the Black Sea city of Zonguldak (famed for its coal mines), in collaboration with the Karaelmas (Black Diamond) University in that city, entitled, as translated into English, “Black Diamond 2009: Media and Culture.” Its proceedings were published the same year as *Karaelmas 2009: Medya ve Kültür*, edited by Nurçay Türkoğlu (Marmara University), a member of the Executive committee of KAD at the time and organizer of the conference, and Sevilen Toprak Alayoğlu (Marmara University).

The last biannual KAD conference to date was organized on 8-10 September 2011 by vice-president İncirlioğlu. Entitled “Space and Culture” as translated into English, it was co-organized with Istanbul's Kadir Has University and took place at that university (housed in the buildings of a tobacco factory, in much the same way as the Norrköping campus). Over 250 participants attended.

CULTURAL STUDIES PROGRAMS IN TURKEY

It is also in the fall of 1999 that cultural studies formally appeared in the country's universities. Two graduate programs and one undergraduate program were opened at that time. They were followed in the coming years by the addition of a graduate component of the undergraduate program, and the opening of two other graduate programs.

Bilgi University

The privately-owned Bilgi University (established in 1996)¹⁰ opened an MA program in cultural studies. The medium of education of this university is English, but the program is announced as “bilingual” on its website (see “Program Structure” at its website at <http://pages.bilgi.edu.tr/graduates/ma-in-cultural-studies/default_eng.htm>). It features among its faculty Kevin Robins from the U.K., and Turkish intellectuals such as Murat Belge and Mete Tunçay, and the Armenian of Turkey Arus Yumul, as well as Ferda Keskin, organizer of the 2006 Crossroads conference in Istanbul and later president of the Association for Cultural Studies from 2008 to 2010.

The program has started publishing a cultural studies journal in 2011, the only one of its kind in Turkey at present. The bilingual *KÜLT* appears at present as more of a review than a purely scholarly journal, but with only one issue out, it is too early to make any judgment.

Boğaziçi University

The Department of Western Languages and Literatures at Boğaziçi University, a state university also with the medium of education in English,¹¹ opened an MA program in Critical and Cultural Studies (<<http://www.boun.edu.tr/Default.aspx?SectionID=652>>). The faculty is entirely made up of the department faculty, i.e. English language and literature and American studies scholars, and “[s]tudents whose undergraduate degrees are not in English Literature are required to take at least one elective course from the English Literature pool.”

Sabancı University

A third program, this time at the undergraduate level was opened simultaneously at Sabancı University (also opened in 1996), whose medium of education is also English. Its faculty features a few Westerners, among them the American Annedith Schneider who penned her initial experiences in an essay entitled “The Institutional Revolutionary Major? Questions and Contradictions on the Way to Designing a Cultural Studies Program in a New Turkish University” (2002).¹² The program is within the university's Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS). As the website of that faculty indicates, it is “[d]epartment-free by design” and “an interdisciplinary home to degree programs that range from visual arts and visual communication design to cultural studies, social and political studies through conflict analysis and resolution, economics and history” (<<http://fass.sabanciuniv.edu/about/our-vision>>). In other words, the students enrolled in this faculty do not major in any particular discipline, they receive a diploma in “arts and social sciences” at the end of four years.

In the fall of 2010 the Sabancı cultural studies program started a MA program with “thesis” and “non-thesis” options. Ayşe Öncü, the professor of sociology who chaired the program until recently, said she had strived for years to obtain the graduate program as this

¹⁰ It was founded by Bilgi Eğitim ve Kültür Vakfı (Bilgi [Knowledge/Information] Education and Culture Foundation) established in 1994 for that purpose, but was sold later to the Laureate International Universities Network (a company founded in 1998, with headquarters in Virginia, Maryland, USA). Laureate has since been trying to turn it into a profit-making vocational college shorn of any academic pretense, which means the future of cultural studies may not be too bright at that university.

¹¹ Robert College, the first American educational institution (incorporating a secondary school and a school of higher education) was opened in Bebek, on the Bosphorus, in 1863 during the Ottoman era. It was allowed to remain functioning after 1923 when the Republic of Turkey was founded, but was then split in the 1970s. A co-educational secondary school (İstanbul Amerikan Robert Lisesi) is still run by an American board, but the higher education facilities and faculty in Bebek were turned over at the time to the Turkish government who opened there the Boğaziçi (Bosphorus) University.

¹² On the subject of the cultural studies practice in Turkey as seen by another foreign scholar, both observer and involved practitioner, see Raw's “The Practice of Cultural Studies in the Turkish Republic” (2004).

would mean the cultural studies program was no more merely servicing the faculty, but was a department in its own right (private conversation with the author on 10 September 2011 at Kadir Has University, during the “Space and Culture” conference). Interesting are the research topics MA students have chosen, listed on the website, which include:

- “Independent/alternative artist initiatives” in contemporary Istanbul
 - Being a soldier’s mother in Turkey
 - The Turkish sub-genre of military coup narratives
 - Representations of “honor” among Turkish immigrant women in Berlin
 - The politics of Kurdish children and youth in urban space
 - Tourist gaze and tourist narratives in Southeastern Anatolia
 - Relations to the Western literary canon in Pamuk and Rushdie
 - Censorship on visual arts in contemporary Turkey.
- (<<http://cult.sabanciuniv.edu/program/graduate>>)

Middle East Technical University

An MA program in Media and Cultural Studies was opened at Middle East Technical University (METU), also a state university whose medium of education is English, in the fall of 2002 (<<http://www.mcs.metu.edu.tr/program>>). The scope is narrower as it focuses on various aspects of the media.

Şehir University

The İstanbul Şehir (City) University was opened in 2008 by a foundation (Bilim ve Sanat Vakfı – The Knowledge and Art Foundation).¹³ It started accepting its first students in the academic year 2010-2011. It has opened a graduate program in cultural studies and has collected scholars of caliber. Time will show how the program fares.

Problems Facing Cultural Studies in Turkey

With an active association regularly organizing biannual conferences and more; a(n) other biannual conference already become traditional organized by a major state university; graduate programs at four universities churning out each year new would-be scholars in the field, another newly-opened graduate program that has started instruction, and a journal devoted to the field that has started being published, cultural studies in Turkey appears to be “all set,” as the American colloquialism has it. In fact, the truth is far different, and cultural studies in Turkey is facing a number of problems that are summarized below.

Of course, cultural studies is currently faced with problems everywhere it is taught and practiced, as was quite apparent from the many papers presented by European scholars at the June 2011 ACSIS conference in Norrköping. I try below to highlight those that are particular to Turkey, that emanate from the characteristics of Turkish society. As will be seen, some of these problems are intertwined. Some are important, some are less so, but together they hinder the development of a much-needed perspective that only cultural studies can provide. I list seven which I believe need to be debated upon, even if no solution is found for them in the short term.

¹³ This foundation has been established by the Ülker company, known for its ties to the government of the Justice and Development Party (2002-present).

1. The lack of any “chair” in cultural studies. Although five universities carrying weight in different ways in the Turkish academia have opened the said programs, there is at present no “chair” in cultural studies. Academic promotion in Turkey runs thus: universities hire Ph.D.s and will confer on them the title of “assistant professor” at their own discretion. However, to become an “associate professor” (*doçent* in Turkish, from the German *Dozent*) a Ph.D., whether employed or not, is required to pass a state examination after a certain period of time¹⁴ following the reception of his/her doctoral degree. “Cultural studies” does not figure among the disciplines in which this examination may be entered. Those teaching cultural studies courses, whether in the above-mentioned departments/programs or in those not so named, pursue their formal careers in those disciplines that are recognized (i. e. sociology, anthropology, literatures in different languages, etc.). They would have adopted the cultural turn / acquired a cultural studies approach during the course of this career; nevertheless it is the demands of that career that take precedence at all times. Cultural studies is either neglected or altogether abandoned. A case in point is the example of the above-mentioned Raw who was one of the first ever instructors in cultural studies in Turkey: by his own confession, he turned to film studies and adaptation studies when the British Council ended its cultural studies courses (e-mail message to author, 26 August 2011).
2. Confusion in the terminology. There is moreover the issue of terminology: “cultural studies” is translated into Turkish in various ways. From the beginning KAD adopted *kültür araştırmaları*, a noun phrase formed according to long-established Turkish language rules; the five universities employ the adjective *kültürel* where the suffix *-el* is for Geoffrey Lewis (1920-2008) an imitation of the French *culturel* (2009: 124), which apparently sounds more “Western.” For *studies*, in opposition to KAD's *araştırmalar(i)*, Sabancı, Boğaziçi, METU and Şehir employ *çalışmalar*, while Bilgi uses *incelemeler*. These words all mean “studies” and are alternately used at all times, with, however, *araştırmalar* first of all meaning *researches*, *çalışmalar* first of all meaning *works*, and *incelemeler* first of all meaning *examinations*.¹⁵ This situation creates a cacophony of a sort, as no one central fulcrum can be established. Boğaziçi University and METU offer degrees in one aspect each of cultural studies, and the other four (KAD and Bilgi, Sabancı and Şehir universities) are apparently doing different things, neither one wishing to seem to defer to any of the other(s).
3. The mis/use of “culture” as a term. The above-mentioned two problems may be seen to do with form. There are also problems with deeper ramifications. One has to do with the term *culture* itself. The word frightens because so much material that is purely political has been and still is presented as “culture” by ideologues of various hues in the country. Consequently, the man in the street tends to consider “culture” to herald subversive agendas, to be a veiled synonym e.g. for Kurds, or for some other “subversive” topic. The layman's attitude finds itself reflected in gatekeepers' behavior

¹⁴ The period depends on the legislation in force.

¹⁵ The American Studies Association of Turkey, known by its acronym ASAT, established in 1988, is called in Turkish “Amerikan Etüdüleri Derneği” where *etüdler* (a Turkish word derived from the French *études*) is employed for *studies*. It is interesting to note that the sensitivity developed since then concerning language has been such that the blatantly foreign sounding *etüdler*, which would have prevented any terminological confusion, is out of consideration for all parties concerned.

when e.g. allocating funds, deciding on the publication of texts or allowing for the organization of functions.

4. The “frightening” objective of cultural studies. On a more intricate level, it is the objective proper of cultural studies which frightens laymen and officials alike. As is known, just like with women's studies, the aim of the discipline of cultural studies is not merely to do scholarship but to reach the community, as cultural studies also inheres political criticism and activism. In other words, the work done should ideally be directed towards a political project, towards an improvement of the power relations that are taken up (i. e. questioned, criticized—denounced and decried, if I may put it more bluntly). The “overt political engagement” of cultural studies (Schneider 2002), is near to impossible in Turkey, as such a stance is immediately seized upon as anarchism or terrorism. Academics in Turkey have generally been “expected to stay out of politics,” as Schneider puts it, or else leave academia to pursue directly a political career.
5. The language divide. Cultural Studies in Turkey is characterized by a phenomenon: there is a pronounced “divorce” between “Anglophone” Turkish scholars and “merely Turcophone” ones. Western-educated Turkish scholars teaching in English-language media universities dwell in a world of their own, and have no time or interest in anything published in their subjects of specialization in Turkish, especially as most of these publications are “wanting” in APA or MLA rules. The disdain appears reciprocal, as scholars publishing in Turkish, whose professional formation is basically turcology (which embodies various branches of Turkish studies), tend to consider the authors of publications in English mostly ill-equipped to tackle such subjects. They consider moreover the publications themselves, when they are able to read them, as more often than not demonizing Turks and Turkey. As long as there is this rift, cultural studies in Turkey cannot develop adequately. I believe this is the most important hurdle cultural studies of Turkey in Turkey needs to overcome.
6. The abundance of material. As mentioned earlier, cultural studies knows no boundaries, and any scholar, whether a Turk or a foreigner can do research on any topic. The fact is that there is a lot of material that has remained untapped that needs to be seen to descriptively, to start with. So, many scholars who would be doing cultural studies are distracted by this material that needs to be dealt with traditionally. Put in another way, one cannot start work on criticizing museums (questioning their particular display of material, etc.) when studies on how museums should be organized have not been fully developed first.
7. One problem that is not discussed enough is the Turkish predicament of being both the hegemon and the subaltern. Depending on their political stance, scholars will adopt either one or the other view, but that is seldom the whole picture, so something is always missing, and the work ends up being not totally satisfactory. Those writing in English see Turkey as a Third World country and consider Turkish society in like manner, while those writing in Turkish start from the premise of the “glorious past.” Both attitudes may be justified in different cases, but the existing dichotomy is detrimental to the development of cultural studies in Turkey.

CONCLUSION

Cultural studies started in Turkey in the 1990s as a soft colonial project on the part of the U.K. couched as British Council activities. It was utilized in turn by the USA operating through its USIS office (since then become the office of the Cultural Counsellor of the US embassy in Ankara), especially through the annual American studies conferences it organized in “collaboration” with ASAT (whose foundation it had instigated), not only as a function of its propaganda machine, but also for its ulterior motives: the writer of these lines remembers many an American studies conference wrap-up session during the 1990s where suddenly the “Kurdish issue” flared up, seemingly out of nowhere, without even the aid of “transitional” terms indicating a comparison could be made with such and such American issue.

Reclaimed soon enough by Turkish scholars themselves, cultural studies developed over the years in Turkey, but encounters today a number of problems it needs to cope with if it is to develop further. Humanities and social sciences have been undervalued for long in a society that is trying to catch up on the Industrial Revolution. So, an offshoot such as cultural studies naturally also possesses a low status. Grants and funds easily available for “science” subjects are inexistent for humanities and social sciences, and consequently for cultural studies. However, what is particular in the case of cultural studies is a graver matter. Whether cultural studies is and should remain merely an approach or whether it is and should be a full-fledged academic discipline is an ongoing debate even in those Western centers where it first saw the light. Be that as it may, it is a fact that in Turkey an academic cannot pursue a career in cultural studies. Attracted at first by the intellectual challenge it offers, many bright young men and women soon seek fame and glory elsewhere, and they cannot be blamed. Turkish society rests on *power*, not *achievement*, and pays great importance to hierarchy and titles. The Ottomans, from whom evolved present Turkish society never instated hereditary titles; titles—of whatever character—need to be earned, and quickly, during one's own lifetime. Thus all academics doing what would be defined cultural studies make sure their work also suits the (mostly rigid) requirements of other, well-defined disciplines—which is more often than not the loss of cultural studies. As Schneider points out, even students themselves “show little inclination to take a course of study that, to their eyes, does not lead to a career” (2002).

Moreover, cultural studies in Turkey possesses a heterogenous character. One reason seems to be that it seems to follow a two-track path, as an apparently unsurmountable rift exists between those practitioners of it doing academic work in English, and those doing academic work in Turkish. The two “sector”s are to a great extent uncognizant of each other's work, so there is no adding up, no accumulation of scholarship. KAD was born out of the necessity of doing cultural studies in one's mother tongue, of examining everyday life in the everyday language of Turkey,¹⁶ and of coining terms that were until then inexistent. Yet those academics teaching in English-medium universities have been shunning it for the very same reason.¹⁷ Turkish seems the “vulgar” language as opposed to their “Latin”; and also, because their abstraction has been in English, they find it bothersome to have to translate or to coin new terms. Furthermore, those teaching in English-medium universities need to continue to

¹⁶ It eventually did introduce English partially as a working language, as foreign scholars working on Turkish subjects who were not in full command of Turkish yet wished to attend the conferences it organized started sending abstracts. Those young Turks of Germany who were born in Germany and did not know academic Turkish were also allowed to present their papers in English. In 2005 (at the “Identity and Culture conference), the plenary lectures given by Jacob Landau and Geoffrey Lewis (on pan-Turkism and the Turkish language reform respectively) were translated simultaneously for the participants. In 2011 (at the “Space and Culture” conference), when Edward Soja and Setha Low spoke in English, the funds allocated by TÜBİTAK were insufficient for (the high-priced) simultaneous translation, but no one in the audience objected.

¹⁷ Annedith Schneider of Sabancı University is the only one so far who has become a KAD member.

do work i. e. to publish in English, as in order to be promoted in their universities they need to be figured in journals indexed in the USA.¹⁸ Which automatically prevents any accumulation of knowledge and scholarship in cultural studies in Turkey. This covert neo-colonialism of the Western-educated mind is overlooked in the current discourse on globalization, and the implementation of such projects as the Erasmus program which assumes that all instruction under the sun may somehow be conducted in English.

One practical result is that those scholars who may not know English never get to benefit from the scholarship in English on their subjects, thus never become truly cognizant of the “cultural turn” and continue their production of theory-free work—for which there is more than abundant untapped material, as mentioned above. Yet the bulk of material that is the subject matter of potential cultural studies work is in their possession, so to speak. Most Western-educated academics teaching in English-medium universities are not graduates of Turkish history or literature or related subjects. They only bring the method, and of course the theoretical framework that is the basis of their work. But again, this theoretical framework is founded on Western theoreticians' ideas, and what they propound is not always relevant to the Turkish situation (see Pultar, “Küreselleşme Çağında Ezberler Bozulurken: Türk(iye Kültürleri ve Kuramsal Çerçeve Arayışları” [As Received Wisdom is Being Shattered During the Age of Globalization: Cultures of Turks / Cultures of Turkey and the Search for a Theoretical Framework] for a treatment of this and related issues).

Yet a more important point is that these ideas do not emanate from within, and so do not reflect the predicament (of e.g., being both “hegemon” and “subaltern,” as discussed above). There is as yet no cultural studies textbook in Turkish, nor perhaps is there any need for one. The five universities where it would/could be used as a regular student textbook are all English-medium universities. These universities all stress the interdisciplinary nature of cultural studies and the need for the students to acquire a critical, questioning stance. However, their main concern is, as I already co-wrote with Kırtunç, “training the students in the theories of the major figures of Anglo-centric cultural studies (with that of the ubiquitous French as part of its corpus) to allow them to 'perform,' namely, do research, teach, participate, in the international academic arena, as masterfully as all other international scholars” (Pultar and Kırtunç 2004), rather than forging Turkish cultural studies / cultural studies of Turkey. It is as if they have all been vested with cloaks of neo-colonization in which they are warm and cozy, cloaks that allow them to confront the chill of globalization on the same “platform” with Westerners.

On the other hand, many books by sociologists such as Göle, Şerif Mardin and Nermin Abadan-Unat, as well as by various scholars on media and communication that could easily be labeled cultural studies are categorized as texts of sociology, literature, etc. because of the rigid departmentalization that rejects interdisciplinarity, and does not recognize cultural studies on par with those conventional disciplines.

In the meantime Turkish society is changing fast. It is changing fast in the twenty-first century and requires analysts and theoreticians to make sense of the transformation, at a time when the radical alterations brought about by the Kemalist revolution and the establishment of the Republic in the twentieth century have not yet been sufficiently analyzed and put into perspective. The necessity of shedding the neo-colonized mantle, however cozy it may be, of moving beyond titles and labels, and doing substantial cultural studies in Turkey remains an acute issue.

¹⁸ The extreme in this conduct is probably that of Bilkent University in Ankara which does not deem publications in Turkish by its faculty worthy of consideration, and so does not list them on its website.

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Culture in Use: Nation and Region Building in the
Time of Late Modernity

Memory of the Past and Memory for the Future: History on the Crossroads of Nation-building

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The paper focuses on the nationalisation of history and changes in memory politics of Ukraine after the dissolution of the Soviet Union. The questions of history re-writing and re-evaluating is endemic to transitional societies. The very possibility to approach certain events is a direct consequence of freedom of speech that followed the disintegration of the socialist bloc. As a case study the paper scrutinizes new conceptualisations and interpretations of history of the WWII with a special focus on Ukrainian nationalist movements that acted in Western Ukraine in 1929-1956: the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army. There have been constant attempts to place the heroic narrative about these movements into the core of a national history, yet this narrative failed to cross the invisible walls within Ukraine and the narrative purposed for the whole nation remains regional in its significance. The paper is to fill the gap in an existing debate and to show how complex the memory work is in the modern world. A lot of interferences on international, regional, and local levels make the representational take-over of a state-sanctioned view on history more difficult and complex. While the facts about the above-mentioned movements and their leaders were silenced and misrepresented under the Soviet rule, there are traces of new mythologization of these movements nowadays. This study analyzes politics of history in the post-soviet Ukraine as it is realized through erection of new monuments.

MEMORY OF THE PAST AND MEMORY FOR THE FUTURE: HISTORY ON THE CROSSROADS OF NATION-BUILDING

Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union and establishment of the independent state, Ukraine started the process of nationalization. This paper aims to investigate one aspect of this process - the nationalisation of history. National history hardly develops without any state support. This is well demonstrated in the example of Ukraine. The endeavours of intellectuals to nationalize history in the 1980s did not reach the higher - truly national – scale. The same can be added for the Diaspora and émigré scholars who preserved a national canon but whose works did not have a deep influence inside Ukraine before it became a sovereign state. In order to become national, a particular representation of history has to be promoted through the nation-wide channels: education, popular culture, commemoration, rituals, national calendar, etc. Because of the institutional system only a state has an access to all of these channels.

In her meticulous study of the Ukrainian nation-building Catherine Wanner noted that as it was in other former Soviet republics, nation-building in Ukraine involved converting nationalist ideology of respective titular nation into institutionalized culture which, in its turn, is perceived as an essence of the national identity¹. In the midst of nation and state-building processes Ukraine has held a shilly-shally tempo in carving its own way of ‘multi-vector’ politics that was so rigorously defended by the second Ukrainian president Leonid Kuchma (presidency 1994-2005). Famous or infamous, the ‘multi-vector’ politics has been characteristic - to smaller or larger degree – during the whole period from 1991 up to the present to all the spheres of the state politics, whether it refers to education, international relations, or language policies². This opacity and ambiguity also penetrate politics of history. A result of such politics remains obvious: it proliferates uncertainty and serves a fruitful ground for conflicts that can be frozen and un-frozen when needed, on the other hand it also serves as a ground for multi-vocal representations of the past on the local level since the lack of institutionalisation allows more space for grassroots memory work.

The present study involves questions of collective memory, or rather memories, since national history tends to select only certain memories of a certain group which are purposed to form a truthful and legitimate picture of the past for the whole nation³. Key questions in our investigation are which and whose memories are thematised and promoted as ‘national’? What meaning is ascribed to national identity through framing of national historical narrative? What do the new ways of remembering tell us about national identity formation? What political messages they transmit? Which memories are activated for remembrance and which are forced out from the memory space? Finally, these questions will lead us to further and deeper questions of relationship between individual and collective, suppressed and promoted, experienced and learnt memories, or to use Pierre Nora’s wording, ‘true’ and ‘ingrained’ memories⁴, or in Jan Assmann’s terminology, *communicative* and *cultural* memories⁵.

I see struggle of different representations of history in nowadays Ukraine as a struggle of communicative memory of certain communities to become cultural memory of a whole nation. Communicative memory is shared and transmitted within a social group defined by

¹ Cf. Wanner, Catherine: *The Burden of Dreams: History and Identity in Post-Soviet Ukraine*, The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998.

² Kulyk, Volodymyr: Constructing Common Sense: Language and Ethnicity in Ukrainian Public Discourse, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, March 2006.

³³ Cf. Nora, Pierre: Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire, in: *Representations*, No. 26, Spring 1989, pp. 7–24.

⁴ Ibidem: p. 13.

⁵ Assmann, Jan: *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen*, Munich: Verlag C.H.Beck 1992.

common memories of personal interaction through the means of verbal communication. It covers a relatively short span of time: from 80 to 100 years (Assmann 2008, 117). Communicative memory is an unstructured type of memory due to the fact that everyone takes part in the interaction where autobiographical memories are being communicated (Assmann 2008, 111). Communicative memory seldom leaves material traces. In contrast, cultural memory has a more differentiated and exclusive character. Not every member of the community can influence the content of cultural memory. It is intrinsically related to power and tradition. Hence it covers a much longer period of time than communicative memory. In contrast to communicative memory, cultural memory is encapsulated in material culture. National archives would be a most illustrative example of reservoirs of cultural memory.

In the first half of the 20th century Maurice Halbwachs wrote: “society tends to erase from its memory all that might separate individuals, or that might distance groups from each other”⁶. What the beginning of the 21st century in Ukraine seemingly demonstrates, though, is the unwillingness of Ukrainians to ‘erase from their memory all that might separate individuals’ and the willingness, instead, to remember some of the things that divide.

Maybe it is the only way of doing memory politics in the society that strives to build functional democracy by giving voice to every group and hearing all the silenced and subaltern voices?

This question is related to the democratisation of history, where history is perceived as plural in contrast to monoist history in totalitarian societies.⁷ In this respect, politics of memory is regarded as a litmus test for the preparedness of the state to transformation from totalitarian view on history to plural histories without necessarily heroic glorification and ‘monumentalisation’ of the past. Such a pluralistic view on history gives a chance to build an inclusive nation based on the principle of ‘everyday plebiscite’, to use Renan’s metaphor, whereas the people are aware of both heroic and barbaric deeds of their ancestors but this knowledge does not prevent them from envisioning their common future.

Rapid changes in society that followed the dissolution of the Soviet Union opened a Pandora box stuffed to the brims with contradictory memories. Since history is very sensitive issue that easily resonates in hearts of people, the politicians of all political hues are eagerly using it. In Ukraine, where the political programs of the parties are almost the same, history replaces the agendas the people vote for. The presidential elections in 2010 in Ukraine illustratively demonstrated this: the discussions in media did not go around the political programmes of the main candidates, they were going around the debates whether Stepan Bandera (the OUN revolutionary leader) is a hero or not, since the last presidential decision of President Viktor Yushchenko was to grant the posthumous Order of Hero to Stepan Bandera. Moreover, Viktor Yushchenko considered history per se as one of his main gains during the presidency. History sells; hence it is a good political economy to use it.

⁶ Halbwachs, Maurice: *On Collective Memory*, ed. Translated and with an introduction by Lewis A. Coser. Chicago and London, 1992, p. 182

⁷ On ‘monoism versus pluralism’ in totalitarian and democratic societies see: Kattago, Siobhan: Agreeing to Disagree on the Legacies of Recent History. Memory, pluralism and Europe after 1989, in: *European Journal of Social Theory*, no.3/2009, pp. 375-395, pp. 387-391.



The presidential election campaign 2010. The billboard with Yushchenko's portrait reads: "Own history. We have gained!" Photo: Yuliya Yurchuk.

Nationalisation of history in Ukraine has multifaceted effects: on the one hand, liberation of historic studies enables the research of silenced topics and significantly broadens the scope of historical knowledge; on the other hand, nationalization of history often succumbs to silencing the topics which can denigrate the picture of the national past. Ukrainian elites as well as some theorists of nationalism consider the coherent history as a necessary element for a nation's existence; that is why so much effort is made to forge a coherent and glorious picture of the past. At the same time, these efforts reveal the deep-rooted legacies of the Soviet historical tradition which are still present in the Ukrainian historical culture. The Soviet legacy becomes most evident when we approach the ways in which the politics of memory in the independent Ukraine is fulfilled on a state, regional, or group level. The main feature of the Soviet legacies in memory politics is a monistic view on history that promotes only one view on history and adheres to one doctrine. In this regard, Marxism-Leninism was replaced by nationalism. Another characteristic feature is a strong belief in a given destination of history and its instructive function. In such a teleological tradition history is seen as a predestined to reach a certain purpose. In the Soviet canon the history of Ukrainian Soviet Republic was subordinated to the final goal of the "re-unification" of Ukrainian people with their 'older brother' – the Russian people. In the Ukrainian national tradition of history-writing this final goal is substituted with a new one: the final goal here is national liberation and independence.

Hence, the process of construction of 'new' memories is influenced by the old legacies. Moreover, 'new' history is not a mere replacement of the Soviet memories with the Ukrainian ones; it is rather a continuous and a complex process of re-writing that involves deconstruction, re-construction and replacement of old conceptualisations and interpretations. Furthermore, the process of deconstruction has a two-fold nature. On the one hand, a process of deconstruction is aimed to shape a modified collective memory that would include "blank spots" which were silenced or misrepresented in the Soviet historical culture. This deconstruction is institutionalised through the memory politics in educational and cultural policies on the all-national level. It aims at a coherent picture of the past that is called to legitimize the nation. Generally, the process of deconstruction is intensified by three main

factors: 1) local and regional identity politics (both on administrative and grassroots levels), 2) international relations politics/geopolitical situation and 3) simultaneous existence of contradictory representations of history on the whole territory of the state and in the media, blogs, internet forums, literature, films, TV series, broadcasts, news, etc. of both national and foreign production.

PRESENT HISTORICAL CONCEPTUALIZATION OF OUN AND UPA IN UKRAINE

As it was shortly stated above, the aim of the Ukrainian history as understood in the national canon has always been a struggle for national liberation. In this understanding of national history, the Ukrainian nationalist movements and organisations of the beginning of 20th century are conceptualised as decisive nodes of Ukrainian history that had set foundation for Ukrainian statehood. The UPA struggle is embedded into the national history as a continuation of the Cossack liberation wars against all the enemies of the Ukraine, be it Poles, Turks, or Russians. By the same token, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) are represented as liberators of Ukraine from two main evils of the 20th century - Nazism and Communism. To put it concisely, the UPA is conceptualized as the closest approximation to a national army; the OUN and UPA activities are perceived as a liberation movements fighting for the independence and liberation from the two occupant regimes; consequently, both the OUN and UPA ensure the continuity of national struggle for independence and function as constitutive part of the new grand narrative where *raison d'être* of Ukrainian history is a permanent struggle for liberation. The scheme published by the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory demonstrates the lineage of liberation movement generally as it is accepted by the Ukrainian historiography and as it is taught in history textbooks. Grand narrative treats the independence as a result of a glorious struggle and tracks the genealogy of the national independence from the (1) national revival at the beginning of XX century through (2) national revolution in 1917-1921 to (3) the armed clandestine struggle of Ukrainian Liberation Organization (UVO) and OUN in 1920-30s to (4) the struggle of the UPA and the armed underground OUN in 1940-50s through (5) the dissident movement of 1960-80s up to (6) national-democratic movement at the end of 1980-90s and finally up to (7) the proclamation of the Act of Independence on the 24th August 1991⁸.



⁸ Vjatrovych, V.: UPA: Slid v istorii, The Institute of Ukrainian Memory, <http://www.memory.gov.ua/ua/455.htm>. See also a popular book Vjatrovych V., Zabilyj R., Derevjanyj I., Sodal P. (eds): *Ukrajinska Povstanska Armija. Istorija neskorenyh*, 2nd edition, Lviv, 2008, that summarizes the documents and extensive commentaries to the exhibition *Ukrajinska Povstanska Armija. Istorija neskorenyh* ("UPA: The History of the Unsubdued") which was organized in 2008-2009 by the Sluzhba Bezpeky Ukrainy (Security Service of Ukraine), Center of Research of Liberation Movement in cooperation with the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory.

Therefore, the history of OUN and UPA occupy important place in the narrative of liberation and serve as cornerstone of the liberation struggle that finally led to the independence. By such a conceptualisation two crucial conclusions are possible: the uninterrupted struggle for liberation is ensured and interpretation of the Soviet rule as the occupation is justified. Should the period be dropped out of the outlined scheme, the whole construct of national history would shatter and its main stance— struggle for liberation – would be weakened. Thus, thematisation of this period in the Ukrainian historical culture very often takes on the myth-making functions. Although opening up of history of the OUN and UPA was supposed to fill in the ‘blank spot’ in history of Ukraine and to shed light on the topics which were silenced by the Soviet historical culture, this aim has not been reached. The conceptualization per se of the OUN and UPA as a cornerstone of Ukrainian liberation sets limitations to historical representations of these themes. As an integral part of the liberation movement the history of OUN and UPA can only be glorified and celebrated. This involves silencing and suppressing deeds which do not correspond to the glorious picture, as mass killings of Poles by the UPA soldiers in Volhynia in 1943, or partaking of UPA soldiers in killings of Jews. The need in glorious past and, consequently, the conceptualisation of history of OUN and UPA in accordance with this need results in externalization of communism and fascism as some foreign evils and depicts the Ukrainian people as victims who fell prey in the name of their cherished dream – that of the independence of Ukraine. Moreover, as the history of OUN and UPA refers to the past of only a part of the people of Ukraine – those who live on its western territory, its conceptualisation as the all-Ukrainian liberation movement succumbs to over-generalisations and misrepresentations that were characteristic to the Soviet historical culture that glorified the vast participation of Ukrainian people in ranks of the Red Army and underestimated the number of those Ukrainians who were in ranks of the UPA. In general, the total area involved in the insurgent movement in 1944 was made up of 150,000 square kilometres where nearly 15 million people lived. It was approximately a quarter of the present Ukrainian territory. On the rest of the area of the present day Ukraine the insurgency was not popular, the Red Army was seen as a force that could overthrow the Nazi enemy. These differently experienced ‘pasts’ still divide the perceptions of the war among the population and form the ways of remembering. Taking into account these differently experienced pasts there is no wonder that the confrontation in perceiving the past still exists. Can this confrontation be overcome? The question rather is whether a nation which is in the midst of process of its formation is ready to deal with history only as the time bygone without succumbing to its mythologizing and sense-giving nature and giving orientation to the future? Even nations with long-lasting nationhood and statehood are not ready for such an enterprise, not to speak of nations that achieved their statehood comparatively recently. Thus, the confrontation and conflict seem to be endemic for a nation whose members’ memories are divided by the experienced past.

In my discussion further discussion I will outline how new memories of OUN and UPA were promoted by the memory politics in the period 1991 up to the present.

MEMORY POLITICS IN UKRAINE 1991–2010

Presidents Leonid Kravchuk (presidency 1991–1994) and Leonid Kuchma (presidency July 1994 - January 2005) took up Ukrainian national historiography based on Hrushevskiy’s conceptualisation which was banned in 1930s but which was adhered to by the Diaspora. The outcomes of their memory politics became visible in changes of curricula, toponymes, alteration of national calendar, in replacing Soviet era monuments (mostly to Lenin) with monuments to Ukrainian national heroes. In some cities, the monuments to Lenin remained, although, they were shifted from the central sites to remoter streets. These alterations have not resulted in alterations of rituals, though. So, if in the Soviet times just married couples laid

flowers to Lenin's pedestal, the in the independent Ukraine they lay flowers to the monuments of Shevchenko, a Ukrainian 19th century national bard. At the Soviet times the portraits of Lenin decorated each official's office and even classroom, now this 'decorative' function in the office is superseded by the portraits of the president or the prime-minister whilst in the classroom the portraits of Shevchenko or Lesya Ukrainka (Ukrainian poetess) are more frequent. Such a continuation of tradition reveals a deep incorporation of the Soviet ritual forms of representations of the Soviet identity into the 'new' representations of Ukrainian national identity. Such a close adherence to the old tradition might well reveal both the nostalgia for the cult of personality still present in Ukraine and impossibility of the community to go beyond the inherited and accustomed forms of self-representation. The same impossibility to surpass the old tradition is traced in the forms of monumental representations of heroic figures. By and large, the new national heroes are meshed into the same aesthetic forms as their Soviet predecessors. Sometimes such monuments give us a feeling that the only parts changed to the old hero is the head and an inscription.

As the entire politics of 1991 - 2005 was marked with incongruity and multi-vector character, the same is valid to the memory politics in relation to OUN and UPA. On the one hand, the school textbooks started to represent members of OUN and UPA as heroic warriors for Ukrainian independence, equal in their heroism to Cossacks⁹; on the other hand, the themes of OUN and UPA did not reach the wide sphere of historical culture which would construct a common collective memory nation-wide. As it was mentioned before, memory politics was concentrated primarily on educational policy; the whole panoply of cultural policy was overseen. So, in 1997 Kuchma established a committee where historians had to approach OUN and UPA and make their conclusions on the role of these organisations in history of Ukraine. The committee came out with the conclusion which was published in 2005 with 300 issues only. In their conclusions, scholars estimated the high complexity of the history and suggested that it would be problematic to establish the same congruent picture of the OUN and UPA in all the regions of Ukraine that had differently experienced the war and the UPA activities¹⁰. The long debated question of granting social privileges to the UPA veterans equal to those enjoyed by the Red Army veterans remain unsolved up to these days.

In 2005 Viktor Yushchenko came to power with a huge 'historical agenda' in his hands with promises to make Ukrainian national history free of 'blank spots'. Yushchenko referred to the OUN and UPA themes as if they had a potential to generate points of reference in the identification of the whole nation. His politics of memory was declaratively aimed at incorporating OUN and UPA into national history not only on the educational level but also in some normative institutionalised practices. Yushchenko declared his intentions to solve the long lasting problem of the former UPA soldiers who did not enjoy any state aid. As veteran pension is aimed only for those who fought against the Nazi the welfare system excludes a number of former soldiers of the UPA who fought against the NKVD units. President's declarations have, though, remained mere declarations and had no effect on the lives of UPA veterans. The problem of financial support of the UPA veterans is partly addressed on the

⁹ See Wilfried, Gilje (2006), Marples, David (2007)

¹⁰ Conclusions of the commission "*Organizacija Ukrajinskyh Nacionalistiv I Ukrajinska Povstanska Armija: Fakhovyj vysnovok robochoji grupy istorykiiv pry uriadovij komisii z vyvchennia dijalnosti OUN I UPA*" can be downloaded from the web-site of the Institute of National Memory under <http://www.memory.gov.ua/ua/454.htm>.

local level. The city councils in some of the bigger West-Ukrainian towns make monthly additional payments for the UPA veterans¹¹.

Nevertheless, if the politics of memory under Yushchenko was not efficient in practical matters, it was productive in the symbolic space. First step with the heavy symbolic weight was made through granting the Order of Hero to Roman Shukhevych – the commander of the UPA¹². Then in January 2010, at the very end of his presidency, Yushchenko granted the Order of Hero to Stepan Bandera¹³. These orders caused heated debates and even court suits. So, on April 2010 a district administrative court in Donetsk cancelled the presidential decree on the Order of Hero granted to Bandera as he was not a Ukrainian citizen. The logics of the accusation against allegedly unlawful presidential decree went as follows: since before 1991 there was no Ukrainian state and no one before the year 1991 could be a citizen of Ukraine, Bandera as a non-citizen of Ukraine could not be given such an Order. In response to the court's resolution, Yushchenko addressed a court of appeal but finally he lost the case.

With a purpose to institutionalize the politics of memory, in 2006 Yushchenko sanctioned the foundation of the Ukrainian Institute of National Memory. On its activities, Vladyslav Verestiuk, a vice-director of the Institute, commented that the Institute did not have a clear directive on the executive actions, it was rather an educational institution, which was called to distribute a correct vision of history and develop recommendations on how to approach history, especially its problematic periods and events which were defamed and misrepresented by the Soviet propaganda. The most 'painful' themes in his view are Holodomor, the World War II, and the UPA¹⁴. Although, the Institute does not have the extensive normative power, it had a potential to become a strong propagandistic instrument. During the years 2008-2009 the scholars from the Institute of National memory cooperated with scholars of the Sluzhba Bezpeky Ukraïny (Security Service of Ukraine) and the Center of Research of Liberation Movement in organisation of the exhibition "The UPA: History of the Unsubdued" that took place in many cities of Ukraine and abroad. The archives related to the history of the UPA were subordinated to the Security Service of Ukraine, a slow process of disclosure of the archives began, especially intensive it was during two last years of Yushchenko's presidency (2008-09).

The politics of memory promoted by Yushchenko was not welcomed in all the regions of Ukraine. In the state's memory politics the oppositional parties found the stimulus to protect, preserve and claim their own 'righteous' views on history. Yushchenko's politics was criticised by his opponents for attempt to instil 'foreign' views on history and even to 'Halicia-nize' the entire Ukraine.¹⁵ The reaction towards state's nationalizing politics in the

¹¹ On the situation of the Red Army veterans and the UPA veterans in Ukraine, see Portnov, Andrij and Portnova, *Tetjana: Der Preis des Sieges. Der Krieg und die Konkurrenz der Veteranen in der Ukraine*, Osteuropa, 2010, No. 5, s. 27–41, particularly p. 36.

¹² Decree of the President of Ukraine № 965/2007 On Granting the Order of Hero of Ukraine to R. Shukhevych, can be retrieved under <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/6808.html>.

¹³ Decree of the President of Ukraine № 46/2010 On Granting the Order of Hero of Ukraine to S. Bandera, can be retrieved under <http://www.president.gov.ua/documents/10353.html>.

¹⁴ Field notes, February 6th 2010.

¹⁵ It seems that the comments about the 'Galicia-nization' first appeared after a partisan of the Party of Region, Dmytro Tabachnyk, published a series of articles in "Argumenty I Fakty" (a boulevard-press paper which belongs to the oligarch close to the Party of Regions) with overtly Ukrainophobe tones, depicting all the population of the Western Ukraine as "halychany", "banderivets" who "genetically are not even Slavs". Paradoxically, Dmytro Tabachnyk was appointed as a Minister of Education by Yanukovych in new Cabinet 2010. For references see: <http://www.gazeta.lviv.ua/articles/2010/04/29/41202/>; <http://unian.net/ukr/news/news-309763.html> (accessed 20 August 2010) Tabachnyk's statements were eatedly confronted in the media, see e.g. a series of critical responses from a well-known Ukrainian dissident-shestydesiatnyk Ivan Dziuba: <http://www.day.kiev.ua/301498>.

eastern regions was blatant. The monument to ‘the residents of Luhansk who were murdered by chastisers-nationalists from OUN and UPA’ was inaugurated in 2010, just after the Order of Hero was granted to Bandera. The ceremony of inauguration was opened by the officials of Luhansk city council together with Alexander Yefremov, a leader of the Party of Regions, Konstantin Zatulin, a deputy of the Russian State Duma and the priests of Moscow Orthodox Church who solemnly consecrated the monument.

A series of counter-actions in other cities of eastern Ukraine followed the example of Luhansk. When Yushchenko granted the Order of Hero to Stepan Bandera, in Odessa Bandera’s effigy was set on fire. Together with the effigy protestors were burning history textbooks, declaring in such a way their attitudes to the ‘national’ history project. At the same time, in Simferopol the exhibition *‘Repressions of NKVD against the supporters of the national liberation movement in Western Ukraine’*, organised by the charity foundation of Kateryna Yushchenko, was boycotted. The protestors were waving Russian flags, some were holding portraits of the Patriarch of Russian Orthodox Church, and all this accompanied by the anthem “God save the tsar!” Although these protests never gathered a vast mass of people, they vividly demonstrated the main actors who are engaged in the use of history: political parties, both Ukrainian and Russian, church, civil actors and charities have their own interests in faming and defaming the UPA. In East- and South-Ukrainian cities steered representations of the UPA were rejected as a forged picture of the past, a blatant lie, alien to the local population. Consequently, such a rejection resulted in counter-representations of the past, reflected in the monuments and exhibitions.



Boycotting the exhibition in Simferopol, February 2010. Photo by Iryna Gnativ. The protests were accompanied by songs like “God save the Tsar!” Some protestors held portraits of the Patriarch of Russian Orthodox Church. As a result the exhibition was cancelled, only some placards about repression by the NKVD against Orthodox priests were shown for the public.

In the Western Ukraine the memory works differently from that in Eastern Ukraine, but it is not less complex. Some scholars tend to see western Ukrainians as exclusionist ethnic nationalists unable to bear the heavy luggage of ethnic and historical diversity inherited by the Ukrainian state. Be it so, the state-sponsored memory with its nationalising stance would have been unanimously welcomed

and celebrated. This is not the case, though. We can speak about a complex patchwork of memories that very often include opposite poles. This becomes particularly evident when we look at the publicly sited places: here the monuments to Red Army soldiers stay close to the monuments of the UPA leaders that appeared after 1991. One more characteristic feature in representations of history here is the appearance of the all-inclusive monuments that commemorate the victims of the “famines, repressions, and war” without any indications to perpetrators to whom these victims fell prey. Such wording does not make distinction between the nationalities of victims or of perpetrators. It consequently contributes to the general victimisation of nation and its martyrology.



The all-inclusive monument to the victims of the famine, repressions and the war. Zytomyr Oblast.
Photo: Yuliya Yurchuk.

This monument vividly demonstrates the patchwork-like character of memory work that unites in the space of one monument seemingly “un-unitable” features. Here we see the dates of the war 1941-45 which represent the Soviet historical canon and excludes experience of those who suffered from the Nazi-Soviet intrusion in 1939 (among others there were Ukrainians), but this episode is shifted out from the memory space of this monument. Another controversial element of the monument is a symbol of cross that clearly refers to the Christian tradition and excludes Jews and other convicts or unbelievers who also suffered from the war and repressions. This monument though excludes these groups from the commemorative space of “all those who were innocently murdered and killed” as inscription on the plate reads.

During our observations we noted a distinct feature in a geographical distribution of monuments. To put it schematically, L’viv, Zakarpatska, Ivano-Frankivs’k, and Ternopil oblasts are the most ‘rich’ in monuments for the UPA leaders. Farther to the east, with Volyn’, Rivne, up to Zhytomyr oblast monuments to the UPA heroes share the space with monuments to the Red Army heroes, although UPA movement was very popular in Volyn and Rivne regions where the armed insurgency actually began under the command of Taras

Bul'ba-Borovets' in 1940-41. Starting with Chernihiv oblast and further to the east and the south, monumental representations are getting intensified and exclusively focused on the Soviet era heroes. Luhans'k and Donets'k oblasts as well as Crimea can be seen as an opposite pole to L'viv, Zakarpatska and Ivano-Frankivs'k oblasts in respect of 'distribution' of the monuments glorifying the UPA. As we noted before, Luhansk and Simpheropol e.g. provide us with counter-representations of the UPA history.

Such complex texture of monuments reflects not only the political struggle of the elites in different regions of Ukraine; it also reflects the complexity of the past experienced by the people and its further conceptualisation by the Soviet and post-Soviet historical culture. In western Ukraine the war memories combine the struggle in the ranks of the UPA as well as that in the ranks of the Red Army. It was not a seldom case that one biography encompassed membership in rival camps. These memories still remain on their communicative level – they are reproduced from generation to generation, thus the take-over of the Soviet propaganda was not so decisive and cardinal as it was in the rest of Ukraine. Quite opposite is the situation in the eastern Ukraine. Although the ideas of OUN were disseminated in the east and found some popularity there, they never led to such a mass movement as it was in the Western Ukraine¹⁶. Hence, the memories of OUN and UPA are actually absent as memories *per se* and the knowledge about these organisations is formed primarily by Soviet historical culture which silenced these topics and denigrated the mere notion of Ukrainian nationalists. That is why each step to commemorate the UPA heroes on national level raises the waves of protests in the Eastern regions.

With the election of Viktor Yanukovych as the President of Ukraine in 2010, the politics of memory started to take on some new features, especially what refers to the OUN and UPA. First steps towards alterations were already made. The first illustrative step was a common Ukrainian-Russian-Byelorussian celebration of the victory in the WWII and the come-back of the naming 'Great Patriotic War' to the terrain of Ukraine. Victor Yanukovych appointed a new director of the Institute of National Memory – Valeriy Soldatenko, born in Donetsk oblast and a partisan of the Communist Party of Ukraine. In the opinion of many commentators, the newly appointed director represents an overtly pro-Russian version of history. His views of the Famine of 1932-33 which he hesitates to call 'Holodomor' and his 'negative attitude' to Shukhevych and Bandera became the most discussed issues among the intellectuals, journalists and some politicians¹⁷.

INTER-RELATIONS OF MEMORIES

Memories unlike states do not have boundaries. Therefore, when we speak about memories that constitute Ukrainian historical culture, we cannot overlook historical cultures in the neighbouring countries, primarily Russia and Poland. Since the historical cultures in these countries as well as their politics of memory penetrates into the Ukrainian terrain and influences the attitudes and views on history of the people in Ukraine. The strongest influence comes from the Russian side, since there are no linguistic barriers between Russia and Ukraine which make the flow of information fluent and unhindered. Furthermore, a wide range of Russian mass media products are distributed throughout Ukraine. As it was

¹⁶ On attitudes to the OUN in Donbas see e.g. Stakhiv, Ye.: *Kriz tiurny, pidpillia i kordony. Povist mogo zhyttia*, Kyiv: Rada, 1995.

¹⁷ See the article of Soldatenko in *Ukrainska Pravda* 'Pro holodomor, Shukhevycha i Banderu' <http://www.pravda.com.ua/columns/2010/08/16/5303963/> (accessed 18.08.2010). It is worth mentioning that in the article the word 'holodomor' is spelled with small letter with purpose to emphasize the mistaken nature of such naming. Elsewhere in historical and media discourse it is spelled with capital 'H'. This purposeful spelling was often mentioned in the discussions aroused in the electronic media.

mentioned before, historical culture is formed not only by historians and their writings; it is to a larger extent formed by media, cinema, literature, etc. Easy accessibility and vast availability of the Russian TV and radio broadcasts, cinema and literature contribute to existence of parallel memories in Ukraine. The richness and availability of the information expose people to different historical cultures simultaneously. The Soviet and Russian films that depict the UPA in the tradition of the Soviet propaganda exist together with some Ukrainian films which show the UPA heroic past. Noteworthy, the number of the Soviet and Russian films well outnumber the Ukrainian ones. Moreover, the films and series of Russian production are of higher quality and some of them are shown in cinemas¹⁸. Ukrainian films, on the contrary, are of a poorer quality, have a rather documentary character, are not shown for the mass audience, and are available only for the people interested (via Internet, or rarely, in DVD shops). Taking into account, a gamut of common collective memories that are transferred from generation to generation on both sides of the Ukrainian-Russian border, the Russian historical culture not only forms but also reflects collective memories of a part of the Ukrainian population.

CONCLUSIONS

‘New’ memories in Ukraine are often cast in the old mnemonic moulds shaped by the Soviet historical culture. At the same time they are shaped with certain aspirations for the present and the future. So, we can speak not only about the coming to terms with the past but also about coming to terms with the present and coming to terms with aspirations for future.

The Soviet era rituals and monuments are still present not only in the commemorations of old heroes but also in celebrating the new ones. Nineteen years of independence were not sufficient for a cardinal change in a general approach to history and re-evaluation of the role of historian and historical knowledge. A monistic view on history still prevails in the Ukrainian historical culture. Historians are still seen as main judges who are called to legitimize the existing order.

History of OUN and UPA presents a challenging case for establishing a national canon in history: on the one hand, it is a case that delineates specifically Ukrainian experiences from those which were perceived as all-Soviet experience of the war which actually was seen as a core of the envisioned Soviet nation. On the other hand, the past of OUN and UPA is related to a part of Ukrainians; institutional attempts to establish it as a national past are rejected by other parts of the population.

Experienced memories seldom refer to the entire population of a country. Even in situations when some memories are common for the majority of the population, there are minorities who do not share them. In order to become common for a bigger community, memories of a certain group need to be promoted by the state through all the channels available to the state: education, identity politics, international affairs, cultural policies, etc. When entire project of nationalisation, though, fails, the nationalisation of history also fails. In the situation, when we have a divided society where both elites and civil groups are not willing to cooperate and do not have a common vision of the future, the process of coming to terms with the past is saturated with conflicts and tensions.

The given case of OUN and UPA in Ukraine demonstrated that learnt memories and experienced memories are equally strong in their meaning-generating potential. The revealed secrets of ‘blank spots’ of history did not result in replacement of old memories. Old memories persist and influence present; furthermore, they enforce the discourse that created

¹⁸ As e.g. “We Are from the Future” directed by Andrei Maliukov that glorifies the Red Army and denigrates the UPA.

them. Hence, the Soviet discourse does not vanish entirely; it still exists in the realm of memory. Far too often a historian is called for as an arbiter in the arguments with political claims and little space is left to a professional historian when the national identity and national memories are at stake.

The Role of Culture in Creation of Regional and a Common European Cultural Identity – Istrian Case Study

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This paper explores the processes of imagining the nation and the construction of identity in the competing narratives of the Istrian history, space and culture as the key references of identities derived from the transcultural contact zone at the crossroads of the Mediterranean, Central Europe and Balkans. We will demonstrate how the intellectual elites of this liminal borderland made a use of culture for the nation- and region- building. Our research will be focused on the articulation of the regional cultural identity, narrated in the work of the Istrian polyhistor Mijo Mirković (1898-1963), who used the elements of traditional culture to (re)construct the local identity, seriously endangered in the period of fascism. His work also provides a model for understanding the transition from the pre-industrial oral culture into an unstable modernity which seized Istria in the most barbarous of manners employing the imperial and colonizing trespassing practice, the untypical ideological blend of a mass consumer culture and aggressive interventions of totalitarian ideologies into identity. We will also explore contemporary models of creative use of culture in creation of regional and a common European cultural identity.

THE ROLE OF CULTURE IN CREATION OF REGIONAL AND A COMMON EUROPEAN CULTURAL IDENTITY – ISTRIAN CASE STUDY

The idea of culture which will be dealt with in this paper subsumes questions of values, symbolism, language, tradition, belonging and identity (Eagleton, 2000). Culture has always had two dimensions: the identity associated with heritage in order to preserve our own roots, and openness bound to the history, to reflect the contemporary world. Dominique Wolton defines cultural identity as a dynamic process based on communication with others: "Culture encompasses all environmental elements that allow to be placed in the world, to understand it, to live and not feel threatened or excluded" (Wolton, 2005). Cultural identity as a project of belonging and organization of the sense of life today is based on freedom of cultural choice. Postmodernism has deconstructed the monologue exclusivity of traditional identity formation, so that in the postcolonial globalizing world we are talking about hybrid, multiple, fluid identities, where it is considered that everyone has the ability to choose his/her own identity independently through processes of identification with a particular social group or lifestyle.

In the age of globalization and of late/liquid modernity culture changes the meaning of the concept of identity as a permanent, stable and unchanging means of social integration of individuals and groups. The postcolonial and the postmodern (or late modern) condition and the theories that (re)define it, articulate culture as a dynamic, open structure to build a fundamental (globalized) identity as transnational and hybrid. It is a kind of cultural determinism, which explains the world of globalization as an economic and political hegemony of the economic-political ideology of the West, and at the same time explores strategies of the counter-hegemonic resistance in terms of culture as the bearer of identity and meaning.

Unlike western societies, which have matured from the necessity of collective identity to the civil right on their own choice and convert the construction of identity into a creative bricolage, for marginalized and excluded groups of the oppressed on the global periphery, cultural identity was the only answer to globalization issues. While the postmodern individual continuously reintegrates and rebuilds itself, negotiating in a sovereign way with ideological apparatuses, free of the inertia of traditional authorities, pre-defined routines and unquestionable truths, the vast majority of humanity is trapped in a cage of imposed identity, from which, as natural and historical necessity, can not escape.

If we accept that the identity is the source of meaning and experience of the people (Castells, 2004), it is necessary to explore the ways that various cultural and discursive practices used in the "expansion of the the battle zone" in the border and peripheral contact zones of our interest, such as Istria. Choosing a single identity in the fluid modern world, as Bauman points – is a risky operation. Our ancestors had no such choice: in the era of nation-building, identity was a weapon to fight. It was used in defense of small, local knowledge, memories, traditions and habits, but also for the homogenization against different communities. "Identity is at the same time the fight against disintegration and fragmentation, the intention of devouring and a firm refusal to be eaten" (Bauman, 2009). These models are now deprecated: if the fate of the modern world, as Stuart Hall points out, is cultural diversity, ethnic absolutism seems regressive line of late modernity. In this context, the greatest danger are the forms of national and cultural identities that are trying to ensure their survival by adopting closed versions of culture and community, and refusing to deal with difficult problems that arise when trying to live with difference (as we have seen, globalization and multiculturalism influenced the revival of national identities).

A critical look at the concept suggests that the cultural identity, as a local response to the globalization of cultural trends, is constantly being re-constructed or "invented" and conceived with the help of stories, symbols and other forms of representation, based on the basic systems of language, ethnicity, religion, heritage or history.

The process of discursive formation is common in the creation of European and individual national identity. Although such cultural and historical constructions have a certain emancipatory role in the fight for human rights, freedom and democracy, they often justify the use of force, genocide and war.

Specifically, such a process of totalitarian "imagining of community" and the construction of national identity based on grand narratives always as result and side effects has the homogenization and the exclusion of Other and different as a foreign and hostile.

We analyzed how the border area, on the basis of grand narratives, constitutes a very similar literary and cultural models of identity construction as opposed to neighboring culture that is perceived as otherness and difference. As such literature produced border, so the border produces its literature, which it defines and defends. As an opposition to this model, we will introduce and explore sustainability of the contemporary practice of multiculturalism, cultural pluralism and intercultural dialogue, cultural tolerance, interaction and transborder cultural communication.

ISTRIA - A MODEL FOR SUSTAINABLE MULTICULTURALITY?

In this paper, Istria is defined as a multicultural, contact zone of mobile boundaries, in which through history continually meet and negotiate different cultures, which opens the possibility of cultural hybridity, exchange and change. Its turbulent history was written at the crossroads of three cultures (Slavic, Roman and Germanic), on the border between the East and West, North and South, which resulted in a wealth of different cultural influences. Political conflicts and frequent changes of borders and colonial (imperial) authorities, economic and social insecurity have caused frequent migration and transformation of the cultural identity. The Mediterranean northernmost peninsula, closest to the Central European region by sea, with the central position at the heart of Europe today is the most important Croatian tourist region and a model for sustainable multiculturalism. A turbulent past has left many traces in the collective consciousness, mentality and cultural identities: Istria is today one of the richest of Europe's regional museums, both of tangible and intangible heritage. Numerous cross-border projects and international cooperation of Croatian westernmost region with its neighbors constantly reconfirm its European identity.

The only constant in the turbulent history of Istria were constant changes of government, from the Roman Empire and Byzantium, through the Frank State, the Aquileian Patriarchy, Venetian Republic, the Pazin County, Illyric Provinces, Austria, Italy, to Yugoslavia. The division of this small area among various states and political influences of dominant European powers, especially between Venice and Austria, decisively influenced the specificity of life and variety of cultural influences and identities. A characteristic of this liminal area is the long history of migration, continuous settling of new groups of "different" in an area that between half of the 14th and the end of the 17th century experienced the ravages of war, epidemics, economic decline and general deterioration (Bertoša, 2006). All this takes place in the broader context of the Mediterranean cultural and historical model, characterized by historical dynamic and continuous transformation. Consequently, the Istrian identities from the early Middle Ages to the present are an amazing sum of "fragmented" identities of the individual parts of (the Croatian and neighboring) ethnic areas that were built in those crucial centuries, influenced by dramatic changes in the Mediterranean, Central and Southeast Europe. The biggest change in this turbulent period occurred in the border areas, which have come under attack of powerful political forces in the expansion - the Ottomans in the East, and Venice and Austria in the West. The Turkish penetration of the Balkans was followed by increased migratory movements and continued ongoing migration to the west and northwest, towards the Adriatic coast, islands and Istria, while immigration has radically changed the characteristics of cultural identity in the region. Heterogeneity of culture/s in Istria is the

result of such migrations in history. With the shift of many rulers, the Istrian history is marked by frequent migration flows and the colonization of many Greeks, Italians, Albanians, Romanians, Montenegrins, and immigrants from different Croatian regions that have come to Istria (or were settled/colonized by Venice) fleeing from the Turks (who invaded Istria nine times between 1470 and 1499!). In Istria two parallel worlds co-existed for centuries: the Roman town and Slavic village, with a few contacts (but there were also recorded processes of mutual acculturation).

After the fall of Venice in 1797, for a short time Istra was a part of Napoleon's Illyrian Provinces. After centuries of stagnation caused by wars, epidemics and famine which devastated the region on the borders of the great empires, the most significant development took place under the Austro-Hungarian Empire until 1918. The greatest progress occurred in the south of Istria and Pula, who in 1850 was selected for the main Austrian naval port (during only half a century, the population of Pula increased as much as thirty times!), while on the nearby Brijuni islands at the turn of 19th and 20th century Viennese industrialist Paul Kupelwieser has developed an elite tourism destination.

DISCOVERY OF IDENTITY AND IMAGINING OF THE NATION

National ideas and patriotic speech created a nation state in the 19th century (or, as in the Croatian case, failed to create it), printed the national anthem, built a national cultural institutions and symbols, established colonial empires, started two wars, made the Holocaust and so completed their journey through history. Social-utopian idea with its ideology and imagology raised the revolutions, wrote the engaging song and its novels, created its institutions and symbols, established its type of super state (the Soviet Union, the second Yugoslavia), conducted the purges under Stalin, provide "fraternal assistance" after the World War II and died under Russian tanks in Prague in 1968. (Oraić Tolić, 2006)

Istrian cultural and political history of 19th century was marked by the discovery of national identity/ies and by development of competing and conflicting national narratives. After the 1848 Istria, as a typical border contact zone lived a parallel, double process of national revival, first the Italian and then Croatian. Romantic discourse of national awakening spread in Istria first among Italian bourgeoisie (Croatian bourgeoisie did not exist!), whose national/nationalist narrative was built on stories of a glorious past of "high" Roman civilization. On this track, Italian historiography and publicistics in the second part of the 19th century constructed the cultural imperialistic model, developing the thesis that „most advanced“ nations must assimilate "people without history" (such as the Croatian and Slovenian)! Of course, in the dominant hegemonic model, politically stronger side disposed with discursive apparatus needed for construction of cultural identity in the region.

Claims that Italy was a natural successor to the ancient Roman Empire and medieval Venetian Republic, as well as patriotic fervor of Italian Risorgimento influenced the strengthening of Italian irredentism, which appeared as a request to join the provinces populated by Italians or mixed communities, which were left outside the national state after the unification of Italy: Istria, Trieste, South Tyrol and Dalmatia. The thesis of Istrian Italian liberals and national/nationalist-oriented intellectuals that "civilization", "language", "writing" and "culture" in general are the basic criterion for determining the origin of Istria in the ethnic, national and governmental terms, had to accept their opponents on the Croatian side (Bertoša, 1985). The question of nation and nationalism started a real political fight between the national elites in the peripheral region, politicizing oral, previously apolitical rural Slavic culture of the Istrian village.

So there also started the fight of "people without history" to preserve the survival of their cultural identity, against the hegemonic forces, cultural and political acculturation and its ultimate consequences - assimilation. Istria, which by the administrative and political division of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during the 19th century, was made a separate province directly subordinate to Vienna and detached from its national Slavic corpus, failed to grasp the Illyrian movement, as the culmination of the Croatian National Revival. Without schools in the national language, without the right to their language in everyday public use and without bourgeois intelligence, economically exploited and politically deprived Istrian Slavic (Croatian and Slovene) majority population could not be included in the current national, literary and political agendas. Austrian authorities, however, supported the local authority of the Italian bourgeoisie, while the majority village population, Istrian Croats and Slovenes, did not have any preconditions for the cultural, literary and political activities. (Strčić, 1989). Croatian and Slovenian intellectuals, among which the most numerous were the priests, sought to strengthen the national consciousness among the people of Istria by printing of the first newspapers in the native language. Through literary feuilletons in these newspapers ("Naša sloga" 1870-1915) can be monitored also the process of imagining of the nation in dramatic historical circumstances. (But, in opposition to the grand national narratives, the real regional identities have always been constructed on the local, micro-level, as a difference to the neighbouring village culture, and not on the macro, international level, as national elites wanted).

The cultural and literary life in Istria was suddenly interrupted by the World War I, the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Italian occupation of Istria, which prompted the Croatian and Slovenian Istrian intellectuals to live and create in exile. Specifically, after the Italian occupation and in particular after the arrival of Mussolini to power (in 1922), more than 70,000 Croats and Slovenes emigrated from the area called Venezia Giulia to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in several waves, a part of them also in overseas countries. Among them were mostly all Istrian intellectuals, that the new government fiercely persecuted, interned, and condemned to long imprisonment. They continued their political and cultural activity in the League of Yugoslav immigrants from Venezia Giulia, which across Yugoslavia had fifty branches and details, and in the emigre journal "Istra".¹

Emigration intensified by the adoption of the royal decree prohibiting the Croatian and the Slovenian languages in schools and churches (1923), forced changes of surnames and toponyms (1927) and finally by the prohibition of Croatian and Slovene press in 1929. In this context I would like to explore the role of Istrian intellectuals in exile, and especially of their spiritual leader Mate Balota (which is the literary pseudonym of the academician Mijo Mirković) in the most critical moments before the Second World War, and his programme of cultural, political and economic liberation and emancipation from the aggressive totalitarian regime, in the context of the "Mediterranean regionalism" literary and cultural movement between the two world wars .

LONG ISTRIAN 20TH CENTURY OF CULTURAL DIASPORIZATION

The analysis emphasizes the universality of the positions of exile "organic intellectual" as a typical experience for 20th century - a time of cultural identity diasporization (Hall). According to Edward Said, a contemporary intellectual is always in exile and at the margin, his position is characterized by hybridity and "place between" what it takes in exile, living on the borders of transcultural identity (as two typical Istrian intellectual destiny we mentioned

¹ <http://www.ino.com.hr/data/istra/1937/1.pdf>, 15.5.2011.

Mate Balota, as the representative of the Istrian Croats, who under the fascist occupation were forced to exile, and on the other side Fulvio Tomizza, as a writer and “spokesman” of the Italians which after the World War II in a large exodus left Istria).

At the intersection of postmodern and postcolonial theory, identity is defined as a narrative, as the way the community experiences and represents itself to the others through stories. According to postcolonial theory, narratives are the method simultaneously used by colonizers in the creation of an exotic Other, and by colonized peoples in order to confirm their identity and existence of their own history. In these theoretical frameworks the development of competing and conflicting narratives of the border contact zone from romanticism and national revival onwards could be traced.

Istrian narratives have often been politicized and ideologized. The same events were interpreted in different ways, so there are different, even diametrically opposed versions of official and personal histories of this border area. Since the World War II onwards, and especially during the reaffirmation of national identity in the 1990es, the history interpretations depended on the dominant national narrative.

On the other hand, the peculiar regional, "transnational" identity as an opposition to the grand national and totalitarian narratives developed. In contemplating the desirable model of coexistence, modern age again re-invented the Mediterraneanism as a form of hybrid post-identity and a model of sustainable multiculturalism. Mediterranean here appears as an (utopian) metaphor for tolerance, cultural exchange and peaceful co-existence.

So we explored Istria as a typical border zone where different cultures meet and where, depending on the dominant national narrative, coexist opposing versions and interpretations of history.

We were interested in how cultural identities are represented and constructed in a variety of oral and written narratives, assuming that narratives have central role in representation and cultural identity formation.

As the modernism has produced a grand narratives in the function of imagining the nation and the construction of nation states (and possible reallocation of the surplus of identity and culture through the imperialist projects of the colonial empire) postmodernism has to deconstruct a whole system and address the local experience of the history rewriting from the perspective of colonized subjects. Using the methodological tools of contemporary literary and cultural theory we analyzed the painful process of transition of the pre-industrial, oral, non-political, rural culture in uncertain modernity, which in Istria broke in the crudest way, during the fascism, through colonialism and imperial hegemonic practices, an unusual combination of mass culture ideology of consumerism and aggressive intervention of the totalitarian ideologies in the most intimate and most precious elements of cultural identity.

Our research showed how the different narrative techniques in a turbulent cultural and historical context ensured the transfer and "conservation" of cultural forms, the reconstruction of cultural identity and the reproduction of specific ways of life threatened by aggressive hegemonic practices.

We can conclude that Balota, from the position of the exile organic intellectuals gave the voice to his own oral culture to rewrite the history of colonized communities and himself as a subject. Uniting in himself the tradition and the modern literary and scientific approaches and methods (some of them also anticipating) and constantly oscillating between the so-called culturalism and economism, from inspiring doctoral dissertation (About the Causes of Economic Backwardness of the Slavic Peoples, defended in Frankfurt, Germany 1923) to the monumental monograph Flacius, Mirković-Balota laid the foundations for the contemporary theoretical considerations of relationship between of tradition, cultural identity and the modernization processes.

Balota's transcultural criticism, as emancipatory literary and scientific program, articulated the authentic regional culture as resistance to hegemonic discourse, with the ultimate goal of "translation" of communication of cultural patterns and particularities from one community to another.

Humanistic message of the rich life and creative work, in which he designed and aesthetically selected an indispensable contribution of the Istrian traditional culture to the European civilizational matrix, is updated by the integration processes and Croatian accession to the European Union. Especially emphasized in this process are links between Istrian heritage treasures and native elements of cultural identity with the common European values, in the continuity of the Glagolitic culture and contributions of Istrian Protestants to developing literacy in Europe, Istria, Croatia and the wider South Slavic area, through the turbulent centuries in which the modern multicultural Istrian region was built, to the dramatic changes between the two world wars, when the first generation of Istrian intellectuals gathered in new-čakavian poetic movement of «Mediterranean regionalism» created a program that has contributed to the victory over fascism and the association of Istria to the mother country. Witnessing the realization of his vision, including the establishment of the University of Pula, and the total economic and cultural prosperity of the region, which through international cooperation projects continuously affirms its European identity, we can conclude that the Mirković-Balota achieved his lifelong dream: he managed to bring closer to readers in Croatia, but also to the wider European and global environment, after centuries of isolation, his Istria, terra magica.

THE POETICS OF ISTRIAN EXODUS

Mijo Mirković – Mate Balota was a leading Istrian scientist, writer and polyhistor of the 20th century, one of the first modern culturologists, postcolonial authors and organic intellectuals (in the Gramscian sense) in the wider region. The paper analyzes Balota's/Mirković's narrative about Istrian history, space and heritage of the area, as key determinants of identity, culture/cultures emerged at this peculiar place, the crossroads of the Mediterranean, Central Europe and the Balkans.

I defined Mate Balota as an organic intellectual, a spiritual leader and an avant-garde spokesperson who anticipated the times ahead. Having had a specific role of an intellectual, he also had a political and anti-hegemonic influence. Therefore, in this paper he has been perceived as a person who was the voice of the unnamed and the oppressed people of Istria both in exile and in their homeland. After a century of silence and the history held at a standstill, he spoke in the name of the Istrian people, responded to the epistemic violence of the imperialistic project and rewrote the history of his colonized community.

Balota's scientific, cultural and literary interests had been determined by a wider cultural, social, historical and political context of the time when he lived and worked as well as by his living conditions, the cultural environment in which he had grown and intellectually matured, and especially by the scientific and literary initiatives he had encountered in his youth, his schooling years and, later, in a wider Central-European context of his studying period.

The state of exile which he had been almost launched into by the dramatic rush of history from the safety and tradition of his picturesque Mediterranean homeland to a bustling Central-European (post)modernity, significantly influenced the creation of his specific poetics and the narrative strategies of the authorial writing through which we could follow the individualization process and the creation of a modern, organic intellectual.

Balota's literary and cultural platform was published in Miroslav Krleža's (the leading Croatian intellectual of the 20th century) journal *Pečat* (The Seal) in the stormy pre-war year of 1939, questioning the prevailing literary forms and structures of the time while representing the author's antifascist plea for the literature to become a seal, a document and a

portrait of time. It was in 1938 when his socially engaged poetry, which was written in the Čakavian dialect (the base of the oldest Croatian literary language), was integrated within a collection called *Dragi kamen* (The Precious Stone). His poetics had an important social impact on the emancipation on the national and political level. It also had a great role of preserving the endangered cultural identity. Drawing from the Fernand Braudel's model of the Mediterranean culture and defining it in the realm of the space, history and a cultural heritage - that is, in the realm of a conflicting quality and the continuity of the relation towards the Other and the tradition – the hypothesis has been put forward to prove that Balota's poetry, acting within a framework of a new wave of the Čakavian dialect and the Mediterranean regional (neorealistic) movement, marked a successful continuity of the golden years of the Čakavian dialect as the first literary language of the Croats as well as it marked the affirmation of the Mediterranean cultural tradition, simultaneously disputing an aggressive manner of the hegemonic discourses. The book on the Istrian born Protestant theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Flacius*, which was published in the same year as *Dragi kamen* (The Precious Stone) in the dramatic pre-war context in 1938, we could read as a metaphor for the cultural revolutionary quality and a reform. In those times of the considerable hopelessness, it represented an ideological platform for the revolutionary solution of the process of cultural, economic and political emancipation, as well as for the liberation from the totalitarian ideologies.

Following the guidelines of the author himself, Balota's novel about the lives of the Istrian people *Tijesna zemlja* (The Narrow Land, 1946) has been read as a document and the seal of time. The novel has been explored as one of the few ethnographic monographs about Istria, where the institutions of people's lives have been documented prior to the colonial and totalitarian interventions into the cultural identity of the local community. Therefore the folklore has been analyzed as an art form representing the grasp of the world and as the opposition to the dominant culture, while the ethnography has been perceived as a true account of the culture itself.

Formation of modern collective identities and imagined communities through the narratives enabled the emergence of "the print capitalism" and "print languages", which at the time of the Reformation laid the foundations for the expansion of national consciousness and creation of national languages and literature. In this context, for our region were extremely important activities of the famous Protestant theologian Matthias Flacius Illyricus, who, as Luther's closest collaborator, with a wide circle of supporters, is responsible for printing the first books in Slavic languages and the spread of literacy in the native language among the Croatian and Istrian people. Among our scholars, Mijo Mirković dealt most extensively with the Flacius's rich opus, devoting to him three monographs, of which a third from 1960 was his life's work. In this unusual hybrid of scientific and literary monograph he explored the activities of Istrian (Croatian, Slovenian and Italian) Protestants, who have significantly contributed to the spread of literacy and culture in the wider region, especially in Istria as a specific multicultural area.

Rich literary pattern was used as a high quality research material for the model of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of cultural identity in Istria, as a typical frontier contact zone, in the dramatic historical circumstances in the past 150 years. Namely, in this period, the westernmost region in Croatia has experienced considerable transformations regarding the elements of traditional and popular culture as well as the models of cultural identification. The most important changes and the most crucial periods during which these changes occurred were documented and artistically transposed by Mate Balota – Mijo Mirković, the most relevant Istrian writer and scientist in 20th century, in his rich and versatile opus. At the same time, from the specific (post)modern position of exile (post)colonial author, he actively participated in the articulation of the modern cultural

identity of Istria. More than once, Balota clearly illustrates how the native regional and national identity was protected, (re)constructed and transformed in Istria for centuries, through using the cultural heritage in the stormy economic, political and cultural context.

Some scholars read his works also as “poetics of the Istrian exodus” (Rabac Čondrić, 1991): he wrote his most famous works such as *Dragi kamen*, (The Precious Stone, the poetry collection), series of feuilletons *Istra se mijenja*, (Istria is Changing), and *Tijesna zemlja*, (The Narrow Land) novel about the common life of the Istrian people, being displaced from his native region. He presented the cultural clash and dramatic changes in Istria during the fascist occupation in his documentary-realistic overview, presenting the everyday life of his own and other similar families in the Istrian countryside. His scientific-literary hybrids: monograph on Matthias Flacius Illyricus, the famous Protestant theologian originating from Istria, and *Puna je Pula* (Pula is Full), literary monograph which documents the turbulent history of the Istrian capital are the part of the emancipatory project of the history re-writing from the perspective of hitherto subordinate people, and confirmation of their identity and cultural continuity.

Many people from Istria experienced changing first and family names by force as a central trauma of denationalization during the fascist ‘ventennio’. Balota wrote about this aggressive intervention in the most personal features of cultural identity in his series of feuilletons *Istra se mijenja* (Istria is Changing) in 1937 and 1938, in particular, in his famous feuilleton *Moj nećak Aldo Emilio* (My Nephew Aldo Emilio). In the text, written in 1938, the author deals with the problem of denationalization and forced change of names of the Slavic population during fascism. He particularly resents the fact that his nephew, of Croatian descent, got an Italian name – Aldo Emilio. As a part of this research and my doctoral dissertation, I found Balota's nephews, who after the war with his father emigrated to America via Italy, and studied their fate. Using the method of oral history I interviewed Aldo Emilio (before he died last year in he age of 72). It turned out that, after liberation from fascism, the new government once again changed his name, and this time in – Miljenko! (Slavic variant of the name Emilio). When I asked him about the experience of personal identity - which name he prefers (Emilio or Miljenko) and how he feels, he said he did not care about his name: in the new U.S. passport after the war the only name left was – Aldo.

So we could compare grand and „little“, written and oral narratives, containing various versions of the (hi)story about the Istrian plural identities. Mirković-Balota told and literary transposed the history of his own and Istrian exoduses until the World War II, liberation from the occupiers and incorporation of Istria into the mother country. The writer's family has survived all the Istrian exoduses in the 20th century. The first large-scale migration to Moravska at the beginning of the First World War, when lots of the Istrians died, the great trauma which remained relatively unprocessed in the collective memory, was depicted in his unfinished prose *Na plodnoj Hani* (On the fertile Hana)². The evacuation to Moravska was shared by his brother Mijo and mother Mara (from May 1915 to late 1917), along with other 30,000 inhabitants from the neighbouring places around Pula, the main Austrian military port; Aldo, Nada and Gino's mother, Zlatka, were also there as well as her sister, aunt Mila.

The second large-scale exodus started when the fascists came to power and the majority of Balota's literary opus considers this painful topic. After the World War I, in particular after the Rapallo Agreement, when the Italian army entered Istria, the forced Italianisation began, including the changes in toponyms, family names and first names: Vjera Slava thus became Fedora Gloria, and Srećko Mihovilović from Pula was then called Fortunato Micheli. During the fascism in Istria, 115,157 Croatian inhabitants and other non-Italian people were forced to

² Edited in *Proza i poezija* (Prose and Poetry), Pododbor matice hrvatske, Rijeka, 1959.

change their names and surnames (Mezulić and Jelić, 2005). According to Tone Peruško, the change in name was aimed at showing, also externally, that only the Italians lived in Istria and in the rest of the Julian March; also that the feeling among the Croats and the Slovenes of belonging to the national community of people in Yugoslavia could not be so strong any more, because the surnames of people on both boundary sides were the same (Peruško, 1968).

The change in name was based on the law dated 8th March 1928, which forbade parents to give their children 'funny and immoral' names. Next year the municipalities made a list of names that had to be changed in the register books, asked parents to change them, and in cases of rejection, names were 'regularly' changed by the authorities themselves. School teachers also changed their pupils' names, said Peruško. However, something similar happened after the World War II as we can see from the story about Balota's nephew, Aldo Emilio, whose name was changed at the Yugoslavian school. His teacher did it on his own initiative, so he became Miljenko. After the capitulation of Italy, the general Istrian uprising and the decision on joining Istria to Croatia and Yugoslavia, one of the first decisions made by the newly-established revolutionary government in Istria referred to the decree issued on 26th September 1943, according to which 'all the violently Italianised surnames, names of places, villages, streets and, in general, all the Italianised signs and inscriptions were to be replaced by their old Croatian names'.

However, a new exodus started when the demarcation line between Croatia and Italy was determined after the international conferences in which Mirković took part as a negotiator (so we could say that he first defined the western Croatian border in his literary work, and then, politically, during the international negotiations process). When the World War II ended, 201,440 refugees³ left Istria, so it can be often heard that there is another Istria living in diaspora. Interestingly, among numerous emigrants, living outside Istria with different identities, there is also Balota's family, including the famous literary character Aldo Emilio. Three nephews along with their mother received the Italian citizenship, as advised by their uncle Mirković, to be able to opt and later, via Italy, join their father in America. Their father, as we found out from the eldest sister Nada, had to go to America, after having run afoul of the new authorities. He supposedly got into a fight with one of the local functionaries at the political meeting.

CONTEMPORARY USE OF CULTURE

Mijo Mirković/Mate Balota was one of the first modern Istrian intellectuals, who represented the interests of Croatian people, rightless for centuries. "A farmer, a fishermen, a sailor, an academic and a poet...first Istrian who wrote 50 books", as it is written on his grave in his native village Rakalj in southern Istria Rakalj... His poetry, in which he reconstructed the traditional culture, endangered by totalitarian practices, is now a part of popular culture. His monographs on Matthias Flacius Illirycus and Pula gave a great contribution to the cultural history of Istria, Croatia and Europe. His novel *The Narrow Land* in which he recorded, with the ethnographic precision, key elements of popular culture before the totalitarian project, experienced great popularity and became a part of the school reading. His local history project of creating of Istrian multicultural regional identity (which can be traced in the last monograph on Flacius from 1960) is still alive: political and intellectual elites like to use elements of popular culture, which he reconstructed in his works, in creation of the cultural

³ Based on data obtained from the Historical Research Centre (Rovinj), see also Dukovski, Darko: *Model egzodusa: Istarski II grande esodo, 1945.-1956. godine. Uzroci i posljedice (The Model of Exodus, Istrian II grande esodo 1945-1956. Causes and Consequences)*, p. 320.

identity of Istria as the modern, tolerant and multicultural European region. Many motifs from his poetry are used in the reconstruction of traditional culture and also in tourism, as cultural identity elements. „Tradition is also the inspiration for numerous artists who remember it, research it, and shape it in a contemporary manner. Their music, written words, figurative and stage expression, witness that homeland values can be and still are universal and lasting, that today's artist can very successfully identify with his/her roots, even at the age of omnipresent globalisation and the creation of new and unique cultural values“⁴. His verses are quoted in popular music, his name carries a department of newly established University of Pula, whose creator he was.

Nowadays, Istria is internationally positioned as the region of culture, thanks to both its rich cultural, intellectual and scientific heritage, his multiculturalism, as well as intensive development of creative industries and the specific culture of everyday living of its people. Its cultural identity is built on the tolerance and respect for the pluricultural history and the European future. Unlike the grand national narratives, which was (re)constructed after the disintegration of the Yugoslavia in 1991, Istrian regional identity is not built in opposition to the Other: our Others from the past have become neighbors with whom we successfully cooperate on cross-border and international projects, searching for the new models of cultural identification, which are not so exclusive (transnational identity: Mediterranean, European, cosmopolitan?). As the opposite to the totalizing monological exclusion of grand competing and contrasting narratives used by the politicians by occasion (the art of storytelling has created a nation, but also conflicts among them), the exchange of conflicting historical and interpretative narratives and conflicting memories could be considered contribution to redefining and re-imagining of alternative, less exclusive cultural identity of the border zone.

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⁴ From the web-sites of the Istrian County, www.istra-istria.hr, 15.5.2011.

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People From Under the Lone Oak: Using Culture for Constructing Identity in Local Livs’ Community

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The paper describes ways of constructing cultural identity of one of the smallest European nations – the Livs, who live on the north shores of Baltic Sea in Latvia. Brief historic and cultural overviews are the background for following Livs’ stories, in whose lives historical events are interwoven. The stories show how Livs are using their cultural resources in order to construct local communities.

The stories share some common points, but each one is different as it focuses on matters important for each speaker. Looking at individual stories through history and vice versa enables us to perceive Livs’ culture in new dimension and at the same time to perceive what is truly important: consciousness of cultural identity that enables Livs to endure all misfortune. Preserving the fragments of centuries old traditions prove to be the only way to subsist culture.

The paper can also be considered a part of this year’s celebration of Year of Liv Language and Culture.

INTRODUCTION

Along the Baltic coast in Latvia there are several little Liv villages. Close to one of the houses grows a huge, old oak tree. It stands alone as the area is forested mostly by pines. But the old oak is growing steadily and its branches are reaching far around. People from the area say that it has some special powers and medicine men wander to it for energy. And Livs say that their whole nation would fit under the oak's branches.

Livs are indeed very small nation: there is supposed to be not more than two hundred Livs and the Livs' language is spoken by not more than twenty of them¹. But the nation puts a lot of effort into keeping the culture at least partially intact.

Year 2011 was announced the Year of the Livs Culture and Language by International Liv Friends' Society i Līvõ Kultūr Sidām Society as it encloses many important Livs' anniversaries². Surely it will cause intensification of research of Livs' culture. At the same time people who live nearby could learn about the culture.

Research in cultural identity is always a challenge that requires different methods of gathering data. In this case I used scientific literature and fieldwork during which I was conducting interviews with Livs on the Livonian Coast in Latvia in 2009 (map 1).



Map 1: Villages along the Livonian Coast in Latvia

Livonians are recognized by Latvian law as nation. The appropriate paragraph says: “Livs are ancient nation that lives in Latvia and its culture and language are important for Latvian tradition”³. The Livonian flag has three colors that encompass the colors of life on the coast: blue (the sea), white (sand) and green (the forest). These colors were seen by every Livonian fisherman coming back from the sea.

The Livonian culture is considered endangered because many of its aspects were lost in history. Nonetheless it lasts against the odds.

¹ Ernštreits, Valts. The Liv Language Today, <http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/valoda/?raksts=168>, accessed on 20.11. 2010.

² Among others: 150th anniversary of publishing the first grammar book about Liv language (Sjorgen A.J. i F.J. Wiedemann, published by Russian Academy of Science in Petersburg), 90th anniversary of publishing the first non-religious book in Liv language (Līvõd ežmi lugdõbrõntõz – literacy anthology published by Estonian Academic Native Language Society), 80th anniversary of publishing first issue of “Līvli”, 75th anniversary of publishing first Liv elementary school book (wrote by Kārlis Stalte and published by Estonian Academic Native Language Society) and 20th anniversary of creating Līvõd rānda, the Livonian Coast in Latvia (<http://www.livones.lv/libiesi/norises/?-raksts=535>)

³ Damberga, Baiba. 2006. Introduction, In: Mednis, Janis (ed.) 2006. Green, White and Blue, Riga: Kolkasrags.

BACKGROUND

Livs called themselves Raandalist⁴, which means "coast dwellers" and Kalamied which means "fishermen". The name "Livonians" came from Latin and was first used in XIIIth century. It is unknown what it was supposed to mean⁵.

The Livonians lived on the coast of contemporary Latvia and some parts of the inland and their ancestors were there more than 3000 years ago⁶. They are part of one of the seven Finno-Ugric groups that live along the coast of the Baltic Sea. About 1500 years ago the group split onto different cultures that evolved separately. The Livonian "golden age" was probably between Xth and XIIIth centuries⁷. Regular information about the nation were noted since XIIth century.

There never had been many Livonians. They lived in small villages and in XIIIth century were only 20 percent of the whole population in the area⁸. They were mostly fishermen, traders, farmers and crafters.

Livs language belongs to south group of Balto-Finnish languages. Many different writing systems were developed over the time that were used in print from year 1863. There were only about thirty texts published prior to the Second World War, between them religious literature, calendars, literacy and poetry anthologies and the "Livlist" periodical (published 1931-1939). The Livs situation changed after Second World War.

HISTORY

As was mentioned before, the "golden age" of Livonian culture was between Xth and XIIIth centuries. Livonians were trading with Gotland, Rus and Finland. Material culture was developing and people were wealthy.

Bishop Albert set the city of Riga on the Livonian area in 1201. The christianization process was started and the Livs resisted for some time. They were defeated during one of the so called northern crusades on the beginning of XIIIth century. The Latgals, ancestors of contemporary Latvians, started to settle in the area. As an effect the inland Liv culture started to disappear. The coast became the main Livonian area that was separated from the rest of the country by forests and swamps. This is the only area where Liv culture survived.

Part of the Liv area was under the influence of Poland, Sweden and Russia and some wars over it were waged in XVIth century. After overtaking the land by Swedish the situation of Livs improved as they were allowed to cultivate their culture. Swedish were fighting off Poles but they lost to Russians and as an effect Livs found themselves under the Russian rule. The use of Liv language and manifesting cultural identity were banned.

XXth century started with the German occupation in 1915 and the order to leave the villages (the area was an important military point). Many inhabitants did not return to their houses after the First World War even if Latvia regained its independence and gave Livs some cultural freedom.

The Livs Society (Livõd Īt) and the national flag were created in 1923 with the help of Finnish and Estonians⁹.

⁴ This old ethnonym is not widely known today even between Livonians themselves (information from fieldwork conducted in 2009).

⁵ Name of the Livonians first appeared in Russian chronicle "History of the old times" (1180). Viires Ants (ed.) 2006. The Red Book of the Peoples of the Russian Empire, <http://www.eki.ee/books/redbook/>.

⁶ Šuvcāne, Valda. 2008. The Livs. A brief look at their history, In: Nakamura, Juki. 2008. The Livs, Stockholm: Booksencounters, p. 189.

⁷ Ibid., p. 189.

⁸ Ibid., p. 189.

Development of Livs culture lasted till the Second World War. In 1940 Latvia was announced the Soviet Republic. All societies, including Livs Society, were banned. After the war some Livs returned to their houses and some were sent to Siberia¹⁰.

Soviet authorities controlled Livs' activities. The fishing was restricted to marked areas and all catch had to be handed to the officials. Fishermen's kolkhozes had been organized since 1946¹¹. Fishing was prohibited in Ventspils in 1952 which led to disappearing some basic elements of local culture. Other villages that still could fish became the centers for cultural and social activities. There were schools, choir and festivals were organized. But the Soviet authorities found the way to destroy the very tradition of Livs' culture – fishing. The people were very poor and they needed money for everyday life, so Soviet authorities were paying the fisherman for every boat cut in half. This way the local people lost their source of income and also the tradition of fishing that lasted for centuries.

At the beginning of the sixties the cultural life started to decrease in the villages. People could not find work; the school and the post office were closed. Some of the people sold their houses and moved away.

The Livs' situation was changed in year 1990 when Latvia gained its independence again. In 1992 the Livonian Coast was created (Livõd Rānda) in the territory of northern Kurzeme, the only area still inhabited by Livs (picture 1). The main idea was to create a possibility to revive the culture but it was not fully possible. Many Livs did not return to their houses and other did not fish anymore. Nonetheless many activities were undertaken to save the language and the culture and to set proper relations between Latvians and Livs.

Picture 1: One of the Liv's houses on Livonian Coast. Most of them are over one hundred years old



There were few initiatives before 1991 and between them should be noted the creation of music group and the choir Livlist (since 1972) and Skadinieki (1977). The Livs' Society was revived in 1988¹² and its local groups are active to this day. Many activities about Livs' culture and language are being undertaken and between them the Livs' Festival every year.

As scientists note¹³ Livs are active in many international and national organizations (Liv Cultural Centre and Finno-Ugric Peoples Congress). The most important is the work

⁹ Waligórski, Miłosz. 2010. Ludzie z wybrzeża, <http://www.pk.org.pl/artykul.php?id=115>, accessed on 23.09.2010.

¹⁰ Juki Nakamura states that today probably there are no Livs in Siberia (Nakamura Juki, op.cit. p. 222).

¹¹ Šuvcāne, Valda, op.cit., p. 199.

¹² Šuvcāne, Valda, op.cit., p. 202.

¹³ Šuvcāne, Valda, op.cit., p. 203.

connected with preserving the language – there are many courses and books¹⁴ on the theme. There is a summer camp organized every year in Mazirbe for young Livs so they can learn the language of their ancestors.

The periodical "Līvli" is published quite regularly and it informs about contemporary events, but also about memories and the outcome of cultural and historical research.

Valda Šūvcāne wrote that "Livs did not disappeared, they assimilated with the Latvians"¹⁵, but the the Livs still defend their cultural independence even if they do not have many ways to do that.

STORIES

History and culture is different when look from the perspective of the nation and the perspective of an individual. Cultural identity looked upon from statistic point of view does not necessarily give the information about individual understanding of the term. A story about one man life can contain the bits of history and this is the reason why anthropology uses the open interviews instead of statistical data.

Livs' life stories have some similarities, of course, as they were lived through the same history. But the life of an individual is shaped differently and may associate different values.

The following Livs' stories have one thing in common: strong cultural identity and efforts for sustaining the traditions.

Gundars

Older man that lives in a small house far away from so-called "Livionian villages" is Livonian by birth. All his ancestors were Livs and his mother was the very first Latvian woman in the family. His wife was the second.

Gundars was taking a lot about his father who was well known in the area for his Livonian poems. He was fluent in Liv language and scientists from Estonia and Finland were gathering data from him.

Gundars lives in the school building – he remembers that in twenties and thirties of XX century there were special classes in Liv language in the school once a week. All other classes were thought in Latvian. The Second World War put an end to learning and Russians banned using the local language. Soon young people started to loose the language and replaced it with Russian.

Gundars' father started to speak a lot in Liv language in the nineties and made his son to learn. As an effect Gundars can speak, read and write in his language, but he is one of the few that can.

Today Gundars is retired. He is active in Livonian Society and plays the key role in the activities of the local group that consists of sixty two people. Their main goal is to teach Liv language and cultural traditions to the children.

Gundars also collects documents about his family's history so he was able to create his family genealogical tree. It dates back to year 1720. The family was pure Liv and in the last twenty years many Latvian, Russian and English names can be found on the family tree. One of Gundars' dreams is to organize family reunion, because – as he puts it – "we have to stick together, we are the Livs". The Livs – "the people of the sea", as opposed to others – "people from over the hill".

¹⁴ As for example: Boiko, Kersti. 2000, *Līvõ kēļ*, Ryga: Līvu Savienība.

¹⁵ Šūvcāne, Valda, op.cit., p. 205.

Helda

Helda's father was Liv, mother – Latvian, but the Liv language was spoken at home. The family lived in the village for many generations.

Helda had three brothers. They were separated just on the beginning of the Second World War and they found each other in Russia. They decided to come back home but it turned out their land was taken by some other people. Helda's family started to work for these people and soon they were able to live on their own. One of her brothers became a tailor, the other one – a blacksmith. And soon the year started to repeat itself as it was in the old days, when everything was in natural order. Winter, when father did not fish, was for making coaches and sleds to sell, spring was for work in the fields, summer was for fishing and smoking flounder, that was used to barter with the other villages and autumn was for fishing salmon, that was sold in Riga.

The most important part of Helda's story takes place in the thirties of twentieth century. The time of Latvia independence was also very good time for Livs. There was a fish processing factory in the area and Helda's father was its local manager. Every year the fish caught between October and January were cleaned, spiced and canned. Cans were being sold in Riga. Local fishermen were decently paid and remember this time as the time of wealth.

Helda was taught Liv language in school and she still speaks it, only there is no one to talk to – there are only three Livs in her village. Nevertheless she is active in the Livonian Society only as she is way over eighty it became almost impossible for her to get to the meetings.

She also gladly talks about her grandchildren. One of them studies Liv language, but the most important is that they all more or less speak it. Helda stresses that many young people speak better than older Livs because young ones were taught the language on special courses.

Aina B.

Her father was Liv, mother – Latvian. Her parents were sent to Siberia and when they came back their house was taken over by Russians. Aina's father wanted to stay so much that he decided to let the house go.

Aina is one of the last Livonian weavers. She was working on her loom for decades but few years back she had to stop due to eye sickness. She was making colorful Liv fabrics out of wool. The art was taught by her grandmother and for many years she was weaving in exactly the same way as generations before her. The wool was colored by natural dyes and it was easy to distinguish Livs from Latvian weaving as the latter was not even half that colorful (picture 2).



Picture 2: Liv textiles in vivid colors

The most characteristic is Liv coat – colorful, striped and folded in special way so the top layer could be used as a cap during rainy weather.

Apart from weaving Aida was also making all kinds of crafts from wool. When as a small girl she was grazing cattle she always was taking some wool and tools with her and coming

back home in the evening with a pair of socks ready or a sweater or a pillow case. She remembers that in the old days everybody made his own fabrics out of wool or flax.

Today nobody is interested in hand-made fabrics. Creating them is hard and time-consuming work. Aida's loom rests now in the local museum and some of the fabrics she gave away. Lately her hopes were awakened by her niece who wants to learn more about traditional weaving.

Keldre

Her mother was Latvian, her father – Liv, but at home Liv language was spoken.

Keldre did not talk about her family and its history – she was focused on her activities in Livonian Society where she specializes in Liv traditional dishes.

The basis for Livs' diet was fish. Herring was eaten all year long. The flounder was fished mainly in the summer, when it was quite fat. It was smoked. Fish for the winter were salted and then eaten with fried bacon, sour cream and onion.

One of the most typical Liv dish was pūtelis, made out of cooked grass seeds, that were then dried and grinded as flour. It could later be mixed with sour cream and milk and served with fish and rušrāceni (potatoes cooked with peels).

Everyday meals consisted also of variety of bread, mainly made out of rye flour (pledīņas, sīdīņas, striales), that had different shape and way of preparing¹⁶.

One of the Liv traditional desserts is widely known in Northern Latvia today: skalundraunši, also called dižraušī. Small bowls made out of semolina are filled with mixed sweetened potatoes and carrots with some cinnamon and sour cream on top. It is favorite dessert for both Livs and Latvians.

Aina R.

Her father spoke Liv when he did not want his children to understand, but even so Aina can speak the language today.

There is one of the last traditional Liv smoking house on Aina's backyard. It is made out of traditional Liv boat. It was built when Aina was ten (so seventy years ago) and it is used to this day. In the old times, when Russians banned smoking fish, flounder was packed in suitcases, covered with strong smelling herbs and smuggled into the city for sell. The smoking house was the source of family's income for many years (picture 3).

¹⁶ For example: striales were precel-like in shape and were eaten with the meal; sīdīņas were soaked in broth, baked and later served with soup and meat.



Picture 3: Traditional Liv smoking house made out of a boat cut in half

The smoking house is built out of boat cut in half and put upright. Thus the small room for smoking fish was created. Usually the old boats were used for this purpose but the one is made out of only a year-old boat that was shattered during strong storm on the sea. There is a second smoking house in the same backyard and it was made out of the boat that was used for fishing for ten years.

Those two are probably the last smoking houses made out of traditional Liv fishermen's boats. One more was built in the nearby village for tourists but it is not used and another one stands in one of the Liv house, but it is covered with ivy.

CONCLUSIONS

The stories reported above are only fragments of complex Livs' history. But even out of these fragments some consistency can be read.

The Livs are currently a very small representation of the nation that survived centuries. There are so few of them that the portraits of them all fit into one book¹⁷. But it is not the number of the men that decides about surviving or disappearing of the culture – it is the will to keep traditions alive or the lack of it.

Livs are taking care of remnants of their old culture that survived the meanders of history: they teach the language to the young generations, teach old songs, history and crafts. The fishermen traditions cannot be sustained as there practically are no Liv fishermen but the consciousness of the connection with the sea is still very strong (picture 4). It is similar with their knowledge of being a part of Finno-Ugric group: Livs joke that they are actually quite tall as for the smallest part of this group.

¹⁷ Nakamura Juki, op.cit.



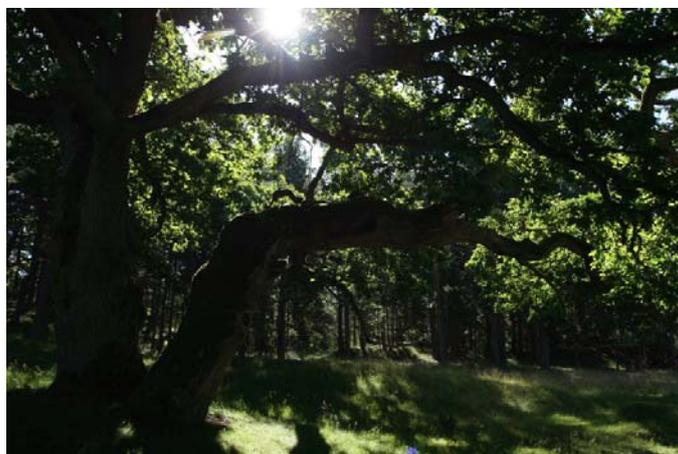
Picture 4: Fishing gear in local museum

Each of the people described above has a cultural specialty: one is putting together genealogical tree of the local Liv group, the other is saving traditional Liv dishes and the other is using the craft of traditional weaving to teach about the culture. All of them use different fragments of history to built new identity of local group.

My argument is that their experience and history prove that reconstructing parts of endangered culture is possible as long as there are people who think it is worth every effort. These might be the last Livs that care enough for their heritage to try to save as much as possible of it. The younger generations would not know the power of their culture if it would not be for these lone culture saviors.

Livs also have the understanding of the passing of their culture. There were days where whole villages were speaking Liv, today – only single people speak it and they are usually over eighty. Young people learn the language but they do not care much for the traditions.

What can be the future of the nation that can whole fit under the tree crown? (picture 5) Mixed marriages are common, language is less and less used, young people look for jobs in big cities and nobody thinks about sea fishing or agriculture. So Livs probably will assimilate with the Latvian nation. Only their strong cultural identity pushes this process over one day every day.



Picture 5: The all Livs' oak

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Current Trends and Issues in European Museum Research

Comparing the Role of Complex Cultural Institutions: Negotiating Museums

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Museums are the negotiated result of several logics: science and politics, universalism and particularism, difference and unity, change and continuity, materiality and narrative. At some contexts and moments in history they also become vital arenas for negotiating and consolidating new answers to these. In Europe an intensive demand for national museums followed the Napoleonic wars and the creation of nation states. Regional differences below and above the nation were rearranged for new spaces of knowledge and politics. In the Scandinavian context the cultural construction of Norden was vital to creating a peaceful environment in the midst of possible feelings of revenge and emancipation. In Europe trajectories of parallel interactions give witness to the long standing relevance of museums as components of what here will be theoretically constructed as a “cultural constitution” balancing nations need for continuity with handling of old and new challenged to the unity. The paper is based on research done in two projects and will also contribute to the discussion on the possibilities and limits to comparative method in culture studies.¹

¹ *European national museums: Identity politics, the uses of the past and the European citizen* (EuNaMus), EU FP Grant Agreement No 244305 running Feb 1 2010 – Jan 31 2013. www.eunamus.eu. See also www.nordicspaces.eu, *National History – Nordic Culture. Negotiating identity in the museum*. Financed through Riksbankens Jubileumsfond 2008–2011. Peter Aronsson, "Vad är ett nationalmuseum?," *Årsbok KVHAA* (2010a); Peter Aronsson, "Explaining National Museums. Exploring comparative approaches to the study of national museums," *National Museums. New Studies from around the World*, S.J. Knell, P. Aronsson, and A. Amundsen, (eds) (London: Routledge, 2011). Peter Aronsson, "Uses of the Past; Nordic Historical Cultures in a Comparative Perspective," *Culture Unbound. Journal of Current Cultural Research* 2 (2010b)

COMPARING CULTURAL PROCESSES

A comparative approach is built out of a question and the definition of a comparative object that is consistent and productive in relation to that question.

The question is here how the making of public display interacts with nation and state making over the last 250 years. National museums are chosen as a prime object and explored as processes of institutionalized negotiations where material collections and display make claims and are recognized as articulating and representing national values and realities. Many of the negotiations and conflicts behind the scene in the museums have long standing trajectories; they are indeed not mishaps but part of the value of the institutions in creating them as relevant cultural forces at play over the last two and a half centuries.

We argue that the capacity of national representation as negotiated and carried by national museums have decisive power to shape political community following there fundamental property understood as knowledge based and hence legitimate and factual representations of the world and presenting the role of the nation within a political world system.

A consequence, and a measure of their capacity to build the legitimacy of representation as both factual, relevant and urgent is the level of engagement in initiating, the societal support of upholding and the longevity of their existence across political change both within and outside the political constitution.

COMPARATIVE VARIABLES

In studying modernization, democratization, national movements and nationalism a number of comparative approaches has been developed.² None have however attempted to assess the role of central cultural institutions, like national museums. The ambitions and function may vary according to the character of state making. An empire, a stable small nation-state and those in the making through process of unification or devolution are not the same. Classic examples of 19th century unification such as Germany and Italy can be compared with those of devolution of the Austrian and Ottoman Empire. Processes of liberation and devolution in Eastern and Western Europe give new drives for national museums from 1990:s and onwards. States formerly occupied by Soviet but also processes of devolution by Scotland, Wales, Catalonia and Belgium and new entities like the EU testifies to the on-going process of nation making.

The project will make quantitative series of data and analyse of both museum and state making variables, which will then be analysed in qualitative dimensions:

State making variables: Year of established sovereignty; Type of state: Empire, conglomerate, pre-modern state, modern state; Time for establishing democratic constitution.

² An overview in Rogers Brubaker, "Ethnicity, Race, and Nationalism," *Annual Review of Sociology* 35, no. 1 (2009). See also Ernest Gellner, *Nationalism* (Nora: Nya Doxa, 1999); Miroslav Hroch, *Social preconditions of national revival in Europe: a comparative analysis of the social composition of patriotic groups among the smaller European nations* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 2000); Stein Rokkan & Angus Campbell, *Citizens, elections, parties : approaches to the comparative study of the processes of development* (Oslo,: 1970); Charles Tilly, (ed.), *The formation of national states in Western Europe* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton U.P., 1975); Tilly, ; Charles Tilly, *Big structures, large processes, huge comparisons* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984); Tilly, *Big structures, large processes, huge comparisons* ; Charles Tilly, *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990* (Oxford ; Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1990); Tilly, *Coercion, capital, and European states, AD 990-1990* ; Charles Tilly, *Contention and democracy in Europe, 1650-2000* (London ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Tilly, *Contention and democracy in Europe, 1650-2000* .

Possible expansions from literature are manifold: Types of nationalism/state "contract"; Percentage minorities; World Value studies: trust, religious culture, traditional vs individual values.

Museum variables: Initiative and implementation; Year of inauguration; Type of museums carrying national function (art, history, etc); A few or several institutions; Epochs referred to; Type of Architecture (classic, national, post-modern).³ Let us just make a brief expansion on these latter variables.

INITIATIVES

Who wants a national museum and is able to establish one? Realities pushing towards initiatives are inherited ideas of a national community drowning or even better assimilating competing projects, the existence of collections assembled for Aristocratic glory or Enlightenment goals that can be reinterpreted and a perceived threat to be counteracted.

Secondly the composition of the forces active in initiating, formulating, mobilizing and negotiating is dependent on their relative strength and perceived need and responsibility of this cultural project. Typically they are elite projects and lacking access to a strong state civic groups act as representatives for the nation: liberal aristocrats, academies, and public officials more common in the early phases than capitalists.

The list of countries where former royal collections was the main source of artefacts starts of course with France where revolutionary actions moved the symbolic representation from a dynasty to a nation even if the transition did start before the political and violent overturn of the Ancien regime encompass for example Denmark, Sweden, Spain, Prussia and Bavaria. In Spain it is with the establishment of the republic that the transfer of royal collection is finished while in Denmark the transfer was made nearly a century earlier by an absolute monarch.

During later decades the state is a more central actor for most initiatives, even if the civic modes might repeat themselves in times of transitions, such as around 1989/1991.

Private initiatives should not be regarded as counter indicative to a national purpose and function. If the project and the support in numbers and ideology are massive this is in fact a stronger statement of the national nature of the project. When monuments should be erected subscription lists are not only instrumental in funding the undertaking, but also to show the broad support for the cause. In most states the prefix "national" is not protected so the word can signal an ambition from the founders or the funding of a special museum by means of the state.

CENTRAL OR MARGINAL LOCATION

National representation and communication is obviously necessary for any nation-state, but this does not make the size and centrality of national museums in the general national policy determined. Firstly there are civic services, a functionality of a nation-state that in itself is part of its legitimacy with a minimum of explicit cultural content: a national system for justice, infra-structure, military defence, welfare, schooling and health-care. Within the cultural sphere the promotion of science, learning and language skills are linked to cultural policy but only indirectly to museums. When the materiality, glory and didactics of museum are called

³ This is short presentation of what will be published in Peter Aronsson & Gabriella Elgenius, (eds.), *Building National Museums in Europe 1750–2010. Conference proceedings from EuNaMus, European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, Bologna 28-30 April 2011* (Linköping: LiU E-Press, 2011) and Peter Aronsson & Gabriella Elgenius, (eds.), *A History of the National Museum in Europe 1750-2010* (In prep, 2013); Peter Aronsson & Lizette Gradén, (eds.), *Performing Nordic Heritage* (London: Ashgate, 2012, in prep).

upon they might have an emphasis on universal values or local and regional territories, which diminish the outright national message.

But for some nations national museums might be the central institution in defining and promoting the national issue, played either by one organization alone or an ensemble of museums covering different aspects in modelling the nation. The centrality of national museums might also vary over time, according to threats and other possible representations and promoters of national values and integration.

STABILITY AND CHANGE

Museums have a heavy inertia due to their materiality and claim on representing an unchanging reality. This is part of the attraction and purpose of stabilizing consensus whether it is an argument for change, for stopping reform or for adjustments in letting new centres of power be culturally represented. It is possible to make three ideal dynamics for national museums in relation to the nation-making process:

1. *Pro-active*: utopian visions could be exemplified with Hungary and Poland in 19th century; Balkan countries, Slovak, Sapmi developments in the last decades.
2. *Stabilizing*: most museums for most of the time as inclusive strategies are preferred and dominate.
3. *Reactive*: forces demanding and legitimizing restitution of land openly or implicitly as is the case with some museums in Turkey, Cyprus, Korea and China.
4. *Loss of relevance!* Which is one of the possible explanation when projects are not realized, under-financed or take very long time to establish.

Examples of loss of relevance can be read in the inability in some countries to attract both finance and visitors in certain epochs. The rather meek development in many Eastern European countries after WWI might be a case here, where old structures did not meet the demands for a modern industrial and technological society with the kind of urgency needed to support their development. This changed in many cases during Soviet rule and influence where both ideas on cultural republicanism, “democratic centralism” and mass-education supported national investment in museums. Thus the evolving structure were at hand around 1990 when states were again autonomous and in need for developing rapid symbolic representation of their nation-hood. Old style art museums that lived on the traditional ideal of *Bildung* had difficulties in transforming to the desires of the new citizenship in for example Latvia.

The inability can however be caused by active resistance in a way that rather make them relevant but the forces of support too weak to lead to successful establishment – Italy is a case to consider.

The balance between utopian, actor initiated, planned paths and the complexity arriving from intended and unintended actions and various logics are at the core of the ability of the museums to form a flexible, yet directed form of *cultural constitution* as a complement to the explicit, formal and more rigid political sister formulated as the fundamental law of each state.

Samdok – Collecting and Networking the Nation as it Evolves

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The Samdok network has since the 1970s connected cultural historical museums in Sweden in a joint effort to collect and record the contemporary nation. Together the local, regional, special and central museums joining in on Samdok, form a networked museumscape in which Nordiska Museet act as a central node.

This paper will look into Samdok’s presentation of itself in books, reports and its regularly distributed periodical to understand how this network represents and materialises Sweden. It will tentatively argue that Samdok promotes societal and cultural, as well as scholarly and disciplinary, ideals of transformation and change. The network has re-invented itself over the years in order to keep up with transformations in the wider society such as globalisation, migration, and the move from industrialism to consumerism with the rise of the service sector. It has reinvented itself in terms of directions for collecting, and it has reinvented itself in terms of how it looks upon itself as an organisation by shifting from ideals of scientific rationality to reflexive cultural analysis. As a consequence, looking at Sweden from within Samdok, means looking at a nation and a network in perpetual change.

Samdok – Collecting and Networking the Nation as it Evolves

It is rather difficult to overlook the Swedish landscapes of museums. Today's structure is an inheritance – not a planned construction. Institutions have grown organically and autonomously over a long period of time. (...) This spontaneous growth has created gaps and overlaps in orientations and distributions of responsibility among the museums. (Kraftsamling! – Museisamverkan ger resultat. SOU: 2009: 15) (Authors translation)

As this quote from a recent report of a government commission suggests, the Swedish landscape of museums could easily be described as a rather disorderly and uncontrollable vista, a problem for centrally planned efficiency. The issue was on the agenda thirty years ago too. At that time, a group of museum people started to lay out plans for the coordination of at least one strand of multifaceted museum practices: collecting practices at cultural historical museums. Although the museums' storerooms were crowded with objects from the agrarian 19th and early 20th century, there was a lack of artefacts representing industrial work in the 20th century. The initiators of what later turned into Samdok raised the question on how to collect the artefacts of their own times without overburden the storerooms. To meet the challenge, it was suggested that the task of collecting ought to be divided into thematic areas and distributed between the museums. After several meetings and conferences, Samdok was conceptualised. The network started in the late 1970s, but it took years to fully implement and codify the activities in this ongoing, and still developing, network for collecting and report on contemporary Sweden as it evolves.

This paper is a preliminary attempt to explore some empirical research questions posed within the project Eunamus: European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen, www.eunamus.eu. The questions concern “the birth of Samdok and its philosophical and methodological intentions”, “how and why change has taken place” within the organisation, “the kind of national history produced”, “the representative qualities of material collected”, and “the essential relationship between this unique museological development and musealisation of Sweden as a nation”.¹

These are my main points so far:

- Change is a strongly communicated ideal in texts on Samdok. The texts describe how the network continually reinvents itself, responding to societal changes as well to changes within university based ethnology.
- One of the most significant changes in the Samdok organisation was the restructuring of the working groups, the Pools. It coincided with debates on selection and supported a shift in the logic for sampling.
- Samdok is characterised by a high degree of reflexivity. The rationality of reflexivity replaced social scientific rationality within the organisation as a way to monitor collecting contemporary Sweden.

This paper does not discuss the two most recent changes within Samdok. In connection with the network's thirtieth anniversary, decisive powers within Samdok initiated an international committee for collecting, COMCOL, within the International Council of

¹ This research is part of the EuNaMus project, (European National Museums: Identity Politics, the Uses of the Past and the European Citizen) a three year project (2010–13) funded by the EU Seventh Framework programme, originally commissioned by Tema Q Linköping University and Museum Studies at the University of Leicester, partners in the project <http://www.eunamus.eu>.

Museums.² In 2010, Samdok broadened its activities to comprise also issues regarding the development of existing collections, and a wider set of heritage institutions and professional categories were invited to join the network.³

CAPTURING CONTINUOUS CHANGE

The name Samdok is made out of the two word parts: “sam” and “dok”. Together they implicate the coordination of contemporary fieldwork research and acquisition by collaboration. The “sam” part stands for samordning (coordination), samarbete (collaboration) and samtid (the present or the contemporary).⁴ The “dok” part stands for dokumentation, Swedish for compiling information. Inspired by then current directions in the Swedish academic discipline of ethnology, Samdok complemented the collection of objects with methods such as fieldwork, interviews, photography and in some cases film making.⁵ The word “dokumentation” further associates to the production of produced problem based records of everyday life, and the use of the word also associates museum activities to practices of journalists, filmmakers, photographers and writers. Connecting to such a broader cultural trend, ethnologists strived to distance themselves from earlier generations of ethnologists, such as the folkloric romantic strands and the historical investigations of objects within the discipline.⁶

Samdok’s activities are elucidated in books and articles, many of which are published by Nordiska Museet Sweden’s major cultural historical museum, who also host the network. The paragraph above is based on a chapter, by Eva Silvén, in a book on Nordiska Museet’s collection practices over time. The chapter has been described as one of the key texts in a self-evaluative tradition within Samdok in which earlier texts are referenced and interpreted.⁷

Development, or more specifically change and newness, are recurrent rhetorical figures in texts on Samdok. As Elin von Unge states in her master thesis on Samdok, the organisation has itself changed over the years and today it aims at reporting at processes of change in society.⁸

The concept of change is recurrently deemed positive and associated with the concept of newness. New ways of approaching collection and field research is often rhetorically contrasted to the old practices of earlier generations of university researchers or museum employees. In the 1970s, Samdok was presented as a new way of organising museum work which would lead to improvements of previous, and old, unsystematic and excessive collecting. The initiators argued for a more systematic approach to collecting than the traditional museum practice of the more or less arbitrary accepting of gifts from the public.⁹ In a similar vein, texts produced in the 1990s and 2000s point to how Samdok has abandoned

² Fägerborg, Eva, ”Från Samdoksekretariatet, Samdok-forum, 2010:1. See also Comcol’s webpage: <http://www.comcol-icom.org/>, last accessed 2011.09.01.

³ Fägerborg, Eva, ”Från Samdoksekretariatet, Samdok-forum, 2011:1. See also “Programförklaring”, <http://www.nordiskamuseet.se/Publication.asp?publicationid=2981&cat=305&catName=Om%5FSamdok&topmenu=143>, last accessed 2011.09.01.

⁴ Stadgar för SAMDOKverksamheten, Samdok by-laws Available at Nordiska Museet’s website: <http://www.nordiskamuseet.se/Upload/documents/15.pdf>. Last accessed 2011.08.30.

⁵ Silvén, Eva, ”I samtiden eller för framtiden: Om ett kunskapsbygge i senmoderniteten,” in Hammarlund-Larsson, Cecilia, Nilsson, Bo G & Silvén, Eva, Samhällsideal och framtidsbilder: Perspektiv på Nordiska museets dokumentation och forskning. Stockholm: Carlsson bokförlag and Nordiska museet, 2004, pp. 151.

⁶ Silvén, 2004, pp. 202.

⁷ von Unge, Elin, When culture becomes heritage. In search of the Samdok discourse of collecting contemporary heritage. International Museum Studies Master’s Thesis, Göteborgs universitet (University of Gothenburg): Museion, 2008, p. 18.

⁸ von Unge, 2008, p. 19–20; 29

⁹ Silvén 2004. p. 174.

and moved forward from the type of scientific rationality that the initiators of Samdok nurtured.¹⁰

One of the shifts in field research and acquisition practices, pointed out in the literature on Samdok, is the way the network's ideal have altered from strivings to preserve that what withers away, often the closing down of factories, towards investigations of emergent phenomena such as structural changes in the industry or farming manifested in re-locations of businesses or the increased interest in small-scale, organic and local identity-creating food production. Carefully planned field research is deemed positive and contrasted to so called fire brigade turnouts, a sort of last minute rescue operations.¹¹

SAMDOK'S MOST SIGNIFICANT TRAIT: THE POOLS

Samdok has around eighty member institutions, most of them are museums. The members voluntarily join working groups, the so called Pools, perhaps the most significant trait of Samdok. Each Pool gathers representatives from institutions all over Sweden to focus field research and acquisitions to a specific thematic area. The initial eleven pools aimed at covering working life in industrial production, the service branch and the public sector. One pool, Home pool, was devoted to family life.

The Pools make up an additional network crisscrossing on top of the museum organisation in Sweden. The unruly Swedish museumscape is divided into central and governmental museums, county museums and municipals museums, depending on the responsible authority and spatial scope of the institutions, also mirroring the structure of political jurisdiction. The so called special museums make up an additional category of museums. The National Maritime Museums and Ájtte, the Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum are examples of special museums with memberships in Samdok.

In order to find gaps in existing collections, the initiators of Samdok consulted the Outline of Cultural Materials (OCM), the standard system used by anthropologists, universities and museums for turning human life into cultural data.¹² In addition, they made use of categories developed with the fields of social science and planning. Mirroring the 1970s interest in industrial production and working life, the driving forces behind Samdok defined, demarcated and distributed responsibilities based on a model for statistics for the public sector, the commercial and industrial life, used by a government agency designated to produce data for decision-making, debates and research. To distribute the different strands of commercial and industrial life between museums, the working group turned to statistics for regional planning on types of business, numbers of employees and so on. This material was then to be compared to data from economic geography, that is the location, distribution and spatial organisation of economic activities across the regions.¹³ Even though the social scientific ideals in practice never had full impact, it was a strongly communicated ideal. Statistics and sociological categories provided the rational.¹⁴

¹⁰ Silvé, 2004; Silvé Eva & Gudmundsson, Magnus (eds), *Samtiden som kulturarv. Svenska museers samtidsdokumentation 1975–2000*, Stockholm: Nordiska museets förlag, 2006.

¹¹ Gudmundsson, Magnus & Silvé, Eva, "Tjugofem år i fält", in Silvé Eva & Gudmundsson, Magnus (eds), 2006, p.7, Björklund, Anders & Gustafsson Reinius Lotten, "Hjälteporträtt och räddningsauktioner", in Silvé Eva & Gudmundsson, Magnus (eds), p. 27, Johansson Ella & Eva Londos, "När senmoderniteten kom till Småland, in Silvé Eva & Gudmundsson, Magnus (eds), p. 31.

¹² Silvé, 2004, p. 174.

¹³ Nyström, Bengt & Gunilla Cedrenius, *Fördela museernas dokumentationsansvar – ett program för samtidsdokumentation vid kulturhistoriska museer.*, Nordiska museet, Samdok, Statens kulturråd, 1981..

¹⁴ Silvé, 2004, p. 174–179.

CHANGING WITH SOCIETY

The restructuring of the pool system in 1997 is considered to be one of the major changes within Samdok. It could be looked upon as a response to societal change as well as to changes within the discipline of ethnology. Industrial and commercial life in Sweden was about to slowly adjust to a post-industrial economy. At the same time, the discipline of ethnology directed their interest to issues of gender, ethnicity and globalisation. In addition, voices within Samdok directed the attention to that the focus on production excluded people who did not work (children, students, on sick-lists or retired). The restructuring merged the earlier set of pools into broader thematic themes, such as Local and Regional Spheres, Management of Natural Resources, Manufacture and Services, and Society and Politics, which could include changes in patterns of production and consumption, also including leisure activities. The pool for Sami Life was added in 1990 and the group for Cultural Encounters was formed in 1993. This last group does not form a proper pool, but strives to integrate matters on migration and ethnicity in the activities of all pools.

In the beginning of the 1990s, the first set of pools had noted that they had difficulties in fulfilling their assignments. A couple of them stated that their areas of responsibility included too many fundamentally different obligations, others referred to a lack of funding and support at their institutions. Some pools had very few active members. Several pointed to the challenge of keeping up with societal change, for example the pools for Textiles and Metal respectively, pointed to the fact that their respective branches were drastically restructuring, or even almost disappearing altogether as for the Swedish production of textiles. The Agriculture and Forestry pool called attention to changes due to technological developments and the Public Administration Pool had noted a shift to privatisation in the public sector.¹⁵

A proposal for a new pool system was developed and accepted by the pools and Samdok's member museums.¹⁶ In addition to the fusion of branch specific pools into broader thematic themes, the most decisive change concerned the way in which a set of perspectives and a row of challenges of social change was made to supplement the sectorial division of society. With regard to issues of representative sampling, the new pool organisation implied some new directions. The first set of pools aimed at representative samples of beforehand decided sectors for the production of services and goods.

The shift in official guidelines enabled Samdok to circumvent issues of representative sampling. The shift codified ideals already efficient among trained university ethnologist within the network. The meaningful, defined theoretically, supplanted the typical as the official ideal.¹⁷ Furthermore, by inviting Samdok members to specifically focus on the ways in which gender and/or ethnicity is constructed and enacted in specific social settings, to investigate how global flows of people, goods and information affect local life, or to compare how digitalisation affected public service sectors, a critical and qualitative research agenda replaced the empirical, quantitative paradigm.

THE FORMATIVE POWER OF THE NORDISKA MUSEET AND INSTITUTIONAL REFLEXIVITY

The Nordiska Museet hosts and finances Samdok's administrative unit, the secretariat. The secretariat is Samdok's executive body; its staff shapes the network's activities in accordance with the aims set up by the Samdok council and the interests of the pools. The council is the

¹⁵ This paragraph is based on the pool's reports in the network's periodical SAMDOK-bulletinen 1990–1992.

¹⁶ Silvé, Eva, 1997, "Samdok inför år 2000. Förslag till förändring av organisation och verksamhetsinriktning". Remissupplaga. Stockholm: Samdoksekretariatet, Nordiska museet, 1997.

¹⁷ Silvé, 2004, pp 183–185; von Unge, 2008, p 42.

policy making and overall decision-making body. It is headed by the director of the Nordiska Museet and is made up of one representative from each museum category, that is municipal, county and special/central museums. The Nordiska Museet's research council gives advice with regard to research related issues.¹⁸

It is the secretariat and the council rather than the Nordiska Museet per se, that holds the final formative power of Samdok. The secretariat keeps records of the network's activities and edits the network's periodical in which articles on ongoing projects and reports from the pool's meetings are published. The secretariat also runs the data base, available on the internet, in which the member museums' projects ideally should be registered.¹⁹ The actual projects, tapes and transcripts of interviews, fieldwork notes, photos, and objects, are archived and stored at the respective member museum. The secretariat also administers webpages, on the Nordiska Museet's website, with guiding documents and bibliographies of project publications.²⁰

Samdok may be described as a dispersed and diffused organisation, difficult to pin down. The member museums take part in Samdok's activities on a voluntary basis, and the members balance and adjust their engagement in Samdok with their own museum's means and ends. Far from all contemporary field research and acquisitions at the museums are initiated in the framework of the pools and Samdok. Many projects are initiated locally and they could be instigated by access to project funding and different types of local initiatives. Today, each pool meets once or twice a year to report and discuss plans and ongoing investigations. The meetings have turned into highly appreciated and valued platforms for method development.²¹

As to uphold the quality of the directions and focus of Samdok's policies, the Samdok council and the secretariat have initiated, and published, a row of evaluations. The first ones were performed early in the 1990s and they were to be followed by a comprehensive evaluation, designed as a research project, a decade later. The research project ran over several years and resulted in a row of reports in which Samdok related activities in seven museums were assessed by representatives from the museums themselves. Its main outcome was an edited collection with chapters collaboratively authored by university based researchers and the museum professionals who had performed the assessments.²² The overall tone of the edited collection is reflexive. The main editors of the book, as well as several of the authors, follow the academic ethnology into the footsteps of the reflexive turn within anthropology, discussing the poetics and power of representation. In the edited collection's afterword, Samdok's practice is discussed as an instantiation of the power to represent, and the discussions touches upon the representation of multiple social categories such as gender and ethnicity.²³

The recurrent, and interlaced, evaluations of Samdok could be linked to related, yet different, styles of reflexivity. In his work on cultural performances, Victor Turner, directs the interest at ways in which rituals and performances are "reflexive in the sense of showing

¹⁸ Stadgar för SAMDOKverksamheten, SAMDOK by-laws Available at Nordiska Museet's website: <http://www.nordiskamuseet.se/Upload/documents/15.pdf>. Last accessed 2011.08.30.

¹⁹ Samdok-registret, <http://www.nordiskamuseet.se/Samdokreg/?topmenu=143>. Last accessed 2011.09.01.

²⁰ "What is Samdok?", <http://www.nordiskamuseet.se/Publication.asp?publicationid=4213&topmenu=143>. Last accessed 2011.09.01.

²¹ Interview with Eva Fägerborg, the head of SAMDOK secretariat, Nordiska Museet, Stadgar för SAMDOKverksamheten, Samdok by-laws Available at Nordiska Museet's website: <http://www.nordiskamuseet.se/Upload/documents/15.pdf>. Last accessed 2011.08.30.

²² Silvén & Gudmundsson, 2006.

²³ Isacson, Maths & Silvén, Eva, "Historia med framtidsvittring", in Silvén Eva & Gudmundsson, Magnus (eds), 2006, 154–155.

ourselves ourselves ... arousing consciousness of ourselves as we see ourselves.”²⁴ When the evaluations are published in the network’s periodical and circulated, the members, scattered around Sweden at institutions with different aims, can mirror and reflect upon their own practice. Anthony Giddens casts reflexivity as a key trait in late modernity. Institutions as well individuals constantly monitor themselves in the light of new knowledge. The result is that many aspects of contemporary social life are subject to constant revisions.²⁵

Samdok’s evaluations encompass both codifying activities, at the level of descriptions, reproducing the organisation, and reflexions and revisions, allowing the network to adapt to changing circumstances. I would also suggest that the evaluations allow the network to monitor itself and in relation to funding agencies they may serve as authorising and legitimising documents. The quote that started this paper is from one of the ongoing discussions in the sphere of cultural politics on how to distribute power, resources and responsibilities between Sweden’s museums when resources are limited.

²⁴ Myerhoff, Barbara, "Life History Among the Elderly." In *The Cracked Mirror: Reflexive Perspectives in Anthropology*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

²⁵ Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity. Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*, Polity Press, 1991.

The Muse of the Museum: An Allegoric Story of a Non Existent Photography Museum in Turkey

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Apollo and the Muses, Simon Vouet, 1640

Purpose of this paper is to uncover the layers of a non-existent photography museum. Museums offer material conditions of existence and indications that constitute a sound basis of culture. Therefore studying the existence of museums can tell us a lot about the cultural state of a society. As a photography student studying visual arts in Turkey, I have developed a keen interest on how art and photography is appreciated in Turkish society. This interest urged me to compare the worldwide museum practices. This comparison led me to a conclusion that the history of Turkish museums was far more ephemeral than the world famous ones, the purpose of their existence was to form a cultural and historical unity among its citizens. Therefore they were mostly regarded as collectors of archives and the importance of artistic appreciation always had a secondary place. Photography has also taken its share from this approach and always been treated as a witness to history rather than an art form. Therefore no priority was given to a photography museum for decades and Turkey is still in need of one.

THE MUSE OF THE MUSEUM: AN ALLEGORIC STORY OF A NON EXISTENT PHOTOGRAPHY MUSEUM IN TURKEY

Known as the source of inspiration to all artists, especially poets, philosophers and musicians, the nine daughters of Zeus (god of sky and weather, law, order and fate) and Mnemosyne (goddess of memory) presided over arts and sciences in ancient times. The Odyssey of Homer mentioned their name in the very first sentence:

Sing to me of the man, Muse, the man of twists and turns driven time and again off course, once he had plundered the hallowed heights of Troy.
(Robert Fagles translation, 1996)

Music, museum, mosaic were all derived from their names and it was not a coincidence that the shrine of artistic creations would be named after the source of their inspirations.

The first museums in history were the gardens, temples, even some books and festivals that were devoted to the Muses. However, the roots of today's modern museum goes back to Alexandria, the main harbor of Ancient Egypt on the Mediterranean.

Ptolemy I (Soter), one of Alexander the Great's favourite generals and an educated man who enjoyed the company of artists, philosophers, poets and other writers, established the Museum and Library in Alexandria around 290 BC. Ptolemy decreed that copies be made of all the books of the world and the writings of all the nations.

Ptolemy II improved upon the example of his father, inviting famous poets, critics, scientists, philosophers and artists to Alexandria. He made the capital beautiful with architecture in the Greek style and, during his reign, Alexandria became the literary and scientific capital of the Mediterranean.

Building an institute of higher learning called the Mouseion, or Temple of the Muses, in Alexandria, the Ptolemies not only created a great centre of literature and science but also rooted the seeds of first collections.

In ancient times, sculpture and painting were not valued as an art form, rather they were seen as an artifice or a technique lacking the intellect that poetry, philosophy or music required. Therefore, they were not valued to be welcomed to the Temple of the Muses.

Though the Mouseion at Alexandria did not have a collection of sculpture and painting presented as works of art, as was assembled by the Ptolemies' rival Attalus at Pergamon, it did have a room devoted to the study of anatomy and an installation for astronomical observations. Rather than simply a museum in the sense that has developed since the Renaissance, it was an institution that brought together some of the best scholars of the Hellenistic world. This original Mouseion or Institution of the Muses was the source for the modern usage of the word museum that made a collection out of scholars under one roof. They were the centers of speculation and research, the places where Plato, Aristotle, and Ptolemy engaged their students in learning about the natural world.

THE MODERN MUSEUM

Museums explicitly and often unintentionally offer material conditions of existence, representations that produce meanings along with modes of production and indications that constitute a sound basis of culture. Each museum site is a cultural artifact and genuinely a palimpsest to be thoroughly studied. As a general category or as a specific site, they depict several layers with traces of earlier institutions, aesthetics, hierarchies of values and ideologies. When we remove the latest and most visible layer of its existence, an entire range of a society's arts, beliefs, institutions, cultural policies, educational systems and communicative practices appear in stage.

When we look at the history of modern museum, we could say that it was developed as a space for displaying and expressing architecturally the values and power of the bourgeoisie

that dominated the economy, politics and cultural life in the nineteenth century Europe, especially after the French Revolution.¹ Seen more as a store-house with its goals of educating the public as well as refining its tastes and interests, the museum carried out its civilizing mission as 'evidence of political virtue' and 'an indication of government that provided the right things for its people.'²

In nineteenth century, the idea of progress seemed evident in advances in all areas of society - in transport, communication, industrial technologies and new consumer goods. Museums were thus ideally placed to represent these advances to the 'masses', convincing them of the advantages of industry and capital.

As Michael J. Ettema³ argues, the nineteenth-century museum can be understood as the embodiment of a view of history as a material progress. Put simply, this was the view that those civilizations which had the most complex objects were the most advanced. In displaying the objects of various cultures, museums taught a hierarchical understanding of cultural development and instilled the values of materialism. They linked objects to a system of values which supported the ideas of technological progress, individualism and aesthetics. These values were perceived as the basis for modern civilization.⁴

Since their invention in late eighteenth-century, museums have become among the most complex, powerful, and successful of modern sociopolitical institutions in time.

The epoch of the rise of the nineteenth-century public museums gave way to a new era at the beginning of the twenty-first century, when museums started to see themselves as centers of learning once again. They have become more than repositories and were considered as places where collections are interpreted for the public through exhibits and related educational programs.

How museums interpret their collections changes over time with the emergence of new techniques, scholarship, and viewpoints. As a matter of fact, what and how museums collect, and what and how they exhibit, are matters of increasing controversy in a pluralistic society. If museums are to be on the frontier of public appreciation and learning about their subject matter, they will be involved in controversies arising from new discoveries, new creations, and new interpretations about which there will be conflicting and forcefully articulated views.⁵

The museum is no longer, if ever it was, an institution which can be understood in its own terms as innocently engaged in the processes of the collection, conservation, classification and display of objects.⁶ On the contrary, it is one among many components in a complex array of cultural and leisure industries⁷, no longer certain of its role, no longer secure in its identity, no longer isolated from political and economic pressures or from the explosion of images and

¹ Deniz Unsal, "Museum Establishments and Cultural Policy in Turkey," in *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, eds. Serhan Ada and Ayca Ince, (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2009), 159–189.

² Carol Duncan, "Art Museums and the Ritual of Citizenship," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, eds Ivan Karp and Steven Levine, (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 88.

³ Micheal Ettema, "History museums and the culture of materialism" in *Past Meets Present: Essays about Historic Interpretation and Public Audiences*, ed. J. Blatti, (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), 62-85.

⁴ Andrea Witcomb, "Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum," (New York: Routledge, 2003), 105.

⁵ Willard L. Boyd, Museums as Centers of Controversy, in *Daedalus*, Volume: 128. Issue: 3, 1999, p. 185.

⁶ See Roger Miles and Lauro Zavala, *Towards the Museum of the Future: New European Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 161.

⁷ See R.Lumley, (ed.) *The Museum Time Machine*, (London: Routledge, 1988) and R.Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline*, (London: Methuen, 1987).

meanings which are, arguably, transforming our relationships in contemporary society to time, space and reality.⁸

Museums have been strongly affected by discourses around electronic technologies and a sensitivity to media has brought widespread changes and challenges to contemporary museum practices. One of the most notable effects has been on the status of objects within museums. Their authority to 'speak' within a hegemonic system of representation is increasingly being questioned.⁹ The inclusion of new media, particularly electronic media is now seen as breaking the association between museums and objects and, in the process, transforming an elitist museum culture into a more democratic and popular one.

THE TURKISH CASE

Turkish museums are far more ephemeral than the world famous ones in general and the purpose of their existence was to form a cultural and historical unity among its citizens. The role of the museum in the public sphere and its relationship with the state and society has been determined by the political and economic structures of the day from the Ottoman period to our time. From asserting the sovereignty of a disintegrating empire to putting down the cultural and historical roots of a newly established Republic, the museum has been a space embodying the relationship that the state forms with society.

As mentioned in the previous part, the museum was an instrument of the nineteenth century bourgeoisie in testifying to its cultural capital and legitimacy. Unlike the west, we cannot speak of the presence of a bourgeoisie in Turkey which supported or incorporated the public museums set up by the state and adopted it as a tool for reflecting its world view and economic values until the mid-twentieth century.

Instead, museums were seen as a requirement of Westernization and established directly, following the decisions of the political authorities, in the early years of the Republic under the rule of one party.

The Republican museums served both as an ideological tool for injecting an awareness of national history and culture and as a means of creating an image of a state that championed its history and culture, and believed in scientific research and progress.¹⁰ However, developments in museums did not receive priority in political discourse, plans or programmes after the early years, especially after the 1950s. Starting in the 1960s, museology became specialized and bureaucratized following the appointment of trained specialists. As a result of archeological excavations, an increasing number of museums were built but seldom visited, with tight budgets for the display of their artefacts. In this sense, the museum succeeded neither in propagating 'Republican discipline' nor instilling the notion of westernization in the masses or the raising new class, but by the political elite and was a product of the state itself. From this perspective, the intertwined relationship of the museum-bourgeoisie observed in the West cannot be observed in either the Ottoman or the Republican museum.¹¹

One other difference between Turkey and the West at the time was the appreciation of the arts. Art of the period was closely observed at the palace and the surroundings during the Ottoman era. Religious customs of Muslims and Jews forbidding human and animal figures were preventing the interest in the society. Another factor preventing Western art trends to open into the Turkish society was the public preference to work in the army or administrative

⁸ A.Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).

⁹ Andrea Witcomb, "Re-Imagining the Museum: Beyond the Mausoleum," (New York: Routledge, 2003), 103.

¹⁰ Deniz Unsal, "Museum Establishments and Cultural Policy in Turkey," in *Introduction to Cultural Policy in Turkey*, eds. Serhan Ada and Ayca Ince, (Istanbul: Bilgi University Press, 2009), 159–189.

¹¹ Ibid.

and religion related positions. Therefore, almost all careers of art, crafts and commerce were left to the minorities. Museums were mostly regarded as collectors of archives and the importance of artistic appreciation always had a secondary place.

Photography has also taken its share from this approach and always been treated as a witness to history rather than an art form. The invention of photography was announced in a newspaper in Istanbul on 28th of October 1839. A booklet explaining Daguerre's type was translated and edited in 1841 and studios began to open. Druggists and chemists who were usually Armenians easily adopted the new technique with the help of the experience they had in their profession. They were followed by the Greeks and Europeans settled in Istanbul. Many people started dealing with photography in the palace and mansions of pashas. The palace made use of the influence of the photography. Albums of photographed harbours, factories, schools, barlocks, military units, committees coming from abroad, ceremonies and even all sentences to be pardoned were presented to the Palace. Camera obscura was being used in the military schools since the beginning of the 19th century. Photography classes were scheduled together with the painting classes. First Turkish photographers were of military origin. However, they were taking photographs for the sake of documentation.¹²

The Ottoman territories and the life style attracted attention of the Europe at the time. Selling photographs to these travellers became an important income for the studios that were opened in Istanbul and some other cities. These photographers documented city sights, sceneries, leading names of the period and the social life.

With the establishment of the young Republic, the photographers who supplied publications that promoted the Republic were supported. Travelling in the Asia Minor became customary.

Arşivler	Archives
2.37 Vakıf taşınmaz kültür varlıkları belge arşivinde vakıfların taşınmaz kültür varlıkları ile ilgili belge sayısı, 2009	
Number of documents related to immovable cultural properties of foundations at the immovable cultural properties of the foundation's document archives, 2009	
Türü- Type	Adet-Number
Toplam-Total	422 050
A. Yazılı belgeler-Written documents	
Tescil fişi-Registration slips	12 000
Kitabe fişi-Inscription slips	1 500
Onarım fişi-Repair slips	2 000
Kurul kararı-Council decisions	10 000
Mülkiyet belgesi-Proofs of ownership	7 200
Rapor-Reports	6 500
Harita-Maps	2 500
Yazışma-Correspondences	10 000
Bilgi notu-Information notes	5 250
Teknik metin-Technical texts	1 300
B. Görsel belgeler-Visual proofs	
Fotoğraf-Photographs	350 000
C. Teknik-Technics	
Rölöve-Surveyings	8 450
Restitüsyon-Restitutions	1 025
Restorasyon projesi-Restoration projects	3 250
Elektrik tesisat, betonarme projeleri, vaziyet planı Electricity installations, reinforced concrete projects, plans of site	1 050

Fig.1 Photographs are still the dominating medium in the state archives related to immovable cultural properties of foundations

¹² Mehmet Bayhan, "Turkish Photography" <http://www.lesartsturcs.org> (accessed 16.5.2011)

After the 1930's, like all other art branches, photography perked up with the founding of the Public Centers. Courses, exhibitions and competitions were arranged until Public Centers were shut in 1952. The oldest existing photography association was founded in 1959.¹³ Photography studies have accelerated especially after 1970 but could not reach to its rivals. The first photography department in university education was founded in 1979, but could only reach to six in present for a country having 73 million population.

A comprehensive cultural policy covering public and private museums that can oversee the relationship between culture and citizenship within a democratic framework could not still be established.

The technology for local production of camera equipments and supplies could not be transferred, but studios were able to solve technical and aesthetic problems. Advanced laboratories and minilabs spread over the country. However, the refinement of arts and crafts declined even further in the monotony of the secure laboratories.

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¹³ Mehmet Bayhan, "Turkish Photography" <http://www.lesartsturcs.org> (accessed 16.5.2011).

The Museum of the Landscape of Catalonia A reflection about the human experience in the landscape

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“This landscape that we you die, it also die”
(Joan Salvat-Papasseit, 1922)

As everyone knows, museums are permanent institutions that take care to preserve and show the heritage to the society.

The landscape has a dual nature (natural and cultural) and is one of the most important heritages of the whole society. And important characteristic of the landscape is its mutability: change in a double sense, as hardware and also how to be perceived (Nogué, 2008).

Since 2000, the year when it was approved the European Landscape Convention in Florence, in the Catalan city of Olot, some learned people and the City Council began to project the Museum of the Landscape of Catalonia, understanding the landscape as the central topic of the museum.

The aim of the project is that visitors can link the local and the global scope, putting their personal points of views in a more general context.

THE CURRENT REALITY OF TOURISM AND LANDSCAPE IN CATALONIA

Catalonia is one of the seventeen autonomous communities of the Kingdom of Spain. It borders France and Andorra to the north, Aragon to the west, the Valencian Community to the south, and the Mediterranean Sea to the east. Catalonia comprises four provinces: Barcelona (7.733 km²), Girona (5.910 km²), Tarragona (6.303 km²) and Lleida (12.150 km²). Its capital is Barcelona, which has an official population of 7.535.251 inhabitants.

Catalonia, which was independent until 1714, is legally recognized as a “nationality” of Spain.

Catalonia is the most important touristic destination in Spain and one of the more important touristic destinations in Europe. Catalonia receives 26 millions of tourists per year and more than a half of them are foreigners. As shows the annual data from the Spanish National Institute of Statistics (INE), in 2010, Catalonia received 13'2 millions of foreigners, which number represents 11% of the Gross Inner Product. The main tourists who arrive in Catalonia come from France, Great Britain, Italy and Deutschland.

The actual reality of cultural tourism in Catalonia:

“Sun and beach” has been for many years the tourist Spanish and Catalan model. The recent changes in the tourist world map (incorporation of new destinations, improvements in transport forms, changes on the demand’s preferences, etc.) clearly show the need to rethink the offer in the coastal zones, as Researching Coastal and Resort Destination Management organized by the Faculty of Tourism of the University of Girona (UdG), in which also take part the European Union of Tourist Officers (EUTO). Concerning this, one of the bets that can give more benefits to the territory (so much from the economic perspective like the social one) is the cultural tourism (see Cultural Tourism and Poverty Alleviation Cultural Heritage and Tourism Development, published by the World Trade Organization).

This “type” of tourism, very recent if we compare with others “facets” of tourism, on the year 1997, the Internacional Council of Museums (ICOM), on the frame of his 12^a assembly, was betting for a tourist model that works in collaboration with museums, so much to maximize the use of these equipments as for his aptitude to educate and make aware the visitors in the respect to the natural, social and patrimonial environment of countries and regions of reception.

In several countries, like Austria and Russia, this collaboration already has been taking place for a few years. On the other hand, in Catalonia this link had not been given even now, though the topic already had been discussed by some authors (Espona, Bellido, etc) and in seminars.

One of the first centres who decided to make in practice this collaboration (museum-professionals of the touristic sector) was the University of Girona, through four students of the Master in Planning and Direction of the Tourism, speciality in Cultural Tourism.

The first step was in 2008, with the signature of the agreement between this faculty and the Art Museum of Girona (Md'A) to write his Plan of Tourist Communication, finished in 2009.

Then, at the beginning of the year 2010, the Maritime Museum of Barcelona Faculty of Tourism of the University of Girona, signs an agreement in order to activating, and in some cases to reactivate, the diffusion, promotion and protection of the maritime heritage of the Catalan coast.

Also, the Museum Picasso, one of the museums most visited of Barcelona (it receives annually more than 650.000 visitors who do not reside in Spain), takes as one of his goals the insertion of the citizens of Barcelona in this cultural equipment, emphasizing his character of cultural learning space. To achieve that goal, the Museum decided to incorporate the area of

Public Management, in order to manage the habitual tourists and, in addition, to find strategies to catch the local visitors.

Following the same line, in May of 2010, the Institute of Culture of Olot (ICCO) and the Faculty of Tourism of the University of Girona signed an educational cooperation agreement with the aim to incorporate a third degree student to take part in the draft of the museographic project of the future Museum of the Landscape of Catalonia (MPC).

As we could have read in the previous lines, we can affirm that museums have realized that tourism is a very attractive market segment from multiple points of view, as public's studies or communication policies. Also, we can see that nowadays Catalonia bets to create a link between museums and universities in order to outline a tourist offer that complements the traditional "sun and beach", adding to the numerous initiatives in cultural tourism that have been developed in the last years, like the Culture Club (a club created and managed by the Catalan Agency of Tourism).

The actual reality of conscience of the landscape in Catalonia:

Landscape represents an important element of heritage for society as a whole and has the dual character of being both natural and cultural. Essentially, landscape has a communicative dimension because it does not exist without the observer. It is therefore a relevant communicative tool for transmitting and evoking emotions and feelings to the target audience.

Tourism is an economic activity that alters all contexts in which it appears (transforming traditional landscapes, determining policies, generating business, restructuring and destructuring social panoramas...). This has two basic effects on landscape: firstly, destinations create landscapes that respond to certain stereotypes, and secondly, landscape is used as a purely commercial product, despite the fact that it is one of society's most fragile heritage elements.

Given this context, landscape (defined by the European Landscape Convention as any part of a region perceived as such by the local population and the result of the action and interaction of natural and human factors) is very often used as a promotional image for tourist destinations in guides, pamphlets, posters, etc. Nevertheless, hardly ever in Europe, landscape has been used as a main topic of a museum.

To understand why states and nations bet to promote the conservation and improvement of the rich diversity of European landscapes, is necessary to go back to the European Landscape Convention.

Catalonia was one of the first nations to sign the European Landscape Convention: this international Agreement was approved in the Palazzo Vecchio of Florence on October 2000. Since then, and gradually, it has been approved and ratified by most of the European Council member states.

The Agreement is important because, on the one hand, is the first international agreement that protect specifically the landscape and, on the other hand, it is the first document that consider the landscape as a natural and cultural heritage.

The Spanish governments, unlike many neighbouring countries, it has never understood the landscape as an element that increase remarkably the life quality of the population.

Nevertheless, in Catalonia, this reality changed when the Catalan Parliament -the first Changer of Deputies that signed the European Landscape Convention- approved, on June 2005, the "Law of Protection, Management and Regulation of the Landscape".

Catalonia, with the enactment of this Law, became the first Spanish community to have a specific regulation for the landscape, and at the same time, it was closer to the most conscientious countries in this topic, like France or Holland.

The Law was useful as a ground to begin drawing landscape catalogues and guidelines and to do impact and integration studies of the Catalan landscapes, among other activities.

Olot and its relation with the landscape:

This context, explained in the previous lines, allowed Olot – a little city on the north of Catalonia- to bet to revalue its artistic tradition and relation with the landscape -initiate with Olot School of the Landscape (l'Escola d'Olot del Paisatge)-, to modernize and to update the speech regarding the landscape.

That meant the beginning of two interesting projects. In one hand, the set up of a Landscape Observatory (l'Observatori del Paisatge), with technique headquarter in Olot, that took care and preserved the Catalan landscape values.

In the other hand, to turn the Garrotxa Comarcal Museum (Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa) into the Landscape Museum of Catalonia (Museu del Paisatge de Catalunya).

Most of us can answer ourself: why the cultural and public administrations plan a national museum in Olot, a little city on the north of Catalonia?

Olot, and La Garrotxa (the administrative region), are, in Catalonia, and also in Spain and in south of France well know by two elements: the art and the landscape. The main raisons of this reality are:

- La Garrotxa Volcanic Zone Natural Park. This protected zone has more than fourthly volcanoes. The city of Olot, specifically is surrounded by fourth of them: El Montsacopa (the most emblematic because is situated in the middle of the city), Montolivet, La Garrinada and El Bisarques. All these places of natural interest, well watched over public and local private administrations, can conserve (to maintain intact) and preserve a lot of landscapes immortalized by known poets and painters.
- The Olot's School. Ends of the 19th century, thanks to Joaquim Vayreda, the small city became a reference as artistic point and it was easy to see Berga i Boix or Rusiñol painting in the open air. In 1934 it was created the Upper School of Landscape of Olot and since that moment is a referent place of the Catalan artistic production.
- The ancient Olot's Hospice. The Museum will be located in the city centre, in the ancient Hospice (despite the name it has never been used as a hospice), where, actually, we find the Museu Comarcal de la Garrotxa (the regional Museum) and the Landscape Observatory of Catalonia (which creation responds to the need to study the landscape, prepare proposals and sensitise Catalan society to the need for better protection, management and planning of the landscape in the framework of sustainable development). The actual regional museum, which has an outstanding collection of landscape paintings of the Upper School of Landscape, will nourish a part of the future Landscape Museum of Catalonia, while the National Museum of Art of Catalonia (MNAC) will deposit an important part of his collection of landscape paintings.

THE MUSEUM OF THE LANDSCAPE OF CATALONIA

The objective of the Museum:

The objective of that future museum (expected to open in 2012) is to present the landscape as a global matter. Mainstays are artistic paintings but the speech goes beyond that the meaning of each work. Topics are not analysed only from the point of view of art history, but from other disciplines like geography, literature, philosophy, architecture, agricultural history, sociology or environmental sciences. The landscape talks about the exterior world, the society, their looks and their values.

One of the mean characteristics of the landscape is its mutability (its changeable nature). The landscape changes in a double sense: as a physical support/element and also on the way it is perceived.

We are living in an era in continuous movement and completely full with changes. The systematic structure has moved away from our ideals and, as a consequence, we must redefine the concepts that in the past framed the narrative and exhibition speech of a museum.

According to the current cultural demand and to the subject, one cannot plan (and we want not) a museum with a permanent and strict structure, but it has to be dynamic, flexible and adapted to the needs and interests of the contemporary society.

The landscape not only talks about the outside world, but also about humans, their looks, their values... In keeping with this reality, the museum will be an area of analyse and discussion of some complex and changing question about the actual landscape.

The project's speech:

The project of this museum is the result of a team work, the Advice Council, consisted of eleven experts in various disciplines (fine arts, geography, architecture, economy, philosophy, degrees in Catalan, engineering and museum's curators) and of two project's editors. As consequence, this is a subjective project build according to the extensive experience of all team's members.

The Landscape Museum of Catalonia will show, thematically, some concepts that go around the idea of landscape. Also, nevertheless, the most important period explained will be from XIX century to nowadays, the Museum will avoid the chronological speech, if we understand the word as a succession of aesthetics and art's periods.

The exhibition colonna will be the artistic productions, but some subjects will be analyzed from the point of view of geography, philosophy, architecture, literature, economy, sociology... This fact supposes that the backbone and one of the most important characteristics of the museum will be multifaceted discourse.

Different areas and corners of the Catalan territory, that they have been an object of study for artists or they have been pioneers in some subject linked with landscape, will be present in the museum. In spite of the studied territory will be Catalonia, sometimes, in order to place some aspects correctly, the geographic subject's frame will be more extended.

We must know that not only history interpreters had created landscape, but also our contemporary world. As far as possible, we will promote a speech between the ancient and the contemporary work as a reflex of a question in a different time moments. But, is in the lasts exhibition's room where we will present a contemporary reflection. Also, there will be across the "route" various points where visitors will have the opportunity to explain their opinion.

The outlines of the Museum:

The future Museum will explain the landscape using seven areas where visitors can enjoys themselves regarding paintings, looking audiovisuals, listening interviews with professionals (sculptors, architects, writers...), reading articles and book chapters, express and written their opinions and point of view, etc.

The seven areas of the Museum will be:

- The landscape is...

This room will show four open questions which relate the landscape with geography, art, nature and senses. The visitor will find the answer in the exhibition rooms or, perhaps, outside where the main character of the landscape is the observer.

- The landscape as a discover

It is explained, instead of some Dutch paintings and Italian writings from the XV and XVI centuries, the landscape as a space with identity had been making up during XIX century, with the Romanticism.

It will talk about the first landscape painters, the pictorial movement of the Academism, the teaching of Martí Alsina, the Upper School of Landscape of Olot and about the travel as an element to discover the ruins and the naturalistic view.

- The landscape as identity element

The objective of this space is explaining that the landscape discover coincided with the growth of nationalism movements in Europe, and soon the landscape became an identity element of this nationalism movements.

The subjects raised will be the Catalanism and the Catalan School of Picture, the agrarian homogeneity and the most important symbolic elements: the mountain, the city and the rural areas.

- The landscape, a reality of the outside world

During XIX century, the landscape became an element very important for the urban society. Visitors will find information about the summer's resorts and the importance of the communication nets, the plastic exploration of the territory and the importance of personal landscapes.

- The landscape, interaction between nature and culture

That room shows that the landscape is not an object, is an individual perceptive interpretation which explains some phenomena. These phenomena have a physical reality that reflects the human activity. The information will study the landscape as an important element for painters, writers... the landscape regulation, conservation, degradation and protection and the importance of all senses.

- Virtual spaces

The cinema, the television and the new technologies have made possible to show far landscapes and they have created virtual landscapes which have been incorporated in our touristic imaginary, altering radically some of our social and private practices, and also our way to understand the environment.

- Near landscapes

Here will be some interactive computers where visitors can look for, in relation to their time ability and the type of transport used, the current Catalan routes.

Other key elements of the Museum:

In line with the project's definition, the redaction team of the future museum is working in other key elements for this future Museum. The three parallel activities are:

- Sustainability

Two years ago, it was contracted a consultancy firm that had done an investigation about the parameters to take care over to achieve environmental, social and economics sustainable results. Also, last year it was contracted a consultancy firm in order to do an environmental diagnosis of the actual museum (the exhibition rooms of the future Museum of Landscape of Catalonia). This study has permitted to detect the aspects and processes less efficient from the environmental point of view.

- Education

In collaboration with educational organizations which look after the nature environment, it is writing the educational program “My landscape”. This project links knowledge, values, individual and social conscientiousness and community services. The main goal of this educational program is teach civic responsibilities and strengthen communities.

- Participation and spreading

Given that the public participation is one of the most important stakeholders, the work team is preparing the web space of the Museum (which includes the digitalization of the museum collection) in order to speed up the communication between users and Museum.

CONCLUSIONS

The Museum of the Landscape of Catalonia benefits from the bet for cultural tourism of the Catalan public administrations –with numerous initiatives like the Culture Club, a club created and managed by the Catalan Agency of Tourism- and also from the new culture of the society about the importance of the landscape.

That Museum, regarding the topic and the new trends of the European museums, should be dynamic, flexible and capable of been adapted to the changing needs and interests of the current society.

The landscape tells us about the outside world and about people, their looks and values. That is the reason because the future museum is presented as a space of participation and analysis where visitors can do and find answers about the complex and changing issues surrounding landscape. Nevertheless, it is not conceived as an eco-museum.

Notes:

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Contested Cultural Heritage – Contested Space. Discourses on the Museum Landscape in the Danish-German Border Region

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Since the middle of the 19th century the Danish-German border region has been deeply influenced by shifting political spaces due to shifting borders in 1864 and 1920. But these incidents did not cause a change of the cultural-geographical spaces at the same time. On the contrary, it resulted in the development of different overlapping and competing regional and national memorial landscapes. The material cultural heritage in form of e.g. museums and their exhibitions became an important part of a national struggle for the border space.

This article focuses on the museum landscape of Sønderjylland/Schleswig and the discourses on cultural heritage which are connected to it. The interpretations of regional museum exhibitions on both sides of the border – and therefore the issue of cultural heritage in public space as well – are of central significance for the region’s history since the middle of the 19th century. It can be observed that the exhibitions dealing with regional history have been exploited for different political purposes again and again. Focused on the museum landscape of the region the article shows that there is a close relation between the concepts of “border”, “space” and “material cultural heritage”. I argue that this approach enables us to draw conclusions of the importance of supposedly peripheral regions for national and collective identities. Following historian Peter Sahlins who pleaded for analyzing borders from the perspective of the frontier and not the national centre, I emphasize that in particular the German-Danish border region and the struggle over it holds an important significance beyond regional dimensions and contributes to the forming of identity for the entire nation.

INTRODUCTION

”Danish opponents of a ‘Euro-region’ in the borderland to Germany are afraid of the dominance of the strong neighbour“,¹ the Berliner Zeitung headlined in May 1997 regarding the controversial discussion on the founding of the so-called Euroregion Sønderjylland/Schleswig. The article illustrates one of the problems of the process of European unification with a statement of a Danish pastor. Her words that the ”Danish culture should not end in an open-air museum“² emphasize the fear to lose the own heritage due to an international cultural policy. The 1997 controversy is only one sign for the German-Danish history, which is often experienced as a complicated one. There are further examples, like the high number of monuments in Denmark dealing with the problematic German-Danish neighbourhood, testifying the exceptional position of this relationship. The idea of “Germany as Denmark’s problem”³ is an important element of the collective Danish memory.⁴ Since 1864, when the formerly Danish region Schleswig became part of the Prussian Empire after the decisive battle of Düppel, a struggle for the symbolic and political dominance in the region started. The material cultural heritage was a central instrument in this national struggle, in particular the monuments and museums dealing with the regional history.⁵

BORDERS - SPACE - CULTURAL HERITAGE

In the recent past there are four events of great importance for the understanding of the region’s history. First the First Schleswig War (1848-1851), then the Second Schleswig War in 1864, the third is the referendum on the national affiliation of Schleswig in connection with the Treaty of Versailles in 1920 and last the Bonn-Copenhagen Declarations in 1955. These occasions were, respectively are important turning points in the national Danish and the regional Schleswig-Holstein historiography. In particular the Second Schleswig War, ending for Denmark in losing the Duchy of Schleswig, which had been ruled by the Danish royalty in personal union, to Prussia has been evaluated very differently in the two countries: In Denmark it became a collective trauma, while in the German Reich it became a mythic step in the German strife for unification. After the end of World War One another shifting of the border followed. A referendum, which was intended by the Treaty of Versailles, resulted in the divide of Schleswig: The northern part – Sønderjylland – was transferred to Denmark, the southern part – Schleswig – remained as a part of Germany. The shifting of borders did not only create two big national minorities both north and south of the border, it also became necessary to adjust the economical and social structures in the region.

¹ ”Schleswig“ hat hier keinen guten Klang. In: Berliner Zeitung, 25.10.1997.

² Ibid.

³ Fink, Troels. Deutschland als Problem Dänemarks. Die geschichtlichen Voraussetzungen der dänischen Außenpolitik. Flensburg 1968.

⁴ Adriansen, Inge. Erinnerungsorte der Deutsch-Dänischen Geschichte. In: Lundt, Bea (ed.). Geschichtsbewußtsein und Geschichtsmymthen nördlich der Elbe (Beiträge zur Geschichtskultur; 27). Köln/Weimar/Wien 2004. p. 391–411, here p. 408f.; Jessen-Klingenberg, Manfred. Schleswig-Holsteins Geschichtsschreibung und das Nationalitätenproblem in Schleswig von 1864 bis 1940. In: Id. Standpunkte zur neueren Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins. ed. by Reimer Hansen und Jörn-Peter Leppien. p. 217–242, here p. 217.

⁵ The term ”heritage“ refers to a cultural and political concept. It stands for the exclusion of the supposed ”others“ and the invention of an own collective identity throughout the materialized witnesses of the past. So there is a close link to theories such as Eric Hobsbawms ”invention of tradition“. At first sight the idea of a common heritage seems to be an including and uncomplicated one. But at the second sight it becomes clear that there also some problems, which for example in particular manifest in formerly contested areas like the Danish-German borderland. Bendix, Regina/Hemme, Dorothee/Tauschek, Markus. Vorwort. In: Id. (ed.). Prädikat ”Heritage“. Wertschöpfungen aus kulturellen Ressourcen. Berlin 2007. p. 9.

The first shifting of territorial boundaries in 1864 did not cause a change of the cultural-geographical spaces at the same time. On the contrary, it resulted in the development of different overlapping and competing memorial landscapes and claims to power in the region.⁶ After 1864 there were several Danish, but especially German and Schleswig-Holstein initiatives aiming for a homogenization of the Schleswig space in a political, linguistical and cultural way. A significant instrument in the national struggle for power over the region was the policy of history trying to construct and propagate a German respective Danish historical tradition in the region and at the same time to create a memorial landscape by means of the occupation of public space with material testimonies.⁷ Within this policy of demarcation of the contested border the politicization of material cultural heritage played a central role. The anthropologists Hastings Donnan and Thomas M. Wilson emphasize in their studies *Border Identities. Nation and State at International Frontiers*⁸ and *Borders. Frontiers of Identity, Nation and the State*⁹ three significant characteristics of border areas and their social function: 1. They are places and symbols of power. 2. They are cultural landscapes with varying meaning for society and within that they hold meaningful potential. 3. They are places of material, regional and local identity.¹⁰ Following Malcolm Anderson as “mythomoteur” they have a function for the entire nation: “In certain circumstances the frontier acquired a mythic significance in building nations and political identities, becoming the mythomoteur of a whole society.”¹¹ In particular the Schleswig region plays a central role in the forming of a national Danish identity: For example it was the only region in the Danish Empire with its own historiography.¹² In the struggle with the German neighbour a Danish regional history of Schleswig should historically legitimize the Danish claim for it. It is in the nature of modern societies to clearly define borders, therefore a demarcation in physical form is necessary.¹³ This “visual imagination” usually takes place by symbols like flags, maps and boundary stones. In particular the last example is a “fundamental, permanent possibility for the state to manifest its presence [...]” and to stress the “reality” of the drawings of borders.¹⁴ But also the material cultural heritage – and in my case museums today – are built and exploited symbols of a political entity. They are cultural boundary stones aiming for a physical and symbolic

⁶ Cf. Struck, Bernhard. Vom offenen Raum zum nationalen Territorium. Wahrnehmung, Erfindung und Historizität von Grenzen in der deutschen Reiseliteratur über Polen und Frankreich um 1800. In: François, Etienne/Seifarth, Jörg/Struck, Bernhard (Hg.). *Die Grenze als Raum, Erfahrung und Konstruktion. Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Frankfurt/New York 2007. p. 77–104, here p. 78.

⁷ Cf. Flaig, Herbert. *The Historian as Pedagogue of the Nation.* In: *History*; 59 (1974). P. 18–32, here p. 19.

⁸ Wilson, Thomas M./Donnan Hastings (ed.). *Border Identities. Nation and State at International Frontiers.* Cambridge 1998.

⁹ Donnan, Hastings/Wilson, Thomas M. (ed.). *Borders. Frontiers of Identity, Nation and the State.* Cambridge 1999.

¹⁰ Wilson/Hastings, 1998; Hastings/Wilson 1999.

¹¹ Anderson, Malcolm. *Frontiers. Territory and State Formation in the Modern World.* Cambridge 1997. p. 4.

¹² Frandsen, Steen Bo. Schleswig: Ein Erinnerungsort für Deutsche und Dänen? In: Henningsen, Bernd/Kliemann-Geisinger, Hendriette/Troebst, Steffen (ed.). *Transnationale Erinnerungsorte: Nord- und südeuropäische Perspektiven (Die Ostseeregion: Nördliche Dimensionen – Europäische Perspektiven; 10).* Berlin 2009. p. 31–49, here p.36.

¹³ Medick, Hans. Zur politischen Sozialgeschichte der Grenzen in der Neuzeit Europas. In: *Sozialwissenschaftliche Informationen*; 20/3 (1991). p. 157–163, here p. 161.

¹⁴ Rodell, Magnus. Das Gibraltar des Nordens. Die Herstellung des schwedisch-russischen Grenzgebietes um 1900. In: Duhamelle, Christophe/Kossert, Andreas/Struck, Bernhard (ed.). *Grenzregionen. Ein europäischer Vergleich vom 18. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert.* Frankfurt/New York 2007. p. 123–152, here p. 139; Cf. Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism.* London 1995; Cf. Hobsbawm, Eric. Introduction, *Inventing Traditions.* In: Ders./Ranger, Terence (ed.). *The Invention of Tradition.* Cambridge 1983. p. 1–14.

territorial demarcation in public space. As “sites of memory of power”¹⁵ public space is a significant indicator for the constructions of the past, current constellations of power and visions of the future. Museums filter the collective memory and republish to their public: Through their exhibitions they choose what is important to be remembered and connect it to the public space. French anthropologist Thomas Serrier emphasizes in this context that border regions like Sønderjylland/Schleswig are places of historical and cultural processes of exchange. In the past and even today these areas “formed [...] experimental grounds and exercise fields for changing forms of regimes of territoriality”.¹⁶

DISCOURSE ON THE MUSEUM LANDSCAPE IN THE NATIONAL DANISH-GERMAN STRUGGLE

In 2003 Sharon Macdonald convincingly unfolds how “having a history” became a main aim in the 18th and 19th century nation building processes following the French revolution. Museum, of course, were paramount vehicles for such configurations of authority and legitimization in these processes.¹⁷ Museums as identity building instruments of modern societies became an important part of the national struggle in the competed Schleswig since the end of the 19th century. The occupation of public space in museums and exhibiting the regional history from a Danish respective German point of view can be seen as the construction of cultural boundary stones. One example for this process in the border area is the founding and history of Idstedt Memorial Hall. At a memorial ceremony in 1878 held by a Schleswig-Holstein soldier association on the former battlefield of the decisive battle between the troops of Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein nearby Idstedt, it was decided to build a memorial armory to remind of the struggle for freedom against Denmark. The official opening of the armory was 1889. Until today the Idstedt Memorial Hall had several changes in meaning for the interpretation of the people in the border region.¹⁸ The history of this museum supports the thesis that imaginations of cultural heritage are not simply existing, instead they are constructed by social and political structures.¹⁹ Ever since the founding of the armory there was a strong glorifying view on the troops of Schleswig-Holstein. After the referendum in 1920 and the loss of Northern Schleswig to Denmark a revanchist component came along with this: For the German minded people in the borderland the hall was the central symbol in the struggle for the region at this time. It is the aim, so a studies in memory, to show “the Danes that Idstedt with the Idstedt Memorial Hall is a site of a constant patriotic remembering not only for Schleswig-Holstein, but also for the whole German Reich.”²⁰ Other museums, like Slot Sønderborg were directly influenced by the shifting of borders. Founded in 1908, the castle was on Danish territory after 1920. Because of that a completely new

¹⁵ Kusber, Jan. Konkurrierende Plätze in Sankt Petersburg. Zur Dauerhaftigkeit der Verortung politischer Macht im historischen Gedächtnis. In: Jaworski, Rudolf/Stachel, Peter (ed.). *Die Besetzung des öffentlichen Raumes. Politische Plätze, Denkmäler und Straßennamen im europäischen Vergleich*. Berlin 2007. p. 131–143, here p. 137.

¹⁶ Cf. Serrier, Thomas. *Geschichtskultur und Territorialität. Historisches und räumliches Bewusstsein im deutsch-polnischen Grenzraum im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*. In: François, Etienne/Seifarth, Jörg/Struck, Bernhard (ed.). *Die Grenze als Raum, Erfahrung und Konstruktion. Deutschland, Frankreich und Polen vom 17. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*. Frankfurt/New York 2007. p. 243–266, here p. 243.

¹⁷ Macdonald, Sharon. *Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities*. In: *Museums and society*; 1/1 (2003). P. 1-16, here P. 1ff.

¹⁸ Schartl, Matthias. *Idstedt und Düppel. Erinnerungsorte deutsch-dänischer Geschichte*. In: Fleischhauer, Carsten/Turkowski, Guntram (Ed.). *Schleswig-Holsteinische Erinnerungsorte*. Heide 2006. p. 29.

¹⁹ Cf. Bendix/Hemme/Tauschek. p. 9.

²⁰ *Gemeinschaftsarchiv Schleswig-Flensburg (GA SIFl)*, IX 2b/8.

conception of the exhibitions regarding regional history was necessary, this time, of course, in a Danish interpretation of history.

After World War Two it was no longer possible to adopt a revanchist position at the Idstedt Memorial Hall, so that the conception of the exhibition had to change. It focussed on the commemoration of the fallen Germans now: "A walk through the hall formed an impression of the time when our fathers fought and died on their own for their clear right [...]"²¹, described a newspaper article from 1949 the new exhibition. For the first time there was the idea to include also the view of the Danish visitors in the concept of the exhibition.²² But in opposite to the more moderate conceptualization of the Memorial Hall, the speakers at annual memorial ceremonies at the site of the battle stayed rhetorically aggressive. In particular it was more the supposed threat of the cultural policy of the Danish minority than the Danish policy in general which was attacked by them. For example, Martin Steinhäuser, member of the executive board of the Schleswiger-Holsteinischer Heimatbund (SHHB) who warned in 1953: "Just as the struggle for Idstedt was fought honorably, it is necessary to fight the battle, which was started from the North in 1945, with mental weapons honorably again."²³ In the opinion of the chairman of the SHHB, Richard Schenk, the Idstedt Memorial Hall was a memorial site which also has an important mission for the future: "Again the German character of our Heimat is threatened by the north. Since 1945 the Danes have tried an illegal attack against the German Volkstum of our Heimat [...] They have succeeded in establishing a pseudo-danish Volkstum in our German-Schleswig Heimat."²⁴

About 30 years later, we can find another controversial example for the instrumentalisation of the material cultural heritage and in particular of museums in the border area. After several new archaeological discoveries in the middle of the 1970s the decision to found a Haithabu-Museum at the place of the medieval trading place Haithabu was made. At the laying of the foundation stone for the museum building, Schleswig Holstein prime minister Dr. Gerhard Stoltenberg delivered a speech, which was the cause for a new transnational controversy.²⁵ He was criticized by the Danish media because of emphasizing that the town is a testimony of an explicitly Schleswig-Holstein and European history. Furthermore, critics reclaimed that he hadn't even used the words Danish or Denmark a single time in the context of the ancient past of Haithabu in his speech.²⁶ A trans regional followed reporting and a in parts very controversial debate in Germany and Denmark. The tabloid Ekstra Bladet wrote: "Haithabu is one of the oldest – possibly the oldest of the Danish towns. [...] The town had been in Southern Schleswig, which was stolen from us by the Germans in 1864. Recently a foundation stone for a museum of the old Haithabu was laid. The ceremony was led by the so-called state minister of the so-called Schleswig-Holstein, Gerhard Stoltenberg, who titles himself a doctor, something every German can do."²⁷ This statement is an extreme one, but it helps illustrate the whole debate. In the focus of the controversy was the question of to whom the cultural heritage belongs to and within this the surrounding space of the Schleswig region.

Another example for the exploitation of museums in the national struggle in the Danish-German border area is the Historiecenter Dybbøl Banke. At the site of the decisive defeat of

²¹ Flensburger Tageblatt, 26.09.1949.

²² Schartl, Matthias. Idstedt – Erinnerungsort gemeinsamer deutsch-dänischer Geschichte. p. 14.

²³ Von Idstedt über Deutschland nach Europa. In: Schleswiger Nachrichten, 27.07.1953.

²⁴ Die geistige Idstedt-Schlacht von heute gewinnen. Gedenkfeier anlässlich der 100. Wiederkehr des Tages von Idstedt. In: Schleswiger Nachrichten, 26.07.1958.

²⁵ Landesarchiv für Schleswig-Holstein (LAS), Abt. 605, Staatskanzlei. Nr. 6583, Haithabu, Grundsteinlegung der Schausammlung am 10.6.81, Richtfest des Wikinger-Museums am 13.8.1982, Eröffnung des Wikinger-Museums am 1.11.1985.

²⁶ LAS, Abt. 605, Staatskanzlei. Nr. 6621, Haithabu – Wikinger Schiff.

²⁷ Ibid.

the Danish troops in the Second Schleswig War in 1864 a new museum was found in 1992. The battle was one of the most important events in Danish history of the last 150 years and within that with a strong influence on the national self-conception and relationship to Germany and Europe. The heritage centre combines an exhibition of the historical circumstances of the battle with elements of re-enactment by the museum-staff. At this site, national memory is shaped by a strongly held claim to national Danish superiority.²⁸ As anthropologist Mads Daugbjergs unfolds convincingly in his PhD-thesis *A site to die for. Practices of nationalism at a Danish heritage site* the museum is still a place of a national claim for defining regional history and besides that the exclusion of German interpretations of the past.²⁹ So, the nation and the national struggle are still not gone. The Historiecenter clarifies that museums and material cultural heritage are central parts in the struggle for the past, even in the 1990s.

CONCLUSION

The Danish-German border area is shaped by two different overlapping and competing memorial landscapes and claims to power in the region. In the national struggle between Danes and Germans the material cultural heritage – monuments, architecture and museums – became a significant instrument. The occupation of the past with one's own interpretation and within that the construction of a supposedly historical tradition should stress the rightful ownership of the region to Denmark respective Germany. Museums and their exhibitions like the Idstedt Memorial Hall or the Historiecenter Dybbøl Banke have been important protagonists in this struggle and have been exploited for political uses as cultural boundary stones up until the recent past. The transnational discourses about these museums or the Haithabu-Museum in Schleswig emphasize the role, which the material cultural heritage plays in the border area. This article has furthermore unfolded the role the supposedly peripheral region Sønderjylland/Schleswig and the struggle over it played in the construction of national Danish and regional Schleswig-Holstein identities. As “cultural brokers” between two modern political entities the border area and its material cultural heritage is the “mythomoteur” for both bordering societies.

²⁸ Daugbjerg, Mads. *Going global, staying national. Museums, heritage and tensions of scale*. London 2009. p. 1.

²⁹ Daugbjerg, Mads. *A site to die for. Practices of nationalism at a Danish heritage site*. Aarhus 2008.

Museum Education in the Making of the Region Scania

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This paper studies regional museum, archives and arts education commissions of the Region of Scania, reformed in 2009, from a policy analysis perspective. It describes the background, design and implementation of the new policy and analyses its effects. The paper gives detailed information on the complexities of policy tool design and implementation, and discusses it in the light of regional governance. An evaluation of the system of regional support to museum education in Scania, shows that the reformed regional museum, archives and arts education policy of 2009 has had effects contrary to those intended. Due to internal reorganization, the intentions of politicians with the policy and the ambitions of civil servants designing the policy have not been translated into an effective policy tool. Internal regional goal achievement and adherence to other areas of regional policy dictated the design of the new museum, archives and arts education policy of the Region. As a result, the important dimension of museums, archives and arts institutions as educational spaces has been reduced rather than expanded. Clearly, effective policies need more than good intentions.

MUSEUM EDUCATION IN THE MAKING OF THE REGION SCANIA

Regions have come to play an increasingly important role in recent years as regards governance. Regions find themselves as competitive units in a globalised world where national policy does not necessarily advance the interests of individual municipalities, and where municipalities themselves are too small players to develop infrastructure of various kinds in order to offer quality of life and livelihood opportunities. Regions should benefit the inhabitants and other actors active in the region, in order to fill their public purpose as administrative bodies. However, what kind of regional governance has the regional turn in Sweden resulted in? In order to understand how regional governance is undertaken in practice, through the development of policies and subsequent policy tools to ensure the policy to be well implemented, a study of policy reform has been studied in the cultural sector in the Region of Scania.

The implementation of a reformed regional museum education policy in Scania from 2009 is a case that illustrates and discusses the design and implementation of a policy and a specific policy instrument. The paper gives detailed information on the complexities of policy tool design and implementation, and discusses it in the light of regional governance research. The paper offers a detailed description of the relationships between regional government as a political organisation, regional administration as a policy implementing body, cultural institutions as providers of regional public services, and children as the beneficiaries of regional education activities in the field of the arts and cultural heritage. Especially, the paper points to the hazards of general solutions for a region – which may curb rather than enhance innovation.

Although relating to a larger issue of the use of culture and the arts to generate social and economic welfare, this paper studies a small fraction of the activities and support of the Region of Scania. The policy studied cannot be said to be representative of other areas of support of the Region. The area of study, museum, archives and arts education, is entirely dependent on public and private non-profit support, and typically is an activity undertaken by employees in cultural institutions.

REGIONS FROM A RESEARCH PERSPECTIVE

Internationally, regions have had an increasingly important role in governance in the last decades, as nation states have become less important actor on local level, as deregulation and globalization make national boundaries less relevant for business. Also in the arts sector, for example in the UK, regions have become more important policy and governance actors since the 1990s (Stevenson et al., 2010).

This new regionalism in Europe and Sweden has meant especially increased focus on development and growth, especially in economic terms. Also, partnerships between public and private actors have been emphasised by politicians as a way of finding a position in the Europe of regions and free mobility. This development is marketed as based on political/administrative bodies as keen coalition builders and therefore as sensitive to the voices of actors in the region (Fernández 2000).

Regions in Sweden find themselves in-between municipalities with strong independence, and national government (Mccallion 2008). The main areas of activity for regions are large infrastructural issues including healthcare and communication. Also economic and social development is seen as a central area of engagement. The Regions have, where formed, taken over the previous counties' tax levying function. As recognised by several researchers on regional governance in Sweden, the significant hourglass shape of Swedish public administration makes the identity and profile work of regional government and administration important in order to legitimise the Region as a political/administrative actor. Networking and agreements are more significant of the basis of the new Regions in Sweden, but

simultaneously an internal struggle to define the role of the Region is discernible in the concrete governance in the area of culture for example. The regions are administrative constructs that call for visions in order to be manageable (Pierre 1999).

Regionalization is a development that is concurrent with the increasing role of governance. Regions work much more in cooperation with local business and other private organisations, than county councils. As municipalities and national government also increasingly engages with and involves private actors, regions act less rigorously as a public body as was previously the norm.

From the point of view of a cultural organization or museum, the region may seem a more attention-paying public actor than the national cultural council and other national bodies, which often focus their attention to major, urban cultural institutions. Municipalities, on the other hand, are important and immediate partners for many cultural organisations and museums, as principals or local government. However, many museums and cultural organisations have publics that reach beyond the own municipality, and it is here that the Region as a public body stimulating cultural activities across municipalities, may be interesting partners for the organisations of the cultural and cultural heritage sector.

In Sweden, cultural policy has a strong urge to democratize culture, an inheritance from the first national cultural policy formulated in 1974. Equal access to culture is a cornerstone of Swedish cultural policy, on national, regional and local level. As other regions, Scania contains urban areas with a wealth of cultural and arts activities and rural areas where small municipalities with few inhabitants have a significantly smaller range of culture on offer. Most literature on urban regeneration and development focus on areas with one or several urban centres creating a basis for cultural activities (Evans and Foord, 2008; Kanai and Ortega-Alcázar, 2009). Distribution effects from urban centres seem proposed as a solution to regional challenges to access to the arts and culture, and this is very much so also in Scania. Nevertheless, a few private initiatives based in rural locations are supported, and offer some balance to the otherwise strongly urban declination of arts and culture.

THE REGION OF SCANIA (REGION SKÅNE)

Regions in Sweden have in the last decade evolved as administrative and governing bodies. In 1997 regions were formed as experimental administrative entities in Kalmar, Gotland and Skåne counties. This change meant that decision-making power was shifted from County councils to a new regional government. This shift also implied increased involvement of local business in development plans for the regions.

The municipalities around Gothenburg at this point in time also launch the region Västra Götaland. In 2001 it is decided that the experimental entities can continue their operations, and in 2009 it is decided that the “region municipalities” of Skåne, Västra Götaland, Halland and Gotland are established as permanent administrative entities. In 1999 Region Scania was formed as a joint venture of the 33 municipalities in the counties of Malmöhus and Kristianstad. Administratively and functionally the Region covers the same areas as the previous County councils; healthcare, and overall regional development including business, tourism, infrastructure, social and recreation development.

Scania as a region is clearly divided into the economically and culturally strong coastline regions with Malmö as the capital city of the region, and the hinterland, which has a low density of population and business, and correspondingly few institutions for cultural activities. The major cities of Scania, due to historical reasons, have rather differing profiles as regards social and cultural activities. Lund is the academic centre with the university as a major employer of middle-class Swedes and foreigners. Malmö has a strong historical basis in sea-related business, and has a strong merchant as well as a working-class cultural tradition.

Helsingborg, which is the third largest city of the region, also has a history of merchants and shipping.

The Region of Scania has in recent years developed arts programmes and policies, and from 2011 has an increased role as regional party in the distribution of national cultural support. Whereas many approaches to economic and social development through the arts propose a ‘creative city’ approach, mainly focusing on given centres of culture, and thus hoping for a trickle-down effect to the hinterlands (McCarthy, 2006; Sacco et al., 2009; Bonet et al.; 2011 compare Paquette 2008), the museum, archives and arts education policy of the Region of Scania battles this urbanization trend within the arts. Malmö and Lund already are ‘creative hubs’ in the region, and the education policy of the Region rather has as its aim to make sure that those underexposed to culture can access it as effortlessly as possible.

The region of Skåne defines the area of arts and culture as a tool for development of the region. To be more precise, the Region supports culture and the arts with the objective of gaining social and economic benefits. Development is a buzzword that is vague enough to include most positive associations related to economic and social dimensions of society. With the use of this word, the region clearly states the view that the region defines what is development that it wants to support financially. Secondly, development clearly indicates that ordinary activities are not considered development.

CULTURE SCANIA AND A NEW REGIONAL MUSEUM, ARCHIVES AND ARTS EDUCATION POLICY

The aim of Region Scania is to see to the overall development of the region of Scania. Culture Scania (Kultur Skåne) is an administrative body under the Development Manager of Region Scania, and Region Scania sees the role of Culture Scania to develop the region. The political-executive body controlling the activities of Culture Scania is the Culture Committee. This Committee is one of several under the main governing regional body; the Regional Executive Committee. The highest decision-making body of the Region is the Regional Assembly. Culture Scania is located under the Development office of the Region. Thus, the overall aim of the engagement with arts and culture on the part of the Region is to develop Scania.

The region gives activity support to a broad variety of arts and cultural organisations, and in this paper, the regional support to museum, archives and arts education (kulturpedagogik) will be analysed; in particular the reformed policy for such education implemented since 2009. The new policy was evaluated by the author in 2011, the results of which form the basis for this paper. The evaluation used information generated through interviews with educators and management at the concerned institutions in the region, with civil servants at Culture Scania, and with a politician sitting on the Culture Committee when the new policy was designed (Lindqvist, 2011).

The background of the reform of the regional commissions for museum, archives and arts education was an urge to become more politically or internally clear about the uses of cultural grants and economic support. Regional auditors had remarked that the objectives of the previous system for grants to regional museum, arts and archives education were formulated in a way that made it difficult to measure performance. The higher level of complexity in cultural activities compared to other areas of activity of Region Skåne was acknowledged, but the demand for clear steering was nevertheless stressed in the Culture Committee’s response to the auditors’ critique (KS 2007-10-23). The Culture Committee identified the system of support for regional cultural heritage education was ambiguous (unclear) as regards orientation, priorities, responsibilities and use of resources.

The answer to this critique was to develop clearer objectives, orientation and organisation of the support to regional cultural heritage education, through the formulation of more distinct commissions. The Culture Committee stated that such a development should have as

guidelines flexibility, transparency and balance, and that routines for reporting need to be further developed, in order to secure the functionality and thereby the legitimacy of commissions as governance tool.

The auditors in their report call for a definition or operationalisation of the four lead objectives of the Region; balance, attractiveness, sustainability and growth. The auditors call for operationalisation of these objectives specifically for individual activities, and develop concrete and measurable indicators for each objective, so that the level of goal achievement can be indicated on a regular basis. They wrote that the complexity of cultural activities demands a balance in the formulation of commissions, so that artistic quality is not affected, but be long-term and clear on priorities.

Vi manar ... till viss försiktighet i kraven på att snabbt formulera kraftfulla och tydliga överenskommelser. Dessa bör snarare utvecklas i en dialog mellan bidragsgivare och mottagare. Riktningen ska vara klar men dialogen och processen måste få ha sin gång. (Nordestedt and Svanell 2007: 14)

We call for certain caution in demanding quick formulations of unambiguous commissions. These should be developed in dialogue between the Region and the institutions. The direction should be made clear, but the dialogue and the process need their due time.

Unfortunately, the new policy was designed in complete opposition to the recommendations of the auditors.

DESIGN OF THE NEW POLICY

With the new system, the commissions were given to individual institutions rather than to individual educators, and the amounts given each commissioned institution harmonized. The institutions were divided into groups according to common competence and focus, as identified by the civil servants of Culture Scania. There were a total of five groups and corresponding profiles: public archaeology; societal structures; ethics and ideology; nature, culture and democracy based on the County/Landscape Convention; art and visual communication; and sustainable development. Some institutions, however, have commissions within two separate profiles. In addition, one institution received double the financial support for two commissions whereas all other institutions with two commissions.

Until 2008, the regional education commission was held by specific employees, first employed by the Region, but later positioned and employed by individual institutions receiving corresponding financial support from the Region. The commissions were until 2008 designed to a certain extent individually for each institution; with one to two out of a total of four aims to be fulfilled being individually formulated. The number of institutions receiving regional commissions has remained roughly the same, around 16 in total.

The explicit objectives of the reformed regional museum education policy, on the part of the Region of Scania, were:

- greater coordination and clarity as regards the regional museum, arts and archive education resources
- more even geographical distribution across the region
- increased adjustment to profile areas and other regional commissions, and regional action and development plans for the arts and culture
- increased flexibility in the use of museum, arts and archive educational competence for regional projects and other cultural priorities (kultursatsningar) of the Region of Scania

- clearer regional commission contracts on both general and individual basis that contribute to the development of Scania within the area of museum, arts and archive education, with a basis in existing profile areas, development commissions, geographical location and accessibility

These were the goals intended to be achieved through the formed education policy of the Region of Scania, and these goals were communicated internally and to the concerned institutions. Each museum, archive and arts institution furthermore was specifically commissioned to work together with the other institutions in the same profile group, decided by Culture Scania based on previous interviews with staff of the respective institutions. The institutions in profile groups decided on by Culture Scania had as explicit commission to

jointly create courses and educational opportunities (kompetensutveckling) within their area of competence (the shared profile), for groups that work professionally with children and youngsters in different societal sectors such as schools, leisure time, healthcare, tourism, among other. The commission entails that within the specific profile and the [specific competence of the institution] develop public relations and communication with a focus on children and youngsters with a visionary perspective. The emphasis is to be on co-creation, interactivity and participation with a point of departure in current societal issues with clear connection to [the specific area of competence]. *(from the commission contract, phrasing identical for all institutions)*

Apart from stating the objectives of the new museum education commissions, the Region also stipulated how the objectives should be achieved:

- primarily target professional groups that have children and youngsters as their target groups in their work
- cooperate and create working groups with institutions with the same commission profile [listed in the contract] for the implementation of the commission
- participate in, develop and implement courses and exchange of competence within the arts, archive and museum education (kulturpedagogiskt) network
- strive to clarify connections between research, theory and practice
- coordinate and document development work with the own institutional activities as a point of departure, and make the work, the supply and results available for other actors and stakeholders in the whole region

Also, in addition to the objectives and the procedural directives, reference is explicitly made in the contracts to other steering documents validated by the Region:

- Regional development programme for Scania
- Regional action plan for museum activities in Scania – report, November 2006
- Record of children’s and youngsters’ culture in Scania in March 2007
- Regional development plan for children’s and youngsters’ culture in Scania, April 2008
- Region Scania’s cultural policy programme “Open vistas – Arts and Culture in Scania” [*Öppna landskap – Konst och Kultur i Skåne*]
- Action plan for the visual arts in Scania

In the directions for the educational commissions, it is stated that the primary target group are other educators (instructors) of children. Behind this formulation there was an idea that the educational institutions should be able to generate more activities for children by involving

other educators. The resources of the commission was then, according to civil servants, to be used to amplify the resources for education by enabling the completion of applications for further funding together with various collaborative parties.

A quarter of the previous support oriented directly to an educator at an institution now goes to specific development projects, decided by civil servants or the Culture Committee on the basis of a dialogue with institutions. Thus, there was to be no official application procedure. The money was aimed at innovative and new forms of cooperation between institutions and arts forms, beyond the cooperation in the profile groups. This change was aimed to increase the flexibility (for the Region) to direct support to projects that were judged innovative by Culture Scania.

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE NEW POLICY

Simultaneously with the development of a new regional museum education policy, the Culture Committee of the Region decided that the Culture Administration, Culture Scania, was to be reorganized. Culture Scania, which had been in various cities in Skåne, were all relocated to Malmö, the capital city, and reorganized into entirely new departments, and all civil servants had to apply for new positions. This meant that civil servants engaged in the development of the new museum education policy soon after its implementation were no longer on their previous position, and thus new civil servants were to hold a dialogue with institutions, without profound knowledge of the aims and ideas of the reform. In practice, the contact and support of the Culture administration was inexistent, or at best only guesses of the proper sense of the reform could be conveyed in dialogue with the institutions. Having no control over the decision to reorganize the whole of Culture Scania, they were faced with the responsibility of implementing the new system for cultural education commissions without having the possibility to organize their own work, and document the ideas of the reformed system.

From interviews with civil servants engaged in the development of the new policy, it becomes clear that the ideas behind it were not expressed in the written directions. From the descriptions of civil servants, the idea with the new policy was to stimulate new ways of approaching museum education, to stimulate new interesting cooperation among different types of cultural and cultural heritage organisations. Furthermore, the civil servants developing the new system expose an understanding of museum staff as unwilling to renew themselves, to be entrepreneurial and to develop professionally and their educational programmes and activities. Interviews with museum managers, heads of education and individual educators give an image that is contrary to that given by civil servants at the culture administration.

The institutions had no substantial possibility to influence the design of the current system; it was not designed in dialogue but entirely by civil servants. However, the civil servants planning the policy instrument visited all institutions prior to the final design of it. Based on the areas of competence of the respective institutions eligible for education support, Kultur Skåne formulated five themes and grouped all institutions into these. Some institutions were given two of commissions, and thus are members of two profile groups. The themes and corresponding groups were

- public archaeology
- societal structures, ethics and ideology
- nature, culture and democracy based on the County/Landscape Convention
- art and visual communication, and
- sustainable development.

The new policy was based on support in the form of dialogue between the institutions and Culture Scania, but due to the reorganization, the civil servants who had initially worked with the policy all got new positions, and therefore the support from Culture Scania in practice eroded. New civil servants being placed as responsible for contacts with institutions had no previous knowledge of the ideas behind it, and of the specific conditions of the various institutions.

All in all, the implementation of the policy can be said to have failed, in that internal reorganization caused the previous knowledge of the bearing ideas to disperse. In the following section a more profound analysis of the effectiveness of the policy will be undertaken. The results are based on Lindqvist (2011).

ANALYSIS OF THE REFORMED REGIONAL MUSEUM AND CULTURAL EDUCATION COMMISSIONS

Overall, the new policy is designed and formulated in a way that makes it foremost a document formulated for internal Regional purposes. The very construction of the contracts and aims point rather at internal Region procedures and ambitions, than at effective museum, archives and arts education to children. In this section, some more detailed comments on the design of the policy and its concrete implementation will be made.

First of all, the ambition in the new policy to stimulate applications and cooperation for further monetary support, in order to amplify the educational resources, does not come across in the new directions. Many of the central ideas of the policy, as described by interviewed civil servants at Culture Scania, cannot be found in the formulations of the commission contracts.

Secondly, many of the policy objectives stated (see p. 6) are overlapping, this makes evaluation of the goal achievement more complicated. Each objective should be formulated in a way that helps assessment of the level of goal achievement, from the point of view of the operative institution. Furthermore, reference is made to a large number of other steering documents, something which makes the policy fragmented and hard to meet by institutions involved. In addition, the directions contain specifications on how the aims should be achieved, that are contrary to the idea of Management by Objectives, on which most of Regional governance is based.

Thirdly, contrary to the recommendations of the auditors of the Region, there was no real dialogue between Culture Scania and the institutions in the design of the policy. Initial dialogue was succeeded by the presentation of a policy entirely formulated by Culture Scania. This had as a result that the directions were badly suited for operationalization, as they were not based on detailed knowledge of the field in which the cultural institutions operate. This in turn has made the policy ineffective, as resources have been spent on interpreting directions and finding points of common reference among the groups of institutions made to cooperate through the profile group formation.

Fourthly, as a result of the above, important parts of the policy objectives have not been met, and the policy must therefore be assessed as ineffective and inefficient.

Fifthly, existing professional networks were sidestepped with the new policy, even though regional support goes to museum educator visits to poor schools who cannot afford the journey to a particular museum. There are three separate professional networks active in Scania; that of museum educators in cultural history museums, that of art educators; and that of the "Visitors" (*Uppsökarna*), museum educators engaged in school visits. These are, according to educators themselves, important for the respective specialization of museum educators, and for the profession as a whole, as they are few in numbers, and spread across a large number of institutions where on average only one or a two educators share workplace. These networks were sidestepped, although the directions state that they should be used, as

the commission should be undertaken foremost with the institutions with the same profile, and thus in the same profile group. The educator networks have nevertheless been able to arrange activities of their own in these years.

Sixtly, the distribution of financial support for commissions is not consistent. One institution with two profile commissions, receive double the amount of support compared to all others, regardless of whether they have one or two profile commissions. Thus, several institutions have two commissions, but receive the same amount of monies as those institutions with only one commission. In addition, a quarter of the previous support oriented directly to an educator at an institution after the reform went to specific development projects, but the decision making process and criteria are difficult to trace, which for the institutions has meant increased insecurity in relation to Culture Scania. The Culture Committee has also made decisions for the use of these monies that go against the stated objectives of the very same policy.

Seventhly, the system is based on increased geographical distribution solely due to the education of instructions, who in turn should educate children. This makes the system vulnerable to limitations in teacher demand on courses. Civil servants have in interviews described the aim of the policy to be a stimulus for seeking further financial support for educational activities. But this intention does not come across when reading the contracts. Furthermore, the demand to target teachers has not been successful. Teachers do not have the possibility to partake in courses offered by the institutions, as their time for professional development is extremely restricted. This in turn depends on the internal organisation of schools.

Eightly, the important dimension of the museum as educative space is seriously reduced with the current system. It is astonishing that Culture Scania assumes a simple multiplication effect of education in the cultural heritage sector, based on knowledge being transferred from museum educators to teachers, and from these to children. This view on knowledge is certainly flattering neither for the educators concerned nor for the administrators or politicians assuming such an oversimplified distribution model.

To summarise, the political aims of the Region of Scania have clearly guided the design of the current museum and cultural education commissions in Scania. The region has apparently worked hard to design commissions according to the political catchwords of the day, but have not clearly reflected upon their role as governing party towards the institutions providing museum and cultural education. The current regional museum and cultural education commission system indicates problems of the Region in defining its role in relation to both other governance sectors (internally), and in relation to the field (externally). It is clear from the evaluation that politicians want to make sure that their decisions to support cultural activities financially conform with demands and conventions of control in other sectors. Therefore politicians demand control systems that ensure measurement according to clear criteria. The education commission system, however, is a clear example of the fallacy of over-generalised formulations. The conceptual simplicity of general formulations creates problems in the operational stage, where interpretations are needed to understand paradoxically vague directions and objectives. The emphasis on new collaborations in the new policy, did not recognize the collaborations already established or under development by the institutions themselves. The effect was a formalistic demand on new collaborations with new partners, something which led to time consuming search for new project partners and new common ideas on which to build cooperation.

CONCLUSIONS

The policy has been designed so that it is foremost adapted to the procedures of the Region of Scania. It is clear that the policy is a desk product from the unison critique to its

implementation from the institutions commissioned to provide the educational activities according to the contracts signed with Culture Scania. The children of Scania, which are to enjoy the culture and arts of the region, are completely absent in the policy. The policy seems most of all to be designed for the internal needs of the Region, as it is utterly difficult to live up to, on the part of the institutions involved. Furthermore, vital objectives of the policy have not been met. For the institutions, the three first years after the reform has resulted in wasted time and lower performance. These demands have led to inefficiency and other negative consequences for the institutions providing the education, and in the end lower efficiency and effectiveness of the education resources of the region.

The rhetoric of regional governance generally centres on economic growth and positive social development, and the approach is often that of involvement and dialogue with various stakeholders in society. Nevertheless, the reformed museum, arts and archive education commissions in the region of Scania is an example of policy that is developed wholly internally within the regional administration, and has been designed with foremost the Region administration itself in mind. The formulated commissions have long lists with objectives of the Region that are to be adhered to and fulfilled, and even state how listed objectives should be achieved. The new policy combines Management by Objectives and more traditional procedural directions, and the group that should benefit from the policy, children in the region, are strikingly absent in the formulation of commissions and objectives.

The dialogue and involvement stated as cornerstones of regional governance are lacking in the current approach to development of museum, arts and archive education in the Region of Scania. The Region has not involved the institutions or broader stakeholder groups in the development of the policy instruments, even though involvement and dialogue is strong in the rhetoric of the Region. Internal regional goal achievement and adherence to other areas of regional policy have dictated the design of the new museum education policy in the Region of Scania. Importantly, improved and increased access to cultural education for children in Scania has not been delivered through the new policy. Clearly, effective policies need more than good intentions; they need civil servants that have the mandate to develop functioning policy tools that are calibrated according to the field of implementation, and politicians that understand the complexities of translating catch-phrases into functioning policy tools. In particular, the reorganization of Culture Scania, decided by the Culture Committee, and effected in 2010, clearly impeded on the implementation of the new regional museum education policy.

The overall aim of the Region to promote development may paradoxically limit support to the arts and cultural heritage, if it is interpreted narrowly. As the museums receiving regional museum education support, development is today an essential part of the ordinary museum education work at institutions. There are other initiatives for stimulating cooperation across arts and cultural areas. National and municipal initiatives aiming at enabling cooperation among educational and cultural institutions such as schools and theatres or museums, play an important role in the day to day development of educational activities at museums, archives and arts institutions in the region. Two examples are *Skapande skola* (1) “Creative school”, and *Kultur i vården* (2) “Arts in healthcare”.

From a governance perspective, it is clear that even though the Region emphasizes dialogue and involvement by business and organisations, the issue of involvement in the development of a new policy, the cultural sector is not the primary priority. The Region through Culture Scania in its policy design and development only cosmetically involved the institutions concerned. Even though the commissions are designed as contracts, that signal mutual engagement in the commission, they are dictated by the Region. The directions even after adjustment are poorly adjusted to the operational conditions of the field. The institutions

engaged in the commissions call for a profound dialogue with Culture Scania as regards the objectives and design of the policy and the commissions as policy instrument.

A marketisation of the public domain, as characterised by governance researchers (Lidström 2007), can also be identified in the current policy. The institutions are exhorted to develop courses for instructors and educators, which will then choose among a number of available alternatives. In the current case, the problem of the marketisation was that there was no demand for the courses, due to the severe time constraints of teachers for professional development. Even though the civil servants at Culture Scania claim that this was not the intention with the policy, this is how the directions have been interpreted and understood. The cultural sector is not unfamiliar to competition, as institutions are used to application procedures for grants and support, and to being subject to substitutes to cultural experiences. Nevertheless, the current policy has resulted in a commodification of the output of museums, archives and arts institutions, through the demand to develop courses for instructors rather than to continue developing new services based on an ongoing dialogue with schools and other instructors working with children.

The regional is often perceived as an artificial party or actor by the cultural field, in contrast to the local and immediate environment of arts and cultural institutions, such as municipalities, audiences, and the national or international field in which institutions see themselves as actors (Hornskov 2007). This is due to the fact that most cultural institutions are based in and engage mostly on local (municipal level) as regards audiences, whereas the professional contacts are often upheld with the field on national and international level. The regional, especially as a new actor in the cultural field, therefore is not perceived as an immediate party to engage with. Furthermore, most of the regional institutions are located in central, urban areas, and only a few in number. As the Region is a new actor in the cultural field, it also needs to build long-term relationships through support to and engagement in the arts that is perceived as credible by institutions, if the Region is to gain legitimacy as partner in developing culture in Scania. The reformed museum, archives and arts education policy does not really strengthen the legitimacy of the Region in the eyes of the cultural institutions, but nevertheless offers substantial support for educational activities, which the institutions commissioned are content to receive.

The current policy signals the priority of internal goals of the Region before the needs of children in small, rural communities in Scania. It focuses more on formal adherence to regional control procedures than on the goal of equal access to culture for all children.

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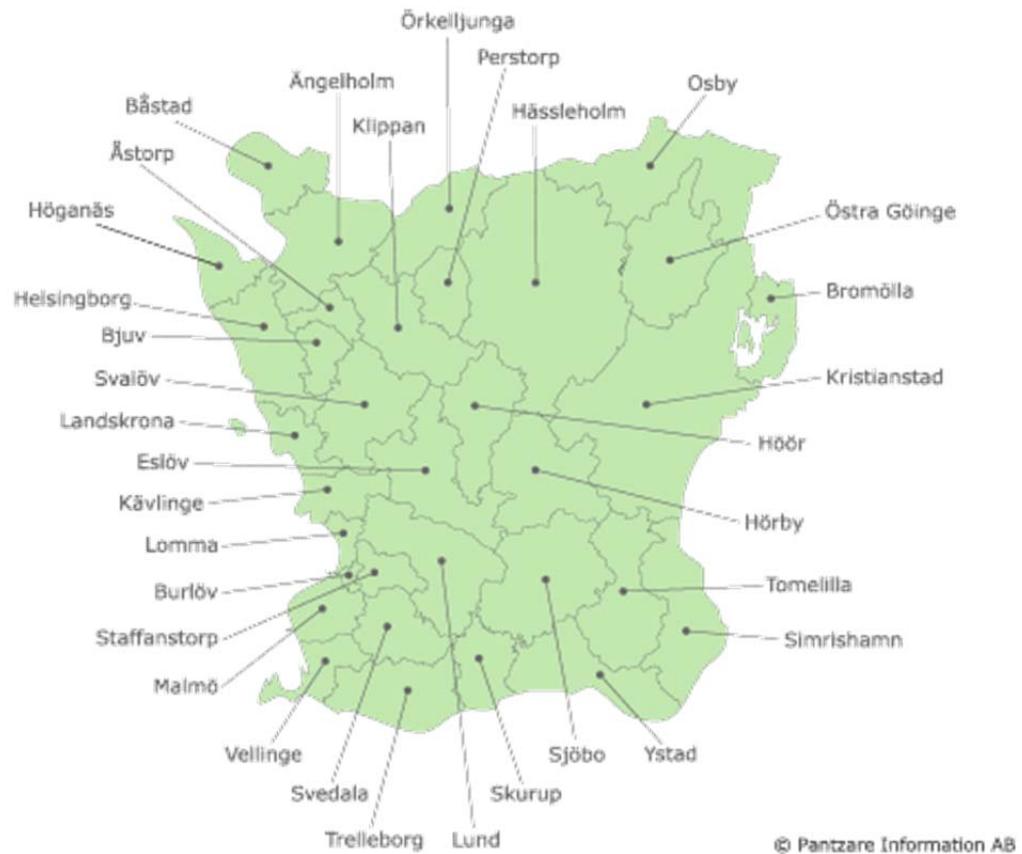
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For more information, see:

<http://www.kulturradet.se/skapande-skola/>

http://www.skane.se/sv/Webbplatser/Kultur-Skane-samlingsnod/Kultur_Skane/Kultur_i_varden/

MAPS



Map 2. The municipalities of the Region of Scania (<http://www.regionfakta.com/Skane-lan/Geografi/Lanets-kommuner/>)



Map 3. The towns and larger hamlets of the region of Scania (<http://www.regionfakta.com/Skane-lan/Geografi/Storre-tatorter/>)



Map 4. The major cities of Scania (<http://www.regionfakta.com/Skane-lan/Geografi/Stader/>). Apart from Malmö, Helsingborg and Lund who are the largest cities, most other towns have less than 30,000 inhabitants.

Thinking About Audience and Agency in the Museum: Models from Historical Research

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This paper examines a current trend within museum studies to conceptualise the contemporary museum as democratic, open, and working in partnership with its community, which is seen as a fundamental change from museums at some point in the past, when they were didactic and produced or encouraged a passive audience. This trend, it maintains, is not just produced by museums needing to fit into various agendas for social inclusivity, but also by some of the most important texts in museum history, which look at the ways in which various forms of agency worked to deny agency to the public. It argues that such a view radically understates the forms of agency available to ‘outsiders’ to museums in the past; and that as a corollary, analyses of the contemporary museum need to be wary of seeing shared agency as already achieved. By exploring the forces which work to distribute agency widely inside and beyond the museum, alongside those which worked to centralise agency in the institution of the museum and its curators, we can gain a much fuller understanding of museums past and present.

INTRODUCTION

In the past, exhibitions were prepared by curators and when they were finished, they were “opened to the public”. The process of production was closed, and the completed display allowed no point of entry for the consumer, the visitor. The consuming subjects, the visitors, were constituted firstly as separate from the professional processes of the museum, and secondly as a general, undifferentiated mass. ... The age of the passive visitor has passed, to be superseded by the age of the active and discriminating “consumer” or “client” (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, 210-11).

In recent years museums have apparently undergone a profound change in their relationship with their audience – this relationship is now characterised as a partnership, with the museum part of the apparatus of a democratic state which makes a space and a voice available to all its citizens. This is seen as a reversal of the earlier museum which was ‘exclusive and socially divisive’ (Ross 2004; see also Lang, Reeve and Woollard 2006). This somewhat Whiggish characterisation of the development of the museum threatens, I argue, to overlook examples of why and how a wider public could exercise agency in the museum, in favour of constructing a self-congratulatory model of change. Certainly for curators in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the ideal model of the museum was one in which curators produced knowledge, and audiences consumed it; a one-way process based on the expert credentials of the curator. However, an investigation of the way in which museums have historically interacted with a range of constituencies suggests that this model was never fully achieved in practice, and indeed, that museums have always been partnerships between curators and a variety of other groups.

Contemporary discussions of museums’ involvement with their audience is dominated by the idea of community (see for example Karp, Kreamer and Lavine 1992). In some cases this concept is very uncritically used, with a museum’s community or communities understood to be self-evident constituencies which can speak with a coherent voice. In other cases the ‘community’ is deconstructed, but this tends to be a sociological exercise, acknowledging the effect of structures including ethnicity, gender and race on the groupings among the audience. It may, however, be more useful to think about how the museum as an institution, its collections and objects, and wider discursive formations, create varying voices for subjects within the museum. The strength of this approach can be particularly seen if we take a historical approach which highlights the constructed nature of museum audiences and publics.

FORMS OF AGENCY

In order to understand how audiences and publics have shaped the museum, we need to understand what forms of agency and what subject positions are made available in museums. Historical studies of museums have enormously expanded our understanding of what museums do and have done, and have enabled us to identify the roles of various agents in the process of museum work. However, many of these studies have also fed the sense of rift between the historical and the modern museum, by emphasising the ways in which audience passivity was produced by the multifarious agents of the museum:

Space and architecture

Influential studies by Bennett (1995), Forgan (1998) and Yanni (1999) have emphasised the role space and architecture play in creating meanings and interactions at the museum. Buildings shaped both bodily engagements at the museum, and the narrative meaning of the displays. Indeed, the key argument of Bennett is that the two are intertwined and therefore inscribe meaning in a bodily way. Moreover space shapes people by dividing the public from

the curator and constraining the behaviour of the visitor. But might it also be true that people shape space? In other words, the nature of the space is as much a product of the bodily interactions which happen within it, as it produces those interactions. Suzanne MacLeod talks about ‘the human bodily experiences that have made and remade the architecture of the museum throughout its “life”’, a description which emphasises the point that the relationship between built space and the identities of people within that space cannot be seen as a purely one-way process, but rather an interaction (MacLeod 2012; see also MacLeod 2005). And a key methodological issue to raise here is the tendency of commentators to engage with idealised versions of museum space, particularly photographs and prints which show an empty or almost empty museum. The assumption is that the people are added after the museum spaces have been finalised, and thus fit in with the pre-determined spatial discourse. Of course, it is important to investigate ideals, especially the ideals of those who were in charge of museums; but there is plenty of evidence to suggest that while the empty spaces look as if they could exert a disciplinary effect and could produce a certain narrative meaning, in the overcrowded state they were not infrequently in during the nineteenth century neither of these processes could function, as detailed below.

Curatorial

As curating developed as a profession, curators developed techniques and practices to enhance their own authority, giving themselves and no one else a position from which to speak in the museum. Expertise in classification, cataloguing, connoisseurship, conservation and exhibition/display have all been identified as markers of curatorial authority (Alberti 2009, Teather 1990). Work on more recent curatorial identities has also affirmed a view (among curators at least) that experienced curators have a quality of judgement that no one else has (Sandino 2012). Yet in fact curators do not have a monopoly on any of these skills, and especially in the late nineteenth century many people within and outside museums were able to classify, catalogue, and prepare for exhibition at least as well as many curators; while connoisseurship, still closely linked to notions of aristocratic (and inherent) taste, has continued to be thought of as something more likely to be found in the disinterested amateur than in the jobbing curator. Curators did develop ideas which enshrined and enhanced their own agency within the museum and aimed to minimise those of others – for example accession policies, the downgrading of the role of honorary curators and local government committees – but there are ground for doubting the efficacy of such measures.

Objects and collections; displays

Both the accreditation of certain objects and certain types of collection as appropriate or inappropriate to the museum, and the creation of displays using those objects, acts to create meaning within the museum. Commentators vary in how far they think this meaning creation is under the control of the curator. Pearce, for example, sees the world of objects acting out structural formations which cannot be traced to one individual but are part of deep cultural patterns (Pearce 1990). Similarly, Hooper-Greenhill links typical forms of display to deep, and relatively persistent, epistemological frameworks; which is effectively what Bennett does in linking displays to the dominant trope of ‘knowledge’ in the late nineteenth century (Hooper-Greenhill 1992, Bennett 1995). Certainly there can be no denying that the way in which objects were understood to yield knowledge was always historically produced; but equally, recent studies have pointed to the ability of objects to retain a ‘multivocal’ quality. Their materiality encompasses the potential for other stories and meanings to be created from them; which is why curators are never able fully to control them, or to shut down the possibility of understanding them in different ways. As Larson says, ‘objects are full of ambiguities and entangled histories. They tend to undermine the categories we provide for them, and lead us down unpredictable pathways as we learn from them’ (Larson 2009: 243-4).

While such approaches to the agency of the museum illuminate many of the processes by which a museum became a museum, we should not just look to the past to see how audiences and the public were disempowered. These studies posit a duality in power, and a somewhat undifferentiated ‘audience’, but further digging in the history of museums complicates this picture substantially.

AUDIENCE AND MUSEUMS c1900: VISITING; VOLUNTEERING; DONATING

If we look at the museum around 1900 we can see a number of ways in which a public or audience constituency acted to shape the museum; and moreover, it becomes clear that a separation between curator and audience is hard to sustain.

1 - Volunteers are a group which make this lack of separation clear. Recent studies of volunteers focus on the economic contribution which they make, and develop ideas about good practice in volunteer management, but do not reflect on the extent to which volunteers may be ‘authoring’ the museum. It has been suggested that volunteers promote ‘user involvement’ in museums, and the extent to which volunteers are involved in research has also been noted (IVR n.d.). I argue that volunteers, those working within museums but unpaid, are and have always been a powerful voice. They differ from curators in lacking professional training, which might be argued to privilege the curator; but have historically often had equal amounts of subject expertise, and the benefits of being seen as selfless and disinterested. In the cash-strapped museums of the nineteenth century, volunteers undertook substantial and significant jobs – in Liverpool, Brighton, Bristol and Manchester they arranged entire subject areas, and the Rev. H. H. Higgins in Liverpool had a substantial input into the overall arrangement of the museum, the type of object displayed, and the interpretation strategy. He also single-handedly created an educational programme for the museum (Hill 2005). Nina Layard, an honorary curator at Ipswich Museum gave her collections to the museum but insisted they be kept in locked cases to which only she had the key. She objected to the curator even entering the room in which they were kept. Today, as commentators suggest that museum staff have too many management commitments to get to know their collections in depth, it is significant that volunteers are most often working on research – in other words they may be the ones who know the collections best, which offers them a position from which to act.

2 - Donors, arguably, have always had a relatively important position within the museum, but it is sometimes assumed that they have little agency, except in deciding whether to donate or not. Their role is assumed to be limited to the offering of objects, which the curator then takes charge of either accepting or not. Again, though, the museum which has been able fully to dictate its own acquisitions from donors is relatively rare. There is a lot of material advising museum staff how best to cultivate donors; but it is equally possible that donors cultivate museum staff. New regimes of meaning for objects/collections were actually very often driven by audience/public – in Manchester the Egyptology collection emerged more or less despite the museum staff; while evidence is growing that the birth of social history as a museum focus was driven by ‘outsiders’ to museums of one sort or another (Alberti 2009, Hill 2011). Gosden and Larson conceptualise the Pitt Rivers Museum in Oxford as a radically distributed entity, examining the complicated agendas of those who donated objects, and mediated or solicited those donations, right round the world: ‘people and objects that might otherwise be deemed to have existed “outside” the Museum have actually played a formative role in its history.’ I think this is as true for those museums whose donor network is not so geographically diverse as the Pitt Rivers as well (Gosden and Larson 2007, 11).

3 - Visitors— Far from passive, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that visitors to museums in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries actively engaged with a number of aspects of the museum as disciplinary institution and as creator of meaning. Visiting the museum was a performance which was undertaken in a number of ways. In the Mappin Art Gallery in Sheffield in the late nineteenth century the audience (of young working-class) used the gallery for ‘promenades’ and were felt (by other members of the public) not to be showing sufficient (or sufficiently respectful) attention to the paintings; sheer numbers also overwhelmed attempts to discipline audience through space, policing, use of barriers. At the same time, visitors to the Harris Museum in Preston, especially female, working-class visitors, spent so much time laughing and joking about the full-size reproduction of Michelangelo’s David, then at the entrance to the museum, that it was moved to the farthest room in the museum (Hill 2005). This is reminiscent of contemporary reports of visitors’ spitting on exhibits in Glasgow because they disagreed with those who were being held up as representative of the city. Alberti’s work on anatomical museums and the Manchester Museum also shows how visitors bring specific forms of agency to the interpretation of displays (Alberti 2007, 2009). Moreover we can understand these interpretations best by linking them to particular understandings of the type of leisure activity offered by the museum and gallery, and of the types of performances these necessitated. For the relatively new bourgeoisie of the late nineteenth century, such a visit was an opportunity to affirm cultural capital and an appropriate sensibility; while for sections of the working class, a distinct understanding of ‘a good day out’ shaped their interpretations of the exhibits. Interpretation is thus simultaneously performance of identity.

It is also clear that visitors can bring forms of knowledge to the museum which can be as legitimate as curators’ knowledge. Museum rhetoric has always tended to place curators as custodians of the people’s/town’s/nation’s past and possessions; discussion then moves to who can legitimately claim to be or represent or know the group. Urban elites in the late nineteenth century saw curators as essentially their employees – power followed social/cultural capital; but working-class discourse also emphasised the agency of rate-payers, with some working-class visitors asserting of art collections, ‘They’re ours’ (Hill 2005). Later, those who could lay claim to an ‘authentic’ link to the past claimed a special place in the development of the museum especially with the growth of oral history – while it becomes widely recognised as legitimate for visitors to dispute curatorial authority on the basis of their own memories (Carnegie 2006).

CONCLUSION

It thus becomes clear that a key issue is how to conceptualise the agency available to the wider public in various ways – we should think about the positions which the museum, the objects, and wider discourses make available for a variety of people within the museum. The tendency to think of a dichotomy between curator and visitor obscures as much as it illuminates. It’s not just that I reject the optimistic chronology implied in many studies of museum development, especially in the UK; but I am wary also of their self-congratulatory nature. Graham Black has suggested that museums’ celebration of their ‘new’ democratic and responsive nature is in part a consequence of historical amnesia (Black 2007). Agency within the museum has always been an extremely complex issue, and you need to dig down to discover the array of subject positions and modes of agency available: who was able to act, and who was not able to act. The corollary of a more complex view of audience/public agency historically, is that we also need a more complex view of those who cannot/do not act within museums at the present time.

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Challenges for the Construction of Museum Territories

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In this article we present the main structural guidelines and contexts for an ongoing research project being carried out by the authors and which deals with the nature of social impact and museum functions in a collaborative background. We begin by briefly presenting the main contexts and challenges the project attempts to address while also considering methodological options. A discussion of the underlying concepts is also offered at this point. Drawing from the action-research and interactive-participation traditions, the field of action of this research project deals with Porto’s museums and, particularly, with professionals, as social actors, devoted to the work of mediation. It aims to promote sustainable collaboration within museum professionals, that is, the proposal involves mainly the development of a collaborative space and a community of practice that supports critical and creative thinking, promoting change.

INTRODUCTION

The title of this article reflects our conviction that museums experience a profound conceptual *revolution* (Hein, 2000: *viii*), revolution that questions some fundamental premises on which museums (*and our work as museum professionals and with museum professionals*) are established and which are strongly associated to its *intrinsic* and *unquestionable* value. Metamorphoses in social structures, cultural alliances and personal identities can be associated to changes in the nature and functions of knowledge; transformations that have supported research not only about museums' missions but also about the places that its *makers*, the collections and the audiences inhabit as discursive elements.

For that reason, this article will start with a short incursion into some of the restlessness contexts and values that have determined the *raison d'être* of the research project which is the main object of this discussion. More than describing work methodologies, what we will be attempting to share at this point will be some of the contexts that have guided this moment of speculation as well as the development of the research undertaking. Suffice to say, this work is being drawn by many hands and the concerns that we will be talking about have constantly referred us either to questions of professional and museum identity / curricular revisions, or to the conceptual fundamentals themselves, principles which have been in discussion for several years in the field of museum studies. In a second moment, we will delineate the objectives and guidelines of the research project that prompt this discussion.

EXTRAORDINARY DAYS: REPOSITIONING

In international terms – and in the context of a *museums' explosion* – we have been living *extraordinary days*. In the beginning of the late 90s of the late twentieth century we lived (*and have lived*) a particular thoughtful moment that has led to the questioning of the nature of the museum itself. If the 60-70s decades of the late twentieth century were a fertile ground for a first phase of self-assessment – *essentially* related to political and social activism (*and strong external criticism*) in the world of museums – the end of the following decade – but mainly the 90s – were essential for this re-positioning of museums in relation to society (see, for example, the seminal volumes: Karp e Lavine, 1991; Karp, Kreamer e Lavine, 1992). This is a reinvention *in progress* that should also be understood in relation to an increasing demand from different sectors to actively participate in the reconstruction and reproduction of practices of signification. Reinvention that has compelled museums to be responsible not only for the resources in its care, but also by the results achieved through these resources. Museums are no longer merely evaluated by their resources (e.g. collections, collections research) to be increasingly valued for its programmatic use, ability to plan and reach target audiences, diversification and quality of services and products. Even though the study, documentation and preservation are – more than ever – a key and basic requirement for the development of any museum project, more attention is focused on other aspects, expressing its anxiety to demonstrate a social conscience and – perhaps – even a maturity of the profession (see, for example: Weil 1995; Department of Culture Media and Sport 2000). Likewise, the roles museums play in the development of society (see, for example, Gurian 2006) and the relation, more or less obvious, with the educational and learning role in museums has been one of the central themes of this discussion (Falk e Dierking 1995 2000; Falk et al 2006; Hein 1998, 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, 1992, 1996). The vision of the museum as a learning place is frequently described as a free-choice learning environment used by differentiated audiences (Falk e Dierking 2000). Through objects and knowledge, visitors create relations, meaning and learn (Hein 1998). Museums compete, nevertheless, with other learning and leisure experiences (Falk e Dierking 2000; Kelly 2004) in what has been termed the *experience economy*, in which people involve themselves in valuable experiences in different contexts (Pines e Gilmore, 1999). Museums have always

claimed for themselves a meaningful educational role and, as a matter of fact, they are often founded in view of these premises. Currently, researchers point to the trend of a conceptual change within which museums tend to be transformed from places of education into places of learning, responding – in this way – to the needs and interests of those who visit and use their services (Weil, 1995; Bradburne, 1998; Falk e Dierking, 2000). Museums aspire to cease to be repositories of knowledge and objects to become places of wonder, encounter, discussion, creativity and learning, making part simultaneously of other forms of learning and promoting themselves as an integral part of the infrastructure of learning.

However, by unlocking themselves to the policies of experience museums gradually move away from the traditional field of institutions with whom they share knowledge paradigms. This has opened up new fields and allowed museums to rediscover other arenas that can be not only complementary but ultimately may produce new types of museums. Along these lines, contemporary museums attempt to include and expose themselves to the embodied and the experienced (memory and experience) which is characteristic of models inspired by the concepts of pedagogy and performativity of Homi Bhabha (2004) – known as *performative democracy* in contraposition to a more pedagogic version – which privileged other type of approaches and conceptualizations (Chakrabarty, 2002). Indeed, this approach promotes either experience or abstract knowledge and that is exactly the type of museological attitude that possibly better rebalances the debate about functions and missions of museums.

If it is true that in our days museums are subjected to many demands which make them perform other functions, it is also true that these same challenges allow them to play other roles in *new worlds*. However, these are worlds where the previous indisputable values are constantly cross-examined and in which museums in seeking to demonstrate their visibility and take on democracy, encounter profound internal tensions that have led to a passionate debate both in the professional arena and in the media. Nonetheless, it is believed that this reinvention has had significant consequences. Especially in relation to the distance of the centrality of objects towards an emphasis on promoting experience, leading sometimes to a devaluation of museum collections as a source of true meaning and value and to a tying around the *museum experience* (Hein, 2000: *viii*); emphasis that reveals new ethical, epistemological and aesthetic horizons. Nonetheless, it also evident in the museum world a return to the world of collections and to a central role of collections' research producing museum embodiments that do not merely focus on the cognitive experience but are rooted – identically – on the embodied and sensitive experiences (sensitive, affective and moral) of visitors and of curators / researchers / *connaisseurs* themselves, speaking openly about, discussing; opening up spaces of visibility within discourse for – for example – the *situated* processes of research and collecting *as experience* and *history*. In this manner, the demand for relevance outside their usual contexts is one of the central axes of this museological transformation, confirming museological research as a non-delimitating questioning space much in agreement with Corynne McSherry's proposition that a boundary object 'holds different meanings in different social worlds, yet it is imbued with enough shared meaning to facilitate its translation across those worlds' (McSherry, 2001: 69, cited in Strathern, 2004: 45; cf. with Message, 2009).

This relevance is called for at the different levels of the public sphere: that is, the macro-meso space and at the micro public space; this last space is probably more of interest here because it is mainly at this level that one can better appreciate the coordination of communication and the involvement of spaces of civic participation. On the other hand, this demand for significance in museums can be associated to the construction of new forms of public dialogue and civic participation, requiring not only reciprocity but also continuity and it is at the local level that these partnerships with the community probably better work and become sustainable. Museums are attempting to create relevance trough the constitution of

networks that work as critical resources of places, places they intend to inhabit. Offering not only their assets (collections, spaces, research...) – understood in a rather limitedly approach – but acting also as forums and, ultimately, developing innovative ways in addressing questions characteristic of the public space and of contemporaneity. Interrogations which are often fracturing, as indeed recent debate as demonstrated (see, for example: Knell *et al.*, 2007; Cameron e Kelly, 2010). We are talking, explicitly, about museums as actors of the *third space* (Soja, 2000) that participate actively in urban policies and intervene in the construction of the public space and democracy (Kirchberg, 2003); we are referring, then, to “*performative places*”; places of “*communicative action*” that, somehow, materialize the values of the “*rationalized utopia*” announced by Bourdieu (1998: 128); hence, places admittedly political and of action.

Nonetheless, these considerations are not any novelty and have been profusely disseminated through university courses, conferences and through bibliography authored by many associated both to *new museology* and to *critical museology* (*whatever you want to call it*) and are part of *knowledge* to be acquired by *professionals-to-be*. Indeed the production of an important body of bibliography related to the study of museums, as well as to the development of a series of accreditation and evaluation museum programs, constitute vital elements for the deepening of this discussion. These studies address the challenges offered by new museology¹ to – in this *second* assessment moment – extend the scope of its questions, expanding and deepening their methodological approaches and empirical basis. If we glance at any international publisher catalogue, such as Routledge, we will see that after almost twenty years since Eilean Hooper-Greenhill wrote that the museum as a research topic was practically invisible (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 3) it is no more so and this topic has becoming increasingly *sexy*². Undeniably a growing group of researchers from different fields investigate and write about this social artefact. Nevertheless, the dissonance between these discussions and the development of reflexive and collaborative practices continues – at least in Portugal – to be evident.

The Museology Course at the University of Porto opened during the first years of the 1990s, starting its *journey*, thus, just at a time one saw this exceptional editorial growth on this topic. Books on various subjects, readers, conference proceedings about museums flourished since then in the context of *the museum phenomenon*, to quote Gordon Fyfe (2006: 40) and as Sharon MacDonald already mentioned in her excellent *Companion for Museum Studies* (2006). Phenomenon that can be largely related to the processes that has been characterized as post-industrial, post-capitalist, late-modernity or post-modern and usually combine, among others, motivations and anxieties related to social amnesia, search for authenticity and antidotes in relation to consumer society, attempts to deal with the fragmentation of identity and individualization, desires of lifelong learning and experiential learning. But and as already mentioned, this was and has been a particular moment of fragmentation and profound examination of this world. Different studies in Portugal, France, United States and United Kingdom refer, for example, tensions and identity crises in the professional model of the curators (see, for example, Octobre, 2001; Semedo, 2003; Zolberg,

¹ For a discussion of these terms see, for example, Davis, 1999; Martinez, 2006.

² As Scott Lash has said during his talk at the “Museus, Discursos e Representações” Conference, in Porto, in 2004.

1986). Based on the *traditional* model for museums, the profession of *curator (conservateur)* appears torn between loyalty to the functions around the study and preservation of collections and changes in relation to its mission and values of public accessibility and democracy. Fragmentation that evokes the conceptual revolution that many authors have spoken about (see, for example, Hein 2000).

In view of that, the theoretical conceptualization of a post-critical museology seems to be a fruitful conceptual and theoretical model for the research project we will be talking about here; project that essentially seeks to build with the group of Porto museum professionals who work with museum audiences a culture of reflexivity, of collaborative action; a deeply critical museum culture; a plural museology, without exclusive manifestos but that takes on the museum as a profoundly democratic space and that suggests, for example, critical imagination and the recognition of visitors and of the *makers* of museums – as interpretative communities – as fundamental conditions for this (museum / audience development) research.

OTHER THREADS: THE CITY, THE MUSEUMS AND THE UNIVERSITY MUSEOLOGY COURSE

For Portugal the decade of the 90s of the last century was also of true *museological explosion*, heritage and museums taking on – in its broadest sense – an extraordinary visibility in the media. In the case of Portuguese museums, as a whole, museums still have essential problems to solve and have fought against difficulties and constraints mostly related to the increase in number and qualification of technical expertise, particularly in areas such as conservation. But the sector has also lacked, for example, a more intense and generalized work of interpretation / mediation of spaces, inclusive educational programs, edition of informative quality material – promoting the generalized dissemination and access to knowledge – widespread research, either about the collections or about any other museological function. Despite developments and improvements that we all recognize in the sector, many of these problems are still unresolved. The city of Porto and their museums do not escape this reality: apart some exceptions, most of the city's museums require an urgent and sustained investment in its communication / interpretation policies and to reconsider the relationship they have built with visitors, particularly in terms of *neighboring communities*. Additionally, the dissonance between discussions about the *place-museum* promoted by *new museology* credos and the development of reflexive and collaborative practices, continues – at least in Portugal – to be evident. While all museums recognize the value of their collections for educational and learning purposes, its contribution for the development of society and, rhetorically, commit themselves to fulfil this public role office, few demonstrate skills and abilities to *explain / narrate / evaluate (themselves)* publicly (*account-ability*).

Hence, the field of action of this research project is that of the museums of the city of Porto and its professionals (*those who vocationally work with visitors*). The MA dissertation of Ana Bárbara Barros (2008) presented a few years ago at the University of Porto which studied narratives of the city's museum education professionals, reinforces the fact that Porto has a significant number of museums with differentiated characteristics, such as the nature of collections, tutelage and legal organization. The city museums employ an heterogeneous group of people who – although in a plural form – share not only spaces but also social representations and values. This MA dissertation considered twenty four the museums existent in Porto (see appendix 1), being fourteen those that belong to the *Rede Portuguesa de Museus* (Portuguese Network of Museums). There are, nevertheless, an important number of records to be considered and that auto-represent themselves as museums or museological nucleus, reinforcing the large number of these type of organizations in Porto (*Inquérito aos Museus em Portugal*, Instituto Português dos Museus, 2000). As to the collections, decorative arts, science and technology, religious art and social art museums are clearly highlighted as a

number. Also, apart from the *Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis* and the *Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Serralves*, they are mainly of local dimension and admittedly regional.

The report by the *Instituto Português dos Museus* (2000) also pointed to the fact that visitors of Porto's museums came mainly from schools (90%) and were essentially from the 1^o, 2^o, 3^o cycles of studies. Although Porto is a recognized touristic destination (*Instituto de Turismo*, 2007; Pent, 2007), the number of foreign visitors does not seem to be very representative. There is also a growing availability of a group of programs and studies related to social inclusion in museums (Costa, 2006; Marques, 2005) that should be noted here. Museum education professionals refer, as visitors with special needs, disabled people, immigrants, participants in substance addition programs, prison detainees, institutionalized children and youth, victims of abuse and also, as a distinctive group to deserve special attention, senior citizens (Barros, 2008).

During her research, Ana Bárbara Barros (2008) worked with fourteen museum education professionals that represent well the city's museological diversity. This fully involved researcher (her research origins from her own narratives / feminine identity and museum education professional) looks beyond the existing cleavages (related with, for example, the nature of collections and tutelage of museums) to enhance the dedication of these professionals to their work in the opening catchphrase of her dissertation – *soul and heart* – that expresses well some of the nodal representations of this professional group in relation, for example, to *vocation*, ways of working and *compensation*; to roles (professional / museums) they see themselves performing in relation to society. They are four the functions considered in common: project design and interpretative activities (performed by the *self* or not), dissemination, study and research of collections, partnerships. Transdisciplinarity and cooperation are the *watchwords* of this shared vocabulary and despite difficulties the experience has shown that when challenged they are able to work together to produce relevant work (see, for example, Ferreira, 2003).

On the other hand, although there are some projects of great social interest with communities (e.g. Costa, 2006), the truth is that there has not yet been developed a systematic and structured evaluation of the impact of these practices which can better support future program policies and guide overall planning decisions, opening way for research and other practices that can truly integrate urban policies and state these spaces as democratic, creative, collaborative (representations often found in the group).

Ana Bárbara Barros (2008) reports, for example, that qualitative studies are practices almost inexistent in these museums, enumerating factors for this problem such as: the lack of training on the processes of research and evaluation, lack of time for professionals to engage in this time consuming task and, finally, lack of investment of the institutions themselves that fail to hire professional technicians to perform specific evaluation.

We add to these assumptions the almost complete absence of an evaluation culture of the cultural sector in Portugal, in general, and, specifically, of the museological sector – establishing itself as one of the hallmarks of dissonance to which we referred to before. Moreover, little has been done to disseminate among these professionals their own projects,

sharing and celebrating their successes while reflecting on strategies and methodologies of *action*³.

If the Course of Museology of the University of Porto has lived its *journey* in these contexts of profound transformation of the museological fabric it is also true that it has been visibly influenced by other wider academic and professional contexts, such as, a vision of the University as a collaborative network at the service of society, the relationship between this vision and the notions of *activist professionalism* and of *critical agency*, the understanding of the value of *organizations / communities of learning in museums*, the notion of discursive object, the very *contemporary contexts*, among others. It is precisely in the confluence of all these contexts that the Course has advanced and developed some research proposals in collaboration with some Porto museums. Besides establishing working and research partnerships with universities and other teaching and research institutions, the Course recognizes itself in its *proximate territory* with all that that implies in terms of *activist professionalism* and *critical agency*. This concept – *activist professionalism* – has been introduced as an essential work value, also reformulating the political and professional roles of the teacher-researchers, who recognize their specific responsibilities and calling for their involvement and, fundamentally, for a collective responsibility. Moreover, this teaching approach has also sought to take into account the contingencies of day to day practices, attempting to overcome the production of places of tension between universities and museums (theory and practice) and, at the same time, take place as an essential protagonist of the *circle of culture* (Hall, 1997) of the group. Judyth Sachs (2000: 81), citing the work of Giddens applies the notions of *active trust* to the work shared by the group, notion that can also be applied here. This active trust is not unconditional but a characteristic of professional relationships negotiated in which a shared group of values, principles and strategies is discussed and negotiated. A second fundamental concept relevant for this context – adopted by this researcher for the development of her points of view about the activist professional – is that of *productive politics / generative politics* that intervenes in the public domain in which it operates. This *productive politics* is expected to be organic; that is, it is expected to develop directly from the global and local needs and it is from this productive and implied understanding of research that this project arises.

VISIONS, OBJECTIVES AND WORK METHODOLOGIES

The challenge for this participatory appreciative action research project lies in constructing *contact zones* for the production of knowledge about museums by the *academia* and the different actors that work in the field. These theoretical and methodological approaches were developed in the Nordic countries about the involvement in more equitable terms of participants and other actors outside traditional circuits of research are quite an unexplored potential (Ghaye, 2008) for this construction in the world of museums. In the interactive action research the role of the *practicing professionals* and of *academic professionals* is shared among participants (as well as with other actors considered relevant for the

³ While many conferences and seminars have many success stories (which work in the group of professionals as *good practice*) in most of these events time for reflection, debate and learning is extremely limited and only rarely offer more individualized and inviting spaces that encourage the exercise of critical imagination of group members.

collaborative research project). This approach is understood as a mean to fulfil a better “social vigour of science” (Novotny, Scott and Gibbons, 2001). Moreover, the tradition of the approach of participant action research results from situations where people want to make changes from reflections, that is, after critical reflection that arises when participants want to think of how they can transform their own practices (Denzin e Lincoln, 2000: 573).

Thus, the project presented here focuses on the development of work processes and innovative methods; it arises from the traditions of action research and interactive participation promoting sustainable collaboration and aspires to participate in the construction of innovative cultures with potential for change in museums. The project was inspired by the research guidelines of PAAR / *Participatory Appreciative Action Research* (Ghaye, 2008). Guidelines which seemed fruitful to us in this context taking into account some of its fundamental premises⁴. Therefore, we aimed at a *reframing* of work contexts, *reframing* arising from positive reflexive processes constructed on experiences and so characteristic of an appreciative work culture. This methodological approach has proved, in other instances, to be fertile both either at the individual and group or even organizational level (Ghaye, 2008).

On the other hand, the projects aims at emphasizing the participation and influence of non-academics in the process of creation of knowledge (Israel *et al.*, 1998), positioning them as co-researchers, basing itself in the community of practice and encouraging the members of the group to participate at the different levels of research. Thus the active involvement of members of the group and their influence on some aspects of the research is considered essential. Involvement which implies participation and that lies either on the construction of trust relationships, on dialogue or on the ability of the group to build a collaborative space for social change (Stoecker, 2005).

Collaborative research is an investigation process in which participants have an active *voice* and are included in all (or at least some of) its phases, departing from the traditional perspective in regard to their participation. Taking into account experience of all involved in this process, any of the participants is considered an expert since it is the diversity of knowledge and of viewpoints that will provide greater depth to research.

This approach has also been described as being collaborative, participative, *empowering* and constituting itself as a transforming process of the group / community / public space (Hills e Mullett, 2000). According to the action research perspective, the argument is that relationships of egalitarianism between participants and researchers may – through the articulation between learning and practices – generate knowledge qualitatively different and more democratic that, ideally, promote processes of *empowerment* of the people involved while also producing sustainable collaboration (in space and time). The concepts of *empowerment*, *social justice* and *transformation* are, indeed, of vital importance in this type of research – and, in particular, for this project – underlying the fact that all participants have something to gain by working together and, as such, it is expected that partnerships will be built, even after the formal conclusion of the project.

Epistemologically this type of research is consistent with constructivist paradigms and critical theories and emphasizes the constructed social nature of knowledge (Israel *et al.*, 1998). Also, it recognizes the value of multiple forms of knowledge and the value of individual contributions. Hence a clear principle of this approach is the critique of positivist

⁴ PAAR - This approach starts from what *works* and not from its weaknesses, thus focusing more on the

approaches to modes of collecting data that emphasize objectivity and tend to see participants to be studied as objects rather than actors in the research process.

From the theoretical point of view it comprehends theory as something unknown as being created through the iterations of action and discussion that lead to *praxis* and generate evidence for future practice. In fact, at the axiological level and in relation to the theory of value, this research is evaluated in terms of the *difference* in the transformation that aims to build in the *community of practice*. Consequently, conceives the capacity to construct and transform as valuable both at the individual and at the group level (Hills e Mullett, 2000). This type of research also emphasizes the principle of working partnerships that aim at integrating and producing benefits for participants involved. Finally, it is based on the principle of *empowerment*, building strengths and resources in the *community of practice* and promoting processes of co-learning. Hills e Mullett (2000) set out six learning principles for community research that can also be adopted here. These principles include systematic planning, significance for the group, group's involvement, problem solving, social change and sustainability.

Israel *et al.* (1998) also discuss some of these principles for research such as, unity of identity, strength in the community, fostering partnerships, and integration of valuable knowledge for the participants involved, *empowerment* and dissemination of knowledge. However, since we intend to introduce the prospect of *Participatory Appreciative Action Research* (Ghaye, 2008) which bases its assumptions on a vision that although does not alienate the problems, focus mostly on the positive achievements of the group, the principle of *problem solving* will only be developed if the group so states it. The method *PAAR* has its roots in participative action research that also emphasizes the improvement of practices through involvement and participation. The contribution of *PAAR*'s approach is, as has been said, the accentuation of positive features, which means, for example, working together and sharing best practices, appreciating each other competencies and skills. In this sense *PAAR* may be understood as the opposite of the resolution of problems because it focuses on success instead of focusing on problems. The central concepts in *PAAR* are the reframing of questions in a positive way, participation and a positive present. *PAAR* offers a positive opportunity to ask questions and to transform them in positive actions. This perspective may also be used when we want to build a learning environment that encourages cooperation and sharing which makes possible a positive psychosocial culture that enhances the processes of learning.

Clearly these principles can be applied to this model but this list will not be exhaustive and will depend on the context of research and of organizations involved. Also the emphasis on interactive actions makes it easy to combine this approach with an interactive action research approach (Aagaard e Svensson, 2006). Similarly, knowledge is here understood as having its material roots in everyday practices whether that of practicing professionals or of researchers. With respect to the roots of knowledge there are therefore strong similarities between both traditions. It should be noted that this model may be understood either as theoretical model or as a joint interactive platform for researchers and other actors (museum participants) to share experiences talk and discuss; to act as a space that develops processes of learning and transformation.



Photo 1- Porto, Work Session 2: Journals (July 2011)

In terms of methodology the approaches adopted are part of any such approach of this type and are not predetermined but instead emerge from the selected principles of the project and of research questions. The methods emphasize the analysis, the responsibility of actors and processes of reflexivity and co-learning. Given the context of this research project and the necessity to create a profoundly collaborative context of trust, it seemed that this would be a more appropriate approach. It is expected that the involved partners gain knowledge about their own research processes by developing an appreciation of its value and that the participation in this project develops new social relationships among the members of the group, relationships of trust and *social efficacy* (Schlove *et al.*, 1998). It also aspires to promote awareness about local configurations that may lead to more relevant flows of information and collaborations. In fact this form of research has been discussed as leading to best practices of networking, involving the building of sustainable contacts and, as a result, the consolidation of social networks as opportunity structures that facilitate access to different types of resources and develop relationships allowing participants to discover and have access to positive opportunities. Moreover it is expected that the involvement of members of the group, either in the construction or the dissemination of research, promotes greater acceptance and use of results (Ayers, 1987) by participants and tutelage. The active dissemination of findings and reflections of the project is essential for it to have a real impact and needs to

circulate to enter public domain. In this model participants and co-researchers learn from each other, to share personal stories and experiences, gathering and documenting their stories.

In this model, by sharing personal stories and experiences, gathering and documenting their stories participants and co-researchers learn with each other (Papineau e Kiely, 1996). We also hope this involvement contributes for personal development through learning of specific skills such as the use of new technologies, planning skills, etc. Moreover, the involvement in research processes develops leadership skills and potential leaders at various levels, expressing different skills, abilities and functions. Thus this project aims to creating sustainable change in this community of *body* and *soul*, discussing existent dissonances between rhetorics and politics; to enhance *situated* positions, skills and *knowledges* of its members in research processes. Logically, the project focuses on a more local *agenda*, reflecting on specific issues and practices and involving members of group, promoting, in particular, an assessment of quality / social impacts centrality model. The problem of internal imbalance of power in the group (Taylor, 2000); the difficulty to establish a trustful setting and time management are, for example, some of the areas that we need to consider carefully.

In any case, all these perspectives seem to support the methodology advanced which is essentially qualitative. Data collection will occur during a period of about twenty months and will be constituted, for example, by semi-structured interviews with participants, journals, workshop sessions, participation in social network.

During the interaction with participants the use of different interactive methods are foreseen, for example, the design of a project page (in *wiki* form, blog or social network, that is one of the decisions to be taken in connection with the development of the project itself) providing a constant dialogue and interaction among stakeholders and support the building of a common resource platform. Our reason to propose the writing of Journals as central instruments for this research project, relate with the teaching experience of one of the authors of this article who has been attempting to implement this methodology as a teaching and evaluation tool for a while⁵. This approach aims to encourage and develop experiential learning as argued by Klob (1984). By using *journals*, for example, we hope to challenge participants to question, theorize and construct hypotheses about ideas about the discussions and work proposed by the different *workshops*; and in this manner – we hope – develop a conscience of how knowledge is constructed, that is, critical thinking and an awareness of themselves as critical professionals, as critical subjects.

On the other hand, journals can be precious instruments to map experiences and personal journeys, accentuating the emphasis we put on the process of identity and reflexive practice. Subjectivity, museum and heritage experience will be emphasized through teamwork, specific questions and reflexive writing (namely journals). Simultaneously we want the interactive experience of the workshops to be also used to enhance learning through discussion, depth and collaborative construction.

In order to build a more inclusive and above all, more participative, reflexive and trustworthy experience, different actors will be heard during different stages of the project planning and development, allowing for its review and ensuring the credibility of the study taking into account the parameters set out above.

⁵ Master of Arts and Doctor of Philosophy in Museology (2° and 3° Cycles), Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto (http://sigarra.up.pt/flup/cursos_geral.FormView?P_CUR_SIGLA=MMUS).

CONCLUSIONS

Although the principles announced by *new museology* have been part of the unchallenged vocabulary of museum professionals for years, the truth is that there is a profound dissonance between what one says and what one does. Moreover while not denying in any way that the differentiated nature of museums requires different approaches – and even diverse definitions in terms of what can be considered as social impact or, undoubtedly, its mission – there is a vocabulary that would be useful if it was collaboratively built. In this construction we intend to involve not only other tools but also to fulfil other *greater* objectives that we will refer to later in this conclusion.

We should not forget that museums are also learning contexts for professionals themselves. This research project presupposes that only when organizations themselves (and their professionals) internalize and discuss values and repositioning themselves in relation to the nature of *museums and museum work* – notably the search for relevance, activist professionalism, critical agency, generative politics, etc. – can, in reality, practices in museums be truly transformed and this dissonance be addressed.

The work of Peter Senge (1990) about learning organizations was for some years now – and quite interestingly – adapted by Lynne Teather, Peter van Mensch e Sara Faulkner-Fayle (1999) to the world of museums. These project practices' fall, broadly, in this context. Senge presents organizations as being places where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and open ways of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspirations are set free and where people are continually learning how to learn together (Senge, 1990: 484).

In implementing these collaborative partnerships between Porto ⁶ museums we hope to enhance true forms of learning that emphasize the dynamic and dialogic nature of these processes and in that manner to compromise partners involved in their own *governance* and *agency* (Giddens, 1996). This approach includes, both in training and in the discussion of these processes, the community of practicing professionals themselves. As a result, this conceptualization of the research project will allow the integration of voices of different professionals both as individuals and as institutions and not as mere representations / conceptualizations establishing true (*one hopes!*) sustainable relationships across this network / time. Moreover, we also hope to overcome a series of barriers and stereotypes that exist and circulate within the group about how each team / person works.

The main objective of such a network, therefore, is to add value to the different actors involved. Value creation is essentially based on knowledge of all actors involved and on how they combine this knowledge (eventually with the processes of mutual learning themselves, the transformation of these resources of knowledge and the creation of new resources). Basically knowledge sharing and resource development form the result of the interactions between the different partners. All formal and informal relationships established teach them something and become part of it. We consider museums (as well as the University / the Course) as being part of a dense network of relationships and that means we have to take into account other possible actors with whom museums (as well as the University / the Course)

⁶ At this point the project will include professionals from most of the institutions listed in the attached table with very different characteristics, such as, the nature of collections, tutelage and city location.

and museums themselves / other actors are permanently related (that is, students, visitors, etc.). Museums (the University) are not understood in an atomized and neutral world but, instead, as *professing-in-action*, intervening, participating in the public sphere and in the cultural arena of which, in the end, they are part of; in its *natural* territory that is, after all, its region; using its own resources that become richer with every partnership. The objective is, therefore, to create spaces, collaborative / creative organizations of mutual learning, spaces of reflexivity that can establish relations of credibility and trust, re-negotiating spaces and operating also from the standpoint of all actors involved and overcoming, sometimes, pre-established frontiers (for example, what is a collection). It is expected these collaborative / creative spaces (*spaces of co-curatorship universities – museums – communities, why not? Could this approach allow the overcoming of some existent dichotomies and more or less sterile areas of tension still existent in the field?*) work also as reflexive spaces.

Visions, values and practices of museum professionals will be the starting point of this study; a starting point that also intends to be a discussion on practices of programming that take into account multiple objectives; a starting point from the inside, from the *cultural capital* of the group, of its resources, its actors and their own representations about what they perceive as being not only social impact but the very nature of the museum and their work.

Reflecting about their own work, rethinking constructively, creatively missions and spaces for action and proximity in the community. Getting them involved, at the outset, in the redefinition of this approach for the sector and listening to their own expectations and guiding values. We hope that this analysis can work as a fundamental key instrument to think in a more structured and reasoned way action for Porto museums with and for communities; to create a valid and sustainable framework for the value of social impact of museums in individual, community and social terms for this local museological context; to develop evaluation processes about the values of museums as public service; to promote spaces for the debate among museums and other institutions / cultural / educational / social / actors about its social function and its role as a public service; to test options of a framework of value and impact with professionals of the sector.

One of the needs of this project is, therefore, to make a first assessment of existent projects, of the type of impacts museums think they have (Scott, 2004), define social impacts typologies, structure definitions in order to develop research and act in the territory more systematically and in a more integrated way. The analysis produced at the end of a twenty month phase will enable that on a second moment of the project a concerted action be recommended in terms of research project for museums (evaluation of social impacts and of support of a community of practice). The training in partnership with the different organizations involved and the dissemination of contents of the final report will be also part of this whole constructive / creative process (and of deep critical thinking).

This project has, as its starting point, the model of participative interactive action research that arises from the qualitative model. The qualitative model was elected taking into account that the centrality of this study is the analysis of how museum education professionals understand the nature of these institutions and their work with audiences, relating these understandings with incorporated *poetics* and *politics*. Therefore and essentially, in the first phase of this research project, we aim at initiating a wide discussion with museum professionals in the city of Porto as well as with other cultural institutions in the city about the roles museums play in the community as agents for social development. We hope this study will provide a discussion about fundamental concepts, such as, inclusion, social functions, community, as well as visions what social impacts may be, identifying, for example, key-areas of intervention. The relation with the nature of museums and of museum work itself seemed to us rich ground to be explored. We also hope to be able to identify contexts and methodologies of work in each institution, work phase that will support auto-reflexivity in the

group of practicing professionals and researchers involved, exercise that this project aims at imprinting on all process. The definition of indicators that enable evaluation can also eventually be an integral part of this project.

This study will also be, in some way, a diagnosis study of which social impact indicators museum professionals design for their projects, opening up way for a second phase of work / research with the communities themselves. The workshops developed at the end of this first phase of work are determinant for the common discussion. During a second phase, having developed visions about social impact it will be relevant to do a more exhaustive survey of needs and expectations of communities of Porto, of their uses of museums, motivations for visiting, etc. and to examine these studies taking into account their own development of evaluation indicators and the more institutional vision of this study. The development of other visitor studies (museums and culture), in connection with PhDs or MAs will also be indispensable to support this study. Partners involved in the project have no doubt that any notion of impact or any indicator should probably be negotiated with service users (in this case, visitors) and that, in a second moment of the project, that should be taken into account. This project accepts, nevertheless, the internal space of *producers* as a key device for the construction of practices and perhaps even an urgent and priority necessary space of reflexivity and training and, for that reason, the first *locus* of this research, research and action for the transformation and discussion about the museum space.

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APPENDIX 1/TABLE 1– PORTO MUSEUMS. LEGAL STATUS.
TUTELAGE. COLECCTIONS

A	B	C	Museum	Legal Status / Tutelage	Type/Collections nature
1	1	1	Arqueosítio da Rua D. Hugo	Public/Câmara Municipal do Porto	Archaeology
2	2	2	Casa do Infante – Museu	Public/Câmara Municipal do Porto	Archaeology
3	3		Casa Museu Eng. António de Almeida	Private / Fundação	Decorative Arts
4			Casa Museu Fernando de Castro	Public / Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/ Instituto Museus e Conservação	Decorative Arts
5	4	3	Casa Museu Guerra Junqueiro	Public / Câmara Municipal do Porto	Decorative Arts
6	5	4	Casa Museu Marta Ortigão Sampaio	Public Câmara Municipal do Porto	Decorative Arts
7	6		Casa Oficina António Carneiro	Public / Câmara Municipal do Porto	Art
8			Centro Português de Fotografia – Núcleo Museológico António Pedro Vicente	Public / Direcção Geral de Arquivos	Specialized
9	7	5	Fundação Maria Isabel Guerra Junqueiro e Luís Pinto de M.C. – Museu	Private / Foundation	Decorative Arts
10	8	6	Gabinete de Numismática	Public / Câmara Municipal do Porto	Specialized - Numismatic
11			Instituto Arquitecto José Marques da Silva/ Núcleo Museológico	Public / Fundação Universidade do Porto	Architecture
12			Jardim Botânico	Public / Fundação Universidade do Porto	Natural History
13			Museu da Ciência da Escola Secundária Rodrigues de Freitas	Public / Ministério da Educação	Science
14	9		Museu da Faculdade de Engenharia do Porto	Public / Fundação Universidade do Porto	Science and Technology
15	10		Museu da Indústria	Private / Association	Science and Technology
16	11	7	Museu de Arte Contemporânea de Serralves	Private / Foundation	Contemporary Art
17	12		Museu de Arte Sacra e Arqueologia	Private / Diocese do Porto	Religious Art and Archaeology
18			Museu de Ciência	Public / Fundação Universidade do Porto	Science
19			Museu de História da Medicina Maximiano Lemos	Public / Universidade do Porto	History
20			Museu de História Natural da Escola Secundária Alexandre Herculano	P Public / Ministério da Educação	Natural History
21	13		Museu de História Natural	Public / Fundação Universidade do Porto	Natural History
22	14		Museu de S. Francisco de Assis/ Ordem Terceira de S. Francisco	Private / Ordem Terceira	Religious Art
23	15	8	Museu do Carro Eléctrico	Private / Sociedade de Transportes e Comunicações do Porto	Specialized
24			Museu do Centro Hospitalar do Porto	Public Fundação Universidade do Porto	History of Medicine - Science
25	16		Museu do ISEP	Private / Instituto Superior Politécnico do Porto	Science and Technology
26	17	9	Museu do Papel Moeda	Private / Foundation	Specialized
27	18	10	Museu do Vinho do Porto	Public / Câmara Municipal do Porto	History
28	19	11	Museu dos Transportes e Comunicações	Private / Associação Museu Transporte Comunicações	Specialized
29	20		Museu Militar do Porto	Público/ Ministério da Defesa	Specialized
30	21	12	Museu Nacional da Imprensa	Public / Association	Specialized
31	22	13	Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis	Public / Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis/ Instituto Museus e Conservação	Decorative Arts
32	23	14	Museu Romântico da Quinta da Macieirinha	Public / Câmara Municipal do Porto	Decorative Arts
33	24		Museu das Belas Artes	Public/ Universidade do Porto	Art

A	B	C	Museum	Legal Status / Tutelage	Type/Collections nature
34			Núcleo Museológico da Santa Casa da Misericórdia do Porto	Private / Santa Casa da Misericórdia	Religious Art
35			Tesouro da Sé	Private/Diocese	Religious Art
36			Fundação José Rodrigues – Fábrica Social	Private	Art

Coluna A – Totalidade de museus/ núcleos museológicos referenciados, no Porto

Column B – Porto Museums referred to in Barros, 2008

Column C – Porto Museums belonging to the Portuguese Network of Museums - Rede Portuguesa de Museus (2010)

Museums, Communities and Societal Development

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In an effort to counterbalance the inequalities and unequal power relationships that have resulted of globalisation, and to include varying perspectives of development in decision-making, non governmental organisations (NGOs) are increasingly acting as forums for marginalised and vulnerable communities. Through networks, NGOs have also enhanced the exchange of ideas, skills and knowledge between a wider sector of society. However, NGOs have been criticised by failing to effectively use their resources and capacities to significantly influence debates and decision making. To reach effectiveness, NGOs need to develop certain capacities and better understand their relationships. For this, planning and decision making support processes like strategic environmental assessment can be useful. In this paper the experiences that were gained by the museum members and communities of Samp Intercontinental Museum Network, a Swedish registered NGO, are presented. The results were participant engagement, process ownership, capacity mobilisation, and the identification of key issues to better understand the work of the network. It is argued that participative, adaptable and flexible strategic environmental assessment processes can support cultural network organisations to make their higher level guiding concepts operable, to share and develop capacities across borders and to reach long term transformations in society.

INTRODUCTION

In many circumstances the role of NGOs is to act as forums for marginalised communities, encouraging a free exchange of ideas, skills and knowledge amongst a wide sector of society and allowing the marginalised to have a voice in international debates (Gardner and Lewis, 1996; Jordan and Van Tuijl, 2000; Nelson, 2002).

However, NGOs have had difficulties to carry out actions to bridge organisational, cultural, professional and individual borders, and have given little consideration to assess their organisational capacities that are fundamental to reach an effective implementation of their programmes (Schuh and Leviton, 2006).

To tackle these difficulties, NGOs can focus on identifying and developing their key capacities through a partnership approach, where participation, learning, reciprocity and transparency are emphasised (Bontenbal, 2009).

A case study was carried out to explore how the individuals, multicultural organisations and communities engaged in a museum network NGO could benefit from developing a network-based strategic environmental assessment (SEA) process.

In this paper, the concepts of capacity development and SEA are introduced, and an attempt is made to determine if applying an adaptable, flexible and network-based SEA process serves to develop multi-level organisational capacities to support network organisations to make their strategic approaches more tangible and contribute to long lasting transformations in society.

ORGANISATIONAL PERFORMANCE

One way for organisations to enhance their performances and their contributions to societal development is for organisations to develop their capacities (UNDP, 2006). To develop their capacities, organisations can focus on applying the processes of capacity development and SEA (OECD, 2006; Vicente and Partidario, 2006).

Capacity development

Capacity development is a process that enables the right conditions to design strategies for development (UNDP, 2006). The process of capacity development is endogenous, focuses on empowering and strengthening local capacities, builds on available human capital, stimulates self-esteem and respects local values (OECD, 2006; UNDP, 2006; UNDP, 2009).

The process can be described as a set of five functional capacity steps (Fig. 1). Step 1 focuses on facilitating dialogue between stakeholders and encouraging engagement, step 2 on assessing existing, desired and missing capacities to define development visions, step 3 on formulating programmes and strategies, step 4 on managing and implementing activities, and step 5 on evaluating and monitoring identified key issues (UNDP, 2009).

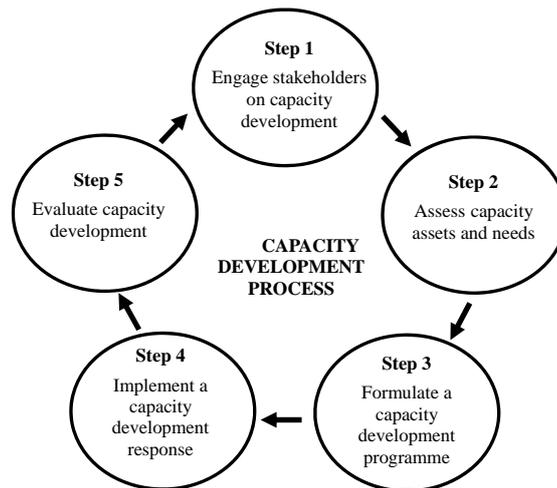


Figure 1: Steps in the capacity development process. Source: UNDP (2009).

With such a capacity development process, organisations can address their capacities at the individual, institutional and societal level, and engage with stakeholders in various sectors of society to reach multi-stakeholder agreements (OECD, 2006; ECDPM, 2008).

Multi-stakeholder agreements could be an opportunity for organisations to reach sustainable results through partnerships and to become engaged in networks, which can be a powerful tool for its members to exchange information, knowledge, tools and methodologies (UNDP, 2002; Bontenbal, 2009).

However, measuring the benefits of adopting a capacity development approach can be challenging because results may take time to be delivered, and because comprehensive analyses to understand the complex multilevel relations and the evolving non-linear nature of capacity development are needed (OECD, 2006; UNDP 2006; UNDP, 2009). To surpass these and other challenges to capacity development supporting approaches for the process are needed (UNDP, 2006).

Strategic environmental assessment

SEA is a process that promotes sustainable development by supporting and improving planning and decision making processes (Therivel and Partidário, 1996). SEA promotes sustainable development by focusing on strategic issues (Rossouw et al., 2000). Moreover, SEA promotes sustainability by enhancing cooperation between institutions and improving stakeholder involvement in planning and decision-making (Hedo and Bina, 1999; Sheate et al., 2001).

However, it is suggested that the role of SEA in planning needs to be developed so that SEA better adapts to different situations and conditions (Hildén, 1999; Nitz and Brown, 2001). In addition, it is argued that SEA should better understand decision making processes so that SEA can provide timely and pragmatic advice, and deal with complex non-linear processes to address the strategic dimensions of planning (Vicente and Partidário, 2006; Jiliberto H., 2007).

To provide inputs for new approaches of SEA, exploring the application of flexible, adaptable and participative approaches to SEA can be of use. Moreover, it can be useful to study how these types of SEA can link to and support the process of capacity development in organisations to enhance their performance and contribute to a more balanced societal development.

CASE STUDY: SAMP INTERCONTINENTAL MUSEUM NETWORK

Samp Intercontinental Museum Network (Samp) is a registered Swedish NGO open to all museums from any country, with over 20 years of experience in connecting cultures (Samp, 2009a). The purpose of the network is to facilitate the development of museums as fora for dialogue promoting human understanding and human rights together with the community, through responsible use of heritage, history and science (Samp, 2009b).

To address its purpose, Samp started the development of a network-based SEA process aiming to facilitate a better understanding of the effects the network has on its member museums and communities.

SAMP’S NETWORK-BASED SEA PROCESS

The first step of Samp’s network-based SEA process was for member museums to express their interest in developing the process. This was done through a questionnaire that was filled in by member museums. The interested museums were assessed by analysing their organisational characteristics and cultural contexts. Based on the analysis, a network SEA team of three member museums was established. The three member museums in Samp’s SEA team were the State Museum of Azerbaijan Musical Culture, Azerbaijan, the Museo Sang Bata sa Negros, Philippines, and the Museum and House of Culture, Tanzania.

The next step in Samp’s network-based SEA process was for the SEA team to conceptualise and implement four workshops. Samp’s core values or guiding principles, “Sharing”, “Cross-border”, “Dialogue” and “Respect”, were used as SEA themes to start to design the workshops. Each workshop considered the four SEA themes but each focused on one particular SEA theme. For instance, in the workshop in Sweden the Sharing SEA theme was specifically addressed, in Azerbaijan the Cross-border SEA theme was placed in focus, in the Philippines the Dialogue SEA theme was particularly addressed, and in Tanzania the Respect SEA theme was specifically considered.

In the workshops, the SEA themes were used as a base to select participants from the participating museums’ staff and communities, to choose the community partners with whom the participants would interact, and to conceptualise the workshops by formulating workshop objectives, drawing activities, and selecting network communications tools to facilitate the implementation of the planned activities.

This specific step in Samp’s SEA process was characterised by an iterative exchange of ideas, skills and experiences, and it allowed for a network context analysis to take place (Fig. 2).

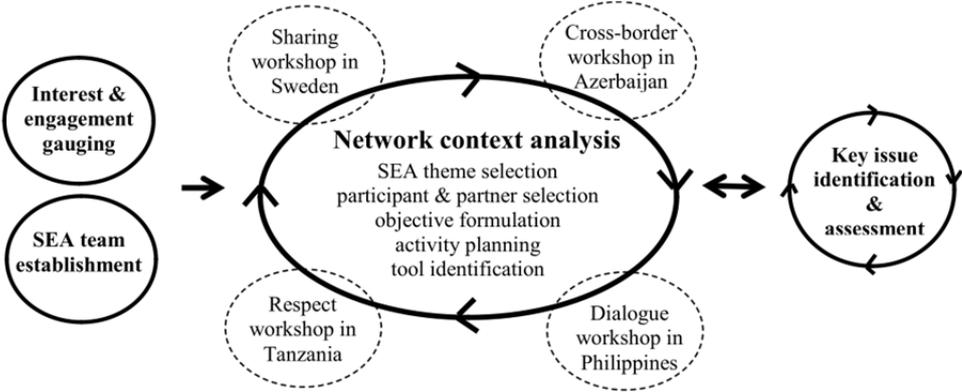


Figure 2: Samp’s network-based SEA process.

In the third step of the Samp’s network-based SEA process the data that was collected from the dialogues and exchanges that took place in the iterative network context analysis was used

to derive key issues for Samp’s guiding principles. An assessment of the key issues for each network guiding principle was carried out, and a synthesis of the meaning of each of Samp’s guiding principles was derived (Table 1).

Guiding principle	Meaning
Sharing	Multi-level inputs
Cross-border	Multi actors and place factors
Dialogue	Brewing cross-border conceptualisation for mutual benefit Empowering, engaging, including and encompassing for active participation
Respect	Challenge preconceptions and process attitudes

Table 1: Meaning of each of Samp’s guiding principles

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The iterative sharing of ideas, skills and experiences that took place in the Samp’s network-based SEA process allowed participants to work with Samp’s guiding principles, providing museum members and their communities with an opportunity to better understand the work of the network. The synthesised statements for each of Samp’s guiding principles were the main results of these interactions. The synthesised statements facilitate linkages between Samp’s guiding principles and the activities that are carried out in the network by its member museums and communities. In other words, the synthesised statements make Samp’s guiding principles more operable, facilitating an enhancement of Samp’s performance as the network’s member museums and their communities can conceptualise and apply network activities using its guiding principles.

Moreover, it can be stated that in the developed network-based SEA process, it was possible to address the first two steps of UNDP’s proposed process for capacity development (UNDP, 2009). The first step of the capacity development process, facilitating dialogue between stakeholders and encouraging engagement, was achieved as participants, member museums, communities and partners, successfully engaged in idea, skill, and experience sharing. As well, engagement was achieved by empowering participants, who considered having ownership over Samp’s SEA process.

The second step of UNDP’s capacity process, assessing existing, desired and missing capacities, was addressed during the workshops of the Samp’s SEA process, as museum staff of the there participating museums and their communities shared experiences on their museum and community needs. The shared experiences translated into the need to develop individual, organisational and community capacities. Emphasis was placed on enhancing partnerships between member museums and between member museums and their communities. Focus was also placed on the need to invest resources and develop skills to reach the most vulnerable sectors in the communities of member museums.

In conclusion, it can be stated that through a participative, adaptable and network-based SEA process, Samp operationalised its guiding principles, making it possible for participants in the process to gain an understanding that it is important to conceptualise and implement activities in line with the network’s guiding principles. Moreover, it can be concluded that individual, organisational and community level capacities were addressed and developed with the implementation of Samp’s SEA process. With the dialogues that were generated in the SEA process, museum staff and community members could gauge their individual and

organisational capacities, and thereby needs for capacity development in the network were identified. However, as only three member museums were engaged in the network-based SEA process, there is a need to implement a fully scaled SEA network-based process in Samp. This experience could provide the network with more information on its guiding principles, and it could further enhance the development of network capacities. A possible future result of a full-scale Samp SEA process could lead to the formulation of network capacity development programmes and strategies, and of programmes to monitor and evaluate the development of network capacities. Lastly, developing and linking full-scaled network-based SEA and capacity development processes could provide Samp, and any organisation, with an approach to enhance and measure its positive contributions to its members and communities, and ultimately to society as a whole.

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Narrating Identity by Means of Exhibition Techniques. Making Museum Visitors stumble upon the “Self” and the “Other”

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This paper is based upon the research on the construction of identity, taking into account that identity is produced by internal processes as well as ascribed identity markers. It shows interesting possibilities exclusively hold by exhibitions to make these identity markers visible. The paper doesn't centre on original objects but brings into focus models and installations, which are added to the objects, deliberately positioned between them. By breaking the usual look at the objects, identity markers are scrutinized, the difference between the “self” and the “other” blurs, and the “other” within the “own” culture can be recognized.

Examples are: the installation of the entrance sequence of Liberty Osaka, Osaka Human Rights Museum; a model of “How can we live together”, a special exhibition at Museum Neukölln, Berlin; the installation of “Gerüchte” / “Gossips”, a special exhibition at Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin; models of the Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, Yokohama.

These models and installations transform abstract ideas into concrete presentations for sensualised experiences and thus form a highly interpretive means of display. They visualize fields of ignorance, which usually are filled by stereotypes and prejudice, break self-evident judgements, and present surprising new combinations.

NARRATING IDENTITY BY MEANS OF EXHIBITION TECHNIQUES. MAKING MUSEUM VISITORS STUMBLE UPON THE “SELF” AND THE “OTHER”

“Museums are important because they serve to remind us of who we are and what our place is in the world“, says Davis (2007: 53) expressing a central challenge of the curators’ work: Museum exhibitions consistently give interpretations of the present by reconstructing the past, they are places where societies reassure themselves of their social and cultural practices (Muttenthaler 2007). They help to create the canon to be transmitted to next generations, give an official "curriculum vitae" of a state, a town or a region.

Exhibitions thus show official political parameters as well as ideas of curators. To be taken seriously by visitors, they, at the same time, have to be sensitive to actual social and cultural trends. Among the most important issues museums have picked up during the last decades are migration and cultural exchange. Since cultural spaces less and less correspond to geographical places, the question about what should be part of the permanent exhibition of a town, a region or a state becomes more and more important.

The trend in recent decades is subsumed by the term “inclusion“, asking how the perspective of the majority as the only way to perceive the world can be broken: How can exhibitions convey different perspectives and thus a plurality of standpoints? This applies to the interpretation of historical events as well as to the adequate representation of minorities.

Taking this way, exhibitions have to open up one-dimensional perceptions of the world. Curators try to break the usual view of the objects and thus make aware of the seeming self-evidence of habitual perspectives. Breaking automated patterns of interpretation can have the effect of blurring the difference between the “self” and the “other” and offering new perspectives.

In the following, I want to show interesting possibilities exclusively hold by exhibitions to make identity markers visible and think about the “self” and the “other”. I will bring into focus models and installations which are added to original objects, deliberately positioned between them. The models and installations transform abstract ideas into concrete presentations for sensualised experiences and thus form a highly interpretive means of display.

A MIXTURE OF KNOWING AND IGNORANCE

The basis for the perception of the world is a mixture of knowledge and ignorance, which we most of the time are not aware of. One reason is that gaps in knowledge are principally filled in by own ideas (positive or negative). From history, we know countless examples:



Fig. 1: Detail of an old nautical chart, Exhibition “Tiefsee“ (“Deep sea“), Naturkundemuseum, Berlin, 2010

- Nautical charts of the early days of maritime navigation show country borders as far as they were known. Then unknown regions are filled with terrifying mythical creatures.
- Cabinets of curiosity responded to the wish to know more about unknown regions of the world but at the same time supplied Europeans with fantastic, bizarre objects, which activated spine-chilling fantasies.
- Japanese printings of European and American foreigners from the second half of the 19th century show how the unknown are often characterized by attributes, which make them blatantly obvious strangers.

Problems arise when negative points prevail when representing only scarcely known people - what, unfortunately, happens in most cases. The exhibition "Rumours" at the Museum for Communication, Berlin, showed the prototype situation of "labelling" (mostly bad) attributes to other people: The gossiping about people while the common washing of dirty laundry in the stream. Even today, the expression "washing dirty laundry" is a German proverb meaning "speaking ill of other people."



Fig. 2: Detail of the installation "Washing dirty laundry", Exhibition "Gerüchte" ("Rumours"), Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin, 2011

The exhibition design provided a perfect example of coherence of form and content (Museum für Kommunikation 2009). The exhibition was built up of a "forest of rumours" to walk through. This installation showed the consequences of gossips: the creation of stereotypes, the generation of scapegoats, the bullying of individuals (cyber bullying) and of whole peoples (propaganda). Throughout the entire installation, one could hear constant whisper: "Psst, have you already heard ...".

In the midst of the whispering, there was an unusual showcase. It showed a dark, small sized office with a small figure moving within it. Only at second glance it became clear, that the small figure was a projection of a man / a woman who actually was acting in real time: A

monitor projected live images of the “gossip agent“ (recorded in a separate studio) into the small cabinet. By means of surveillance cameras and microphone technology, exhibition visitors could stand in front of the showcase and talk with the agent inside it. The “gossip agents“ weaved rumours into the conversations with the visitors (e.g. to pupils: “Have you already heard that from next year on, smart children will have more school holidays than pupils with poor marks?”). Afterwards, the “agents” dissolved the situation by throwing light on their communication tactics.





Fig. 3 + 4: Installation "Rumours", Exhibition "Gerüchte" ("Rumours"), Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin, 2011

THE DEMOLITION OF IDEAS TAKEN FOR GRANTED

Recent exhibitions try to make aware of gaps in knowledge and break new ground for rethinking own judgements. To reach this, models and installations are very often used in a specific way: Technically speaking, they first create a known, familiar setting and then combine this setting with an unexpected moment. In their making, they resemble the posters advertising the Jewish Museum Berlin: A sliced coconut with the flesh of an orange, a bicycle tire not with a tube, but with a snake inside, a busted chestnut shell with a golf ball inside. All situations are commented by: "Not what you are expecting." ("Nicht das, was Sie erwarten.").



Fig. 5: Poster of the Jewish Museum Berlin, 2011

Even if they differ totally with regards to content, the examples which I give in the following, work according to this principle. The stylistic methods to create the moment of surprise in these three cases are: unexpected generalization, focussing on single aspects, and reversion of the perspective.

Questionnaire on Normality: Who is “normal“?

From August to December 2009, Martin Le Chevallier organized a survey in the Netherlands asking “Do you feel normal?”, and more than 2,000 Dutch answered. His “Poll“ was part of the exhibition “Not normal. Difference on Display“ (“Nicht normaal [sic]. Difference on Display“) shown first in the Netherlands and then by the Commissioner of the German Federal Government for the Concerns of Disabled People (Beauftragter der Bundesregierung für die Belange behinderter Menschen).

For the exhibition in Berlin, the questionnaire was translated into German and could be answered by the visitors. Entitled "Do you feel normal? Survey about normality in Germany", there were six questions in total:

1. I am a woman / man.
2. My age is 0-19, 20-30, 31-40 etc.
3. My domicile is Berlin / another place in Germany / somewhere else.
4. Occupation: employed / unemployed / student / retired / other.
5. What applies to you: single, separated, widowed without / with children, in a partnership, married with / without children
6. Do you feel absolutely normal / rather normal / rather abnormal / absolutely abnormal / I prefer not to answer.

By formulating the questions as superficial as possible, Le Chevallier puts categories like "normal" and "abnormal" into question, resisting to the opinion that the concept of normality could be defined. When answering this survey one wonders what lies behind these questions, what can be grasped by them? Interestingly enough, even these questions, formulated as meaningless as possible, touch markers which can imply discrimination, like “unemployed” or “separated with child” both evoking “having not much money”. On the other hand, factors often causing discrimination like a handicap, a foreign background, a religious affiliation etc. are not conveyed into the questions. Instead, by his last question, Le Chevallier transfers “normality” into an exclusively subjective feeling.

Liberty Osaka: Who is “different“ – and why?

The Human Rights Museum in Osaka explores the history of minorities living in Japan, showing their struggle against discrimination and recognizing their contribution to Japanese society. At the entrance to the permanent exhibition, an installation called "My values and discrimination" ("Watashi no kachikan to sabetsu") leads the museum visitors into the theme. It aims to encourage reflection on own values and on the double character of values as, on the one hand, guidelines in every day life and, on the other hand, sources of potential discrimination.



Fig. 6: Installation “My values and discrimination“, Liberty Osaka

The installation is several meters long and simulates several rooms of a Japanese middle-class family. Doors, windows, cabinets and bookshelves are shown as black outlines on white ground, partly three dimensional. Other furniture like tables, desks and sofas are made of white cardboard and arranged in the rooms. They serve as a stage for original everyday objects which call attention because of the very fact that they are not white but in their usual colours: a school uniform, exercise books and school reports, toys, a passport, drugs. In red circles, different values are stated: "I want a decent education / a good job / to get rich / to be clean and pure / to be healthy / to live in a rich country." Big balloons give conventional, standardized statements on the subject in everyday language ("For a good job, you simply need good qualifications").

There is a sliding door at the end of the installation. The visitor can open it and then looks into a mirror e.g. catches his or her own reflection. But the image is blurred, because the mirror is formed in waves.

The aspects pointed to at the installation refer to the groups of people introduced in later chapters of the permanent exhibition: People who do not or can not respond to one or more of these values and therefore are discriminated against. The installation is an impressive attempt to uncover principles of the perception of the "other". The seemingly “normal“ / conventional view on the world is challenged and questioned.

***“Happy Boys”*: Reversal of Perspective**

The model “Happy Boys” was shown in the exhibition "Identity under construction" (“Baustelle Identität“) in the Kreuzberg-Museum, Berlin, a part of the town, where many migrants live. "Identity under construction" showed the results of joint projects of German and French schools, which dealt with past times' as well as today's migration.



Fig. 7: Installation “Happy Boys“, Exhibition “Baustelle Identität“ (“Identity under construction“), Kreuzberg-Museum, Berlin, 2009

The model was developed as a joint work of the design school Intuitlab (Chris Miller) and the art academy Weissensee (Oliver Thie). The explanatory text is: "In a world in which Africa is the Promised Continent and the people of a ruined, poverty-stricken, violence-ridden country like Germany have long given up any hope for a decent future at home, two Berlin boys decide to follow the example of so many others and seek their fortune in Lagos, the Nigerian capital, the city of glass. The place, where people drive big cars, the women have black hair and you can be a little king even without working."

The accompanying text makes clear that common stereotypes are reversed. But the basic message, the design of a parallel world, can be understood by viewing the model alone. The two boys want to escape from a bleak residential area which could be located in any economically run down country of the world. It is only the design of a single, small detail of the model which turns our common ideas upside down: A poster on top of a ruined skyscraper, at first glance a Marlboro cigarette advertisement, shows the way to the distant land of promise. The poster shows shadows of cowboys around a campfire on the prairie in front of a sunset. But instead of horses, they have an elephant. And this elephant together with the slogan "Come to Mumbutu Country" pulls paradise away from the USA towards Africa.



Fig. 8: Detail of the installation "Happy Boys", Exhibition "Baustelle Identität" ("Identity under construction"), Kreuzberg-Museum, Berlin, 2009

APPROACHES TO NEW VIEWS?

Making a further step, surprising combinations can be used to approach new ideas.

Berlin Neukölln: "How can we live together?"

"How can we live together?" was a special exhibition at the Museum Neukölln, Berlin. The exhibition focused on difficulties, which can occur in urban districts where immigrants of different origins live together. The initiators of the exhibition asked pupils about their opinion on friendship: "What is friendship? Does a different background, religion or skin colour matter when making friends?"



Fig. 9: Model of the exhibition "Wie zusammen leben" ("How can we live together"), Berlin-Neukölln, 2009

The model introduced here illustrates the answer of a Turkish pupil with German citizenship: "Different religions are no obstacle for making friends - as long as you respect each other's faith." Even without this explanatory text, the message is clear just by looking at the two dolls.

These are Barbie and her Arab counterpart Fulla. Barbie – in spite of being heavily objected by women – until today is the embodiment of European and American ideals of female sex appeal with long, blond hair, big breasts, wasp waist, wide hips and long legs. The left doll wears the accordant outfit: a tight mini skirt. On the contrary, the body of the doll on the right is almost completely covered. Despite their completely different outfit, the two seem to be friends, the blonde putting her arm on the shoulder of her friend. Furthermore, the shoes of the one girl and the bag of the other are of the same colour.

The religion is demonstrated by an external attribute, the headscarf. The model uses stereotypes: the liberal European / Christian versus the veiled Arab / Muslim. By doing so, all

aspects of the currently burning debate are reduced (or only hinted at by the lipstick of the Muslim woman), and it is precisely by this reduction that the model makes a clear statement.

If the model dealt with another source of conflict, for example an ethnic one, the dolls would be used with other differentiating features, e.g. dolls of different skin colour. By a friendly gesture, the difference would be dissolved.

Yokohama: Former Emigrants coming back

JICA (Japan International Cooperation Agency) coordinates the official development assistance on behalf of the Japanese government. In their International Centre in Yokohama, they set up a museum on the history of the Japanese migration which documents the life and achievements of Japanese overseas. A message of the President of JICA at the entrance of the exhibition says that now more than 2.5 million Japanese emigrants and their descendants live abroad, mainly in the countries of North, Central and South America. Nearly 300,000 people have come back to Japan for work and studies.

Very often, this return of descendants of Japanese emigrants (Nikkei nisei / sansei) does not function smoothly. Lack of language skills and completely different experiences in socialization separate them from their Japanese peers. The exhibition seeks to diminish these differences in several aspects. The presentation of the historical development begins with the 2nd half of the 19th century after the opening up of Japan and ends with the 1960s, when the rapid economic growth in Japan slowed down emigration.

In the exhibition, the emigrants' special position between Japan and their new home plays an important role. An installation of old trunks typical for migration museums shows items the emigrants took with them: a picture of the Tenno's family, a shōgi game, zōri sandals, a karate suit - items which connect them with the culture of their homeland and thus with most of the exhibition visitors. Detailed explanations of their motives, for example during difficult economic times, take the distance to the emigrants as well as the presentation of the often difficult situations abroad.

Installations of the new living and working conditions overseas show the mingling of the old and the new. To illustrate this generation-lasting process of adaptation, a table with a mixture of Japanese and South American dishes is laid. In Japan, highly realistic food models are everyday products, they are not realized in terms of their artistic design, but the high quality of their aesthetic appeal is taken for granted. This makes them useful as models in exhibitions to transform abstract ideas into something which can be experienced by the senses. The accompanying text explains that emigrants of the first generation had to learn to eat with knife and fork, did not want to eat meat, and had problems to sit on chairs at rectangular tables.



Fig. 10: Installation: Living abroad, Japanese Overseas Migration museum, Yokohama

The exhibition shows the history of Japanese migrants, but at the same time provokes reflections on developments within the own country, especially in relation to the declared "internationalization" (kokusaika) and "globalization". Here, the emigrants with their varied experiences are presented as true bridge-builders between Japan and other countries.

Getting Older: Becoming the “Other“

One part of the permanent exhibition of the Museum of Hygiene in Dresden deals with the topic of "Living and Dying". In the section about aging, the usual possibilities of medical supply and supports of daily life are shown. Besides, there are devices which make it possible to empathize with older people, for example a brush-like device which can be tied under the shoes and gives a wobbly feeling while standing; special earphones which block sounds and thus simulate hardness of hearing; a motor that is attached to the wrist and puts the arm in a constant tremor. With these tools attached to the body, young people are invited to move, to have a conversation, and to write on a paper. Generally, visitors are glad when they can get rid of these hardships again.

CONCLUSION: MAIN POINTS

One of the main tasks of museum exhibitions is to be places where difference can be experienced and thought over. With this paper, I have presented possibilities which exhibitions have to break the usual view of objects:

1. The first step is the visualization of fields of ignorance which usually are filled by stereotypes and prejudice. As an example, I introduced an exhibition which focussed attention on rumours.

2. The next step is to break self-evident judgements: for example by an exaggerated generalization, by highlighting certain details, by a reversal of perspective.
3. The final step is to present surprising new combinations: by bold combinations of the “own“ and the “other“, by the diminishment of differences, by offering the possibility of taking over another role.

All these techniques are put into effect by models, installations, and other devices which can be realized exclusively in exhibitions.

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All photos: Susanne Phillipps

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MUSEUMS MENTIONED

Museum für Kommunikation, Berlin, special exhibition “Gerüchte”

Museum Neukölln, Berlin, special exhibition “Wie zusammen leben”

Kreuzberg-Museum, Berlin, special exhibition “Baustelle Identität”

Kleisthaus, Berlin, exhibition “Nicht normaal [sic]. Difference on Display“

Naturkundemuseum Berlin, special exhibition “Tiefsee“

Deutsches Hygiene-Museum, Dresden, permanent exhibition

Liberty Osaka, Osaka Human Rights Museum, Japan, permanent exhibition

Japanese Overseas Migration Museum, Yokohama, Japan, permanent exhibition

Real Life Stories in Everyday Objects

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This paper will explore the role of the museum and gallery, in collecting and re-presenting life stories of immigrants to Ireland. It will show the potential capacity of a museum or gallery to be a space which can link to those who have made Europe their home over the last 30 years. A case study will be presented - an exhibition called Destination Donegal. Ten people’s real life stories are displayed through personal clothing, objects from mantle pieces, filmed interviews and new portrait photographs, in an innovative art and social history exhibition. A discussion of the approach and results will allow a reflection on museum theory and practice in terms of the use of objects as holding narrative, objects as agency within the “everyday”, and the value of present day material culture in relation to a multicultural society.

SUMMARY OF MAIN POINTS:

- Discusses an exhibition about cultural diversity curated by the author in Ireland, called ‘Destination Donegal – 10 real life stories of immigration’
- Museums and galleries may consider the personal and emotional aspects of immigration through real life stories, rather than academic approaches;
- Museums can make cultural diversity visible in a tangible way, in 3D form in a museum or gallery, not simply in written or spoken words alone but through material things and the physical reality of an exhibition;
- The museum/ gallery space can be seen as a cultural hub - as being the actual ‘global village’, where many cultures are presented together in a public space to form a ‘cultural bricolage’;
- Museums can collect and display personal material culture which can link people and their autobiography in a unique way. Objects are not seen as having ‘object biographies’ but ‘people biographies in objects’. Real life stories of immigrants can be told with and through everyday things in particular:
 - Clothes, both everyday and traditional
 - Personal possessions brought from home countries
 - Family photographs from the living room mantle pieces

When you start to think about migration and Ireland, you may begin with thoughts about Irish immigrants to America, and recently at the end of May we saw Barack Obama come home to visit the village of his great, great, great grandfather in Moneygall, Ireland (Rte 2011). This paper focuses on migrants coming to Ireland to live, creating a culturally diverse population. Barack Obama’s personal cultural identity and his claim for Irish roots, obviously impinges on a public and political arena as he is President of the United States. It actually introduces this paper rather well, as it highlights both the complex cultural heritages we may all have within our blood, and how the personal and public aspects of cultural identity are constantly intertwined - people are seen at once as individuals and as someone connected to a particular culture or country. In this way the micro level - personal cultural identity and how it connects to ‘macro’ aspects of discussions about cultural diversity - may be seen as a useful starting point. One key idea I want to address is that the personal and emotional parts of contemporary cultural identity can be the focus when exploring cultural diversity in the museum and gallery context. This may be done effectively through presenting real life stories of immigration through people’s own words, and by displaying personal possessions. One key museum role in relation to migration and society is in creating and making this very personal, cultural identity visible, and I want to explore this by looking at an exhibition about 10 immigrants to the North West of Ireland I curated this year, called ‘Destination Donegal’.

I shall begin with an outline description of the exhibition entitled ‘Destination Donegal’, shown at the Regional Cultural Centre, Co. Donegal, Ireland in 2011 (See Footnote 1). I shall then draw out the following issues for discussion in relation to the role of museums and galleries in displaying the subject of migration. Firstly, museums and galleries may consider the personal and emotional aspects of cultural diversity through present day real life stories, rather than academic approaches focused on past heritage. Secondly, museums can make cultural diversity visible in a tangible way, in 3D form in a museum or gallery, not simply in written or spoken words alone but through material things and the physical reality of an

exhibition. Thirdly, I consider museums as institutions concerned with objects, and discuss the museum as potentially a collector and exhibitor of personal material culture which can link people and their autobiography in a unique way. Finally, may the museum/ gallery space be seen as a cultural hub - as being the actual global village - where many cultures are presented together in a public space to form a cultural bricolage? My insights will include quotations from participants and visitors to the exhibition.

In March 2011, I was commissioned to curate an art and social history exhibition about cultural diversity in a gallery space in the Regional Cultural Centre, Co. Donegal, Ireland. As a social history curator and PhD candidate interested in contemporary everyday life and material culture, the exhibition proposed simply to focus on 10 individuals from a variety of countries of different ages and genders. We began by interviewing 10 people about their real life stories of living in Donegal today, asking for a set of everyday clothes, asking people to choose some special objects which related to their home, their journey and their lives today; and borrowing family photographs from their mantle pieces at home. Each person had a full length photographic portrait taken. The finished exhibition was constructed in a 'white cube' art gallery. Each person had an area which consisted of: a life size floor to ceiling photographic portrait; an exhibition board with written quotes, scans of family photographs and a map of their home place (each of these exhibition panels were 2.5 metres tall); everyday clothes hanging at a height beside these boards; a pair of shoes, and bags brought with them; some traditional clothes on mannequins, personal possessions; filmed interviews on TV screens with headphones, and a large projection screen of all 10 films. There was also a hands-on area where visitors could make a Lego flag, colour in a map of the world, tell their own stories in a video booth, and write and stick up a yellow post-it note answering the question, 'You are emigrating - what will you take?'.



The exhibition will now be discussed with the objective of giving insights into the role of museums in relation to migration, and within a culturally diversity society. The discussion will make reference to literature from the fields of everyday life studies within the field of cultural studies, material culture studies, art practice and museums studies in order to engage with discussions concerning the meaning of contemporary material culture as it may relate to

the expression of autobiographical cultural identity in museums and galleries. A discussion of the exhibition approach and results will allow a reflection on museum theory and practice in terms of the use of objects as holding narrative, objects as agency within the “everyday”, and the value of present day material culture in relation to a multicultural society.

My first point is that, museums and galleries may consider the personal and emotional aspects of cultural diversity through present day real life stories, rather than academic approaches focused on past heritage, because by doing so, the everyday lives of people are the subject of the display rather than themes, or old objects. By seeing cultural diversity within the present day daily doings, it is defined in the same sense that culture is defined within cultural studies – as part of everyday life - as David Inglis has summarized, ‘...a shorthand characterization of ‘culture’ would see as it involving what different groups of people believe, think and feel.’ (Inglis 2005: 11). Further, Urry (2000), argues that everyday life is influenced by ‘global networks and flows’. Cultural globalization then, is very much within everyday lives and people. So, if we view people’s lives as part of the everyday life about us all rather than something else, then culture and cultural diversity are within our day to day existence, rather than a culture outside it, or ‘other’ than our daily life. Everyday people are the focus of the exhibition, talking about themselves, their families, the countries they have left and their lives today. The content of the exhibition was personal, drawing exclusively on people’s words, pictures, clothes and personal possessions. As one participant said, ‘So people get interested in your story, and they want to know you more, they want to get closer to you.’ Some visitor responses were emotional, ‘I felt as if I was having a personal connection with each person’; and ‘fascinating insights presented in a warm and accessible way.’ (See Footnote 2)

My second point is that museums are special because they can make cultural diversity visible in a tangible way, in 3D form, not simply through words alone but through material things and the physical reality of an exhibition. This may sound obvious, but some museum exhibitions are still primarily ‘books on walls’ with cased objects illustrating a point made by authoritative text written by a curator about a subject. Also, in discussions of contemporary collecting some see people’s intangible heritage, as living outside the museum with little emphasis on objects (Kurin 2004). So the point is worth making.

Inspiration for the layout of the exhibition came from 3D artworks which use everyday objects. For example, inspired by the work ‘Felt Suit’ by the artist Joseph Beuys, people’s clothes were hung as an autobiographic self portrait. The clothes may be seen as communicating a snap shot of everyday life, as art works such as Tracey Emin’s ‘Bed’, encapsulate a moment in time and express her sense of self, through physical everyday things - in this case a messy bed. As Helen Pheby has argued, ‘....artists appear to be trying to communicate a pause in the everyday that reveals the profound in order to render and make more conscious the human experience...’ (Pheby 2010:84). The initial work involved in the exhibition gathered recorded video interviews of people talking about their journeys and lives. But this was transformed and materialized in exhibition form, presented and given a physical presence by the large life sized portrait photographs, the clothing from each person and the stories told in video clips on TVs. Now I will build on these thoughts in my third point.

Thirdly then, I consider museums as institutions concerned with objects, and discuss the museum as potentially a collector and exhibitor of personal material culture which can link people and their autobiography in a unique way. In contributing to what may be called a ‘material turn’ in museum and gallery theory and practice, I argue that objects are very much knitted into life, and in particular the narratives of autobiography.

As recent material culture scholars have discussed objects and humans interact and give meaning to each other (Gell 1998, Tilley 2006). Dudley has discussed this recently in the museum and gallery context, ‘To see objects not as background scenery to the drama of

human life but as actors within it, bridging the realms of the physical, the social and the mental, has been an important part of the recent turn towards the material. Can we reconsider those realms – even if only for heuristic purposes – as not being separate at all, or argue that the engagements which matter happen not in objects, nor in minds nor social relationships but, physically as well as emotionally and cognitively, in the spaces in between all three?’ (Dudley 2010:13). In addition, some see objects as having their own ‘object biographies’ and social life (Appadurai 1986, Hoskins 1998), and this has been applied in museums (see for example Wehner and Sear 2010).

However, ‘object biographies’ for me, put too much emphasis on the object as being at the centre, rather than people. By drawing on recent fieldwork from sociology and social anthropology by Hurdley (2006) and also Miller (2008) (See footnote 3), objects in the exhibition are considered as players in a life story, that enable linkages to under the surface identities and to worlds in past times and in other countries. Further within the exhibition display itself, the objects are ‘social objects’ acting as ‘engines’ for conversation and engagement (Simon 2010), as well as being affective and having agency in putting across an essence of the individuals. In the exhibition, objects are connected to people in different ways. In particular, personal possessions brought by migrants from their home countries as holding memories of another time and culture – for example a Bible in someone’s first language; clothes worn everyday as a personal statement of identity – for example cowboy boots and jeans; things kept at home as a link to the past - a letter from a father who has died. As Nolunga from South Africa says, ‘And the bright colours (Orange circumcision clothing), they represent my roots, you know, where I come from...And at least with the green jacket (Springboks rugby jacket) that represents my country you know.’ And Gary from America, ‘I like my cowboy boots, I feel comfortable in them, I always wear them, and otherwise I keep telling people I’m a blue jean kinda guy.’

Finally, the exhibition created in the gallery space an actual global village’, where many cultures were presented together in a public space. Can the museum or gallery actually be a hub or place which makes a contribution to the wider society by expressing a culturally diverse society within its walls? Can it actually contribute to social inclusion? Perhaps it is possible that a museum or gallery can create through creative displays, a cultural ‘bricolage’ (Hebdige 1998, Levi Strauss 1964) – a do-it-yourself expression of the mix of people from different cultures. As Nolunga says, ‘I never thought that in reality, that I would live in a foreign land, and I would be appreciated, the main thing was to be appreciated as a foreign national... I believe, your organisation, I believe this is the first of its kind, you know the event that you did, it was just beautiful, I am very proud of you guys.’

Footnotes

1. Destination Donegal, curated by Harriet Purkis at the Regional Cultural Centre, Letterkenny, Co. Donegal, Ireland from 25 March 2011-7 May 2011.
2. The quotations from the participants in the exhibition come from recorded evaluation interviews carried out by the author in May 2011. The quotations from visitors come from the ‘Destination Donegal’ visitor comments book.
3. Rachel Hurdley’s ‘Dismantling Mantelpieces: Narrating Identities and Materializing Culture in the Home’ 2006, interviewed people at home about the display of objects on mantelpieces in Cardiff. For one interviewee according to Hurdley, ‘Objects were not only props to life histories but essential players...She could show, by means of the narrative, that she had other identities, societies and values.’ (Hurdley 2006:721). Daniel Miller in his ‘Comfort of Things’ 2008 led an anthropological study of thirty people from one street in South London. The study claimed to be, ‘an experiment in learning how to read people through their possessions, and to help us appreciate the diversity and creativity of contemporary Londoners’ (Miller 2008:7).

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Nomadising Sami Collections

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This paper outlines the background of a project including three national museums in Stockholm: the Nordiska Museet, the National Historical Museum (Historiska Museet), and the Museum of Ethnography (Etnografiska Museet). My part of the project covers museum artefacts related to the Sami, an indigenous people. Most of these artefacts are counted as cultural historical, but there are also human remains. The aim of my study is to investigate how these collections have been acquired, named, classified, displayed, and moved between the museums, thereby defining the Sami as a part of Us or the Other. One theoretical starting point is that the artefacts have become significant actors in networks, constituted by museums, scholars, and the Sami, and that museum collections are today a strong sociomaterial force in the current global indigenous discourse. A later point of departure will be based on how the artefacts’ biographies and trajectories can be used to analyse social systems of value, power, and aesthetics.

NOMADISING SAMI COLLECTIONS

This paper is a part of “The sociomaterial dynamics of museum collections”, an overarching research program, connecting three separate projects, with the aim of creating new knowledge about the role of collections and collecting in the shaping of culture and society. The program includes three national museums which have been decisive in defining Sweden, Swedishness and the surrounding world: the Nordiska Museet (Swedish cultural history), the National Historical Museum (history, archaeology), and the Museum of Ethnography (non-Western, third/fourth world). In one study each, two ethnologists (Lotten Gustafsson Reinius, me) and one archeologist (Fredrik Svanberg) will focus on objects and issues that in some way have been disputed or handled as problematic: Sami collections, human remains, and so called repatriations. The studies will be intertwined through three theoretical themes: mobility, networks, and ritualisation. The dynamic interplay between material practices and social processes of change will be analysed with emphasis on turning points in collecting, classification, display, and storage, as well as the movement of objects to, from and between the museums. Our underlying idea is that museum objects have a strong ability to define identity and social relations, and to create both conflict and reconciliation.

My part of the program is about the Sami-related collections in the three museums. The Sami are an indigenous people with their traditional lands in northern Scandinavia and the Kola peninsula, historically nomadising and making their living from hunting, fishing, and reindeer herding. (Today most Sami are urbanised.) From the 19th century onwards, there has been an intense circulation of Sami material heritage outside the Sami society, involving both museums and private hands. One theoretical point of departure is that the physical objects have become significant actors in social networks, together with museums, scholarly fields, the Sami society, and private collectors (e.g. Latour 1998, 2005). A later point of departure will be based on how “the cultural biography of things” and the method of “following the object” – focusing on collections as well as single artefacts – can be used to analyse materiality’s role in shaping social systems of value, power, and aesthetics (Kopytoff 1986, Czarniawska 2007).

My initial focus lies on how the three national museums in Stockholm, mainly during the 20th century, have transferred the Sami material heritage between them, thereby defining the Sami as a part of Sweden’s cultural history, as a historical/archaeological phenomenon, or as an ethnographic, non-Western one. In my coming research I will investigate in greater depth how Sami-related artefacts and collections have been selected, acquired, named, classified, displayed, and exchanged between the three museums – and to a certain extent also including other actors – and how these practices have identified the Sami and defined their role in the museum-based images of Sweden and the world.

“A LAPPISH CENTRAL MUSEUM”

This study also forms a part of my ongoing research project about the construction of a Sami cultural heritage at the Nordiska Museet (Riksbankens Jubileumsfond 2009–2011). In this project, the main character is a man called Ernst Manker (1893–1972), ethnographer and museum curator (Silvén 2010). In the 1920s he studied ethnography in Gothenburg, thereafter he started working with the (African) collections of the Ethnographic Museum in the same city. He then moved to Stockholm and the Ethnographic Department of the Museum of Natural History, which in 1935 became the Museum of Ethnography.¹ There he continued his

¹ From the beginning, the ethnographic artefacts at the Museum of Natural History formed a part of the Vertebrate Collections, this also being a way of ordering the Sami and other indigenous peoples in a scholarly scheme.

Sami research with field-work and collecting in Lapland (initiated in the late 1920s), and in parallel he worked part-time for the Nordiska Museet.

From the end of the 19th century, the Nordiska Museet held large Sami collections, as a result of a series of expeditions sent out by Artur Hazelius, the founder of the Nordiska Museet and the open-air museum Skansen. Hazelius' ambition was both to create a picture of the nation and to rescue traditional objects from the threat of industrialisation and modernisation, as he saw it. In his context the Sami were a part of the Swedish nation and Swedish cultural history, but still something different. Manker also was affected by the consequences of modernisation, which became a driving force behind his research and collecting work. However, Manker did not necessarily wish to oppose changing times. Instead he hoped to safeguard memories and objects from earlier forms of Sami domestic life and reindeer herding, as an asset for future research and for Sami identity. Unlike Hazelius, Manker's aim was not to depict the Swedish nation, instead he wanted to describe the life of a people, from an ethnographer's point of view. For that reason he did not only collect artefacts but used a wide range of methods, such as field research, narratives, photographs, art, and exhibitions.

Manker took up a vision that had been launched already in the late 1800s, namely to create an "ethnographic memorial, mainly dedicated to Lappish peculiarities" or a "Lappish central museum" (Hammarlund-Larsson 2008). This idea was brought back to life by several actors in the 1930s, but it was carried out most energetically by Manker. As before, the arguments were that the ethnographic research among the Sami ought to get more attention, considering the resources that were spent on research and acquisitions from "exotic but often far more insignificant cultures" (Manker in *Frågor rörande...* 1934). During several years of lobbying, there were three alternative locations for this "Lappish central museum": the Nordiska Museet, the Museum of Ethnography, or an independent institution – which indicates that the Sami's position in the museum landscape was ambiguous.

In 1939 Manker achieved a post as curator for the Sami collections at the Nordiska Museet, financed by a special grant from the government. Manker himself was both the midwife of this curatorial appointment and the presumed holder. When the post was set up, Manker believed that he had established this "central museum", and he argued that the location was correct, as it manifested that the Sami belong to the Swedish cultural history. He soon organised the Lappish Department and the Lappish Archive, where he brought together all Sami-related material in the museum and to which he himself contributed a great deal during his active years. But Manker did not only rely on the holdings of the Nordiska Museet. His aim was to transfer the Sami artefacts at the National Historical Museum and the Museum of Ethnography to the Nordiska Museet, in order to build an even more solid material base for his "central museum".

MATTERS OF EXCHANGE

Beginning in the late 19th century the National Historical Museum and the Nordiska Museet had exchanged artefacts, in order to make the collections compatible with the shifting ideas of the museums' respective profiles and areas of responsibility, according to time, subject, and type of materia. In 1919 a chronological border was established, with 1523 as a demarcation line, the year Gustav Vasa was crowned and a new historical era began (Hillström 2006). According to that distinction and Manker's "Lappish central museum", a group of artefacts was transferred to the Nordiska Museet in 1943, mainly 25 ceremonial drums. They had a long history of being kept in governmental custody since they were taken from the Sami during the Christian mission in the 18th century. The transfer in 1943 was significant; from symbolising state superiority over Sami culture and identity, the drums were now turned into a representation of Sami pre-Christian religion in a foundation for Swedish cultural history, the Nordiska Museet. Beside the chronological demarcation and the subject (in this case Sami-

related artefacts), the type of physical material formed a third, and often most decisive, category. Archeological and osteological findings are in general kept at the National Historical Museum, as well as earlier acquisitions of human remains.

Beside the drums from the Historical Museum, Manker aimed at getting hold of the Sami collections in the Museum of Ethnography, comprising around 500 objects, among them 200 collected by Manker himself. Like many other Sami collections the main part was related to everyday life – living, housing, cooking, clothing, handicraft, hunting, reindeer herding, etc. However, for some reason I haven't yet figured out, this was not realised, although a collection of Inuit objects already had been transferred from the Nordiska Museet to the Museum of Ethnography, as a part of the transaction.

CHANGING ACTORS AND NETWORKS

Despite this setback, Manker and the Nordiska Museet managed to claim the position as the “Lappish central museum”, by force of its own collections, Manker's post and his intense activities as field researcher, photographer, collector, author, editor, as well as the permanent exhibition “Lapparna” (“The Lapps”), which was set up in 1947 and remained on display for more than thirty years. In relation to the regional museums, which at that time were small and scattered, the capital's museums still had the preferential right of interpretation when it came to national heritage issues. The Sami themselves didn't yet have any national political organisation, although there were some strong actors when it came to questions concerning history and heritage. Otherwise, the non-Sami academics in museums and universities of central Sweden had for a long time been the legitimate interpreters of Sami issues, keeping up with the tradition of “lappologists” – experts on Sami culture, language, and history.

This was profoundly changed in the 1960s, 70s and 80s, after Manker's retirement and then death. The period was characterised by a growing Sami political activism and a strengthening of the regional museums in northern Sweden, as well as the establishment of regional colleges and universities. An increasing Sami collaboration with corresponding organisations and institutions on the Norwegian side of the border contributed to breaking up the national and centralised frame and to extending the former periphery into a new centre. Step by step this centre grew into a node in a new global indigenous community. Now the earlier friendly cooperation between the Sami and the Nordiska Museet came to an end, manifested in a multi-faceted conflict during the making of a new Sami permanent exhibition, inaugurated in 1981 (Silvén 2009). Some years later, in 1989, a new museum opened in northern Sweden: Ájtte, the Swedish Mountain and Sami Museum (Svenskt fjäll- och samemuseum) in Jokkmokk. Ájtte became the main Swedish museum for Sami culture, with the aim of becoming a voice for the Sami and presenting Sami perspectives. At the Nordiska Museet, the accession of Sami objects slowed dramatically, while the Museum of Ethnography chose to deposit its Sami collections at Ájtte. Thereby new actors – Ájtte, its collections and activities, as well as different Sami political bodies – were added to the earlier network, and the basis for today's postcolonial heritage situation was founded during these decades.

The transfer of the Sami collections from the Museum of Ethnography to Ájtte was interpreted as an act of repatriation to Sápmi, the traditional Sami areas. In the 1930s and 40s this was not an issue; at that time the principal idea was to keep the collections in a central museum in the capital, not to spread them out in the margins. Currently there are few claims for repatriation, mainly concerning human remains kept by the National Historical Museum. Half of the drums at the Nordiska Museet, including those that were transferred from the Historical Museum in 1943, are today lent on long-term conditions to other museums, mainly Ájtte, which could be viewed as a kind of informal deposition. Another way for the Sami society to take some control over its heritage is to locate all objects of Sami origin kept in museums and other institutions, and enter them into a database. Ájtte has contributed to sev-

eral inventories of that kind, presented as a way to repatriate information about the heritage, but possibly this could also work as a first step of a more concrete repatriation process (Recalling...; Harlin 2008). Both the physical collections at Ájtte and the digital registers are examples of how museum collections have become a strong sociomaterial force in defining the Sami in relation to Swedish history and heritage as well as to the contemporary global indigenous discourse on power and identity.

CONCLUSION

During more than hundred years Sami representation in heritage and museums has contributed to defining Sami identity and the position of Sami in society. The museums' Sami-related collections and exhibitions correspond to changes in ideas and politics, but they also form a dynamic power that itself creates and reinforces change. My overview also shows how different museums and their collections are intertwined and can only be understood together, in a network. A network that has expanded during the recent decades, with both the Sami and their material heritage as important actors.

These aspects will be developed more deeply in the future part of my study, together with my second focus on the biographies and trajectories also of single artefacts. Special interest will be directed towards objects which after a long period of sleep are activated in different ways. Sacred Sami artefacts (*sieidis*, ceremonial drums) and human remains illustrate this process particularly well, based on both new ethical considerations and new claims from indigenous peoples.

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Crafting Nordic Spaces in Scandinavian in the United States¹

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How are Nordic Spaces crafted in the Nordic Countries and in the United States? How do such spaces give shape to cultural heritage? Drawing on theories of materialization and ritual performance, this paper discusses vernacular gifts as a form of materializing relationships, crafting bonds and delimiting boundaries between regions and museums in the wake of migration. By highlighting vernacular gifts from individuals and groups to Scandinavian museums in the United States, I would like to address how gift exchange maps out boundaries, between inside and outside, below and above, distant and close, near and far. The paper will show how gift exchange plays a creative role when Scandinavian museums craft relationships with particular regions, nations, and areas recognized as Scandinavia and *Norden*.

¹ This paper has been produced as part of the research program Nordic Spaces: Formation of States, Societies and Regions, Cultural Encounters, and Idea and Identity Production in Northern Europe after 1800. The aim of this program is to generate new research on Northern Europe and research collaboration within the region. It has coordinated by and funded through Riksbankens Jubileumsfond.

VERNACULAR GIFTS:

Crafting Nordic Spaces in Scandinavian museums in the United States

Nordic culture produces stuff and stuff framed as Nordic produces Nordic culture, also outside the Nordic countries themselves. This stuff comes as a single object and as collections, of families and communities, and as effects of movements that people make through migration from one place to another, and during their way through life. The stuff dealt with in this paper treats the vernacular collection through the lens of gift-giving and migration from the Nordic countries to the United States.

Gift-giving and vernacular heritage

Gift giving is an act that holds the promise of furthering relationships. The idea of reciprocity, in particular, has its own heritage. Within the Nordic realm, the principle for generating relationships through reciprocity appears, for example, in the Kalevala and the Poetic Edda.² In a similar vein, anthropologist Marcel Mauss' analysis of the relationship between gift and community demonstrates that reciprocal gift-giving maintains and furthers moral relationships, builds trust, and fosters solidarity.³ Although Marcel Mauss' analysis of the relationship between gift-exchange as a moral act and the making of community has been questioned, I suggest that his idea can be fruitfully applied to the relationship between cultural institutions and their donors.⁴ His work shows that there is a myriad of reasons for exchanging gifts but that the ultimate reason is to create cement for society. What role does gift-giving play in shaping Nordic spaces in the United States? When thinking through things that are presented as gifts, the ideas conveyed by Mauss shed light on the competitive, as well as the political, aspects that the exchange of gifts seems to entail.⁵ It shows that the act of gift-giving is culture specific as well as creative. It make a difference how the gift is composed, packaged and presented and by whom. Gift-giving is a matter of performance.

Drawing on the works of Richard Schechner, I understand performance as an activity that is framed, highlighted, and displayed. This is the case for gift-giving and gifts. Further, I follow folklorist Richard Bauman in understanding performances as acts that assume responsibility to an audience. Thus there are two kinds of performance at work here: the cultural institution where objects interact with viewers and then the fact that gift-giving is an act which integrates thought and hands-on action.⁶ When studied as performance, gift-giving both reflects and generates social and cultural circumstances beyond what takes place onstage.

Gifts may be small or large and play a role in many situations all over the world. Focus is here on museums and their donors. Many collections that make up the museums of cultural history in the Nordic countries were originally gifts. In Sweden, some of these were expensive treasures from residents of authority and monetary wealth and donated by philanthropists in

² It says: "with weapons and weeds should friends be won, as one can see in themselves, those who give to each other will be friends once they meet half way" (The Poetic Edda: 40).

³ Mauss, Marcel [1959] 1990: *The Gift: Forms and Reason of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Translation: W.D. Halls. London: Routledge. Pp. 39–46.

⁴ Derrida, Jacques 1992: *Given Time*. Translation: Peggy Kamuf. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. p. 14. Miller, Daniel 2001: Alienable Gifts and Inalienable Commodities. In: Fred R. Myers & Annie E. Coombes (eds.), *The Empire of Things: Regimes of Value and Material Culture*, pp. 91–118. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

⁵ Latour, Bruno 2005: *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: University Press. Henare, Amiria J. M., Holbraad, Martin & Wastell, Sari (red.) (2007). *Thinking through things: theorising artefacts ethnographically*. Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge

⁶ Schechner, Richard 2006: *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. Second edition. New York & London: Routledge. p. 2. Bauman, Richard 1992. *Performance. Folklore, Cultural Performances and Popular Entertainment*. Ed. Richard Bauman. New York and London: Oxford University Press, p 41-49.

commemoration of their owners. Other gifts, however, had divergent biographies, as reflected by the lists of gifts published in the Nordic museum's annual *Fataburen* until the 1970s. One of the most prominent examples of gift-generated collections is Husgerådskammaren in Stockholm, a repository for official and unofficial gifts to the Swedish royal family. It is interesting that the same gesture of gift giving is chosen to strengthen ties between emigrants and their homeland.

Gift exchange is important to the Scandinavian museums in the United States, non-profit organizations with a mission to preserve and display Swedish, Norwegian, Finnish, Danish and Icelandic culture outside the Nordic countries themselves. Based on gifts from immigrants from Scandinavia, their descendants, and from collectives that remained in the Old Country, these collections highlight the selective process that characterizes heritage making, epitomizing both the chosen particularities and the leftovers. The gifts in the Scandinavian museums in the United States often include objects from several spheres, which make them intercultural performances.⁷ The ways in which individuals and collective selects this material and composes it into collections that are given to Scandinavian museums can be seen as the first aspect of crafting (vernacular) heritage.

Vernacular Gifts

For many years, also within Folklore and Ethnology, the vernacular has meant something handcrafted, with a history diverging from the canonized and formal, made by local resources, and shaped by local knowledge and practices.⁸ When we think through these things and follow them over time, the vernacular is malleable to its content. In the 1960s and '70s some communities in the Midwest dedicated to arts and crafts (e.g. Decorah, IA and Lindsborg, KS) as well as to the settlers' origin, the vernacular took the form woodcarvings and folkcostumes but also faux facades and benevolent symbols from the Old Country. This deliberate manufacturing of heritage created a certain compression of Nordic nostalgia. In the 1970s and 80s billboards with Swedish, Norwegian and Danish flag-colors visible from cars and landmarks such as giant Dala horses, oversized trolls, water towers shaped like coffee pots along with re-assembled timber cottages and windmills from the old country emerged as materializations of ethnic culture.

This type of vernacular did not have a patina of tradition that defined older models of immigrant heritage, such as, for example, the dug-outs, log cabins, saunas and churches built by the first pioneer Scandinavians of the Midwest. Neither did they resemble peasant culture and folk art, which was thought of as vernacular in Scandinavia. Out of this combination of Old World and New World factors emerged a vernacular style that assembled in material form the distinctive cultural and social patterns of the Midwest.

This development in the Midwest was both an effect of and a contribution to social and cultural change in the United States as well as in the Nordic countries. The notion of what could be considered vernacular changed, also theoretically. In defense of what was then referred to as ugly architecture, for example, the authors of *Learning from Las Vegas* argued to include the commercial in the sphere of vernacular.⁹ From now on, the vernacular would

⁷ Schechner, Richard 2006: *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. Second edition. New York & London: Routledge. p. 315.

⁸ Glassie, Henry H, *Vernacular architecture, Material Culture*, Philadelphia, 2000; Jackson, John Brinckerhoff (1994). *A sense of place, a sense of time*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press; Museum of International Folk Art (N.M.) (2004). *Vernacular visionaries: international outsider art*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale Univ. Press.

⁹ Venturi, Robert, Scott Brown, Denise and Steven Izenour [1972] (2007). *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. Abingdon: Routledge. Cashman, Ray, Tom Mould and Pravina Shukla 2011. Introduction: The Individual and Tradition. In: *The Individual and Tradition: Folkloristic*

include the pre-fabricated, serial produced such as billboards, plastic flowers, pink flamingos and assemblages of ready-mades. Among the immigrants from the Nordic countries and their descendants this type of vernacular combined what may be termed Venturi, Brown and Izenour's loud and pervasive billboards with symbols recognized as Scandinavian in America. It seems as if the terms for the new vernacular created a platform also for the Scandinavians to take seriously the aesthetics of the contemporary and often over-the-top expressions. Emerged did the billboard flags and dalahorses, giant coffee-pots, over-sized trolls, windmills and serial-manufactured Dalahorses and Viking ships etc. For Scandinavian towns in the rural Midwest, however, appropriation of this vernacular may be seen as a having resonance in the open space, which demanded orientation and as a consequence of the complex combination of an expanding highway system in the 1960s and 70s, urbanization, commodification of culture and revenue from car-borne tourists. These changes of the landscape paired with the increased interest in ethnicity in the wake of the Civil Rights movement. It was this complex combination, I believe, that encouraged artists, businesses, and city councils to remove the last Coca-Cola signs, and look to the town settlers in a heritage process that would transform their American small towns into Scandinavian destinations.¹⁰

In recent decades, the vernacular emerging from this tradition has moved into museum institutions, often as gifts and often as items combined into collections.¹¹ It is this particular way of crafting collections for display at a museum, I suggest, that make up the second aspect of the vernacular (heritage) gift. This methodological aspect is prevalent not only in the historical association's museums of these small towns, but also in displays in larger cities. Examples in this paper are drawn from the Nordic Christmas displays at the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis.

Christmas – the Ritually Crafted Nordic Space

While each Scandinavian museum focuses on the heritage of one particular group in their everyday permanent exhibitions, Nordic spaces may emerge at Christmas, as evident at the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis. Since the 1980s, Ewa Rydåker, a volunteer at ASI invites the Nordic neighboring organizations to participate in the annual Christmas exhibition, where representatives from each country decorate a room for a Christmas dinner. Bruce Karstadt, CEO and President at ASI explains this event,

There have always been the Nordic Christmas rooms. But it was certainly in existence 1990 (when he became director of ASI) and then sort of a well-developed tradition even by then. So members of the Finnish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic communities had long been asked, and were helpful to create a Christmas table, a Christmas room... They come from organizations in

Perspectives. Ed. Casham, Mould and Shukla. Indiana University Press. P. 1-26.

¹⁰ Gradén, Lizette 2003: *On Parade: Making Heritage in Lindsborg, Kansas*. Diss. Stockholm: Stockholms Univ.

¹¹ The Vesterheim Museum in Decorah, Iowa, was founded in 1925 and is recognized as the most comprehensive museum in the United States dedicated to a single immigrant group. The Danish Immigrant Museum in Elk Horn, Iowa is one of the more recent, founded in 1983 but opened to the public in 1994. The Nordic Heritage Museum in Seattle was founded in 1979 and Swedish American Museum in Chicago in 1980. The Turnblad Mansion, which became the American Swedish Institute in 1929, is one of the oldest museums and was explicitly a gift to the "Swedish people in Minnesota and their descendants" from newspaper publisher Swan J. Turnblad. The mansion, originally Turnblad's home, was reframed as a domestic space where Swedish culture – literature, arts, crafts and music – could be developed, and later as a public place where first Swedish-American and recently Danish, Norwegian, Icelandic and Finnish culture would be displayed. Thanks to curators and directors at these museums for sharing this information with me via email, meetings, and conversation.

Minnesota, but I'd say probably they're all native. They're all ex-patriots. The Icelandic representatives usually the consul-general and his wife from Iceland... The Finnish representative is usually... might be a Finnish-American, a second-generation. Dane., usually a native Dane... Norwegian might be a second- or third-generation.¹²

The volunteers describe the displays as follows:

The Swedish display

The 2010 Swedish Christmas dinner table is set in honor of the June 19th 2010 wedding of Swedish Crown Princess Victoria and Mr. Daniel Westling. The table centerpiece is inspired by the Royal Wedding banquet table arrangements in Stockholm. White Christmas roses enclose the mirror island, supporting brass Skultuna candelabra and a Rörstrand soup terrine and serving dishes. The items: Rörstrand china, Orrefors Chrystal, Gense silverware, Klässbol's linen are all from the ASI collections.¹³

Danish display

The Danish Christmas display 2010 was designed by a group of Danish and Danish American volunteers living in Minneapolis and demonstrates early modern furniture design in Denmark. Walnut and maple table by Danish master cabinetmaker Thorald Madson, Windsor chair by Ove Boldt and produced by Fritz Hansen in the 1940s, and dining chairs designed by N. O. Moller in the 1950's. The latter remain in production. The cabinet was also made in Denmark in the 1940's of Cuban mahogany with beech trim details. The table is set with Danish blue on white Royal Copenhagen porcelain, with Danish Raadvad stainless utensils. Handmade thread and needle table cloth and crochet napkin holders. The tree is decorated with handmade felted ornaments, and felt and crocheted nissernes are displayed throughout the room. Paintings depict what is described as "typical Danish landscapes; farm scenes and parks".¹⁴

Finnish Display

The Finnish Christmas display is presented by a group of volunteers representing Finnish cultural organizations in Minneapolis. They tell the story about their display which features a table set with fine china, paper napkins and silver cutlery: At Christmas Eve (Jouluaatto), Finland is in the long winter night season known as kaamos when the only light is that reflected from the moon and snow. Santa (joulupukki) and his reindeer live at the tundra in the far north, (Korvatunturi). His visit, anticipated by the children who sit at their own table where a tree is decorated with a gingersnaps (piparkakku), a cookie heart for each child, the traditional Santa in the middle of the dining table is dressed in fur and reindeer skin, not bright red. In anticipation for Santa's arrival, they form a circle and sing, Tonttujen Jouluyö - Santa's Elves Christmas Night. When he arrives, they sing to him, Joulupukki - Santa. They are usually accompanied by a fiddle or Kantele. The tree has been decorated the evening before the Christmas Eve festivities often with decorations made of straw and wood. The dinner is the time for the more special traditional meal, rather than on Christmas day. Many entrees include fresh or smoked ham, casseroles of potatoes, carrots and rutabaga followed by

¹² Interview with Bruce Karstadt, ASI October 2010.

¹³ Display by Ewa Rydåker, with assistance from Margaret Nelson, and ASI curatorial volunteers.

¹⁴ Room designers: Susan Jacobsen, Renee Showalter Hansen, Shelly Nordtorp-Madson and Sarah Maas. Table setting by Dorothy Dahlquist and her daughters Susan Brust, Linda Jeffrey and Corrine Lynch. Felt ornaments from Danish Handmade Design, courtesy Lisbet Franc. Furniture courtesy of Danish Teak Classics, Steve Swanson.

a selection of baked pastries, Christmas tarts, cardamom bread, pepparkakor and chocolates - Joulutortut, pulla, pipparkakku, suklaa. Like the Swedish and Norwegian displays, the Finnish emphasize Christmas food.¹⁵

The Iceland display

The Icelandic Christmas displays is the smallest of the five Nordic Christmas displays and showcases items solely from Iceland which belong to the her family. The designer explains: The ornaments on the Christmas tree are from Iceland and most are handmade. The glassware on the table is from Glerá Berg, an Icelandic glass factory. The ceramics are also from Iceland, and the tablecloths were handmade in Iceland.

Four of the thirteen Jólasveinar (Christmas lads) are represented in the display. The Jólasveinar live in the mountains and start to arrive in town, one a day, thirteen days before Christmas Eve, the last one arriving that morning. They leave little presents for the children in shoes that the children have put on the windowsill the night before. Or, if the children have been naughty, they leave a potato, or some reminder that good behavior is better. Then they start departing for home again on Christmas Day, and the last one departs on Prettándinn.¹⁶

Norwegian display

The Norwegian Christmas room sticks out from the other displays. Presented by one Norwegian family in Minneapolis it enacts materially a domestic story in a public space:

On the table and in the case behind the table you have settings of family treasures. The blue and white dishes were a gift from Ingeborg Roed. She had collected them in flea markets in Paris where she worked as a cook in the 1930's. The purple and white dishes were a wedding present to my parents in 1938 from my mother's aunt who had collected them over many years. They are Rörstrand Lila Spets and always appeared on our family's table for the most festive of events. The Porsgrund Farmer's Rose is perhaps the most recognized pattern for Norwegians i utlandet. The silverware pattern is Th. Martinsen's Vidar. The Christmas tree in our home usually appeared on Christmas Eve, although some years were busy so it arrived a few days early. I always thought the lights were magical. I loved just staring at the tree, wishing and dreaming.

The candle holders were from my mother's childhood home. In her childhood home, the tree was cut fresh from the forest and the candles were always lit. Next to the tree were buckets of water and sand just in case! My mother decorated our tree with paper Easter Lilies, the Jesse Tree symbol for Mary. It was a tradition that her mother had adopted while living in Iowa for three years, before returning to Norway where she met and married my grandfather. In honor of both my mother and her mother, I continue to make the lilies each year. The skis were my father's. During World War II, he served seven parishes in Eidsberg fylke. During the summers, he went from place to place by motorcycle. During the winter, he skied. Check out the bindings! Can you image how many ankles bindings such as those have broken? The cloth on the coffee table was a gift to me from a dear friend many years ago. The image of the Wise Men coming to worship the Christ Child has always fascinated me. I was delighted to be given this piece.

Although shaped for the same purpose at the same time in the year, the five displays that make up the Nordic Christmas rooms at the ASI come forth as different in character and material. Performed as Swedish is the dream of the Royal Christmas, utilizing fine items the

¹⁵ Room designers: Kathleen Laurila and Marlene Banttari for Finnish Cultural Activities, Inc. Dishes, glassware, flatware: FinnStyle, Minneapolis. Accessories: designers.

¹⁶ Display designer: Margrét Kristjánsdóttir Arnar.

volunteers have hand-picked from the ASI museum collection. The Danish display comes forth as an invocation of a middle class Danish Christmas and performance of modernist Danish furniture design but also serve as display window for Danish handicraft and Scandinavian antique stores located in Minneapolis today. The *Nisse*, which is recognized as a pan-nordic icon in the United States and the paintings on the wall; farm scenes and parks provide the links to the Danish peasant past. Overall, it seems like it is dream of the urban modernist Danish Christmas that is performed. As always when an entire county's traditions are to be performed there is always an emphasis on certain selected aspects and time periods. In this case the Finland performed is comprised of the Northern and Eastern parts. Although it is dark in the Nordic countries in December, it is not quite kaamos (*mörkt dygnet runt*) in the western and southern part, as a Finnish friend visiting the museum display has pointed out. To play the Kantele on Christmas Eve invokes *Kalevala* romanticism. The Christmas food varies depending on where in Finland one live, but the rice pudding, baked ham, carrot- potato and turnip casserole, ginger snaps, and Christmas stars (*smördegsbakelser med plommonsylt*) are regarded as typical Finnish Christmas food in Finland also today. The "codfish", is particular to the coast. Decorations of wood and straw are common in Finland and still widely used. Moreover, according to the Finnish folklore in Finland, the Finnish "julgubben" is not particular "jovial" but traditionally solemn and strict. In later years, however, julgubben, in Finland just as the Swedish mischievous "tomte" have been influenced by the American Santa, and re-created as much friendlier. In the materially less lavish but verbally very rich Finnish display at ASI it is the imagined and sensory saturated rural Christmas that is performed, accompanied by some stereotypical Lapland and Karelia references. Like the ethnic theme towns of the Midwest, the exhibition in its part and whole condense values and bring together spaces and aspects that do not necessary co-exist in the Finland itself. The Icelandic and Norwegian stick out from the other displays by highlighting family items from overseas, and in the Norwegian case, items described as family treasures that come with stories of why they are treasures – stories in which gifts and gift-giving play a central role.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, which by no means is finished, I have tried to exemplify in which ways gift-giving from individuals and groups plays a creative role in shaping Nordic spaces in Scandinavian museums in the United States. Produced by individuals and groups and taken together, these Christmas exhibitions are materially dense and rich in symbolism. They may be understood as compressions of Nordic nostalgia in similar ways as the vernacular that developed as part of shaping the ethnic towns in the Midwest from the 1960s and onward. Yet these indoor spaces are different. Lack the oversized, bold vernacular typical to outdoor public displays, the museum displays are domestic. In these Christmas rooms are combined vernacular culture of various times; the handcrafted and antique along with commercial and mass-produced items. In the process of making these displays, the volunteers invest their time, share their stories, and select and literally move things from both private and commercial spheres into the museum space, re-enacting previous gifts in a gift-giving act to the museum.

In the space, once the home of Swan Turnblad, these items are brought together and reframed as Nordic heritage. These spaces include various cultural spheres; the religious, the commercial, the home-spun and combinations of these. As displays, each Christmas room is carefully planned – by volunteer guest curators who together craft and shape their imaginary Norden at Christmas time.

The volunteer teams at ASI work with gestures that are personal and immediate. As such these individuals and groups' making of the Nordic Christmas display can be viewed as gift-exchange – the museum grants the space and the volunteers the visibility and recognition.

This gift-exchange engages several audiences: the volunteers themselves, the museum staff and director, friends and family, and the museum visitors. For their efforts the givers receive a response in return from these audiences, a moment of lingering, and often a comment or a story from management, staff, family and the visitor. It is the reciprocity of the act in which the communicative strength is generated. Moreover, when the volunteers take photos of one another during installation of their exhibitions, they place themselves in the space they have created. Just like people place themselves in front of the cabins at Skansen – it is not only performance. They engage physically with the space. In this sense they have created a convincing displacement. The participants are both enactors of the space and performers in it. They become part of their vernacular gift and heritage in action. Hence, it is not only the content of the collections and exhibitions but also the methods through which heritage is crafted, that creatively invoke these American museums as Scandinavian or Nordic.

By understanding the vernacular gift as a way of materializing transatlantic relationships, I have tried to show how it engages discussions about heritage making as well as museum heritage practice. These multiple performances raise questions about the malleable relationship between object, giver, recipient and the “thing” at stake. In this exchange of gift-giving performances, the selected things are transformed into potential objects of identity through their (inter) acting and building relationships, also between the museums and their donors. It is though a need to reflect over the symbolism of the Vernacular Gift, that it has gone from being what both Henry Glassie and Robert Venturi call vernacular to having entered high-brow institutions in the form of selective collections and handcrafted performances and thereby gained a voice in the politics of heritage.¹⁷

Similar to an actor on stage performing emotions for an audience to perceive, the vernacular gifts performs affection, allegiance, honor, submission and diplomacy and more.¹⁸ These processes of stringing performances from various walks of life, different countries and regions together in the Christmas displays suggest that vernacular gifts and gift-giving could be seen as an expanding form of heritage preservation, exploring how these materializations blur boundaries between domestic and public spaces, forge or split generations, sustain and challenge images of the Nordic countries, re-compose transnational relationships, and open doors to malleable Nordic spaces also outside the Nordic countries themselves. As such gift-giving may be understood as producing vernacular heritage, a process that may simultaneously challenge and recreate the formal and canonized by feeding it novel diversity.

¹⁷ Glassie, Henry H, *Vernacular architecture, Material Culture*, Philadelphia, 2000; Venturi, Robert, Scott Brown, Denise and Steven Izenour [1972] (2007). *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form*. Abingdon: Routledge; cf. Jackson, John Brinckerhoff (1994). *A sense of place, a sense of time*. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press

¹⁸ Schechner, Richard 2006: *Performance Studies: An Introduction*. Second edition. New York & London: Routledge. p. 57.

Darker Visions of European Identity

War Booty as Identity Markers in 17th Century Sweden Archives and libraries

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During the many wars of the 17th century, the Swedish army took a large amount of war booty. Along with the well-known pieces of fine art, it was also customary to capture whole archives and libraries. Taking war booty from the enemy was in accordance with international law at the time, for instance as proclaimed by Hugo Grotius in his classic *De jure belli ac pacis* (1625). Scholars today claim that the Swedes took booty more systematically and on a larger scale than any other European state at that time, especially when it came to archives and libraries. This paper argues that the books and documents that were taken as booty were not just used practically, as literature, by the Swedes. On a symbolic level the goods were used as identity markers, useful in the making of various identities that could be aristocratic, religious, historical or national. This took place at a time when the Swedish elite strived to reach a European cultural standard, and the paper demonstrates how political culture, objects and an elite European identity were thoroughly linked together.

The examples discussed below are all part of my dissertation project, with the working title *Archives and Libraries as Swedish War Booty During the 17th Century. Political culture, material culture and identity*.

WAR BOOTY AS IDENTITY MARKERS IN 17TH CENTURY SWEDEN ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

The story of war booty seems to be almost as old as the history of mankind. Already in the Old Testament spoils of war are mentioned.¹ In modern times the two leaders responsible for some of the most notorious looting were probably Napoleon Bonaparte and Adolf Hitler. Before the French Revolution taking booty was regarded as the winner's right in a just war, but since the end of the Napoleonic wars it has been considered a crime against international law.² Even so booty is still taken in war and armed conflicts. You can for instance buy helmets taken from the war in Iraq on Swedish web pages for 395 Swedish crowns.³

In the beginning of the 17th century, the protestant kingdom of Sweden was a poor and underdeveloped country in the European periphery. Since 1599 Sweden was in an expensive intermittent war with Poland due to the disposal of the Polish-Swedish king Sigismund III. Scholars usually consider the reign of the Swedish king Gustav II Adolph (1594-1632) to be a turning point in Swedish history. He strived to reform Sweden profoundly, and also understood the political importance of culture. The king therefore took several measures to develop a cultural policy and taking war booty was one of them.

In this era a noble person or a prince built his or her identity through their possessions, as pointed out by historians such as Peter Englund.⁴ The Swedish elite was well aware of the cultural richness on the continent, and that they themselves could not compete with European aristocracy. The scholar Erik Ringmar has stressed that Gustav Adolph invented a new and more glorious Swedish historical identity in order to gain acknowledgment both within his country and abroad. In this story the mystique Goths, most famous for conquering ancient Rome, were originally from Sweden. They derived from Noah, which made Sweden the oldest country in the world. The other cornerstone in this story was that of a Protestant Sweden, by definition opposed to the Catholic enemy king Sigismund.⁵ In the Swedish efforts to certify this identity the war booty filled several different meanings for the culturally poor state.

In the following three examples will be discussed, starting with war booty objects in general and ending with the capture of whole libraries and archives. Through these examples I want to discuss how the booty was used as objects in their new Swedish context, that on most occasions here were different institutions in Sweden. As we will see the objects were filled with different, sometimes contradicting, meanings and identities, depending on who was describing or using the goods and in what context the goods were placed.

The first example is the French embassy member Charles d'Ogier's encounter with war booty in Sweden, described by him in his diary from 1635. The first time when Ogier mentioned war booty was in association with a dinner party in a private town palace in Stockholm. This palace was recently finished and was described as the most splendid one in the Swedish capital. Here Ogier saw many excellent paintings and sculptures. All of them, he wrote, were war booty from cities that Gustav Adolph had invaded during the Thirty Years

¹ Deuteronomy 20:10-14; see Erik Norberg, "Krigets Lön/Proceeds of War" in *Krigsbyte/War Booty*, Stockholm 2007, p 72; Hugo Grotius classic *De jure belli ac pacis* from 1625 is available in several translated editions, see for instance Hugo Grotius, *The Rights of war and peace. Including the law of nature and nations*, New York 2007 (1901), p 332-333.

² Norberg 2007, p 72-76.

³ <http://www.desertrat.se/?id=6469>, 2010-10-26.

⁴ Peter Englund, *Det hotade huset. Adliga föreställningar om samhället under Stormaktstiden*, Stockholm 1989, p 79.

⁵ Erik Ringmar, *Identity, interest and action. A cultural explanation of Swedens intervention in the Thirty Years War*, Cambridge 1996, p 156-164.

War. The Swedes, Ogier claimed, had no previous record of spending their money on such things.⁶

Shortly after this dinner party Ogier got a chance to see the Royal Treasury. Here his escorts showed him the so-called “Trollhornet”, which was a black, crooked horn that a Swedish knight supposedly once had taken from the devil. Ogier noticed that this object had been well preserved by the Swedes. He looked upon it closely and concluded that the black horn was just a model for a drinking horn, and if it hadn't been so dirty and dusty he would have wanted to try it. Then Ogier looked at the war booty. It was with explicit bitterness that the Catholic Ogier watched the crucifixes of solid gold, chalices, bishop rods and other liturgical objects decorated with jewels that the Swedes had robbed from German churches. This was the only time when Ogier used the word “robbed” in his journal.⁷

The object that touched him the most was a two-foot long crucifix that was exquisitely made and had a piece of the True Cross in it. It was because of this that Ogier could not help himself, but he had to lean forward and kiss the cross. The reaction from the Swedes was brutal, they all bursted into laughter. In Ogier's opinion these were the same people who recently had treated the devils drinking horn with great respect, just as if they had more respect for the devil than for Jesus Christ. For a moment Ogier wanted to ask the Swedes if he could have the crucifix, but then he changed his mind thinking that it would have been inappropriate.⁸

What can Ogier's story tell us then? It appears that he chose to see the devils drinking horn as an object with a practical meaning in order to patronize the Swedes. For him they were primitive savages. For the Swedes on the other hand, the drinking horn was an important piece because of its connection with the oldest part of Swedish history.

The presence of church objects in the Swedish Royal Treasury made Ogier bitter and emotional. For him those objects were religious symbols that the Swedes never should have taken. In this context the objects became symbols for Swedish wealth and their victories in war. The Ogier diary clearly shows that objects can have different and contradicting meanings, depending on who is reading them and in which context they are placed.

The second example concerns the many Jesuit Libraries that were taken by the Swedes. In particular the library in Braunsberg (or Braniewo in polish) that was of great symbolic meaning for king Gustav Adolph. The Jesuit College there had been a centre for the Counter-Reformation since the mid 16th Century, with Sweden as its target. Gustav Adolph had forbidden all kinds of connections with the Jesuit schools, and a Swede that went to Braunsberg could be charged for high treason and be sentenced to death. Sometime during the Swedish invasion of Prussia in 1626 the decision was taken to eliminate all Jesuit libraries encountered by the Swedish army.⁹ Gustav Adolph wanted to hurt the ones that he described as “The Offspring of Vipers”.¹⁰ Today you can still find the remains from around 30 Jesuit

⁶ At this point I am using a translation of Ogier from Latin to Swedish, see Sigurd Hallberg, *Från Sveriges Storhetstid. Charles Ogiers dagbok under ambassaden i Sverige 1634–1635*, Stockholm 1914, p 106. In the dissertation however will I use the Latin original, to avoid obvious dependence.

⁷ Hallberg 1914, p 107–109, quote from p 109. I am here depending on Hallbergs translation from Latin to Swedish.

⁸ Hallberg 1914, p 109.

⁹ Jakub Z Lichanski, “The Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo. History and Description”, *The Catalogue of the Book Collection of the Jesuit College in Braniewo held in the University Library in Uppsala*, vol 1-3, Michal Spandowski and Slawomir Szyller (editors), Warszawa and Uppsala 2007, p 41, 45.

¹⁰ Cited through Lars Munkhammar, “Böcker som krigsbyte”, in *Krigsbyten i svenska samlingar*, Stockholm 2007, p 37.

libraries in public Swedish collections.¹¹

In Braunsberg the Swedes did not just take the books, but also all sorts of objects like accounts, chalices and other church adornments that were packed together with the library and shipped off to Sweden. In Stockholm the Braunsberg books were registered, before the booty was donated to the newly founded University Library in Uppsala.¹² This register generally follows an old medieval system where the books were organised after the four faculties Law, Medicine, Philosophy and Theology. The only aberration is the Theology section where the Swedes seem to have copied the Jesuit system in some ways, but with a few “Protestant” modifications. For instance the Swedes put the bibles first, and they also created their own category for “Papist church books”, by which they meant liturgical books such as Missals and Graduals. These books were of no practical use for a protestant, but they were kept anyway.¹³

In Uppsala University Library the same system for organizing the books was used. The Jesuit system was a modern one that the Swedes gladly took over. It is therefore clear that the captured objects affected the Swedes. Scholars have stressed that many of the books that came from the Jesuits hardly had a function to fill in Sweden since they were “Catholic” school books. This may be true in some cases but I believe that one should not be too preoccupied with the books as reading and learning material. A 17th century library was supposed to reflect universal knowledge. And as mentioned above, the things that you owned showed the world who you were. That is why a grand state had to have a grand library.

The Jesuits were of great cultural importance in the early 17th century Europe. The conclusion here is that Gustav Adolph may have hated the order as a political opponent but at the same time he must have desired their knowledge. When he captured their libraries he conquered their learning. Instead of burning the valuable books, he had them sent to Sweden. In Sweden the knowledge of the Jesuit Order became Swedish knowledge. Their refined technology for registering books was used because it was clever and modern. In Uppsala, Swedens first university library, the Jesuit books stood on the shelves as symbols of Swedish learning. The provenances were not erased, and even the unread books became symbols for conquered knowledge. The learned Jesuit Order identity was in this way taken over by the Swedes.

My third and last example concerns an archive. In 1621 the Swedes invaded the town of Mitau (or Jelgava lettish) in today’s Latvia. Then the city belonged to the region of Livonia, which since the Middle Ages had been a base for the Livonian Knight Order. The last Order Master in Mitau was forced to seek protection from Poland in the 1560s, an event that marked the end of the Livonian Order state. About 60 years later, when the Swedes invaded Livonia, they came across the old archive of the Order Masters. The whole archive, along with other booty, was packed in boxes and bins and shipped to Sweden.¹⁴

In Sweden the archive was thoroughly read through by the first archive secretary, Peder Månsson Utter. The knowledge that came to the Swedes with this archive must not be underestimated. Here the Swedes had hundreds of years of correspondence between the Order Masters, Popes, the Emperor, Bishops and the kings of Denmark and Poland – among others. The sources also speak about documents concerning the election of king in Poland, information about the enemy that surely was interesting for the Swedish king. In the archive one also finds acts regarding confederations, peace agreements, alliances, negotiations and different settlements between Sweden, Denmark and the Livonian Order Masters. In

¹¹ Otto Walde, *Storhetstidens litterära krigsbyten I*, 1916, p 18.

¹² U272 and U273, Uppsala University Library.

¹³ U 273, Uppsala University Library; Gert Hornwall, ”Uppsala universitetsbiblioteks äldsta uppställnings- och klassifikationssystem”, *Nordisk tidskrift för Bok- och biblioteksväsen*, 56:1969, p 185, 187.

¹⁴ Walde 1916, p 50–51.

particular the Swedes were interested in acts regarding Swedish Estonia that the Swedes had controlled since the fall of the Livonian Order in 1560s. Gustav Adolph literally told secretary Utter to read the acts from Mitau and try to find arguments to support the Swedish cause in Livonia.¹⁵ The archive itself can be considered as a symbol of the Livonian geography that Sweden controlled fully from 1621. If one were in possession of the acts regarding an area and its history one were also in control of that area.

After the inventory the archive of the Livonian Order Masters was incorporated with the Swedish National Archives. The National Archives were just about to become a proper institution, as a part of Gustav Adolph's efforts to create a Swedish state. It was only in 1620 that the historical national archives were separated from the daily court office. This overlaps Gustav Adolph's ambition to emphasize a more grand Swedish historical identity. In 1626 it was declared that the activity of the National Archives was to include searching for old acts associated with the history of the Swedish state. The secretaries should try to buy or copy acts that were found in the homes of private persons and their search were supposed to be conducted in the entire country. The head archive secretary was also in charge of writing Sweden's history. When these collected acts, together with the captured ones, such as those discussed from Mitau, were moved to the National Archives they became a part of Swedish history. They could serve as Swedish identity markers in both negotiations and history writing. With the help of foreign archives the glorious Swedish identity could be clarified, an identity that was supposed to last in a European context.

To sum up one might ask how effective the invention of a new Swedish identity had been without precious objects? The Swedes collected objects within their own country and they took war booty in order to clarify the story of their greatness against their European competitors. The history told was given authenticity through objects. The art, archives and libraries became national symbols of the Swedish state, and of the true faith. The objects were displayed in their new context for foreign visitors. Church objects or books associated with a Catholic identity were not destroyed, but incorporated with Swedish collections and, as shown here filled with new, non-religious meanings.

Even though it was legal take war booty the diary of the French Catholic Charles d'Ogier shows us that the custom was not carried out deprived of all controversy. For the Swedes the booty actually constituted a crucial part of these (sometimes) newly constructed Swedish national collections. The objects were therefore central parts of a bigger tale where the Swedish state tried to dominate others states, by taking over their geography and their cultural objects in order to matter. By imitating the culture of the great powers of Europe, Sweden strove to be internationally recognised and prove itself as an important kingdom.

The final words will go to Charles d'Ogier, who recognised the irony of fate in this history of war booty. The German princes and emperors, he wrote, had collected treasures for 800 years and given rich gifts to the churches, which they treated with reverence and respect. And then it only took the Swedes one day to take it all away.¹⁶

¹⁵ See Walde 1916, p 337 f; for letters concerning the archive see Peder Månsson Utter to Axel Oxenstierna 16220802, 16220923 and 16221004, E 746 The Oxenstierna Collection, The Swedish national archives Marieberg; for a register of the archive see Tillminnes hwad som iagh af dhe Mithowske handlinger hafwe inlaggt, Förteckning A: 2 1622, Uppställningsförteckningar och inventarier 1618-1627, The National Archives Office Archive, D II b a, The Swedish National Archives Marieberg.

¹⁶ Hallberg 1914, p 109.

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Swedish Ethnologists and Folklorists and Nazi Race Politics

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In April 1938, the Swedish folklorist Sven Liljeblad (1899–2000) wrote to his American colleague Stith Thompson (1885–1976), then a professor in English and Folklore at Indiana University in Bloomington, U.S., that he wanted to come to America. He wanted to get away from Sweden because he was tired of the old-fashioned research in his home country. Study of folklore in Sweden needed a revival. According to Liljeblad, it was impossible to expect any new ideas from Germany, because “German folklore had been nationalized and stagnated (försumpad)”. Now “we must turn our eyes towards America.”¹ Liljeblad received a Zorn fellowship and went to the U.S. at the end of 1939. Due to World War II, however, he could not return to Sweden after one year, as he had originally planned. He stayed in the U.S. for many years and became famous for his studies of the story telling practices of American Indian tribes. He did not return to Sweden until 1990 (Swahn 2010:148). Liljeblad’s comments on the development of folklore research in Nazi Germany are only one example of Swedish reactions to the politicization of their own discipline in Germany after 1933. It is possible that Liljeblad was the most consequent when he left Sweden for America to renew his discipline. Among Swedish ethnologists and folklorists, there were many different reactions to the events in Nazi Germany. The disciplines of ethnology and folklore during the 1930s are interesting subjects for studies of the darker sides of perceptions of Europe, because at this time, folklorists and ethnologists were developing large international networks and founding several international organizations over all of Europe. Historical-geographical research interests were an important motivation. At that time, intensive work was being done

¹ Sven Liljeblad to Stith Thompson, May 9, 1938. Stith Thompson’s mss., Box, 4, Lilly Library, Indiana University (LL, IU). Swedish original: ”[äro], sedan den tyska folkloristiken blivit nationaliserad och försumpad, våra ögon riktade till Amerika.” Courtesy Lilly Library, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana. All translations from Swedish and German texts from P.G.

to demonstrate the distribution of cultural expressions in maps (kulturatlas). The scholars realized that national maps were not sufficient to explain the origin and distribution of cultural expressions (Bringéus 1986:39ff., Schmoll 2009:18ff.). However, with the advent of international cooperation, different ideas about Europe converged.

In this paper, I give some examples of how the political environment influenced the production of scientific knowledge and how these developments can also be interpreted as different ideas of Europe. I also want to examine the different interpretations of the ideas of race, politics and science and address questions such as how did these ideas influence the production of scientific knowledge in ethnology and folklore, and how did they influence international cooperation in Europe during the 1930s? The paper is part of my ongoing postdoctoral project, in which I am studying the links and connections between Swedish and German ethnologists and folklorists during the period of 1930 to 1960. I am particularly interested in the relationship between politics and the science of ethnography; that is, the influence of the political environment on the production of knowledge. My sub-topics include the development of European Ethnology as a university discipline and the ways in which different scholars, institutions and nations provided each other with theoretical and methodological inspiration, as well as ideas about the connection of science and politics. I am also interested in the reaction of Swedish ethnologists and folklorists to Nazi Germany's and the GDR's political control of science, as well as the interest shown by Nazi German and GDR scholars and politicians in cooperation with Swedish ethnographers and folklorists. I began this project in December 2009, and I anticipate finishing in November 2011.

In my project, I look at scientific knowledge production as something that is always influenced by the political, economical and cultural environment. At the same time, science also has a significant influence on political development. Knowledge and power are linked together. There is no field of knowledge without any power relations. Power relations occur in the struggle for meaning (Foucault 1971). This means that I am studying knowledge production as a discursive process. For analyzing the discursive processes and the different power relations, I apply a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) that is inspired by the Austrian linguist Ruth Wodak (2003, 1998, 1996). This kind of CDA implies analysis of different kinds of texts in their historical, political and cultural context.

The material for the study was collected from German, Swedish, Swiss, British and American archives and from interviews with scholars who experienced a part of the period I am studying. Before I give some examples from my analyses, I want to mention that the name of the discipline "ethnology" is itself complicated. In different countries, the discipline has different names. During the 1930s, the discipline was called "ethnology" in several countries for studies of material culture, while "folklore" described studies of "mental" culture, e.g., narratives, story-telling, ideas and beliefs (Rogan 2008a and b). In Germany, the discipline was called *Volkskunde*, which included both material and non-material culture. In my paper, I refer to the discipline as "ethnology," because this is the name used today in Sweden. This term encompasses both non-material culture (folklore) and material culture (ethnology). But when it is important for my analysis, or, for example, when a scholar wants to emphasize his or her position as a folklorist (rather than a non-ethnologist), I describe these scholars as folklorists.

In 1935, the Swedish folklorist Carl Wilhelm von Sydow (1878–1952) wrote to his German colleague Karl Kaiser (1906–1940):

In Scandinavia, people have the general opinion that German race politics is wrong, because it is built on race theories that are not scientifically verified enough. For example, do we think that it is wrong to base politics on the theory of the superiority of the Nordic race, because the Nordic race could not have played the role as the theory states and because the Nordic race is no better than the other

European races, which we know through self-knowledge. To then impose this race upon all the other races in Germany, where this race is obviously in a minority position, results in an insult to the majority of the German people, which is a totally unnecessary and unfair insult.²

The background for von Sydow's letter was an invitation of Scandinavian folklorists and ethnologists to an international congress in Lübeck in 1936, which was organized by the Northern Society (Nordische Gesellschaft), a Nazi organization. Kaiser had asked von Sydow whether he and his colleagues would participate, and von Sydow wanted to explain to him the Swedish discussions about this invitation. He mentioned in his letter that he and some of his Scandinavian colleagues had met in Copenhagen some months earlier, where they had discussed the congress. Several scholars had been skeptical of the congress. According to von Sydow, one reason for this skepticism was that they had already planned to attend other congresses at the same time. Another reason was German race politics, which he explained in the quotation above. In the quote, von Sydow argues from a scientific point of view that German race politics are not acceptable, because they are built on race theories that are not sufficiently scientifically verified. Especially, he finds theories about the Northern race's superiority to be problematic. Here he argues from an essentialist standpoint: he and his Scandinavian colleagues know best, because they were born in Scandinavia and therefore, they automatically belong to the Northern race and thus they know what this means. He is not questioning race discourses; instead, he is talking within a race discourse, but at the same time he is criticizing the German interpretations of this discourse. When he is talking about himself and his colleagues belonging to Northern race, he is arguing from an essentialist point of view, but at the same time, this essentialist idea of race leads to resistance to German race politics. Because the Scandinavians belonged to the "Northern race," they assumed that they were the best scholars to understand this concept. This essentialist view of race also led to criticism of German politicians and scholars, who wanted to conduct research on Northern culture: this was defined by the Scandinavians as an area that belonged to their own research field and they maintained that they were the best for studying it. But von Sydow's words also show how he is talking within a common race discourse of that period, for example, when he discusses the "Northern race" and the "European races."

In his reply to von Sydow some days later, Karl Kaiser argued that race theory had been misunderstood by many people:

For example, it is not the case that the Nordic race has been presented as the exemplary race and as the complete race ideal. Neither Adolf Hitler nor many, many other Germans belong to the Nordic race. The Nordic race has only been emphasized, because this race is seen as a good example for a pure race. But some people have not understood that, and they believe that all other races have less

² Karl Kaiser was a philologist and folklorist at Greifswald University. He was also the leader of the "Atlas of Pommern's Folk Culture" (Atlas der Pommerschen Volkskunde, published in 1936) at that time.

Letter from Carl Wilhelm von Sydow to Karl Kaiser, at December 31, 1935. Carl Wilhelm von Sydow's letter collection, Lund University Library (CSB, LUB). Swedish original: "I Skandinavien anser man allmänt den tyska raspolitiken förfelad, i det man bygger på rasteorier som icke [är] tillräckligt vetenskapligt underbyggda. Att bygga det hela på teorien om den nordiska rasens överlägsenhet, anser vi här för ett fel bl.a. emedan den nordiska rasen icke kan ha spelat den roll som teorien menar och emedan den nordiska rasen icke såsom sådan är bättre än de andra europeiska raserna, vilket vi vet genom självkänedom. Att då sätta den över alla andra raser i Tyskland, då den ju avgjort är i minoritet där, betyder ju faktiskt en förolämpning mot majoriteten av [det] tyska folket, en alldeles onödig och orättvis förolämpning."

value. Even the idea of the pure race has not been pronounced so inflexibly as it often is presented. We are only protecting ourselves against the Jews. The struggle against the Jews should be understood from our people's history and fate. When the Jews have lost power in Germany, we will have reached the most important goal for German Anti-Semitism. As far as I know, there are different conditions in the Scandinavian countries with respect to the Jews than there are in Germany.³

Here a new meaning of the term Nordic race occurs. The term Nordic race is not meant to be the superior race, but it instead refers to a good example for pure race. According to Kaiser, race theory does not necessarily include a hierarchy of races. In order to legitimize his statement, he also mentions Hitler as an example of a person who does not belong to the Nordic race, but who has power in Germany regardless. In his letter, he even mentions the example of Sven Hedin, who was famous in Germany – while not belonging to the Nordic race type. He writes: “The Nordic race has only been emphasized” (man hat lediglich die nordische Rasse deshalb in den Vordergrund geschoben) and: “we are only protecting ourselves against the Jews” (man schützt sich lediglich vor den Juden). These sentences are examples of defending and justifying argumentation strategies that are present in Kaiser's letter. According to Kaiser, German Anti-Semitism is justified due to Germany's special history and fate. This is different from the Scandinavian situation, according to Kaiser. This argumentation strategy is described in CDA as “singularization” (Wodak et.al. 1998:83). That refers to the presentation of a phenomenon as something specific and different from others for the legitimization of special events. Because Germany's fate is different from other nations' histories, Germany has had to handle “other problems,” according to Kaiser.

Kaiser constructs in his letter two different categories of Jews: those with power – who must be defeated – and those without power; according to Kaiser, these Jews will not suffer from Anti-Semitism. Kaiser emphasized in his letter to von Sydow that there were no doubts that the Nazi German government “absolutely” did not want to exclude all Jews from employment – today we know, of course, that Kaiser was wrong.⁴ In Kaiser's letter, Anti-Semitism is described as something that was necessary, harmless and just. It is presented as a tool that was necessary to establish a new order in the German nation. Prior research about Nazism and the Holocaust has demonstrated that this was a predominant discourse in Nazi Germany and probably one of the reasons why so many Germans supported Nazi politics (see, among others, Aly 2005 and Wehler 2003). Here it is interesting to notice that the Swedish ethnologists and folklorists in the studied material did not protest against the Anti-Semitic politics in Nazi Germany in general, but were particularly critical of the connection

³ Karl Kaiser to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, January 5, 1936. CSB, LUB. German original: „Es ist z. B. nicht der Fall, dass die nordische Rasse als die vorbildliche deutsche Rasse und das unbedingte Rasseideal hingestellt worden ist. Adolf Hitler gehört nicht der nordischen Rasse an, und sehr, sehr viele Deutsche auch nicht. Man hat lediglich die nordische Rasse deshalb in den Vordergrund geschoben, weil man an ihrem Beispiel besonders gut die Merkmale reiner Rasse veranschaulichen zu können meinte. Dann haben allerdings eine Reihe von Leuten falsch gehört und gemeint, dass alle anderen Rassen minderwertig seien. Selbst das Prinzip der Reinrassigkeit ist aus naheliegenden Gründen von dem deutschen Staat nicht in der starren Form verkündet worden, als das man es oft hinstellt. Man schützt sich lediglich vor den Juden. Der Kampf gegen die Juden aber ist verständlich aus der Geschichte und dem Schicksal unseres Volkes heraus. Nachdem die Juden ihre Machtposition in Deutschland verloren haben, ist das wichtigste Kampfziel des deutschen Antisemitismus erreicht. Soweit ich weiss, treffen in den skandinavischen Ländern die Voraussetzungen, die in Deutschland in Bezug auf die Juden vorgelegen haben, nicht zu.“

⁴ Karl Kaiser to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, January 5, 1936. CSB, LUB. German original: „ – Es ist gar kein Zweifel, dass die deutsche Regierung nicht im entferntesten daran denkt, etwa alle Juden von selbstständiger Betätigung in Deutschland auszuschliessen.“

between science and Nazi race politics. They criticized, for example, that the regime supported the wrong scholars, meaning that the regime supported those scholars who were not accepted as serious scientists by their international colleagues. Von Sydow, for example, mentioned both Bernhard Kummer and Hermann Wirth. He wrote to Kaiser that it was a “scandal” that books from these people were set in the hands of students because this kind of research would negatively influence the next generation.⁵ He was especially critical of the combination of science with race and “Germanic religion,” which he described as “false” and as a “man-made religious surrogate” (*de nyttillverkade germanska religionssurrogaten*).⁶ Kaiser argued in his letter to von Sydow that the German *Volkskunde* had not yet found its proper path, and that scholars like Wirth were expressions of science during a revolution when science was still trying to find a new way.⁷ In fact, at that time, Wirth’s research was discussed in Nazi Germany and Wirth was also criticized by Nazi colleagues (Almgren 1997:151).

Even if von Sydow was critical of the combination of science and race politics in Nazi Germany, he did not want to blame Hitler for what was happening. In letters to his Swedish colleagues, he could express himself in a similar way as Kaiser did. In 1938, he wrote to Sven Liljeblad and stated that he did not want to blame Hitler for the negative developments in Nazi Germany. Instead, he explained the events in Germany by noting the ongoing “revolution” there. Because of that, it was not right to “boycott neither the German people nor the German Reich” (*att boycotta vare sig det tyska folket eller tyska riket*) (Bringéus 2006:185).

Another Swedish ethnologist, Sigfrid Svensson (1901–1984), who became a professor in ethnology at Lund University in 1946, was critical of the combination of Nazi politics and ethnology. In an article in *Stockholms-Tidningen* published in 1935, he argued that for German Nazis, the discipline of *Volkskunde* only had the task to show what was German in order to strengthen the Nazi activism. “The Nazis combine *Volkskunde* with expansion politics,” he wrote.⁸ In his article, which also reviewed a new book, *German Ethnology* (*Die deutsche Volkskunde*, edited by Adolf Spamer in 1934/1935), he implied that there was still some good research being done in Germany, but it was dangerous if *Volkskunde* was being used to legitimize Nazi politics. Research about folk culture should instead be used for propaganda for an avowal of friendship. Cultural borders should never be used to regulate political borders.⁹ From today’s perspective, Svensson can be described as someone who was quite early in recognizing the risks of the political use of his own discipline in Nazi Germany. In current studies, German scholars emphasize the influence of the politicization of *Volkskunde* for Nazi Germany’s expansion politics (see, among others, Schmoll 2009 and Jacobeit/Lixfeld/Jeggle 1994). It was used to legitimize not only expansion politics, but also the Holocaust.

But there were also voices that were positive toward the developments in Nazi Germany. The folklorist Waldemar Liungman (1883–1978) did not hide his sympathies for Nazism, and in 1939, he spent one year as a guest professor at Greifswald University in Germany (Skott 2008:64). In Greifswald, his work was appreciated by his German colleagues. He was described as a good lecturer, who opened his home for the “Swedish-German exchange of ideas” (*bildete sein Heim einen viel besuchten Mittelpunkt für deutsch-schwedischen*

⁵ Carl Wilhelm von Sydow to Karl Kaiser, February 2, 1936. CSB, LUB.

⁶ Carl Wilhelm von Sydow to Karl Kaiser, December 31, 1935. CSB, LUB.

⁷ Karl Kaiser to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, January 5, 1936. CSB, LUB.

⁸ Sigfrid Svensson: “Nazism och folkenskap”. *Stockholms-Tidningen*, October 31, 1935.

⁹ *Ibid.*

Gedankenaustausch).¹⁰ In Sweden, his colleague von Sydow argued instead that it was only the Nazi leaders who visited Liungman's lectures in Greifswald who applauded him (Bringéus 2006:154). Liungman's Nazi sympathies were well known and several of his Swedish colleagues despised them (Skott 2008:64). In this context, it is important to mention that his Swedish colleagues did not consider Liungman's research to be groundbreaking, and Liungman is often described as an "outsider" (see Klintberg 2010:95–102). This probably makes it easier to position Liungman as a "Nazi sympathizer" in the historiography of Swedish folklore.

Another area in which Swedish scholars met with German colleagues was international congresses and organizations. There were several Nazi organizations that wanted cooperation from Swedish ethnologists and folklorists. Because these scholars were interpreted to be part of the "pure Northern race," they were not only important as scholars, but also due to their bodies. One example is the earlier mentioned invitation of Nordische Gesellschaft, which tried to invite several Scandinavian scholars to an international congress in Lübeck in 1936 with the title "House and Farm" (Haus und Hof). They began different committees in the Scandinavian countries in order to prepare for the congress. During these preparations and meetings, the Scandinavian researchers grew increasingly skeptical of what this congress was meant to be. From the beginning, the Nordische Gesellschaft had planned that several lectures should be given at a marketplace in Lübeck in order to demonstrate both good Northern research and the "pure Northern race." The Scandinavian scholars experienced these ideas as something that would turn them into objects of study for Nazi race theories. In 1935, von Sydow was upset enough to write to Kaiser: "This will not be accepted of any Northern scholar."¹¹ A definite limit for the cooperation with German science had been reached when Northern scholars would be used as research objects for Nazi race politics. The Nordische Gesellschaft made many mistakes when planning this congress, with the result that only a few Scandinavian ethnologists participated in the congress.

Another Swedish folklorist, Gunnar Granberg (1906–1983) in Uppsala, mentioned in a conversation with Hermann Kappner, working for DAAD (Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst) in Sweden and an informant for the Nazi government, that the Nordische Gesellschaft had created problems for the Swedish scholars who wanted to cooperate with Germany. Due to these poorly considered actions, especially those of the person responsible for the congress, Dr. Domes, it became more and more embarrassing for Swedish scholars to participate in the congress: "Only weak characters who absolutely need money would accept such an invitation," he said.¹² This probably created problems for Sigurd Erixon (1888–1968), a professor in ethnology at Northern museum (Nordiska museet) in Stockholm, who very early had promised to lead one of the sections at the congress.

The failed attempts made by the Nordische Gesellschaft for cooperation with Scandinavian scholars are also an expression of the skepticism of many Scandinavian scholars towards the connection of science and politics. Quite early, it was obvious to many Swedes that this

¹⁰ Johannes Paul to Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung (REM) March 28, 1939. K 636, Swedish Institute, 1933–1947, University archives, Greifswald.

¹¹ Carl Wilhelm von Sydow to Karl Kaiser, December 31, 1935. CSB, LUB. Swedish original: "Sådant går inga nordiska forskare med på."

¹² Report from Hermann Kappner to Nordische Gesellschaft. Enclosure to a letter from German Legation Stockholm, gez. Meynen, to the Ministry of foreign affairs, February 26, 1936. German Legation Stockholm, Nordische Gesellschaft, Bd. 1, 1924–1937, Karton 328, Political Archives of the Ministry of foreign affairs (Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes), Berlin. German original: „Nur schwache Charaktere, die sich in Geldverlegenheit befinden, werden hierzulande einer solchen Aufforderung nachkommen“[...].

society was primarily concerned with Nazi propaganda. (Almgren/Hecker-Stampehl/Piper 2008:7–51).

But the Swedish ethnologists and folklorists developed international cooperation within some European organizations that they had founded in the mid-1930s. One example is the “International Association for Folklore and Ethnology” (Internationaler Verband für Volksforschung, IAFE), which was founded in Lund and Berlin in 1935 and 1936. In IAFE, several European nations worked together. In the beginning, the Nazi government financed IAFE’s publication *Folk*, but withdrew their support only one year later. Material from British archives demonstrates how British scholars warned their Swedish colleagues about cooperation with German scholars because they assumed there was a risk that the Nazi government planned to take over IAFE and *Folk* and use them for Nazi propaganda.¹³ Material in German archives confirms this theory.¹⁴ After 1937, the different nations in IAFE tried to find a balance in their cooperation with Germans: they tried to diminish the number of German representatives and they tried to find the “right” scholars, which meant those people, who were well-known as “serious” researchers and who had not adopted Nazi politics. In 1938, the situation worsened when the Swedish scholars realized that they had put their German colleagues in danger when they tried to suggest them as representatives in IAFE. At that time, IAFE had already been renewed and was renamed the International Association for European Ethnology and Folklore (IAEEF). The Swedish General Secretary in IAEEF, Åke Campbell (1891–1957), who was working in the Archives for Dialects and Folklore (Landmålsarkivet) in Uppsala, pointed out in a letter to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow that now it was too dangerous to openly criticize the development of German science to the Nazi Ministry of Science and Education (Reichsministerium für Wissenschaft, Erziehung und Volksbildung, REM) – which had been von Sydow’s suggestion. According to Campbell, it was also too dangerous to claim the appointment of special German representatives for IAEEF at REM, because this would put the German colleagues at risk.¹⁵ Here it was a problem that several of the German ethnologists and folklorists whom the Swedes appreciated in their cooperation with Germany themselves had trouble with REM. By the end of the 1930s, they lost their positions: for example, Karl Kaiser died as a soldier in 1940 and Lutz Mackensen (1901–1992) was moved around as a professor in Greifswald, Riga and Gent and the most of his letters were confiscated by the Nazi government after 1937.¹⁶ The leaders of IAEEF decided that they had to compromise and they accepted Adolf Helbok (1883–1968) and Heinrich Harmjan (1904–1994), two confirmed Nazis, as the German representatives in their international organization. Probably, they preferred this alternative to their other option: to stop all cooperation with Nazi Germany.

My analysis of the studied material reveals different views on the idea of Europe: from a Nazi perspective, research in Europe should be controlled from Germany and conducted in close cooperation with those countries that were supposedly dominated by people of “pure” and “Aryan” races. Race, politics and science were seen as concepts that belonged together. From the view of several of the leading Swedish ethnologists and folklorists, however, science and politics should be kept separate. They were also critical of the huge impact of race theories in the Nazi German humanities. According to these Swedish ethnologists, European

¹³ Private and confidential interview at Uppsala, August 14th, 1936. Report from H. Coote Lake. A 109/23, archives of the Royal Anthropological Society (RAI), p. 1.

¹⁴ See for example: „Internationaler Verband für Volksforschung“, Feb 1937–März 1943“, R 4901/3196, REM, Bundesarchiv Berlin.

¹⁵ Åke Campbell to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, May 19, 1938. CSB, LUB.

¹⁶ Jan de Vries to Carl Wilhelm von Sydow, October 9, 1937. CSB, LUB.

cooperation should be conducted in a democratic way, one in which all nations were integrated and had the same rights. But it is important not to forget the economic question: Nazi Germany invested significant amounts of money in international cooperation (with the aim of furthering Nazi propaganda, of course). The Nazi government financed several international congresses, conferences and publications. At this time, there was huge interest among European scholars in creating a new international scientific organization in the field of ethnology and folklore, because they did not expect that La Commission Internationale des Arts et Populaires (CIAP), which had been founded in 1928, could represent their scientific interests as an institution (Rogan 2007). The cooperation with Nazi Germany made it both possible to continue the scientific connections between Sweden and Germany, and to finance the new international organization.

CONCLUSION

In this paper, I have discussed the attitudes of some leading Swedish ethnologists and folklorists towards Nazi German race politics and the developments within their own discipline after 1933, as well as what that meant for the idea of Europe and European cooperation during the 1930s. During this period, the subject of ethnology and folklore (Volkskunde) was established as a university discipline in Germany. The Nazi government gave extensive financial support to the new discipline. But the aim, of course, was to use it in Nazi propaganda and to legitimize German expansion politics. The Nazi regime gave the appearance of having a great deal of interest in scientific development in other countries and in international cooperation, but their idea was to prepare for their own vision of a National Socialistic Europe, one in which science would be controlled from Germany in cooperation with some “Aryan” partners, like the Scandinavian countries. From the perspective of Swedish ethnologists and folklorists, they needed this international cooperation for developing their own research, but also for being able to study cultural expressions in different nations for finding their origin and for being able to explain geographical distribution of cultural ideas and artifacts. Swedish ethnologists and folklorists were critical of the Nazi idea of combining science and politics with race theory. But the Swedish scholars mostly argued from a scientific point of view: they noted that there was not enough scientific evidence for the validity of race theories that justified their use in science and politics. They were also critical of the development of their discipline in Nazi Germany: they criticized that several “good” scholars were released and others got jobs just because the new ones had the “right” political opinion and not because they were good scholars. Already in 1935, a Swedish ethnologist had discussed the risks of the use of their discipline in Nazi expansion politics. But the Swedish scholars studied in this paper did not criticize Anti-Semitic politics in general – they mostly criticized the consequences for scientific development in Germany. When, in 1938, Swedish ethnologists and folklorists discussed an open protest of the Nazi authorities, it was probably already too late, because this could put some of their German colleagues at risk. At that time, several new politicians had come to power in Berlin, and the Nazi impact on science was strengthened. But it is also important to mention that before and during World War II, some Baltic and German refugees were employed at several Swedish ethnological institutions, such as those in Stockholm and Uppsala, and that this helped them survive the war.

Before World War II, large international networks and several big international projects had begun. For example, folklorists were planning an international archive for fairy-tales (with American support) and ethnologists in several countries were working on international atlas projects in order to map cultural expressions in different countries. All these projects were halted after the outbreak of the Second World War. After World War II, attempts were

made to restart some of these projects, but these attempts did not go very far. A new generation of scholars took over, and they again wanted to renew the discipline.

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European Nationalism(s):
A Popular Cultural Inspection

Commodification of Nationalist Imagery: Fetishes of Everyday Life

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It became clear during the 1990s that there was an intriguing change in the way that nationalist images were circulating in Turkey. One of the signs that marked this change, which became more visible in the 2000s, was the emergence of commodified nationalist images in the form of t-shirts, badges, necklaces, stickers, and mugs, to name just a few examples. National images became portable and took their place on the shelves of the market, as well as being diffused in other realms of everyday life by being carried around. In this paper, my aim is to explore the ways that the commodification of nationalist imagery affects how national communities are imagined and performed. Analyzing how a “visual community” is formed through commodified national symbols and how the nation is “consumed” and “fetishized” in general sheds light on the ways that contemporary nationalism works. It also allows exploring the complex interplay between capitalism, commodity products, and the “national Thing”, as well as the tactics people develop in the face of both the rise and the crisis of nationalism(s).

COMMODIFICATION OF NATIONALIST IMAGERY: FETISHES OF EVERYDAY LIFE

This paper focuses on the commodification of nationalist imagery and its implications for the ways in which national identity is imagined, constructed and performed, by focusing on Turkey. Through the analysis of the emergence of national symbols in commodity form and how existing national symbols and commodities transform each other, I hope to provide some insights into the way contemporary nationalism works, both in Turkey and elsewhere, in collaboration with popular culture and capitalist commodity market. First, I will focus on how the process of commodification has influenced the ways that national symbols circulate and function in the everyday life of the nation. Then, I want to bring the notion of fetish into the discussion of nationalized commodities, as a conceptual lens through which the relationship between people and these objects can be analyzed further. Fetish, due to the reasons that will become clear soon, will help me to explore the role of the commodity and the market in perpetuating nationalist fantasies.

The 1980 coup d'état in Turkey marks the beginning of a neoliberal restructuring of society, with a commitment to free market capitalism and privatization. The neoliberalization process and the expansion of consumerist practices that started in the 1980s, continued in the 1990s, and increased in the AKP (Justice and Development Party) period in the 2000s, stand at the basis of the process of the market becoming an umbrella for everything, including the commodified nationalist images. It is important to note that, during the AKP period in the 2000s, the class conflict that emerged between the old Republican bourgeoisie and newly emerging bourgeoisie with a more Islamic background and less commitment to Kemalist ideology is also a significant factor behind the diffusion of these products. The idea and fear that secularism and Kemalism are under threat due to the politicized Islam has become a rather widespread perspective among the urban, secular, middle-upper class. This became one of the most significant groups of people that uses the nationalist products that I am talking about, as a way to deal with their fear of losing the economical, political and cultural privileges that they maintain.

As a result of these processes, nationalist symbols that, previously, had been included in everyday life mostly through state institutions or as government-imposed public sphere items, took their place on the shelves of the market in miniaturized forms and became things that could be bought, sold, carried and worn, in the form of t-shirts, badges, necklaces, car stickers, mugs, or clothing, to name just some examples. At this point, it is important to ask what is new about these products and what happens when national identity is turned into a commodity, or rather performed through commodities.

Does the commodification of nationalist images, icons, and symbols signify a democratizing process in which nationalist items are no longer diffused top-down, but become more easily accessible to everyone? Is this a necessary step in the desacralization of icons? Or does commodification help the icons to penetrate everyday life and the private sphere even more thoroughly? Another important questions is: whether we are witnessing a process of the instrumentalization of commodities for nationalistic purposes, or a process of the instrumentalization of national values for capitalist consumption purposes, or both.

Tanil Bora, a prominent theorist working on Turkish nationalism, argues that the most striking development in contemporary Turkey is the transfer of the universe of nationalism to the field of popular culture. He analyzes this development and questions the effects of commodification. He states:

Many national symbols become a kind of “pop” coat of arms, and thus can be worn relatively independent of a specific political meaning. National symbols

become trademarks, and their consumption is engendered. Thus, a dual process begins. On the one hand, nationalistic “exhibitionism” dominates the everyday and public arenas, and on the other, by “becoming pop” it becomes tamed. (450)

As Bora says, the domination of everyday life and public space by “nationalistic exhibitionism” is indeed one of the most significant results of the flirtation between nationalist imagery and popular culture. However, the idea that the “popification” of national symbols deprives them of their political meaning does not adequately reflect the consequences of the encounter between nationalist imagery and the commodity market. It prevents us from acknowledging the complexity of the relationship between people and these objects. I argue that popular culture and the commodity market, instead of “taming” and “cheapening” nationalist images and stripping them of their political meaning, allows them to diffuse into other realms of life and in other forms than before. It opens them to the further investment of fears, desires, and conflicts.

Commodification, then, not only keeps the political meanings of these objects intact and expands their production and circulation, but also opens up a space for that meaning to be interpreted and performed through small everyday life rituals such as wearing a t-shirt with a nationalist slogan, putting on a necklace of Atatürk, or lighting someone’s cigarette using a lighter decorated with the national flag. These seemingly routine and insignificant everyday consumption practices, in fact, has an enormous effect on how exclusion and inclusion practices are employed and how self and other are imagined. Compared to the official monumentalism and imagery, miniaturized and portable consumption goods are more suitable to be customized and loaded with affects, therefore, they are perhaps more effective in mediating personal relationships in everyday encounters. They transform the commodity market, as well as the body, into one of the sites of national identity production.

However, it is important to be cautious about the idea that the market became the sole basis of the construction of citizenship, which is symptomatic of an inclination in contemporary literature dealing with globalization and consumption to theorize everything around consumption as contingent upon it and as strengthening its power and dominance. I am not arguing that the dissemination of national symbols and images in the market merely reinforces consumption-based subjectivities and pulls another social phenomenon into consumption capitalism’s orbit. Rather, I argue that it is not only consumer identity that is reinforced by the dissemination of national images, but also national identity, which is spread and strengthened by the dissemination of consumption products. This is a good example of how political processes that are thought to decrease the effectiveness of nation-states such as globalization and neoliberalization, in fact, form new alliances with the existing structures like nationalism. In a way, nationalism is reproduced while being consumed and national commodities emerge as fields where fantasies are invested, displayed and contested and through which the relationship with the others is negotiated.

In order to see how they turn into fields where affects like desire, fear, love and hate are invested and negotiated, I want to focus on the concept of fetish. One of the most-well known definitions of the fetish obviously comes from Freud. Freud says that the fetish is “a substitute for the woman’s (mother’s) phallus which the little boy once believed in and does not wish to forego” (199). It is a substitute that has been invented to protect against (the fear of) castration. According to Freud, one of the main characteristics of the substitute is that it both protects against castration and reminds of the horror of it. This ambivalence in the function of the fetish, oscillating between fulfillment and lack, is important to understand the ways in which national commodities work.

Louise Kaplan, in her book *Cultures of Fetishism*, explores fetishism strategy and provides a bridge between the psychoanalytical understanding and the Marxist cultural critique of (commodity) fetishism. Kaplan, after making her critical stance clear on Freud’s violent

rhetoric towards women and his claim that only men can be fetishists, nevertheless follows the psychoanalytical path and defines a fetish as the “substitution of something tangible for something that is otherwise ephemeral and enigmatic” (5). Kaplan sees the reason for people not worshipping the gods or spirits directly, but instead needing tangible objects, as the urge to possess and thereby manipulate the powers in question. Thus, for her, the need to transform something unfamiliar and intangible into something familiar and tangible is one of the major principles of the fetishism strategy. This is another point why I think fetish has explanatory value when it comes to understanding how national commodities work.



Picture 1: “The strength you need is existent in the noble blood in your veins”

Let us look at the image above (Picture 1) to see how the two characteristics of the fetish that I mentioned can be observed. This is one example of the many different t-shirts with nationalist slogans or images that became popular in the recent years in Turkey. There is a sentence by Atatürk on the t-shirt, which says: “the strength you need is already embedded in the noble blood in your veins”. A person unfamiliar with the context would most likely find the sentence confusing and the reference unclear: Who needs strength? Whose blood? Why is it noble? Who is speaking? Yet, the message is not that mysterious for someone who is familiar with any nation-state setting in which the citizens are frequently interpellated as “you”: the undefined “you” is the Turkish citizen, who, according to the speaker, carries special features. The fact that someone who has lived in Turkey has been exposed to this sentence numerous times at school, in ceremonies, in textbooks, and other contexts, makes it easier to read its implications. But there is a difference between being exposed to this sentence and carrying it on you. Wearing this t-shirt makes a statement of belonging to a particular group, to a category (being Turkish). The t-shirt, like the fetish, turns a category, that is hard, if not impossible, to define, to grasp, into something tangible.

Indeed, the t-shirt makes some empowering statements: the strength of the Turkish people, the noble blood, the glorious past (the war scene depicted under the country in red), a strong military nature, a strong nation (the map of the country), a powerful personality as the prototype of the nation, and so on. All these signs point to supposed commonalities among

Turkish people created through an essentialist argument. The commonality constructed in the sentence is strongly based on difference; the subtext, which is not hard to decipher, is that Turkish people are strong as opposed to non-Turkish people who do not have noble blood coursing through their veins. "Noble blood" seems to refer to many things, but, at the same time, to nothing solid. The use of this notion is symptomatic of the discourses surrounding national identity, not only because of its racial and essentialist connotations, but also because of its tautological and intangible character. One is a strong Turkish person because one has noble blood and the reason one has noble blood is that one is a strong Turkish person. Here, the question of the foundation of national identity starts to haunt us again.

Certain characteristics (strength and nobility in this case) are attributed to members of the nation as the basis of their national identity. Yet, national identity is never only this or that feature or the sum of all the features that are thought to construct it, which are in fact similar for different nations. The supposedly distinct features and culture that national identity is based on is, as Balibar says, "our culture", "as if it were a precious genetic inheritance, to be transmitted uncontaminated and unweakened" (qtd. in Billig, 71). The t-shirt becomes the proof of such a pseudo-genetic inheritance. The commodity object, then, functions as the fetishized materialization of the void of the transmitted inheritance. It renders the immaterial quality of national identity material and tangible, and therefore easier to deal with, to represent and to impose.

Zizek's conceptualization of "the national Thing" is fruitful in order to further explore the lack that material objects fill, as well as the role of fear and fantasy in this process. Žižek, arguing for the necessity of a psychoanalytical perspective in order to understand the relationship of national subjects with the nation, states that the bonds within a community cannot be reduced to a symbolic identification: the ties between the members of a community always imply a relationship to "the Thing" (which is the lost, stolen Enjoyment, in Lacanian terms):

This relationship toward the Thing...is what is at stake when we speak of the menace to our "way of life" presented by the Other: it is what is threatened when, for example, a white Englishman is panicked because of the growing presence of "aliens". What he wants to defend is not reducible to the so-called set of values that offer support to national identity. National identification is by definition sustained by a relationship toward the Nation qua Thing. (201)

According to Žižek, we cannot define the Thing by saying more than that it is "itself," that it is "the real Thing". The ambiguous thing that we call "our way of life" is the only answer that can be given when asked what constitutes the Thing and how it can be recognized.

All we can do is enumerate disconnected fragments of the way our community organizes its feasts, its rituals of mating, its initiation ceremonies, in short, all the details by which is made visible the unique way a community organizes its enjoyment. (200)

The Thing is, then, something accessible only to the members of the community, something that others cannot grasp but that is still perceived as constantly menaced by them. It is the belief that the community shares a "way of life" that is threatened by others and the idea that every member of the community believes in "the Thing". It is in fact constructed by this belief itself. Thus, the whole meaning of the Thing is the fact that 'it means something' to people.

Therefore, the t-shirt, the fetish, is not only shown to the people in opposition to whom the consumers position themselves, but also to people who are like them, who feel the same threat. This makes it even more important to display the fetish items to people who also use

them. Through this display, the assumption that other members of the community believe in the Thing too is confirmed and a visual community is created around this assumption. At this point, again, we see the contractual function of the fetish. The fetish, which is a thing itself and which fulfills the lack of the national Thing, guarantees that the Thing is something that is agreed upon and believed in by the members of the community at stake.

However, this is not a happy agreement free of anxiety, fear or obsession. The panic of the Englishman that Žižek refers to is far from scarce in many European countries today, with increasingly strong anti-immigrant winds blowing both on a governmental level and in everyday civil life. In Turkey, as elsewhere, the existence of “threatening others” never ceased to be a strong constitutive factor of nationalist discourses. The threat from others or other ways of living is one of the strongest uniting factors for the community of believers in the Thing. As Sara Ahmed puts it, “the reading of the others as hateful, aligns the imagined subject with rights and the imagined nation with ground” (118).

Wearing a t-shirt that declares the nobility of the group that the wearer is part of, works like a shield, protecting him or her against the perceived crisis or threat caused by other ways of living, which again shows that fear and fantasy are crucial factors in forming the ground on which these commodities proliferate. Ozyurek quotes a woman she interviewed who started to wear an Atatürk pin after Islamists gained power for the first time in the 1994 local elections:

When I am walking on the street, I want to show that there are people who are dedicated to Atatürk’s principles. Look, now there are veiled women walking around even in this neighborhood. Their numbers have increased. I push my chest forward to show them my pin as I pass by them. I have my Atatürk against their veils. (378)

The pin on the woman’s chest that she pushes forward like a clove of garlic against a vampire, the “noble” t-shirt and many other “ethnic pantheons” like that can be seen as ways to cope with fear and anxiety, as well as to manipulate the perceived crisis to ensure that the social structure will be organized again around the nationalists’ beliefs, acts, and ways of life. They are examples of the acute task that secularist nationalists assign themselves of mapping what is the proper appearance of citizens. These objects seem to provide a gateway to real, proper Turkishness, to the national Thing, which is actually, as I have argued, not a real thing. The materiality of the fetish is employed against the immateriality of the National Thing. Therefore, these commodities reflect the anxiety of losing something that is actually not there.

By doing that, as I have argued, they provide a sense of control and power, not to forget pleasure. In fact, one of the people I interviewed said that there is an “electrical current” between his body and Atatürk’s image on the t-shirt, and that whenever he wears the t-shirt he feels both “strengthened” and “chilled” (or “got the shivers”). He added that he feels like he is embraced the whole day and protected against the dangers. The sexual overtones of the metaphors used by people while talking about their motivations or experiences of wearing these t-shirts (like “electrical current”, “getting the shivers”, “being embraced”) are especially significant when we think of these objects as fetishes. Here, the importance of the body becomes evident again, as the source and mediator of affects. W.J.T. Mitchell states that while idols want human sacrifice and totems want to be your friend, fetishes “want to be beheld –to ‘be held’ close by, or even reattached to, the body of the fetishist”.

Affects like pleasure and fear co-exist in relation to these objects. This ambivalence is precisely the one I mentioned in relation to the logic of fetishism. On the one hand, the fetish protects from castration, which can be interpreted as the fear of the absence of the sense of belonging, of identity, of a protector or a father. One feels stronger for having the fetish, which substitutes for the troubling lack. On the other hand, the fetish also reminds of the

horror of castration. Therefore, the wearer of a nationalist t-shirt also feels “chilled” by the presence and imminence of “the father’s” image on his body, since it invokes the fear of the lack. After all, the t-shirt is worn because something is under threat, there is a perceived crisis in the society.

Finally, it is crucial to mention that this urge of being protected from the threat in the face of a crisis and of making the slippery ground of national identity more material is more easily understood considering the failure of nationalism in fulfilling its promise to offer people a unified community and a totalized identity, as well as the precarity that globalization and neoliberal policies confers onto people’s everyday life, not knowing where one is located in the transforming power relations of the world and facing an uncertain future. The change of power relations in contemporary Turkey amplifies this sense of insecurity, leading to the employment of the very tools that the free market provides to overcome the insecurity that it creates. I tried to show how, in this context, commodity products gain a significant role, not by taming and turning national identity into one product among many, but as fetishes through which national identity is constructed, performed and asserted.

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Aesthetics and Fantasy of Kemalist Nationalism in New Media

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Turkey as a developing country has been experiencing profound change in the past 30 years; it is becoming increasingly wealthy and unequal. The rise of a Islamic middle class and the electoral victories of the Islamic Justice and Development Party (AKP) have destabilized the social hegemony of the secular middle and upper classes, leading to a situation that can perhaps be best characterised by the term *Kulturkampf*. Our argument here is that the emergence of a conservative and entrepreneurial Islamic middle-class rivalling the economic and political power of the secular classes has caused social antagonism to be displaced onto the cultural sphere. The new public spaces (private television, radio and the internet) created by the processes of neo-liberalization have become the virtual battlegrounds for the ongoing culture wars between the two groups.

As part of this paper, we intend to analyse what we have labelled as 'Pop-Kemalism' and can be described as the proliferation of commercial nationalist symbols in public space. What is remarkable about this phenomena is that the explosion in the amount of nationalist symbols is an entirely civilian based initiative. While nationalist symbolism until the early 1990s was exclusively regulated by the state, what characterises the present is the decline in official nationalist iconography and proliferation of commercial nationalist iconography. Drawing from the work of Appadurai (1996,2006), Bauman (2001) and Hage (1998,2003), we want to argue that the re-emergence of nationalist imagery can be seen as a reaction to the effects of globalization or what has been termed as 'liquid modernity'. Adding to this, the return of the nationalist symbol within the modality of the civilian Mustafa Kemal Atatürk can be understood as a dialectical reply to the cultural politics of the veil. Contrary to popular opinion, what we hope to demonstrate using the work of Žižek is that (re)popularisation of nationalist symbols, rather than constituting a legitimate basis of resistance is actually symptomatic of a post-political situation that helps sustain and replicate the effects of neo-liberalisation.

The second part of the paper will be devoted to two primary themes. Firstly we will analyse how cultural production acts as a virtual 'screen' for the reproduction of particular subjectivities. To demonstrate this point we will be using a sketch from the Turkish secular comedy series 'Olacak O Kadar', to demonstrate how cultural productions act as phantasmic screens for the reproduction of particular subjectivities. In other words we will be discussing the aesthetics of Kemalist nationalism. Secondly, following the work of Jodi Dean on this topic (2009,2010) we will be discussing how the subjectivity sustained by the politics of Pop-Kemalism is co-opted into the profit-making mechanisms of new media. Here, we will be discussing how the structural architecture of new media spaces intensify subjective insecurities and re-format user activity into corporate profit.

INTRODUCTION

Turkey as a developing country has been profoundly effected by the processes of neo-liberalization and globalisation since the September Coup of 1980. The gross domestic product (GDP) has been growing at an average growth rate of 4% per annum since 1981, alongside a steady increase in income inequality (GINI Index). This means that Turkish society in the global era is becoming increasingly wealthy and unequal. Having one the worst income distributions in the OECD, the neo-liberalisation of the Turkish economy has intensified the gap between the rich and the poor to dramatic proportions. At the same time, the processes of neo-liberalisation transcribed in the form of International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies have resulted in the emergence of a conservative, Islamic middle-class whose interests are represented by the Justice and Development Party (AKP), which has been in power since their landslide election victory in 2002. While representing the interests of the Islamic conservatives in Turkish society, the AKP has also remained friendly to international capital and finance. The main result of this duality is that the successive AKP governments have destabilized the social hegemony of the secular middle and upper classes, leading to a situation that can perhaps be best characterised by the term *Kulturkampf*. This conflict, what Boaventura de Sousa Santos describes as 'the battle between state capitalism and global capitalism,' can be conceptualized as the cultural version of similar ongoing conflicts in European states such as Germany and France that have strong statist traditions.¹

Formerly, the social hegemony of the secular class in Turkey had been guaranteed by the military-bureaucratic machine of the Turkish republic. This relationship, aptly described as 'crony capitalism' (Singh & Zammit, 2006; Morck, Wolfenzon & Yeung, 2005; Oba, Ozsoy & Atakan 2010), was characterised by the legitimization of the Kemalist bureaucracy as the sovereign representation of the nation in exchange for the right to maintain a exploitative relationship within the population residing within the territorial confines of the nation-state. In short, the system of hegemony within the confines of the Turkish nation-state depended on a relationship in which the bureaucracy allowed the continuation of the financial dominance of particular groups in exchange for the same groups bestowing political legitimacy to the regime. This exploitative structure was then secured and naturalized through the educational and disciplinary institutions such as the military and mandatory schooling. Kemalism as the official state ideology served as the mechanism through which the system of hegemony was legitimized. The legal, educational and religious institutions of the Kemalist state functioned as the disciplinary institutions through which the multitude residing within the confines of the Turkish state were re-constituted as Turkish citizens into the aforementioned system of sovereignty. In other words, the principal role of institutions in nation-building was to create a

¹ Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2011), "Epistemologies of the South: Reinventing Social Emancipation ", Critical Theory Summer school, University of London - Birkbeck, unpublished.

'people' to fit a state.² The same can be said of Kemalist politics and its official political representation of the Republican People's Party (CHP). Sinan Ciddi (2009) demonstrates that the so-called 'centre-left' CHP, rather than attempting to politically orient itself to the demands of its constituency, has rather attempted to re-orient its constituency to the party's official line. It is this logic of attempting to create a citizenry to fit a particular mould of hegemony and sovereignty that resulted in the numerous military coups of 1960, 1971 and the socio-political turmoil of the late 1970s. What these efforts demonstrated symptomatically was the radical incompatibility of the Kemalist notions of sovereignty with the multitude residing within the territorial confines of Turkey.

In this context, the coup of 1980 can be understood as the most thorough and engrossing attempt to maintain this particular relationship of crony capitalism as the total socio-political horizon of Turkish society. The social fragmentation combined with a period of severe economic decline during the 1970s had resulted in a situation in which both the financial and the bureaucratic elite were rapidly losing ground to increasingly radicalised challenges from both ethnic minorities and unrepresented political factions. As such, the only way of re-securing hegemony was through the implementation of a military coup. However, in contrast with the coup d'états of 1961 and 1970, the coup of 1980 attempted to implement a total replacement of both political and civil institutions that functioned as centres of social antagonism. As Öktem (2011) points out, this led to the destruction of trade unions and associational life. At the same time, due to the state of bankruptcy, the inward-looking corporatist economy had to be opened up to international capital. Therefore the results of the coup of 1980 both opened the way to a swift transition into an export-oriented economy and prepared a social tabula rasa for the neo-liberalization of Turkish society. Politically, what we have witnessed between then and now is the transition from a politics of confrontation between the immanent Islamic and the entrenched secular classes to one of uneasy co-existence.

Yet as put forward by Sedef Arat-Koç (2008), the present condition of *Kulturkampf* is the cultural dimension of the unfolding dynamics between elites created by state capitalism and the emerging elites created by neo-liberalisation. Her argument is that the emergence of an Islamic rival to challenge the economic and political power of the dominant secular middle-class has resulted in a "cultural turn" in Turkish society; this means that the emphasis of distinction has shifted from the accumulation of capital to the accumulation of culture. With the emergence of cultural capital as the field for a 'politics of resentment' (Atasoy, 2008), new media spaces created by the Internet have become the principle battlegrounds for the enactment of a *Kulturkampf* between the newly emerging neo-liberal Islamic elite and the old, entrenched secular elite. In short, the transition from open political confrontation to uneasy co-existence has relocated the antagonism between these two groups onto the cultural sphere.

At the same time as the displacement of social antagonism onto the cultural sphere, Turkey has made a rapid transition into a consumer society. Our argument is that the integration of Turkish society into the global economy has changed the ways in which both the secular and the Islamic classes express their identities. The phenomena of what we shall call 'Pop-Kemalism' is one of the facets through which this transition can be observed. 'Pop-Kemalism' or the popularisation of Kemalist nationalist symbolism through images of a 'civilian' Mustafa Kemal Atatürk must be viewed within the same context as the emergence of the veil as a cultural symbol representing the youth of the emerging Islamic class (Göle, 1996).³ As others

² For more about the current state of religious and ethnic minorities that were excluded in the process of nation-building, see Çağatay, 2006; Kasaba & Bozdoğan, 1997; Oran, 2005; Özkırımlı & Spyros, 2008; Sarioglu, 2008.

³ See Appendix I.

have pointed out (Hart, 1999; Özyürek, 2006; Türkmen 2000; Navarro-Yashin 2002) Pop-Kemalism can be seen as the dialectical reply to the cultural politics of the veil.

POP-KEMALISM

Until the military intervention of 1980, Kemalist symbolism was under the strict supervision of the state. This meant that the images and physical materiality of this symbolism was regulated by the state. As the emergence of Pop-Kemalism demonstrates, what has happened in post-1980 period is that the state authority over regulation of nationalist symbolism has declined. As Özyürek (2004) points out, the official state imagery of Atatürk in the pre-1980 period was a stern and distant figure. This image was under the sole proprietorship of the state and tended to have relatively few variations. However, from the 1980s onward a new kind of Atatürk imagery emerges in direct correlation with a decline in the more traditional imagery. This new kind of imagery tends to display Atatürk as a typical middle-class secular Turk, often enjoying or participating in regular, daily activities dressed in Western leisurewear.⁴ We had already suggested that this transition in the aesthetics of nationalist imagery can be understood as a dialectical reply to the cultural politics of the veil. On top of this, what needs to be added is that the proliferation of such images are symptomatic of the decline of state authority over public space. While Kemalist symbolism and images had hitherto enjoyed an almost uncontested dominance over the organization of public space, what the emergence of Pop-Kemalism demonstrates is that there is a desire to signify nationalist imagery beyond the spaces dominated by the state. What this means in turn is that the state is no longer the sole organizer and producer of space in the Turkish public sphere. To explain the heterogenization of public space in Turkey, we need to turn to some international developments to help illuminate this issue.

During the global neo-liberal transition from the late 1970s onwards, or what Zygmund Bauman has described as 'liquid modernity' (2000, 2006a, 2006b), the social institutions that constitute disciplinary society and consolidate the sovereignty of the state are put into crises.⁵ This means that one of the consequences of neo-liberalisation is a retreat of state authority and regulation over public space and the explosion of new hybrid spaces. At the same time, the public spaces created and regulated by the state are increasingly commercialised through economic processes such as privatization. Therefore one of the main results of the transition to liquid modernity is that the spatiality of social fabric has become increasingly hybridised.

Coming back to Turkey, what we see is that the coup of 1980 was the event that effectively plugged Turkish society into the on-going global dynamics of post-modernization and neo-liberalization. To put it in Hardt and Negri's words, what the coup of 1980 did effectively was to open up Turkey to the 'the general crises of institutions'.⁶ In this context, what is remarkable about the emergence of Pop-Kemalism is the ad-hoc and performative rituals built around these images. As the boundaries between institutions and public space are increasingly becoming oblique and porous, disciplinary practices that were once exclusive formations of institutions begin to seep out onto the increasingly hybrid public space. As Yael Navarro-Yashin (2002) has aptly pointed out, these rituals which lack some sort of institutional regulation are themselves increasingly ephemeralized. Yet, although these rituals have become increasingly hybridised in their form, they still at the same time possess a structural homology in that they reproduce nationalist ideology within non-institutional environments. If we are to accept this observation, what needs to be answered next is the

⁴ See Appendix II.

⁵ For more on the effects of globalization and neo-liberalisation, see Appadurai, 1996; Dirlik, 2000; Hardt & Negri 2000, 2004; Harvey, 1989; Jameson, 1991.

⁶ Hardt & Negri (2000: 197).

following question: is the emergence of Pop-Kemalism symptomatic of a form of politics that is attempting to resist the de-stabilizing flows of neo-liberalism?

An initial analysis of Pop-Kemalism would suggest that the re-emergence of nationalist symbols is a political expression of disenfranchised multitudes trying to resist the hybridizing consumerist flows of neo-liberalisation. As Esra Özyürek describes it, “[i]n the 1990s Kemalist politicians and intellectuals frequently reflected on the meaning of this new Atatürk imagery. They contrasted the interest in the leader with the hatred people elsewhere were displaying toward other state leaders at the time and took the difference as a sign of the strength of Atatürk's principles. (...) Many politicians and intellectuals describe the recent interest in Atatürk as a kind of resurrection (*yeniden diriliş*) or an awakening (*uyanış*).”⁷ In other words, many politicians and intellectuals view Pop-Kemalism as a re-invigorating of Kemalist politics within the cultural sphere. In this view, the secular classes of Turkish society have increasingly resorted to the symbolism of Kemalism as preserving their identities within a rapidly changing social landscape. Therefore Pop-Kemalism is to be conceptualized as a legitimate political expression of the marginalized multitude.

There are two main problems with such an analysis. Firstly, the re-emergence of nationalism symbolism does not necessarily mean that the multitude residing beneath the layer of cultural and political representation is fully 'covered' by this new phenomenon. Much rather, Pop-Kemalism as a form of cultural politics is conducted by a much smaller socio-economic group who claim to stand for the greater social being. Secondly, and more importantly, such an analysis assumes that the cause-object of desire – which, in this instance is a 'return' of bureaucratic authoritarianism – is legitimate precisely because of the existing desire to implement against the neo-liberal regime. The risk with such analysis is that it can legitimize authoritarian and fascist desires simply because they take a stance against neo-liberalisation. What is even more problematic is that such an analysis does not account for whether Pop-Kemalism actually stands for any kind of progressive or emancipatory politics at all. Contrary to such a viewpoint, what we would like to argue instead is that the symbolism of Pop-Kemalism, rather than constituting a legitimate political expression, constitutes the condition of impossibility of political change within contemporary Turkish society. To put in stark words, the return to an isolated, economically bankrupt state-capitalist organization of society can only exist as a fragment of imagination, only as part of ideological fantasy. What Pop-Kemalism effectively demands is the removal of the antagonism (neo-liberalism) while retaining the productivity and profits provided the same system. As such, the desire to remove the antagonism is in fact an impossible desire because the removal of the obstacle would actually cause the dissolution of desire itself. To put in other words, the necessity for Pop-Kemalism to exist is based on the existence of neo-liberalism. It is the precisely within this ideological horizon that the imagined obstacle constitutes the very limit to political change. As Hardt and Negri aptly point out 'increasingly, any attempt at isolation or separation will mean only a more brutal kind of domination by the global system, a reduction to powerlessness and poverty’ - therefore the expression of desire as such, rather than being emancipatory, forms the conditions for both the impossibility of change and the further intensification of the neo-liberalising social effects.⁸

Therefore what needs to be differentiated is between an actual politics of change and a fantasy of politics. Our argument is that the phenomena of Pop-Kemalism, rather than a representation of a legitimate desire for emancipatory politics, in actuality functions as the ideological fantasy that allows for the disenfranchised secular classes to participate in the

⁷ Özyürek (2006: 94)

⁸ Hardt and Negri (2000: 284)

production of neo-liberalisation. If we are to agree that the mechanism of fantasy allows to function as if we are not being exploited/resisting, this means fantasy is the primary mechanism through which ideology operates because it normalises antagonistic relationships. Žižek writes:

The standard notion of the way fantasy works within ideology is that of a fantasy-scenario which obfuscates the true horror of a situation: instead of a full rendering of the antagonisms which traverse our society, we indulge in the notion of society as an organic Whole, kept together by forces of solidarity and co-operation.⁹

So in essence what this means is that we psychologically pacify and adjust ourselves to systems of exploitation through fantasy. However this fantasy is never complete, nor final. Rather there exists a traumatic kernel of the Real residing beyond our fantasmic realities that constantly returns to disturb and overturn the fantasy. It is because of this potentiality of disturbance that we often find ourselves in situations in which the process of identification is foreclosed insofar as it remains a constant incomplete. The paradox is that although the activity makes us feel incomplete, we still keep on doing it, simply because we believe the opposite of what we know.

POST-NATIONAL SUBJECTIVITIES AND THE NEW MEDIA

Thus far we have identified neo-liberalisation and the decline of the Kemalist nation-state as the two dynamics that have reshaped the way in which we discuss Kemalist nationalism today. The third dynamic that needs to be discussed is the impact of new and hybridised spaces on Kemalist identity and nationalism. What characterizes the effect of these spaces on Kemalist identity is what Žižek describes as the decline of symbolic efficiency. The concept of declining symbolic efficiency as developed by Žižek, describes the decline of meta-meaning, a situation in which the symbol loses its power to signify the same in different contexts. Within the pop-Kemalist fantasy which equates sovereign power with the state, the decline in state having the authority to say the final word on social formations equals the decline in symbolic efficiency that renders the possibility of fantasy. In other words, our argument is that the creation of new public spaces existing beyond the authority of the state create an affect of symbolic decline upon Kemalist identities. However, the decline in the power of a symbol to foreclose meaning does not necessarily equal a nullification of the desire for the symbol to assert its power. This situation of unsatisfied desire results in the creation of a subjectivity in which the Kemalists know what they believe is impotent but still want to believe in it. A subjectivity characterised by the existence of unsatisfiable desires, pushes to find some sort of satisfaction. But since these desires cannot be satisfied, this psychological mechanism rather than dissolving the desire, ends up intensifying the existing desire itself. Therefore, the impact created by these new spaces ends up intensifying the desire for Kemalist identities to enunciate the re-assertion of the power of Kemalist symbolism.

The expression of this reflexive loop between unsatisfied desire, failure and intensification of desire is what Jodi Dean (2010) identifies as the logic of the drive: 'drive is quite literally the very 'drive' to break the All of continuity in which we are embedded, to introduce a radical imbalance into it.' Our argument is that communicative capitalism is a formation that relies on this imbalance, on the repeated suspension of narratives, patterns, identities, norms, etc''. Drawing from this statement, we introduce our second argument: being the principle location for the consumption of culture, corporate media spaces such as Youtube rely on the creation of content for profitability. Therefore content creation depends on the need for a subject to

⁹ Žižek (1997: 5).

comment and assert itself in an online environment. It is only the unsatisfied user that possesses the desire to comment. By capturing this reflexive loop, these corporations profit from the heightening of subjective dissatisfaction. The more dissatisfaction, the more commentary. So then our argument is that the business model of new media causes the further intensification our feelings of dissatisfaction in order to reproduce itself and create profit.

To demonstrate the intricate relationship between ideological fantasy, drive and the reproduction of space, we wish to turn to a video, uploaded to Youtube on the 11th of August 2009.¹⁰ It is a part of a weekly comedy show, *Olacak O Kadar*, which was broadcast for 22 years on Turkish television channels until its final season last year. The show consists of sketches that aim to confront contemporary issues in Turkey through political parody. At the same time what makes this show so popular is because it acts as a screen onto which ideological fantasy is projected. In other words, the production of shows similar to *Olacak O Kadar* function on the boundaries of the 'objectively subjective' by taking actual events and explaining them on a subjective level. It is precisely the process of rendering the Real of an event into a particular symbolic reality that in turn enables the subject to reproduce ideological fantasy. In exchange for maintaining a space from which ideological fantasy can be reproduced, new media spaces such as Youtube extract profits from the interaction of the subject with the digital object. To demonstrate this relationship, we will now firstly turn to the aesthetic dimension that functions as the screen on which ideological fantasy can be reproduced.

AESTHETICS AND FANTASY OF KEMALIST NATIONALISM

All of *Olacak O Kadar* sketches are written by the creator of the show, Levent Kirca who also plays a part in every sketch and takes on the mission of “delivering the message”. He functions as a sort of a messenger who picks up the fundamental message of the sketch and says the last word after everyone laughed enough and the time has come for telling a couple of serious words. His mission is also accomplished in this sketch by mentioning the key point to be ashamed of: “Look whom you made me draw as the culprit! It is us who are guilty!”¹¹

Revealing the details of the dramatic structure in the parody allows us to understand the aesthetic dimension to Pop-Kemalist symbolism. The criticizing humour of the parody is driven by the encounter/ interaction of the positive and negative stereotypes. The stereotypes are built on pre-figured cultural codes, preconceptions and images and tend to be mainly used by mass media to communicate the message in a quick, easy understandable and effective way. In other words, the stereotypes are the images of a simple sampling method which underlies the social, ethnic and physical differences in a society in order to define easily who is “me” and the “other” or “the good” and “the bad”. This sketch utilizes the power of stereotypes to have a clear distinction between two poles: the secular, western oriented and well-educated people and the people of a corrupted society who become greedy tricksters.

The characters are positioned in a strict hierarchy which has a determining role over the construction of the fantasy. The good, the citizens of Turkish nation stay at the lowest level in the hierarchy and are the victims of the bad, or the corrupted state. The commissar functions as a moderator who is supposed to represent “the utopia of a well-functioning state” which has to be fair, righteous and respectable. Therefore the potent authority of the commissar is unconditionally accepted by the citizens who believe in the police by solving the weird case. The good victim-subjects are whom the audience supposedly identifies with. Whereas the inmates of *Susurluk* case (a key case which exposed the secret connections between the

¹⁰ <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jZqwkB2Y-20> (Search for “*Olacak O Kadar Robot*”).

¹¹ See Appendix IV.

government, the police and the army) were freed, the writers have to stay under arrest. Instead of a health service that a state has to offer to its citizens for free, the doctor demands from the patient's relative an extra payment; or the tenant is forced by the landlord to pay the rent on dollars. In short, the social system does not function anymore. The jailer, the doctor, the landlord and the congressmen all form the core of the fantasy describing the corrupted, declining state services. What the Kemalist fantasy explores and materializes for the audience is the fantasy that various social groups have destroyed the state. These groups which perhaps stand as a loose analogies for the impact of neo-liberalisation on the housing, justice, health care and political system, constitute the persona non-grata of the Kemalist subjectivity. It is against these people that Atatürk emerges as the object that can restore the grip of the 'good' in the aforementioned contexts.

What makes Atatürk more than a superhero is that he is accepted as a father figure, as the father of the Turkish nation. As the master signifier, he comes back to bring the responsible persons to account, to punish them for what they did to Turkey, the country that he entrusted to his followers. Things might be bad right now, but Atatürk will return to punish those responsible for the situation. However, the bizarreness of the situation is that Atatürk is dead and he will not return to punish anyone. Hence to impart a fetishistic quality on Atatürk, the Kemalist subject makes a split between knowledge and belief: 'I know very well, but nonetheless I believe...!'. As such, the figure of Atatürk functions as a fetish that allows the subject to overcome the contradiction between their experience of the real and their beliefs. Žižek, drawing upon the Marxist notion of commodity fetishism suggests that the fetish is 'the embodiment of the Lie which enables us to sustain the unbearable truth', the object that obfuscates the initial antagonism.¹² Therefore, the fetish functions as the object that can sustain and reproduce both ideological fantasy and the subjectivities associated with the fantasy.

Atatürk as the fetish elicits particular forms of attachment on behalf of the subject. These attachments, namely paternal and erotic, are related to way Atatürk is constituted as an aesthetic object. As the paternal father that saved the nation, Atatürk is imagined to be a perfect and an immortal father. He is dominant but in a bittersweet way, he is educating, leading, caring, loving and protecting. His charisma is irresistible and he has an aura that might be uncanny or frightening sometimes.¹³

Atatürk as a charismatic masculine figure functions as the epitome of the Western masculine type - golden blond hair, a square face with blue eyes and long eyebrows and a robust and athletic body. The outfit also represents a modern Western man. The black tuxedo, the fine varnished shoes and a hat.¹⁴ In addition to this, the feminine fantasy suggests an image of Atatürk as a good lover, a very polite, romantic and - platonically - erotic gentleman. This element of eroticism elicited through the partial unveiling of the desire object. We never get to see or experience Atatürk in full, rather the parody uses dramatic effects such as footsteps, or shadows to heighten a sense of eroticism on behalf of the subject.

The music is also important to note in the intensification of the affect. During the whole sketch, we hear a particular song which repeats every time when Atatürk enters in. It functions as a leitmotiv, as a repeating theme, in order to intensify the moments of crescendo. This song is the remix version of the 10th year march of Turkish Republic which was very popular in 1990s Turkey. It was widely accepted as a symbolic song of Kemalist euphoria, a song that signifies a victory within the Kulturkampf between the Islamic and secular elite.

¹² Žižek (2001: 165).

¹³ The Turkish saying "He is a man whose shadow makes you yellow" is literally used in the sketch.

¹⁴ See Appendix II.

The song is only a trivial aspect of the whole concept of the Pop-Kemalism that suggests a modern interpretation of Atatürk as a civil person (like one of us) instead of his military identity as a great soldier/ leading general. The remix version made the 10th year march possible that its bureaucratic and military associations vanish and it becomes an ordinary/ daily use among the Turkish folk during the football matches, family celebrations, school ceremonies and TV shows.

So far, we have demonstrated how imparting fetishistic qualities on the symbol of Atatürk, allows the nationalist subject to both mediate a normative relationship with social reality and sustain fantasy. But then, if this identity is based on an unsatisfiable desire, what is happening in actuality is that the fetish is sustaining a subjectivity of dissatisfaction. Here the key question is, if a particular fantasy is making someone increasingly unsatisfied, then why don't they confront it? To explain this, a reference to the work of Lacan is useful. In his studies, Lacan noticed that some of his patients were very aware that the symptoms making them unhappy. Yet these patients stubbornly chose not to confront these symptoms despite his repeated attempts. This caused Lacan to think about the following question: “why, in spite its interpretation, does the symptom not dissolve itself; why does it persist?” (Žižek, 1989: 74). Here, the concept of 'enjoyment' (jouissance) takes a central stage, the subject enjoys his symptom, it has become mark which distinguishes him as a self from others. Therefore the reason why Kemalist identity has such a strong grip over Turkish identity is precisely because the subjective feeling of dissatisfaction created by the identity allows the subject to differentiate itself from imaginary others.

We had already discussed how new media becomes spaces of cultural consumption by capturing the unsatisfied subject. Content within these spaces is created through the harnessing and intensification of the unsatisfied subject's reflexive drive. The commentary formed around the object of the video is a demonstration of the relationship between drive and content production.¹⁵

The way in which unsatisfied desire is intensified is through the act of the comment. All the users address some indeterminate other but yet at the same time the users really believe that their comments are making a difference. The addressing of indeterminate others is the primary mode of commentary in online spaces. For example, user shaolinfelix comments that “is it possible to pray when you are a slave, so go pray to Atatürk, this nation is going to get cold feet over it's religion because of bastards like you, don't forget how it felt to be invaded, no need to talk about Atatürk, you too would have been born, but you would have not known who your father is, you bastard”. Or another user, TheDavulunsesi suggests that “it is really today that we can understand much better the importance of this supreme person. I wish colourful dreams to the naïve people who are still sleeping”. The important question to ask here is: who are these users addressing? Or to put it in another way, who are the people that these users imagine themselves answering to? What we see at work is the gaze of an indeterminate other. It is determined by what Jodi Dean (2009) has called the 'fantasy of abundance':

Not only are people accustomed to putting their thoughts online but also, in so doing, they believe their thoughts and ideas are registering – write and tell me what you think! They imagine themselves as brave participants in a combative arena or prostrate confessors acknowledging their shortcomings. One believes that one's contributions matters, that it means something to and within a context

¹⁵ See Appendix III,

broader than oneself. Contributing to the information stream thus has a subjective registration effect detached from any actual impact of efficacy.¹⁶

Speaking out to indeterminate space is inter-passive in that we experience a registration effect in the act of commenting. But at the same time the act of commenting does not change the real condition within which we exist. So while the possibility of commenting intensifies the subjective feelings of unsatisfied desire, it does not alter the overall relationship between the subject and the symptom.

CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions can be made from our analysis:

- In the post-1980 period, the neo-liberalisation of Turkey has resulted in the decline of bureaucratic power. Rather than withering away alongside the power of the state, Kemalist nationalism has now become the main principle signifier of identification for the secular class in Turkey. Rather than symbolizing a politics of change and resistance towards neo-liberalisation, the return of nationalist symbols in public space are symptomatic of the current impossibility of constructing a new politics of resistance. In other words, Pop-Kemalism is part of the process that replicates and intensifies the effects of neo-liberalism in Turkey. Therefore Pop-Kemalism, in actuality functions as part of the ideological fantasy that normalises antagonistic relationships.
- The psychological mechanism behind the replication of post-modern subjectivities is fantasy. Olacak o Kadar as a cultural production functions as a screen from which Kemalist fantasy is reproduced. The reproduced fantasy masks the impossibility between the desire of the subject and object-cause of desire. Within the aesthetic dimension, Atatürk functions as the fetish figure that sustains and reproduces the fantasy. However, the impossibility of relationship between the subject and the object-cause of desire (or what Žižek describes as the Real) keeps on disturbing the power of the fantasy. As a result of this, the subject feels the urge to constantly re-enunciate the relationship towards the object-cause, yet at the same time the process of identification is foreclosed insofar as it remains a constant incomplete.
- New media has become the pre-eminent battleground for the Turkish Kulturkampf. Our argument is that the spatiality of new media captures and intensifies the dissatisfactions of our subjective experience. This means that as a battleground for culture wars, new media heightens the feelings of dissatisfaction without providing a winner. This situation of inter-passivity is created by the production of commentary towards indeterminate others. This commentary is in turn co-opted by corporations responsible for the production of new media spaces into profit.

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¹⁶ Dean (2009:30).

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APPENDIX I



Young Turkish women dressed up with Atatürk paraphernalia and taking part in a demonstration called the '*Rally for the Republic*'.

APPENDIX II



The civil imagery of Atatürk as a western modern man

APPENDIX III

Comments on Youtube for the video “*Olacak O Kadar Robot Resim*” (Screen-shot from Youtube, last accessed: 28.8.2011)

Top Comments

paylaşım için çok teşekkürler. Umarım burada verilen mesajı anlarlar. Çok sağol.

ATAM İZİNDEYİZZZ

[korayqry](#) 1 year ago 24 

sexy girls olarak değiştirilsin bu başlığın adı. o zmaan daha çok izlenir belki anlayana..

[fatih227](#) 1 year ago 17 

All Comments (36)

[see all](#)

Respond to this video...

hakikaten bugün o yüce insanın kıymeti hala iyi anlaşıyor, uyumaya devam eden saf insanlarda iyi uykular, renkli rüyalar dilerim

[TheDavulunesi](#) 2 months ago

Ben Atatürkçüyüm. Atatürkçü, gerçekçi ve bilimsel olur. Levent Kırca'nın iyi niyetine teşekkürler ama biraz abartmış.

[ElderScrolls7](#) 2 months ago

ossstt köpekler ne mutlu maymunum diyenlere

[Antimirik](#) 4 months ago

bugün daha da bir anlamlı

[Sosyalist1919](#) 7 months ago

atasını bilmeyen götlere sokam eşek gibi biat edeceksiniz atatürke işine gelmeyen siktirip gider arabistana.sike sike onun resimlerini göreceğün onun getirdiği marşı okucak siz eşekler gibi

[mantus2008](#) 7 months ago

[@Kemalist36](#) git gerçek babanın kimliğini araştır anan seni kimden peydahladıysa soysuz piç

[isalpha](#) 7 months ago

[@isalpha](#) senin ananın çürük amına çakayım orospu çocuğu piç kuru su ibne

[Kemalist36](#) 7 months ago

[@Kemalist36](#) ırkını genetiğini siktüğün orospu çocuğu

[isalpha](#) 7 months ago

Gozlerim doldu

[abelardo2017](#) 7 months ago

Bokunu cikartmislar artik

[bilgisayarmuhendisi](#) 8 months ago

1 2 3 4 [Next](#)

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APPENDIX IV

Transcript of the video “*Olacak O Kadar Robot Resim*” (Translated and transcribed by the authors)

INT. POLICE STATION – NIGHT

Music (10th year’s march) - fade in

The people are chatting and discussing.

THE POLICE OFFICER: Please explain your complaints to the commissar.

Music (10th year’s march) - fade out

THE COMMISSAR: Please be quiet, calm down and wait for your turn. You, sit there and wait also. Now, please tell the stories one by one. Meanwhile our artist is going to draw the profile of the criminal. We’ll identify and catch the culprit as soon as possible. So go on and tell us!

The people are standing in line. The jailer sits down.

THE JAILER: I’m a jailer in a prison, Mr. Commissar. Writers and journalists stay on the block to which I am assigned. So I was on my night shift...

Dissolve to flashback

INT. PRISON – DAY

The writer walks up and down in the prison. He sees the jailer coming.

THE WRITER: Hey jailer! I heard that they freed the inmates from the Susurluk case!?

THE JAILER: Yep, right. that’s right. The whole block was freed.

THE WRITER: Fancy that! They’re free and we’re still here.

THE JAILER: Right, they didn’t write anything like you did.

The jailer and the writer look to the shadow coming towards to them.

Music (10th year’s march) - fade in

VOICE OVER - THE JAILER: And at that moment he came in like a giant. “Open the door!” he shouted. I thought if he made it in, he must be dangerous. So I opened the door. He said “Release them!”

Music (10th year’s march) - fade out
Dissolve out

THE COMMISSAR: Could you please try to describe him?

THE JAILER: His face had sharp contours.

THE COMMISSAR: (to the artist) Sharp contours. Did you get that?

THE ARTIST: Yes I did, sir.

The commissar stands up and walks over to the people who are waiting.

THE COMMISSAR: Ok, I understand. So you, go on!

THE DOCTOR: Sir, I'm a doctor at a hospital. On that day, a patient had to be discharged. But the relatives couldn't pay bill...

Dissolve to flashback

INT. HOSPITAL – DOCTOR'S OFFICE - DAY

THE DOCTOR: Look, I can't release your wife if you don't pay.

THE PATIENT'S WIFE: Oh please doctor, don't do that! How can we find that much money?

THE DOCTOR: (to the patient) Until you find it, I'm taking your wife hostage.

Music (10th year's march) - fade in

The door opens up. A light shines into the room. Everyone in the room looks frightening to the direction of the light.

THE DOCTOR: And then he entered in. There was a copy of the Hippocratic oath hanging on the wall. He threw it on the desk. He turned to patient's relative and said "You are allowed to go." I was speechless and couldn't say a word.

Music (10th year's march) - fade out

Dissolve out

THE COMMISSAR: Ok, ok I understand. Hmm, this is a weird case. Let's see how that picture looks!

The artist stands up and shows the doctor his picture.

THE ARTIST: Yes, sir. Please take a look.

THE DOCTOR: He had a frown on his face.

THE ARTIST: Wait a minute, I'm drawing the brows.

THE DOCTOR: Exactly, that's him!

THE COMMISSAR: Ok, ok, fine. I understand. Madame, please take a seat.

The woman sits down.

THE LANDLORD: Thank you, Sir. Thanks.

THE COMMISSAR: So, please tell us.

THE LANDLORD: Sir, I have a couple of flats to rent. So, I rent them out on dollars just like everyone else these days. I was trying to collect the rent from a tenant of mine...

Dissolve to flashback

EXT. STREET – DAY

The tenant and the landlord are discussing in front of the house door.

THE TENANT: Have a mercy please! Since the dollar value has doubled, I can't pay my rent. What can I do?

THE LANDLORD: That is not my problem. Find the money or go out of my flat!

Music (10th year's march) - fade in

They see something is coming towards to them and look frightening-

THE TENANT: Oh shit, what's happening??

Music (10th year's march) - fade out
Dissolve out

THE LANDLORD: "Hey lady! You're living in republic of Turkey!" he shouted at me. He had coloured eyes. Blue eyes.

THE COMMISSAR: (to the artist) He had blue eyes. Got it?

THE ARTIST: I heard it, Sir. I'm drawing them.

The commissar invites the congressmen to come in.

THE COMMISSAR: Dear congressmen, what is your complaint?

THE CONGRESSMAN: My colleague and I, we were having a discussion about the current issues of the country...

Dissolve to flashback

INT. OFFICE – DAY

THE CONGRESSMAN I: Ok, right. I also wish to have it like that. I also want to retire earlier. I also want a salary raise. But won't we get a negative public reaction?

THE CONGRESSMAN II: Forget the reaction, mate! Look, they were talking about a social revolution and nothing has happened. We won't try to pass the bill by itself. Instead we will disguise it in a larger proposal...

Dissolve out

THE CONGRESSMAN II: He slapped me very hard in the face. I can still feel the pain...

The artist shows the picture to the congressman.

THE CONGRESSMAN II: It looks like him!

The commissar takes the picture out of artist's hand.

THE COMMISSAR: Give me that! Oh, no! That's him, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk!

All characters want to take a look at the picture.

THE CONGRESSMAN I: Atatürk?!

THE COMMISSAR: Yes, the man himself.

THE CONGRESSMAN II: But why would our leader do these things to us? Anyhow, isn't he dead?

THE COMMISSAR: This means he can't rest in peace. He is coming back to question what we turned Turkey into!

THE CONGRESSMAN II: Right...He is back to find who is responsible...

THE ARTIST: Look whom you made me draw as the culprit! It is us who are guilty!

Dissolve to found footage – Atatürk is speaking
Music (10th year's march) - fade in

VOICE OVER (ATATÜRK'S VOICE)

Turkish nation works hard! Turkish nation is intelligent! How happy is the one who calls themselves a Turk!

Feminist Cultural Studies

“After All, She Belongs to the Family”

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Work in progress. Please contact author if citing.

‘Do you have family?’ is a question that normatively refers to a specific constellation of a partner of the opposite sex and biological children- even if a majority of people do not live up to the white, middle-class ideal of a family in Sweden today. How is the concept of ‘family’ filled with meaning by lgbt-people and queers in different ages? Lgbt-persons life conditions and strategies to create viable lives are historically and culturally situated, and so is the meaning and content of the concept of ‘family’. The position of lgbt-people’s rights and possibilities as citizens has changed radically over the last 30 years, in the Western world, along with larger structural changes of the organizing and meaning of family, intimacy and close relations (Bech & Bech-Gernsheim 2002, Budgeon & Roseneil 2004). In this paper I will look into how elder lesbian and bisexual women and queer youth in Sweden relate to the concept of family. How is the term ‘family’ filled with meaning and how is it related to friends, partners/expartners and lgbtq-community in negotiating, reproducing and contesting normative concepts of what family is? How is feminist and queer critique of the conventional family, as well as the resistance-cultural environments, resources in the processes of producing other visions and practices?

“AFTER ALL, SHE BELONGS TO THE FAMILY”

In her book *Families we choose* from 1989, Kath Weston presented a study of lesbian and gay peoples' intimate lives in the Bay area on the US west coast in the 1980s, and how lesbians and gay men constructed their own notions of kinship by drawing on symbolism of love, friendship and biology. The term chosen families was established in lgbt-environments during the 70-ies, referring to families not restricted to blood relatives, but to different variants of important close relations, including friends, partners, lovers and ex-lovers, pets, biological/adoptive children as well as accepting biological relatives (Weston 1989). It also often included lgbt-communities. Rather than building on the notions of biological vs gay families as contradictions, Weston wanted to bring the two areas together to develop a more fruitful approach to understand what 'family can mean.' She argues that the concept of chosen family thus puts weight on the agency of the individual to act outside of the prescribed paths of relational hierarchies and virtues of which lives and relations are considered real and valuable, even if the notion of choice also has been criticized by several researchers over the years to follow (Heaphy 2010, Evans 2004).

Today, some interesting changes have taken place in many parts of the Western world when it comes to the organizing and discourses of sexuality and intimate lives. Increased individual rights of in particular women and non-heterosexuals as well as a general liberal discursive turn of the individual's right to choose has led to fractures in the heteronormative life scripts, making other life styles more socially, legally and economically possible. Sasha Roseneill who has been studying non-normative life styles from different angles, argues that ways of living and loving that has been characteristic for queers have to a larger degree become available also for straight people (see f ex 2005). Non-heteronormative life styles are becoming increasingly culturally acceptable, challenging what Budgeon and Roseneil (2004) call heterorelativity; “the heterosexual relationship order of co-residence, romantic love, monogamy and the primacy of the conjugal couple” (ibid 129). They include living single or in shared households as adults, prioritizing close friendships over partners, organizing partnered lives as f ex living apart together (LAT), same-sex relations, polyamorous relations and more. Increased rights for lesbian and gays have also strengthened the position of the same-sex couple through the possibility for marrying and having children through adoption and assisted fertility treatment. Maybe it could be formulated as the straight world becoming queerer- and queer lives straighter?

The EU-project FEMICIT studied amongst others intimacy and relational practices in 5 countries, and goes as far as suggesting that in England and Norway today, heteronormativity is more about the importance of being in a couple (or not) rather than the combination of sexes (Roseneill and Hellesund in press 2011). This has also been suggested by queer scholars through the concept of 'homonormativity' (see f ex Lisa Duggan 2002); where the most important thing is to settle down with a partner to share your life with, if not the whole life, then at least to live monogamously in one relationship at a time. The same-sex couple is in the Scandinavian context in the process of being taken up into the heteronormal - if it fulfils other criteria for respectability that is; in terms of being a legitimate and moral citizen. Parallel to this there is also a queer critique of the lgbt-movements assimilation agenda to fit into the heteronormative life script, where alternative ways of living fall outside, with less legal, social and economic support (see Halberstam 2005, Ambjörnsson & Bromseth 2010)

MATERIAL AND APPROACH

This paper is based on the project Queerkids, (baby)-butches and lesbians. Life conditions and resistance strategies in two generations of lesbian, bisexual and trans-women and queer

youth.¹ In the project, my colleague Fanny Ambjörnsson and I have interviewed non-heterosexual women and queers in Sweden who are either between 18-30 or 60-94, looking at how they create liveable lives outside of heteronormativity. All informants live in or close to a big city and take actively part in some form of lgbtq-social network. We have been talking to people both individually, in couples and in groups, as well as been doing participant observation in a variety of social spaces. One dimension of the empirical material is the reflections about and negotiations of intimate lives and the notion of family/chosen family. How do they present their own ways of living, and how do they relate to the existing norms of heterorelativity as well as homonormativity?

I have been interviewing the elder non-heterosexual women, which will be the main examples in the paper. We will also look at some quotes from an intergenerational interview that my project partner and I did at the beginning of the project that is interesting when it comes how family is presented that is tied to both lgbtq-generation and historical time. Our young informants present themselves as 'queer feminist', actively resisting both hetero- and homonormativity. They take part in both the institutionalized sexual political movement/organisation as well as in queer feminist activist cultural spaces, which is not presented as particularly conflicting (as opposed to previous years when lesbian feminists chose to mostly work within the separate feminist movement) (see Bromseth 2010). The elder women have mostly (and/or is) been part of the gay and lesbian movement, or, they have been (and are) active in the lesbian feminist movement. As opposed to previous years, when the lesbian feminists worked rather separate from the sexual political movement they are today participating in the same social senior group for elder lesbian women organized at the Rfsl (The Swedish national lgbt-association). Whereas the younger informants have grown up in the new 'open society' where the non-heterosexuality has come to take place within public discourse in non-stigmatizing ways (Rosenberg 2002), the elder bear with them experiences from a longer life in a landscape of shifting ideas of both homosexuality and of family.

Next, I will look into how family and close relations are negotiated by our informants through three dimensions; 1) what is a family, 2) friends, partners and ex-partners and 3) the meaning of lgbtq-community.

What is family?

In the heteronormative notion of family, the hierararchisation of relations is an important part of regulating what is private and what is public, where the couple is the primary relation, with an exclusive sexual relation, living together with children (Halberstam 2005). Family and the private home is thus overlapping, Lindholm and Nilsson argues (2002), something that is not always characteristic of non-heterosexual lives, as we will see in the coming examples.

Most informants underline the importance of family as chosen, in one way or another, representing a mix of different types of relations, including both family of origin/blood relatives, friends, partners and lgbtq/feminist community, even if they describe it in different ways. This depends on both age and individual experiences, but also on the relation to the queer/ or lesbian feminist movement, who have been and are explicitly criticizing the nuclear family as a ideal in different ways.

The younger queer feminists and elder lesbian feminists tend to enhance friendships and community as ideologically more important than the heteronormative family model, even if all informants challenge heteronormative notions of family in stories of practice, like Lilly.

Lilly started to live lesbian in her 40s. She lives in a long-term relationship with her partner in a central part of a big city and is active in a social group for elder lesbian women.

¹ The project is financed by the Swedish council for working life and social research from 2009–2012.

L: We always say, Hillevi and I, that we have a family of our own. We don't have children, but we have a lot of acquaintances and a few good friends. So these are our family. And that feels good for us.

all: Mmmm

L: And these people have we chosen ourselves, to a certain degree.
(everyone laughs)

L: You don't choose family.

(Quote from intergenerational group interview)

Lilly enhances her family as partly chosen, where her partner and friends have a central part.

In describing her chosen family, however, she makes some interesting linguistic contradictions that are quite characteristic for many of the elder informants where family is given two different meanings; the normative notion and ones own practice. The traditional notion of what Family is presented as a contrast to ones own chosen family, where Family is connected to family of origin, or blood relatives. As she sais, they have a family of their own, a family of their own choice- at the same time, you don't choose Family.

In Lillys story, the couple is the point of departure that the other relations circle around. This is similar for Vera, 67, who also lives with her female partner. Vera has just retired from her work in a church and has previously worked actively to organize a range of activities for Christian and non-Christian lesbian women. In the quote, the notion of home and family is presented as overlapping, where the cohabiting relation with the partner is marked as 'the closest', while the biological relations with children and grandchildren are the most important extended family (even if the partner is not biologically related to her children):

V: When I think about family, then I think about the absolutely closest family, the ones that I live with. And that is my partner. That's my family. Then there is the extended family: my mother, who now lives in a home [...]. My sister, but first and foremost my children, but in particular the grandchildren.

(Quote from intergenerational group interview)

Sorting out the landscape of important/less important family relations by degree of closeness, the notion of family here is quite similar to the conventional ideal of the nuclear family.

Kim, 24, strongly objects to identifying the couple with children as hir notion of family, as something that zie does not want, and an explicit queer ideological resistance to the nuclear family.

K: I know most of all who I don't consider being family (everyone laughs), but I can start anyway. I would say that I have many families. I have one bio-family, I do. I have two parents who live together and who love each other, and four siblings with children and partners. And then... I have more of a chosen family. I like having it this way. I do ... not want a partner and children as a family. I guess that could also be an option sometime but. But even if I did, I would have a lot of friends.

(Quote from inter-generational group interview)

Mo, whose also a queer activist, and the same age as Kim, puts forward time, as well as people she has lived with, as well as the here and now –quality of her relations as criteria for counting people as family- a constellation that is constantly under reconstruction. Also members of her family of origin have been 're-chosen' in her adult years, where the relational content has gained new meanings for Mo:

Mo: I count a lot of people that i have spent a lot of time with [as family]. I have some people who have lived with each other and such, they are still family, or 3-4 of them. I still count them as family. [...] even if I don't see them so often. Very much as a chosen family. [...] I have started to appreciate [my biological family] a lot now, because it feels like I choose them more now. I had dinner with them yesterday, and I feel that it is fun now in a totally different way.

The younger queer informants separates different concepts of family in the descriptive language they use for different types of family; there's a 'bio-family' and a 'chosen family', (even if both can be chosen), a division of relational ties that are content-wise similar to Lilly's in many ways. When it comes to the monogamous co-habiting couple, it is not something that is valued, however, on the contrary it's something that they explicitly don't want, resisting the hetero- as well as the homonorm. The aspect of choice (and oneself as an actor) is an important part of describing the relations and ones influence in defining them, for the younger more than the elder, thus reproducing the discourse of individualization referred to at the beginning of the paper.

Choosing an alternative family is however not restricted to a young generation of queers. Let's look at Eve, who is the same age as Lilly and Vera, in the late part of the 60ies. She lives half of the year with her partner in another city, and half of the year in her small collective garden cottage house where a number of other lesbian feminists have a small cottage and a parcel, constantly popping over for a coffee at each others houses. Eve has a background from the lesbian feminist movement starting early in the 70s, and she is still active, although not in the same degree as before. For her, the partner is described as the least accountable part of the 'family', and friends the most important:

J: Do you use the word family today- does it refer to children or what is it?

E: No, I would say that it is my friends, first and foremost my feminist friends, since I don't have so much family – I have lived in different kinds of shared households and so, so for me it's more friends. Friends and people, women, you meet and such.

J: The ones who are close to you?

E: yes

J: Can you challenge the notion of family then?

E: Yes- as I say, love comes and goes, but family and friends are always there, isn't it so? (laughs) That's how I see it. It isn't totally uninteresting to have biological relatives, but for me it has been more important having friends, female friends. But also male work colleagues that I have known for a long time have a small place in my family. But not a conventional family, no.

For Eve, family and friends are used to refer to each other, where what she refers to as the 'biological family' or a 'conventional family' is something different.

Ideologically, there are some contrasts between the feminist and non-feminist informants in how ones family is presented, in asking directly about it. The elder lesbian feminists and queer feminists/activists explicitly enhance a critique towards the traditional nuclear family, and put forward the importance of friends in their own notion of what family is. Some are however in practice living more conventionally than their ideology- and vice versa; some of the non-feminist elder women appear to live queerer in practice than their outspoken ideology. Discursively though, the informants who have identified with a counter-normative movement of resistance where other ideas of family and close relations have been central draw on both normative and non-normative ideas of family/close relations in their reflections on what family is and should be.

The blurry boundaries of friends, partners & ex-partners

Friendships have a strong position in our informant's stories of family (and generally amongst the lgbt-population; Weeks et al 2001, Heaphy, Yip & Thompson 2004). They also often include partners as well as ex-partners in different ways, relations that are also spoken of in terms of friendships. As compared to the heterorelational ideal where the sexual partner is supposed to be superior to friends, and where the ex-partner exits when the relationship ends and a new partner enters the scene, the ex continues to be important in non-heterosexual relations to a larger degree our informants argue (see also Weston 1989 as well as Weeks et al 2001). In the social group for elder lesbian women, they often talk about the ex as 'the third' as Lilly puts it; the ex-partner who doesn't leave but continues to hang out with the ex and the new partner. For her, it was a shock though that her present girlfriend's ex continued to be a regular visitor at their house, something that has changed 20 years later:

Lilly: It was horrible in the beginning. I thought 'I am going crazy!' I thought that.. I don't want to make restrictions for someone who means so much to me, but after a while.. Now it's actually really nice when she turns up. We are really like a family.

The third herself, Ida, 74, who today lives single, also enhances the importance of Lilly and Hillevi, as social and practical support in the everyday life; 'They are really cute taking care of me'. She hangs out with them watching TV or drinking coffee in town, and also have them as their primary contact if something should happen.

To continue socializing with the ex is by many described as both practical and a virtue, both amongst the younger and the elder lesbians and queers. After all, they will continue hanging out in the same small lgbtq-environments, as one says. Or, as Mo formulates it, she likes that she has been together with almost all her friends, and hates to lose contact with them if the relationship ends. But her previous girlfriend who had not been in a same-sex relationship before was not so interested in that:

Mo: So now I would say that I have a family that I have partly been together with. I would put it like that. [...]

I was together with my last girlfriend 3-4 months but very intensively, and she had only had heterosexual relations before. And we ended it, and since then I haven't heard from her for 5 months now. And I think it's really extreme because I am used to follow up on people how they're doing. But there is no contact at all, and feel that it is really uncomfortable. But she's like, 'I come from the hetero-world'..

Both Mo and Kim challenge the monogamous heteronorm in the way they form their sexual and social relations, identifying with what is in the queer environment referred as 'relational anarchy', where the importance and meaning of relations are not predefined. This is not always so easy to explain to ex parents though. It's not only that their not straight and have transgendered identities, Kim reflects, but they also have a 'queer frame' where there are more possibilities of organizing sexual life and relationships in alternative ways, inspired by the subcultural environment they are part of:

Kim: I think it is really common to have non-monogamous relations in relations that are non-heterosexual because you have created the relations yourselves. Because when I think about our friends, there are many of them who don't follow the regular pattern of either being together, or when you're not together you stop seeing each other.

Many informants talk about the famous lesbian chart they could draw (last seen in the TV-series *L-word*) of who has been sleeping with whom in the lesbian/queer environment. 'Everyone here has been together with someone, one or more, of the other women', Eve whispers to me at the Saturday dance for elder lesbian women. Even if few of the elder informants are today living in poly-relations, the lesbian feminists report that it used to be a norm in their social movement, wanting to challenge the nuclear family's relational hierarchy (see Hallgren 2008):

Katrin: It was such dramas all the time, it almost destroyed the political movement at one point.

Katrin lives as happily single today in a smaller city, and does not miss the poly-amorous practices in the lesbian feminist movement that she is still a part of in different ways.

But more than that, she can be frustrated about the relational hierarchies of some of her friends, where most are partnered and prioritize socializing with their partners for vacations and week-ends.

K: It can be frustrating to always be option number 2 or 3. But I have learned to accept that there is a couple norm in society, that's just the way it is. And I like living alone, I want that. But sometimes I can feel lonely.

Community as family

Historically, 'family' has been used metaphorically to describe 'like-minded people' ('såna') Lindholm and Nilsson (2002) writes in their book *En annan stad*, and also working as a discreet code-language to refer to non-heterosexuals and lgbt-community (*A different city*) (based on interviews with elder non-heterosexual men and women about experiences of place, sexuality and identity with focus on the period of 1950-80 in the Swedish town Göteborg). The home has not been the primary 'safe place' for lgbt-people, and 'home' has often been used to symbolically describe a feeling of belonging with other queers, like the bars and clubs that started to establish in the 60s. Coming to a queer space is thus often described as 'coming home', as Lilly when she recalls her first time at a gay club. It is often then the places outside of the home that is connected to lgbt-community and identification, more than the same sex love relations as such. This would also include organizations and lgbt/feminist movements, creating a 'sense of imagined community' to use Benedict Andersons term (1991).

Even if it is the gay family, the queer family- or the lesbian feminist sisters to use some of the creative familiar terms I have stumbled over during field work, they seem to have a range of different meanings tied to them. Some of my elder informants enhance their previous and contemporary participation in lesbian community as strengthening, and a sense of belonging that continues to be important even if the glow from the activist days has faded years ago. Eve imagines this is different from heterosexual women their own age, because the social networks are wider and not tied down to biological family, she argues:

Eve: I think that we lesbians have more networks, our parties, the feminist community, organized social groups and such. My heterosexual girlfriends' lives are ok, but they are very tied down to their families and grandchildren and such. And if they hadn't had that it would have been very lonely.

For Nina, who is retired and lives single with no children, other non-heterosexual people are characterized as 'family'. Nina is not part of the lesbian feminist movement, but her life is organized around a group of lesbian close long-term friends, and a larger lesbian social network. When I meet her one day on her way to help another woman to move into a nursing home, she tells me that this woman 'belongs to the family', not that she is lesbian:

Nina: When I say that 'she belongs to the family', then I mean that she is like me. Do you understand what I mean?

After being in the lesbian community for almost 40 years, some relations go way back, implying going on vacations together, sharing good and bad periods of life. 'We had a lot of fun together. I think it is just fair to help when she needs it, she reasons'. For Nina, it is the 'like me' that binds them together, an essential notion of being similar through sexual deviance and the life experiences it has involved. The image of belonging also implies that Nina feels responsible for the members of her 'family' in practice, helping out other lesbian women when they need it with driving them to the store, or to the Tuesday coffee at the senior lesbian group.

This particular tie, including a tie of vulnerability and exposure, is also enhanced by Vera, when she's trying to explain the difference between hetero-friends from the non-heterosexual friends.

J: Is it because you have some shared experiences that they [the non-heterosexual friends] are special?

Vera: yes, of course it is about sharing experiences, but.. It's a little bit like people who have been experiencing war- you get the most out of it and the biggest satisfaction when you meet people who have been part of the same thing (break). You don't have to explain, because they know how it is.

Gudrun, 68, lives with her partner and their dogs having a wide social network of different people in town and in the countryside. She thinks that the ties between non-heterosexuals were stronger before, in the 80-90s, when she was active in the sexual political movement- that the social movement became like a family because there was so much resistance in the mainstream society at the time, in the 80's. She can be provoked however, by lgbt-people who in spite of the societal changes do not live openly, or continue to live 'discretely', and still uses the old secretive code language like 'family' and 'likeminded people'.

Gudrun: there are still elder people living in the closet who use the old terminology of 'the family' and such'.

For Gudrun, who was fighting in the 80s for more people to come out, the 'family' represents a historical time of secrecy and double lives that she distances herself from in several ways. She wants to be an integrated part of society, not be stuck in closed and secretive lgbt-environments, she says.

A third meaning of community as family seem to be used by the younger queer generation in particular, where the 'queer-family' is actively used to refer to the particular relations with and within the queer community, in non-essentialist and creative ways; and could be seen as a queer resistance strategy of filling traditional words with new content. If queer can be family, then there are also 'relatives', other non-heterosexual and queers, and I have also stumbled over examples where children of queers are called 'queer-cousins' as well as lesbian baby-boomers looking for 'lesbian grandmothers' as additional caretakers of their children.

This is also a well-known practice from the feminist environment, where feminist and lesbian 'sisters' (syster) have long been the way to address other women with the same political agenda.

TO CONCLUDE

I have in this paper wanted to show a few dimensions of what meanings family, as ideas and as relational values and practices are ascribed amongst some of our young and elder lesbian and queer informants living their lives in the outskirts of the 'straight line' (Ahmed 2006). On one level, they all live against the heteronorm, if we still consider same-sex relationships

as falling outside of heteronormal ideal of heterosexual couple with children- even if they legitimize and present their life choices differently and partly from different ideological and political positions.

Family is still used as a term to refer to people who are close to you in one way or another, a family of choice rather than strictly one of blood ties, where the queer kids separate the two meanings using the specific terms of 'family of origin' and 'family of choice'. They refer though to different contents, something that seems to be tied to both age and political resistance positions. The queer feminists and lesbian feminists protest against the nuclear family as the legitimate form of living, and its heterorelational grounds of the heterosexual couple as well as the relational hierarchy of separating partners and blood family from non-biological relations. The younger informants are also protesting against the homonormative life style, where the heterosexual ideal is adapted by non-heterosexuals, in building traditional families within monogamous couples with children.

For all informants, the importance of friends seem to have a unique position, something that resonates well with several international studies (Heaphy 2010, Weeks et al 2001, Andersen 1995), someone who supports and preferably share a non-heterosexual or queer identification in one way or another. A close friend was in the British study of lgbt-people's view of ageing and life conditions mentioned as the most important person one would rely on in times of crisis (90%) vs a partner (50%) (Heaphy, Yip and Thompson 2004). They are all familiar with the pattern of ex-partners transforming into friends in the lesbian/queer social environments to some degree, even if there is a generational difference when it comes to the value and practice of polyamorous relations. Dividing strictly between the content of the terms friends and lovers/partners, and the hierarchical relation between them is also critiqued by particularly the young queer feminist as well as the elder lesbian feminist (but not by the non-feminist elder informants).

Feminist and lgbtq-community and social environments are described as important spaces for creating and maintaining relations with other non-heterosexual and queer people over years, and fill a range of functions of 'intimacy, care and companionship' (Budgeon & Rose-neil 2004).

In general then, in line with previous studies of same-sex (and non-heteronormative) intimacies, the concept of family stretches well outside of the heterorelational as a ground for belonging and care. Maybe we could see it within a frame of what bell hooks calls a communal love ethics (2003), from her book *All about love*, where she critiques the notion of love as belonging to the romantic couple and the nuclear family. Or with Judith Butlers notion of the precarious selves that we are, always dependent on other's recognition to exist (2004), where building communal relations with others who experience vulnerability and exposure because of their deviant gender and sexuality seems to be important in the strivings for recognition. This is in particular characteristic of the elder generation coming out in the 70's and 80's, who found strength and support in the lesbian feminist/lgb-community, ties that for many are still strong and important (and maybe even more when many are retired and parents have often passed away?).

bell hooks argues that love also needs to be at the core of radical politics, in order to create change implying amongst others expanding an image of responsibility and care for others from the traditional spheres of biological family and close friends to wider community.

To be able to formulate what this implies we also need to further study how family and close relations are already created in non-traditional ways, something that is increasingly expanding according to several studies. To be able to formulate social policies that do not privilege heterorelational norms and marginalize other, the experiences and stories from lived lives need to lead the way to reformulate and de-center what is considered valuable and good ways of living and loving. This also goes for the normative grounds in most research taking

place of 'the family', where a divide between family and 'alternative families' or 'rainbow families' continues to reproduce norm and deviance in simplistic ways in an complex social landscape.

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The Gendered Bottle: Meaning-Making in Luxury Packaging

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Consumer society is an important arena for constructions of gender and sexuality that most people in the Western world interact with daily. Since the early days of packaging, gendered identities have attracted enormous interest with marketers and designers (Hine 1996). Some packages are designed to negate gender differences, while other packages shamelessly exploit gendered pleasures and sexual indulgence. Nowhere is the latter clearer than in the world of perfumes.

The paper discusses the meanings of gender in the marketplace based on a project on constructions of gender in perfume packaging. Meaning is constructed in complex ways through flows that go in many directions. It is neither generated with consumers nor marketers, but should be seen as a kind of hybrid or network that emerges from negotiations between different agents (Cronin 2004). Material objects, but also agents such as consumers, designers, manufacturers and producers are part of the meaning-making of packages. The paper builds on interviews observations from a trade fair for luxury packaging, and on interviews with three different market actors. The paper discusses cultural practices and the different gendered meanings and processes that circulate in the understandings of the meaning of perfumes and their packaging.

THE GENDERED BOTTLE: MEANING-MAKING IN LUXURY PACKAGING

"A customer is not an idiot! She is your wife"! That is what we used to say. Today we say this: "A customer is not an idiot! She is your boss!"

The words come from Marie-Rose Trican, marketing executive of *Clarins Cosmetics* during a lecture on the future of luxury packaging at *Luxe Pack*, in 2009. Trican's words express some different trends in the self-image of the contemporary luxury packaging industry. The customer is still foremost a woman, but not a passive or foolish housewife. She may even be your boss. Today's customer demands real quality and value for money. Above all, perhaps, the words signal a wish in the luxury industry to keep up with times and to challenge taken for granted ideas on what the consumer may be like, to 'respect' those who buy their products and who might even work in the industry. The words also contain a form of women's empowerment and perhaps a dig to a world out there who might suppose that cosmetics represent a superficial women's ideal. The words of Trican are met with applause and cheering by the mostly female audience. Her empowering words land just right in the self-image of those who presumably both work in the industry and consume the products for personal use.

In Cultural Studies the so called market has often been approached with suspicion. Resistance, subversion and criticism have been fields of interest and studied in ways that have tended to make markets and market forces into the enemy or the opposite of such practices. O'Connor (2005) calls this a demonization of capitalism that has led to a view that has excluded important aspects of economic activities and cultural practices from the field of study. Alternatively, when studied, the commercial field has been approached with a taken for granted, simplistic or one-sided critical way. Scholars working with consumption, market practices and economic activities have however pointed to the importance of seeing production and consumption as mutually constitutive (Jackson et al 2000), as creations of chains of translations (Latour 1996, 2005) and as constructions with no definite meanings, as processes that are neither predetermined nor go in any particular direction (Nixon 2006, Mort 2000). Everything, including economics, is contingent and culture and economy can therefore not be seen as separate spheres that interact, but rather as incomplete fields that overlap and are mutually constitutive (Laclau 1990:24, in Nixon 2006: 26). Markets have also been approached as performative (Callon 1998, MacKenzie 2009, Cronin 2000). The language of perfume commercials tells us that there is a plethora of different (mostly feminine) subjectivities to choose from and that we can change over time. With Butler (1990, 1997) this can be analysed as performative; identity is an effect of cultural practices, not a cause. Advertising and consumer goods have been analysed as performative in the sense that the segments of the population that they address aren't reflections of truths, but constructed in the very appeal (Cronin 2000).

The paper discusses the meanings of gender in the marketplace based on a project on constructions of gender in perfume packaging¹. If gender is everywhere it is also important to examine the meanings of gender representations in everyday and inconspicuous objects. Gender ideologies are reflected in the material world, but the material world is simultaneously an active part in the constructions of gender, in a process that is dual (Wajcman 2004). The overall aim of the project is to study why packages look the way they do. An important standpoint is to avoid agency being ascribed to one particular agent, such as the industry

¹ The (Un)Sustainable Package, together with Lasse Brunnström, Karin Wagner and Annika Olsson, funded by RJ.

(Cochoy 2004). Meaning is constructed in complex ways through flows that go in many directions. It is neither generated with consumers nor marketers, but should be seen as a kind of hybrid or network that emerges from negotiations between different agents (Cronin 2004). A renewed interest in materiality within cultural studies has meant that everyday objects, such as in this paper, packages, can be approached from an interest in their part of constructing gender. The material world is no longer seen as passive, but as a complex co-agent in the social world but without any pre-existing meaning (Barad 2003). All through the history of packaging gender has been an important dimension. Since the early days of packaging, gendered identities have attracted enormous interest with marketers and designers (Hine 1996). Package designers have tried to find the forms for best seducing housewives until today where men are targeted with whiskey-drenched barbecue-products and women targeted with pink power tools; marketers participation in changes in cooking and building practices. The seductive aspect of packaging is best expressed through luxury packaging, an area with a particular appeal to gender and sexuality. Perfume packages may not be inconspicuous or even every-day; as part of the luxury industry they clearly signal something different than that.

Material objects, but also agents such as consumers, designers, manufacturers and producers are all part of the meaning-making of packages. Visual analysis cannot alone account for the many and often contradictory ways in which people make sense out of the market and what this means to them. In this paper I draw on observations from *Luxe Pack* and interviews with market actors to discuss how gender as a process is given meaning in the industry of luxury packaging, a commercial sphere that rarely has been given any credit in Cultural Studies as an agent for transformation of gender relations. With ethnographic interviews with actors in the field the ways in which they make cultural sense of packaging, perfumes and sales, can be discussed.

Consumer society is an important arena for constructions of gender and sexuality that most people in the Western world interact with daily. Beauty practices have undergone substantial changes in the last decades and many scholars have pointed to men's increased participation in such practices as expression of changes in masculinities (Nixon 1997, Mort 1996). In a discussion on perfume packaging Partington (1996) argues that the never ending diversity of perfumes necessitates a gender analysis that is plural. The diversity in perfume packaging should be taken as evidence that specific and unprecedented (polyvalent, multiple) ways of being men and women, and of being sexual beings, are developed within contemporary culture wherein men and women are relating to commodities in quite new ways. Perfume packages can be seen as raw material for the production of gender, she argues, in ongoing processes where market economy never fixes gender relations (Partington 1996).

LUXE PACK

Luxe Pack is an annual trade fair for the business of luxury packaging held in Monaco in October each year. In 2009 I was there to make observations for my study on packaging and gender. The exhibition hall at Grimaldi Forum was gigantic with red carpets covering several floors. It was packed with visitors. Hundreds of exhibitors from all over the world had their latest and most prestigious packages on display for new possible clients to see and get inspired from. Empty perfume bottles were the most common exhibition object, then other containers for cosmetics. Hundreds of different mascara brushes in bright colours could be seen on one table. This is the arena of the packaging industry, not primarily the luxury industry. *Alcan Packaging* occupied one of the biggest spots. They presented their latest innovation, a rolling applicator that they had developed for L'Oréal and that "will give a completely new result" their representatives assured all who looked or listened. The product had been developed through listening to "women" through focus group interviews and the

company advised others to do the same if they want to be successful. While the importance of respecting women was brought up by several of the exhibitors, men were simultaneously described as a “problem” yet to solve. In spite of the growing market for skin and beauty care for men, men and masculine products have a dubious relationship to luxury, it seems.

GENDER – A TREND?

One section at *Luxe Pack* was devoted to an exhibition on future trends in luxury packaging. Three different trends had been identified by a jury consisting of representatives from different universities as well as the industry. One of these trends was “Comble des genres/ Accentuating Gender” and described as follows:

Masculinity and femininity are taken to extremes, with brands exaggerating their respective portrayals. The world of male beauty is materialized by violence and primary urges, while female beauty takes refuge in the refinement of the boudoir, a bower of seduction and femininity.

The trend was illustrated with different perfume packages. For women, fantasy animals and creatures, ornaments, girlishness, boudoirs and romantic flower scenes were displayed with scents like *Féerie* by Van Cleef and Arpel, by Nina Ricci, *Daisy* and *Lola* by Marc Jacobs, *Music* by Harajuku lovers, Chantal Thomass, Fancy Love. For men, sport and expressive symbols of masculinity such as footballs, identity badges, fists, tennis rackets and sports cars were themes used in scents such as Diesel’s *Fuel for Life*. Paul Smith’s *Man*, Issey Miyake’s *L’eau pour homme*, Cartier’s *Roadster*, Offensive, Lacoste, JP Gaultier *le Male* and Ungaro.

Interesting here is not only the way in which this trend and these scents were presented, but the fact that accentuated gender was described as one trend out of three. Hence you cannot use this trend analysis to say that perfume packaging is moving in the direction of accentuated genders since there are many other trends as well. Accentuated gender is not a way of fixing the representation of gender on the market, but to present exaggerated gender as a possibility; a choice. Exaggerated gender becomes one of many versions of a fragrance wardrobe and one a deeper level, also one of many possible ways of doing one’s gender.

Next trend is called “transmutation”:

Consumers are individuals with multiple aspects. They reveal different facets of their personalities throughout a fragmented day: mother/father, work colleague, sensual lover... Packaging reflects this lifestyle evolution. It needs to be discovered from several angles before being fully understood and suggesting the appearance of a distinct shape and feeling. It has to go beyond that first glance to participate in the emergence of a different concept.

In this trend, gender is not at all present, not mentioned, except in mother/ father that appear to be equal and exchangeable concepts. Either you are a mother or a father, you still act the same. It highlights a choosing individual; “consumers are individuals with multiple aspects”. Consumers have different roles during the day; this is called a life style evolution and illustrated by packages that look different depending upon what angle you choose to look at them from. It can be packages that change, for instance a lipstick from *Urban Decay* with a picture of a man in the lid. If you twist it the model gets undressed, if you touch it, it diffuses pheromones. This is comedy, but since it is on a lipstick also about acknowledging a female visual desire to men’s bodies, an empowering message in a way similar to that of Tricane. Change, roles and comedy are emphasized here; a different approach to gender than in the first trend. Transmutation associates to change and can be seen as an expression of a view on gender as “transmutable” and of all cultural identities as somehow accessible for all. Such

aspects were however not emphasized here, even though one must say that it lies in the concept.

The third trend is: "Apaisement/ Soothing" :

In these times of economic uncertainty, brands are opting for appeasement. Monochrome colours, rounded or oval shapes, the choice of sober materials, discreet décors and simple messages... Far from reflecting technical simplicity, appeasement allows the product to express itself with luxurious elegance and sobriety.

This is yet another version where also some known unisex scents are placed. Perhaps this says that appeasement isn't supposed to have any gender, or that it stands above gender. Gender is something you can choose to do in an exaggerated form and choose not to do in a neutral form.

These three different trends highlight some important aspects of perfume packaging and gender. On one hand the exaggeration of masculine and feminine is said to signify new trends. Next, something completely different is said. This is significant, not just for *Luxe Pack*, but for the making of gender in perfume packaging in general. As soon as a characteristic is pointed out, it turns itself inside out. The relations between the market and gender representations cannot be fixed but are in constant change, just as described above with the argument by Partington.

TREND ANALYSIS 2

Inspired by the trend analysis of *Luxe Pack*, I have done something similar in my paper; I have identified three characteristic ways of talking about gender in the industry. An important starting point for me is that even though many seem to think that gender is something that you choose to do or not to do and that packages in themselves are neutral – this isn't true. Packages cannot easily be read visually to reveal meaning, they need to be approached as material-discursive effects and objects that are interpreted, understood and made sense of by consumers through practices such as consumption. I draw on three-four different interviews to illustrate this. The trends that I have identified, or rather discourses; ways of talking and understanding gender in relation to perfume packages that also are materialized through package design are:

1. Gender as choice, something that an individual chooses to participate in or not.
2. Needs and function are masculine, luxury is feminine
3. Playing with stereotyped genders.

These discourses overlap, intersect and are intertwined.

GENDER AS CHOICE

Lena is retail coordinator at a major Swedish cosmetics and perfume retailer for duty free goods. I ask her to describe the perfume market and she says that it is different nowadays. People don't just have "their scent", buy it and stay happy. "Men" are a growing market, she continues, but adds that this year there actually hadn't been much news for men. Not compared to for women. Just like at *Luxe Pack*, Lena describes coming trends as on one hand exaggerating femininity, such as in Marc Jacobs scent *Lola*. "Extremely girlish" or "extremely neutral" are trends, she says. She shows me a scent called *Clean* to show what she means by "extremely neutral". Clean smells like soap, clean washing etc. according to product descriptions. Though it must be noted that cleaning and laundry have cultural feminine codings and cannot be said to be unisex in any direct way. Clean's packages are also

“clean” and clear of ornamentation, décor and images. Lena brings up these opposites because she finds them interesting and doesn’t think that they are conflicting. Interesting is also the fact that the opposing trends don’t seem to be taking different market segments as their target groups. By “inventing” a concept called “fragrance wardrobe”, the opposing messages can be marketed to the same groups of consumers. You can be “clean” today and a seductive Lolita tomorrow. Genders, feminine and masculine are presented as choices that can be chosen or discarded. “Extremely girly” becomes possible, desirable and meaningful when it is not seen as the only choice, but as a temporary one. It doesn’t claim to say anything true about feminine essence, since tomorrow you can choose to make your gender in a different way. Important to point out is also that choice associates to a feminine way of relating to consumer goods. It is scents for women that are discussed in this way. The choice of fragrances for women is much greater than that for men and it should be noted that far from all consumers keep to the segments that have been set up by marketers. According to Thomas (2008) 30% of those who buy so called men’s fragrances are women who buy it for their own use. Choice still emerges as something feminine, a characteristic that is associated with what it means to be a woman. In my study I have often encountered descriptions of women as beings in constant search for new consumer goods and men as rational consumers who buy and use the things that they need.

Male scents do to a larger extent seem to claim something “true” about masculinity in line with a representation of men as need-oriented consumers. Though this isn’t a water-proof definition, men are increasingly addressed as desiring consumers and choosers. Lena shares the view on men’s and women’s consumption practices described earlier and is from that perspective happy to tell me about an episode where she had observed a change in this. At a time when she was walking around in a department store she noticed all the men in the perfume section that seemed to be “just standing there, looking and smelling their scent samples”. She was surprised to see this, she tells me, because she had yet not realized that men had become so independent, sure of their own taste and capable of making own consumption choices. “Wow’ these men are really making choices”, she tells me that she said to herself. Really, “women” are more interested in news, she says. Guys keep to the things they know work. ”But it has become more accepted to be straight and interested in grooming”, she adds. Consumption here emerges as a practice that is intertwined with gender as practice.

Postmodern choice was discussed and celebrated during the 1980s in Cultural Studies, John Fiske’s well known analysis of Madonna were later ridiculed and criticized for being uncritical, the ways that Madonna changed her looks and styles. I am not trying to say that this is possible, but that it is the way that it is understood by many consumers and market actors and that such an understanding has particular effects for the way that gender is understood. Also that consumption is a practice that can’t be taken for granted to reinforce gender differences, negotiations are ongoing.

Marketing language shapes our ways of thinking about ourselves, presents choice between possible identities that we may not have thought of or knew of. At Luxe Pack the concept “Fragrance wardrobe” was discussed as something that helped launch the idea to consumers that you can have many fragrances at the same time, not just one. “I can be whoever I want”, is the message delivered, and used to promote this way of relating to consumption. Lena says this about fragrance wardrobes.

I thought of it myself. Made it up (laughs). Then I read about it. You choose. Today I’m black. Tomorrow I’m blue. No one should tell me who I am. Here is the wardrobe. Who do you want to be today? We offer you a wardrobe of scents. Wardrobe is a good description. You wear it like a piece of clothing. To have

many fragrances is a potential that more and more start to realize. You become curious. Who would I like to be today and who could I be today?

Anna, who is a buyer at a major Swedish department store, tells me something very similar. You should choose a scent that you like and not worry too much whether it is for men or for women. Scent is personal and changeable and we should have a wardrobe of them. Buy many different fragrances and choose the one that suits you today, she advises.

NEEDS AND FUNCTION ARE MASCULINE, LUXURY IS FEMININE

Lisa keeps a shop where she sells beauty products for men. She opened her company because she says she felt that guys needed an environment where they feel comfortable and at home in order to take the first step to start shopping. For this reason her shop targets men only. She also saw potential in this market; it will grow in the future. It is an exciting market, she thinks, since it deals with what she calls “breaking taboos; what you may and may not do”. “It is not really about male beauty. You don’t sell to make them better looking. It is more problem solving, health and a holistic concept. Not about looking good or young, but about getting a good shave, to look and feel fresh”. “It [beauty and skin care] should make you feel masculine”, she says. Lisa thereby illustrates an understanding of masculinity as a feeling that consumer goods help to bring out; bodies and minds become masculine with the help of objects and scents. It is a view that defines masculinity as a project of consumption, but anchors it by referring to more stable definitions of masculinity such as needs and function.

During the interview Lisa comes back to the “taboo-breaking” aspects that she says are important for her. She is not trying to make all men wear cosmetics, but thinks that it should be a right to use products regardless of whether you are a man or a woman. Whether or not you can get products to solve your (skin-) problems should not depend upon your gender, just as women shouldn’t have to wear make-up to be considered feminine. Historically, she continues, men have been just as vain as women. All new products, such as deodorant, have been met with suspicion and often seen as unmanly. For Lisa this is important and she doesn’t see herself as a commercial actor that works to just sell and make profit. The shop is in some ways also a political project for her, a way of getting out a message. Her products can be described as main stream, targeted for a main stream market, hence in no respect ‘alternative’ from a more traditional definition, as in for instance ecologically produced food. This highlights the importance of not excluding commerce from the field of cultural studies or to have taken for granted ideas on what commercial actors do.

Lisa’s story illustrates some interesting gendered aspects on the consumption and marketing of beauty products. Historical references are used to point out that it is actually not “unmanly” to engage in beauty practices, an expression of a belief in not crossing gender boundaries in the wrong way. Also, needs and functionality are values used to proofing that practices and products are masculine. Lisa talks about shaving as “a way in”. It is easier to show a product if it is connected with shaving, she says. Many have problems with shaving, she continues, and need help to solve those. She shows me some “classic razor knives” that have just arrived. “That’s what’s coming now. Old, primitive and classic, it’s tradition and for many it is very masculine”, she says. “You can’t get more male than that”. She adds that it is however not for everyone, hinting that masculinity consists of layers.

Luxury on the contrary emerges as a specifically feminine value in the interviews. Lisa thinks “sportiness” is a common value in perfume packages for men and “that isn’t luxury, if anything it’s youthfulness”. Luxury for men could be simplicity, elegance, quality and brands. Balance, she continues. For men, it must never be “too much”. Luxury in ads can be expressed as “a guy around 30 to 35 years, rich heir, has money, bit of a player, surrounded by rich, beautiful people, Monte Carlo-setting, gambles”. Money and cars, Lisa continues, designed in line with clothes and accessories.

John and Eric keep a shop/ business together and distribute skin care products for men for the local market. They have also developed their own brand of fragrance and I meet them for an interview in their shop. They tell me how they thought when they developed their brand. The actual scent is what is interesting, they say, not the way it is marketed. Like Lisa they point out the culturally specific aspects of scents and gender and emphasize that it varies over the globe how fragrances are received, male here- female there and vice versa. Like Lisa they started their business because they found the men's market interesting and exciting. They however still sell most of their ladies fragrances. And like Lena, they think that individual choice is important. You should be able to find a scent that you like, regardless of where in the world you were brought up.

Even though their prices are in line with most well-known international luxury brands, they are not in the luxury business, they tell me. "Luxury" is what the large fashion houses work with. Like Lisa, they think that it is hard to visually represent luxury for men. Many try, they say, but it rarely works out. It needs to be clean and masculine, they agree, and never too elaborated. That makes it difficult to express luxury in this business. It works with spirits where it is possible to be luxurious, extravagant and gaudy without becoming feminine, but not with perfume. Many producers are desperate in their search for masculine expressions, they think, and just end up being clichés. At the same time, that often seems to work, they add.

PLAYING WITH STEREOTYPED GENDERS

Lisa wants to challenge stereotyped genders and does this by highlighting needs that remain unacknowledged because of cultural definitions of masculinity. In the interviews we also discuss unisex. Unisex is something you rarely mention to consumers, Lisa says. If anything it is when women ask if they also can use the products? Never present anything as unisex, John and Eric advise. If you have a scent that really is intended for women, but you want to try to sell it to men, you need to do it discretely. Never bring attention to it by presenting it as unisex. "The problem is that there is no other word than unisex to describe it with":

"This is a scent for both men and women"!

"Is it unisex?"

"Eh no!" (laughs)!

Lena describes unisex too as a possibility or a choice; you don't need to feel confined to defined genders, you can choose what you like. Nothing is a given. Lena brings up Dolce & Gabbana's tarot cards scents. The five scents in the so called wardrobe are presented as somewhat unisex (though without using that word), but according to Lena *No 1* and *No 6* are typically male scents, while *3*, *10* and *18* are female. The scents are marketed with six supermodels, three men and three women, use tarot cards as names and put on display on shop-shelves for both men and women. Lena explains the concept to me. It has to do with freedom, she says. The shapes are pure and don't exclude anyone. We move in zones nowadays, she continues, we are not so rooted, these marketing concepts express that there are new ways of crossing boundaries [between genders and sexualities?]. The message is to choose what you want, to as an individual be able to stand above [culturally defined gender roles], she thinks. She then turns and says that she however thinks that you need to be very sure of yourself to choose one of these scents by Dolce & Gabbana. She doubts that many men would buy them, regardless how liberated they may be. The concept has more to do with getting attention, she thinks. Again, gender here emerges as a signifying process, something that an individual can choose to participate in or not. Just as in the trend analysis in *Luxe Pack*, gender becomes a value, or perhaps process that can be chosen, or replaced with other

values or desires; a consumer commodity and something more elusive, a sentiment, a feeling, that is still very serious.

Lena's way of defining the scents as male or female even though the producers have not is interesting on many levels. On one hand it refers to a consumer or fragrance competence. She simply recognizes the scent notes from other fragrances and the ways in which they have been gendered before. Producers need from that perspective not say whether it is "for him" or "for her"; consumers/connoisseurs will know it anyway. It is also interesting to note how gender can be communicated with the sense of smell here. On the other hand there is nothing to say that other consumers will interpret the scents in the way Lena has (even though she presents me with sales statistics from the different shelves that support it). This way of talking around unisex does perhaps puncture the choice-model in the way that it suggests that choice can only take place within a very limited set of options.

Unisex is a complicated message, it seems, and it is not necessarily so easy to choose between different ways of doing gender. The interviewees do many times seem to try to stabilize the meaning of unisex into more conventional ways of understanding gender, i.e. in a two-sex model or two make sense out of unisex in a masculine-feminine interpretive model.

For John and Eric, i.e. a small local brand, package design has been an important way to compete with international and established brands; to stand out on the shelf. They use pictures that are sexually suggestive, though not in a way that is usually seen in the perfume world. The most difficult thing of all, they say, was to find an expression that was sensual, but not sexist. "It is more difficult than you may think". Nudity is hard for men, they elaborate, in many countries that will not work to sell. In the interview they discuss the difficulties in navigating through this world, of wanting to challenge stereotypical depictions of men and women but still create images that speak the language of perfume; that is sensuality, emotions, sexuality and gender. Humour can work in some settings, but might not work in others. They tried to find a balance but say that they are not certain how well it worked. "It's a constant challenge". They in particular discuss a scent that they are working on during the time of the interview. They try to not make it unisex by taking away symbols for feminine and masculine but rather to have all at the same time.

Important here is that there is no easy or simple representation of gender, feminine or masculine here and the representatives of the industry do not emerge as manipulative or conscious 'knowers'. Rather they try to interpret the flow of culture to understand it. These three discourses on gender also reflect issues that are interesting for the industry and have relevance for increased sales. More genders give more possibilities for shopping, if you shop perfume out of a desire for who you would like to be, the more personalities you have, the more you need/want to buy. Men are still a growing market and luxury's feminine coding needs to be solved.

CONCLUSION

I will conclude my paper by emphasizing the importance for feminist cultural scholars to participate in the market and consumer society since interesting things and resignifications of gender go on there. The three discourses on gender, what do they mean and how should they be understood? When gender is presented as choice, it is through a process that hides power differences. It also hides the choices that we cannot make, perhaps because they are not on offer, or they might be on offer but we don't choose them anyway because we don't recognize them; the choices that we simply just don't make. Also, choice is not an equal practice, all cannot choose from the same pre-conditions. More, when gender is presented as an obstacle for the realization of needs, this is a statement than is in many ways critical to what is seen as culturally defined genders. At the same time it results in strategies that build on understanding masculinity as function- and need-based, making femininity into desire-, abundance- and

choice-oriented. By rediscovering male consumption roots, feminine and masculine are interpreted as still different. Women choose, men use. It is also heteronormative; luxury on display challenges heterosexual masculinity that builds on desiring the feminine other. There is a hegemonic masculinity at work here, where certain forms of masculinity are preferred. A will to challenge stereotyped genders appeared across the interviews. Some market actors that I met were critical of sexism in the industry and tried to contribute to change with their actions. Their stories also show how this can sometimes be difficult and not without problems. They were in some ways still conferred to the systems of meaning that run the world of perfume and beauty. Still, it indicates that commercial actors do not belong to an outside world and that their practices need to be taken seriously in many ways. I would also like to emphasize that these discourses shouldn't be seen as separate or connected with one of the interviewees, rather they are expressed in all the interviewed and entangled in each other.

In my paper I have shown some of the complexity in this commercial field. The trends in packaging illustrate new ways of showing men and women on and in relation to packages. The search for masculine expressions means that masculinity is commodified in new ways. The world of perfume is contradictory in the way that it one on hand very clearly divides the market in "for him" and "for her", and on the other throws this into chaos by offering so many different and contradictory ways of representing feminine, masculine and unisex. On one hand "accentuated genders" can be identified as one trend while it on the other can be denied that gender matters. Representations are fixed temporarily and the industry uses established conventions to communicate to consumers what a particular scent will do for them. Consumption society/ perfume world doesn't move in one clear direction, where gender representations are becoming more like this or more like that. Different and conflicting versions of feminine and masculine exist simultaneously (Partington 1996). There is if anything an excess in gender, all at the same time, an excess that has relevance for the meaning-making of luxury. Luxury is excess.

This fits well into a poststructuralist analysis of gender, gender cannot be defined or fixed, fixations are arbitrary and temporary. Gender is also given meaning through existing conventions for gender representation, beauty, body ideals and sexuality. The perfume world doesn't present any essentialist claims of genders because gender doesn't build on essences, it is performative. The discourses that I have identified contain some problems, but also signify the transformative force of consumption practices, gender is in constant making and makes a belief in true genders impossible.

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Genius, Masculinity and Intersectionality: Thomas Thorild and the Discussion about Genius in the Late 18th Century

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Genius, or in Swedish ‘snille’, was a much debated concept in the late 18th century. It was ambiguous in gender terms since it sometimes was associated with masculinity and sometimes femininity. In both cases genius was primarily considered to be owned by men.

The paper deals with the Swedish writer Thomas Thorild (1759-1808) and his participation in the discussion about genius. He frequently talks of the manliness of the genius, in the sense of maturity and perfection. In other cases he sees a similarity between geniuses and women. This might be a way for him to distance himself as a genius from ordinary men, whom he considers stupid, insensitive and in possession of an animal-like strength, as opposed to the angelic strength of women and geniuses. By the use of metaphors Thorild creates counter images of noblemen, children, youths, savages, the mob, fools and animals, whose common denominator is their lack of the strong and virtuous feeling of the genius. In this way intersections between gender and ideas of age and class are raised. The paper will discuss how history of masculinity and perspectives of intersectionality can be combined to get a better understanding of the various meanings of the concept of manliness.

GENDER, MASCULINITY AND INTERSECTIONALITY - Thomas Thorild and the discussion about genius in the late 18th century

Genius, or in Swedish 'snille', was a much debated concept in the late 18th century. It was ambiguous in gender terms since it sometimes was associated with masculinity and sometimes femininity. In both cases genius was primarily considered to be owned by men.¹ The paper deals with the Swedish writer Thomas Thorild (1759-1808) and his participation in the discussion about genius. In this debate he frequently talks of the genius as manly. In other cases he sees a similarity between geniuses and women, whom he claims are in possession of a virtuous angelic strength as opposed to the violent animal-like strength of men. What kind of manliness is Thorild talking about and how does it relate to his positive view of women and femininity? To bring some clarity into the use of the concept of manliness in the late 18th century debate about genius, I want to discuss how the history of masculinity can be combined with the perspective of intersectionality.

INTERSECTIONALITY AS A TOOL FOR UNDERSTANDING THE VARIOUS MEANINGS OF MANLINESS

A problem that has arisen from the recent research in the history of masculinity is the various meanings of the concept of manliness in the past. In many cases it was primarily connected to issues of age, class and ethnicity rather than those of gender and sex. The Swedish historians of masculinity have mostly been focused on the discourses of manliness to investigate what was considered manly in different times and contexts. A difficulty that arises when the terms manliness or masculinity are used as analytical tools is that the ambiguity of the concept might conceal the aspects of age, class and ethnicity, since the contemporary everyday use of the notion of manliness implies a meaning primarily related to gender and sexuality. Today manliness is most of the time used as opposed to femininity, which was not the case in the 18th century.

One solution to the problem, which has been proposed by the historian Jonas Liliequist, is to try to screen out only the gender aspects of the concept. In that way we should be able to get clean masculinity analyses and avoid studies that seem to be about masculinity as a gender issue, but is in fact dealing with other social categorisations.² In this paper I will look at another solution and instead propose a way to investigate precisely that plurality of meaning that I think is one of the most interesting findings in the historical research of masculinity. By the use of the concept of intersectionality we may be able to facilitate the understanding of the multiplicity of the notion of manliness. I'm going to use the word manliness, since it is the best equivalent of the Swedish "manlighet", which is the word I am investigating in the writings of Thorild. I only use the modern term masculinity when talking about contemporary issues within the field called the history of masculinity.

Intersectional theory has been more common in contemporary studies, but recently its relevance for historians has been discussed for example by Helena Tolvhed in a special feature issue of the journal *Scandia* on intersectional history.³ It can be described as a theory that views the different categorisations, which serve as grounds for discrimination, as intertwined and mutually constitutive. The concept was introduced 20 years ago by Kimberlé Crenshaw within the field of Black feminism. Researchers in this field have realised that the subordination of black women was different from that of "women" as well as "black people".

¹ Battersby, Christine, *Gender and Genius: Towards a Feminist Aesthetics* (London 1989).

² Liliequist, Jonas, "Manlighetens flytande gränser – om manlighet som analytisk kategori i historiska analyser." in *Scandia* 74:1 (2010), pp. 93–96.

³ Tolvhed, Helena, "Intersektionalitet och historievetenskap" in *Scandia* 76:1 (2010).

The combination of the categories constituted an entirely new position.⁴ The benefit of the analytical concept of intersectionality for an investigation of the concept of manliness is that it directly points to the intersections of different categories, where gender mingles with age, class or ethnicity in a way that forms the view of certain groups.

It is also important to see what it means that the word *manly* was used in contexts not directly related to gender. The fact that *manly* was another word for human or mature indicates that the man was considered the norm for humanity. On the other hand manliness seems not to have been as strongly connected to the male body as it has been in later times. Women could sometimes be called *manly* in the positive sense of being mature and capable. The historian of ideas Maja Bondestam has also shown how “the manly years” (*de manliga åren*) in Swedish could refer to the fertile years of men as well as women. This could have meant a less rigid distinction between the sexes and a view of men and women as more alike.⁵ This understanding of the pre-modern gender relations as different from that of modern ones is connected to the one sex-model proposed by Thomas Laqueur. In this model man and woman are seen as being in different hierarchical positions on the same scale in a continuum, as opposed to the later two sex-model with the sexes as two completely different categories.⁶

THOMAS THORILD AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MANLY GENIUS

In my PhD project I investigate the construction of the concepts of genius and manliness in the writings of Thomas Thorild. Thorild was engaged in a fight concerning different literary ideals, where he advocated the genius’s right to express himself freely and not follow the French classicist poetic rules that were dominant at the time. In this context he frequently uses the notion of manliness as an opposition to childishness and youthfulness, in the sense of lacking strength, independence and reason. Dependence and weakness are in that way characteristics of childhood and youth, which was not necessarily connected to biological age. The people Thorild refers to as children are older, established poets connected to the court of King Gustav III. He views these poets as aristocratic and subservient to the king and the higher powers of society – and despotic against ordinary citizens. The talk of despotism and slavery is a reoccurring theme in the writings of Thorild.

His main opponent in the literary fight was the poet Johan Henric Kellgren, who also was one of the publishers of the newspaper *Stockholms Posten*, where some of their dialogue took place. Thorild also published his own newspaper “The new reviewer” (*Den nye granskaren*), during a few months in 1784, where the term manliness is used in connection to the maturity and integrity of the genius and the true citizen:

Alas! the manly enlightenment will come. It radiates from the great Geniuses. Meet it.
Feel Value and Truth. That ye may reach the honour and strength of a Man, and the
World at least in part shall cease to be a great Nursery.⁷

Thorild is referring to the enlightenment of the people as the growing up and maturing of the nation and of mankind. Knowledge and virtuous feeling are seen as requirements for the kind

⁴ Tolvhed, Helena, ”Intersektionalitet och historievetskap” in *Scandia* 76:1 (2010), pp. 59–61.

⁵ Maja Bondestam. ”Revolutionens tid: När svensken gick in i puberteten” in *In på bara huden: Medicinhistoriska studier tillägnade Karin Johannisson* (Nora 2010), pp. 15, 21.

⁶ Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge & London 1990), p. 8 ff.

⁷ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter*. 2, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1934) (*Den nye granskaren*), (Original text: ”Ach! den manliga uplysningen kommer. Den utstrålar från de stora Snillen. Möten den. Känner Värde och Sanning. At I måtten hinna äran och styrkan af en Man; och Verlden åtminstone til en del uphöra at vara en stor Barnkammare.”, translation by the author), p. 5.

of integrity that is needed in a true citizen with political influence. The citizen had to be manly and not a dependent and weak child. Thorild's use of the concept of genius also has a political dimension. The great manly genius is seen as a leader, not only in literature but also in politics and religion. He is a higher form of the enlightened citizen, who is characterized by reason, integrity, virtue and a higher capacity for feeling.

The image of the genius is contrasted by counter images of noblemen, children, youths, savages, the mob, fools, lunatics and animals. Thorild is most of the time referring to men, but sometimes feminine images are used to depict men or phenomena in the society. The court poets could be pictured metaphorically as either seductive whores or stupid and conceited misses. The unmanliness that Thorild refers to is also associated with ethnicity. He calls the reviewing that Kellgren conducts in his paper barbarian and wild and compares him and his likes with Hottentots, Tartars, Iroquois Indians and other exotic people, who are considered raw, angry and foolish. They are made childlike by the use of the word small, as when Kellgren is called a "little lively Kalmuck"⁸ with a "small-Tartarian empire".⁹ Another group that is thought of as raw is the mob of people from lower classes. The mob and the barbarians are both seen as left on a lower stage in the civilization process. Thorild talks of "the dirt of the Mob and the barbarism, from which we, in the light of nobler geniuses, have arisen"¹⁰. "Did not all Peoples love these angry, wild and rough pleasures, when they still were barbarians? Is not, still today, everything Hottentottish farcical?"¹¹ The development of reason is described as a maturing of the mind to reach the goal of manhood and manliness. The period of youth is referred to as wild in the same way as the savages and the mob:

the rising of the SENSE of the deadly, in its first infancy already beautiful, in its childhood vividly prattling, in its youth still half-wild and roving, but in all these different shapes, in all these degrees of the eternal Order, on its way towards the strength and beauty of Manliness.¹²

Thorild's use of metaphors results in a mixing of the traits of the different counter images, so that all groups associated with them get the same characteristics. These are traits not suited for citizenship and leadership, such as weakness, dependence, stupidity, insensitivity and brutality. Metaphors and analogies can be said to be interactive and constitutive of meaning. Since the two parts of a metaphor or analogy are active in the mind at the same time, they tend to interact with each other and create new meaning.¹³ Looking at the interactive metaphors is a way of investigating how the intersectional intertwinings work in my material. As shown by Nancy Leys Stepan the subordination of different groups tend to be reinforced when they are compared to each other either by analogies. Stepan exemplifies with the analogy

⁸ Thorild, Thomas, *En kritik öfver critiker*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1990), (original text: "en liten liflig Calmuck", translation by the author), p. 83.

⁹ Thorild, Thomas, *En kritik öfver critiker*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1990), (original text: "sit småtatariska välde", translation by the author), p. 27.

¹⁰ Thorild, Thomas, *En kritik öfver critiker*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1990), (original text: "Pöbelns smuts och det barbari, hvarutur vi, i ädlare snillens ljus, upstigit", translation by the author), p. 90.

¹¹ Thorild, Thomas, *En kritik öfver critiker*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1990), (original text: "Älskade icke alla Folkslag dessa förbistrade, vilda och grofva nöjen, då de ännu voro barbarer? Är icke, än idag, alt Hottentottiskt farcicaliskt?", translation by the author), p. 90.

¹² Thorild, Thomas, *En kritik öfver critiker*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1990), (Original text: "de dödligas upstigande VETT, i sin första spädhet redan vackert, i sin barndom lifligt jolrande, i sin ungdom ännu halfvildt och irrande, men i alla dessa olika skepnader, i alla dessa grader af den eviga Ordningen, på vägen til Manlighetens styrka och skönhet.", translation by the author), p. 64–65.

¹³ Black, Max, *Models and Metaphors: studies in language and philosophy* (Ithaca 1962), *Metaphor and Thought*, ed.: Andrew Ortony (Cambridge 1979), Lakoff, George & Johnson, Mark, *Metaphors We Live By* (Chicago & London 1980).

between race and gender in the 19th and 20th centuries. Since a discourse of racial difference already existed when attention was directed towards sex, the model of race difference was also used to explain sexual difference. The difference of black people and white women from white men was seen as being of a similar kind, which affected both groups negatively.¹⁴

THE LIKENESS OF WOMAN GENIUSES

Thorild's praising of manliness and the talk of the genius as manly did not prevent him from having an unusually high opinion of women when he writes about them explicitly. In "On the natural highness of the female sex" (*Om kvinnökönets naturliga höghet*) published in 1793 he claims that there is a likeness between women and geniuses. Women are only weaker than men physically. They have in fact a higher strength that is closer to that of the angels, while the strength of ordinary men are instead closer to that of the wild animals:

But this Strength is God's, and the Genius's, and the Women's. And therefore Woman-Strength more resembles that of an Angel, whose nature we know is as much mightier than we, as it is higher: when Man-Strength resembles more that of a Wild animal, whose violence frightens and oppresses.¹⁵

Thorild also thinks that the character of men of sensibility and true geniuses resembles that of women. Genius is in that way associated with feeling, virtue and women. This relates to the findings of the gender researchers Christine Battersby and Anne K. Mellor, that characteristics considered feminine were appropriated by men prescribing to the idea of the romantic genius.¹⁶ In Thorild's view men becomes nobler by resembling women:

precisely to the degree that a man becomes ennobled, he resembles, in mildness of manners and character, a Woman, as you can see in all Men of soul and feeling (*hommes de Sentiment*), and vice versa that precisely to the degree a Woman becomes degenerated, she starts to, in all kinds of Immorality, resemble a Man; yes, if you look at the complete likeness in tenderness and liveliness that is between Women and all true Geniuses, that is, the high human beings that through their Reason or their Virtue are all people's Benefactors:¹⁷

He concludes that women, as they resemble the beneficial geniuses, should be assigned "the same natural highness over Men, that these have always thought themselves own over

¹⁴ Stepan, Nancy Leys, "Race and Gender: The Role of Analogy in Science" in *Feminism & Science*, ed.: Evelyn Fox Keller & Helen E. Longino (Oxford & New York 1996), p. 122 f.

¹⁵ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944), (*Om kvinnökönets naturliga höghet*), (original text: "Men denna Styrka är Guds, och Snillet, och Qvinnornas. Hvarföre ock Qvinno-Styrkan liknar mera en Ängels, hvilket väsende man vet är så långt mächtigare än vi, som det är högre: då Karl-styrkan liknar mera ett Villdjurs, hvars våld förskräcker och nedslår", translation by the author), p. 356, (p. 14, original publication).

¹⁶ Battersby, Christine, *Gender and Genius* (1989), Mellor, Anne K., *Romanticism & Gender* (New York & London 1993)

¹⁷ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (*Om kvinnökönets naturliga höghet*), (original text: "just i den mån som en karl förädlas, liknar han, i mildhet af seder och väsende, en Qvinna, såsom man ser hos alla Karlar af själ och känsla (*hommes de Sentiment*), och tvertom at just i den mån en Qvinna försämras, börjar hon, i all slags Osed, likna en Karl; ja, då man ser den fullkomliga likhet i ömhet och liflighet som är imellan Qvinnor och alla sanna Snillen, det vill säga, de höga människor som genom sit Förstånd eller sin Dygd äro allas Vålgörare:", translation by the author), pp. 356–357 (pp. 14–15, original publication).

Women. Thus the Order of Reason in the World must be arranged in this way: NATURE, Geniuses, WOMEN, Men, the Animals.”¹⁸

Thorild also acknowledges that women are viewed as children because of their lesser physical strength. He writes that men’s pride in regard to women “shows itself, when it is bad, in a kind of wild, and when it is good, in a kind of mild, Contempt: such as you feel for children, or for everything, whose weakness is far below your own highness.”¹⁹ He also confesses that he himself “felt that mild and flattering contempt, with a so altogether Turkish fancy, that I compared women to every other little voluptuous and shining Property: when a MAN on the other hand, meant for me a half-god or, in one thought, everything true and grand.”²⁰ This is a good description of the concept of manliness that is the opposite of childishness. Women are seen as weak, subordinate and dependant on men and are in that way considered as children. In this text Thorild brings in the thinking of the two-sex model and views men and women as two different but equal categories. The man is then a person with a male body and not necessarily a person of maturity and perfection. Thorild is actually using the Swedish word “karl” instead of “man”, except when he is talking about great men. The word “manlig”, the equivalent of manly, is not used in this text.

Thorild claims that he, by using his reason, has realised that women first of all are human beings and should not be considered as females in the first place. In that way he finds them entitled to all the rights that belong to humans according to the enlightenment thinking. He also thinks that women should be seen as citizens with all the rights that belong to a citizen. Women should be thought of first as creatures of reason, then as human beings, then as citizens, friends, housewives and in the last place as lovers or wives.²¹ This is a reversal of the way he sees that women are usually viewed.

The counter images of the genius in this text are the wild animals and the unrefined and uncivilized men, who only respect violence and physical power. Thorild says that the woman-strength has not managed to affect men more than what men have managed to affect animals in regard to tenderness and highness: “that is, not much more, than the extent of art and Sweetness, of genius and taste, to which they themselves have brought the Parrot, the Ape and the Bear.”²² Men are less refined than women in the same way as animals are less refined than men, and have only been superficially improved. The wildness is not only associated with animals, but also with other people from foreign countries. The Turks symbolise the barbarian view of women as slaves. Thorild talks of “Skirt-slavery” (*Kjortelträdom*) and “Trouser-

¹⁸ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om qvinnökönets naturliga höghet), (original text: ”Så är det omöjligt at icke tillägga QVINNORNA just denna samma naturliga höghet öfver Karlarne, som desse altid tilltrodt sig äga öfver Qvinnorna. Hvarigenom Förståndets Ordning i Verlden måste uprättas på detta sätt: NATUREN, Snillen, QVINNOR, Karlar, Djuren.”, translation by the author), p. 357 (p. 15 original publication).

¹⁹ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3.*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om qvinnökönets naturliga höghet), (original text: ”visar sig, när det är illa, i et slags vildt, och när det är väl, i et slags mildt, Förakt: sådant som man känner för barn, och för alt der, hvars svaghet är alför långt inunder ens höghet.”, translation by the author), p. 349 (p. 3, original publication).

²⁰ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om qvinnökönets naturliga höghet), (original text: ”kände detta milda och smikrande förakt, med en så aldeles turkisk inbildning, at jag jemförde qvinnorna med hvar och en annan liten vällustig och lysande Egendom: då deremot en MAN betydde för mig en halfgud, eller, i en enda tanke, alt sannt och stort.” translation by the author), p. 349 (p. 3–4, original publication).

²¹ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om qvinnökönets naturliga höghet), p. 350–351, (p. 6, original publication).

²² Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter 3*, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om qvinnökönets naturliga höghet), (original text: ”det är, icke stort mera, än det af konst och Söthet, af snille och smak, hvartil de sjelfve bragt Papegojan, Apan och Björnen.”, translation by the author), p. 356 (p. 14, original publication).

majesty” (*Byx-majestät*) and concludes that all tenderness, nobleness, truth and genius have been kept in the same slavery as women.²³ He also says that men are each other’s slaves as well. But everything of Strength and Grandness that is oppressed may one day rise to make the world a better place. “People of genius and enlightenment, good Men and Patriots, the working Crowd, the Nations themselves”²⁴ will rise against the oppression of the barbarian tyrants.

CONCLUSION

Thorild frequently uses the word manliness in the debate about genius. But although he speaks of the genius as manly he also values women and sees a similarity between geniuses and women. To understand this view of the manliness and womanliness of the genius I have investigated the meaning of the concept of manliness that Thorild uses. Using intersectional theory I have looked at the intertwining of different categorisations in the notion of manliness and in the counter images of the genius. I have found that manliness most of the time meant maturity and independence and was used in opposition to childishness and juvenility. Manliness is not primarily a matter of gender in this context and is not contrasted to femininity as is usually the case today.

On the other hand women and children were seen as resembling each other in their subordinate positions. All subordinate groups were viewed as children in the sense of being dependent and in that sense weak. By the associations involved in the interactive metaphors they all get the same characteristics. Women, children, noblemen, people from lower classes and other ethnicities were all considered alike.

Another discourse that mingles with that of age is the one about the difference between man and animal. In Thorild’s view women are seen as standing further from the wild animals than men. In that way the tenderness and feeling associated with women is valued and is also seen as a characteristic of the genius. The counter images in this argumentation are the rawness and brutality of kings and noblemen considered as tyrants and of lower classes and other ethnicities. By the use of metaphors the court poets are also referred to as children that are small tyrants.²⁵ If they are described as animals it is often small animals like chicken, yelping dogs or baby moles²⁶. The civilization process is viewed as maturing analogous with ageing.

The opposites of the genius are seen as too raw and insensitive or too soft and weak – sometimes both at the same time. This may be a way for Thorild to distinguish himself from other men as well as women. By accentuating the womanlike sensibility of the genius he distances himself from ordinary men. In order to be considered a mature man he also claims that the genius has a manly strength. He has a combination of the characteristics attributed to men and women. The common denominator of the counter images is their lack of the strong and virtuous feeling of the genius. Even though femininity is valued and women are theoretically considered equal, the citizen and the genius in Thorild’s writings are usually

²³ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter* 3, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om kvinnökönets naturliga höghet), p. 350 (p. 4–5, original publication)

²⁴ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter* 3, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1944) (Om kvinnökönets naturliga höghet), (original text: ”Folk af snille och uplysning, gode Män och Patrioter, arbetande Hopen, sjelfva Nationerna”, translation by the author), p. 355 (p. 12, original publication).

²⁵ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter* 2, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholm 1934) (*Den Nye Granskaren*), p. 6; *En Critik öfver critiker*, ed. Stellan Arvidson. p. 27, 105.

²⁶ Thorild, Thomas, *Samlade skrifter* 2, ed.: Stellan Arvidson (Stockholms 1934) (*Den Nye Granskaren*), p. 33; *Samlade skrifter* 1, ed.: Stellan Arvidson Stockholm 1933), (*Fragment af 1783 års Vitterhet*), p. 107.

thought of as white, bourgeois males in accordance with the discourse at the time. In the words of Battersby “a man with genius was like a woman ... but was not a woman”.²⁷

I have in this paper looked at the various meanings of the concept of manliness in the writings of the Swedish poet, writer and philosopher Thomas Thorild. This ambiguity of the concept of manliness in the past is one of the most interesting findings in the history of masculinity and I think it is worth further investigation.

²⁷ Battersby, Christine, *Gender and Genius* (1989), p. 8.

Green Futures

Recapturing Eden: Gardening Blogs as Ecological Communication Forums

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My study is part of a research project titled “Media, Communication, and the Social Performance of Environmentalism: Comparing Ecological Collectives on Two Sides of the Baltic Sea” financed by the Baltic Sea Foundation. We are interested in comparing how different communication forums package ecological messages, create collectives, and enculture members into environmentally-conscious roles. My colleagues study face-to-face communication: the activist group Klimax, and the imagined communities of newspapers, using the lens of ec-nationalism. Our research question is: How do these collectives’ discourses invite participants to a combined, on- and off-line performance of different social roles – ecologist, masculine, feminine, Swedish or German? My study concerns collectives created, and imagined, in computer-mediated communication, through a comparison of Swedish and German gardening blogs. Gardening blogs are topic-centered blogs, and the garden can be understood as online discursive field. My paper aims to address the following question: How do gardening bloggers invite participants, that is, readers to a combined performance of ecologist (or even non-ecologist) roles in the garden? Using certain topics that are taken up in relation to ecology, I want to show how these topics create social relations. I also make some comparisons between German and Swedish blogs.

SYSTEMS THEORY AND NETWORKS THEORY

I want to apply systems theory as developed by the German sociologist Niklas Luhmann (1927-1998), who is for the most part unknown outside of the German-speaking world, and has been only sporadically translated into other languages. Briefly: In analysing social relations, Luhmann proposes thinking in terms of systems. A system here means a totality of mutual relations or an organized complexity, which consists of various elements that relate to each other. Systems are self-organized, and self-producing (Luhmann 1995). In the act of blogging, communities are created, which can be described in Luhmann's words as a virtual interactive communication system. For example, on the semantic level, gardening bloggers feed their blogs with concepts (including garden design), values (e.g. green gardening), norms (good/bad behaviors), emotions (e.g. digging for pleasure), and also services (e.g. sending weeds from a rare plant).

Luhmann's term of communication differs from traditional concepts: Communication is the union of three selections: information (what is selected to be communicated or what the message is about), utterance (the selection of a form of communication: how is the information to be communicated?) and understanding (about the meaning that is generated, is the/a meaning selected, and if yes, which one and how). Luhmann rejects the idea of the transmission of something, and focuses instead on the relationships between these three parts. In the case of blogs, understanding occurs "if a comment or trackback connects to an entry on a blog, or just every time one blog refers to another" (Taekke 2005, 14). Meaning "as a horizon of possibilities" (Luhmann 1995, 65) is constituted in the communication process of the blogs. Since we are examining computer-mediated communication, utterance and understanding are chronologically separated, in contrast to face-to-face communication. When persons engage in the act of blogging, they add 'posts' to their weblog, or in other words, publish their thoughts and pictures for others by allowing their audience to read these new entries and by providing feedback possibility through comment functions. Writing comments on other's entries is the direct way to "perform conversational interactivity" (Taekke 2005, 7), and strengthens the network character of the community. Often the blogger gets feedback from unexpected sources. Based on the technical infrastructure, this form of virtual interactive communication system fosters a reciprocal relationship in which people often add others' weblogs to their own 'blogroll', creating a network of links to other weblogs, and can also subscribe to a blog as a reader/follower. As a result, new relationships and communication contexts emerge. Since the technical infrastructure enables the storage and retrieving of blog entries and comments, and therefore provides an interaction history, the blog entries can also be used as a database and can be referred to at any time by the owner and the audience (Taekke 2005, 3). Hence, a blog is created by the owner as well as by the audience. According to Luhmann, a blogosphere is a communication system based on the selection of 'what' information is selected, 'how' it is communicated, and at least understood in form of comments, and references in the blog entries. We can summarize that blogs support the interpersonal meaning production by producing space and opportunities for communication through circulating and discussing topics (Schmidt 2006, 136).

The technical infrastructure makes it possible for 'publishing' to take place outside the professional publishing industry, that is, requiring an editor, publisher and distributor. However, the bloggers are encouraged to see themselves as writers, and publish their thoughts for a broader audience. The gardening bloggers, for instance, upload pictures (or even films and film clips) of flowers and well-designed gardens, ask for advice, share their experiences, and publish their thoughts on gardening in particular, and on nature in general. We can classify blogging as a special genre that creates a social space, attracting a specific type of community, which is based on similar interests rather than different ones (Rak 2005, 176). Thinking in terms of genre allows us to place the blog entries in relation to the genre as a frame which

regulates or even identifies the form of communication according to behavior, expectation, attitude and also emotions (Schmidt 1996, 195). Somehow simplified, this determines which kind of entries are possible (and which not), if one wants to be a part of the blogging community, and what can one expect from them. Genres fulfill, therefore, a function on two levels: the individual and social (Schmidt 1996, 196). The individual receives a frame, and knows (and also learns) how to behave in the blogosphere and can specify one's own expectations. This is the precondition for social communication, and enables connecting communication. In regard to the blogosphere, there are implicitly some normative participating rules in order to regulate communication, such as being authentic (e.g. no advertising language), linking to the source of information, and following certain linguistic and argumentative rules, such as minimizing harm done to others etc. (Schmidt 2006). This can also be described as a form of relationship management, where the frame is constructed, and expectation structures are set up.

As an example of relation management, one female German blogger self-reflectively informs her readers about the circumstances, for instance, why she is writing an entry about insect hotel habitats. Additional relations are activated by informing the readers about having received some promotional gifts in order to advertise these products. To preserve her credibility, she puts the post in this context in order to make her role clear. Accompanied by a picture with an opened packet and the products, she posts:

As a gardening blogger, sometimes I get various parcels, samples and products sent to me to write about it. This is something, I only do if it makes sense to me (and I have the time and desire!). Just now, I received an unusually voluminous package - but with very useful content, namely, a butterfly and a bee hotel.¹

June 30, 2011 (www.das-wilde-gartenblog.de/2011/06/30/hausgarten-net-wirbt-fuer-insektenschutz/).

She expresses clearly her own decision on whether to review a product or not. This is necessary for her in order to maintain authenticity. Not all gardening bloggers act like this, and in the course of my research I found several entries on insect hotel habitats (without mentioning promotion, if this was the case). As a reader, one can assume that all the others have also received promotional gifts; otherwise, the appearance of this topic in German blogs seems to be inexplicable.

As mentioned above, social networks (such as the blogosphere) are based on communication (Rasmussen 2008, 11). Communication itself is, according to Luhmann, characterized by patterns of relations (information, utterance, and understanding). Hence, actors in a social network are "positioned in relation to a given array of ties" (Mische & White 1998, 703) as, for example, the above mentioned entry on promotional gifts shows explicitly. So, we can state that the defining characteristic of networks is its focus on relation / connectivity instead of on behavior and attributes of individuals (behaviors and attributes often make different kinds of relations apparent). In the case of blogging, the blogger can be described as a self-accomplished network of relations.

Blogging topics can be directly related to oneself, to the environment (i. e. topics on garden/nature/society), and to other selves in the network. However, from a phenomenological point of view, blogging is always the result of selection, or more simplified, of a choice,

¹ In orig.: "Ab und an werden mir in meiner Eigenschaft als Gartenbloggerin diverse Päckchen, Proben und Produkte zugesendet, auf dass ich drüber schreibe. Was ich nur dann auch mache, wenn mir das Anliegen sinnvoll erscheint (und ich grade Zeit und Lust habe!). Soeben erreichte mich ein ungewöhnlich voluminöses Paket – allerdings mit ganz nützlichem Inhalt, nämlich einem Schmetterlingshotel und einem Bienenhaus."

whether it be conscious or unconscious. As selves, the blogger defines his/her identity. It begins with the name of the blog, for example “The compost philosopher” (www.kompostfilosofen.blogspot.com) or “wall flowers” (www.mauerblumen.blogspot.com). They could have chosen other names. Then, this selection process continues with the way the blogs look. One can choose between different templates from the blogger service and edit the template to be just the way one wants it. Goffman (1959) would have described the layout as the “scenery and stage props”, and as part of the (blogging) performance (Goffman 1959, 22). Almost all blogs are decorated with images from one’s own garden.

There are also links to the “about me” pages where the blogger describes her/himself and posts a picture. Some have chosen to specify their identity by giving the name and place of residence / garden, others are more reticent and only mention the gender and the region where they live. Often, the blog has a motto used to describe its specific identity, such as “For an unhappy person, every flower is a weed, for a happy one, each weed is a flower”² as found in a German blog titled “The wild gardening blog” (www.das-wilde-gartenblog.de) expressing in a few words a deep relationship to nature in one’s garden. The mentioned features are identity markers that the blogger has chosen for publication. Put another way, identity is not given, but instead constructed in one way or another.

In White’s phenomenological network theory (White 2008), he argues that identity in a network can only be maintained via the control of one’s own identity to all other identities, meaning all kinds of expression of identities. In the case of the gardening bloggers, control can refer to how to design the page, what topics and pictures to display in one way or another, or even whether to edit comments. Identity, and control, are mutual and embedded in a “net-dom”. According to White net refers here to pattern of ties, and dom stands for the domain that “comprises stories, symbols, and expectations, and together they co-constitute a net-dom” (White 2008, cit. in Fuchs 2009, 346). As a result, meaning production can only be in a relational context and, simultaneously, relations create meaning (Mützel 2009, 875). By telling stories, posting pictures, and comments, and through linking to other web-sites and blogs, or to one’s own earlier entries, polymorphous relations are established in which other involved bloggers attribute meaning through connecting communication by posting their own narratives, comments, and/or links. These entries make network ties explicit. In other words, net-doms stand for arenas of interrelations. Other network theories (such as actor network theory, ANT) have included non-human actors such as concepts, narratives and animals in the analysis, but according to White only human actors can ascribe meaning to them.

Depending on the type and intensity of the prevailing network, Schmidt distinguishes between “strong and weak ties”. Strong ties are characterized by manifold relationships, for instance, not only knowing someone from virtual life but also from ‘real’ life, being a friend and/or relative of someone. Looking at the comments on the entries, it is often obvious that relatives and/or close friends follow the entries. These ties make it easier to activate solidarity and to give emotional support within virtual network communication. In contrast, weak ties mainly serve as information exchange, and in some way establish mutual influence. According to Schmidt, those actors who are heavily involved in networks and their participants are also connected to each other, and have a “bonding social capital” (Schmidt 2006, 52).

Which communicative forms increase the likelihood of connecting communication? As I mentioned earlier, gardening blogs are topic-centered, meaning that topics or themes around garden/gardening are expected and communicated in the form of narratives, comments, and especially pictures. The topic ‘garden, gardening’ can be seen as a code that creates the topical frame for the selection of communication within the community of gardening bloggers.

² In orig.: “Dem Traurigen ist jede Blume ein Unkraut, dem Glücklichen jedes Unkraut eine Blume”

THE GARDEN OF THE GARDENING BLOGGERS

In Western culture, the garden is rich in symbols as well as norms, involving both a spiritual and a physical dimension. It is a vital symbol “of a moral society living in ‘natural’ social and environmental harmony” (Olwig 1995, 384). According to Merchant, the “Garden of Eden” trope is one of the most powerful Western narratives. It tells us that we can regain it if we work for it, do something for it (2003, 39). Nadel-Klein concludes that all modern gardeners are “engaged in recapturing Eden, if only in a limited way, and some more explicitly than others” (Nadel-Klein 2010, 167).

The gardening bloggers I have studied cover a wide range of recurring topics such as

- Gardening as spiritual place: astonishment at cycles of nature
- Gardening as an arena for self-fulfillment: to replenish both soul and body
- Gardening as therapy, healing
- Gardening as beneficial and enjoyable
- Gardening gives a face to beauty (and sometimes also to evil, such as pests and extreme weather conditions)

GARDENING BLOGGERS

According to a study (Global Garden report 2010), gardening blogging is popular in Scandinavia (as well as in the USA, UK, and China), but less popular in the German-speaking countries (the study mentioned Austria and Switzerland, and I guess it applies to Germany). Swedish gardening bloggers are largely women. The blogs show how “(f)rom their thirties to their sixties, female Swedish gardeners orchestrate their partners, who help them by doing manly things in the garden” (Global Garden report 2010, 54). There are no figures on German gardening bloggers, but also here I would guess that most of the bloggers are women.

I have studied approximately 50 gardening blogs (half Swedish, half German), which were regularly updated. The oldest blog started in 2003, and most of them started in 2005. My examined blogs have a different amount of frequent readers, varying between 20 to 270 readers, and often have over 1000 visitors a month. 50% of the bloggers are female, 30% men, and 20% of the blogs are created by couples. I have remained outside of this blogosphere as a ‘lurker’, that is, as a passive audience. However, I had access to the comments to the extent they were openly published.

My bloggers are ordinary people who possess a small or large garden or, in one case, a balcony to cultivate vegetables, fruits, trees and flowers. It is their hobby and they do gardening mostly for pleasure or even passion (there is only one exception, a professional farmer). They are for the most part not especially subscribed to permaculture sites (some have links to them) or to sustainable gardening but often exhibit some type of ecological consciousness. I have not read a single post on the use of pesticides or chemical fertilizers for a better harvest or even something positive on mono-culture (with one exception of a lawn which is not seen as monoculture). If they were using chemicals they would not write about it, I guess. This seems to belong to the unwritten rules of the network communication of gardening bloggers undertaking green gardening.

OPINION POSTS IN RELATION TO ECOLOGY

Relations in a network are created by posts/entries that can cover several topics, and can narrate observations, events, and feelings. Topics as opinion posts have a concrete/factual aspect on the one hand and a temporal one on the other. Here, we can according to Luhmann distinguish between topics and posts. Posts refer to topics, whereas topics or themes live longer than the individual posts do, and combine the different posts into a long-term or short-term nexus of meaning. Some posts provoke new contributions or at least comments. However,

other topics are exhausted quickly. Schmidt (2006) differs between topics that are “spikes”, “spiky chatters”, and “mostly chatters”. The first are topics with a relatively short attention, the second are wave-like, as they are discussed over a longer period, and the last are discussed on a stable and low level (Schmidt 2006, 58). In the last category, one can include topics such as weather conditions, seasons, cultivation issues, and the beauty of flowers; in the second category questions of pest control, wild life, green gardening, and not least, consumption issues.

For gardening bloggers, the topic of consumption behavior has become a general domain of reflection from different points of view. Gardeners cultivate, and therefore produce goods, which Marx explained as an act of consumption: According to him all production is simultaneously an act of consumption and vice versa. Consumer behavior (including a gardener’s) is a very complex phenomenon, and plays an important role in identity formation, as we will see later on.

From the angle of ecology, most of the entries circle around the main distinction between unfettered and sustainable consumption. In my paper, I distinguish between three themes that are subordinated to the main distinction of unfettered and sustainable consumption of “spiky chatters”, where content “spikes” topics which have a short-term nexus but are discussed occasionally.

1. Trendsetting / Following trends
2. Keeping it organic
3. Beauty: Aesthetisation of the garden

The next section aims at describing how these three topics are discussed in the community and how they function in order to create identity, and hence relations in the network communication.

Trendsetting / Following trends

Not enough that the fashion industry forces us to critically see over our closet year after year, now even the flower industry can give us a bad conscience. The potted plants trend is away from small-scale flowers, bustling flower windows, to huge soloists, the bigger the better....I have better things to do than following every trend according to potted plants.”³

Jan 28th 2011 (www.guenstigmaertnern.blogspot.com)

The female blogger refuses to apply an ideology of fashionability to house plants and therefore to adopt a lifestyle culture which demands a “rapid turnover of identity indicators” (Bonner 2008, 34). Looking at the 15 comments following her post, all agree with her, and they narrate different stories based on the topic and stress the incompatibility between sustainability and gardening trends as similar to fashion trends. The mentioned trends lead to throw-away-thinking, which in turn exhausts natural resources and causes ecological damage. Most of the comments claim the importance of having established a relationship to one’s own plants, which stands in contrast to a behavior of following every trend. Intimate relationship to plants, and also nature, is a recurring feature in the blogs, and I will come back to this. Another example is the ‘story’ of the olive tree.

³ In orig.: ”Nicht genug, dass uns die Mode jedes Jahr wieder zur kritischen Durchsicht des Kleiderschranks zwingt, jetzt macht uns auch noch die Blumenindustrie ein schlechtes Gewissen. Der Zimmerpflanzentrend geht nämlich weg vom kleinteiligen, wuseligen Blumenfenster, hin zu riesigen Solisten, je größer, desto besser... Letzten Endes gibt es doch auch Wichtigeres, als in Sachen Zimmerpflanzen jedem Trend hinterherzueilen.“

Last year I spontaneously bought one of those magnolias everyone raves about... I planted it next to the pool. Thought it would be nice, a little Mediterranean area and ... Mediterranean flair is this year's catchphrase in the garden world... and the shops follow suit. 129 kr for a 1.5 m tall olive tree at a discount store. Have not fallen for it yet. Olive trees will soon be in the home of every Svensson, worth her name, I guess. Like the new harangue: house, dog, and an olive tree⁴
May 12th 2011 (www.tradgards-tankar.blogspot.com)

Adopting trends means to this female blogger that they have to fit into the exterior design, that is, for example when planting an exotic magnolia tree, it fits best near the pool. Another symbol for the Mediterranean is the olive tree, available as a special offer at a discounter. But here, the blogger makes a distinction: once it becomes mass-lifestyle culture, because of the price, the blogger loses interest in buying an olive tree, since the desire to express an individualized vision of oneself cannot be accomplished. Bargains help to spread a sort of mass-culture of gardening, which this blogger rejects. There is only one comment on this post saying

Olive tree ... yes I have two and I'm getting sick of them, do not really believe it's my thing. They do not look so nice if I may say so.⁵ May 17th 2011, (www.blogger.com/comment.g?blogID=246658779628727907&postID=6726970233021335637)

Following garden trends implies changing with each year and season. Consequently, being tired of plants after a while produces a consumer attitude of constant renewal. However, in contrast to this blog, another female blogger appreciates bargain hunting, and writes:

This week I got a very good bargain. Was eating breakfast when I saw that they sold olive trees at City Gross. My dear colleague E was also excited so we set off with my van. We thought that they would already be sold since the ad had threatened that they had only a very limited number of trees⁶ May 5th 2011 (www.landetkrokus.se)

In comparison to the former blog with 37 readers (July 2011), this blog is relatively popular with 111 readers (July 2011), and she got also 11 comments agreeing with her excitement. This post (and the blog as a whole) emphasizes garden style issues to some extent without consideration of location or climate. Having an olive tree that seldom or never bears fruit in the Scandinavian climate has a symbolic power of being trendy in consumer society. Olive trees are associated with the Mediterranean, that is, with leisure time, relaxing and a feel-good atmosphere.

⁴ In orig.: "Förra året spontanshoppade jag en sån där Magnolia som alla pratar så gott om... Jag planterade den brevid poolen. Tänkte att det skulle vara snyggt, lite medelhavskänsla liksom... Medelhavskänsla är årets ord i trädgårdsvärlden. Jisses vad alla tjarar... och butikerna hänger på. 129kr för ett 1,5m högt olivträd, på en lågprisaffär. Har inte slagit till än. Olivträd kommer stå hemma hos varje Svensson värd namnet den här sommaren gissar jag. Lixom nya harangen: villa, vovve och olivträd"

⁵ In orig.: "Olivträd.. ja jag har två och börjar hjärtligt tröttna på dem, tror inte riktigt det är min grej för de ser inte så fina ut om jag säger så."

⁶ In orig.: "I veckan gjorde jag ett riktigt fynd. Höll på att sätta frukosten i halsen när jag såg att de sålde olivträd på City Gross. Bästa kollegan E blev lika exalterad som jag så vi gav oss i väg med min kombi. Vi trodde nog att de redan skulle vara slut då annonsen hade hotat med ett ytterst begränsat antal träd."

STIMULATING CONSUMPTION/TRENDS

Personal bloggers also use targeted advertisements, and have sponsorships. Some aspire to commercialize their blogging activities. Some of the gardening bloggers also promote their own products and skills, from food to design (many gardening bloggers present and sell their handicrafts). Besides commercial interests, all are more or less inspired by posts presenting new produces, plants and/or garden tools. They can be ecologically motivated (increase insect life in the garden, for example, by presenting and reviewing different insect hotel habitats as I mentioned above) or just motivated by commercial products without any ecological purpose. The following quote shows how bloggers inspire each other which lead, in the following blogger's case, to an increased desire to acquire new plants.

I get so much inspiration from all your lovely blogs. Sometimes I find something I just must have.... ;) On this page I write down a number of plants that are on my wish list ...The list keeps growing, and has become very long.⁷

INTIMATE RELATIONSHIP VERSUS TRENDS

Gardening is the source of powerful feelings which are often described in the blogs. It gives the bloggers something to look forward to, and gives a lot of pleasure when digging, planting and particularly harvesting one's own vegetable and fruits. Therefore, an intimate relationship to one's own produce has been developed. A female blogger describes her feelings in the following words:

One of the most beautiful things for me is still harvesting my vegetables and fruits. I am always amazed that I can harvest something. ... Things I otherwise have to buy, I get them for free, self-made. I have a relationship to the things that grow there, I know what it means, how many conditions must be met for something to grow - such as my radishes.⁸ May, 14th, 2011
<http://mauerblumen.blogspot.com/>

She decorates her post with photos of her radishes like a 'family photo'. The radishes appear like a family. In the act of nurturing, the plants themselves become proxies for a kind of extended family. The author speaks sometimes of babies or children when describing her plants which belongs, according to Merchant, to romantic narratives where nature is similar to a human being (Merchant 2003, 134). This blogger is an urban gardener, and she only has a small plot in her backyard. Her blog has 59 registered readers (July 2011). She is marveling at all the life in her backyard, showing respect for nature in her backyard, including weeds and slugs. All of the following five comments share her amazement at growing produce and being self-sufficient (at least regarding radishes), and give positive feed-back.

Keeping it organic

A whole range of topics circle around humans' concrete contribution to improving the earth by planting trees, being sparing with natural resources such as water, and grow-

⁷ In orig.: "Jag får så mycket inspiration av alla era fina bloggar. I bland hittar jag något som jag bara måste ha. ;) På den här sidan skriver jag ned ett antal växter som finns med på önskelistan... Listan växer hela tiden och har blivit väl lång :)."

⁸ In orig.: "Eine der schönsten Sachen am Gärtnern ist für mich nach wie vor das Ernten meines Gemüses und Obstes. Ich höre einfach nicht auf zu Staunen, dass ich ernte. ... Dinge, die ich sonst kaufen muss, bekomme ich kostenlos, selbstgemacht. Ich habe eine Beziehung zu den Dingen, die dort wachsen, ich weiß, was es bedeutet, wieviele Voraussetzungen erfüllt sein müssen, bis etwas wächst - wie zum Beispiel meine Radieschen."

ing organically. This also means for the following male blogger that one has to buy organic food:

By the way, today, it will be 100 % organic. It feels a little better each time I do so. I'm still not 100% in my life, but on the way ... If you think this is a hard task, it is because I am just a thorn in your side and you wish that you also can make this decision. Yep it is so!⁹ (May, 10th 2011, <http://hannu-s.blogspot.com/search/label/Ekologiskt>)

This blogger, who has a very popular blog with 281 subscribed readers (July 2011), commands his readers and visitors to make dinner (or lunch) from organic food. He, who can be described as having bonding social capital, tries to make them have bad consciences if they do not eat organic food. In this post, he aspires to involve and engage the whole network in thinking and acting ecologically. According to the comments (10 posts), he meets with approval: some want to do better, some tell him they already do this and so on. If I compare this post with German posts on this topic of the role of organic food, I cannot find similar posts on commanding readers to buy organic food. This has to do with the fact that organic food has a longer tradition in German supermarkets, and it is not a question of wanting or not, but more a question of prices, and, therefore, even a class issue. There are studies saying that people with higher education and higher incomes buy organic food on a regular basis in Germany. In Sweden, organic food has experienced a revival in the last 20 years; in Germany the first organic food stores date already from the seventies.

Growing organic food is also about working with the soil and preparing it for the next season. Using green manure is for the next blogger a successful combination of beauty and benefit:

Actually, one can be very happy from a clover crop. Its refined fragrant flowers are obviously simple and pretty sticking up, equally appealing to both the bumblebee and the grower. And the lush leaves, soon to be green fertilizer for the benefit of worms and every life in the soil, are preparing the soil for next year's vegetable growing. Clover plants are simply in their simplicity the most natural thing in a living, organic garden.¹⁰
(Sept. 9th 2010, <http://mandelmanns.blogspot.com/>)

The blogger (a couple) illustrates this entry with three pictures of clover meadow against the light, and with two different close-ups in order to show different flowering clover species in their beauty. This entry received five comments, and most of them refer to an earlier visit of this garden which is open for the public, and thanking the blogger for a beautiful garden experience (including the clover crop), and also for a worthwhile blog. Within a short period of 15 months this blog acquired 137 subscribed readers as of July 2011. Before they started the blog, the couple were also known from a Swedish TV gardening program, where they contributed with advice on organic gardening. This has probably contributed to the popularity of the blog.

⁹ In orig.: "I övrigt blir det 100% ekologiskt som gäller i dag, känns lite bättre varje gång det är så. Jag är ännu inte 100% i livet, men på väg... Om du tycker mitt eko är jobbigt beror det bara på att jag är en nagel i ögat och att du önskar att du orkade ta beslut du med. Japp så är det! ;)"

¹⁰ "Man kan faktiskt bli lycklig av en klöverodling. Så enkla o självklara o vackra sticker de upp sina raffinerat väldoftande blommor, lika lockande för såväl humlan som för odlaren. Och de frodiga bladen, som snart ska gröngödsla marken till gagn för maskar o allt jordlevande, förbereder jorden för nästa års grönsaksväxande.
Klöverväxterna är helt enkelt i sin enkelhet bara självklara i en levande, ekologisk, trädgård."

Aesthetization issues

One can state that all gardening bloggers are more or less occupied with sharing their experience of the beauty of garden life by celebrating it in their entries. For them, the garden is *per se* associated with beauty, and this beauty can be visualized in words and photographs. Therefore, all blogs are decorated by pictures of plants, flower beds, wild life etc, and most of them are presented as small ‘natural wonders’. The picture motives seem to be endless. These images function as symbolic identity markers of the blog. By contrast, one identity marker which differs somehow from the ‘mainstream’ of gardening bloggers is a Swedish blog called *Arboarkticum* (with 46 subscribed readers in July 2011). Using photos of rotten apples, and a forgotten, frost-killed banana plant in the kitchen garden, the blogger (couple) writes:

These images are not only fuzzy and ugly. The subjects are also of a type *Sköna Hem* (an interior magazine - HG) would never dare to show. Welcome to reality, on a freezing cold Sunday in October!¹¹
Oct. 3rd 2010 (www.arboarkticum.blogspot.com)

In the blog description, the authors (the blog is written from a ‘we’-perspective) explain their garden life as a constant fight against “cold, dryness, stiff clay and terrible beasts” in order to get “exotic” plants rooted. Contrary to glossy magazines, gardening is seen as hard work not only because of the unfriendly weather climate of Mid-Sweden but also because of an atmosphere of neighborly discord, as another entry relates. However, the blog is not about supplying the family with daily food but rather about planting exotic trees, bushes, flowers, and herbs in a cold climate, which the blogger expresses as a struggle against nature, that is, against climate, soil, pests, and wild animals. Here, identity markers are explicitly drawn as distinct from mainstream bloggers and magazine images by stressing the failures and difficulties of gardening (in addition to entries on successful harvests, the acquisition of new plants, and weeds). Seen from an ecological perspective, these entries dealing with struggle until a decisive result is obtained are to a great extent about conquering nature. The gardener is not seen as part of nature but rather as its rival who has to gain hand over a wild nature.

Aesthetization issues that play an important role as identity markers can also be combined with sustainability, as the following entry shows:

We don’t like to cut dead trees, if we can think of another use. Dead wood is good for small animals and can be an element to create structure in the garden.¹² Aug 9th 2010 (www.das-wilde-gartenblog.de/2010/08/09/baumskelett-als-rosenstaender)

Illustrated by one picture, the above-mentioned tree skeleton is envisioned as a flower stand, and all four comments praise this “great idea”. Retaining dead wood for another use means, in this case, finding ways to improve insect diversity in the garden. Emphasis here is placed on a multi-use tree, and the integration of insects in sustainable gardening. In a broader sense, we can interpret it as the relationship between humans and nature as “based on partnership rather than domination” (Merchant 2003, 206). This realization of being part of an interconnected set of relationships in a broader world means the blogger (a couple)¹³ does not see any contradiction to tasteful design in the garden. I have not seen such an example of reuse approach in

¹¹ In orig.: ”De här bilderna är inte bara oskarpa och fula. Motiven är också av ett slag som *Sköna Hem* aldrig skulle våga visa. Välkomna till verkligheten en svinkall söndag i oktober!”

¹² In orig.: “Tote Bäume fällen wir nicht gerne, wenn uns noch eine andere Verwendung einfällt. Totholz ist gut für Kleinlebewesen, zudem ist auch ein Skelett noch ein strukturierendes Element.“

¹³ There is no register over subscribed readers.

Swedish blogs, which are often more concentrated on design and appearance, and therefore tend to support a renewal approach.

A Swedish example of using a tree for decoration is the ‘makeover’ of a perhaps ‘ugly’ tree:

Cutting off the branches to the stem and leaving the crown can have an amazing effect on the garden. This elder tree was really an asset in the garden afterwards. The bare stems are incredibly beautiful. In addition, I make a lot of elderberry juice from the flowers in June, so it is both useful and decorative. Could it be more perfect? ”¹⁴

January 5th 2010: (www.lanningetradgard.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2010-01-14T16%3A25%3A00Z&max-results=24)

This female Swedish blogger (with 113 subscribers, July 2011) illustrates her entry with five images of the tastefully trimmed elder tree from different angles in order to stress the beauty and elegance of her design. The tree has been given human help in order to delight all of the senses. Styling the garden allows her to express herself, as also does posting images to show her creations (in interaction with nature). The blogger received 13 comments praising the beauty of her garden design, which they felt was like a piece of art.

Another male Swedish blogger chooses the color of his flowers in accordance with the color of his cottage:

Black House, and black tulip. The black and red 'Queen of Night' has an interesting name, usually comes back and has a trendy color - a huge success¹⁵.

May 2nd 2011 (www.tantonorra.blogspot.com)

He got four comments (in connection with other posts) that all admire his beautifully designed garden, including his choice of tulips etc.

Gardening is often directed towards stylistic issues, and it is rather about cultivating taste than about cultivating food. Put another way, the garden is observed and created through the gaze of taste. The images make clear that this is a place of pure beauty: plants are carefully chosen, and colors and structures harmonize with each other. The blogger shows an image of a perfect garden created in a tasteful manner. In the latter blog, ecological considerations have a subordinate role. Combining beauty with ecological performance seems to be unimportant.

In comparison to German bloggers, Swedish gardening blogs are more focused on aesthetics, that is, garden design (and also trends). This is in line with the above-mentioned study “Global garden report 2010” claiming that German bloggers “are more into organic kitchen gardening than their counterparts in Scandinavia, where designed and wild gardens are hot themes” (14). The report is based on ca. 46700 Swedish bloggers writing about gardening, and traces the topic “The designed and artistic garden” out of the three top themes of Swedish gardening bloggers, in addition to the themes of “Re-creating wilderness, the feel-good garden” (Global 2010, 54). In German blogs, besides a pleasing appearance, good gardening often means green gardening, that is, producing vegetables and fruits in an ecological manner.

¹⁴ In orig.: ”Att stamma upp träd och buskar kan få en fantastisk effekt i trädgården. Den här flädern blev verkligen en tillgång i trädgården efter uppstamningen. De nakna stammarna är otroligt vackra. Dessutom kokar jag mycket flädersaft på blommorna i juni, så den är både till nytta och till prydnad, kan det vara mer perfekt?”

¹⁵ In orig.: ”Svart hus, svart tulpan. Den svartröda 'Queen of Night' har ett spännande namn, bra vilja att återkomma och trendig färg - en braksuccé.”

CONCLUSIONS

I want to come back to my questions on how gardening bloggers invite participants (readers) to a combined performance of an ecologist role in the garden, and which communicative forms and contents increase the likelihood of connecting communication.

In general, participants are invited by presenting relevant topics in the form of narrations, comments, and not least of all, images. The chance of getting a comment becomes higher with more reader subscriptions and blog visitors. Many of the bloggers are also hobby-photographers, and they decorate their blogs with impressive images of the garden. This attracts visitors who in turn post comments where they admire the images, among other things. Not all topics are successful with this meaning that they are commented on or responded to. I have observed that topics of general philosophical considerations on ecology, for example, questions of climate change, nuclear industry, and consequences of Fukushima do not get any comments. However, more personal entries describing, for example, the planting a chestnut tree against the hopelessness in Japan due to the earthquake provoke comments and further communication (www.kompostfilosofen.blogspot.com).

Describing daily garden life in an emotional way (with joy or sorrow), illustrated by one or more pictures, makes it more likely that readers feel affected, which eventually can stimulate communication. Comments are sent and/or new posts are written by referring to other entries, for example. In Luhmann's words, connecting communication occurs. In the community of gardening bloggers, those topics (information and utterance) are successful, which boil down major issues to daily experiences. By getting personal, and therefore being authentic, it becomes easier for the readers to connect/relate to entries and topics that deal with general issues of ecology by discussing it from the daily experience of e.g. changing house plants or bargains. Here, it shows clearly that the selected information (the content) and the selected utterance, 'how' to communicate the information, play a decisive role in establishing communication.

Topics related to ecology that are successful in creating relations appear in the studied material to involve the general distinction between sustainable and unfettered consumption from different angles, including the role of trends through the light of consumption. They are discussed from the angle of cheap/expensive (bargains), have/not have (various plants), familiar/unfamiliar (intimate relationship to plants), successful/unsuccessful (one's own harvest), beneficial/harmful (clover, organic food), before/after (trimmed tree), beautiful/ugly (black tulips, trimmed tree), trendy/unfashionable (olive tree, potted plant). Those distinctions which stress aspects of familiarity, benefit, success, remaking, or even beauty are related to sustainability, whereas the others of possession, of being trendy, advocate a unfettered consumption style. From the perspective of garden aesthetics, entries are also about the main distinctions of consumption, and more precisely, between reuse/alternative use and renewal /new acquisition. In relating taste to issues of sustainability, revaluations can take place by activating new ties and dropping other ties.

The links between the bloggers are characterized by emotional commonality, which is mainly expressed through a shared fascination with plants and wildlife on different levels. Unlike political bloggers, there is a very positive and friendly atmosphere among gardening bloggers on the Internet. The comments always express approval; the worst is perhaps not getting any comment. The following entry celebrates, for example, the "positive energy" the blogger gets from the community of gardening bloggers.

It was about the pleasure that all the beautiful, wonderful, creative garden blogs spread. I am, as the newbie of the blogosphere, overwhelmed by the positive energy that you, Charlotta, and all the others, are spreading.¹⁶

Nov, 18th 2010 (<http://www.landetkrokus.se/2010/11/karlek.html>)

Sociality in gardening blogs is also established by giving practical advice, sharing experiences, and especially emotions. Sociality is not only limited to virtual exchange, but can also include material exchange, for example, of seeds of wild perennials, as a female blogger relates:

I have collected the seeds for you. At the same time, a huge tick is running across my hand (what I do for you!). ...So, those, who want a wild perennial for shady areas that you likely will not get in the garden shop, write me a comment and you will get them sent home to you.¹⁷

<http://guenstiggaertnern.blogspot.com/2011/06/meinuberraschungsgast.html#comments>

She received 23 comments, and was forced to draw the names separately.

It is also a common practice that subscribers visit each other's garden. Some gardeners open their gardens for the public on specific days. They advertise their opening hours on their blog, and invite their readers to visit. Here, virtual communication can be transformed into face-to-face communication, which in turn can strengthen ties and open up for new relationships in the blogosphere and beyond.

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¹⁶ In orig.: "Det handlade om glädjen som sprids på alla vackra, underbara, kreativa trädgårdsbloggar. Jag som är nybörjare i bloggvärlden är helt överväldigad av den positiva energi som du Charlotta, och andra, sprider."

¹⁷ "Die Samen dort oben habe ich für euch gesammelt. Dabei lief mir eine riesige Zecke auf die Hand (was ich nicht alles für euch tue). ... Wer also diese mit großer Wahrscheinlichkeit nicht im Handel befindliche Wildstaude für schattige Bereiche in seinem Garten ziehen möchte, der schreibe mir das als Kommentar und bekommt die Samen zugeschickt."

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Imaging Europe, Representing Periphery:
The Body Language

Me and You Without Border. Performing Feminism in Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid’s Naked Freedom

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What does it mean to produce art and to curate in contemporary Europe and in preformative times? Performing feminism in cultural production, without border, is situated in the new geopolitical reality of Europe and historically constructed hegemonic discourses of everyday. Being as much as possible outside the mainstream spaces, results in a sense of being outside the mainstream and more importantly outside the art market.

In discussing Čista svoboda [Naked Freedom] by Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid (2010), (im)possibilities of social change under the conditions of financial capitalism that permeate art production as well as politics of today are addressed.

I loosely draw on bell hooks’ notion of a feminist movement, advanced in *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (2000), constructing visual representation embedded in action, merging a kind of restless criticality with a social consciousness. Such method of engagement incorporates the element of self-criticality, including reflection one’s positioning, class, race as well as an inclusive approach to gender representation and its geographies; a self-reflexive way of de-centering, contesting and problematising the ongoing ideological constructions of European subjectivity.

INTRODUCTION: PERFORMATIVE TURN

The medium of performance that already challenged the hierarchy of the contemporary arts in the 1970s and its reiterations across European geographies has become once again an important dimension of re-entry in feminist critique about the gender, inequality and social injustice. Bringing performativity to the critique includes here use of alternative sites of production and presentation as well as forms of engagement with various degrees of informal networking platforms in challenging dominant ideologies.

Performative turn appears as a central tactic adopted in various initiatives of theory advancement and new curatorial strategies. The projects such as Public Preparation, Alternativa or to lesser degree Gender Check, I would argue are covertly dressed in a feminist critique of dominant politics without addressing it by name. Chandra Mohanty's term 'feminism without borders'¹, a trend focused on questioning socio-political change and social justice across spaces of existing social and economic divisions and various other in the context of globalisation and re-iterations of neo-liberal capitalism. It is performing without border and without name, reflecting the in-between zeugmatic position and shifting boundaries of seeing through in-betweens. Such routes of inquiry also determine how identities are attached, or not, to a place. A transitory state of oscillation between mimicking and assimilating the place, negotiate another shift in a state of political consciousness, another move in cultural production, realised as either birth or death of a more performative nature.

The term 'zeugmatic' in rhetoric refers to the use of a word to modify or govern more words when it is appropriate. Serial dislocations, migration mobility and a sense of derootedness that dislocation creates, metaphorically and materially reflect a movement, a performing movement without border and without name. Such movement is realised through a series of spatial and temporal relocations, not only geographically but also conceptually, including migration and appropriation of ideas, memory, body and sources of Diaspora-routed inspiration for re-writing history by addressing the current political condition in cultural production.

Performing feminism, without border and indeed without name, is here situated in the new geopolitical reality of Europe and historically constructed hegemonic discourses of today. Negotiating being outside the mainstream spaces, without border, results in a sense of being outside the law of mainstream cultural production. Feminist performance strategies of the 1970s are echoed in addressing critique of politics and art production today, and more importantly, cultural apathy we breathe in the new Europe. For instance Kathy Battista² in the recent issue of *Art Monthly* in her essay 'Performing Feminism' and addressing feminist performance art in the 1970s London, flagged the importance of domestic spaces and other venues (e.g. performing in the public transport) and their appropriation for art production in the response to lack of financial support at the time. Not much seem to have changed since then. Certainly not much changed regarding financial support. The crisis keeps unfolding. Being outside mainstream, as much then as now, being at the fringes of cultural production, results in a type of DIY aesthetics and performative identities. It is in particular a performance of the self that becomes a channel for a critique of current condition.

Discussing Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid's *Naked Freedom*, I loosely draw on bell hooks' notion of a feminist movement, advanced in her book *Feminism is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (2000), constructing narrative around visual representation embedded in action and merging criticality with a social consciousness.

¹ Chandra Talpade Mohanty, *Feminism without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity*, Duke University Press: Durham, 2003.

² Kathy Battista, 'Performing Feminism', *Art Monthly*, February, 2011.

RE-CONSIDERING THE BORDER

In new media art in particular, the abstract quality of technologically generated and mediated world becomes an expressive means of communication strategy of performing feminism praxis. Acting-in- art constructs a metaphor for performance; it becomes a strategy that can be envisaged as a sort of a leeway for enacting identities, micro-memories and histories. For gender identification that also includes female masquerade, performativity of sexual and other identities. Performativity relates here to performance in cultural and artistic material practices of posing, representing and identifying with the identities and their forms, advocated by media deconstruction.

Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid play out the decentred position of the subjects through representation; constructing a fact-fiction account of a being European, Balkan, Slovenian, ex Yugoslavian, female artists. Ironic gesture of their acting out enhances critically informed performance of different forms of subjection. This ambivalent performance of identities, at times in contradiction with one other, is realised through deconstruction, appropriation and narrative critique. Working collaboratively for over twenty years, using video as a medium for critique, the artists position memories of the Communist past and its symbolism with the contradictions of post-Socialist conditions, and in that way, engage in a critique of hegemony of the West and global capitalism.

In *Naked Freedom* (2010), most recent video work at the time of writing by Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid, the artists conceptualize the possibility of social change under the conditions of financial capitalism and commercialisation processes that permeate art, the social, political and the critical discourse today. The work also comments on the process of making. The collective process of making the video *Naked Freedom* is about simultaneous enactment of social, political, and performative practice. It is a collective venture performance for the screen that aims 'to resonate with performers off screen'. The work connects Ljubljana and Belgrade of the new Europe with Durham in the USA and presents a conceptual political space of engagement that allows for rethinking what local is, who can be part of contemporary communities of practice, who is to be left out, what is the price to be paid.

In Ljubljana seven young activists, musicians, poets, and youth workers, members of the Youth Center Medvode, have met in a village near Ljubljana to discuss capitalism, colonialism, education, and the power of art as a possibility for a political intervention. There are utopian allusions to rethinking the possibility for a radicalization of what can be term as a 'proper life' under the current condition, citing the work of Jonathan Beller, Achille Mbembe, Gilles Deleuze and others:

Achille Mbembe:

<< What connects terror, death, and freedom is an ecstatic notion of temporality and politics>>

Après Jonatan Beller (one of the performing students):

<<It is cinema, as culmination of industrial technologies that uses the visual to re-organize the sensory world for the State and market>>

The work attends to the questions of utopia vis a vis the power of youth, as well as initiates participatory practice through the making of the video via which social relations that are sealed, revealing a visible agency ready to ask for new possibilities (Image 1).



Image 1: Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid's *Naked Freedom* (2010). Video still

Belgrade-based artist and performer Siniša Ilić deconstructs violence (from heteronormative to nationalistic forms of violence) in her performative drawings, a connector between different spaces within the realm of culture, art and activism. The drawings represent violence in a grotesque manner, opening up what is gender violence to wider systemic framings.

The last section of the video addresses the question of border control and the status of non-EU citizens status in Europe. More specifically, the status of African nations in 'Fortress Europe' is addressed through migrant workers trying to live and survive in the European Union today.

A historical analysis is offered of the mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion and prevention of work and life in the EU, based on a debate-exchange between Marina Gržinić and Ghana-born and Amsterdam-based Kwame Nimako that took place at the 'Workshop on Education, Development, Freedom', at Duke University, Durham, USA, in February 2010. The workshop was organised by the Center for Global Studies and the Humanities director, Argentinean literary theorist Walter Mignolo, to explore concepts such as global coloniality and the geopolitics of knowledge production.

Kwame Nimako runs the National Institute for the Study of Dutch Slavery and its Legacy in Amsterdam. Here the video becomes a kind of docu-fiction, or a dispositif for a film, addressing the wider context of global capitalism and labour migration with the aim of confronting the working and living conditions of non-EU residents in particular from the African continent. A history of these relations vis a vis the new geopolitical reality of Europe unfolds, a version of history based on the established hegemonic mechanisms of division that are today 'forgotten' but their traces lived through the European food policies.

The feminist root in the alternative art practices of resisting identities in new Europe spaces and performance today derives from this historical divide between private and public. Mihaela Mudure points out at complexity and ambiguous character of this particular link

between Eastern European feminisms and Communism³. This particular historically contested relationship requires uncovering of the coordinates of the ideological appropriation of feminism and a survival of some feminist spaces in the discourse of women emancipation entailed by the Communism.

Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid's practice point at resisting tactics in a relational sense (Kester, Bourriaud). The artists introduce the concept that emancipation and alternative voices in artistic production can only emerge from integration with other outsiders in the context of post-Socialist mapping of non-Capitalist world. The video structure constructs what Gržinić has called a revolutionary depositif – a kind of film that could include a project for a possible different society, different politics and different place of art in the political space. In an interview with Ana Vujanovic, Gržinić explained the importance of frames in their practice:

‘This is why our videos are so condensed, almost viscid and heavy, since each frame in the video relates to the production of life and to politics, and only then to art. What we are primarily researching and seeking to express is biopolitics, that hybrid of the biological and the political, the power that organizes not only bodies in contemporary societies but also, to an extreme degree, the conditions of life and politics’⁴.

Gržinić's message is that one (here the CEE fe/male artist) is made possible or exist solely on the basis of subversive performance of various identity-roles and its mis-representation: ‘There is no difference between my writing, my video, my lectures at the art academy in Vienna: they all are part of the same painstaking, almost bureaucratic work of insisting on constant differentiation and contamination. Everything I do is patiently constructed genealogy of power and dirty relations, the bloody situations of art and politics...There will never be an end to art because too much money is invested in contemporary art productions and also because art today has signed a clear and visibly normalized contract with capital’ (Gržinić in conversation with Ana Vujanovic)⁵.

³ We need to recognise an impact the evolution of EE feminism in last fifty years. Mudure defines such evolution as a move towards oxymoronic or zeugmatic spaces, the spaces comparable to the spaces claimed by the Third World feminisms since 1981, i.e. positions articulated by Cherrie Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua in *Radical Women of Colour*. These spaces of EE feminisms are indeed characterised by the position of separateness and the opposition while at the same time rhetorically claiming the unity and similarity. pp. 420-426.

⁴ Marina Grzinic in conversation with Ana Vujanovic. In Grzinic M and Velagic T (Eds) *New Media Technology, Science and Politics: The Video Art of Marina Grzinic and Aina Smid*, Locker: Vienna, 2008.

⁵ Ibid.



Images 2 and 3: Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid's HI-RES (2006). Video stills

A performative critique of power of the capitalist world that dominates the art world is advanced in another work by Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid entitled HI-RES (2006). In 21 min video, the contemporary dance performance serves as a metaphoric background for a dense narrative analysis of the global capitalist system and its 'performative' politics. A

debate is carried out on the premises of a garden, on the outskirts of Ljubljana revealing the influences of American suburbia-like stylization. The questions arise about the condition of the geo-political location for limits of cultural production and representation. The dominant art market position determines the written texts, production of critical works and also the international curatorial practices. Art in post-Soviet countries become a part of the capitalist machinery (Images 2 and 3).

Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid refer to Croatian artist and linguist Mladen Stilinović's point that 'An artist who cannot speak English is not an artist'. The artists put an emphasis on the linguistic articulation by adding 'An artist who doesn't speak English well is not an artist'. Being an artist in the dominant system is dependent on playing the rules of that system. The language becomes an instrument of the dominant ideology (of Anglo-American dominant art world), and the artist needs to become an owner of such language, needs to adhere by displaying good English skills and I would argue aesthetic preferences of the centre in art production to be recognised. Marina Gržinić explains her position:

The underground is a mother for me and my father is the rock 'n' roll and punk movement in Ljubljana. I grew up in the Ljubljana gay and lesbian scene and was thus closely linked with the theoretical power of the underground movement. Although I have a doctorate in philosophy, I am guided by the linking of theory and activist practice. Without the practical moment of involvement in a concrete situation and the attempt to change institutions and artistic and cultural practices theory doesn't make much sense to me. I am a defender of the linking of theory, politics and art. This is the only position that one can adopt in a world of inequality (Marina Gržinić in interview with Birgit Langenberger)⁶.

Marina Gržinić and Aina Šmid through 'contaminating working strategy', merging spaces, institutions, the inside and the outside and thinking in terms of different economies and different institutional deposits in which one is situated, works and lives, question ownership, for instance, the ownership of histories, including feminist histories.

CLOSING COMMENTS

Nancy Fraser (2009) in her *New Left Review*'s essay on feminism and capitalism situates the feminist movement within the larger political context and its historical moment. She points out that feminist demands for equality have been largely accepted, yet, at the same time, considering the process of feminism's mutation in the evolving realms of neo-liberalism, this acceptance has resulted in decoupling of feminism's emancipatory potential. I would add that geographical differentiation and versions of neo-liberalisms and nationalisms further complicate the reference to the feminist movement. As such, I would argue for its fragmentary and fluid spatial and temporal manifestations. Fraser also contemplates the possibility of reorientation of feminism in the present context of global capitalist crisis, which could lead to a new form of social organising. She states: 'With the fragmentation of the feminist critique come the selective incorporation and partial recuperation of some of its stands'⁷.

I would argue the performative movement without name and without border could be seen as a way forward. There is a need to reflect on art practice that can comment on and intervene in politics of everyday life, through resisting agency. Such artistic strategies are possible when the artists can openly acknowledge their position as marginal and 'defeated' in the

⁶ Obtained from Marina Gržinić, 2007.

⁷ Nancy Fraser, *Feminism, Capitalism and the Cunning of History*, *New Left Review*, 56, March-April, 2009, p 99.

world system. Such cultural strategies require, as Chris Townsend (2007) argues, a marginality positioning that Western professional artists are not accepting, and I would add, are not always aware of⁸. Such practices that are not Capitalism driven can become a means and a metaphor, however utopian or real, for social and political change in post-Socialist reality of everyday. Yet, artistic utopias found at this intersection and their resisting identities remain invisible to Western audiences. What we are left with is the persisting Berlin Wall.

Opening: March 21, 7pm
Venue: Labor, Képiró u 6, Budapest
On view: March 22 throughout April 5, 2011
Opening hours: Tue–Fri 4pm–7pm

Organizer: Hungarian University of Fine Arts
Supporters: Budapest Spring Festival; Center for Contemporary Arts, Estonia; Hungarian University of Fine Arts; National Cultural Fund of Hungary

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Budapest Version

BETWEEN IDEOLOGY AND IDENTITY

**Artists: Kaspars Goba
Wojciech Doroszuk
Eduard Freudmann & Ivana Marjanović
Flo Kasearu & Tanel Rannala
Eva Labotkin
Johannes Paul Raether
R.E.P.
Shlomi Yaffe
Katarina Zdjelar**

Curator: Rael Artel

Image 4: Public Preparation. Budapest Version. March- April 2011.

Feminist praxis without names and border, a Diaspora-infused movement of more a performative nature provides a politically charged platform of investigation and thus becomes relevant in terms of either the presence or absence of feminist politics in a socio-cultural milieu of today. Feminist politics don't need appear explicitly in certain contexts (as for

⁸ Chris Townsend 'Protest Art' Art Monthly, February 2007.

instance Gender Check), instead ‘feminisms’ and ‘post-feminisms’ became, possibly for the better, conflated or perhaps appropriated in the discourse of artists, critics and curators working with the politics, contemporary arts and new media. For instance, Public Preparation curatorial strategy born in Estonian forests involves art institutions through commissions of international scale exhibitions and simultaneously operates as a cross-border network-initiated venture involving the public through informal and appropriated spaces. Public Preparation is in a stage of rethinking how to re-activate the important discourses of politics and arts today. European cultural spaces continue divided by the symbolic walls made up of theoretical framings (Image 4).

What is needed is a theorisation that can capture the post-Socialist environment and its complexities related to appropriation of the feminist discourse by the Communist ideology and its evolutions and mutated versions today. Rosi Braidotti pointed at the need for the frameworks for comparisons of feminists philosophies between the CEE countries, as well as between CEE, the rest of Europe, the US and the developing countries. The reliance on Anglo-American feminisms do not seem to address the local specificity or reflect local reality. We need to accept once and for all that the feminisms and their manifestations in CEE cannot be solely grasped without a positioning in relation to minority women’s feminisms and Third World feminisms either.

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The Catalog of Walls: A Collective Memory of Europeans

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Why do citizens of Europe build walls? What is so solid in a wall to sustain power of division? Berlin Wall is one from examples of enactments of political power. I want to catalog the most popular walls. Below I give list of names. The Long Walls (450-404 B.C.) from Athens to Piraeus, The Walls of Servious (378 B. C.), The Wall of Hadrian (121 A.C.), The Walls of Antonius (282 A.C), The Wall of Constantine (324 A.C.) The Wall of Theodosius II (408 A.C.), The Wall of Warsaw ghetto (1941), Berlin Wall (1961-1989). Gathered together they give us horizon of possible barriers, differences, ethnicity and economic embargo, cold war and finally situation of a new world order.

My aim is to create an open table of content with quantitative and qualitative measurement. First I want to clear differentiate all through geographical and topological procedures. Second I want to write about architectural and decorating differences. In third I ask about cultural differences based on religion and economy. I try to finish with drawing conclusions giving especially stress on Berlin Wall.

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A Wall is a temporal investment similar to temporary autonomous zones. What is a prize of game where plays people from bipolar zones? A Wall brings to life a dichotomy as structural operator for deduction of rules. These rules are obeyed against each other in a society of walls.

Our behavior is a signifier of nonexistent walls. These walls arouse against ours because we had enacted barbarians, pagans or other civilizations as opponents. Despite of disappearance of walls we behave as being opposed to them. First, we behave as being opposed, second, we lost ability to mediation with opposite side. Is it possible to represent peripheries from the second side of walls?

There is a common assessment that the fall of Berlin Wall is a signifier of the end of Cold War. (Wright, 1992) After the fall of Berlin Wall one of sides won against the second. There is no expectations to reenactment of socialism or communism. Despite of melancholy to period before 1989 because of other hierarchy of values and other social relations there is no possibility to make step back. If we want to represent body language of peripheries from the second side of walls mentioned above there is no better way than memory.

It is a collective memory which gather all barriers and removals as in a genetic way of biological selection.

Name	Time of being built	Location	Longitude, thickness, height	Aim	Differences on architecture and decoration
The Long Walls	Built in V century BC by intention of Kimon during Pericles government and after Peloponnese War (404 BC) rebuilt by Komon in 394 – 391 BC; Finally destroyed by Sulla, roman commander, in 86 BC	From Athens to Piraeus and Faleron	L ~ 3km	Protection of trade, especially of exchange between the city and Aegean Sea	stones
The Servious Walls (misname because the date of put it up)	After invasion of Gauls in 390 BC	Around Rome	L – 11 km; T – 3,5 m; H – 7 m;	Protection against Gauls (tribal people); barbarians	stones
The Wall of Hadrian (76 – 138 AC)	From 121 to 129 AC	North part of Britain, from Bowness village to Wallsend	L – 117 km; T – 3 m; H – 5,6 m;	Against Picts, indigenous people of Scotland	Stones, turf, towers with frequency 500m and 19 forts one in 1,5 km
The Wall of Antonius (86 – 161 AC)	142 AC started	160 km north of Hadrian Wall	L – 58 km; T – 4,5 km; H – 3 m;	The same as above	Additional moat with 4 m width, 12 m depth and with forts one in 3 km
The Wall of Constantine	324 AC started	Around Constantinople	L – 2,8 km;		

Name	Time of being built	Location	Longitude, thickness, height	Aim	Differences on architecture and decoration
The Wall of Theodosius II (408-450)	During life of Theodosius	North 1,5 km of the Wall of Constantine	L – 3 km; H – 7,5; ditch – 18 m second wall – 12 - 18 m	Against Barbarians (Slovians, Avars and Pers) Christian (crusades) and Arab (Muslim);	Towers and keeps, gates
The Wall of Warsaw Ghetto	1940 – 1943	Around 2,4 km ² in Warsaw	L – 3,5 km	Extermination; robbery; eugenics;	Two interior gates and two exterior gates
The Berlin Wall	1961 – 1989	Cross Berlin and East Side of former Deutschland	L – 156 km;	Against migration, emigration, political and economic differences	Concrete, wire fences, gravel, landmines, towers, gates

Table 1. Catalog of Walls in Europe

I construct a table. The table contains eight most popular walls in Europe. We can shorten this list in a way that we contract two pairs in one element. I think of the wall of Hadrian and the wall of Antonius as one Roman investment which we can call British Walls. The same situation is in the case of the Constantine wall and Theodosius wall where we can use one term The Walls of Constantinople or Byzantine Walls.

This table allow us a comparative study between these different manifestation of European strategy, economy, religion and idiosyncrasy. None of these walls still exists. All were temporal investments but their impact on European culture evolution is important and what is crucial is that those investments are irreversible and decisive. Looking back to the origin of Europe we are not able to repeat or restore part of evolutionary choices. This is similar to the way of natural selection (Dawkins, 1996) and life of particular organism. Adaptation is a process of making choices from different patches. Is it possible to see new branch in the place where we cut it up because we want tree to be beauty? Altogether walls are embodiment of purification of Europe.

Now because of some interest in origins we can observe manifestation of retribalisation which is a process of negotiation with the most older forms of religion and economy. In this sense we look back and want the tree to grow across time. When we see or read about neopagans or enteogenic religion then we expect that some archaic elements would be restored and can be useful in construction of self in postmodern society.

In biology and physics most of process are irreversible because of entropy but culture is different, here reversing of natural selection is partially possible. In nature we are not able to restore dinosaurs but in culture we can pray in the oldest Gods. Cultural reversing as in reverse engineering is a part of a whole. We can say that it is less than half. It is one of third approximately. This is the place to negotiation of borders, peripheries and others who were precluded, excluded and traumatically forgotten.

In culture repetition of this what was abandoned is partially possible. Where we can find proper measurement for this partiality? I have no doubt that this reverse engineering on culture evolution is precious. I am sure that this tendency described above cannot gain more than 33 percent of total score. Margins, peripheries, oddities, precluded and excluded others could survive only as minority.

This minority can be opposed not to majority but to two conflicted other minorities ultramodernism and postmodernism. Contemporary culture has no majority and at the highest level of analysis there are three competitive minorities where one has aim to represent peripheries from the oldest part of cultural evolution. Here is a chance to negotiate with archaic religion, ritual, economy, exchange and some elements of politics.

Walls are being opposed to us despite its disappearance. Here we are affected to being inscribed to our past. What I want now to do is to compare all walls in direction where we can see long duration with three fundamental breaks. This direction is as one cycle of human recognition in his conscience. For me this direction give us opportunity to think about human genetic memory. I see very clear statement about human in papers of memetics. (Blackmore, 2002) There reader can find operable critic of religion. The battle between memetics and idealistic philosophy with Kant and Hegel results with resignation. Scientist of this kind neglect myths and through away darkness of hell. They state that religion is malicious meme.

First what we need is to reflect memes as being used for doing performances. Human performances as games, communication acts, appearances are channels. We act memes everyday because we inherit memory. Collective memory of Europeans is sustained in duration of one cycle of evolution from animal to human, from animal to animal rationale and homo symbolicum. Collective memory of trans-crossed nationalities which have other pagan origins, other founding myths

Memetic talks about memes from our history of being human. Nowadays some of memes are in extinction and some are in the processes of invention. Memetics is trying to discredit malicious memes as religion and conspiracy theory as U.F.O. For me conspiracy theory is very interesting object of investigation. I compare postmodern style of thinking with conspiracy and face with conclusion that postmodernity and postmodern are conspirational. Malicious or not memes as in religion give us opportunity to not think and to obey rigor of strict rules taken from division. In Greece Great Wall were for contracts with other republics of Mediteareniens. There is a memory about walking near Great Walls in Plato dialogues. Talkers speak about stroll and practical memory. They summarize political system of Plato. In these passages are theory of being, theory of soul, theory of politics. Although Plato is the best known thinker from ancient, modern times, there are many forgotten and uncompleted works of philosophers outside The Long Walls.

On one side are Parmenidians and Heraklitians from Kolon and Milet. On second side are Athenians Academia and Lyceum. Aside of Kolon and Milet was also colonies of Cyreneika and Abdera. There were also schools of philosophers. (Reale, 1994)

Altogether schools outside Athens are inscribed into what is throw back, lost in the unconscious. This cut was made off by system of thinking of Aristotle. He made step further when started clarify notion of substance. The walls around Greece are what we can call our horizon of events in the past.

In the case of Greece there is one strong channel of money flow from exchange between the net of islands integrated together on the basis of common mythology. Walls from Athens to Falenor plays function of investment which platform our civilization. Higher means here more complex, being chosen and being partially inherited.

The Walls of Severious are first example of investment against barbarians. It is not a voluntary exercise because Romans had slaves. These human beings were payed in the sense of depreciation and accumulation of capital. Human force as labor force. When we compare

this investment with Cyclopes (Koch, 1996) walls of young cities in Kreta such as in Kortyna we see difference with thickness and similarity with fear to otherness which is danger and destructive. Fear of this kind we can now feel to U.F.O. There is no more reason of allergy to other humans. Malicious memes of religion stopped to be opponents.

Humans had seen other humans as others but in postmodernity all are one inseparable, interconnected, imploded. There is no one general border as in the case of The Chinese Wall. People of all kind are in communication. This transfer is via internet, via planes and through other ways. Many ways of connecting make international global net of information, energy and humans as interfaces.

Below I enlist the most important thesis which I want to argument:

1. Collective memory functions in analogy to genetic memory.
2. Human kind, especially, European people inherits patterns of behaviors which are taken from adaptation and exclusions.
3. The Walls represent exclusions, especially of Barbarians (other ethnicity, religion, economy), Pagans, people of other policy and religion (Jews, Arab, communists, socialists).
4. Evolution of Culture is division, separation, improvement and choice which preclude irreversibly part of possibilities.
5. Exclusions leave traces in collective unconscious.

We can make collective unconscious being visible and open through rehabilitation of our memory of exclusions. As we can see walls are open content table with at least eight elements which can be shortened to six. The first at Greece is against to Spartan as other, competitive colonialist endeavor through Mediterranean. We can mentioned of few very strong cities as Millet, Korynt, Megara, Tebens, Sparta and obviously Athens which had colonized seashore of Black Sea, north part of Libia, south part of France, south part of Italy, Cyprus and Kreta. Citizens of Megara founded Byzantine. (Wolicki, 1997) The establishment of Athens domination were governed with Petroclus military occupation and defense against other investments such as Phoenicians and other Greeks cities.

Greeks and Phoenicians spread throughout the Mediterranean but Greeks rather on north with exception of Cyrenaika of east Libia and Naukratis near Giza. Phoenicians expanded rather in direction to south part of lands around the sea with exception of Boleary, Sardynia, western Sycylia and Malta. Greeks had much more autonomous, separated lands and their location were in many cases at estuary of river. Such situation was around Black Sea where was Amisos and Synopa near river Halys, Tanais near river Don, Olbia near Dniepr and Tyras at the estuary of Dniestr. (Plit, 2001) Location and size of colonies of Black Sea show us clearly that Greek expansion has its own originality and certain logic.

All cities enlisted above and other places such as Herakleia, Kallais, Odessa and Byzantine where autonomous, separated from others. It was caused by a few factors. First was that new places was set up by exteritorialization of certain cities from Jonia, Achaia and Peloponese, so its settlement was predicted of needs of such goods as especially cereal. New polis infrastructure in many cases serves as containers and suppliers of sources of necessities of life. For sure there was the case of Athens but if we look on map of Greek territory, we can imagine that Greek expansion was dictated by extinction of local resources. The second factor is diminishing of local resources and in consequence lost of ability to be autonomous. In certain sense we see here how polis lost its ability to being polis.

Third factor which is important to understand Greek radiation is their skill of sailing and navigation. We can say that this practical knowledge help them manage in wars against Persia. Even though their skill for navigation, fight on sea, battlement in coasts and through minute island, there was a risk of being assimilated or exterminated in isolation.

Greece domination is equal to Athens temporal victory over other main colonies through Peloponesian War which show how diminishing territory pushes his inhabitants to fight against in bipolar trade unions. We had three such trades, one govern with Sparta, second by Athens, third was built of two mentioned against Persia, which now is Iran. In those fights we see how European trades are not established from division of all universe but cutting up the edge of seashore of continent and isles of seas.

Persia is established as being opposed to all which is around her. East is able to conquer Earth, West is keeping on division in relation to others. Persia is first on the road to build hell of total and incessant war. It might be that the gene or meme of war was held by Sumerians only. Egypt and Mayan are seamless from our core of evolution. Evolution of Europeans are taken from half Greek, half Roman roots. Partiality of Greek root is because that other to Europe which is Russia which is against politically to European Union. Greek tradition is partial in Europe raise but is also partial in Russia fundamentals because alphabet, autonomy of Church or even religion and isolation in philosophy in exception of Bachtin, Bakunin and Berdiajew.

Athenian walls are repeated in the case of Rome in the extent that Roman Empire was attacked by people around of Roman Empire. We need to remember that Roman did enable to life only one strand which is half from one Greek. Situation is more complex because Roman Empire mix together Greek philosophy, education, politics, art and culture on demand as design of vases. Here Greece is divided into Sparta and Athens and at level further she is opposed to other colonies of West of Mediterranean. Complex beginnings which are sometimes ignored. We are seeing for the start of events before Christian times.

Other investigation tries catch root of European beginnings where there is foundation of Catholic Church and Christian monarchy. Roman Empire had its origins in the state where many kings rules in union of tribes. As I put in words above we do not know why people fight against others. Might be that this behavior is viral and was introduced by Sumerian and run over Persia to give power to Alexander Macedonian. At the beginning of Rome this meme had started as argument about conquering of Europe.

Evolution as we see is division and separation. Every kind of separation can be enlisted in such way that first is plurality of Greek isles which took contact with Roman and Persia. Walls of Athens as every such investment is symbol of falling down of economy and religion. Some steps later I try to insight more precisely this aspect of the fall of culture at the junction. This junction repeats itself as a operator of specialization and complexity. This junction repeats itself where Athens started to be only third part of this macrocosm and then outer space of Athens walls met Sparta trade union and others cities.

Roman investment in walls is rather more popular than original. These walls which we can find in Rome nowadays are from two sources and two different periods of time. First are from IV B. C. the second are from III A.C. The first are belonging to foundation of Roman republic. Before republic there were kings such as in the case of Etruria kind of government. Roman Empire started with Octavian August close to the date of Christ birth. Roman Empire held its borders in Europe, Africa and Asia. In Europe they started to fight with Celts who lived near rivers Elbe, Rhine and Danube. (Piątek, Marciniak, 1998) Roman army had tried take occupied territory still and moved border further with Hadrian Walls in Britain.

Is the concept of repeating has a worth to be adopted such many times? We see after Hadrian that his follower Antoninus built second analogical wall and fight against Celts with such entity which at the beginning of all process had started in Athens. Roman walls in Britain divided this land into Scotland, Ireland and British as being infected by Roman domination of culture and economy in this period.

Antoninus pushed borders into the north. We can say about it one enlargement of Roman market and splendor. In these times there were many lands which had not being conquered.

Poland and Sweden were still not discovered. Aurelius lost his people in Dacia. (Krawczuk, 1991) He ordered to step back and leave this territory. We might think that not all culture move to its home and the rest started as Gypsies. People without cultural root which decided to reconsider its limits and move soldiers, poets and musicians. There is an interesting analogy of Gypsies and Jewish.

I will try now reconsider ethnicity of Jewish. If we try to understand similarity between Gypsies and Jewish we can think of both as orphans. These orphans appeared in function of response to collapse of its neighborhood. Mythology of Jewish predestination and difference to others is element of strategy of these people. In opposition to this demagogy and secret services we can put clearly that Jewish culture is taken from partial Sumer, partial Phenicia sources and what is crucial is simultaneously orphan of Egypt.

Jewish are not European in the sense of genetic heritage of values and culture. Jewish stayed independent with its economy and culture but everywhere where they rise their colonies they receive message that their purity and neutrality are against rules introduced behind walls. We must say that every city which we can find on the maps of Roman and Celts territories had its walls. City Wall is a condition of free will of inhabitants. Roman higher class has its slaves and people from other ethnicity had hard opportunity to become wealth.

This separation inhabited in minds and become semantically presented in adjective "barbarians". This words were invented by Greek for differ and also escape from crisis and even deportation. This word we can find in papers of Aristotle and Plato where they take voice in the political dispute about governing. In Greece we can find crude monarchies which are black evidence of despotism but some of them as in the case of Pizystrat showed how monarchy system can help social relation between aristocracy and metoikas who worked hard and had not civil rights or even its evidence such as in the case of Roman Tribunes.

Greek system of economy and culture presents strength and tolerance. Polyphony of colonies gave them power of assimilation and bring diversity even in religion, philosophy and arts. For evidence of this word we can consider Ionia and Doria as origins of two different orders of buildings especially sacral and devotional function. Greek schools of philosophy are another proof of diversity which is alive somewhere.

Abdera, Cyrenaike, Krotona, Synopa altogether found plurality of Greek philosophy but only Plato and Aristotle were chosen and translated into Roman language.

Can we build genetic line of heritage longer than to the point where Celts won over Roman Empire and plunder Rome many times in V A.C.? If we are able to do it, start with double, repeated root which is partially Celtic and partially Christian. Where strong line of life meet second power which is more strength there is disruption of irreversible forces. Here is a abyss, a blank spot where many narratives can be accepted. In this moment walls in Byzantine had been build.

Walls are here for defend all kind of noises which can interrupt, purse money collection into another way from Athens by Falenor to Agrigento, Leontini, Appolonia or Cirene.

In fact, Cirene will be influential in post-Alexandrus period (Haywood, 1998).

The Second wall build in the time of Aurelian are intended to be antibarbarians so it is a symbol of decay of Roman Empire. The Walls of Constantinople were many times the only way to defend Christians against Persia and after Mohamet against Muslim. Walls of Constantinople had existed since Greek colonization until Constantine moved capital city of Roman Empire from Rome to the East. The Walls of Constantine were built in IV A.C. and shortly after its finishing Constantine announced new center.

After capital city relocation Constantine and after him Theodosius and Justine had power to keep quiet all disruptions in the territory of north Africa, Palestine, Syria and Turkey. This order of thing could not last forever. Main factor in the process of temporal existence of Constantinople is that which raise from schism. Because of rivalry of two Churches being in

theological quarrel we see how crusades are organized to conquer newer one of centers.

At the beginning there is Byzantine held by Greek colonialism, after it there is Constantinople with guard of national monotheism and doubled function of priest and strategist in very long time of giving heritage in many generations. Especially dynasty of Paleologs (Kardasz, 1998) had great impact on art. When Constantine came to Byzantine it had changed its name but in publications we can find name of Civilizations such as Byzantine which existence is until Arab victory with Osman Empire.

In XIII A.C. IV Crusade came to Constantinople and temporary won over Greeks but shortly Constantinople was restored. This period is plenty of art such as iconostasis. Politics of Constantine is admired because he envisage victory of barbarians over citizens. In fact West part of Empire after siege of Odoaker and Valeryk started to trade his faith rather than military service. It is interesting why leaders of barbarians such as mentioned and also Carol the Great of Carolingian change their customs, habits and beliefs. They all converted to be religious. We are not so naive to believe that they had converted their selves because of miracles and clairvoyance. They knew clearly that religion is great companion in guarding power.

Sacred power is more powerful than civil rights. Sacred power is right law and this law can simultaneously sin and consecrate. It is interesting that in the same time on one side Arab entered Byzantine and on another Columbus landed in The Middle America. Western Europe started colonization of Americas and in the same time Muslims subtract Eastern Europe. It is obvious that monotheism helps to enact Church as the second but conditional factor of medieval politics. Between East and West of Post-Empire is rupture which divides two heterogenous roots for successors such as Russia on the right and Empire of Germans on the left.

Nowadays we still see Russia as a never died opponent from bolshevik War (1921-22) and Second World War (1939-1945). It is easier to talk about business and sharing knowledge with North Americans, Japans, Germans, Spanish than with Russian. On this side of this imaginary wall we see Russia as full equipment with secret services and rich of energy resources. We clearly know that Russia has plenty of atomic reactors. It might be that amount of it is the highest in the world. Europe last north Africa, Palestine, Syria, Anatolia and Black Sea because of interior diversification manifested by religious dogmas.

In these dogmas central figure is Christ who is first treated as human body, secondly as simultaneously god and human. Opposition between this possibilities show how contradictory monotheism is. For establishing more strength of religion dignities of Church introduced propaganda of dual nature of Christ against schism of monophysicism and arianism. Schisms which were mentioned above fruited Byzantine flowers.

This diversification started to be an object of hate and to Europe on the West side was better to contact with her senders to New Amsterdam, New Scotland, New Jersey etc. For Europeans from west side expansion is the best seller. Even they could reconcile they choose alternative and renew borders. Now when last colonization has finished we can ask about this old fashion logic. We do not need to insist for this categories and may try to repel Arabs from our Africa and Anatolia. Russia would be the best friend to reconnect Byzantine with Moscow in a case where they started be religious.

The Wall of Warsaw ghetto is one of many such zones where Jews were exhausted and diminished because of planned devastation of this line of human kind. In case of Jews where is a suspension that they were extremely rich and influential. It is partially truth that Jews collect money, work hard and do not want to socialize into new background culture. Jews insist on their culture, in it is religion, tradition, commons, law and so on. This kind of deafness effected with non-tolerant behavior of many cities in Europe. There where denunciations, sendings into exile and fights.

Jews are orphans of Egypt so they do not know what they are. In such oblivion they make their rituals and manifest their identity and do not give any space for exchange but profit. The Walls of Warsaw Ghetto is analogical to similar in Lodz. Both they were evidence of German eugenics, robbery, terrorism. Eugenics is an intellectual basis for arguments for purification of human race. German troops believe of their uniqueness taken from Aria, former India. German propaganda made Jews a scapegoat such as in the case of Christ and Romans in Bazylea. German wanted to established business with extinction of man, their labor force exploitation and even medical experimentation. (Nyzsli, 2010)

At the end of the list there is a wall war around Berlin. We should start with Second World War and Nazis eugenics to draw line between two walls this one in Berlin and this one of Warsaw. After war Berlin was divided to French, American, British and Soviet parts. Tree of national governments give foundation to West Berlin and one Soviet Union with its satellites from Warsaw Pact took the rest of most bordered city in the World.

Any of the walls threatened Europeans but in Palestine there still exists a wall against Arab. This wall is often mentioned or even subjected in contemporary art. I know two pieces of art which describe walls in Palestine. First is documentary about children who exist there. Many of them express their selves on this walls with pencils, markers even spray. They play football there. The second I know is also video but with no dignity but irony. In this film showed during Mediations Biennial in 2009 in Old Printing House in Poznan viewer can see a man who are playing football with someone from the second side of wall.

It might be that the author is engaged with sport and simultaneously with occupation of borders. Artists can help with outlining new world without borders and walls. Documentary films and video artworks can provide open dialogue with history and historians. In Kinga Araya film about Berlin Wall we can see peripheries of city and rural landscapes. Here is one kind of metaphor about journey into subjective memory collection. Video of another polish artist Anna Baumgart is more investigation than narrative of trip into conscience. Second artist is interrogating people as being their mates. She paid for actors and assistants, took camera operators and shoot scenes as film director.

Walls exist till new generation has power to destroy it. In fact nowadays there is no struggle for building new walls but we are face with probability of atomic war. Walls were for defend against somebody who is attracted to place and ethnicity, what we can call culture. People from sides of walls fight against each other. One dominant quality which we can find in mass of examples is linked us to religious virus. It is clear that monotheism give majesty, dignity and fame to its prayers from upper class of European society. We could say that Roman Empire still spread out through forest of Poland, Sweden, Denmark. (Haywood, 1998) Another dawn is as alternative spreading out throughout Bulgaria, Romania, Russia. Two faces of Christianity which at once being crusaded and attacked harmful by one of sides.

Wall of Byzantine gave up under pressure of Muslim. In the same time Spanish and Portugal and later also England exploit new territory which might be saw walls as in the case of Maya or Olmek. In the history of walls we see technology how operates quality of safety. In the case of Warsaw ghetto it is needed to be gestapo and fire gun holder. Massacred peopled layered down in Auschwitz were great testimony of beast in human. As testify eyewitness people death camps were for crematory, labor, experimentation. Nazis were also kind as in the case of Hungary at the end of war when they let escaped some rich young best Jews to Switzerland. (BBC Warner, 2005)

In Poland it is well known film of Spielberg "Szindlers List" which described some details from death camp life. Auschwitz was a net of about thirteen camps around. Over there were factories of I.G. Farben. There are passages about this corporation in "Gravity's Rainbow" of Thomas Pynchon. In this narrative is main character named Slothrop who in zones of Berlin has being contacted with other secret services. Slothrop do not resist from joy and pleasure.

He is very fun in his melodies and vigor of singing.

Pynchon describes Peenmunde former military basis of Nazis. Here are scenes of luxury and excess. People navigate to North Sea and many not appetite events had moments of experience. In Peenmunde met with very oppose forces. First is SS the second are black troops from Africa. This element is ironic but also show intelligence of its author. Writer imagine nation or tribe from Africa who are accepted by Nazis and pushed into conflict with Jews. If we accepted this possibility need to belief that Africans are not barbarians in the sense of Nazis purification. SS impact on extermination of Jews did not included Africans. Another situation was in the case of extermination of Christians in the period of Dioclecjan.

We may think of series of repetitions as in the case of extermination of Polish by Soviet, Jews by Nazis, Scots by Roman, Polish by Germans, Muslim by Byzantine, Indian by Spanish, Portugal and others. All this crusades were for one race, this race is white human kind, human from more cold environment but not so cold to change his weight and height. We think at this time about Europeans who conquered West and rest to being conquered East, especially Anatolia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Cyrenaika.

As being told walls are investment but it is short extent to which people inside can stand inconveniences. Walls need to be repeated because their environments grow up. Walls are independent but people from both sides are in confrontation against each other. Sometimes this square is described in terms of barbarians and noble or Christian and pagan. In another way difference in human show walls of ghetto, symbols of final solution. In Nazis projects of future humans there are no place for genetic of psychopaths, alcoholics, cripples, homosexual and Jews. They rejected all kind of mis-imagined otherness.

Nazis started to oppress all weak human who were in hospitals. They also projected new human race based on children from centers for recreation. One of this centers is mentioned in book of Bohumil Hrabal "How I serviced as a waiter to British King". Main character of this narrative gain fortune during Nazis occupation of Czech. In one of centers of recreation there had worked his wife. There came officers of military services and woman gave them what they want. Orphans of this demands were collected and take care in groups. This model of building social cohesion by aleatory game with genes was comic but at the same time brought to live separation of generation from its parents.

At the end of my paper I want to put stress on Berlin Wall as last manifestation of modern binary opposition of being enclosed and enclosure as in comparison of inner and outer. Berlin Wall was one of manifestation of difference between communism and capitalism. This opposition was synonymy for opposition of East and West. Imagine 20 years older Europe than actually is. It has easy to understand borders with stress on one general difference which is based on politics and economy rather than difference in sport or race.

Difference of economy in time when Berlin Wall existed was well known in the terms of deficiency and embargo. Berlin Wall divided one city into two separated parts where people could not trespass between two side of the wall. Germans with the same cultural root, with the same language temporary in opposite camps. This situation is partly comparable with geopolitics in two countries of South and North Korea. Berlin Wall was demolished and today is not perceptible.

I have two photographs of Berlin Wall from different dates of time. First is taken in 1961 at the beginnings of Berlin Wall. The photo are showing fences with wires and small houses probably guardhouses. This photo has at the corner silhouette of man so we can measure of height and thickness of fences. The second photo are showing a man with hammer in a front of wall. On the edge of concrete wall there sit young people and observe him. His face shows pain and accusation. Could we tell is he from east or from west? Is he western German or eastern German? I suppose that he is western because the wall is painted colorfully with graffiti.

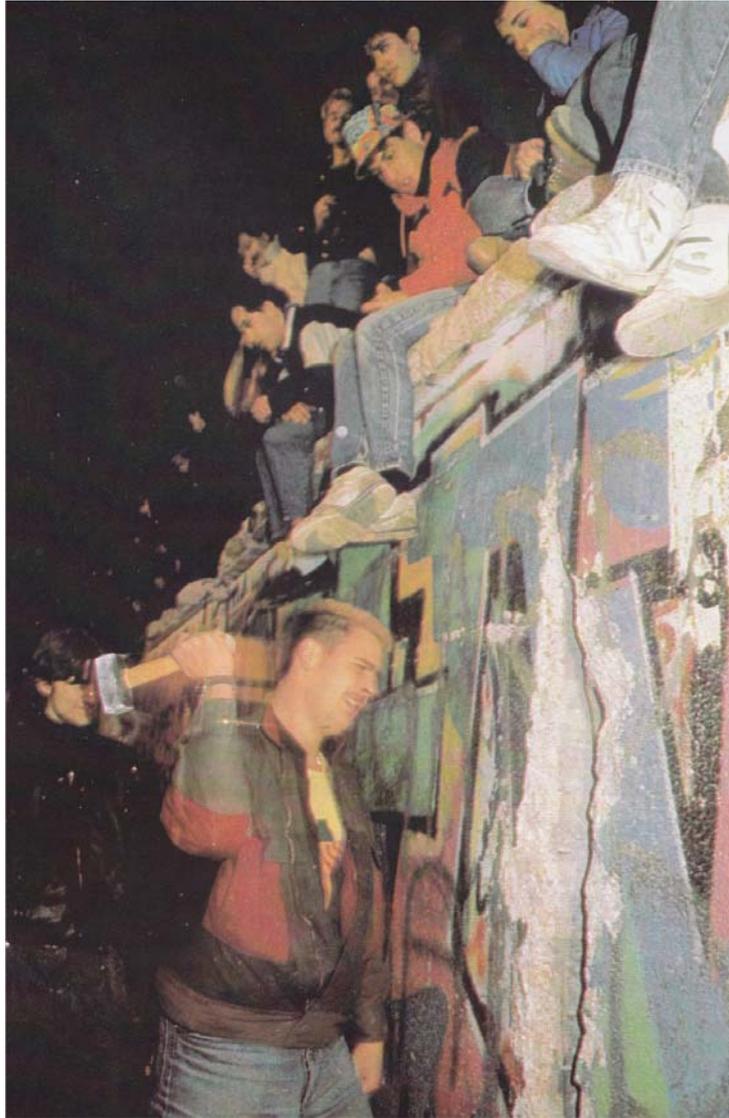


Photo 1. The end of Berlin Wall. source: Wright, 1992

One of the symbols of transformation in countries such as Poland is graffiti, which before did not exist. In Poland, police keep order and cover spray comments or plays of political opposition or counterculture. In Poland, it was not possible to spend time for composition with sprays because policy rigor rejected open public manifestation of freedom. Polish government used propaganda methods for indoctrination of socialism.

Differences between former East and West are based on politics and economy. On one side, there was a struggle for central administration of goods and collecting of production on a primary level. I am talking about state-owned collective farms and a centered, over-informed style of governing. On the second side are investors and collectors with their own value and less center-oriented governments with parliament and political plurality. Order of communism had no political plurality. There were many victims of ideological monism in the Soviet Union and her satellites. The Soviet Union started to send people to Siberia as a punishment and colonization at once.

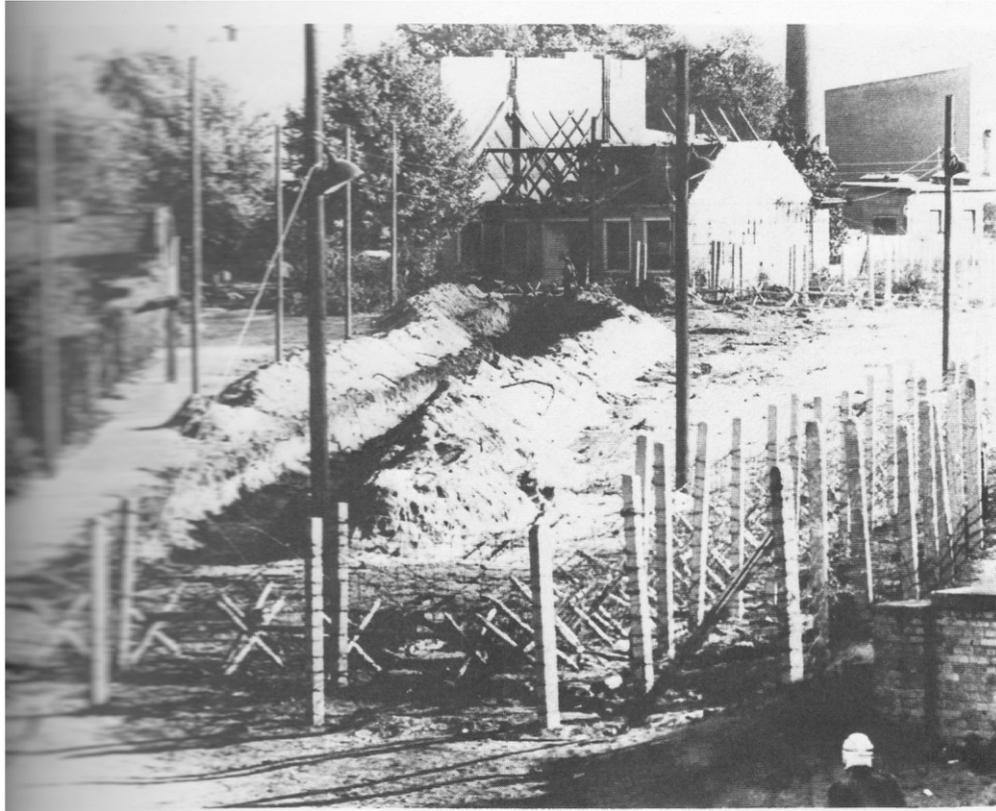


Photo 2. The Berlin Wall at the beginning of its existence (1961). Source: Wright, 1992

Berlin Wall was a symbol of superiority of West over the East. This kind of imperfection was based on impossibly bad done redistribution of goods in the net named RWPG and Warsaw Pact. With perestroika of Michail Gorbachev new world order has started and after Berlin Wall falling there was no way to return behind the Iron Curtain. When Berlin Wall existed then many of Polish travel by train to Western Berlin mainly for high tech, sweets, clothes. Some of the travelers started to be sellers in homeland. In cities such as in Kolobrzeg and every city placed near land frontier of Germany were markets with goods from Western Berlin.

In times of Berlin Wall we had conscious that Western products are much more designed, advertised and broadcast. On one hand goods from so called black market was fully equipped by Russians and in the same time Polish entrepreneurs travel to Western Berlin for goods sold back in Poland. At nearest areas to frontier with Germany there is folklore of dwarfs. People have many dwarfs around their houses. Dwarf has two meanings in Poland. First is about Orange Alternative which had aroused in 80'. It was a net of students and volunteers in main big cities in Poland. I talk about Warsaw, Lodz, Wroclaw. The last city has the largest crew. They wrote on walls and painted dwarfs.

When the Police found those dwarfs they told to wipe away and paint the wall gray again. Orange Alternative made happenings which showed irony, absurd of former reality. One of happenings was called "Gallopig Inflation". Action was to run around through main street and when police stopped him, he should answer "You have stopped gallopig inflation". Orange Alternative had many actions or happenings with many people or just a group of four, five. In Polish opposition to Soviet Union there was a Union of Solidarnosc. This was main opponent based on conspiracy and started short before martial law of 1980-81.

Actual post soviet Europe started after 1989 with Berlin Wall falling and strikes in polish shipyard of Gdansk. Between former East and West was diversity build of separation. People from countries of Warsaw Pact need to attend for visa. A few years after fall of Berlin Wall

Polish need to ask Russia for visa. This kind of economy is based on nets which have their borders and we can call them local. Poland has interesting location on a map of evolution of Europe. It is on the margin in early middle age until baptism and christening able us to see it in the center of Europe.

In my paper I want to collect knowledge about the most known walls in Europe. I think that the list show a schema of movements of evolution. This evolution is a image of curve which divides itself into branches as in the chaotic indeterminacy of fractal. I want to say that walls are symbols of our rejections of barbarians, pagans, Jews, Gypsies, amputee, alcoholics, mentally ill. We cannot find accurate reference between parts of walls and exclusions but we have general principle. Warsaw Ghetto and many of ghettos in Poland are symbols of exclusions of Jews. Walls of Hadrian, Aurelian and Constantine are against barbarians and pagans.

Berlin Wall was for separation of two parts of Europeans. First was western, with market of capitals of many independent entrepreneurs, the second was eastern with slow motion of trading because of a general lack of everything. In Soviet part of Europe, in Poland for example products were rationing and exchanged with money and small sheet of paper referred to month and portion. It was called sheets of food rationing. In West at this times as in Poland now products are in over amount and general principle is to compete in democratic way. Past has gone and with it also transfer politics from dualism of capitalism and communism to monism liberal democracy.

Some of authors who describe contemporary politics want to show how Western economy started to be global and its govern with parliament and president are illusory and temporal. Naomi Klein describes crisis and stimulated disasters in USA, Argentina, Chile, Poland. She claims that main character of this controlled critical situations are secret services. Berlin Wall was also a place of intensive exchange of information which interrogate two sides of the wall. This talk show how two sides operate this border to show their politics.

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Bobrek - The Life Through the Dance

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A workers’ district of Bytom, Bobrek with a steelworks and a coal mine for “the better future” under Communism, now terrifies with the media accounts of pathologies and hopelessness. Children continue to play against the backdrops of derelict buildings but gradually become devoid of dreams. The Silesian Theater of Dance in Bytom organized dance workshops devoted to break-dance, hip-hop and funky in the area.

Three boys, the main characters of the story, Andrzej, Daniel and Paweł, decided to change something about the way they lived through dancing. With the group of other dancers they prepared a performance at the local theater. During the premiere night their families and friends entered the theater door for the first time. Will their dreams come true?

This paper reflects on the making of Bobrek dance (2002).

BOBREK - THE LIFE THROUGH THE DANCE

My collaboration with the Silesian Theater of Dance (STD) started at the end of 1990s when the theatre organized creative projects – dance workshops for the disable, elderly as well as those with the mental health issues. The main goal of these projects was to reframe the problems of social exclusion. For me, as a film director, during making of the film, I have witnessed changes in participants' attitude and their self-esteem through dancing.

Bytom is an industrial city of Upper Silesia in Southern Poland with the population of 200,000 (Silesian agglomeration has more than three millions). Majority of coal mines are closed down now, steel mills are slowly fading away. Bytom's districts, including Bobrek, grapple with the growing unemployment, poverty and violence. "It used to be a land of work and love. And now it's thieves and fucking jerks who hate one another" – says one of the residents of Bobrek in the sequence filmed in a local bar, where now unemployed miners congregate. Their only source of living – on the top of symbolic welfare benefits – is based on robbing trains carrying the coal and the sale of the scrap. Frequently, the whole families are involved in economic survival. "This place is a shithole and nobody's gonna change it. Life sucks here. Your own people knock you fucking down" – adds another man in the bar.

In the worst situation are the youth, often witnessing the worsening of socio-economic conditions at home. Kids are left unattended and often turn into alcohol and drugs, and then give up school and end up in conflict with the law.



Bobrek – workers' district of Bytom

STD has prepared a social project under title "Closer to Art" directed to the group of youth from Bytom's Bobrek. The workshops was devoted to street dances – activity connected both with "the life of the street" as well as with the rhythm and movement. The participants had the opportunity to develop their skills and interest in dance, under the guidance of qualified dancers from the Silesian Dance Theater and elsewhere. The project offered regular meetings through a dance group to rehearse for the performance production. Together with a cameraman, I have identified three boys at the workshops and decided to record their dance experience from the first attempts at the workshops to the final performance.

Years ago by the river bank lived beavers. One day fire broke out in the nearby settlement and all the beavers ran away into their burrows. But one of them jumped out onto the bank and pointed at the river. The fire was put out quickly thanks to its water. In memory of the brave beaver the settlement was called Bobrek. People lived there happily ever after (beaver in Polish is bóbr so name Bobrek comes from this word).

The film opens with a narrated fable, a boy seem to barely read; already in the opening sequence through the sound, anxiety is channeled. The introduction transforms mythical space (the archetype of lost paradise) into real “here and now” Bobrek with its issues of violence, hopelessness and desperation. The layer of soundtrack converted to the youth rock song becomes the main music theme:

They've been told/ there's no way out of here./ Better not to dream about it./
There's no future here/ they've understood/ there's no turning back./ You have to
fight for everything./ You have to live this way.



Daniel, Paweł and Andrzej during dance workshops organized by Silesian Theater of Dance

This is a particular moment of the film when voice is passed over to the boys – we are face to face with the material that is both subtle and challenging. The protagonists of the film are three boys – Andrzej, Daniel and Paweł filmed in two separate spaces: the real environment in which they live – home, school, backyard etc. and neutral, shot in the studio where the only eye-catching element of the viewers are their faces. There is a lack of visual distance while the boys narrate in their own language. Daniel, Paweł and Andrzej are between 16 and 18 years old; they are aware of entering socio-economics of adulthood. The message we are left with is the boys want to escape the lives of their parents: working hard, for little money in hazardous for health conditions “I don’t want to toil like she does. It’s a job for a man and it doesn’t pay. If they do pay, they pay dirt-cheap”– says Paweł describing his mother working at the nearby coking plant. He explains that in his family (half-Polish, half-Gypsy) only mother has a regular income. “The world is beautiful when you have money. Then you can have fun or else you hang around the yard and think how to come up with some dough” – Daniel adds. The boys have experience with drugs, substance abuse (in Bobrek you can buy a plastic bag with airblast to stupefy for one penny), alcohol, brawls and petty theft. One day they come across Silesian Theater of Dance’s break dance classes. They take up the challenge; they have nothing to lose after all...



Daniel during the first workshop

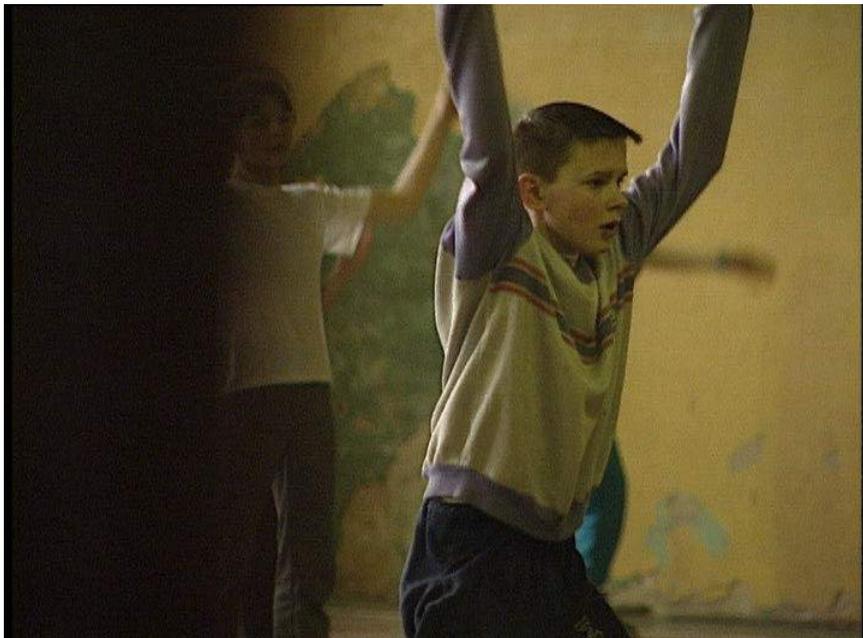
To create this film I had to get intimate with the daily life of residents in Bobrek, enter their spaces. I remember I heard one day: “show others, how we live here and what the future can our children have in this place!”. I am a very grateful I could have entered the private spaces. Places like Bobrek are everywhere, this story is universal.



Andrzej and his mother in Bobrek

Simultaneously, I have followed the action of Silesian Theater of Dance; recording day by day and month by month the influence of the dance workshops and the protagonists. It is worth noting that initially boys were unable to find themselves among people in wheelchairs, uncomfortable to work together: “first we didn’t like it but after a day or two we got tight with the group. It was fun”. Shared experience of what happens with the boys overtime, how much they seem to have changed, especially how they seem to have mentally matured was a

fascinating add on in the process. Awkwardness, complexes and aggressive attitude seemed to wither overtime. They were affirmed – you feel rhythm very well, your body moves fantastic! Their efforts were valued.



Andrzej practicing break dance

It was this long awaited evening... In the lighted foyer appeared a lot of guests and the great bell announced the beginning of the spectacle. We were with the camera behind the scenes, we shot the boys performance, their reactions, the nerves, mobilization. “I felt like an artist. I was tickled pink” – said Daniel after the final night of the performance at the theater.

Among the audience they could see their parents and peers. Many of them crossed the threshold of the theater for the first time in their life...“Dancing was my best choice ‘cause I kept clear of many mean things (...). Good for me and for others maybe. If it wasn’t for the dance, I could be trashing some guy right now” – shared his reflections with honesty Paweł. „When I heard the clapping I felt tears in my eyes. Everybody must’ve shed a tear or two”- commented Andrzej visibly moved. That evening appeared as a great victory for them.

Another ordinary morning at Bobrek. Unemployed are sitting in front of the staircases, gatherers of scrap and coal return "after work", children are playing at the backyards. In a small, dingy little basement our heroes arranged youth club and began teach their friends how to break dance. They are not uncertain, fearful boys, like one year ago. They transformed, gained new status in the district. And suddenly dance moves goes to the street, its inhabitants begin to swirl. A final scene of the film thus becomes a reversal of its ominous beginning.



the final scene – the life through the dance

This documentary connects the symbolic space (Bobrek – situated on the periphery of a big industrial town in Silesia) with the global power of the arts and social movement.

I am glad that my film turned out important for the young people in Bobrek, but also for Silesian Theater of Dance. The subsequent workshops organized by this theater were entitled “Bobrek dance”.

Awards for the film:

Grand Prix Documentary on 21. European Association of Regional Television in Grado /Italy/ 2003 for “an alert but often poignant view of life in a small and depressed Polish town”.

Grand Prix on Polish Film Festival of Media in Łódź /Poland/ 2002.

On Foreclosure and *Fresh Cherries*

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This is an attempt to put a video-art work - *Świeże wiśnie (Fresh cherries)* by Anna Baumgart to a critical test proposed by the film critic Serge Daney¹. Daney formulates his axiom while discussing a number of films that emerged in Europe as a result of the Holocaust experience. He claims that an author creating a film dealing with such a theme should not place beauty before the just; the author should endow the film with the honesty to acknowledge the impossibility of telling a story - the stopping point in the course of history, when storytelling freezes or runs idle, and finally, such a film should not be speaking about amnesia or repression, but rather about foreclosure, that is a hallucinatory return to the real of something upon which it was impossible to place a “judgment of reality”.

¹ In this paper I cite extensively from *Postcards from the cinema*, Serge Daney talks with Paul Grant. 2007. Berg Publishers.

INTRODUCTION

It is not an exaggeration to claim that among researchers working in the field of cultural studies there is a new wave of interest in the history of WWII, of its immediate consequences on culture in the large sense and in the ways the after-war generations relate to these experiences. There were over a dozen of papers on these issues presented at this very conference. In Poland the echo of WWII is probably still one of the most pervasive topics in the mainstream public discourse. The number of articles published per year in the Polish mainstream newspapers can be counted in thousands. Perhaps, as time passes by the events related to WWII gain certain exotic features, as Claire Alexander mentioned during one of the plenary sessions here at ACSIS, or this public interest could be explained in terms of “Bringing back” the nonpresence, to cite the title of a commemorative discussion organized for the occasion of 69 years after the liquidation of the Jewish ghetto in Falenica, Poland, during which *Fresh Cherries* – the video-art work that I am going to concentrate on in this paper was also screened.

THE CHARACTERS AND THE NON-PLOT

Found footage, archival film, document and false document, theatrical staging, or even para-theatrical, this is how Agnieszka Rayzacher describes Baumgart's video during one of the many open public debates that her Warsaw-based art gallery, Lokal_30, organized to promote this film². The video-work is 18 minutes long. It is rather easy to watch even though the editing is fairly frisky. The author does not only mix film genres, adding popular musical fragments easily associated with the cultures of the countries involved in WWII, but also edits in immediate sequence clashing discourses³. For example, a scene in which the emergence of a something that can be described as a fragile feeling of love in a KZ brothel, love being a prohibited feeling in the camps, a feeling that was known to preserve one's humanity, is followed by the description of a violent group rape from the point of view of one of the victims. Nevertheless, viewers usually tend to like the video-work and praise the protagonists and the author⁴. *Fresh Cherries* shows a session of *Systemic constellation* (family) therapy, which, according to its founder Bert Hellinger⁵, offers an almost literal possibility to travel back in

² obieg.pl/rozmowy/20441; See also Tomasz Kozak, 2010, *Old Sores Must/not/ be re-opened?* Lokal_30, London; and Tomasz Kozak, 2010, *Wytępić te wszystkie bestie?* Ed. 40000 malarzy, Warsaw.

A number of other artists connected to lokal_30 approach in their art the question of traumatic memories and the banality of evil. To mention just a few works: the video *The Hospital of Transfiguration* by Zuzanna Janin deals with the sublimation of an omnipresent will to kill – it was done in homage to Prof. Antoni Kepiński (a former Miranda camp prisoner, known for his groundbreaking research and therapeutic work with the survivors of Nazi concentration camps) and to Prof. Józef Bednarz, a psychiatrist killed by the Nazis in 1939 together with his patients. Another work by Janin, the installation *Memory (1992-2001)*, although a very personal piece, it was misinterpreted by some as a comment on Auschwitz, probably because of the free associations that the materials she used brought to mind - a room with printed names on the walls filled with fog. See also the multimedia works of Tomasz Kozak, many of which have been inspired by the texts of the Auschwitz survivor, the poet Tadeusz Borowski.

³ The *Fresh Cherries'* credits font with the upside-down letter B in it is, of course, not an attempt to embellish the film, but a homage to Auschwitz victims, and especially to the welders' team headed by Jan Liwacz, which manufactured the infamous inscription above the entrance of that Nazi concentration camp, viewed by many as an act of sabotage through art of the camp regime, but also it is a message from Baumgart herself: this work of art is (also) an act of sabotage of the viewer's consciousness.

⁴ With the only exception know to me: Jaruga R. *KURWY koncentracyjne*, Nie, 42/2010. <http://www.nie.com.pl/art23916.htm>

⁵ Who seems to have been displaying sympathy and compassion towards dictatorships such as Adolf Hitler's regime and national-socialist movement: Herman Nimis, *Bert Hellinger's controversial therapy* http://afa.home.xs4all.nl/alert/engels/hellinger_e.html

time. The participants try to solve their psychological conflicts by positioning themselves in certain ways (that is - *take a position*) forming so called constellations. Each participant takes a position. They seldom talk. The main character – Klara Bielawka, is playing herself, a contemporary actress who is trying to get into a new, difficult role, an actress who is working on a personal issue, she is supposed to play an official concentration camp prostitute (and later a Polish woman raped by Soviet liberator/occupant soldiers during the WWII). There are two hellingerian therapists: a couple, a male and a female and three female assistants - “representatives”, as they are called, who more or less actively contribute to carry on the therapeutic session. We can also see the extravagant and fairly famous in Poland film operator/director - Marcin Koszałka as an actor; there is also a university researcher Joanna Ostrowska who is talking about the hierarchisation of the Nazi concentration camps (KZ)' victims and we can also hear the artist herself, directing behind the camera. Almost from the very beginning we are faced with fragments from an archival film that might appear somehow discontinuous with the rest of the original filming⁶. It is the only existing video document in Poland of the hair cutting punishment inflicted after the WWII on people who were known to maintain intimate relationships with the enemy. However, if one keeps in mind the history of Anna Baumgart's works (many of which focus on the mistreatment of (mainly) the female body), the story of the characters documented in these archival shots is not very much different from the one of the women that Klara is impersonating later in the film. The soundtrack of *Fresh Cherries* is based on a song about the unrequited love interpreted by one of the most popular in-between-wars Polish singer Tadeusz Faliszewski's, that also inspired the name of Baumgart's work.⁷

THE COGNITIVE DISSONANCE

During the film's premiere in *Muranów*, one of the main Warsaw's art cinemas, Baumgart's work provoked a few times hilarious bursts of laughter at least in some viewers, which taking the declared theme of the movie – the taboos, the stigmas and the hierarchy of the victims of the WWII, as well as the processes of shaping the representation of war in the eyes of the younger generation - was to me somehow troubling. Viewers seldom laugh when the film is shown in smaller groups. During the premiere it was triggered by the appearance of two characters that assume a rather comical posture: operator Koszałka and the grotesque hellingerian female therapist. One might think that the humor is not appropriate, or even obscene, in a film that attempts to deal seriously with the fate of KZ' inmates.

In order to understand the use of humor in the context of Holocaust related art production I suggest we look at a number of works known for their inherent comedy. Benigni's *La vita è bella*, for instance, was criticized on countless occasions for its comedy⁸. However, the humor in Benigni's film is only there for the sake of the boy, whose life, his father, played by Benigni himself, is trying to save. The humor is there because it seems to ensure the boy's

⁶ Didi Hubermans mentions in *Images in spite of all*, the fact that there is a certain going back in time in Godard's way through his film-editing in his *Histoire(s) du cinema*, originally described by Jacques Aumont. In addition to that Aumont mentions that the insertion of the archival shooting in the tempo of the film doesn't diminish in any way the photographic recording of its nature. The film editing, is, I think, together with the declared effects of *Constellation Therapy* another way in which Baumgart is trying to take us back in time.

⁷ Written by Walery Jarzębiec, music by Zygmunt Białostocki:
<http://teksty.org/tadeusz-faliszewski,szczescie-trzeba-rwac-jak-swieze-wisnie.tekst-piosenki>

⁸ See among others: Kobi Niv *Life is Beautiful, But Not for Jews: Another View of the Film by Benigni* The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2003-10.

survival⁹. The viewer is just a passerby, that by pure chance witnesses the almost too exemplary relationship that exists between a father and a son.¹⁰

There is also a significant number of episodes of the animated comedy series *Southpark* that touch on the Holocaust related issues¹¹. Among the four boys, the main characters of the series there are: Kyle Broflovski- a Jewish boy and Eric Cartman who is explicitly anti-Jewish, nevertheless they have kept hanging out together for 15 seasons already. In this case the use of humor frequently mixed with toilet-jokes is more controversial¹². Perhaps what we deal with here is a reflection upon how deeply rooted the Jewish question is in the US popular culture. Or perhaps, its creators, Trey Parker and Matt Stone, are beyond good or evil, being perceived as having a strong autonomous critical point of view that allows them to produce any kind of artistic/critical discourse (except, perhaps, drawing the image of Mohamed). It could also be that Cartman (the chubby one) is usually the one who is punished most of all and usually quite badly in the series from the very first episode, Kyle on the other hand is always fine, and seems to be right in the end of each episode, which probably settles down the account¹³.

Another Holocaust related comic fantasy is *Trenul Vieții (The Train of Life)* by Radu Mihaileanu, in which the Jews from an Eastern European village build themselves a train on which they happily escape from the Nazis. Only by the end of the film does the viewer learn that the whole story is only the imagination of a KZ inmate. (Recollect what Bunuel was saying about the film being born in the director's head.) Here the humor is addressed to the inmate himself. His imagination might be what keeps him alive and, perhaps, increases the chances of his survival¹⁴.

The humor can be also used as a tool to aid in trying to spell out facts, usually traumatic and difficult to cope with. As it also happens at another level and in a very different format, for instance, in *Maus*, the visual novel by Art Spiegelman.¹⁵

THE DOGVILLE SETUP

In her film Baumgart uses a similar scenery (black floor on which the nonexistent buildings are painted with thin white lines, with very few props - a set seen as a set). It has been suggested that she did it because Von Trier is one of the directors who constantly brings into the

⁹ Krystyna Chiger, the author of the *The Girl in the Green Sweater* and the real person behind one of Agnieszka Holland's characters in her newest film *The Darkness*, describes her father in an interview to the Polish issue of *Newsweek* (29/2011) as "a person with a great sense of humor which helped to pull everybody from the deep blackness". The film and Chiger's book is based on the story of survival of a Jewish family in the city's sewage system after the liquidation of the Lodz ghetto.

¹⁰ One can't fail to recollect here Tadeusz Borowski's story in which a member of Sonderkommando is telling how he escorted his own father to the gas chamber.

¹¹ See the episodes *The passion of the Jew* Season 8 or *Cartman's List* Season 12, of course these episodes and many more from SP, could also be interpreted just as fancy movie reviews. southparkstudios.com

¹² Despite its 43 uncensored uses of the racial slur "nigger", the season 11 episode *With Apologies to Jesse Jackson* generated relatively little controversy, as most in the black community praised the episode for its context and its comedic way of conveying other races' perceptions of how black people must feel when hearing the word. For more : Vanessa E. Jones (January 29, 2008). *No offense, but...* The Boston Globe.

¹³ Interestingly, the eight and nine-year-old British children voted Cartman as their favorite personality in a 1999 poll. *Entertainment Cartman top with kids*, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/entertainment/430977.stm

¹⁴ For example, as Mauthausen and Gusen camps' survivor Stanisław Grzesiuk argues in his memoir *Five years in Kazet*. Apparently it could also be the cause of one's imprisonment, as it happened to the drama professor in Puipa's *Forest of the Gods*, arrested for his ironic remarks that he uttered during his lectures. The character and the film were based on a memoir with the same title by Balys Sruoga.

¹⁵ Although for Daney, cartoons would always be something other than cinema. Worse: something of an enemy. No "beautiful image," especially drawn, would match the emotion - fear and trembling - before recorded things.

cinematic discourse the figure of vulnerable and strongly distressed women¹⁶. Some suggested that Baumgart attempted a homage to Von Trier, others on the contrary claimed that it is a feminist critique of Lars von Trier position – this is if Von Trier is in fact a misogynist and his bringing up the female exploitation topic again and again in his films is a clear proof of this. There are even voices murmuring that Lars von Trier's name was used by Baumgart solely just as an advertising tool to promote *Fresh Cherries*. I think that all this suppositions are wrong.

I would like to think that the “Dogville-inspired set” appeared in Baumgart's film first of all because of Slavoj Žižek, who claims in his *The Pervert's Guide to Cinema*, that all modern films are ultimately about the possibility or impossibility to make a film. *Dogville* is a film that allegorically deals with the question of believing in Cinema itself. It deals with how to make a film today which a viewer will eventually believe¹⁷. The mysterious thing about watching a film is the fact that even though the viewer knows that it is an illusion, it fascinates him and it does not prevent his identification¹⁸. If anything, it makes him get deeper into the tensions of the inner life. In a way, naïve belief is undermined, deconstructed through irony, but Von Trier wants to be serious with the magic!, says Žižek. Irony (humor yet again¹⁹) is put into set to make us believe. There is something in the illusion that is more real than the reality behind it. Interestingly, unlike many of the *Dogville* reviewers, Žižek²⁰ is one of the few that actually is aware of the *structure* of the *set* by putting them into words. For many critics the set is even more abstract/invisible than it really is in *Dogville*.

Secondly, the two films bring into light similar issues. Grace's arrival in *Dogville*, her imprisonment and later her helplessness is the catalyst that, step by step, tempts the apparently decent people of *Dogville* to inflict upon her greater and greater humiliations to feed their now unrestrained desires. She becomes the city's whore. There is a scene in which Grace confronts the people of *Dogville* with a critique of their bad behavior. Their response is to either deny the truth of what she has said or to blame Grace herself for tempting them, which is a similar statement to the one expressed in *Fresh Cherries* as well.

Thirdly, Baumgart used the methodology developed by Von Trier as well as the *Systemic Constellation* therapy routine in order to approach a difficult, perhaps an untellable story. It is

¹⁶ This particular film is one of the best stories about human exploitation and... pay back. From Claudio Carvahlo review on imdb.com.

¹⁷ Of course you're not obliged to believe what you see – it can even be dangerous – but you're not obliged to hold on to cinema either. There has to be some risk and some virtue, that is, some value, in the act of showing something to someone who is capable of seeing it. Learning how to “read” the visual and “decode” messages would be useless if there wasn't still the minimal, but deep seeded conviction that *seeing* is superior to not seeing, and that what isn't seen “in time” will never really be seen. Cinema is an art of the present. /S. Daney./

¹⁸ In *Fresh Cherries* this alienation is taken to even a higher level: the actors are not real actors and the real actors only play actors.

¹⁹ Michael Rothberg writes in his *Traumatic realism* *(2000, University of Minesota Press) about *Patrimony. A true story* by Philip Roth. A friend of the author's father is asking the author to help him in publishing his memoir. The man claims he survived the war by hiding in the beds of various arian women. The text contains graphic depictions of his sexual exploits with the women who hide him, which is quite a twist to the unusual anguish of Holocaust testimonies. The episode suggests, argues Rothberg, that there might be something pornographic about making images and ultimately commodities out of Holocaust. It is as if the fundamental obscenity of the events themselves cannot be represented without a pornographic contamination of the person doing the representing. Yet still, one could replace it with farce...

²⁰ Similarly, the protagonist of Algimantas Puipa' *Forest of the Gods* states: No props or property on the scene! Let's refuse the cliches! Let in some fresh air! Let's not eviscerate the subject! Property on the stage is like a live mouse in the teeth of a painted cat. See also Gene A. Plumka, *Holocaust Drama, The Theater of Atrocity*, 2009, Cambridge Univ. Press.

somehow similar to what I did; when attempting to discuss Baumgart's film I use an already existing methodology - a critical aid developed by the notorious film critic - Serge Daney.

THE TEST

Although it can be applied to any film, the context in which Daney presents his scale is very much comparable to the one that Baumgart focuses on in her work. Daney describes two films, that, in his opinion are situated at the two opposite ends of his test. On its negative end one finds films like *Kapo*, shot in 1960 by Gillo Pontecorvo. Daney discusses it along the lines of Jacques Rivette's *On Abjection*²¹, in which the author was denouncing Pontecorvo's film. When Daney read the article for the first time it provoked in him both an aesthetic and moral shock and it would determine Daney's fate as a future critic. Daney claims that he has never seen the obscure *Kapo*. Yet at the same time he has seen it. Rivette showed it to him with words. Rivette didn't recount the film's narrative in his article. Instead he was content to describe one shot in a single sentence. The sentence, engraved in Daney's memory, read: "Just look at the shot in *Kapo* where Riva commits suicide by throwing herself on electric barbed wire: the man who decides at this moment to track forward and reframe the dead body in a low-angle shot - carefully positioning the raised hand in the corner of the final frame - deserves only the most profound contempt." Therefore a simple camera movement could be the *one* movement not to make. The movement one must—*obviously*—be avert to make. Over the years, "the tracking shot in *Kapo*" would become Daney's portable dogma, the axiom that was not up for discussion, the breaking point of any debate. No tracking shots in Baumgart's film either. I also see in the author's indecisiveness whether to qualify her work as a piece of visual art or cinema, a step towards renouncing beauty for the sake of just. In fact, Baumgart addresses this question directly during one of the dialogues between Klara and Marcin (famous for his extrovert, painfully sincere documentaries about his own family). Klara says that the film they will be working on is going to be about sex and death. Unexpectedly, Marcin answers that for him the most important thing is the beauty of the film.

On the other, the good end of his scale, Daney places *Nuit et brouillard (Night and Fog)*, directed by Alain Resnais in 1955. Daney watched on numerous occasions the famous piles of dead bodies, hair, glasses, and teeth. He listened to Jean Cayrol's despondent commentary recited by Michel Bouquet along with Hanns Eisler's music, which seemed ashamed of itself for existing. A strange baptism of images: *to comprehend at the same time that the camps were real and that the film was just*. It seemed that the cinema (alone?) was capable of approaching the limits of a distorted humanity. The distances set by Resnais between the subject filmed, the subject filming, and the subject spectator were the only ones possible. Although, Godard would probably say that in *Fresh Cherries* the image lacks violence²², nevertheless, this video can be watched again and again, no doubt about that. In fact, I came to watch *Night and Fog* because of *Fresh Cherries*.

The movies Daney places on the ends of his scale touch upon the fate of the people that Anna Baumgart is focusing on in *Fresh Cherries* - the women that were forced to prostitute in order to survive in the KZ brothels - known also as puffs or *Sonderbau*²³, or joy divisions,

²¹ In *Cahiers du cinéma*, June, 1961.

²² Why not shock the viewer with a scene of group raping like in Elem Klimov' *Come and see?* Even though in *Fresh Cherries* there is a scene, which seem to trigger powerful emotions in the viewers: The viewer sees a closeup of Klara's tensed face. She is laying on the bed with her face down looking at the floor, talking mechanically about the brothel's routine. Her body is shaken catatonically by somebody the viewer doesn't see. The rest is behind the frame.

²³ Already in 1968 Jean-Luc Godard showed totalitarian images together with pornography: in the *Sympathy for the Devil*: covers of porn magazines were shown while somebody read fragments from Hitler; In

as they are known to the English speaker. In *Night and Fog*, the mentioning of camp brothels is transitory, like a verse. In *Kapo*, the note is more explicit and focuses on a character. Rancier's article was inaccessible to me, so unlike Daney, I had to watch *Kapo* in order to understand his and Rivette's stances and to be able to subscribe to this point of view. To understand what he meant by being asked if *Nuit et brouillard* was a "beautiful" film, to which he answers - No, it was a *just* film. It is *Kapo* that wanted to be a beautiful film and was not. Daney would never quite see the difference between the just and the beautiful - hence his rather "workaday" boredom in front of beautiful images.

Rivette's verdict bore the question of the tracking shot as well as that of *framing*. The exacerbated, erotic consciousness of what's inside and what's outside, of what enters, what leaves, and finally the very original status of this "outside," the *out of frame* of cinema, which people at *Cahiers du Cinema* would eventually create theoretical orgies out of. But Daney was less at ease with the filmmakers who did not appear to draw their effects from this eroticization of the frame.

Daney claims that for him the space [of film criticism] was not so much a vast field, but a narrow door. On the noble side was the *jouissance* of the just distance and its reverse, sublime necrophilia or necrophilia sublimated. On the not so noble side was the possibility of a completely other *jouissance* unable to be sublimated. It was Godard who, showing him videotapes of 'concentration camp porn' tucked away in his video collection at Rolle, was surprised that nothing had been said about these films and that no interdiction had been pronounced. As if their creators' cowardly intentions and their viewers' trivial fantasies somehow 'protected' them from censorship and indignation. Evidence that in the domain of sub-culture, the silent claim of an obligatory interlacing of executioners and victims was persisting. Daney was never really upset about the existence of 'concentration camp porn'. He had for these films - just like any openly pornographic films - the almost polite tolerance one has for the expression of a fantasy that, so naked, claims only the sad monotony of its necessary repetition. It's the other pornography that always revolted him: the 'artistic' pornography of *Kapo* (see *On Abjection* by Jacques Rivette), or a little later, Liliana Cavani's *The Night Porter*, and other retro films of the 70's. To this after-the-fact aestheticization, Daney would prefer the obstinate return of the non-images in *Night and fog*, or the unfurling drives of *Ilsa, She Wolfe of the S.S.*, which he wouldn't want to see. At least these films had the honesty to acknowledge the impossibility of telling a story, the stopping point in the course of history, when storytelling freezes or runs idle.

So we should not be speaking about amnesia or repression but rather about *foreclosure*, which is not meant as a deprivation of a certain right of buying back the mortgaged goods - a legal proceeding that bars or extinguishes a mortgagor's equity of redemption in mortgaged real property, but the Lacanian definition of it: a hallucinatory return to the real of something

Histoire(s) du cinema, a dead KZ victim is shown after a fragment of a pornographic film - an opportunity for Godard, in his *off* comment to differentiate between the aggression of the image from the point of view of <<any creative act>>, and real brutality, which a totalitarian system stretches on the whole life: <<each creative act contains an actual threat for the one who dares to conduct it, and it's through this that the work of art affects the viewer or reader. If the mind refuses the aggravation and the inflicting violence on the consciousness, then it runs the risk of an unfruitful experience of the whole brutality, liberated by its absence. If death is shown together with sex, this is not for debasing death, and neither to necrophiliate sex, quite the opposite. As it happens, in the Nazi camps, the same neutral adjective "sonder" (special) described both death ("Sonderehandlung" a word that can be translated as "special treatment" but in fact it meant - gasing) and sex (in the word "Sonderbau" - special building, in fact, a brothel). Film editing wants to pinpoint exactly this unity. (in G. Didi-Huberman, *Images in spite of all*, translation T.A.) Also in this book you can find a discussion of the debate that emerged between Claude Lanzman and Godard on the relationship that exists between film editing and the non-assimilation of the ideas that are being shown by the artist/director.

upon which it was impossible to place a “judgment of reality.” The test of foreclosure is the ultimate and most important sub-scale of Daney's axiome. Paradoxically, *Ilse...* is much closer to *Night and Fog* on Daney's scale because of its inherent feature of bluntness. For Daney, *Nuit et brouillard* is unlike any other film. To the rather brutal question “Does this watch you?”, it answers - YES. The spectator that Daney was before *Nuit et brouillard* and the filmmaker who tried to show the unrepresentable with this film, were linked by a complicit symmetry. Either it is the spectator who is suddenly ‘missing from his place’ and is stilled while the film continues, or it is the film which, instead of “continuing”, folds back onto itself and onto a temporarily definitive ‘image’ that allows the spectator to continue believing in cinema and the subject-citizen to live his life. Spectator-stilled, image-stilled: cinema entered adulthood. The corpses in *Nuit et brouillard* and then two years later those in the opening shots of *Hiroshima mon amour* are among those “things” that watched Daney more than he watched them. Hitchcock was also one of those who succeeded in producing this kind of images. Was it perhaps because Hitchcock caught with his own eyes, with his own camera the reality of the camps²⁴? The documentary that he helped to film in 1945, was commissioned by the British Government but it was deemed too grisly for release after WWII²⁵. As long as we know there are no video shootings of the women who were working in puffs. However, in the documentary Hitchcock helped to film, done during the camp's liberation, there is a mentioning about the brothels from Dachau concentration camps, that when the women died they were replaced by a fresh contingent from Ravensbrück. At this moment (min. 34) in the film the viewer is faced with a closeup of a young woman's face, whose features are shockingly similar to Klara's. The woman in Hitchcock's documentary is a mystery. Nothing is known about her. It could be just a coincidence, a young woman from the crowd that came to see the Americans filming or, it could be one of the girls who actually worked in a brothel. They are only moving images that exist. The discovery was evermore astounding since Baumgart had not seen Hitchcock's film before she made *Fresh Cherries*.

The sphere of the visible had ceased to be wholly available: there were gaps and holes, necessary hollows and superfluous plenitude, forever missing images and always defective gazes. “There are things,” wrote Rivette “that must be approached with fear and trembling. Death is undoubtedly such a thing, and how does one, at the moment of filming such a mysterious thing, avoid feeling like an impostor?” Since there are only a few films in which nobody dies, there were many occasions to fear and tremble. Indeed certain filmmakers were not impostors.

Daney was sure that most of the time cinema oscillated between *Night and Fog* and *Kapo*. He often stumbled onto this smuggler's way of adding extra parasitic beauty or complicit information to scenes that did not need it. Yet it is not always easy to decide, like Rossellini's films. Where does the event finish? Where is the cruelty? Where does obscenity begin and where does pornography end? He knew these were questions constitutive of the “post-camp” cinema. This cinema had one characteristic: it was *cruel*; the viewers of the time had another:

²⁴ Facing the camps, was there any other possible justness besides the anti-spectacular *Nuit et brouillard*? Yes, George Stevens' documentary made at the end of the war, the first movie to record the opening of the camps in color. The colors transform it –without any abjection–into art. What's amazing in Stevens' film is that it's the story of a journey: the daily progression of a small group of soldiers and filmmakers wandering across a destroyed Europe that totally overwhelms the entire crew. Daney believed that the beauty of Stevens' film is due less to the justness of the distance than to the *innocence* of the gaze. Justness is the burden of the one who comes ‘after’, innocence the terrible grace accorded to the first to arrive, to the first one who simply makes the cinematic gesture. One had to be American – that is to say, to believe in the fundamental innocence of the spectacle - to make the German population walk by the open tombs, to *show* them what they were living next to, so well and so badly.

²⁵ Recently it was loaded on the net: <http://video.google.com/videoplay?docid=-6076323184217355958>

they accepted this cruelty. Cruelty was on the 'good side'. It was cruelty that objected to academic 'illustration' and destroyed the counterfeit sentimentalism of a wordy humanism. An archaic feeling as well since that cruelty was as old as cinema itself. The frame is the cruelty, the obligation not to flee, and not to shy away from what *is*, and the cinema alone was able to tame it. But today this cruelty does not seem all that terrible. However, there is no cruelty in Baumgart's film. Any straight act of cruelty is pornographic, claims Baumgart. No scenes of rape or violation/aggression inside the frames of her film, everything is there by not being filmed.

As for Daney, he remembers the exact moment when he knew that the axiom of "the tracking shot in *Kapo*" should be revisited and the homemade concept of "modern cinema" revised. In 1979, French television broadcast *Holocaust*, the American mini-series by Marvin Chomsky. If in 1945 the Americans allowed George Stevens to make his astonishing documentary, they didn't broadcast it because of the Cold War. Unable to "deal" with that history, which after all is not theirs, the American entrepreneurs of entertainment had temporarily abandoned it to European artists. But in that history, *like in any story*, they retained a *right to buy in preference to*, and sooner or later Hollywood and the television machine would dare to tell 'our' story. It would tell it very carefully but it would sell it to us as another American story. So *Holocaust* would become a story about the misfortunes that tear apart and destroy a Jewish family: there would be extras looking a little too fat, good performances, generic humanism, action and melodrama. And we would sympathize. It would therefore only be in the form of the American docu-drama that this history could escape the cine-clubs and could, via television, concern this servile version of the 'whole of mankind' that is the global TV audience. The simulation- *Holocaust* was certainly no longer confronting the strangeness of a humanity capable of a crime against itself, but it remained obstinately incapable of bringing back the singular beings—each with a story, a face, and a *name*—who made up this history, who were the exterminated Jews. Rather it would be drawing - Spiegelman's *Maus*²⁶ - that later dared to make this salutary act of resingularisation. Drawing and not cinema, since it's true that American cinema hates singularity. With *Holocaust*, Marvin Chomsky brought back, modestly and triumphantly, our perennial aesthetic enemy: the good old sociological program with its well-studied cast of suffering specimen and its light show of animated police sketches. We had come full circle and we had truly lost.

In *Kapo*, it was still possible to be upset with Pontecorvo for inconsiderately abolishing a distance he should have "kept." The tracking shot was immoral for the simple reason that it was putting us—he as a filmmaker and Daney as a spectator—in a place where they/we did not belong. Where Daney anyway could not and did not want to be, because he 'deported' me from my real situation as a spectator-witness forcing me to be part of the picture. What was the meaning of Godard's formula if not that *one should never put oneself where one isn't nor should one speak for others?* Imagining Pontecorvo's gestures deciding upon and mimicking the tracking shot with his hands, Daney was even more upset with him because in 1961 a tracking shot still meant rails, a crew and physical effort. Now it's just a click on the mouse or the touch pad.

The cinema of terror that European cinefils knew and supported, produced what needed to be produced. That must have ended around 1975, with the death of Pasolini. The cinema of terror is behind us. Contemporary cinema—with its many good films—is more a meticulous exploration of the mental *case*. Still, Daney didn't see any return to the ludic values of yesterday—the small films adored in spite of the entire "Saturday night" cinema. Today the wager of

²⁶ On the presence of *Maus* in Baumgart's work see *Wszyscy rozmawiają o pogodzie. My nie.* <http://www.krytykapolityczna.pl/Serwiskulturalny/BaumgartWszystcyrozmawiajaopogodzieMynie/menuid-305.html>

images passes by the violence of media and advertising, a violence which from now on cinema seems to be exempted from²⁷. The strategy of Benetton, reality shows, the Gulf War without images, those are serious things today.

The present for Daney was a sort of absolute resistance, a defiance of the necessity of planning, programming, and previewing, and above all of working personally to obtain one's pleasures: that which exasperated and horrified him: it is the pride of those who possess nothing, and it is already the tracking shot in *Kapo*: you can't have both the action of the scene *and* the camera movement, you have to choose.

The perfusion of the present. It's the absence of Vichy, the absence of images of collaboration which, over the course of many years, revealed itself to Daney as unacceptable. In this last interview, from a mystic and intransigent point of view, Daney claimed that if cinema is the art of the present (in the widest sense, not only that of reporting, but also the present of calling in to memory, of evocation: for example the Straubs' films) then when it doesn't take place, it doesn't take place. This allows us to understand one thing: cinema only exists to make what has already been seen once return: well seen, poorly seen, unseen. Ten years later *Nuit et Brouillard* returns what wasn't seen, bearing in mind that the images of the camps filmed by George Stevens, or those assembled by Hitchcock, have been stashed away by Americans and the British. In this capacity as an art of the present, or an art of vigilance, cinema was already suffering from severe schizophrenia, since the same people who ordered the images were the same ones to put them aside due to the cold war. Even though they're just archival films, the only ones made at the time of the discovery, they have an enormous effect on us when we now watch them for the first time. The film that marked Daney, *Nuit et Brouillard*, was made almost fifteen years after the discovery of the camps. The film inscribes itself in this delay as a work of art of extraordinary precision and taste. But it is possible that this rhetoric resembles the rhetoric of the tracking shot in *Kapo*. Accordingly many important things concerning the fate of the people, nations and masses, were strictly not seen, in order to be able to return. Daney was afraid that this is not definitive. He remembers meeting Chris Marker in Hong Kong. Marker was excited to learn that the red guards had filmed. They always wondered what they could have filmed. Today it remains an anecdotal question: it is not important. There was a time when things took time to exist, across slow, difficult and painful processes: it took time to build, and this time had value. Today the benefits have to be seen immediately. Maybe cinema had the capacity to make synchronous or histological cuts, seizing the work of time—not just death at work, but human at work. The history of the century, with all its horrors, is also the history of those who have not seen, who have not trusted what they saw, or heard, and that was paid for with millions of dead. That is insufficient, that does not prevent from being mistaken or deluded, but it is good to go back to the argument of a sorrowful Godard when, in *Histoire(s) du Cinema*, he asks: can we not watch one last time what the people were not able to or did not want to see, and what resulted from their refusal to see?

ON FORECLOSURE

In *On Photography* Susan Sontag, does not describe her experience of seeing pictures taken in the concentration camps as a revelation of absolute knowledge. She does not write that these photographs have given her the complete understanding of the Shoah. For her these photographs were just an opening of the gates of knowledge through a moment of seeing – a negative epiphany, an instance of contemporary revelation. Therefore these images were crucial

²⁷ Not entirely, Lars von Trier, whose work inspired the making of *Fresh Cherries*, pursues an unusually violent approach in his filmmaking.

for the knowledge itself. As was Resnais film for Daney: "...I learned that the human condition and industrial butchery were not incompatible and that the worst had just happened..."²⁸ For those who want to know, and for those who want to *know how*, knowledge does not offer neither a miracle nor pause. It is a *knowledge with no end*, an endless coming-closer to an event, not a single capturing into some frames of the revealed certainty. There is no "yes" or "no", "knows everything" or "contradicts the"... There is a heavy veil because of the destruction itself, and the destruction of the archives by the Nazi - but the veil wrinkles, lifting itself slightly and shaking us, every time when a testimony is heard in the way it has been uttered in the midst of one's own concealment, every time when a document is discovered. For me, *Fresh cherries* had the effect of lifting the curtain. I believe this video-art work imposes on the viewer a hallucinatory return to the real of something upon which it was impossible to place a "judgment of reality."

CONCLUSION

The motto for this paper was taken from George Didi-Huberman's *Eye of History*. To conclude I will paraphrase here a fragment from another of his books, *The images above all*, that I often cite: Each creation of an image is torn out from the impossibility to describe reality. Especially the artists do not want to surrender to unimaginability, which is obviously experienced when anyone comes into contact with the destruction of person by person. They produce series of images, an editing above all - they know well that disasters are multiplied into infinity... Artists have "reworked" unimaginability in all possible ways in order to extract from it anything outside the silence. The world of history becomes in their works an obsession, the plague of imagination, the proliferation of characters - the similarities and differences - in the same vortex of time. Baumgart's *Fresh Cherries* is an example of such a work.

²⁸ To give another example, Ronald Harwood's theater, or more precisely the drama *Taking sides* was for Harold Pinter. Mentioned in Gene A. Plumka, *Holocaust Drama, The Theater of Atrocity*, 2009, Cambridge Univ. Press.

Paper from the Conference “INTER: A European Cultural Studies Conference in Sweden”, organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 11-13 June 2007. Conference Proceedings published by Linköping University Electronic Press at www.ep.liu.se/ecp/025/. © The Author.

Suffering and Peril – Echoes of a Near Past: About the Art Exhibit ”The Silence of Abuse”

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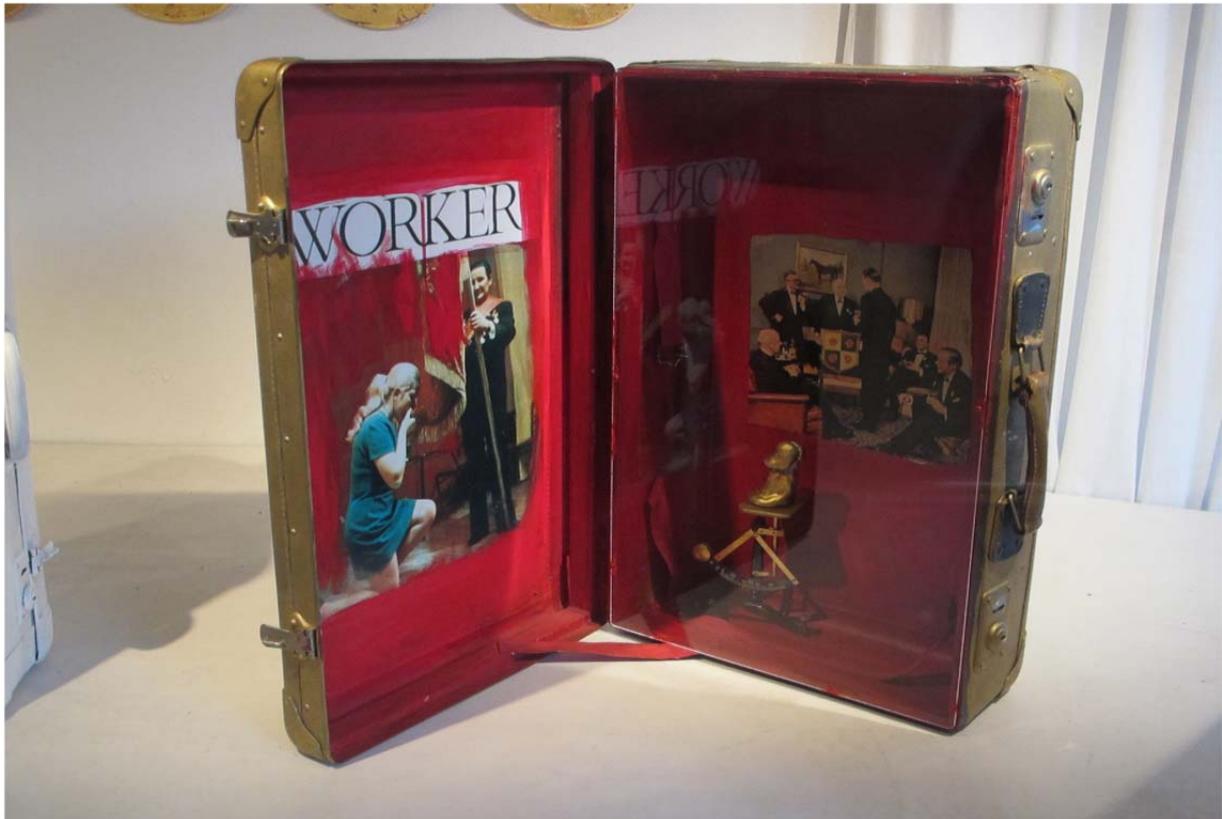


Joanne Posluszny-Hoffsten's exhibit "The Silence of Abuse" JR. Konsthall, Linköping, Sweden 2010

Mahatma Gahndi once said that if one takes action one is unsure of the outcome. However, if no action is taken then there can be no change.

THE SILENCE OF ABUSE

In my art exhibit "The Silence of Abuse, The Burning Flame of Hope" it was my intent to express through my art the emotions of the abused and the downtrodden. In creating these artworks I have used photographs of people who are in situations of conflict and abuse throughout the world. One photo, for example, shows a Japanese woman holding her crippled son, another, Chinese workers pulling heavy burdens while being tied together and several others portray Swedish couples entrenched in drug and alchohol abuse. In two sculptures I have shown a black man gazing out in despair and a woman being embrassed by her friend, after leaving her home where she had discovered her dead husband's body-in a picture from war torn France from World War II. The situations I show vary, the locations are diverse, yet the message is the same. When people find themselves in situations which are so difficult that they are unable to react, they no longer dare to speak – they fall silent. It is the silence of abuse. As Ghandi proclaimed– "there can be no change."



Joanne Posluszny-Hoffsten, "The Worker" from "Silence of Abuse Exhibit"

SUITCASES, CROSSES AND SKATEBOARDS

In "The Silence of Abuse" I have used suitcases, crosses, skateboards and shrines to tell the tales of victims who are often isolated and trapped. Working on this project with Dr. Barbro Wijmo, a specialist in women's psychological problems at Linköping University in Sweden, I was able to gain new insight into the problems of the abused. This exhibition has been shown in Linköping, Sweden at Jr. Konsthall, at the Fullersta Bio Konsthall in Huddinge a superb of Stockholm, Sweden, where it was seen by record crowds and will travel this November, 2011 to Krakow, Poland.



Joanne Posluszny-Hoffsten, "Installation photo of Silence of Abuse exhibit" Fullersta Bio Konsthall, Huddinge, Sweden

RAISING AWARENESS TO ISSUES OF ABUSE

Dr. Barbro Wijma felt that if I created this exhibit it would hopefully raise awareness to the issue of abuse, especially abused women. We both hope that this exhibit would encourage the sufferers to seek help and the public and governmental agencies to give this problem more financial aid. One of the points I make and which Dr. Wijma encouraged, is that help can be found – situations eventually can be turned around. There are several positive pieces in this exhibit, such as the "The Kiss Globe." The "Kiss Me Globe" has hundreds of gold and red kisses attached to it. Through this work I think that all of us need to be loved, listened to and even kissed. Through positive communication many problems can be solved, be it on a personal or public level.

PERSONAL PROBLEMS – NATIONAL ISSUES: EVERYTHING IN THE END IS PERSONAL

The Berlin Wall fell over twenty years ago. However, the days of Communism and Fascism and the memory of the second World War are still fresh in the minds of many inhabitants of the nations that now belong to EU.

HEALING OR HATE

Memories of past events can give way to healing or hate. The political decisions which a nation makes are often the result of the conflicts or alliances which the nations have

experienced in the past. Huge political moves are often very personal-as personal in some cases as an individual's who become embroiled in different types of social conflicts within the family, at school or at work. Everything is in the end-personal. Many who are "abusers" are victims themselves. They are often people who have become disappointed and hardened by life-perhaps those who have no jobs or suffered horrible childhoods. The abuser is one who then lashes out at those in his or her surrounding.

WE REPEAT OURSELVES THROUGH BONDING AND HABIT

Our moves-our choices on a personal level or as a nation are often in a set pattern which are hard to break out of. We repeat ourselves due to bonding and habit. We often seek the answer to problems in ways which have become familiar and habitual, even though we know other ways could be more positive.

There are ways out. There are golden paths and answers. New solutions can be found, new paths can be taken-be it by an individual or an entire nation. The silence of abuse can end and be vocalized. Victims can find their voices again- and go forward.

TO MAKE HELP AVAILABLE TO THE VICTIMS OF ABUSE

Dr. Barbro Wijma and I both felt the message that the abused can climb out of the victim role and triumph by creating a positive situation for themselves was essential to be made known.

Help and hope are both available. It is very important that the problem of abuse be focused on and that an understanding of the problems be made more available to the public. Especially in the cases involving women and children more support should be given in helping these victims, so that they can find a way out of their situations of abuse.



Barbro Wijma and Joanne Posluszny-Hoffsten in front of "Silence of Abuse exhibit " Fullersta Bio Konsthall, Huddinge, Sweden

TO TRIGGER REACTION

Through this exhibit I wanted to show the public the seriousness of the situations of abuse. I also wanted the viewers, who are perhaps victims themselves, to recognise themselves in these situations, in order to trigger a reaction in them. I want them to take a step forward out of their misery.

The artworks in this exhibit are mainly about women, but also about children and men. The art is serious but at times has a tinge of humour.



Joanne Posluszny-Hoffsten, "Fashion Victim" from "Silence of Abuse Exhibit"

The Other - Buried Sites of Memory

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How memories of the past influence the present? How persons in today's Israeli society, migrants from Europe, conceive their personal identity between two homelands? What happens on the 'internal' migration route – what a person chooses to adopt in that process, and what is buried under layers of oblivion.

What can a black wax tablet, titled *The Other*, (size: 25 X 105 X 3.5 cm) mounted on the wall – sitting on a Plexiglas support, similar to an archaeological find, tell us? Could it be a piece found from the future? Is it a piece from the past?

A line of written letters – created by pins inserted into the wax tablet– appears partially covered by what may look like a volcanic eruption. The sentence inserted in the tablet is a free-extension of the notion *The Invisible* by Merleau-Ponty. Does it give a clue to the find? What are the pixels created by the pins, what do they tell?

Is the image in a phase of appearance/emergence – a discovery of a new reality/culture/memory or is it sinking, disappearing?

The motivation in this work, as well as in two of my video works discussed, is to reveal what is already present but may be obscured and thus to illuminate the linkage between memory, history and processes of migration.

INTRODUCTION

My focus in the comments that follow is on processes of remembering and forgetting. In particular, I wish to offer an observation, grounded in my recent works (two video works presented below), on how these processes are governed by history and ideology and how they affect the formation of personal identity. I will emphasize the interdependence of memory and history in the context of border crossing, i.e. migration from established or ancestral homeland (Europe) to a new homeland and to a new culture (Israel). The tension between memory and history, between the historical record and other received narratives about the past, and the adaptation of new narratives is discussed in the context of today's Israeli society. This society consisting of, among others, European Jews who immigrated to Israel after the Second World War (in different periods) and native born Israelis underwent tensions and changes in the process of building a new society, a new collective memory in a newly born state.

Through discussing and analyzing the video works *Between Homelands* and *Name* (by the author); two paradigms of memory are mapped, relating to the existence or absence of trauma in the context of memory and its influence on forming of personal identity. Those paradigms are mapped on the background of the changes in the transforming Israeli society, mentioned above illuminating the significant role of recording history versus recoding personal memory.

MEMORY, ISRAELI STATE AND DIASPORA - DISCUSSING NAME AND IN BETWEEN HOMELANDS

'Memory'¹ labels a diverse set of cognitive capacities by which we retain information and reconstruct past experiences, usually for present purposes. Memory is one of the most important ways by which our histories animate our current actions and experiences. Thus, memory, I propose in this context, can be defined as the storage of events that have had an impact on us and have left marks on our psyche.

As human beings, we ourselves are based on memory – the genetic code of our DNA². Since the “cell’s memory” is passed on from generation to generation, we are, biologically speaking, the memory of the past. At the same time, we contain what will become the memory of the future. French historian Pierre Nora argues that “Memory and history, far from being synonymous, appear now to be in fundamental opposition. Memory is life, borne by living societies... it remains in permanent evolution, open to the dialectic of remembering and forgetting, unconscious of its successive deformations, vulnerable to manipulation and appropriation...”³

Memory can be compared to a soft writing tablet upon which images, events, and the past itself are imprinted and etched.

The wax tablet *The other* (Picture 1), presents us with several aspects of the process of remembering and forgetting:

¹ The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (SEP), online encyclopedia of philosophy maintained by Stanford University.

² Leonie Ringrose and Renato Paro, Epigenetic Regulation of Cellular Memory by the Polycomb and Trithorax croup proteins, *Annual Review of Genetics*, Vol. 38: 413-443, Dec. 2004.

³ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*” (trans. Marc Roudebush), Spring 1989, 26: 7-25. In *Representations*, University of California Press.



Picture 1. The other (2003; 105 x 25 x 3.5 cm) - The invisible other the invisible culture the invisible reality

As far back as antiquity, the image of a wax tablet has been associated with the ‘inner surface’ of the soul; with the receptiveness of human consciousness; with its affective dimensions; and with memory. Yet wax is not only an image, but also a direct embodiment of the relationship between materiality and memory. Due to its unique material qualities, wax has historically served as a writing tablet, as a support for etching or stamping – and, indeed, as a tool of memory.⁴

Yet not everything is inscribed upon the tablet of memory. Just as light is absorbed in the black tablet, so memory swallows up those impressions with whose presence it cannot cope, those impressions that the psyche is unwilling or unable to represent.

In this sense, the tablet of memory is selective. It never shows everything, and must not express anything that will mar or crack its surface.

The process of inserting the pins is done by a pricking of the fragile membrane, of the skin containing, holding in, and concealing the chaotic inner flux – creates a sentence. It designates the wound, the mark made by a pointed instrument.

This PUNCTUM⁵ is where the moment of an authentic meeting occurs - when the process of marking by the pins points to the viewer's process of seeing, when he faces the black void and experiences a clear sense of impossibility to penetrate a painful experience of what may be historical testimony, an “other” reality, or other personal history that inheres in the writing.

In what follows, I will briefly map 2 paradigms of memory: one highlights the process of forgetting by denying memory, while forming a new individual identity; the other, an antithesis of the first, describes a pursuit of memory, a delving into memory gaps, motivated by the will to embrace and integrate the missing pieces in an effort to broaden the picture of identity.

⁴ Hagi Kenaan, Inga Fonar Cocos: *Viewer's Version, Where Are The Invisible Trains Headed?*, Museum of Art, Ein Harod, Cat. 2009.

⁵ Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida: Reflections on Photography*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981).

I will demonstrate these 2 paradigms on the concrete example of Israeli society, a society based on immigration.

- In the process of emigrating, after the Second World War, from Europe to the newly established state of Israel (1948), the memory of many individuals underwent massive deformation as the sovereign ideology of their new home rejected the image of the weak, defeated diaspora Jew. Anita Shapira⁶ offers a distinction between “private memory” and “Public memory” when referring to this period. According to Shapira, the holocaust has been central in the collective, public worldview of the State of Israel. The Holocaust was used as a model for an existential threat to Israel, from which its policy was derived; as a significant model for exilic Judaism, that Israel sought to change, and as an expression of extreme anti-Semitism which Israel can prevent. Thus the Holocaust and its memory were conceived as belonging solely to the State of Israel, the only heir of the memories of millions. So the memory of the Holocaust was turned into a vast anonym memory, which was not possible to perceiving and internalizing by individuals. The Holocaust was a terrible myth, a part of history, and the personal and private story was suppressed and disappeared, and could not find its place in this period of collective memory.

- Astonishingly, according to historians, only in the last 15 years has it begun to become possible to deal with the lacuna of memory created during this immigration process.

- During the 1990s, Israeli society experienced a shift in the conception of its own history. In part, this change was a result of the collapse of the Soviet Union and the ensuing huge wave of immigration from Russia, and more broadly of an opening up between Western and Eastern Europe. The diaspora Jew now became a legitimate partner of the so-called new Israeli. These changes allowed Israeli society psychologically, to hold or containing within it a different approach, one previously excluded by the sovereign ideology that had set itself the task of fostering a new future history through the myth of the New Sabra⁷, or the rugged native Israeli. (Sabra was the term coined to describe the native Israeli, born in the 1930s or 40s, educated in the ethos of a love of the land and associated with a straightforward, rugged manner). The Sabra was designated to be the “New Jew”, as an opposite of the “Old Jew”, the Holocaust survivor. In the 1990s, a critical gaze at that formative period in history became legitimate.

The video work about *Wilhelmina* (Picture no.2), who emigrated in the late 1940s from Eastern Europe to Israel, where she still lives today, represents the paradigm of forgetting, suppressing memory.

This is an excerpt from a documentary video I made, titled “Name” (19:45 min. 2009), about people who at some point in their lives, lived under a name other than their given name. “Name” focuses on the name changing which characterizes the wondering Jew, immigrating and changing his environment. Five interviewees who lived a period of their lives under a different name from that bestowed to them when born, each appearing in different figures, conveys the essence of his existence. Dealing with present time, memory and pain, the film expresses the inner conflict of the characters and their confrontation with society.

The interviewees were photographed with a stills camera and their stories recorded, but their words are not heard. Fragments of their stories transformed into a sound-text piece reflect the layers of their feelings. The film illuminates the subject of the name through the

⁶ Anita Shapira, *New Jews, Old Jews* (Tel Aviv, 1997), in Hebrew.

⁷ Oz Almog, *The Sabre – a Profile*, 1997, in Hebrew.

person carrying it, emphasizing the emotional load and conflicts which it creates by being a bridge between the individual and Society.



Video excerpt: *Wilhelmina* 3':15": Stills from video

Wilhelmina tells: “When I came to see the school nurse, she asked me what was my name and I said Wilhelmina. And she said: what kind of name is this? So I will be Zeeva, I said, because my grandpa was Wolf. You – Zeeva? You weigh 19 kg. We will call you Ziva! What a name, Ziva?...I was afraid.”

Wilhelmina's figure raises a crucial question: What is the significance of the shame this woman feels? She lives with the consciousness of a sense of shame that informs her whole being, her very identity. She lives with a vast lacuna, denying a major memory of her childhood, as well as her given name; indeed, in her own words – while still living, she buries a part of herself.

In front of the camera, at a certain moment, the concealed memory, which she had so hermetically sealed, is exposed.

Wilhelmina understood when she immigrated, that the transmission and conservation of collective values and an entire history of painful past events was to be sharply cut. Instead, a new identity and a new name signaling this identity were bestowed on her. From now on she was to have new future memories. As a result, it became all but impossible for her to contain certain parts of herself; the internal gaze is completely substituted by the external gaze – that is, by the newly constructed cultural conventions. She experienced a brutal eradication of personal memory by a new dictatorial future history.

Wilhelmina's personal biography is told in simple words; she does not use familiar cultural locutions with given significance (i.e. holocaust, trauma, loss, etc.). It is she herself confronting the event; not history of facts, but a history of a person.

The second paradigm, by contrast, is about remembering.

It is about digging into the memory gap in order to integrate the missing pieces of history into the complete story of the individual.

My video *Between Homelands*, (2008) representing this paradigm, is based on an ego-document: a collection of postcards which my parents collected during the late 1940s and 50s, which depict places and sites in Eastern Europe. This was, for me, the starting point of a voyage in time and in place.



Video: *Between Homelands* – 5':15"

STILLS FROM VIDEO

The video's description: Between the Baltic Sea and the Mediterranean Sea - a panoramic Polish landscape seen from a moving train is telling a story of constant impermanence and impossibility to settle down anywhere on the globe.

The moving images (the film consists mostly of still images) motivate changing rhythms of consciousness. By bringing together images of present and past, and of reality and memory, the film reveals hidden ties between remembering, trauma and self. This video work is based on a postcards collection from the 1940s and the 1950s Fonar Cocos' parents kept in a hefty album, black-and-white photographs that were taken after their return to Warsaw at the aftermath of the Second World War, and photographs that the artist herself took during a 2007 sojourn in Poland.

The original sound track is composed of a dialogue between two women; recite a poem by Polish poet Stanisław Barańczak.

My curiosity and my urge to acknowledge and confront the history concealed in the images of this album drove me, in 2007, back to my homeland – Poland. My aim was to collect present-time photographs of places and attempt to decipher the significance and context of the old photographs and the world they suggested, shrouded in what I had come to think of as a “white fog” – this familiar and unfamiliar feeling they projected. (Their un-canniness).

The video has a non-linear narrative structure and it juxtaposes images of the beautiful present-day Saxon Garden (Ogród Saski) in Warsaw, the Mediterranean beach of Tel-Aviv, and monuments memorializing the past with family photographs and abstract images of white void, while motivating changing rhythms of consciousness. - This, aiming to reveal the affinities between remembering, trauma and individuality.

CLOSING COMMENTS

Both paradigms that I presented here exemplify the dictatorship of history on the personal process of memory:

The threatening nature of an intrusion of even a trace of memory suggests the violence and the explosive energy that resides in the process of retaining memory of a trauma, as demonstrated by the wax tablet *The Other*.

Wilhelmina's process of denying her personal biography, which is shared by a whole generation, teaches us something important about ourselves and our society. We emerge as a community of immigrants that has paid the hefty price of partial self-death for suppressing some of its characteristics and surrendering to the constraints of History with a capital 'H'.

Between homelands represents a different generation that feels itself liberated from the ideological injunction to forget the past, and is indeed motivated to embrace the unknown, traumatic memories. And on a personal note: In his book *Blindness*, José Saramago describes the predicament of a man stricken by white blindness as that of “swimming through milk.”

I want to share with you the fact that this image resonated strongly in my mind during my work on this video. Combining blindness with some sort of vague, cloudy memory, Saramago's image captured my feelings about this other reality, which I knew is a part of me, of my own history, but of which I am not a part. I tried to touch on this childhood memory, without spoiling it, without touching.

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**Post-Yugoslav Condition:
Cultural Studies Does the Balkans**

Feels Like Home Again: The ‘Balkanness’ of Hungarians from Vojvodina in Hungary

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'Balkan music' is well known in Hungary, as everywhere in Central and Western Europe, but often not as much to those who actually come from the region that produces this style. Many Hungarian students from Vojvodina, Serbia who study in Budapest have either never heard of this music before, or have expressed a negative opinion about it, but upon their arrival to Hungary a lot of them get converted to the 'Balkan ideology': they attend Balkan parties, consume so-called Balkan popular cultural products and identify with a 'Balkan' community.

After a brief discussion of the Vojvodina Hungarians in the context of the discourses of multiculturalism, 'Otherness' and 'Balkanness', this paper explores the process of this conversion and the socio-cultural motives of the old/new identification. The paper argues for the existence of ambiguous identities that can at the same time be strongly Hungarian and obviously Balkan. To understand it, I call for a complex view on ethnic identification taking into account the flexibility and playfulness of cultural identification. The paper looks at identity formation from various angles, from theories of internalizing 'Balkanness' to social stigmatization and social capital. Combining empirical data with post-structural theory, this research aims at explaining the non-exclusivity of Hungarian and Balkan identities of Vojvodina Hungarians living in Hungary more generally it explores the nature of multiple identities

Baš svi, nek' čuju svi ovu pesmu što pali kafanu,
Baš svi, nek' čuju svi kako se veseli na Balkanu!
(Seka Aleksić – Balkan)

INTRODUCTION: BRINGING HOME THE BALKANS

In the summer of 2007 I was already living back in Serbia when I got an invitation to a Balkan party in Budapest. At the beginning, I found it quite weird to go to Budapest to attend a Balkan party from where I lived, in the heart of the Balkans, but as I had a free ride for a whole day excursion to Budapest, I accepted the invitation considering it as a good opportunity to catch up with friends in the city where I used to live and feel some nostalgia toward my life in this Central European metropolis. My decision was thus purely pragmatic, but I couldn't help wondering how come that, as it turned out, most of my friends I wanted to meet would attend the party. I remembered that during the years I spent in Budapest with them, I was almost the only one who spoke proper Serbian, and definitely the only one who had a grasp of the songs that I suspected would be played at the so-called Yugo party² (my underlying motives for being a musical pervert are to be ignored at this point). At the big music event, my surprise could not have been greater seeing my friends partying wildly to the songs of performers like the famous Lepa Brena, the inevitable Bijelo dugme, and even some lesser known folk singers like Nada Topčegić. And to my astonishment, their breaking glasses and dancing on the table was dead serious: not a pinch of irony in it! Maybe their knowledge of Serbian did not expand, but they definitely sang the songs knowing every verse of the lyrics. So what happened to them in the meantime while I was busy getting home to the Balkans? Did they also get there, but on another level? Or did they bring the Balkans to Budapest?

The phenomenon is definitely not unique to my circle of friends. It appears that many young people coming from what is commonly referred to the Balkans re-adopt or adopt the Balkannes in themselves only after they have adapted to a Central or Western European lifestyle. The phrase 'what is commonly referred to the Balkans' is to be emphasized here: what I aim to show in this paper is that in their attitudes and affinities appropriate a lifestyle that mimics the stereotypes of a Balkan way of life imagined by Westerners and presented in the cultural products created by both the 'outsiders' and the 'insiders' of the Balkans, such as Emir/Nemanja Kusturica, Goran Bregović, Nele Karajlić etc. There are plenty of studies that explore how people from the Balkans reappropriate the stereotypes of the region (see Todorova 2006 ; Jezernik 2004; Wolff 2000) in a negative sense; a few of them also look at how the Balkans has come to mean something positive to people who come from the region. However, none of them deal with how 'Balkan lifestyle' is appropriated by individuals not clearly identified as belonging to the Balkans. I aim to present an argument that claims that this lifestyle is both temporary and arbitrary. Temporary in the sense that is freely put on and took off depending on the social context the individual wearing it finds him/herself in, and fully aware of whether the social situation they take part in is appropriate for the 'Balkan card' to be can be played. In this sense, Balkan identity becomes a resource to be acted upon. The Balkan style is arbitrary in the sense that 'feeling Balkan' has no root in the wearers' upbringing, socialization, original cultural patterns of behavior or taste, nonetheless it has become an important part of his/her identity that can be played with, or using a theatrical metaphor: that can be a play to be staged.³

¹ Everyone, let everyone hear this song that turns the bar on fire, / Everyone, let everyone hear about how to party in the Balkans!

² Parties like this in Budapest are called Balkan parties, Yugo parties or YU parties. In this text I will refer to them as Balkan parties.

³ I want to note here that by using the words 'playing' and 'staging' I do not mean that the identity presentation is necessarily something artificial that is shown to be real. On the contrary, as I will argue later in the paper, I emphasize that the identity I am discussing in this research is always already instable and caneasily be played with

After a brief contextualization of the research in terms of geographic and socio-political context and an overview of the methodology, I will turn to exploring the web of identification processes and their underlying drives using theoretical concepts that can be useful in opening the web of meanings of ‘Balkannes’ in the context of Hungarians from Vojvodina living in their kin state. These concepts come from various fields of study, ranging from the politics of international relations to postcolonial and post-structural theory, however, what they all have in common is that they can explain the complex process by which identity is put on taken off in order to serve particular needs at a particular social context. Using the material of several informal interviews I conducted and media sources found on the Internet⁴, underpinned by theoretical concepts such as multiculturalism, Otherness, stigma, mimicry, play, etc., my aim is to draw some conclusions about the inherent instability and potential for playfulness of (at least certain aspects of) identity.

FEELING BALKAN NOW AND THEN

Multiculturalism Vojvodinian way

Vojvodina, the northern province of Serbia, at least nominally autonomous regarding certain economic and policy-making competences, offers an interesting case study for questions of the Balkans, identity, ethnicity, multiculturalism and attitudes towards the Other. Having been described as the textbook example of multiculturalism in postsocialist Europe, it used to be highly heterogeneous in terms of ethnicities even when it was part of Hungarian territory until the Treaty of Trianon in 1920, then during the periods of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and of Yugoslavia, and today when officially more than twenty national minorities live alongside Serbs in Vojvodina; the most numerous being Hungarians, Roma, Romanians, Slovaks, Croats and Ruthenians (Ilić 2001; Göncz and Vörös 2005). Stereotyped narratives of Vojvodina as a multicultural heaven exist (see Korhec 2006; Dević 2002) alongside evidence of strained ethnically framed cleavages (see Bieber and Winterhagen 2006). As a tendency, it can be said that centuries of various ethnic groups living together in Vojvodina have led to peaceful cohabitation of peoples, recognition and tolerance, but at the same time “hierarchies ethnic, cultural, and linguistic minority and majority groups have appeared as a result of the politics of various elites, and various forms of discrimination disfavoring minorities have emerged” (Göncz and Vörös 2005:188). It is a fact that Vojvodina has seen much less explicit conflicts between ethnic groups than for instance Kosovo, the former Serbian province with the same status of an autonomous province within Serbia while it was part of Yugoslavia. However, conflicts alongside ethnic cleavages, latent or explicit, are present despite their underreporting and sweeping under the carpet by various ethno-national elites (not only majority but also minority) with the aim of pertaining the status quo, i.e. while ideologically propagating multicultural policies and practices, what is nurtured is multiculturalism understood merely descriptively: as ethnic pluralism. As few advocates of Vojvodinian multiculturalism see, there is much more to that concept than a situation of cultural heterogeneity where several cultures coexist in a same geographical space; it also means an ideal of political programs that strive for

– an important feature of identities in general that is often not emphasized in literature that deals with identity formation and presentation especially in the literature on Balkan identities .

⁴ Some of the websites where visual material of ‘Balkan events’ in Budapest and their description can be found are:

http://www.port.hu/pls/fe/festival.festival_page?i_festival_id=8440

<http://www.cityweekend.hu/budapest/events/9680/>

<http://www.cityweekend.hu/budapest/events/7599/>

<http://www.cityweekend.hu/budapest/events/4641/>

<http://www.pestiside.hu/20070223/crazed-yugo-party-action-tonight-in-budapest>

<http://day.hu/esemenyek/10164>

<http://www.nightinfo.hu/bulik/id12048.ni>

<http://www.partyzoo.hu/inner.php?page=1&id=9516>

achieving a better position of autochthonous or immigrant populations, and a theoretical critical category related to cultural pluralism and interculturalism when speaking about the quality of the relationship between various ethnicities living in the same geographical location (Goldberg 1994; Lukšić-Hacin 1999). To put it bluntly, what I argue is that different ethnic groups live (at best) peacefully *next to each other*, but far from *with each other* as life in Vojvodina is often described. As Bieber and Winterhagen argue, “a pattern of separate lives has become a feature of majority-minority relations in Vojvodina” (2006:1).

Symptomatically, one of the two main Hungarian media in Vojvodina (the internet portal ‘Vajdaság ma’ [Vojvodina today]) agrees with Merkel and Cameron that the project of liberal multiculturalism has failed, and claims that traditional multiculturalism has a great future in the region.⁵ The fact that the two types of multiculturalism and multiculturalism in itself are not defined in the article is telling: the discourse of multiculturalism with an empty meaning has become widespread in the entire region, a floating signifier that can be filled in with ideological content depending on one’s own political or personal interests. Under the rhetoric of multiculturalism, ethnic communities lead separate lives and know little about one another.

It is from this ignorance of each other that a peculiar situation arises in which a great number of young people from all minority communities, but especially the most numerous Hungarians (who arguably have the strongest relation with their kin state) decides to pursue higher education and/or look for employment in Hungary. As my interviews show, it is commonly believed that the school curriculum of Serbian as a second language is designed in the way that it is possible to finish secondary school with very little and mainly useless knowledge of Serbian, and Serbian media are rarely followed among those who do not speak the language. Adding to this the often negative attitudes towards the majority (“They are somehow less cultured than we [Hungarians]”, as worded by an interviewee)⁶, it does not come as a surprise that mainly the capital Budapest, and the southmost city, Szeged, absorbs almost half of those youth that attend an institution of higher education.⁷ When asked about the reasons for pursuing education in Hungary informants, apart from a better quality of education and greater scholarship opportunities, state that an important reason for choosing Hungary over Serbia is their poor knowledge of the Serbian language. Living parallel lives naturally leads to unawareness of ‘the other’ and their culture, be it the national culture and even more its popular cultural products. It is not an overstatement to argue that at the age of 18, when one leaves Serbia to study or work in the environment where one’s mother tongue is spoken, he/she departs with a vague knowledge at best about who is Kusturica, ignorance about which songs Crvena jabuka sang and a despise for Ceca, the wife of a warmonger and the other members of the *národnjak* scene.⁸ Here a very important note has to be made, regarding my own position in the research I conducted. It would be naïve to think that the researcher’s own position does not affect the course and outcome of the study, especially if the kind of the study is ‘anthropology at home’. On the contrary, growing up in Vojvodina as a Hungarian and having studied in Hungary have largely determined my interest for topics dealt with in this research, and my personal experience has greatly influenced every single part of it from my viewpoint to the wording of my questions. I have known some of the people I have talked to about the subject for a long time, to certain extent I had a preconception about their answers even before posing the questions, and I have undoubtedly been familiar with the social context of this study – it can even be said that I have been involved in the scene even if I have rarely attended events that are in the

⁵ <http://www.vajma.info/cikk/karpat/7836/>

⁶ This and all other interviews were conducted in Hungarian. Direct and indirect citations are translated from Hungarian to English by the author.

⁷ My personal estimation; there are no data on the issue.

⁸ The hungarianized Serbian word for *narodnjak*, used pejoratively for the so-called newly composed folk music (*novokomponovana narodna muzika*), hereafter NCFM.

focus of this study. Yet, as this paper is mainly theoretical, I do not think it is an obstacle for arriving to some valid conclusions. Admittedly, all this personal involvement can be very 'dangerous' to the research, but there is one potential peril that endangers its validity even more: not being aware of one's bias. All the more since in the fashion of Bourdieu's reflexive sociology, I hold that the biography and behavior of the researcher has to be included in the study because the researcher occupies a place in the social world that is the object of his/her investigation (Bourdieu 2004; Froes 2009) Therefore I did not intend this paragraph to be a mere disclaimer – I have attempted to reflect my on my unavoidably subjective position throughout the entire research and analysis even if not engaging in it constantly on the linguistic level.

Identity and others

History, geography and culture indeed seem to be the key factors of drawing a boundary around ethnic groups: "various ways of defining ethnic groups are found in the literature, but most emphasize cultural and geographical elements" (Sanders 2002:327). Everywhere where two or more ethnicities live next to each other, it is the constructed ethnic boundary between them that separates them, not the cultural content it encloses (Barth 1969). In works dealing with ethnicity it is a generally accepted fact that ethnic groups are differentiated by the boundaries they themselves construct (see Barth 1969; Anderson 1995). Ethnic identification is therefore rather based on the subjective perception of what differentiates one group from the other than on what the groups are objectively like.

It is evident since the postmodern turn that ethnic identity is a social construct. Anderson calls communities imagined as they are based on a mental image of the persons' own ethnic affinity (1995). It is not only the social construction of ethnicity that is emphasized though in postmodern theory, but identities and experiences in general are presented as diverse, fluid, hybrid, unstable, a process (see Bhabha 2004; Hall 1992; Sanders 2002). There is underlying assumption that in post-modernity identity formation reflects the postmodern tenets of being fluid, fragmented, and strategic in that individuals may negotiate multiple identities. (Petrunic 2005) "Ethnicity is transformed from something one is into something one does" (Gözl 1998:48).

Yet, among others, it is Bhabha himself who, while ephasizing the hybrid nature of posmodern identity, insists on the fact that "racism, community, blood, and borders haunt the new international and have gained remarkable ideological and affective power" (Bhabha 1998:34). Despite postmodern fluidity, it seems that ethnicity is much more solid that one would expect, even in (or especially so) in contact situations like the one in Vojvodina between Hungarians and Serbs. When speaking about minorities, although acknowledging the possibility for cultural hybrididty, Kymlicka (1995) also highlights the difficulties and rarity of moving between cultures, and argues that the desire of national groups to retain their membership remains strong.

Ethnic identity building, pertaining to real or imaginary geopolitical areas is based on the dialogical relationship with the Other (see Taylor 1992; Lindstrom 2003; Petrunic 2005). Accounting for multinational societies where ethnicity is one of the key factors of identification, the Other is mostly a national other. As in the case of Hungarians from Vojvodina, especially those coming from mono-national villages or towns and who leave for Hungary at the age of 18 or even earlier, there is hardly any contact with the culture of the other nation, their presentation originates from the only available source: (Hungarian) media and popular culture. As it can be seen in the posters advertising Balkan events in Hungary, former Yugoslavs, that is mostly Serbs, are depicted as eccentric Gypsy-looking party animals dancing like crazy to the music of various instruments. Additionally, the difference between Serbs and Gypsies is often blurred: the success of not only Boban and Marko Marković Orkestar in Hungary, but also the more 'urban' Kal band is not accidental – they appeal to the audince as the prototypes of what is considered Balkan in Hungary, but also in other Central and Western European countries.

Stigma as capital

Coming from a country inhabited by crazy musicians, Gypsies and wild warriors and being culturally identified with them might be amusing at certain times, but at other occasions it definitely stamps the individual with a social stigma. Not only is a Hungarian from Serbia stigmatized in Serbia as being different, under constant threat of being assimilated. Even if all former socialist countries have until now abandoned the idea of violent assimilation and realized that infringement of minority rights leads to conflict more easily than granting some authorities, one should not forget that at some point or other all nominally multicultural states had a goal of inducing a common national culture and language to the entire population (Kymlicka 2007). Also, a Hungarian from Serbia is stigmatized in Hungary as well in terms of public policy especially since Hungary became a member state of the European Union (as interviewees noted, the processes of AIDS and STD medical tests for instance gave them a very strong feeling of being discriminated against and stigmatized.)

In his study on the concept of stigma, Goffman (1990) conceptualizes it as the discrepancy between the virtual (expected) and the actual social identity. In this sense, Vojvodina Hungarians in Budapest are stigmatized in two ways: First, they are from the Balkans but they do not really act according to the stereotypes of the Balkans, which can be seen as a stigma. The person falls short of several characteristics expected of someone from Serbia, including language, religion, traditions to mention only the few most important ones, and he/she has to come up with a strategy to compensate for this discrepancy. Goffman differentiates three strategies to manage the stigma: 1. Directly attempt to correct the stigma 2. indirectly attempt to correct the flaws and 3. break with reality – unconventional interpretations of his/her identity. The behavior of young Hungarians from Vojvodina definitely falls into the second category: through what Goffman calls ‘tortured learning’ they adopt the behavioral patterns of the group they feel they are expected to be like, the ‘normals’. Second, what is ‘normal’ in the context of young people from Vojvodina in Hungary is determined by Hungarian society at large. Normative behavior patterns created by the Hungarian society, distributed by the media and reflected back on the society prescribe not only what is Balkan but also what is ‘normal’ – in this case who is Hungarian. Therefore all who do not act upon this consensual understanding of what it means to be Hungarian are in a way also stigmatized. Being born in a Balkan country and bearing its citizenship in the eyes of many does not qualify as being a ‘real’ Hungarian, even if one speaks the language. In fact, as noted by several interviewees, in the eyes of ‘regular’ Hungarian citizens, speaking Hungarian proficiently is the only connection Hungarians from Vojvodina have to their kin state. What is more, even the question of language is problematic: stigmatization by Hungarian society seems to become so internalized that nearly all informants rank their knowledge of their mother tongue as 8 or 9 on a scale from 1 to 10 before starting their education in Hungary, and many claim to not speak ‘perfect’ Hungarian even now, after several years of living in Budapest. “We definitely speak differently,” they claim, and to them, ‘different’ tends to mean ‘imperfect’. Conversely, someone who speaks imperfect Hungarian *is* an imperfect Hungarian. Also, someone who is from the Balkans but does not *act* as being from the Balkans is stigmatized, too. What we see here is an example to a double stigmatization that needs to be mitigated in order to be socially normalized. A natural reaction to a social stigma is to attempt to escape it. However, being from the Balkans can not only motivate individuals to ‘run away from this stigma’ but also by learning to behave in a certain manner, in the recognizable ‘Balkan cliché’ way (Kiossev 2002), the stigma can also empower the individual. Being from the Balkans can and is used to present oneself in a more positive light, which is made possible due to the fact that in the eyes of ‘Westerners’ the Balkan are not only a place of genocide but also of a locus of “stereotypes of violent gloom and reckless extravagance” (Bjelić 2002:15), of perverse pleasures and forbidden desires.

In the classical Marxian sense of the term, ‘capital’ means both a surplus value and an investment with expected returns in the market. Also, capital is a process rather than a commodity

or a value, and it involves social activities (Lin 2001). To Bourdieu (1982), culture is a system of symbols and meanings. Therefore cultural elements imposed by one group and accepted by the other are symbols, and their interpretation is defined by the dominant group. He defined social capital as: ‘the aggregate of actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a “credential”’ (ibid: 51). In the case of Hungarians from Vojvodina ‘acting Balkan’ in Hungary, ‘knowing the Balkans’, their ‘Balkan’ behaviour at certain points is seen as collective resource than can be exploited as a means of mitigating at least one part of the social stigma of being neither Balkan nor Hungarian, and also differentiation from ‘real’ Hungarians.

Mimicking the Other

In his influential work explaining one of the mechanisms of colonial dominance and its subversion, Homi Bhabha (1984) introduced the concept of mimicry. It is a sign of a double articulation, as it at the same time regulates and threatens the regulatory power. By mimicking, the dominated not only imitates the dominant, but also produces an uncertainty of the dominant discourse by its deauthorizing power. It is almost like the dominant one, but not quite. Even though the concept was born out of the postcolonial context, its power to explain the phenomenon when imitation becomes subversion does not stop at the doorstep of post-socialist Europe. What mimicking means in the context of Vojvodinian Hungarian students being Balkan in Hungary is that in their knowledge of Balkan music and their gestures when exhibiting their knowledge are like the knowledge and gestures of what is typically considered as a Balkan way of partying, yet, by the change of the context (not a Balkan *kafana* but a fancy discothèque in Budapest) and the conscious or unconscious play with the Balkan identity, this typical Balkan behavior subverts the stability of having a fixed Balkan identity. There is always a Freudian striking feature, the inappropriate signifier that betrays the non-authenticity (ibid.); in case of Hungarians from Vojvodina it might be the Hungarian language or a Serbian word pronounced in a wrong way that changes the cultural production of meaning – a linguistic feature that differentiates the self from the other. The repetition of Balkannes (instead of representation), or its empty form of imitation, (ibid.) thus becomes dependent upon this incomplete sameness, which presents its interpretation of the Balkans that is in its origin and context very different from the ‘authentic’ Balkan *kafana* behavior. As for Hungary and the Hungarian understanding of ‘being Balkan’, it is this version of it that becomes common knowledge about Serbia, the ultimate Balkan as Hungarians know it. And the Balkan as Hungarians know it, as the pictures used in this paper show, inevitably includes elements such as Gypsies (usually depicted in white shirts, unless it is the ‘urban’ version of Balkan Gypsies that the band Kal represents), trumpets (or occasionally other traditional instruments like accordions), exposure of masculinity (there are hardly any females pictured on posters advertising Balkan parties), a state symbol of some Balkan country (flag, coat of arms, etc. – often unidentifiable and thus impossible to connect to a particular country) and landscape associated with the Balkans (the most obvious being the bridge of Mostar in one of the posters, which also evokes the memory of the wars in the former Yugoslavia, a bottomless treasury of associations of the Balkan craze). These are the images that are created and recreated about the Balkans by foreigners and ‘Balkan people’ alike.

However, at another level of the analysis one can see that what Hungarian citizens are presented with through the self-presentation of Hungarians from Vojvodina is not the Vojvodinian Hungarian mimicry of the Balkans, but the mimicry of the mimicry of Balkanness. As mentioned earlier, the Vojvodinian Hungarian mimicry is based on what is commonly perceived as Balkan outside the Balkans. This perception is mostly based on mainstream Balkan movies, Balkan music and videos of them. But what are these popular cultural products if not mimicries of the Balkans as well? What are for instance the scenes of Kusturica’s films and so many NCFM videos if not exaggerations of what is thought to be a Balkan way of partying? The atmosphere of Kusturica’s *Underground*,

everything in it is hyperbolic, overemphasized, enlarged, caricatured (Pavlović 2009:51). The horizons of interpretation are enlarged so that everyone can read into them what they want. But it is exactly this proliferation of meaning that causes the metaphors to begin subverting their own signifiers. Everything is Balkan, and everything is like in the Balkans -- but not quite.

Playing the Other

When signifiers start subverting signified, the system raptures. If the center of a system is deconstructed, there will be no fixed meaning, no stable ultimate consensus on meaning. At this point one is left with two options: either throw out the system as a whole, or start playing with it, i.e. start using parts of the system pragmatically, at one's own liking (Klages 2001). To explain this, Derrida borrows Levi-Strauss's concept of *bricolage*, and defines it as "the necessity of borrowing one's concepts from the text of a heritage which is more or less coherent or ruined" (Derrida 1993:231). Of course, Derrida himself is a *bricoleur* in this sense, but more importantly, in his theory of post-structuralism he gives room to play, or as he calls it 'freeplay' (1993:224). What I argue in this paper is that playing is exactly what happens at Balkan parties or similar contexts that Vojvodinian Hungarians attend: they play with their identity in the sense that they shift it across the border of 'European' and 'Balkan', act according to stereotypes depending on the context because they find pleasure in it and because they pragmatically find it useful to maximize their interests at that moment. It is important to emphasize here that even though the process is not fully conscious, no Vojvodinian Hungarian would 'act Balkan' if it is not in his/her interest, for instance in official institutions, at work, school etc., even though they claim that 'real' Balkan people behave differently than Hungarians in these contexts – which some informants reported to 'look down on'. As Homi Bhabha gives the example, ethnic categories thought to be stable and unchangeable does not necessarily have to be such: considering the colonial context where identities inevitably influence one another and overlap, the difference between an English gentlemen's club and a bazaar are more ambivalent as one would think (Bhabha 1998). Similarly, a *bricoleur* Hungarian from Serbia acting Balkan is not necessarily an unconceivable position because Balkan and Hungarian are not necessary a binary opposition. It is possible to have an identity that is both Hungarian and Balkan, that at the same time belongs to both and neither of the two. Ethnic identification can be ironic and serious at the same time: it is possible that people who take their 'Hungariannes' seriously from time to time decide to put their Balkan identity into use – an identity that might be a copy of a copy, a mimicry of a mimicry, but is still a valid identity.

Names that signal ethnicity (like all other names and like language in general) acquire or fail to acquire significance - casually, ironically, catastrophically - depending on whether or not (and how) people read one another and themselves in terms of such names [. . .] Inversely, inventions of ethnicity can be more cheerfully indulged the less seriously they take themselves (Gölz 1998:50-51).

What this tells us is that there seems to be much more agency for the social actors to create and re-create their points of identification, and that they have a much greater power in the process of identity creation than they are usually imagined to do. Being Balkan is at the same time an identity that is a stigma, a mockery and an emancipatory behavioral pattern – all these at the same time and not contradicting one another.

Playing Balkan – Instead of a conclusion

It has too often been the case that 'Balkanist' discourse, even if it has the aim of deconstructing the construct of the Balkans, fixes both the scholar and his/her subject into a position that, ironically, both the researcher and the 'researched' have tried to escape. Of course, social scientists from the Balkans have been fully aware of this trap, and several of them have called attention to the danger of being enclosed in the Balkan stereotype and the strive for disidentification (see Kiossev 2002,

Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992). Especially in the context of studying nationalisms, one has no other option than to adopt the concepts and discourse of the field of the study that is being deconstructed (Bakić-Hayden and Hayden 1992).

This cognitive dissonance (ibid.) holds not only for the researcher, but for the subjects of the research as well: being aware of the stereotypes, but living up to them at the same time. Conversely, this living up to the stereotypes set by others is not something the social actors simply find themselves in: individuals have agency in choosing whether and when to adopt the strategy of 'playing Balkan'. They are active objects, not passive subjects of all social situations they take part in, which involves changing identities and free border crossing between Balkan and European.

There is nothing new in assuming this in-betweenness of the Balkans. Starting from Todorava's key metaphor of the bridge (2006), many have conceptualized the Balkans as a liminal zone.

We are faced with a lot of overlapping cognitive maps and a multitude of possible or actual identities with competing cognitive strategies. In such a context, the acts of individual identification [. . .] take place in an unstable field, where various identity models are in competition; sometimes they even contradict one another, or transform one another. [. . .] Such conditions could create a feeling of uncertainty and anxiety; deprived of orientation, clear models, and stable positions, the individual doesn't know who he or she is. (Kiossev 2002:178).

Yet, as it can be seen from this quote, this state of being in between the East and the West (or the East and the center), or simply of being in a periphery, has mostly been perceived as a constraining and fixed identity. It has mostly been perceived as a traumatic feeling of not belonging to the West and not (wanting to) belonging to the East that one is stuck with. What I have tried to emphasize in this paper is rather the arbitrariness and spontaneity, and the conscious (or unconscious) irony of ethnic identification, as also "such a dynamic context affords individuals more opportunities and more "free space" for maneuvering; it actually enables them to better display their own energy and choice in confronting, or even rejecting, imposed models" (ibid.). This identity is strategic: it can be decided to be used in certain situations and at certain moments and not in others – the actors have the necessary knowledge of the context and a routine of switching identities to decide which moment is suitable for a Balkan identity. In this sense is this self-identification arbitrary and temporal. Similarly to seeing the glass half empty when it can be half full, when discussing Balkan identities, we are often negative in our perception of it as constrain, trauma. Thereby we fail to see the liberating power of the playfulness in being neither here nor there -- or more positively: of being at the same time both here and there.

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Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies

Relational Poetics: Towards A Reevaluation of The Literary Within Cultural Studies¹

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One of the main reasons for embedding literary studies within the broader field of Cultural Studies was the wish for contextualization. A growing awareness of social, political, and cultural power structures at play in literary texts and their interpretation urged scholars to investigate the literary text in relation to its context instead of conceiving it as an independent, isolated entity. However, in attempting to contextualize literary texts one runs the risk of artificially maintaining binary oppositions like text/context, autonomous/heteronomous, internal/external. Drawing on the notion ‘relational aesthetics’ coined by Nicolas Bourriaud, I would like to investigate the possibility of understanding the literary work not in relation to its contextual factors, but as being itself a relational space.

¹ This article is the non copy-edited draft of a paper presented at the 2011 ACSIS conference ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’, Norrköping, 15-17 June 2011 within the session ‘Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies’.

RELATIONAL POETICS: TOWARDS A REEVALUATION OF THE LITERACY WITHIN CULTURAL STUDIES

One of the main reasons for embedding Literary Studies within the broader field of Cultural Studies, as from its international breakthrough during the 1980s, was the general wish for contextualization. Several critical theories, including Marxist, feminist, and deconstructive theory, drew attention to the political and cultural power structures at play within cultural products like literary texts. Literary texts, one came to realize, are, maybe *par excellence*, places where these structures interact and converge. Consequently, these theories passed severe criticism on the view on literature dominant around the 1950 and 1960s: New Criticism's focus on the literary text as a closed universe whose meaning was supposed to result solely from the internal structure of the text. Whereas the representatives of this view did their utmost to exclude historical and cultural contexts, as well as other contextual factors like the reader's response and the author's intention, Cultural Studies provided a way to understand a literary text not as an isolated whole but as interplay of several discourses and processes.

Embedding the study of literature within Cultural Studies was, however, not without risk. Inevitably the price paid by Literary Studies was a wandering off from what might be called the 'literariness' of literature. After all, how to distinguish literary texts from other cultural products, like a newspaper article or an autobiography, when they should all be conceived as interplays of social, political and cultural processes? More than that, literature's embedding within Cultural Studies raised the more fundamental question whether there is something *essentially* literary in the first place. Is a literary text in essence different from a newspaper article? And if so, what's the decisive difference? About three decades after the international breakthrough of Cultural Studies, the time seems ripe for revisiting the literariness of literary texts, not as a way to purify their sense and meaning, but as a way to understand their instigating function within the dynamic interplay of structures and functions laid bare by Cultural Studies. Under the denominator 'Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies', the contributors to this session have tried to pinpoint this literariness, thereby focusing, in addition to systematic reflection, on several genres of literary texts, i.e. the novel and the poem, as well as on hybrid forms like the essay and pop lyrics.²

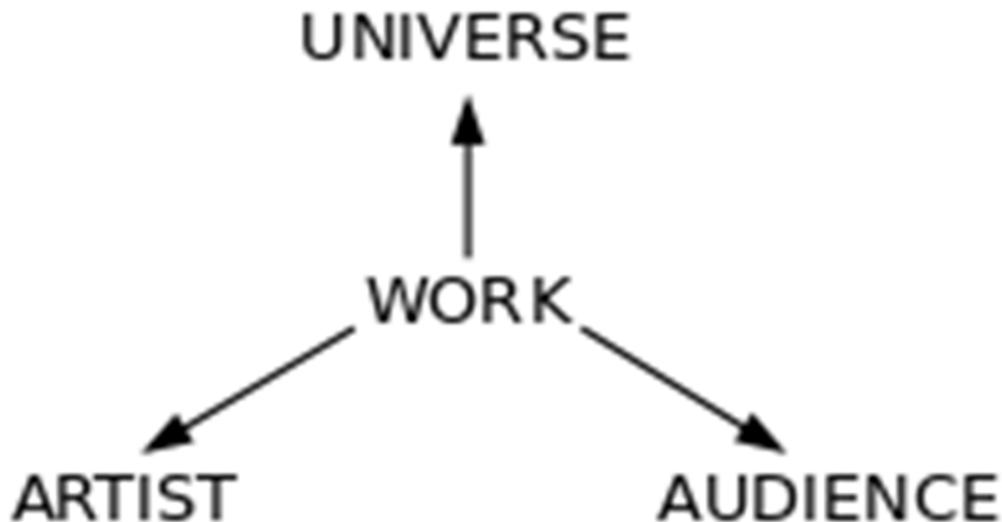
This paper aims at sketching some first lines of a new paradigm that might enable to better revisit the literary within Cultural Studies. By the notion of *relational poetics* I will, more specifically, open up a theoretical perspective that may serve as an alternative way to seize literature's specific functioning within the world. But let me first characterize the present paradigm. Notwithstanding crucial differences, I would like to claim that literary scholars during the last four or five decades generally followed one dominant paradigm, which I will call the *text-context paradigm*. One of the clearest and most wide spread manifestations of this paradigm is the version provided by M.H. Abrams in his 1953 book *The Mirror and the Lamp*.³ When one deduces the essence from all existing theories of literature, he states, the following neutral basic definition of literature emerges:

² The session 'Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies' is one of the outcomes of the research project 'The Power of Autonomous Literature' based at Utrecht University, The Netherlands. In the context of the 2011 ACSIS conference it included contributions of Geert Buelens (Utrecht University), Laurens Ham (Utrecht University), Anders Høg Hansen (Malmö University), Aukje van Rooden (Utrecht University), Frans Ruiter (Utrecht University), Daan Rutten (Utrecht University), Wilbert Smulders (Utrecht University), and Adam Wickberg Månsson (Stockholm University).

³ M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp. Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971 [1953]).

A *poem* is produced by a *poet*, is related in its subject matter to the *universe* of human beings, things and events, and is addressed to, or made available to, an *audience* of hearers or readers⁴

Although this definition is expressed in terms of poetry, it can – and should according to Abrams – be extrapolated to literature as such. Moreover, the italics used in this definition suggest that literary practice as such should be understood according to a certain configuration of four coordinates, combined in the following well-known scheme:



M.H. Abrams, *The Mirror and the Lamp*, page 6.

In spite of the four-bladed image, the dominant paradigm expressed by it is, in my view, a *dualistic* one. The reason for this lies in the fact that the conceptualization of all four coordinates as well as their interrelations ultimately boils down to a prior conceptualization of the *work* in relation to its *context*. It is only at a later stage that the work's context is specified as being chiefly related to the author ('artist'), the reader ('audience'), or to reality ('universe'). In the exemplary case of Abrams' conceptualization, this results in a subdivision between, subsequently, objective, expressive, pragmatic, and mimetic poetic theories. Whereas objective theories focus solely on the literary text, in expressive, pragmatic, and mimetic theories attention is for instance paid to the cultural or autobiographical background of the author, to the alleged effects of literary works on readers, or to topical events in everyday reality.

Following the distinction between text and context underlying this subdivision, this text-context paradigm leads to a specific kind of research questions, which I will call *chiastic*. The main assumption of these research questions is that there is a (real or theoretical) gap between the literary work and the world and that this gap has to be bridged in order to understand literature's role within the world. Following this basic distinction between text and context, these research questions generally depart from an equally real or theoretical gap between, for instance, fiction and reality, intrinsic and extrinsic value, form and message, autonomy and

⁴ In this concise form, the above definition does not appear in *The Mirror and the Lamp* but in the encyclopedic entry in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* extracted by Abrams from his 1953 book. Cf. M.H. Abrams, 'Theories of (Western) Poetry', *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 639.

heteronomy, etcetera. Examples of such chiasmic research questions are: 'Given the fact that literary texts, as from the Romantics, are considered autonomous, self-regulating entities, how do we have to understand the fact that they may also be regulated by external laws like that of politics or commerce?' Or: 'Given the fact that literary texts inscribe themselves into the domain of fiction or fantasy, how do we have to understand the fact that they can nevertheless contain a certain truth or are effective in reality?' Although these research questions are interesting and may lead to insightful conclusions concerning the complexity of our research object, they also evoke an opposition that is, upon closer consideration, rather artificial: that between text and context.

I therefore suggest to conceive of the literary text not as an entity functioning within a context, but as a phenomenon in which text and context emerge together, are co-existent and mutually constitute each-other. Instead of conceiving literature's role within society by means of an analysis of texts within their context, I therefore suggest a more Heideggerian analysis of what might be called 'literature-in-the-world'. As we can read in Heidegger's *Being and Time*, being (*Dasein*) is always *being-in-the-world*, that is to say that it is always in a constitutive relation with the world and other beings within the world. Such a being can therefore impossibly be conceived of as an isolated entity that may or may not be related to its context. Or to be more precise; it can only be conceived as an isolated entity at the cost of losing what is most essential to it: its relationally.⁵ Applying Heideggerian ontology to Literary Studies, this leads to a paradigm that we could call the *text-as-relation paradigm*. Within this paradigm, a literary text is not conceived of as an entity that may or may not establish a relation to its context, as the text-context paradigm has it, but is understood as being a relation itself. A literary text, in other words, is not an entity located at the margins or at a distance from the word, as many literary theories have it, but is a form of entering into relation with the world, is itself a worldly relation.

Such a *relational* view is offered, amongst others, by the French art critic and curator Nicolas Bourriaud in his 2000 [1998] book *Relational Aesthetics*. Here we find the following definition of artworks:

'Unlike an object that is closed in on itself by the intervention of a style and a signature, present-day art shows that [art] only exists in the encounter and in the dynamic relationship enjoyed by an artistic proposition with other formations, artistic or otherwise'.⁶

As we can deduce from Bourriaud's far-reaching thesis, a relational artwork is not artistic from the outset (because of its form, its style, the signature of its maker), that is before it enters the public sphere. Artworks have instead what one could call an 'open' identity. It is the dynamic encounter within the public sphere that *makes* them artistic works, or rather makes that they have an artistic *working*.

In *Relational Aesthetics* Bourriaud is limiting himself to visual art and more specifically to the so-called performance or installation artists of the 1990s. One of his examples is the French performance artist Sophie Calle. Particularly interesting in its exemplarity is the latter's decorated phone booth:

⁵ Cf. Martin Heidegger, *Being and Time* (Oxford: Blackwell 1962 [1927]).

⁶ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* (Dijon: Les presses du réel 2000) 21.



Sophie Calle, Detail, Gotham Handbook, 1994/2000

At the junction between Greenwich and Harrison Street in Manhattan, Calle decorated this phone booth and let the phone ring to invite passersby to have a conversation with her. Following Bourriaud, we could say that this is an example of relational art because it is not the decorated phone booth itself that is the artwork, but the dynamic encounter evoked by it, its confrontation with the undecorated phone booth at the left, with the passing and halting passersby, etcetera. Calle's work is therefore never a finished work of art, but, as Bourriaud states, 'a bundle of relations with the world, giving rise to other relations, and so on and so forth, *ad infinitum*.'⁷ In contradistinction to the text-context paradigm, which, as we saw, presupposes a gap between an artwork and its context, a relational paradigm thus enables us to understand the artwork as fundamentally – that is: ontologically – contextual, situated, and embedded.

Although much can be said in favor of an extension of Bourriaud's relational aesthetics from the performance arts of the 1990s to the plastic or visual arts in general⁸, it is less evident to extrapolate this aesthetics to the domain of literature. In contradistinction to visual artworks and especially to artistic performances, literature is generally produced, received and enjoyed in isolation. Although, in the case of literature, there is undoubtedly question of communication or contact between writer and reader, this seems by definition *not* to be an immediate form of relationally. Nevertheless, it is in my view exactly such an extrapolation of relational aesthetics to literary practice that could enable us to understand literature's functioning within the world beyond the dominant text-context paradigm.

⁷ Nicolas Bourriaud, *Relational Aesthetics* 22.

⁸ Cf. for instance P. Gielen, 'Mapping Community Art', in: P. De Bruyne & P. Gielen (eds.), *Community Art. The Politics of Trespassing* (Amsterdam: Valiz 2011) 17.

But what would such a ‘relational poetics’ boil down to? The timeframe of this paper allows me to do little more than to give some preliminary remarks. A first important observation would be that a relational poetics concerns, as in the case of the text-context paradigm, a *meta-poetics*. In other words, it provides not a ready-to-use set of analytical instruments, but a conceptual framework that determines the way literature can be understood. What is more, relational poetics provides a framework that stresses the fact that every work of literature exists, *as* literature, in a unique set of relations. The extreme non-essentialist definition of the literary following from the text-as-relation paradigm, implies that what is literary is again and again the result of these relations, or better still: *is* again and again a new relation. The literariness evoked by the relationally of a specific work has thus to be determined again and again anew.

As a consequence, the research angle prescribed by relational poetics can no longer be chiasmic, as it is within the text-context paradigm, but should be *holistic*. That is, although ‘the total situation of a work of art’⁹ consists of several components that can be investigated in relative isolation, from the viewpoint of relational poetics one only gets to grips with the *literariness* of literature when this situation is conceived in its totality. This boils down to a view on literature as being fundamentally *social*, which is not to say, however, that this requires a sociological approach like Pierre Bourdieu’s.¹⁰ Relational poetics does not so much aim at highlighting the societal structures at play within the literary field, but rather stresses the fact that the existence of literary texts as literary text is always already – that is on an ontological level – a form of *co-existence*. In conceptualizing this social dimension, the work of Jean-Luc Nancy, for instance, is more useful than that of Bourdieu. ‘Literature’, as Nancy has it, ‘means the being-in-common of what has no common origin.’¹¹ Literariness, in other words, is something that is not already there, but comes into being each time anew in a community, how small and momentous this community may be.

From the viewpoint of relational poetics it is impossible and even ridiculous to think of literature that does *not* refer to social reality, that does not intrinsically imply an author, readers, or a certain temporal and local embodiment. From the holistic point of view the idea of a gap between text and ‘context’ is as unthinkable as the notion of a private language or the idea of a ‘purified’ non-referential text.¹² This may even be one of the biggest misunderstandings concerning the so-called *l’art-pour l’art*-movement, a misunderstanding that most likely results from a false – and highly problematic – extrapolation of visual to literary aesthetics. Moreover, it is precisely because language is the way humans connect to the word that the linguistic art of literature cannot but be a form of being-in-the-world. Instead of a gap there is thus always question of a mutual constitution or interdependence of what can hardly be called ‘text’ and ‘context’ anymore. It remains to be seen whether the decisive oppositions resulting from the text-context paradigm – like fiction/reality, intrinsic/extrinsic, autonomy/heteronomy, and even literature/non-literature) can be redefined within the paradigm of relational poetics. Like literariness itself, these will have, in any case, to be considered as non-essential, that is not as the starting point of our approach to literature’s functioning within the world but as the result of the relational phenomenon that literature is.

⁹ M. H. Abrams. *The Mirror and the Lamp*, 6.

¹⁰ Cf. Pierre Bourdieu, *Les Règles de l’art. Genèse et structure du champ littéraire* (Paris: Seuil 1992).

¹¹ J.-L. Nancy, *Being Singular Plural* (Stanford: Stanford University Press 2000 [1992]) 90.

¹² Cf. also Cassange, *La théorie de l’art pour l’art en France chez les derniers romantiques et les premiers realists* (Seysssel: Champ Vallon 1997 [1906]).

The Dimension of ‘Play’ in the Autonomous Meaning of Literature¹

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The concept ‘literary autonomy’ is as important as it is tricky. No matter the way one is scholarly engaged in modern literature, sooner or later one is confronted with the phenomenon that the liberation and emancipation of literature culminates around 1800. According to some scholars autonomy is the distinguishing feature of the *work*: from then on literary texts became more and more hermetic. Others stipulate that autonomy is a characteristic of the social position of the author, who from then on situates himself on the border of the social and moral frameworks of the bourgeois culture. Others think that autonomy is caused by the raise of the phenomenon ‘subject’, who from then on doesn’t anymore recognize any authority outside itself and sets its own frameworks. In discussions about autonomy usually one of those characteristics is made absolute, mostly the social and the poetical one. I try to do justice to the complexity of the phenomenon ‘autonomy’ by accepting the three characteristics as its three *dimensions*, constantly playing in a dynamic interaction. I try to show this interaction and try to concretise this rather abstract phenomenon in view of the modern Dutch literature, especially the authorship of Hermans.

¹ This article is the non copy-edited draft of a paper presented at the 2011 ACSIS conference ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’, Norrköping, 15-17 June 2011 within the session ‘Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies’.

THE DIMENSION OF 'PLAY' IN THE AUTONOMOUS MEANING OF LITERATURE

In our research project we focus on literary artists whose work and behaviour seems to reject any social commitment, but have nevertheless a considerable cultural impact. Nevertheless or therefore, that's the question. The French art sociologist Nathalie Heinich calls this type of artists, whose origin lies in the Romantic Movement, '*grands écrivains*'. The factual given that the so called autonomy of the '*grands écrivains*' in modern literature hides a considerable amount of engagement and implies a moral impact on the community of their readers, is a puzzling paradox. The question is: how takes this hidden effect place? How does this cultural machinery work? Our project tries firmly to tackle these questions. Consequently we are eager to get a grasp on theories that can enlighten the paradoxical process. Our approach is threefold: a search along the line of sociological, epistemological and aesthetic theories.

In this lecture I will concentrate on the concept of *play*, put in the centre of aesthetics by for example Hans-Georg Gadamer, who for his part takes at this point the slipstream of the famous study *Homo Ludens*, written by our compatriot Johan Huizinga. The problem being highly abstract I will try to be as concrete as possible. Therefore I will present a short prose text by Willem Frederik Hermans, one of the '*grands écrivains*' in post war Dutch literature, for this occasion translated by myself in collaboration with my honourable colleague Sven Vitse. It follows below. After a brief introduction of Gadamer's concept of *play* I will tackle Hermans' text, interpreting it along two lines: as a thematic unity and as a play within its threefold context of reader communities.

'BEHIND THE SIGNPOSTS NO ADMITTANCE'

Few people know how much I feel attracted to what is concealed behind the signposts No Admittance. Even people who have publicly spilt the beans on me and who have complained that I did not explain all about myself beforehand don't know that, because I have never brought it up. But ever since I was fourteen years old I have spent many days at those isolated places from where merely some rumbling and smoke reaches passers-by. And often not even that. Only a Private Road where only those people go who are entitled to, leads to those places, from the public road which is nothing more for its part than a side-road of the main road.

It is there that monstrous draglines, pneumatic drills and dynamite destroy the illusion that our world should be an 'inhabitable world'. It is here where it becomes clear what kind of planet our world really is: a huge stone, pure at the inside, solid and clear, dirty at the outside, mucous and worn out.

That dirt, that wear material, those grindings, left behind as the wear and tear by ice, snow, rain and wind, has produced everything: the microbes, the vegetation, the animals and the human race. Sometimes this huge stone is cleaned up a little by nature. She breathes upon it, scratches it, knocks on it or strikes a match to it. The newspapers speak of catastrophes: tornados, floods, avalanches, forest fires, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes. It causes cries of distress, but in fact nothing happened: the huge stone is still perfectly intact.

Cut a splinter of the stone and it will show its pure cosmic colours, its minerals called jewels and gems if they are hard enough to withstand the wear and tear and do not contribute to the world's habitability.

Behind those signposts No Admittance dusty labourers need brute force to cut a little fragment of our huge stone. There the material is being mined of which we build our houses, the coal that warms us and the ore of which one forges weapons.

Sometimes I walk around those abysses without doing anything, considering how man,

frantically straining himself, gnaws crumbs off the enormous meteor he is helplessly tied to, upon which he roars through the universe like a shipwrecked person on a raft, without the prospect of nearing other shipwrecked people on other rafts.

In those places, behind the signposts No Admittance, the grass is grey with dust, the trees are damaged by lorries scraping against them, large pits are filled with green water, beneath dead bushes broken cog-wheels and bottomless enamelled jars lie. There is a stench as if only the lowest forms of life would venture here.

No one comes here but the dusty workers and me. The workers pay no attention to me. No-one will come and look for me there, in that thundering loneliness where I belong although I never discuss it with anyone.

The rattling of the machines sounds to me like the music of the revolution. Here the pointless heroism with which man digs himself into his rock thumps in dark alleys, which proportionally cannot even be compared to a pin-prick.

Here the trampling of a prisoner on the concrete floor of his cell resounds, amplified a thousand fold.

[W.F. Hermans, born in Amsterdam September 1st 1921. Poet, author and doctor in geology. Has been member of the editorial board of several literary magazines. He published *Ik heb altijd gelijk*, *Tranen der acacia's*, *Moedwil en misverstand*, *Het behouden huis*, *Paranoia*. His *Mandarijnen op zwavelzuur* (merciless critical pamphlets against colleague authors) spur friend and foe on to criticize on their turn.]

GADAMER'S AESTHETIC CONCEPT OF 'PLAY'

Gadamer discerns three aspects of 'the beautiful': play, the symbolic and celebration. As I have already said, I'll confine myself in this lecture to the aspect of 'play'.

What is to play? For Gadamer to play is a self-representation of being. To play amounts to a self-movement without purpose. Also lifeless things do play (the moving patterns of light or of the waves) and the same goes for animals (young dogs are playing).

The human being is a rational animal. He plays also but he is gifted with reason and reason forces him to set himself at an objective. When the human being plays he involves the reason in his play, but the play overrules his on an objective directed reason. Man disciplines and organizes his playing, *as if it should have an objective*. The objective of his play may be behaviour without objective, but this behaviour-without-objective is nevertheless *meant to be* that behaviour-without-objective.

The work of art has, what Gadamer calls, a hermeneutic identity. This means, in the first place, that I understand it as something with a meaning, and secondly that I understand it as something that only means to be what it produces, as just that what it is. In the art work the play converges with what Gadamer means by the symbolic. Like the play is a self-representation, the symbolic refers to something that it hides at the same time. Like the play is behaviour without any objective, the symbolic embodies what it means. What an art work has to say, is to be found in the art work as a material body. The indeterminateness of its reference is essential.

And last but not least, according to Gadamer playing is a communicative event. It is impossible to play on your own. To play creates automatically fellow players. When you see someone play you can't back out of it. The sight of a playing person involves you without fail.

BEHIND THE SIGNPOSTS NO ADMITTANCE: AN EXPLORATION OF THE TEXTUAL FACTS

What is told to whom? What is the profile of the player? Which play is at stake? What are the rules and who are made fellow player? The text presents us several moments of displacement: as regards genre as well as content.

On the level of genre there is a displacement from column to story:

* Column: casual kind of communication by an informal discursive text, on a confidential tone, stating a personal view on everyday subject matter or on more serious or even ponderous subject matter, but then with heavy ironic undertones.

* Story: artistic kind of communication by the formalities of a fictional text, on a dramatic tone, stating a universal view on existential subject matter.)

On the level of content: the writer is complaining to the reader about the critics of his work. They want to grasp the meaning of his work in the easy way and complain on their turn that the author does not give them insight in that what is behind his fiction. In other words: the critics complain that the writer does not let the cat out of the bag, and the writer complains...yes, about what is the writer actually complaining? What is he driving at, with his complaints about their complaints about, their (in his opinion) misplaced curiosity?

In the text he formulates an answer to their complaints, but his text is not directed to them, that is to say: to the critics. No, it is someone else: the reader of this little, informal text he is directing to. He takes him into his confidence and tells him a secret, something which *he has never brought up* (line 4-5), something *he never discusses with anybody* (l. 34-35). The secret is unfolded by a confession about his fascination *ever since he was fourteen* - that is to say: ever since the age one becomes aware of the mysteries of life - by the places in the public space cut off by signposts *No Admittance*. He has the habit to surpass those borderlines in the public space, walking without any goal. Wandering through those *terrains vagues*, lost spaces, marginal areas, he has a strong sensation of the sublime: the world as an overwhelming abyss, an endless space and time, a universe consisting of material, whose secret and meaning is that there is materiality, nothing but materiality. He describes this tremendous chaos with the poetic topoi of an inverted paradise (l. 29-32), which is awe-inspiring and fills him with a healthy respect, but at the same time tortures him with the feeling that he himself, as a human being, is mere nothing, an absolute futility. It takes him in captivity and even gives him the physical reaction of trampling, as the bodily symptom that the sensation is unbearable or only bearable in pain. His presence behind the signposts *No Admittance* is an exclusive experience and having been inaugurated to that experience results in a totally isolated position. Witness the fact of his trembling: he is nevertheless forced to give evidence of it, involuntary, as in a reflex, unconsciously, maybe even unwilling or against his will. This tangible way of giving evidence refers back to the writership of the I. The painful trembling is the author, rattling in despair on his typewriter.

I present a schematic figure with the thematic lines of the text.

COLUMN	
writer	STORY
	critics
<i>I character</i>	<i>everyone (=nobody)</i>
<i>Pain by truth</i> <i>Isolation</i> <i>Prometheus</i>	<i>Wellness by illusion</i> <i>Community</i> <i>mankind</i>
Signposts 'No Admittance'	
BEHIND	BEFORE

Obviously the text bears the romantic scheme of the artist as prophet, a solitary holy man, tortured by his knowledge of higher things. The artist as a modern Prometheus, having stolen the fire right under the noses of the gods, that is to say having stolen the secret of the physical world from the metaphysical field, and now being punished in an awful manner, every day again. This is the play of man against the Gods.

But we can also discern another scheme. And that is the hide-and-go-seek play between the writer and the reader. The writer tells the reader a secret, but by telling it he makes it public. But what would be left then of his secret? His confidential talking really is paradoxical. To whom he is talking? To the everybody (who is obviously excluded from inauguration) or to the nobody he says he is talking to. Is there any difference between the two categories of nullity? Nothing points out that he feels any obligation or even respect towards them. Why would he cross the border by yelling out his painful secret? Why doesn't he shut up and keep the secret for himself?

And besides, what if the reader should really listen to the trampling of the writer and should consequently cross the border, why would the writer then want him to do that? What would happen if they all would join the holy isolation of his Promethean vocation, if the all would solidarize with his position and share his unique knowledge? Would that not automatically lead to another paradox: the banalization of his unique sensation of the sublime?

No, it really is hide-and-go-seek, but played in another respect. What is at stake is that the writer tells the reader that there is a secret and that the reader has to look for it, trace it and pin it down. At stake is a secret that lies out in the open and has yet to be traced. The questions are now: where can we draw the line between secret and public, between being prisoner and being free, between being inaugurated and excluded and between having your eyes wide open and having your eyes shut or being blind?

What is at stake in this play is the opposite of what is called a *public secret*. A public secret presents the situation: everybody knows about it, but nobody talks about it. The opposite presents the situation: nobody knows it, but everybody is affected by it. The opposite of the public secret is the *blind spot*.

The blind spot is the little, but extremely important area in our retina where the nerves of our perception system come in and go out, resulting in the paradoxical result that exactly that area cannot perceive. The blind spot cannot see but is also the very condition to see. All those who can see, possess a blind spot and no one of them has the faintest idea of what he would observe if he would be able to perceive with that spot. The secret is that the blind spot tells the truth about seeing: it tells us that you are indeed able to see, but also that you are unable to see

In this text he describes his trip climbing up the volcano Etna on Sicily. Reaching the top and looking deep down into the crater he compares the sublime sight of that permanent eruption of pieces white-hot material with the flood in Holland, a national disaster that took place not long before, and having read *Behind the signposts No Admittance* you can guess what he prefers: the sight of the fire in the volcano or the water flood over de Low Countries. You guessed right: for Hermans the volcano presents the truth, the washed away dikes present the broken illusions.

The front page of the newspaper presents a play: it reveals what nobody knew until then. It is a play in a world where people aim for objectives (for example: the social democratic utopia). It is about reality and its texts are discursive.

The frame presents another play: a free play. It reveals something everybody is acquainted with, but nobody is fully aware of. It is a play without objective, stating the taboo of aimlessness, sketched as an inverted paradise. It is about imagination and its texts are fictive. The text on the front page is anonymous and claims to be objective, the text in the frame is on behalf of one individual and accentuates its subjectivity.

The play on the front page is about the facts out of the world of facts, the free play in the frame embodies a refuge in the world of facts. The front page discloses the sphere of public nature, the frame the sphere of secret nature. The front page presents the truth, the frame the truth about the truth.

The front page ignores nature, unless it causes catastrophes. The frame ignores everything except nature.

We could say: the front page is before and the frame is behind the signposts 'No Admittance'. The front page sticks to the idea that there is always something behind everything: hidden truth, that is to say news. The frame tackles the whole idea of behindness.

The text in the newspaper refer to states of affairs, the text in the frame has no reference unless to everything.

We can say: the frame is not a window, but a blindfold. You want to pull it off your face, but it sticks to your eyes, unless you leave the frame and withdraw to the other play, the front page as a window to reality. The frame in the front page is the blind spot in our perception of reality. But it does not function as such, unless it is published right in the middle of the front page of the newspaper, our retina for the news. The frame tells us, not only that literature has no meaning besides what it embodies, but also that literature cannot present that meaning, unless it is published in the center of the referential communication of the news, as a void on the screen. It may be true that the frame unmasks the newspaper, but the frame needs the context of the newspaper to be visible in its quality of a framed body of text.

PLAY IN CONTEXT 2: *HET SADISTISCHE UNIVERSUM*

Nine years later, in 1964, *Behind the signposts No Admittance* appeared unchanged in a collection of essays, published by Willem Fredrik Hermans. The collection is called *Het sadistische universum* and the text is a part of the section called *Kleine protocollen*, 'Small protocols', which means: accurate notation of an actually happened event of little importance. The 'Etna'-text is also present as a *Klein protocol*.

Note that the collection contains three sections: 'Black Sheep', 'Small Protocols' and 'Wittgenstein's Form of Life'. 'Black Sheep' contains the headlines of Hermans' poetic theory. In the essay this section opens with, Hermans stands up for Marquis De Sade as 'one of the greatest geniuses of his time' and 'the most remarkable literary phenomenon ever', a synthesis of Nietzsche and Freud. Hermans quotes De Sade: 'It should be impossible, my friend, that the true morality could deviate from nature; the principle of our ethical rules is only to be found in nature and - as a result - because nature inspires all of our mishits nothing

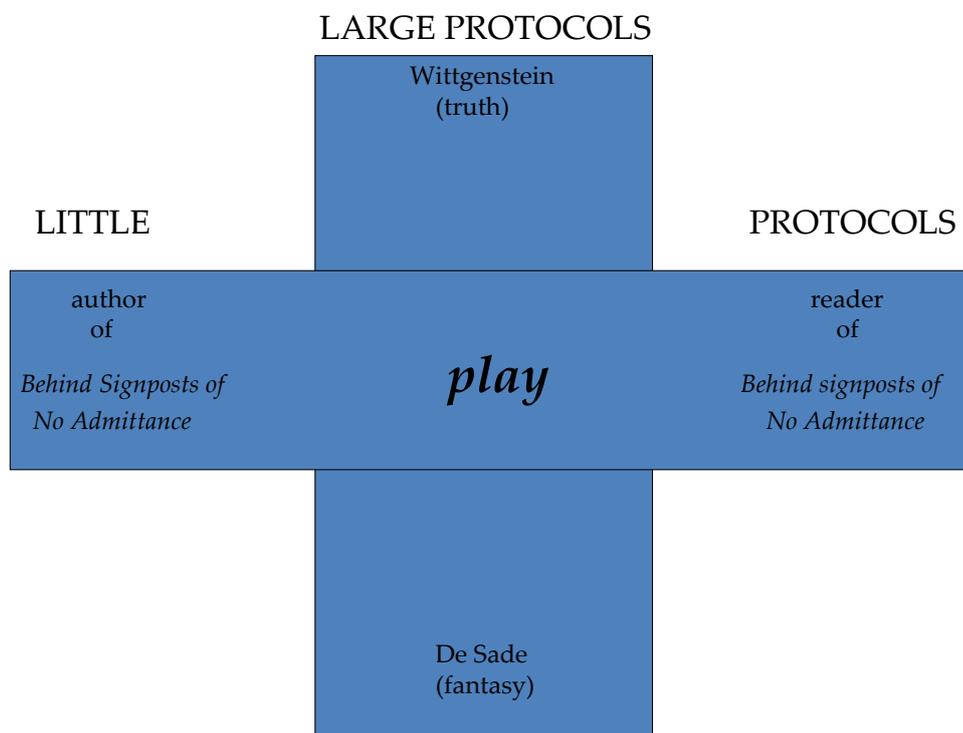
can be immoral.’ The motto of Hermans’ essay on De Sade goes: ‘The philosopher should say everything’ (This is what Juliette says in De Sade’s novel *Justine et Juliette*). To say everything means for De Sade to say: ethics is identical with nature.

As you also can see Hermans rounds off his essay collection with an essay about the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein, whom he introduces to the literary public in the Netherlands of that time, called ‘Wittgenstein’s Form of Life’. Wittgenstein can be situated at the other extreme of ideas about what is true and what is false. Wittgenstein ensures us that, as far as subject matters like morality and ethics is concerned, we know nothing with any certainty. He therefore pleads: ‘One should keep silent about things that cannot be spoken of’.

De Sade is not an empiricist, but a rationalist. He had a rich fantasy and has imagined the consequences of an idea. Wittgenstein is a logical positivist. He tries to distinguish between significant and meaningless propositions. Probably Wittgenstein has judged De Sade’s novels as a collection of interesting but meaningless propositions, just as De Sade would not have rejected Wittgenstein scrutiny - supposed that he would have been able to read him.

Which play is at stake in *this* context of *Behind signposts No Admittance*? What are the rules here, who is the player and who is made fellow player?

Hermans is the player, De Sade and Wittgenstein are pawns, and the character of *Behind the signposts No Admittance* as well as the reader are made fellow-players. The play ground is a text, which is the intersection of two kinds of protocols: on the one hand what I for this occasion would call *Large Protocols*, that is to say the ideas of De Sade and those of Wittgenstein, and on the other hand the *Small protocol*: the text about the down to earth, everyday situation of the character of *Behind the signposts No Admittance* and its reader. In scheme:



The hermeneutic identity of the play within this textual intersection is twofold. First: There must be something behind everything; and second: the story about every something is circular and contains nothing but tautological cries.

A ‘Farewell to Literature’ in 1860?: The Problem of Literariness in the Work of Multatuli (1820–1887)¹

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Today, Multatuli (1820-1887) is considered as one of the most important Dutch writers. His stance towards literature, however, was highly ambivalent. At the one hand, he realised that writing fiction was the best way to gain personal and political attention. At the same time, he highly mistrusted the instrument of (sentimental) fiction to engage readers. The same ambivalence dominates his presentation as a writer: Multatuli mythologized himself, but he also argued for a sincere, ‘authentic’ writership. In my presentation, I want to analyze these seemingly contradictory ideas about fictionalizing the world and the self. Some concepts in literary sociology, such as ‘posture’ (Jérôme Meizoz) or ‘the double life of writers’ (Bernard Lahire) help to understand the logic of Multatuli’s ideas about fiction.

¹ This article is the non copy-edited draft of a paper presented at the 2011 ACSIS conference ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’, Norrköping, 15-17 June 2011 within the session ‘Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies’.

INTRODUCTION

In 2001, Richard Lansdown defended the ‘autonomy of literature’ in a book with that very title. He investigated whether literature ‘possesses or preserves “its own activity” amidst the institutional influences to which it is unquestionably subject’. This term institutionalism is understood by Lansdown in a rather broad sense: according to institutionalists, ‘literature is itself no more than one institution among many others and, like all other institutions, it is ultimately shaped as a cultural product by the socio-political and ideological forces to which it is subjected.’²

Lansdown is not the only scholar who has been concerned with ‘literariness’ in the last 10 or 15 years. It is clear that the question ‘What is literature?’ (with its double connotation of ‘what is it?’ and ‘what is its place in society?’) has become more and more difficult to answer. Among the many forces that have contributed to this development, the rise of Cultural Studies is definitely one of the most important ones. In the last decades, the meaning of the word ‘culture’ thoroughly changed under the influence of both Cultural Studies and Cultural History. Not only has ‘traditional’ literature lost much of its autonomy in its many modern representations (graphic literature, poetry slam and rap, digital literature...), the written word is also no longer a privileged genre for understanding contemporary culture. Not surprisingly, this leads critics to sounding the alarm by emphasizing the humanizing value and democratic importance of both literature and literary criticism. A well-known example is Derek Attridge’s *The singularity of literature*, in which he emphasized literature’s ethical role.³

An interesting book in this recent critical tradition is William Marx’s *L’adieu à la littérature* [A farewell to literature] from 2005. Marx does not blame modern media from causing a crisis in literature, but he analyzes how writers and critics from the late eighteenth century onwards have complicated the theme of literature’s meaning themselves. They idealized the work of art as an enigmatic, autonomous object which in the end has no role to play in society. This vision alienated readers from literary texts and would in the end urge them to bid farewell to literature.

If Marx’ storyline sounds convincing as far as highbrow literature is concerned, it is less applicable to the middlebrow and lowbrow literary traditions. It also seems to fit the French and German literary histories better than the American or Dutch ones. In this paper, I want to demonstrate this by discussing the nineteenth-century Dutch writer Multatuli (1820-1887) and his (anti-)colonial novel *Max Havelaar*. Multatuli can be regarded as both an example and a counterexample of Marx’s thesis. In his case, one could speak of a ‘farewell to literature’ as well, but it is a different one than in the cases of Baudelaire, Mallarmé, or Valéry. Multatuli does not idealize literature, he does the opposite: he denounces it as an insincere way of describing the world. However, the critical responses to *Max Havelaar* show that precisely the ‘literariness’ of the novel contributed to its popularity and long-lasting influence.

MARX’S L’ADIEU À LA LITTÉRATURE

Let me first summarize Marx’s argument in slightly greater detail. He discusses the period between 1700 and 2000, in which literature, according to him, faced three different periods: a period of expansion, one of autonomization, and finally one of devaluation. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, literature grew into a highly valued medium to understand the world. In the intellectual scene in Europe, in which religion became less and less important, literature presented itself as a new ‘religion’ to give meaning to life. This far-

² Lansdown 2001, p. 17 and p. 6.

³ Attridge 2004.

fetched idea about literature stimulated the dogma of art for art's sake from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Literature was expected to substitute the world.

Marx makes clear that this growing autonomization would in the end destroy the high value of literature and literariness. When literature started to distract itself ever more from mimesis, it started to make itself superfluous. With the avant-gardes in the twentieth century, writers finally 'forbade' themselves to represent the world. Literature's autonomy was complete, but ironically enough, this also made that its devaluation could no longer be denied. For the reading public and the culture at large, literature no longer had any relevance.

Many aspects of Marx's much-discussed book could easily be contradicted. One could say, for example, that Marx only discusses 'high literature', which has been produced in a few large European countries. The book is about the German Romantic writers, Hegel, Flaubert and Baudelaire, dandyism, the historical avant-garde and the French OuLiPo movement. It is not about nationalist literature, occasional literature, religious literature and all these other forms of popular texts, which have been so influential in large parts of Europe during the last three centuries. But let us now focus on Marx's analysis of high literature. It seems to me that that part of his critique is largely valid. It is to some extent related to the ideas about literature which have been developed by literary sociologists in the last two decades. Pierre Bourdieu, to name only the most influential one, also thinks that French authors like Flaubert and Baudelaire in the mid-nineteenth century take a decisive step towards literature's autonomy.⁴

But both Bourdieu and Marx seem to forget that the situation in France in the 1850s and 1860s was far from archetypical. At the same time when a few important French writers invented art for art's sake, British and American writers aimed at writing sentimentalist fiction which was far from autonomous. The Dutch writer Eduard Douwes Dekker, who wrote under the pseudonym of Multatuli, can be related to this sentimentalist tradition.

MULTATULI'S MAX HAVELAAR AND THE NOVEL FORM

In 1860, when Eduard Douwes Dekker made his debut as a novel writer under the name of Multatuli, he definitely was not interested in art for art's sake. He seems to have had no 'artistic' reasons to publish his first novel *Max Havelaar*, but two distinct political reasons.⁵

Firstly, he wanted to defend the rights of the people in the Dutch Indies, which was a Dutch colonial area at that time. Douwes Dekker worked as a civil servant on Java, but decided to quit his job when he saw that his actions to stop the exploitation of the Javanese people were without any effects. This is closely related to his second reason to publish the book; he hoped to receive rehabilitation and present himself as a martyr for the Javanese cause. His pseudonym is obviously closely related to these goals; it is a Latin phrase, which means something like 'I have suffered much', or more literally, 'I have borne much'.

In 1859, when he had just finished the manuscript of *Max Havelaar*, he tried to blackmail a few influential politicians with it. Knowing that his controversial publication could be dangerous for continuation of the Dutch politics in the Indies, Multatuli promised to keep the book unpublished when he would gain a high political position. After this plan failed, he adopted the pen name of Multatuli and started to work as a professional writer for the rest of his life.

It is interesting that Multatuli seemed to think that a career as a politician was more or less exchangeable for a career as a writer. In 1860, he clearly considered writing literature as a very influential political act. He also seemed to think that moving his audience emotionally by

⁴ See for instance his pioneering article Bourdieu 1985 and his most extensive text on literature and autonomy, Bourdieu 1996.

⁵ For more information about Douwes Dekker's case, see Beekman 1996 and Pieterse 2010.

sentimentalist stories was a good way of involving them in his political cause. In that respect, he was inspired by the sentimental tradition of American writers like Harriet Beecher Stowe. Stowe's important and effective novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in 1852, only eight years before Multatuli's book. It is clear that he knew *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, because he referred to it somewhere in *Max Havelaar*. The narrator has told the readers the tragic story of the fictional characters Saijah and Adinda and then goes on by reflecting on the use of stories to draw people's attention to social abuses:

O that I were summoned to substantiate what I have written! O that people would say: 'You have invented this SAIJAH... he never sang that song... no ADINDA ever lived at Badur!' [...]

[M]ay one deny the truth which underlies *Uncle Tom's Cabin* because LITTLE EVA never existed? Shall it be said to the authoress of that immortal plea – immortal not on account of art or talent, but because of its purpose and the impression it makes – shall it be said to her: 'You have lied, the slaves are not ill-treated, for... not all of your book is true: it's a novel!?' [...] Is it her fault – or mine – that truth, in order to find an entrance, so often has to borrow the guise of a lie?⁶

This metafictional extract, in which Multatuli analyzes the fictional story he has just presented to the reader, is typical for *Max Havelaar* and for the rest of Multatuli's oeuvre. In a way, this technique is conventional for every pragmatic kind of literature. Compare the earlier quote with this short extract from the concluding chapter of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* itself:

The writer has often been inquired of, by correspondents from different parts of the country, whether this narrative is a true one; and to these inquiries she will give one general answer.

The separate incidents that compose the narrative are, to a very great extent, authentic, occurring, many of them, either under her own observation, or that of her personal friends. She or her friends have observed characters the counterpart of almost all that are here introduced; and many of the sayings are word for word as heard herself, or reported to her.⁷

There are two major differences between Multatuli and Stowe, though. Firstly, *Max Havelaar* is far more complex than its American counterpart. Multatuli integrates several different narrative layers and a few different narrators in his book. It is also stylistically more exuberant and richer in its rhetoric. Secondly and even more importantly, a major difference between Stowe and Multatuli is that the latter fundamentally mistrusts fiction as a way to reveal the world. For him, fictional stories can be only a means to the larger end of revealing the Truth – the capital T is Multatuli's. Therefore, fiction must be unmasked as mere fiction in the end, so that this Truth can present itself. This is exactly what the writer tries to do in the concluding part of *Max Havelaar*. Multatuli there breaks into the story, pushes the fictional characters off-stage and reveals his aims:

Yes, I, Multatuli, 'who have borne much', take up the pen. I make no apology for the form of my book. That form seemed suitable to me for the attainment of my object. [...]

I want to be read!

[...]

⁶ Multatuli 1987, p. 278-279.

⁷ Beecher Stowe 1852, part 2, p. 310.

When this object is attained, I shall be satisfied. For it was not my intention to write well... I wanted to write in such a way as to be heard.⁸

Of course, we are not expected to believe Multatuli's statement that he did not intend to write well – in reality, the novel has a keen rhetorical structure. However, this statement fits Multatuli's hope that his novel in the end will be read for its message, not for its pleasantly well-written scenes, its irony or its play with several narrators. All these devices were just sugarcoating the underlying bitter Truth, as he wrote in a letter to his wife in 1859 while finishing the novel.⁹

In the international discussion on Max Havelaar, the reasons for Multatuli for writing a novel instead of a brochure were often discussed. Many older articles and books claim that the brilliant literary form was indeed mainly an instrument for effectively spreading the truth, like I wrote earlier.¹⁰ However, some modern researchers have justifiably defended the thesis that Multatuli's literary choices worked in a far more complex way. They claim, for instance, that writing a novel with a multifaceted, many-voiced character provided Multatuli with a unique insight in the colonial problematic.¹¹ I think that both positions can exist, next to each other. Whereas the former closely follows the poetical statements of Multatuli himself in 1859 and after, the latter is inspired by twentieth-century theoretical insights by Mikhail Bakhtin and others and is largely concerned with the effects of the novel form, not with Multatuli's intentions.

If Eduard Douwes Dekker tried to reveal his Truth unambiguously in a written form, he better wrote a brochure. His book has had great importance in both Dutch and international debates on (post)colonialism, but never in an uncomplicated manner. Within a year after publication heated discussions followed, first in relatively small circles of politicians and high intellectuals, but after a few decades in large parts of society. Max Havelaar grew into one of the most discussed and most important Dutch novels ever, as provocative in 1860 as in 2010, when its 150th anniversary was commemorated.

Not only the political 'message', but also Douwes Dekkers' rehabilitation got complicated because of the novel form. Writing up the words 'I, Multatuli, take up the pen' can be regarded as a performative act: it brought the persona of Multatuli into being, a figure which must be clearly distinguished from the biographical person of Eduard Douwes Dekker.¹² Douwes Dekker did maintain this pseudonym later in his writing career; he also seemed to be posing as the self-confident and mighty genius Multatuli on a picture from 1862 (see below). This posture made him on the one hand a highly popular idol (for readers, for feminist, socialists and other groups) and on the other hand a highly controversial, mistrusted figure (for more conservative readers in the nineteenth century).

⁸ Multatuli 1987, p. 318.

⁹ Multatuli 1960, p. 67: 'Eigenlijk is het een beroep op het publiek. Maar daar niemand zich de moeite geeft om officiële corresp: te lezen, moet mijn boek het voertuig zijn waarop die wordt ingegeven als een drankje zoodat het nu al het aantrekkelijke heeft van een roman om dan eerst gaandeweg te hooren dat dit alles waar gebeurd is.' [*In fact, it is an appeal to the audience. But because nobody will bother reading the official correspondence, my book must be the vehicle for 'swallowing' it like a drink; so it has all the attracting features of a novel now while it becomes gradually clear that everything really happened.*] (italics in text)

¹⁰ See for instance Sötemann 1966; unfortunately, there are no examples of this analysis in English.

¹¹ See for instance Beekman 1996 and Wirth 2010.

¹² See Meizoz 2007 for his ideas about authorial posture. For an English article: Meizoz 2010.



Multatuli in 1862.

CONCLUSION

In *L'adieu à la littérature*, William Marx gives a sketch of the trajectory modern literature chooses from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries onwards: literature grew from a respected and important to an enigmatic and largely irrelevant practice. The case of Multatuli, however, shows us a different picture. In the second half of the nineteenth century, when French literature slowly 'autonomized' in the works of Flaubert and Baudelaire, Multatuli followed the American tradition of sentimental literature. In this tradition, literature was mainly a means to a larger end of engaging and convincing the reader. Multatuli mixed his sentimental political message with innovative literary instruments, by which he proved how a political debate can be initiated and complicated by a novel.

There are many more examples of critical novels, which have complicated political issues in a similar way: from Joseph Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* to Vladimir Nabokov's *Lolita*, from Fjodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* to Don DeLillo's *Falling Man*. In the recent discussion about literariness and the influence of literature in the public sphere, the discomforting and complicating contribution of these books needs to be taken into account. If literature has "its own activity" amidst institutional influences, as Richard Lansdown calls it, it can be best observed in works of literature like these.

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Littell’s “The Kindly Ones” and the ‘Aesthetic Moment’ of Max Aue: A Socio-aesthetical Approach¹

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Almost three decades after the publication of ‘Male fantasies’, the fascinating cultural and psychological inquiry into the minds of German Freikorps officers in the interwar period by cultural sociologist Klaus Theweleit, the American-French author Jonathan Littell wrote the bestseller novel *The Kindly Ones* (original: *Les Bienveillantes*). The novel recounts the experiences of the fictional SS officer Max Aue and Littell is clearly well informed through former historical and cultural research, and especially through the research of Theweleit. Still, the novel *The Kindly Ones* rattled the cage after it was released in 2006. The book managed to win two important French awards, though multiple literary critics reviewed the book in shock, criticizing the novel with adjectives as monstrous and perverse. Why is the aesthetic fantasy, apparently, more forceful and appalling than the truth?

¹ This article is the non copy-edited draft of a paper presented at the 2011 ACSIS conference ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’, Norrköping, 15-17 June 2011 within the session ‘Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies’.

LITTELL'S "THE KINDLY ONES" AND THE 'AESTHETIC MOMENT' OF MAX AUE: A SOCIO-AESTHETICAL APPROACH

What I want to do here, is to introduce a preliminary notion of 'the aesthetic moment'. It tries to connect authorship with aesthetics and society. It aims at giving a very basic alternative for two common conceptions of art and literature: namely Art as a representation of something else – such as social realism -, and Art or literature as presenting a fiction that can only be grasped with concepts such as 'the beautiful' or 'the sublime'. What does this 'aesthetic moment' look like and what are the conditions to achieve such a thing?

To illustrate this I will use Jonathan Littell's novel *The Kindly ones*, first published in French in 2006. This novel is interesting in this case because Littell did his absolute best to recreate a plausible world for his endeavor into fascist consciousness. It is reported that Littell had actually read hundreds of books on Nazi-Germany and "The Final Solution" before unleashing his protagonist Maximilian Aue, the SS-observant, on his trip through the *Third Reich*.

Though, it is hardly imaginable that Littell took the effort to write almost a thousand pages of fiction, just to make us readers aware of the polyphony in fascism-studies. In interviews, Littell warns us that Aue was never meant to be a realistic protagonist. It is also true, that Littell, as a writer, wanted to crawl into the mind of the perpetrator. I think that Littell wanted to test what the power of imagination and creation is capable of, within constructed fascist reality. That is why, I guess, the protagonist Aue became a very special perpetrator. He is a dandy, who loves to read Blanchot and is preoccupied with homosexual, transgressive escapism. He is a persecutor but also, as a professional observer, an outsider, a *Papiersoldat*.

I think this terrifying but also fascinating novel has another, somewhat obscene message to come out of the mind of a Nazi-officer: if the 'aesthetic moment' gets a chance, there are ways out of social ties, out of heteronomy, out of fixed images and rules. Aesthetics and art won't change the world in a blink of an eye, though it is, I believe, the first step that initiates social change or major scientific progress, if taken seriously.

In fact, the search for the 'aesthetic moment' is presented to us in the heart of some forms of scholarship as well. I think we can distill some of the conditions for the aesthetic moment from a Dutch sociologist, Willem Schinkel, who is pleading for a renewed critical sociology informed by post structuralism. His sociology is not aiming at what 'is seen' of society but what 'can also be seen' in a new mode of the social.

Schinkel urges for a critical operation as a scholar in order to try and see what is almost impossible to see from within society, while being in the actual construction of myths, politics, laws, language games and phantasms.

Of course Schinkel is not as naïve to believe that the true critical sociologist can rise up to a Archimedean point somewhere in the sky above, from where he can see the 'truth' about society. He rather adopts the figure walking the Möbius-strip. The Möbius-strip has no real inside or outside, as we know. This 'virtual' realm that is the essence of the Möbius-strip is a continuum that is only partly actualized; that means it is partly stratified and organized by and through contingent language games and images, morals, myths and societal structures. Outside the 'actual' is the pure realm of the 'virtual', that only can defined with terms such as complexity or amorphous, chaotic space.²

The realm of the virtual cannot be seen easily from within the realm of the actual. Though, there are markers, signifiers of the constant operation of actualizing and virtualizing of

² Deleuze & Guattari, 2008.

society. For instance, when society divides between what belongs within society, and what belongs outside society, we can see a contingent operation in order to confirm society as a whole, while excluding what does not belong to it. Because of this operation, that first of all functions as a language game, “positive” elements are being actualized and other elements are being “virtualized”. These elements are being excluded. This can mean, for instance, that some people lose their ‘actual’ status or identity and become partly virtualized. They become amorphous substance contained in some sort of a swamp: the “non-place” of society. These liminal spaces on the borderline of the actual and the virtual can be envisaged as prisons or refugee camps.

Schinkel argues that the sociologist needs to identify with this ‘non-place’ to see and construct a new, critical image of the societal. He needs to embrace the virtual, chaotic world, because otherwise, he would actually reproduce the laws and morals of the state. So he is an outsider on the inside, a Baron Münchhausen who jumps in the swamp deliberately to “liquidate” and soften the fictions and fixations that are inscribed onto his placid body by contingent language games. And he pulls himself out of the swamp by designing new images, though he is always paradoxically aware that his new images are selections and will create new blind spots.

He is, after all, a drifter on the Möbius-strip. Walking towards the border, always means that some space of the strip unfolds and something else is veiled again. And if that all looks rather tragically, it absolutely is, thankfully so.³ Softening subversion, liquidating humor and satire are the tools of the Münchhausen-sociologist to keep the notion of chaos alive in a fundamentalist world longing for deadly seriousness. Chaos functions so to speak as a black box that, when kept empty, can never be territorialized by state-apparatuses and social ties. It is the realm of freedom.

I think that exactly this paradoxical Münchhausen-operation towards a new way of seeing by liquidating fixed images in order to let the knowledge of the virtual in, is basically the language game of aesthetics since the beginning of modern arts. Art is to “drill a hole in the wall and let the sun in”⁴, to quote Thierry de Duve and that is a true ethical position if we add that the sun is the view of the specific or singular, and the drilled hole within the actual is always kept empty in order not to block other lucid potentialities of the virtual.

Even the specific attitude to life of Schinkels Münchhausen-sociologist reminds us of the various conceptions of the artist. The aesthetic moment, as a simultaneous liquidation of an image and a new imaginary actualization, is so to speak most likely to be set in motion by the figure of the vagabond, the dandy, the outsider, the bachelor machine. These figures are capable of grabbing the forces of chaos or the virtual to destruct and deconstruct fixed images, and to give a new actualization of the Möbius-strip. This operation is basically what I would call the aesthetic moment.

Let’s go to the aesthetic moment in Littell’s *The Kindly ones* to give a somewhat more graphical image of what I am trying to say. But before our character Aue reaches this moment, it needs to be said that Littell tried absolutely everything to make us drown in the social ties of fascist reality. Even as a reader I got pulled into the mad, intellectual discussions in the novel. I followed the exchange of various arguments, chose my position, chose my own stances, almost forgetting that the conclusion of every discussion necessarily boils down to the destruction of the Jews. I think that when you will read the novel, you will be convinced that the Jew is constantly being killed, and first of all in language itself. The Jew is constantly

³ Willem Schinkel on the essential role of humor for eidetic sociology in Schinkel, 2007: 441.

⁴ De Duve, 1996: 462.

being virtualized, while being in kept in this ‘non-space’ as a signifier, as a stopgap that holds fascist reality together.

The caesura that runs through the heart of the novel, that actually divides between normalcy (=fascist reality) and the dirty, transgressive sex life of Aue, also functions to submerge the reader in a position where he does not want to be. The price you pay for rejecting Aue’s nightly escapades and violent orgies is a tacit confirmation of his daily life, his fascist life. Is there an aesthetic way out? For sure, the Beethoven and Bach-lovers in the novel are not that much of a help either. Aue’s brother-in-law fancies the Jew Schönberg and Strauss with a Jewish daughter-in-law. Because: “Music is different. You just have to close your eyes and listen to know right away if it’s good or not.”⁵ Sure, autonomous art, close your eyes and just listen, why not?

What we want of course, is to open our eyes. But the true aesthetical moment of envisioning slowly unfolds on the subterranean, psycho physiological level of SS-officer Max Aue. The conditions for this development are set up by the writer. Aue’s skepticism en fatalism, his homosexual and transgressive escapism, his love for Flaubert and Blanchot, his Flaneur-like behavior and his being as a professional observer and clumsy inability to play the political game like a Nazi should do to climb the military ranks swiftly, are hybrid qualities that both make him have a *Sehnsucht* towards acts of transgression, but also make a schizoid outsider out of Aue, someone on the border of constructed fascist reality and the complex, raw, unstructured reality outside the militaristic and fascistic horizon. This is the realm of the virtual.

In the first chapters his experience of the ‘outside’-reality of the death camps seems to be transformed in Aue’s body into strange dreams, symptoms of temporary sickness and mental breakdown, indifferently abided by our dark passenger. But there is one more event to come that symbolizes Aue’s opening up for lucid imagination. From then on he sees Adolf Hitler speech in the guise of a Jew, an image ‘nothing dreamlike about it’. He visits Auschwitz and in an epiphany he envisages the death camp Auschwitz as the underlying structural design of the completed daily fascist reality itself. Fascism as a cold, ordered world designed for useless happiness. On another occasion, he feels seduced by the beauty of the word *Endlösung*, that becomes just a word for Aue, a word with the beauty that can fill ‘the black hole of the mind’.⁶

This event that triggers Aue’s imaginary deconstruction happens in the third chapter. Aue visits the battle for Stalingrad as an observer again after being excommunicated thanks to his clumsy way of doing politics. He gets shot in the head by sniper fire. He still lives and is transported to Berlin for a surgical procedure and to recover, and this is where he sees his wound in the head for the first time in the mirror.

This peculiar hole in his forehead can be understood purely somatically: his *pineal gland* is damaged and that is why all these strange, uncanny imaginations start to pop up in Aue’s brain. There is another possibility. It also can be understood as to ‘drill a hole in the wall’. Aue’s reality gets liquidated partially, and that is why things start to get liquid again in his head. It is the opening of a literary space where Aue – Littell- stops being only a ‘scanner’ but where the aesthetical writer within Aue sets in motion the literary space of Blanchot within fascist consciousness. Aesthetic visual moments of partial reality, obscured by the recombination empowered by chaos, nestle onto the retina of the protagonist. The Führer as a Jew, the camp as a representation of fascist society itself, the belief in the extermination of the

⁵ Littell, 2010: 496.

⁶ Littell, 2010: 631.

Jews as just a play of words. These fantasies advance the most peculiar, magical moment in the in end of the otherwise very realistically structured novel: Aue meets Hitler and bites him in the nose. Maybe, we can understand this action as a micro political action that is made possible by his disruptive imagination, his aesthetic moment.

The artistic reopening of a black hole goes directly against a system that is constructed on steady notions such as *Volk*, nation, blood and soil. But the major problem with totalitarian systems is that the black holes are being stuffed with fixated fetish objects. That is where the difference between the game of the social system and the game of art lies. The politics of art is to try and keep the hole a blind spot or to reopen the hole and let the sun in. Literature has the power to open ‘the other of any world’⁷, quoting Blanchot. The Flemish philosopher Frank Vande Veire stresses that we must not understand this other world of Blanchot as a more free, happier or darker place, but first of all as a ‘re-entry’⁸ into the moment of ‘beginning’⁹, a road to the open space as such. It is the mandate of art to keep ‘the empty place that is left a void when the Gods had abandoned it, ‘pure and empty.’¹⁰

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⁷ Quoted in Vande Veire, 2002: 264. Original: Blanchot, M. (1955) L ‘Espace littéraire, Paris: Gallimard: 309.

⁸ I thought I could use the Luhmann-notion of ‘re-entry’ without problems for describing the sociology of the writer/artist while reading Rossmann, 1993.

⁹ Vande Veire, 2002: 264 / 245-270.

¹⁰ Blanchot quoted in Vande Veire, 2002: 261. / 245 – 270.

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SELECTED PASSAGES OF “THE KINDLY ONES”, JONATHAN LITTEL, 2010

Passage where Aue, back in Berlin after being shot by a Russian sniper at the Eastern Front, discovers is hole in the head...

- *Reason raised its skirt from me, revealing that there was nothing beneath. I could have said the same thing about my poor head: a hole is a hole is a hole. The idea that a hole could also be a whole would never have occurred to me. Once the bandages were removed, I could see for myself that there was almost nothing there: on my forehead, a tiny round scar, just above my right eye; at the back of the skull, scarcely visible, they assured me, a swelling; between the two, my reemerging hair was already hiding the traces of the operation I had undergone. But if these doctors so sure of their science were to be believed, a hole went right through my head, a narrow circular corridor, a fabulous closed shaft, inaccessible to thought, and if that were true, then nothing was the same again, how could it have been? My thinking about the world now had to reorganize itself around this hole. But the only concrete thing I could say was: I have awakened, and nothing will ever be the same again.¹¹*
- *I had the feeling that the hole in my forehead had opened up a third eye, a pineal eye, one not tuned to the sun, not capable of contemplating the blinding light of the sun, but directed at the darkness, gifted with the power of looking at the bare face of death, and of grasping this face behind each face of flesh and blood, beneath the smiles, through the palest, healthiest skin, the most laughing eyes.¹²*

When Aue bullies his neighbors in Berlin, and discovers that it becomes harder to keep up the appearances...

- *My action appeared to me like playacting, prompted by a genuine, obscure feeling, but then distorted, diverted into an outward show of rage, conventional. But that was precisely where my problem lay: see myself this way, constantly, with this external gaze, this critical camera, how could I utter the slightest authentic word, make the slightest authentic gesture> Everything I did became a spectacle for myself; my thinking itself was just a reflection, and I a poor Narcissus showing off for himself, but who wasn't fooled by it.¹³*

Aue visits a speech of Adolf Hitler in Berlin...

- *After the introductory speeches, the Führer made his appearance. I opened my eyes wide: on his head and shoulders, over his simple feldgrau uniform, I seemed to see a large blue-and-white striped rabbi's shawl. The Führer had started speaking right away in his rapid, monotone voice. I examined the glass roof: Could it be a play of the light? I could clearly see his cap; but underneath it, I thought I made out long side curls, unrolling along his temples down over his lapel, and on his forehead, the tefillin, the little leather box containing verses of the Torah. When he raised his arm, I thought I could make out other leather straps bound around his wrist; and under his jacket, weren't those the white fringes of what the Jews call the little tallith showing through? I didn't know what to think. [...]*

¹¹ Littell, 2010: 436.

¹² Littell, 2010: 443.

¹³ Littell, 2010: 447.

Aues views a film in cinema wherein Adolf Hitler appears...

- *Maybe, I said to myself, panic-stricken, it's the story of the Emperor's New Clothes: everyone sees how it really is, but hides it, counting on his neighbour to do the same. No, I reasoned, I must be hallucinating, with a wound like mine, that's entirely possible. Yet I felt perfectly sound of mind. I was far from the platform, though, and the Führer was lit from the side; maybe it was simply an optical illusion? But I still saw it. Maybe my 'pineal eye' was playing a trick on me? But there was nothing dreamlike about it.*¹⁴
- *I bought a ticket and found my seat. Soon the lights went out and they played the news, which opened with the Führer's speech. The film was grainy, it jumped and went blurry at times, they must have rushed to develop it and print the copies. I still seemed to see the large striped shawl over the Führer's head and shoulders: I couldn't make out anything else, aside from his moustache; impossible to be sure of anything. My thoughts fled in all directions, like a school of fish in front of a diver; I scarcely noticed the main film, a flimsy Anglophobic thing, I was still thinking about what I had seen, it didn't make any sense. That it was real seemed impossible to me, but I couldn't believe that I was hallucinating. What had the bullet done to my head? Had it immediately blurred the world for me, or had it truly opened a third eye, the one that sees through the opacity of things? Outside, when I exited, it was night, time for dinner, but it didn't want to eat. I went back to my hotel and locked myself up in a room. For three days I didn't go out again.*¹⁵

Aue dreams while visiting Auschwitz...

- *During the day, I felt fresh, alert; at the Haus, I ate well, and in the evenings I thought with pleasure about my bed, with its clean sheets; but at night, ever since I had arrived, the dreams came in vast gusts, sometimes short and abrupt and soon forgotten, other times like long worm uncoiling inside my head. One sequence in particular repeated itself and expanded nightly, an obscure, difficult-to-describe dream, without any narrative meaning, but that unfurled according to spatial logic. In this dream I was travelling, at different altitudes, but always as if in the air, I was more like a pure gaze or even a camera than a living being, travelling through an immense city, without any visible end, its topography monotonous and repetitive, divided into geometrical sectors, its way animated with an incessant flow. Thousand of beings came and went, entered and exited identical buildings, walked along long, straight avenues, plunged underground through subway entrances to emerge at some other place, constantly and without any apparent aim. I I, or rather the gaze I had become, went down toward the avenues to examine them close up, I noticed that these men and women weren't distinguished from one another by any special characteristic; they all had white skin, light-colored hair, blue, pale, lost eyes, Höss's¹⁶ eyes, the eyes of my old orderly Hanika, too, when he died in Kharkov, eyes the color of the sky. Railway tracks crisscrossed the city, little trains came forward and made regular stops to spew out an instantly replaced wave of passengers, as far as the eye could see. During subsequent nights, I entered some of the buildings: lines of people moved*

¹⁴ Littell, 2010: 467.

¹⁵ Littell, 2010: 470.

¹⁶ Rudolf Höss, commandant of the Auschwitz concentration camp, may 1940- November 1943. Hanged 1947 at the Warsaw Trials.

between long communal tables and latrines, eating and defecating in a row; on bunk beds, others were fornicating, then children were born, played between bedsteads, and, when they had grown big enough, went out to take their place in the human waves of this city in perfect happiness. Little by little, by dint looking from different points of view, a tendency became apparent in the seemingly arbitrary swarm: imperceptibly, a certain number of people always ended up on the same side, and finally went into windowless buildings, where they lay down to die without a word. Specialists came and collected from them whatever could still contribute to the city's economy; then their bodies were burned in ovens that served simultaneously to warm the water distributed by pipes throughout the sectors; the bones were ground up; the smoke, coming from the chimneys to form a long, calm, solemn river. And when the dream's point of view took on altitude again, I could make out an equilibrium in all this: the quantity of births, in the dormitories, equaled the number of deaths, and the society self-reproduced in perfect equilibrium, always in movement, producing no excess and suffering no diminution. When I woke up, it seemed obvious to me that these serene dreams, void of all anguish, represented the camp, but a perfect camp, having reached an impossible point of stasis, without violence, self-regulated, functioning perfectly and also perfectly useless since, despite all this movement, it produced nothing. But upon thinking more about it, as I tried to do while drinking my ersatz in the dining room of the Haus der Waffen-SS, wasn't it a representation of social life as a whole? Stripped of its tawdry rags and its pointless agitation, human life was reduced to scarcely more than that; once one had reproduced, one had fulfilled the purpose of mankind; and as for one's own purpose, that was just an illusion, a stimulus to encourage oneself to get up in the morning; but if you examined the thing objectively, as I thought I could do, the uselessness of all these efforts was obvious, as was the uselessness of reproduction itself, since it served only to produce more uselessness. So, I came to think: Wasn't the camp itself, with all the rigidity of its organization, its absurd violence, its meticulous hierarchy, just a metaphor, a reductio ad absurdum of everyday life?¹⁷

When Aue undergoes his linguistic turn...

- *I thought about the decision we had made, the extraordinary idea of killing all the Jews, whoever they might be, young or old, good or bad, of destroying Judaism in the person of its bearers, a decision that had received the name, now well known, of Endlösung: the "Final Solution". But what a beautiful word! It had not always been a synonym for extermination, though: since the beginning, people had called for, when it came to the Jews, and Endlösung, or else a völlige Lösung (a complete solution) or also a allgemeine Lösung (a general solution), and according to the period, this meant exclusion from public life or exclusion from economic life or, finally, emigration. Then, little by little, the signification had slid toward the abyss, but without the signifier changing, and it seemed almost as if the final meaning had always lived in the heart of the world, and that the thing had been attracted, drawn in by it, by its weight, its fabulous gravity, into the black hole of the mind, toward the point of singularity: and then we passed the event horizon, beyond which there is no return. We still live in ideas, in concepts, we believe that words designate ideas, but that's not necessarily true, maybe there aren't really any ideas, maybe there's really nothing but*

¹⁷ Littell, 2010: 621-622.

words, and the weight peculiar to words. And maybe thus we had let ourselves be led along by a word and it's inevitability. Within us, then, there would have been no ideas, no logic, no coherence? There would have been only words, in our oh so peculiar language, only that word, Endlösung, its streaming beauty? For, really, how could one resist the seduction of such a word? It would have been as inconceivable as resisting the word 'obey', the word 'serve', the word 'law'.¹⁸

When Aue is getting medaled at the Führerbunker...

- *The ceremony was repeated for the next man: Müller barked out his name, rank and service, then the Führer decorated him. Thomas was decorated next. As the Führer approached me – I was almost at the end of the line – my attention was caught by his nose. I had never noticed how broad and ill-proportioned this nose was. In profile, the little moustache was less distracting and the nose could be seen more clearly: It had a wide base and flat bridges, a little break in the bridge emphasized the tip: it was clearly a Slavonic or Bohemian nose, nearly Mongolo-Ostic. I don't know why this detail fascinated me, but I found it almost scandalous. The Führer approached and I kept observing him. Then he was in front of me. I saw with surprise that his cap scarcely reached my eyes; and yet I am not tall. He muttered his compliment and groped for the medal. His foul, fetid breath overwhelmed me: it was too much to tame. So I leaned forward and bit into his bulbous nose, drawing blood. [...] Thomas, behind the crowd, was observing me in silence, looking both disappointed and mocking. They dragged me toward a door at the back of the room. Then Müller interrupted in his loud, harsh voice: "Wait! I want to question him first. Take him to the crypt."¹⁹*

¹⁸ Littell, 2010: 631.

¹⁹ Littell, 2010: 960.

From Sappho to Digital Poetry: Historical Breaking Points in Orality and Literacy

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This paper investigates orality and literacy in historical breaking points in the technology of writing. Through poetry that challenges the limits of the written word the paper focuses on materiality, visuality and orality. The first breaking point is that of the printing press and its effects on literacy in Europe. Here the Spanish poet Luis de Góngora and his relationship to the new technologies of writing and printing in the early modern era stands as example. The next breaking point is that of late 19th century France, where the emerging capitalism and broadened literacy in combination with editorials and newspapers changed the landscape of writing technologies and practices. In this epoch, the poetry of Stéphane Mallarmé articulates the tension between on the one hand orality and literacy, and between a self-reflexive writing (of poetry) and a writing of the masses (in media) on the other hand. The third breaking point is that of the present digitization of writing, which is contrasted to earlier breaking points. By investigating the historical preconditions of different writing practices the paper offers historical perspectives on the digitization of writing.

FROM SAPPHO TO DIGITAL POETRY: HISTORICAL BREAKING POINTS IN ORALITY AND LITERACY

The present digitization of writing means, as the word implies, that the alphabetical has ontologically become numerical. This has led critics such as Friedrich Kittler to question if what we do can even be called writing anymore, when almost every written sign is actually produced by a microprocessor.¹ It remains clear however, that digitization is a major breaking point in the technology of writing, a shift that forces us to rethink what writing is. For a long time printed texts have been taken for granted, as an invisible but universal medium of writing, and their digitization makes these frivolous assumptions come into view. Thus, digital poetry becomes an example of a writing technology that brings the new materiality of the text to the fore. By being computed, and running on software, digital poetry often encompasses images as well as sound and movement, which are embodied in the text. As the American critic Katherine Hayles has taught us, this situation calls for Media Specific Analysis, which enables one to move “from the language of ‘text’ to a more precise vocabulary of screen and page, digital program and analogue interface, code and ink, mutable image and durably inscribed mark, texton and scripton, computer and book.”² If the digitization of writing means that the medium as such becomes visible, it is important not to get stuck in the presentism that sometimes seems to haunt new media studies.³ To avoid a one handed focus on the present breaking point I will move beyond the digital revolution to earlier breaking points in the 19th century when a new writing and printing technology emerged, and in the 16th century when the printing press was new. In these breaking points a certain form of poetry will serve as the object of investigation: for the 19th century I turn to the late works of the French poet Stéphane Mallarmé, which articulate the tension between, on the one hand, orality and literacy, and on the other hand, a self-reflexive writing (of poetry) and the writing for the masses (in media). In the early modern era, with the printing press as an “agent of change” in the words of Elizabeth Eisenstein,⁴ the Spanish baroque poet Luis de Góngora approaches what might be called the limits of writing in general and in poetry in particular. But before the printing press was even invented, there was a transition from the oral to the written in ancient Greece. Take the example of Sappho, whose poems were composed to be performed orally. Today we only have access to fragments of her work from other texts – the original poems are lost forever. Of the 264 fragments of Sappho only three are complete enough to appreciate as literary structures. Seven years ago, in 2004, a new Sappho poem was identified on a papyrus in Cologne.⁵ The papyrus was recovered from Egyptian mummy cartonnage and it is the earliest known manuscript of her work, copied in 300 B.C., only 300 years after its composition. This philological situation illustrates how the materiality of poetry matters in a broad sense, ever since antiquity. The tension between orality and literacy is obvious in the case of Sappho, but no other poetic feature is currently as neglected in the study of poetry.

Besides regarding the medium of writing as something non-specific, literary scholars have often failed to account for these oral aspects that are central to all poetry, and have instead focused on what a given poem means, as if poetry were only metaphysical and not physical at

¹ Kittler, Friedrich. "There is no Software", in *Stanford Literature Review*. 9,1, Spring 1992, p. 81–90.

² N. Katherine Hayles, "Print is flat, code is deep – The importance of media-specific analysis", in *Poetics today* 2004, 25:1.

³ W.J.T. Mitchell, "Introduction", in *Critical Terms for Media Studies*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell, (Chicago 2010), p. xix.

⁴ Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge 1979).

⁵ Martin West, "A new Sappho poem", in *TLS*, June 21st, 2005, <http://www1.union.edu/wareht/story.html>

all.⁶ In the study of poetry, we need to focus on the media—the technological aspects of writing of the historical situation in which the poem was conceived, as well as the oral or sound features, which are as important to contemporary digital poetry as to Sappho’s verses. Poetry becomes poetry in and by these physical and material features.

In the early 17th century the Spanish poet Luis de Góngora developed a new poetics that in many ways broke with the rules of writing of the time. Góngora termed his writing “*poesia limite*”, a poetics marked by broken syntax and mixing of languages and genres. A salient feature of this poetics is his use of the rhetorical figure hyperbaton, in which words that naturally belong together are separated from each other. This dissociation of words creates on the one hand a visual architecture, in which a new order of written words emerges, and on the other hand it creates a particular and unusual rhythm. The hyperbaton in Góngora’s hands is thus both a material and visual feature, and an oral feature creating new sound patterns. To complicate the newness of this scriptural practice, one might add that the hyperbaton is drawn from Latin, in which the syntactical rules allow a more liberal placing of words in sentences. Góngora draws on older language rules to move beyond the contemporary limits of writing. This can be understood in terms of a syntactical remediation. In this historical context, the new media technology of the printing press had made written texts available for more people than ever before. The reactions to this new media situation were diverse, and ranged from those who hailed the new technology as divine to those who looked upon it with scepticism, saying it would vulgarize knowledge. Góngora belonged to the latter category, and never printed a book in his lifetime, but let his poems circulate in handwritten manuscripts. The relation between old and new media forms in this breaking point is accordingly complex.

Printed books also played a major role in the reformation, and subsequent counter-reformation and inquisition in the Spanish empire. Thus, writing technology was an important tool in the exercise of power, and in 1613 when Góngora wrote his poem *Soledades*, he was attacked by many critics and was accused of having written a diabolic poem in which chaos reigns and no words or thoughts can be understood.⁷ The reason for this condemnation was the specific form of his writing, which did not obey the platonic-Christian demands on a text to express divine truth through beauty in a clear manner.⁸ Since Góngora had refused to publish any printed versions of his work, it was not until his death in 1627 that the first printed edition saw the light. However, the selling of this edition was immediately forbidden by the Spanish inquisition.⁹ Góngora’s poetry arose as an alternative form of thought in the declining Spanish empire, and as an opposition to the political and military discourse that would not tolerate it. Thus, the writing technology is at the heart of the clashes between worldviews and modes of communication.

To take just a brief example, we might turn to the recurrent rhyme of *Pluma/Espuma* in *Soledades*, literally meaning feather and foam. The last line of the first of the two solitudes is:

Bien previno la hija de la espuma / a batallas de amor campo de pluma (1090)¹⁰

Meaning something like: well prevented the daughter of the foam / to battles of love field of feather.

The daughter of the foam is of course Venus, who guards the protagonist of the poem, and who stands in contrast to the general use of the Christian virgin for this function in contemporary poetry. But the foam, from which Venus arose, might also be understood as the

⁶ *The Sound of Poetry / The Poetry of Sound*, ed. Marjorie Perloff och Craig Dworkin (Chicago 2009), p. 2.

⁷ See for example: Ana Martínez Arancon, *La Batalla en torno a Góngora* (Barcelona 1978).

⁸ Sofia Kluge, “Góngora’s Heresy: Literary Theory & Criticism in the Golden Age”. *MLN*, Hispanic Issue, 2002:2 vol. 122

⁹ Elias Rivers, *The Image of the Baroque*, 1995, p. 114.

¹⁰ Luis de Góngora, *Soledades*, ed. John Beverley (Madrid 1995).

white page, and the feather as the writing quill. The battle of love thereby transforms to a battle of words and writing.

By the end of the 19th century a new media situation arose with the mechanical printing press, allowing the mass production of books that were sold to a growing literary market, and discussed in the expanding field of newspapers and magazines. At the same time the possibility to record sound with the phonograph and visual impressions in photographs and moving images resulted in the decline of the written word's monopoly over communication.¹¹ In this media landscape, Stéphane Mallarmé derived poetry from the 24 letters in the French alphabet and the blank space between them. In his critical poems Mallarmé reflects upon the different forms of writing in this breaking point, and in major poems such as “A throw of the dice will never abolish chance”,¹² one finds the realization of a scriptural practice in dialogue with the new media situation. If we consider the poem “A throw of the dice will never abolish chance” we find words spread out on white pages in different fonts and characters, which might be read in different manners. In his preface to the first and only publication of the poem during Mallarmé's life, the poet states that: “The variation in printed characters between the dominant motif, a secondary one and those adjacent, marks its importance for oral utterance and the scale, mid-way, at top or bottom of the page will show how the intonation rises or falls.”¹³ Thus, in a time when oral emission is disappearing with new technology, Mallarmé establishes a connection between the printed words and the voice. The extreme textual quality of the poems stands in tension with the immanent oral features that might never be realized, other than in the mind of the reader. In the poem, the dispersed words and the intentional and striking whiteness of the page, stress the materiality of this and any text. In fact, this and other late poems of Mallarmé are emblematic of the discourse network that arose by the end of the 19th century.

Today, in digital poetry, we see how sound and images are often embedded in the very poem. But even the words, computed as they are, seem to adopt new patterns for communication, or digital signifying strategies. In a digital poem the written word can adopt essentially oral practices, such as being interchangeable and dialogic in that it is programmed. Furthermore the fact the poem takes place on a screen subverts the definite quality of printed texts. A digital text can be changed at any time. The immense and never ending flow of texts in the digital era means that digital poems are often minimalistic, in order to be heard.

Returning to the contemporary situation of digital communication, one realizes how these breaking points carry major changes in what is sayable and thinkable in our time. The material features of the communication process dictate what might be written or read. Because of its meta qualities, Poetry today, as in earlier breaking points, stands as the very hardware of data processing.

¹¹ See: Friedrich Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter* (Stanford 1999).

¹² Stéphane Mallarmé, *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard* (Paris 1914).

¹³ Mallarmé, Stéphane, “Preface/Préface” to “Un coup de dés” in *Collected Poems*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1994, transl. Henry Weinfield, p. 121–123

The Politics of the Essay¹

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The notion of ‘heteronymous literature’, as introduced by Bourdieu, covers literature which takes its significance from something else than literature itself. It is produced out of commercial, religious as well as political motivation. I will focus on the relation between literature and politics. Understood as the interrelation between politics and literature, the genre of the essay is potentially interesting to inquire into the interrelation between heteronomy and autonomy. As an argumentative and persuasive discourse, an essay very well may have a political message. What could then be the difference between the ‘literary’ essay and more strait forwarded kinds of political discourse? Starting from a taxonomy by Angenot, I will differentiate between genres closely related to the political essay (pamphlet, satire, polemics) which all negotiate their own pact with the reader. All these genres seem to be more ‘political’ than the essay. From the view point of ‘autonomous’ literature the political essay even may be a contradiction in terminus. I will investigate to what extend speaking from a political position is consolatory with ‘the essayistic spirit’ (De Obaldia). If, as I would argue, the literary essay has a politics of its own, what is its relation to ‘non literary’ political discourse?

¹ This article is the non copy-edited draft of a paper presented at the 2011 ACSIS conference ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’, Norrköping, 15-17 June 2011 within the session ‘Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies’.

THE POLITICS OF THE ESSAY

In this paper I want to share some thought with you about the specificity of the literary. I want to do this by way of a discussion about a rather marginal literary genre, the essay, and more specifically about a subgenre thereof: the political column. And my simple question will be the following: can politicians write political essays? Behind this seemingly rhetorical question (“If not they, who does?”) looms a more fundamental issue: that of the relation between politics and literature, or between *Geist* und *Macht* as early twentieth century thinkers were fond to call it. A more recent and a more promising framing of the relation between “the politics of the literary” and “the politics of power” stems from the French philosopher Rancière. He uses the terms *politics* and *police* to characterize the two sides of the relation. *Police* (or *police order*) signifies a certain self-evident and accepted “distribution of the sensible” in a society (that is: what is visible, audible, what can be said, thought or done). This distribution may be questioned, challenged, tinkered with etc. by (for instance) literary works, which in that sense have a political effect on the society (Rancière 2004).

The (admittedly somewhat accidental) reason for my reflections is the fact that one of our (Dutch) quality newspapers recently has invited a few prominent politicians to write a weekly column. These political columns are printed exactly on the spot which normally is reserved for the more personal reflection on political or topical issues by “literary writers” or “intellectuals”. Fascinating is that one of these guest column writing politicians (Martin Bosma) is a prominent member of the populist party, the Party for Freedom. I guess, I won’t have to dwell on the aggressively anti-intellectual sentiment of populist political movements in Europe as well as in the US. But in his own party Bosma is considered to be an “intellectual” of the right kind, that is someone who relentlessly attacks “real” intellectuals who *qualitate qua* are reprehensible left wingers. Bosma has become the right hand of the political leader, Geert Wilders. His political program and speeches – supposedly rhetorically phrased with the help of Bosma – turned out to be one of the sources of inspiration for the Norwegian terrorist Anders Behring Breivik. Anyway, by way of Bosma’s writing the populists in the Netherlands now not only abuse the intellectual elite from an outsider position but have begun to challenge them in their own domain. In his columns, Bosma positions himself sometimes as an undeservedly marginalized insider, sometimes as a courageous infiltrating outsider. The play with the outsider/insider position is peculiar for a populist politician and offers fascinating material for discourse analysis. But aside from that, columns of politicians as such – whether they have or don’t have any affinities with the language of the intellectual elite, and whether they are populist, right wing or left wing – raise the interesting more general question about politicians’ ability to write political essays or – more precisely -- to express themselves in an essayistic manner. Translated into Rancière’s terminology: are they involved in the politics of literature or in that of the police order?

I’m going to rephrase the question a bit, but first I want to give a minor terminological clarification. The column has been characterized as a mini-essay or dwarf-essay. I think it’s more appropriate to characterize the column as a “pop-essay”, the equalitarian version of the essay. This in itself of course is a significant political fact concerning the distribution of the sensible, an issue I won’t pursue here any further. In this paper, I won’t differentiate between essay and column and will use both terms interchangeably.

My slightly rephrased question then runs as follows: are political essays written by politicians indeed essays, or are they rather a travesty of the essay? That is: discourse that poses as an essay but is in fact something else. Modern genre theory defines a genre as a type of “rhetorical situation”, or as a “context of action” (Devitt 2004). What could be meant with a travesty of a genre if genre is thus defined? It means not only that another text-form is being used than what it seemed on first sight. More than that: another context of action is being created than expected. An example of a genre-travesty is that of a sales letter which poses as a

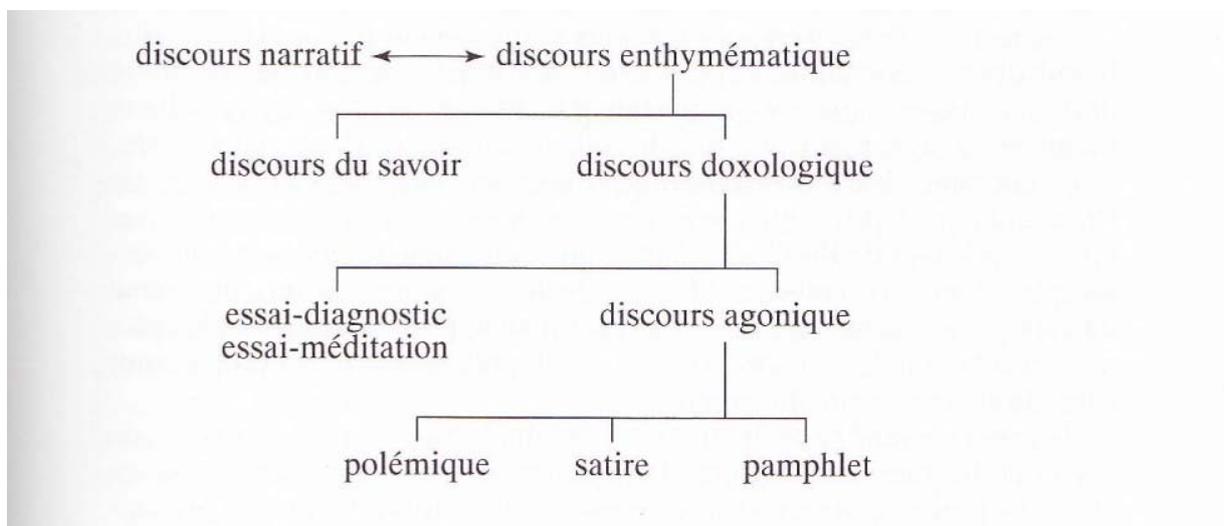
personal letter. Seemingly a situation of intimacy, trust and equality is created, which belongs to a personal letter. In reality the recipient of the letter is in the situation of a potential buyer who is being addressed by a salesman. There is an ambiguity about which pact with the reader is at stake, which can be exploited by the sender or enonciateur.

Do columns written by politicians produce this kind of ambiguity? Has the reader, under the veil of being in an “essayistic situation” (whatever that may be), got mixed up in quite another situation, to wit a political situation, a situation in which one is being addressed as a potential voter by a politician, or as a political adversary who has to be ruled out?

Time to ask ourselves the question: what exactly is an essay? This certainly is not an easy question to answer. The mere handful of scholars who have turned their thoughts on the issue come up with as different as evasive answers. The essay is a “drôle de genre” (Jean Sarrochi), a non-genre (John Snyder), a blurred genre, just to quote a few. One of the most interesting studies about the essay is Claire de Obaldia’s, *The essayistic spirit*, published in 1995. She characterizes the essay as a “not-yet genre”. Essays are not fully fledged texts; they are “literature in potentia”. Essays are preliminary sketches, or notes or paratexts of other texts. The other texts are what it really is all about: for example a fully fledged historical study, or a novel.

In this sense, the political essay or column is the not-yet from a well wrought political argument or address. To clear the issue, I want to refer to the study of Marc Angenot, *La parole pamphlétaire*, from 1982. In this study he discusses a range of genres that play a role in the political arena, or at least may have a political content: the pamphlet, the satire, polemics and also the essay. In a nutshell, one could say that in each of these different genres another pact, another contract, is negotiated with the reader.

Angenot presents the following taxonomy.



I will not comment here on the hierarchy of the classification. For the moment, I only use the figure to clarify the nature of the essayistic pact in contrast with neighboring genres.

Angenot argues that in the different genres the position of the author (or *enonciateur*) in relation to the reader (or *allocutaire*, the addressee) is more or less different, which makes that different rhetorical situations (cq. pacts between author and reader) emerge. Obviously, this varying relationship between enonciateur and allocutaire has consequences for the way rhetorical means are used in the enonciation. To give an impression of this, I make a tour along the different argumentative genres: satire, polemics, pamphlet and essay.

The satirist. The satirist wants to ridicule certain abuses, but he considers himself above (or at least positions himself above) the faults he denounces. From the start, the satirist has the truth at his side: it’s from this Truth that he speaks. That what he denounces is totally without

authority. Implicitly his message is directed at people who actually think like himself, to kindred spirits. He uses reversals, the carnivalesque. In the laugh, the pact with the reader is settled. He doesn't seek the debate, like the polemi(ci)st does. Unlike the polemicist, the satirist breaks of the relations with the world of his adversary, a world which he considers to be preposterous, pernicious, chaotic, and hopeless, and on which he looks down pityingly. The mistaken has prevailed. The satirist observes this from a distance. He has the outlook of an outsider.

The polemicist. The polemicist aims his arrows on a adversary. Rarely in the hope to convince him with arguments, but usually to eliminate him. Unlike the satirist (who is the possession of the Truth) the polemicist still has to win over the Truth to his side: that Truth has to be snatched away from mala fide opponent. To this aim, the opponent has to be exposed as a fraud and an imposter. But with what aggressive pathos the polemicist carries on, he is forced to concern himself with the arguments of his opponent to be effective for his audience. In spite of the gap that separates the polemicist from his opponent, there has to be common territory on which they fight each other.

The pamphleteer. The pamphleteer has quite a peculiar position here. For him, the world as a whole has sunken away in falsehood, he is the only one who is in possession of the Truth, but doesn't have the authority of the Truth. The pamphleteer is a loner, a Cassandra, a martyr: he runs up against a brick wall of general ignorance. In fact, there is no one to turn himself to. The pamphleteer hasn't received a mandate from no one; he fights against the ubiquitous institutionalized ignorance which claims the same values as he himself believes in. This makes that he is left behind with empty hands. His language has been stolen from him. His pamphlet is a message in a bottle, thrown into the water after the shipwreck. Written in the hope that later by accident someone will find it and understand it. Adorno and Horkheimer explicitly thought of their *Dialektik der Aufklärung* as *Flaschenpost*. They thought it improbable they could intervene with the book immediately.

And how about the essay? Angenot distinguishes between *essai* diagnostic (discourse, treatise) and *essai* méditation (say the literary or personal essay).

The *essai* diagnostic is characterized by the enonciateur pretending to be the impersonal medium of his argumentative discourse. The essayist is already in possession of the Truth about his subject, and neutrally presents the results of his findings, in a more or less structured and complete argument. The enonciateur is not emphatically present. This type of essayist has a distanced position in relation to his subject. Often, the illocutionary power of his argument is institutionally legitimated. The writer doesn't have to legitimate his argument, which is precisely what gives him legitimacy. The relation to the allocutaire is didactic.

The *essai*-méditation is almost in everything the opposite from the *essai* diagnostic. No objective distance in relation to the argument, no strictly logical structured argument, but meandering, associative and imaginative. It gives the impression of thinking in actu. This doesn't mean that it is the transcription of a stream of consciousness, because it definitively is an argument, in the form of an inner deliberation. The I of the enonciateur is continually present, not as much as the guarantee of the Truth of his argument ('I'm of the opinion that') but as the thinking consciousness and as temper or mood in relation to the topic under discussion (which may be playful, bitter, serious, sneering, etc.). Sometimes polemical, but always with a certain distance. The essayist doesn't take himself all too seriously; he doesn't have an institutional legitimation. The relation to the allocutaire is conversational, on a basis of equality, yes amicable.

Angenot, who we have been following till now, doesn't really bother to systemize his findings. But his characteristics are very helpful to get a general idea of the different kind of pacts between writer and reader of the different genres.

	Enonciateur	Enunciation	Allocataire
Pamphlet	expelled	disgruntled/irritated/peddling	“barbarian”
Polemic	equal	Aggressive/invectives/ad hominem	opponent/audience
Satire	superior	carnavalesque /aggressive/disapproving	kindred spirit
Essay-diagnostic	neutral	didactic/structured/objective	attentive
Essay-méditation	personal	dialogic/associative/subjective	friend

After this overview, I want to return to the political essay. The essay is a form in which an I investigates something in (or ideas over) the world. The reader looks through the eyes of this I to the world. And not alone the eyes, because in everything the ideas formulated in the essay hang together with what the essayist is: his character, temperament, emotions, mentality, and psychology. As it were, the world is tested on the own experience, the own being of the essayist. Precisely this constitutes the essay’s skeptical undercurrent. Without any hold or Archimedean point the essayist tests a personal arrangement. In this sense, the I of the essayist is totally unlike the subject of Descartes. The Cartesian I is a point zero – stripped of all content – from which reliable knowledge about the Reality may be build. The essayist on the other hand stands with all he embodies in the middle of the world and tests out what he encounters with his own fluctuating experience. Or as Graham Good formulates it in his study over the essay (*The Observing Self*): “The essay is a reflection of and on the changing self in the changing world, not the pure abstract, Cartesian construction of the self or the Newtonian construction of the world, but a construction of, and a response to, this time and place in the world, by this self. [...] **the essay is an act of personal witness**” (p. 22, bold FR) Experiential as well as experimental. Or Christian Schärf (in *Geschichte des Essays*): “Der Essayismus bildet das Experimentierfeld des Menschen ohne normatives Weltbild, des sichselbst perspektivisch erforschenden Subjekts.” (p. 10) Or Peter Sloterdijk in een plea for the essay (which he sees as the basic form of intelligent communication in an experimentally moved world) conceives as the essayist as a writer who uses himself as a probe.

All these statements about the character of the essay converge and in essence say that the essayist tackles the world on his own account and with his own imagination. I would like to call this the politics of the essay, which I consider to be closely connected to the politics of the literary. The politics of the essay is that he/she is looking for a match between I and the world. Mind that this is different from the other genres we discussed above: there the I and the world are far more antagonistically placed. The essayist tries to acquire knowledge starting from his own experience and imagination and to structure his experience independently from existing opinions (doxa). And in fact there are no restrictions at all here, nor concerning topics, approach or form. Because of that, the genre has a certain indeterminacy.

De Obaldia: “This indeterminacy also inevitably affects the pragmatic dimension of the ‘contract’ between writer and reader. The very word ‘essay’ disorientates the reader’s horizon of expectations, for it is associated with the **authority and authenticity** of someone who speaks **in his or her own name**, it also **disclaims all responsibility** with regard to what is after all only ‘tried out’ and which is therefore closer, in a sense, to the **‘as if’ of fiction.**” (p.2-3, bold FR)

And this is exactly what constitutes the pact with the reader. The reader is not so much interested in the information about the world that is mediated by way of the essay, but he is interested especially how this particular essayist looks at the world.

This is just not the rhetorical situation of politicians writing essays or columns. Here the essayist doesn’t speak primarily on his own account but in the role as representative of a

political party who analyses the world from the perspective of the specific ideology of the political party. The authority from which he/she speaks isn't derived from his/herself, but is derived from an institutional position. Being a member of parliament for instance. This point was succinctly illustrated in our casus, when one of the politicians immediately stopped here column when she withdrew from her political position. There is nothing wrong with this external or heteronymous legitimization. It can be interesting to read comments on developments from this position, but another game is played here than in the essay as I have sketched it here. The politics of the essay is replaced by politics in the form of an essay.

By way of conclusion, I want to return to the question whether this should be considered as a kind of travesty. I think this, in general, is somewhat overstated. When for instance a politician writes a column in the magazine of his or her party, it's clear that we have a personalized way of doing politics. We also can speak of personalized politics when a politician appears in a television quiz games in the hope to give his popularity a boost.

But in this particular context, in which the columns of the politicians appear on the same spot which is normally reserved for independent columnists indeed something ambiguous is going on. In fact it boils down to the difference, maybe even conflict between the politics of the personal and personalized politics. I have tried to show that, notwithstanding that on the surface their discourse may look very similar, they have radically different agenda's.

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Lyricist’s Lyrical Lyrics: Widening the Scope of Poetry Studies by Claiming the Obvious¹

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Poetry is all but absent from Cultural Studies. Most treatments of the genre tend to focus on canonized poets whose work is wilfully difficult and obscure. Alternative histories should be explored, opening up possibilities to view poetry again as a culturally relevant art form. The demotic and popular strain provides a case in point. From the Romantics onwards modern poetry linked itself with oral or folk traditions like the ballad. Socially the most popular of these forms is the pop lyric. Since the 1950s rock lyrics have been studied in Social Studies, Cultural Studies, Musicology and some English Departments, but rarely within the context of Poetics or Comparative Literature. Rap and canonized singer-songwriters like Dylan and Cohen are the exceptions to the rule. Systematic attention to both lyrics and performance may open up current ideas of what a poem is and how it works.

¹ This article is the non copy-edited draft of a paper presented at the 2011 ACSIS conference ‘Current Issues in European Cultural Studies’, Norrköping, 15-17 June 2011 within the session ‘Revisiting the Literary Within Cultural Studies’.

LYRICIST'S LYRICAL LYRICS: WIDENING THE SCOPE OF POETRY STUDIES BY CLAIMING THE OBVIOUS

Listen – I'm not dissin but there's something that you're missin
Maybe you should touch reality
KRS-One/Boogie Down Productions, 'Poetry' (1987)
(in Bradley&DuBois 2010, 145)

It is a truism of sorts to claim that Cultural Studies tries to understand the world we live in and to explain how cultural artefacts both reflect and construct that world and its inherent political tensions. Considering the scope and scale of this ambition, it is only logical that our topics of interest and scrutiny tend to be those which can claim some cultural relevance, which are, in other words, to some extent popular. Esoteric art can, of course, be interesting in and of itself, but if you want to understand general cultural trends and evolutions it rarely offers more than a very limited entry.

Most scholars in the Humanities still do qualitative research, implying that they do in-depth studies of specific cases. They often fail, however, to explain why they choose one case over another. All too often that choice seems arbitrary. That would not be a problem if we still believed that our particular mini-effort was part of larger super-effort aimed at covering and analysing every cultural artefact that has ever been produced. But that is, obviously, no longer the case. Despite the remarkable proliferation of scholars, research centres and research projects – the program book of this very conference offers a case in point – it should be clear that our academic community will never be able to do more than scratch the surface of an astounding global and historical cultural production. This simple fact should force us to think twice whenever we select a case to study. This has always been a weakness of studies in the Humanities but it is even more problematic within the realm of Cultural Studies, I would argue. Opposed though as Cultural Studies has always been to the apolitical anything goes trends in post-modernism it tends to pick its subjects randomly, hoping the selected case has some symptomatic value. We have become so wary of hierarchies that our unspoken assumption seems to be that every case is as relevant as the other or, if we don't believe in this kind of cultural relativism, that we should focus on marginalized cultural products in order to give a voice to whatever is oppressed.

The scholar of modern poetry faces peculiar challenges in this respect. It should not be hard to argue that modern poetry, in most Western societies, is a marginal, maybe even marginalized genre. (In Hermann Glaser's *Kleine deutsche Kulturgeschichte von 1945 bis heute*, for example, it is only mentioned in passing.) Because of its elitist history, however, poetry as a genre cannot claim that 'marginalized' status the way ethnic, post-colonial or queer literatures can. Consequently, the genre is remarkably absent from Cultural Studies. In the more than 600 pages of the second edition of Simon During's *Cultural Studies Reader* (1999) poetry is mentioned nine times (basically because Walter Benjamin tended to discuss it) and only once one of the authors quotes and discusses an actual stanza. (Television is mentioned 76 times in the book, film 46 times, advertising 41, fashion 21, and opera 10 times; of the major art forms only jazz seems to be in an even direr place than poetry, being only dealt with a mere 5 times, by Adorno – and we all know how he felt about this subject).² Also, judging by the number of times poetry is dealt with in panels at this conference (twice, once in a session on Bosnia Herzegovina, once in this one), it seems as if poetry as a cultural practice is considered all but irrelevant.

This judgement betrays both a geographical and a historical bias. In the current uprisings in

² Chris Barker's 2008 *Cultural Studies: Theory and Practice* does not mention poetry or poems at all.

Yemen and Tunisia, for example, poets and public recitations play a more central role than the much hyped Facebook & Twitter. (Bukhari & de Pous 2011) And 95 years ago, during the Easter Rising, poets formed the heart of the Irish revolution. During the First World War, literally millions of poems were written and published as comments, incitements and moments of mourning. (Marsland 1991) From this astounding production most scholars, especially in the English speaking world, have only remembered, studied and canonised poems which originally had a very limited readership and which reflect the highly anachronistic view Western audiences developed about the Great War during the 1960s and 1970s. In other words, for our literary understanding of the First World War, the pacifist movements opposing the Vietnam war seem to have been more important than the actual literary production of the 1910s. (Todman 2005, 153-186) If we were to treat the music scene around May 68 the way we study the poetry of the Great War, we would devote more time to Iannis Xenakis' Kraanerg than to the Rolling Stones' 'Street Fighting Man' or The Beatles' 'Revolution', just like we rather study Wilfred Owen's and Isaac Rosenberg's highly unrepresentative war poems than the popular and actually influential ones by the likes of Jessie Pope or Henry Newbolt, or – in a German context – Ernst Lissauer's 'Hassgesang gegen England', which was actually being taught to German children (An. 1915) and distributed to millions of soldiers.

The poems that were actually popular and instrumental in bringing about change in modern societies have rarely been the ones that have been canonised and scrutinized, unless they became anthems in specific nationalist contexts (like the ones by Robert Burns in Scotland, Hungary's national poet Sándor Petőfi or his counterparts in Poland, the Balkans, the Baltic states or Flanders). These poems' anthem-like qualities are at odds with the characteristics of most of the poetry of the modern era that is being anthologized, taught and analysed. Consequently, if there is such a thing as a European canon of modern poetry, it tends to exclude these many National Poets, focusing instead on the very few, mostly French, German and English poets whose poems and poetics inspired the work of the once trendsetting Formalists and New Critics. Most histories or assessments of modern poetry – whether *Die Struktur der modernen Lyrik* by Hugo Friedrich, Octavio Paz's *Children of the mire*, the many studies by Marjorie Perloff or William Marx's recent *Adieu à la littérature* – tend to favour and thus canonize these authors and their difficult, often impersonal, indeterminate, Apollonian poems, at the detriment of more social types of poetry. These histories – typically starting with Blake, Hölderlin or Baudelaire, focusing on Rimbaud, Valéry and Pound and ending with Beckett, Celan or the Language poets – sketch a view of modern poetry as a genre which is wilfully difficult and obscure. It has lost its representational function and communicates at best indirectly, presenting a dark and broken world through fragmented pieces of highly metaphorical or even self-referential language.

I would like to argue that alternative histories should be explored, opening up possibilities to view poetry again as a culturally relevant art form. Despite the fact that modern poetry from the Romantics onwards linked itself with oral or folk traditions like the ballad this demotic tradition has not received quite as much attention as the esoteric one. Socially the most popular of these forms is the pop lyric, the origins of which are to be situated both in the folk tradition (of British broadside ballads and work songs, and African-American hollers & chants) and the popular music industry (including Tin Pan Alley, but within a European context also music-hall stars like Maurice Chevalier). Since the late 1950s pop and rock lyrics have been studied in Social Studies, Cultural Studies, Musicology and some English Departments, but rarely within the context of Poetics or Comparative Literature.³ Hence, a

³ Frith & Goodwin 1990 gives a great overview and selection. Hinz 2000 provides a German approach. Early examples of a sociological approach are Horton 1957 & Carey 1969.

genealogy or history of the popular song lyric in all its variants and incarnations is still missing,⁴ let alone a story which also includes the many moments of mutual inspiration between lyric and poem writing. Jerome Rothenberg & Pierre Joris' admirable two volume *Poems for the Millennium* features Tom Waits and Bessie Smith alongside Lorca, Apollinaire and Cummings, but that remains a rare exception.

The 2006 edition of the *Routledge Dictionary of Literary Terms*, for instance, jumps from 'Soliloquy' to 'Sonnet'; it does not deal with 'Song'. And its entry on 'Lyric' starts with: "That the lyric was originally a song set to the lyre, and later to other musical instruments, is worth remembering now only because the post-Renaissance lyric, or lyrical passage, though not often intended to be sung, nevertheless tends to be relatively mellifluous in sound and rhythm" (Childs & Fowler 2006, 132, my emphasis).⁵ The tendency of modern poetry to – in the words of Walter Pater – "aspire towards the condition of music" (Pater 1990, 51) is generally acknowledged, but those modern texts which were written to be part of that music are not usually taken into consideration, not even if they are part of high culture opera's.

Within Cultural Studies the status of the 'Song' is not exactly strong either. Take another reference work, *The Columbia Dictionary of Modern Literary and Cultural Criticism* (Childs & Hentzi 1995). It includes entries on subjects like 'Glance' or 'Suture', but not on 'Song', 'Folk' or 'Lyric', not even on 'Popular literature' for that matter. Interestingly though, it does have quite a substantial entry on 'Toasts' - "narrative folk poems from the African-American oral tradition", as they are described there (305). Cultural Studies tends to study popular song forms of literature primarily within the context of specific disciplines like African-American Studies but not in and of itself.

When song lyrics are studied within English Departments it seems to happen mainly within the context of the traditional Great Authors framework, like for instance in the hundreds of books that have been written with criticism and interpretations of say, Bob Dylan, Lennon & McCartney or – to a lesser extent – Leonard Cohen or Van Morrison. For a short period of time in the late 1960s and early 1970s – before the spectacular rise of Cultural Studies and the crisis of traditional language and literature departments set in – rock lyrics as a poetical sub-genre were treated as a general addition to the world of poetry. Anthologies and commentaries were produced which did not treat Dylan as the new Keats, but presented a wide range of lyricists, from Chuck Berry to Nina Simone and from Donovan to Curtis Mayfield. Their poetic qualities were explored, as well as their social relevance. Interestingly, this happened at first outside of the academy, in fanzines like *Cheetah*,⁶ magazines like *Rolling Stone* or in small Bantam Book pockets of alternative poetry that were so much an element of the late sixties counter culture. (*The Poems of Mao Tse-Tung* was published in the same series.) The first one to deal with popular lyrics, as far as I know, was edited by Village Voice journalist Richard Goldstein. His 1969 *The Poetry of Rock* not only paved the way for the even more militant follow-up *The Poetry of Soul* ("the expression of the Black man's condition in

⁴ A few national histories are, for America: Yerbury 1971, Wilder 1972, Hamm 1979 & Furia 1990. For France: Hawkins 2000.

⁵ The *Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory* (4th, 1999) has a substantial entry on 'Song' which, tellingly, ends with this remark: "In the 19th c. there was no revival of song-writing in England, though Thomas Lovell Beddoes and Thomas Hardy both showed a considerable gift for the song lyric. In more recent times dramatists have again become aware of the importance of songs in plays. The work of W. B. Yeats, Sean O'Casey, T. S. Eliot, W. H. Auden, Brendan Behan and John Arden - among a number of others - illustrates the point." (Cuddon & Preston 1999, 843). This reference work also has entries on 'Ballad' and 'Folksong'.

⁶ *Cheetah*, for example, saw the first publication (December 1967) of Robert Christgau's 'Rock Lyrics Are Poetry (Maybe)'.

(fascist Amerika [sic])”, xiii) but also for a few scholarly articles⁷ and, tellingly, teaching aids like the 2 volume *Poetry of Relevance* edited by Homer Hogan in 1970. Hogan, associate professor of English in Canada at the time, explicitly aimed at linking “poems of our literary heritage and songs that express contemporary interests and concerns”. Consequently, Shakespeare, Blake and Hopkins were featured next to Bob Dylan, Joni Mitchell and Jim Morrison. (A similar effort is David R. Pichaske’s 1972 *Beowulf to Beatles*, with an extended reprint in 1981). All of these are concerned with the declining status of official poetry; they try to interest students and enliven the poetry scene by including song lyrics. The arguments to do so, however, tend to stress that these songs of Dylan, Paul Simon or Grace Slick have the same characteristics as the canonized poems: they use surrealist images and irony, form a coherent unity despite their ambiguity, they communicate indirectly/by implication only, and happen to advocate “non-conformity and independent thinking” (Mosher in Scheurer 1989, 145). In other words: they underscore, rather than challenge the general view of modern poetry and the main cultural values of the late 1960s; these lyrics can easily be incorporated within that framework. Interpreting pop lyrics, we are led to believe, does not need a critical apparatus of its own, as if the actual performance of the lyric is not an intrinsic part of the song.⁸

Moreover, the pop canon which was established in the early seventies has not been substantially updated: Bob Dylan, The Beatles, Leonard Cohen, Randy Newman, Lou Reed, Patti Smith are still very much the writers that are anthologized and scrutinized. All of these songwriters - with the interesting exception of Randy Newman who started out as a Tin Pan Alley/Brill Building type of songwriter – have stressed their links with and interest in ‘official’ poetry. Cohen and Smith started out as poets, the others cherished their Ginsberg/Delmore Schwarz-connections or would end up publishing their work in poetry volumes. They embraced the bohemian lifestyles that were explored in Paris in the 19th century and also explicitly used themes and forms from so-called high literature. Consequently, they can be regarded as literary equivalents of what Richard Taruskin in a musicological discussion of post-Sergeant Pepper-rock aptly calls “upward ‘sociostylistic’ mobility”. (327) All very interesting and – as a cultural phenomenon – still under-researched, I think. But as cultural and literary production goes, we should also try to look beyond this Anglo-Saxon canon, to see how the forms and images and story-telling of popular music in general have changed in the last decades, to see how local traditions of poetry and folk song writing have been influenced by and probably merged with that English language canon.

Three interesting exceptions might inspire us in this respect.

1. German literature and German literary scholars have quite consistently treated song lyrics as literature: the canonical tradition ranging from Wedekind, Klabund and, of course, Brecht up to Wolf Biermann and Franz Jozef Degenhardt is treated in textbooks, literary histories and monographs; German academics, traditionally strong in methodology and conceptualisations have also contributed to the yet still minimally developed field of pop lyric theory (e.g. Urban 1979 & Behrendt 1991).

2. French chansonniers like Brassens, Ferré, Brel and Gainsbourg are studied in literary circles as well. Thirty years after he died Brassens even had his manuscripts edited (Tillieu 2002), like he was a latter day Mallarmé. Gainsbourg’s lyrics have been published with extensive annotations and a critical apparatus (Gainsbourg 2009) The abundant number of French rap artists also received quite some critical attention. (Boucher 1998; Vicherat 2001)

⁷ Harold F. Mosher’s, ‘The Lyrics of American Pop Music: A New Poetry’ (1972) explicitly acknowledges Goldstein as the instigator. For a recent reassessment of Goldstein’s anthology: Astor 2010.

⁸ Exceptions are chapters 8-10 in Frith 1996 and chapter 6 (‘Lyric, Music and Performance’) of Brewster 2009. A thorough German attempt at theorizing this problem is Behrendt 1991.

Whereas the songwriters are primarily studied within a French national context, the French hip-hop scene is obviously linked with its American origins, but also with indigenous traditions, both in Africa (les griots) and France itself (Medieval troubadours, Surrealism and Oulipo). (Barret 2008) Local academic customs had their impact on both the structuralist and psycho-analytic approach in French rap studies.

3. The final example is again related to the success of African-American Studies and counts as the most important American addition to the white singer-songwriter canon discussed earlier: the study of rap lyrics, which in 1992 was first stimulated by a Penguin edition called *Rap. The Lyrics* and which has now culminated in the *Anthology of Rap*, a glorious 860 page hardback volume published from Yale University Press in 2010, with a foreword by Henry Louis Gates Jr. in which the grand old man of African-American Studies not only links rap to ‘toasting’ (Bradley & DuBois 2010, xxii-xxiii) but also claims that this book assembles “a new vanguard of American poetry” (xxvi). This is by no means a new claim,⁹ but in terms of scope, momentum and popular success rap and hip-hop criticism may well have developed into the leading forms of textual (poetical) analysis. Indeed, as Baz Dreisinger recently claimed in *The New York Times* “[t]he flourishing field of hip-hop studies has lately come to resemble a college English Department ca. 1950”, with its canonical studies (Chang 2005), New Criticist text analysis (Jay-Z 2010 and rapgenius.com offer some spectacular examples)¹⁰ and even some Marxist criticism (Charnas 2010; Greenburg 2011). Similarities with the traditional English Department are striking indeed. While it is becoming rare in Literary Studies to devote a book to a general analysis of a specific work by a canonized author this is precisely what is being done in hip-hop studies (e.g. Gasteier 2009 and Dyson & Daulatzai 2009 on Nas’s *Illmatic*). And the Great Author itself seems to resurface in the monographs or readers about luminaries like Tupac Shakur (Meadows 2010 lists no less than 25 titles), Jay-Z (Brown 2005; Bailey 2011) or Lil’Kim (Thomas 2009). Still, hip-hop studies offers more than that. Apart from the many Masters theses and PhD dissertations excerpted and discussed in Meadows’ recent *Research and Information Guide* (2010), monographs have been written about hip-hop’s history (Toop 1984-2000; Dufresne 1991), its poetics (Costello & Foster Wallace 1990; Potter 1995; Béthune 1999; Perry 2004; Dyson 2007), its language (Buckholz 2010) and even its place in academia (Baker 1993; Bock et al 2007). Rap records are used as material for cultural and political history (Clover 2009; White 2011) as they are being scrutinized within Gender and Cultural Studies (Kage 2002; Cheney 2005; Jeffries 2011). That’s the Joint, a massive 600+ page Hip-Hop Studies reader has just been reprinted (Forman & Neal 2004, 2011).

Yet, for all these clear signs of a lively critical culture, even the most explicit and ambitious treatments of rap as a form of poetry are marked by a peculiar apologetic tone. Jay-Z states in *Decoded* that he wanted “to make the case that hip-hop lyrics – not just my lyrics, but those of every great MC – are poetry if you look at them closely enough.” (235) Adam Bradley’s acclaimed *Book of Rhymes* seems to be fighting against similar prejudices: “The best MCs [...] deserve consideration alongside the giants of American poetry. We ignore them at our own expense.” (xiii) The literary canonization of lyricists should probably not be our main concern. But why not treat their work as an interesting art form in its own right, without wanting to prove its ‘depth’ or intertextual intricateness? Lyrics deserve a transnational treatment, I believe, both historically and theoretically. The pop song is one of the pre-

⁹ See for a few examples: Costello & Foster Wallace 1990, 100-1; Baker 1993, 94; Perry 2004; Bradley 2009; Pate 2010. As early as 1984 rap was associated with art (the NPR broadcast *Rappin* presented “the lively story of the urban verbal art form of ‘rappin’”). In his 1987 track ‘Poetry’ Boogie Down Production’s KRS-One made it clear what his ambition was: “I’m teaching poetry”.

¹⁰ The mission statement of rapgenius.com states it is their aim “to critique rap as poetry”.

eminent cultural forces of our time, yet it still lacks a critical framework to study its form, meaning both the texts and their performance, to understand what is generic, what is locally specific about them, how formats of the 1920s can be compared to those of the folk age, the rock age and the rap age. How did we get from ‘Jokerman’ to ‘Poker Face’, from ‘Crazy Blues’ to ‘Crazy in Love’, from ‘Be-Bop-A-Lula’ to ‘Goo goo goo joob’ and from ‘De do do do’, to ‘Dip trip, flip / fantasia’? Now those are questions.

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**Rhythm Changes:
Jazz Cultures and European Identities**

The Role of Jazz in Austria: Aspects of the Current Jazz Scene

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In Austria, a country deeply steeped in musical history and famous for its classical composers like Mozart, jazz had no problem gaining importance. Since the end of World War II jazz has begun to play a significant role within the music culture, and especially in the two biggest cities Vienna and Graz jazz scenes evolved rather quickly. Once jazz in Europe was academically institutionalized for the first time at the “Akademie für Musik und darstellende Kunst Graz” (now “University of Music and Performing Arts Graz”, abbreviated “KUG”) in 1965, the status of jazz in Austrian musical life was assured.

In order to get an overview of today’s situation of jazz in Austria, various aspects of the current jazz scene are examined: situation of jazz musicians, education, venues and festivals as well as media presence. In addition to collated comprehensive data, expert interviews will help to gain extensive insights in the jazz culture. The main aim of this paper is to present the role of jazz and its current importance within the music culture in Austria.

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of Second World War jazz has begun to play a significant role within the music culture in Austria. In a country like Austria which is deeply steeped in musical history and famous for classical composers like Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Anton Bruckner, Joseph Haydn, Johann Strauß and Arnold Schönberg, jazz had no problem gaining importance. Especially in the two biggest cities Graz and Vienna jazz scenes evolved quickly with internationally successful musicians like Hans Koller (1921–2003, saxophone), Fatty George (1927–1982, clarinet, saxophone) and Joe Zawinul (1932–2007, piano, keyboards). When jazz was academically institutionalized at the Music Academy in Graz, now “University of Music and Performing Arts of Graz” for the first time in Europe in 1965, the status of jazz in Austrian musical life was assured.

In order to get an overview of today’s situation of jazz in Austria, the following aspects of the current jazz scene are examined: general situation of jazz musicians, professional jazz education at universities and conservatories, organizers of jazz events including jazz festivals and media presence of jazz (print media, radio, TV). The basic information and national data for the study was provided by the national music information center Austria, (MICA, <http://www.musicaustria.at>). In addition to this data, expert interviews help to gain extensive insights in the jazz culture. This overview is part of the transnational research project Rhythm Changes: Jazz Cultures and European Identities, an interdisciplinary cooperative project which examines the current role of jazz and its significance within the cultures of the partner countries Austria, Denmark, Great Britain, the Netherlands and Norway (<http://www.rhythmchanges.net>). The complete and detailed country report about the current Austrian jazz scene will be published in Anklaenge 2011: Wiener Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft (Vienna: Mille Tre).

SITUATION OF JAZZ MUSICIANS

There is a broad consensus that currently a huge number of highly skilled jazz musicians exists in Austria. The experts’ perception shows a considerable increase since the 1980s. One reason is the good infrastructure for jazz education at Austria’s universities and conservatories: Most jazz musicians obtain a degree in jazz. Due to the well established studying possibilities many foreign students also study in Austria, which again enlivens the jazz scene. According to the interviewees, exceptional strengths of Austrian jazz musicians include creativity as well as multifaceted and innovative work.

Nevertheless, Austrian jazz musicians have a rather difficult economical situation, since very few can make a living strictly as a freelance musician. Their fields of activities are giving concerts, commissioned compositions, working in jazz orchestras/big bands and working in jazz-related fields (such as pop music, musical productions, TV productions, studio musician). Most frequently, jazz musicians additionally teach at music schools and conservatories. This is seen partially as a positive supplement and enrichment of their work, partly it is seen as a hindrance to their artistic work.

Concerning the gender topic, it is clear that there are by far more male jazz musicians than female and that the profession “jazz musician” in Austria is still a male-dominated field; however, this is not a problem specific to Austria. According to the current list of jazz musicians from MICA, 84% of musicians are male and just 16% are female. Moreover, female jazz musicians are mostly vocalists. The comparison of “younger” jazz musicians (under 35) shows that women seem to be catching up, since there are comparatively more young female musicians than male ones. Observations of jazz audiences also confirm that women are interested in jazz.

Above all, more jazz agencies are needed: The few existing agencies, such as LPS (Live Performance Service, <http://www.lps.at>) and Saudades Tours (<http://www.saudades.at>) mainly

deal with international musicians. Hence, the jazz musicians manage their organizational responsibilities themselves, such as contacting organizers, planning concerts and tours as well as writing funding applications. Being a jazz musician means combining artistic and organizational skills. Therefore, management courses are already part of many curricula at universities and conservatories. Generally, the internet is of great importance for jazz musicians and seen as a practical tool with many possibilities to promote their music. Almost every jazz musician has a website and uses online tools like “facebook”, “twitter” and “myspace” for their music, as well as “youtube” and “vimeo” for their videos.

HIGHER JAZZ EDUCATION

The jazz experts agree that there are sufficient institutions providing a professional jazz education in Austria, and that the quality of the education generally is high. A jazz study is important for the later career of the jazz musician and provides, besides the artistic education, early performance possibilities, contacts and networking both inside and outside the university. Within the jazz training it is distinguished between an artistic study, the so called “Konzertfach” with a final diploma, and an artistic-pedagogical study called “Instrumental- und Gesangspädagogik” (IGP) with an additional teaching certificate, which allows the graduate to teach at any educational institution in Austria. Besides these studying possibilities, jazz can be chosen as an additional main focus within classical music studies. The jazz institutes at the music universities in Graz, Vienna and Linz are named as the most important institutions for higher jazz education.

The Jazz Institute at the “University of Music and Performing Arts of Graz” (KUG) was founded in Graz in 1965 and is the oldest jazz institute in Europe. Furthermore, KUG also has an Institute for Jazz Research since 1971. Jazz can be studied with the main instruments vocals, guitar, piano, bass, trombone, saxophone, drums and trumpet (<http://www.kug.ac.at>). The Jazz Institute at the “Konservatorium Wien Private University” (KWP) in Vienna was founded just a few years later in 1968 and provides jazz studies with the same main instruments (<http://www.konservatorium-wien.ac.at>). The Institute of “Jazz and Improvised Music” (JIM) at the “Anton Bruckner Private University” in Linz was founded in 1989. In addition to the main instruments offered in Graz and Vienna, at the JIM one can also study the instruments electric bass, percussion, violin, viola, violoncello, flute and tuba (<http://www.bruckneruni.at>). Of all conservatories offering similar jazz studies, the “Kärntner Landeskonservatorium” (KONSE) is the most renowned. The final degrees are equal to university degrees (<http://www.konse.at>).

The aforementioned universities with professional jazz education provide student information on their homepages. To conduct a comparative analysis, the data of the fall term 2010/11 concerning all bachelor and master studies (BA and MA) in jazz is used. The overall analysis shows that 80% of the students are male and only 20% female, very similar to the general situation of Austrian jazz musicians. A further result shows that in sum the percentage of Austrian students is 64%, compared to 36% of students from abroad. At the KUG the percentage of foreign students is higher – 58% – than the percentage of domestic students. At the other two universities, Austrians are in the majority (KWP: 73%, JIM: 78%). The analyses of the bachelor and master Studies show that at all universities female students often finish only the bachelor studies and do not begin the master’s degree program. At the KUG a total of 91% of master’s students are male and in Vienna they all are. At JIM the vast majority of master’s students (90%) are also male. On the basis of these numbers it becomes clear why few female jazz musicians exist in Austria.

ORGANIZERS FOR JAZZ

According to the interviewed jazz experts, in Austria the current number of organizers for jazz events is sufficient. There are enough possibilities for jazz musicians to play at venues like clubs, festivals, concert halls and restaurants. Unfortunately, the financial situation of the organizers generally has become worse. Especially younger jazz musicians earn most of their money by playing at commercial events (like private parties, art exhibits, etc.).

In general, jazz festivals have more financial resources, which is why fees are better at festivals. Furthermore, public interest is quite high: There is much information about festivals published in the media and usually a huge audience. Nevertheless, playing at smaller clubs or at university events is also regarded as very important. Due to the wide acceptance of jazz within the so-called “high culture” in Austria, jazz concerts also take place at classical concert houses like for example the “Stefaniensaal” in Graz and in Vienna at the “Musikverein”, the “Wiener Staatsoper” and the “Wiener Konzerthaus”, where regular jazz series take place (e.g., “Jazz im Konzerthaus” and “The Art of Jazz Piano”, <http://konzerthaus.at>). Nevertheless, it is criticized that the “big stars” of the international jazz scene but almost no local musicians play at these venues. Jazz concerts at these famous concert houses, however, do increase the reputation of jazz in general.

According to MICA’s current list of active jazz organizers in Austria, only 19% work within the field “jazz” only. For the others, jazz music is part of their work, combined with other music styles like pop, rock, contemporary art music, electronic music, world music, hip hop and classical music. All interviewed jazz experts identified the jazz club “Porgy & Bess” in Vienna (founded in 1993) as the most important jazz organizer in Austria and a very professional organizer of jazz concerts. The data of the year 2010 shows in sum exactly 365 events. Fewer concerts were organized during the summer months July, August and September, the time when many jazz festivals take place.

Jazz festivals are very important events in the Austrian music scene, mainly because of the already mentioned public interest. However, they are sometimes criticized for not allowing more national musicians to play at the big and popular festivals, such as the “Jazz Fest Wien” with around 60,000 visitors. According to the list of jazz festivals in 2010 provided by MICA, in sum 39 festivals (of a total of 143 music festivals) contain jazz music, partly combined with other music styles. The analysis of the nationality of musicians/ensembles playing at Austrian jazz festivals shows that 45% of the musicians are Austrian, 29% live in the European Union and 26% come from outside the EU, mainly from the USA.

JAZZ IN MEDIA

Media can make a great contribution for the development of a country’s music and jazz scene: Print media (newspapers and journals), radio and television provide the possibility of making information available. In Austria, media-related support of jazz and jazz musicians is considered low and not appropriate to the relevance of jazz. However, the general importance of these media has decreased due to the increasing importance of the internet.

In newspaper articles concerning jazz a rather poor quality is observed. “Der Standard”, “Die Presse” and the “Kleine Zeitung” are named as daily newspapers with significant jazz reporting. Generally, all jazz articles concern event listings, radio programs, upcoming festivals and similar information, with almost no reviews. Currently no jazz magazine exists in Austria. The very informative Jazzzeit was discontinued in 2009. However, jazz is partly covered in the magazines Concerto, a journal of jazz, blues, world music and pop (six times a year, <http://www.concerto.at>), Freistil, a magazine about music and surrounding areas (six times a year, <http://freistil.klingt.org>) and SKUG, a music journal (four times a year, <http://www.skug.at>). Although no jazz magazine exists in Austria, the following three publication series published by the Institute for Jazz Research at KUG together with the Inter-

national Society for Jazz Research in Graz (<http://www.jazzresearch.org>) are important scientific publications and known internationally: Jazzforschung / Jazz Research has been published since 1969, with 42 volumes to date. Also since 1969 Beiträge zur Jazzforschung / Studies in Jazz Research have been published irregularly; 14 volumes exist so far. Moreover, the Jazz Research News has been published since 2000 with 38 issues printed to date.

Due to the lack of jazz presence in national broadcasting, the Austrian public broadcaster ORF (“Österreichischer Rundfunk”) is consistently criticized for not meeting its responsibility to report on the Austrian jazz scene in both radio and TV. Currently, there are no jazz productions since the orchestra of the ORF was dissolved in the 1980s. The regular jazz series in radio have been cut down and only appear on the ORF’s cultural and flagship station “Ö1” (<http://oe1.orf.at>). The regular jazz series are the “Jazztime”, the “Ö1 Jazznacht”, “On Stage” and “Spielräume”. At the Styrian regional program of “Ö2”, the Styrian ORF program, a jazz series called “Jazz at its best” is broadcast. The most popular Austrian radio station, “Ö3”, does not broadcast jazz series. In addition to the public broadcaster ORF, regular jazz series are made by single “Freie Radios Österreich”, independent radio stations, which are non-profit organizations broadcasting via online streams. Examples are “Freirad” (<http://www.freirad.at>), “Radio Helsinki” (<http://helsinki.at>), “Freequenns” (<http://www.freequenns.at>) and “Orange 94.0” (<http://www.o94.at>).

Jazz plays no role at all in television; it is simply not present in ORF programming. A very few single reports occasionally appear on the news program “Zeit im Bild” (ZIB) or “Kulturmontag” as well as some event information at “A.Viso” (<http://www.orf.at>). However, the program “3sat”, a mainly German television transmitter in cooperation with Swiss broadcasting and the ORF, does program jazz in the form of concerts, portraits of jazz musicians and documentaries (<http://www.3sat.de>).

CONCLUDING REMARKS

An important positive aspect of the current Austrian jazz scene is the huge number of young and active jazz musicians, who not only work as performing artists but also teach and play in jazz orchestras and collectives. Generally, more jazz agencies are needed since the musicians have to do most of the organizational work themselves. The education possibilities for jazz at universities and conservatories are considered very good. Jazz students and graduates form an important part of the jazz scene; however, there still are very few women in jazz. Currently, there are enough organizers and venues such as clubs and festivals where jazz musicians get the chance to perform. Moreover, jazz concerts at famous classical concert houses such as the “Wiener Konzerthaus” or the “Wiener Staatsoper” are possible. National jazz musicians would appreciate more chances to play at the popular venues and festivals like the “Jazz Fest Wien”. Jazz is present in the national media, but according to the experts far too little. More qualitative articles in newspapers and magazines, more regular radio jazz series as well as a general higher media presence in TV are also seen as necessary.

Altogether, one can draw a positive picture of the current jazz scene in Austria. There is a vital jazz scene which, in spite of the flaws discussed, is widely accepted and plays an important role within the national music scene.

Rhythm Changes is financially supported by the HERA Joint Research Programme (www.heranet.info) which is co-funded by AHRC, AKA, DASTI, ETF, FNR, FWF, HAZU, IRCHSS, MHEST, NWO, RANNIS, RCN, VR and The European Community FP7 2007-2013, under the Socio-economic Sciences and Humanities programme.

The Conditions of Music-Making



Paper from the Conference “Current Issues in European Cultural Studies”, organised by the Advanced Cultural Studies Institute of Sweden (ACSIS) in Norrköping 15-17 June 2011. Conference Proceedings published by Linköping University Electronic Press: http://www.ep.liu.se/ecp_home/index.en.aspx?issue=062. © The Author.

The Present-day Composer: Performing Individuality and Producing on Commission

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INTRODUCTION

The division of music into art, popular and folk music is a social rather than a stylistic one, and the distinctions between them are maintained through discursive work rather than through musical performance. Still, in research they are normally treated as distinct autonomous sectors functioning according to their own inherent logics. In the research program “The conditions of music-making – between cultural policy, economics and aesthetics”, including researchers at Umeå university Department of Culture and Media Studies and Svenskt Visarkiv (the Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research), we try to apply a comparative perspective to them, by focusing on musicians relying on an image of autonomous artistic individuality, regardless of genre.¹ This includes musicians/composers within contemporary art music, jazz, folk and rock/pop – genres all accepted in the Swedish cultural policy grants system, although treated in different ways. Immediately it should be said that although we put the musicians on par with each other, and that the crossing, blurring and dissolution of genre borders are constantly hailed as desirable qualities in music of artistic pretensions, the same borders are effectively at work in the ways music is socially organised, with different clubs, concert halls, radio shows, festivals and academic programs keeping up genre borders just by labelling. As the subtitle indicates, we study how music made with artistic ambitions is produced on fields where the forces of cultural policy, mediatisation, commercialism, event-making, and audiences are in various combinations forming the space available.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF CONTEMPORARY ART MUSIC COMPOSITION IN SWEDEN

In this presentation, I draw upon interviews with contemporary art composers in Sweden, a role that for long time has been identified with strong individuals with a distinct personal musical expression. “Art” or “Classical” music is the genre given most public grants in Sweden; still, being a composer of new music is not economically rewarding. Most members of the Föreningen Svenska Tonsättare (the Association of Swedish Composers) – to keep up distinctions, composers of art music formed a highly exclusive association in the 1910s and has ever since kept a high profile, keeping Academy studies and/or activity on the art music scenes as defining conditions – are part-time composers at the most, combining with teaching, studio work, or odd works in any sector. The large part of the public subsidies to art music are taken up by the symphony orchestras and opera companies, thus organisations for the reproduction of music is favoured rather than the production of new music. Although operas and symphonies regularly commission new works, there are but a few composers who have established themselves as first and foremost writing for these organisations. Instead, the majority of composers and their output are aimed at chamber music formats and/or including themselves as performers – the latter a characteristic of the “live electronics” genre.

It is interesting to compare the ideal role of the composer of the fifties and sixties, with the characteristics of the contemporary composers.

Before 1970:

- Genius cult – a select few
- “Spearhead of future” – every work of significance would point forward, and expand the current music; writing for audiences of the future
- Sole creative role – conductors and musicians exist in order to perform the composer’s intentions

¹ The program is funded by Vetenskapsrådet, the Swedish Research Council. A Project description is available at <http://www.kultmed.umu.se/om-institutionen/personal/alf-arvidsson/musikskapandets-villkor/>

- Contextless music – an ideal of the autonomous work added to the list of masterpieces

Now:

- Professional competence
- Contemporary – works are created for use here and now
- Cooperative and adaptive – responding to co-actors' creative ideas
- Context-sensitive music – made, chosen and adapted for different situations

have deliberately made this a series of exaggerated opposites, in order to make clear that the romantic ideals of what an art music composer should be, ideals that still are circulating in public, clashes rather strong with the actual conditions for and aspirations of the present-day composers.

Here, I want to point out three distinct traits that are important for the understanding of contemporary art music – social factors that not only circumscribe the production of music, but also affect the shape of the music, in different ways.

CONTEXT-SENSITIVITY

One thing about new art music is the dependence of different contexts for almost every new work. In high modernist musical thought, every art music work was to be taken as a piece of music, no less and no more. The composer of art music was to write music that was pure music, reflecting only unto itself, with every new work a contribution to the development of music. The written manuscript contained all that was supposed to make up the piece, and there would be an ideal performance that could be reproduced regardless of place and time, if conductor and musicians were sufficiently trained. The introduction of electronic music in the fifties relied partly on the quality of the recording as a definite realization of the composer's intentions.

While this ideal of the context-less music was nothing more than an idea even during high modernism, it was part of a discourse that had consequences for how music was supposed to be composed, as well as how it was to be listened to, understood and judged.

In my interviews with composers on their works, I find not only that the individual works quite often has been written for certain specified situations, but that the works sometimes are possible to perform at one occasion only. In the ideal image of the composer in modernity, there was a presupposition that every good work would eventually be widely known, and through the sales of the score and royalties from recurrent performances and records give a steady income for the serious composer. Today, most income for the composer comes from the commission of the work, perhaps also from the performance of it (paid as musician rather than composer), and there is no need for the composer to write music that can be de- and recontextualized. Instead, for every commissioned work the place, time and people involved in its performance can be adjusted to at maximum, in order to make as much as possible of the unique occasion. Sometimes the result is a work that is hard to separate from its original context; sometimes it is more easily recycled (perhaps with some alterations). Here you may speak of how the situation of the conception of the work affects its musical structure – and this in a much more open way than in former times when music was supposed to rise from the inner driving forces of the composer only.

A couple of examples:

Karin Rehnqvist has some interesting examples among her works. When she was awarded a “composers week” at the Stockholm Concert Hall, she made an inauguration piece that used the Concert Hall and its location at the Hötorget square. For this she involved all the fruit and vegetable sellers in the square to coordinate their seller's calls with a folk singer calling out from the Concert Hall – thus incorporating the everyday sounds from the square, now structured into the performance.

Another example is music she wrote for a concert in the Jukkasjärvi ice Hotel, sponsored by the Swedish Polar Research Secretariat. This concert was centred around instruments built of ice, by Tim Linhart – an orchestra of cello, bass, flute and percussion. In her comments she reflects on specific considerations for this piece: not too long pieces lest the musician's backside freeze to the icy stool. Not too many notes for the flute, so the warm breath doesn't melt the flute before the performance is over.

Another kind of contextualisation is when a work is designed for certain musicians, and they also are drawn into the process of composing, either as active co-operation partners, or by their influence through the interaction process. Henrik Strindberg mentioned how the rehearsals of a new piece with an orchestra made him revise the lay-out of the work: he wanted them to repeat the first seven bars in order to get it right, just as a rehearsal tool, and then realised that this repetition actually was a contribution that increased the aesthetic impact, so he wrote it into the work. This way of working, where the rehearsals can affect the final (?) result and even can be taken in beforehand as part of the process, is normally not possible when writing for symphony orchestras. Another of Strindbergs' works builds upon the co-operation with a violinist who had been exploring the playing techniques of her instrument; thus, the work explores these particular sounds that would not come to his mind were it not for their personal co-operation.

A historically well-known form of contextual composition is writing for ritual and/or ceremonial purposes. European music history up to the 18th century after all is by and large dominated by ritual genres, be it masses, oratorios, hymns or the specific occasional music of royal weddings and funerals. (Sven-David Sandström who was the leading name in Sweden during the 80s and 90s, professor of composition in Stockholm, is most known for his Requiem, a High Mass, and recently a commission from the Church of Sweden for a long series of cantatas.) Today, there is quite a large volume of music being composed for the inauguration of sports events, specifically on the European, World and Olympic Championship levels, where the occasion, site, country of the championship and the ethnicities of the participants may put their marks on the work. Another example is how Martin Q Larsson got a commission for a work for the turn of the millenniums, with the concept of "thousand years in thousand seconds" as ground metaphor. Thus, the work is 16 minutes 40 seconds long and as he used the history of music as signifying material, it gives the effect of showing how short phase of music history the so-called classical music actually represent.

I am not saying that earlier Art music, or specifically High Modern Art Music, not has been context-dependent – it takes a society with modernist discourses to make musical modernism comprehensible – but that the discourses on Art music has changed so that it is not degrading to admit that composition is context-dependent.

THE IMPORTANCE OF RECORDINGS

Another trait that at first seems to stand in conflict with the former is the importance of having a recording, and preferably an official CD release. This is part of music being strongly mediatised in contemporary society. Although the sales of CD:s have been diving for some years and the CD is considered a "dead" kind of goods, The CD album still works as a manifestation and as a well-known format for music. CD:s has not been a significant source of income for art music composers anyway. Instead there are other functions that the recording fills. One is the need for documentation, especially when it is a matter of a one-only performance of a work. Another function ties in with another situation: the need to have a "model performance" for musicians, in the case of a work that raises interest and is asked to be performed in concerts and places where the composer can't attend or have enough time to give sufficient directions. And there is also the visibility that is increased with a CD release,

especially if an established company is involved. Mattias Petersson has another point when he speaks of his diploma piece from the Royal Academy of Music, Ström (Current) that he managed to get released:

It is an example of how I have tried: now I have made this piece, it is 45 minutes long, I have been working on it for two years, I don't want it to be played once and then never more.²

Recordings are also needed when it comes to presenting yourself as composer on the internet. We are living in a world where music is mediatised, and this affects the ways of thinking about and handling music, even when the economic system of mediatised music is not functioning sufficiently.

WHO IS THE DRIVING FORCE?

Finally, the imagined sovereignty of the composer has to be questioned. I propose that the representatives of art music in public today as well as composers can be musicians, and to quite some extent the group, echoing the rock group, can not only be the most visible actors but may just as well be the driving force behind many new works. To begin with, whereas chamber music ensembles up to the sixties were named after their leader, today some at least have more catchy names underlining the group as an autonomous subject: starting in the seventies with Harpans Kraft, in the eighties followed by Fläskkvartetten, Kroumata, Sonanza, KammarensembleN. The most distinguished group in Sweden is Pärlor för Svin (Pärles before Swine Experience), a group with the not-strange-still-odd combination violin, cello, piano and flute, which since it started in 1995 has been a driving force in getting composers to write for them and thereby inducing a large number of new works. They started out of disappointment with the standardised concert formats and settings for contemporary art music, and started the group with two ideas: to try to get gigs at clubs, and to have a repertoire of many short pieces in order to make varied programs. They have been very successful in terms of getting response from contemporary composers and in public interest. However, success does not mean full-time work.

The individual musician as initiator. There is nothing new with musicians ordering music to be written for them; the genres of piano, violin, clarinet etcetera concertos flourished in the 19th century and are still vital. However, today the musician's personal interests and image seem to more often bear direct influence on the musical works. A spectacular example is Jan Sandström's motorcycle concert for the trombonist Christian Lindberg, performed in a shining red leather biker's suite and exploring the possibilities of the instrument to sound as a motorcycle engine. Lindberg, early in his career established as a trombone virtuoso, eventually took control over the repertoire as well, starting 39 years old to write pieces where he explored the possibilities of his instrument (<http://www.tarrodi.se/cl/>).

Mattias Petersson works mainly within electro-acoustic music. Often he also performs his and other fellow composers' music in different groups. His homepage mentions several permanent groups.

I like this – as a composer you may easily become isolated, you sit writing music and then leave the notes and then attend the concert, but in the meantime it is quiet. In working with electronic music, the advantage is that you work directly with the sonic material and you can hear the results immediately. And furthermore, you can as I have play live electronics, and perform your music live to an audience. And since I stopped

² Det är ju också ett sånt exempel på när jag försökt, nu har jag gjort det här, det är 45 minuter långt, jag har jobbat på det i två år, jag vill inte att det ska spelas en gång och sen aldrig mer.

playing piano when I started to compose - I stopped practicing because you can't manage both at the same time – this live-electronics performance becomes a way to return to the musicking and the kick you can get out of standing in front of an audience.³

Together with George Kentros, violinist with PEARLS Before Swine Experience, he made a noted reinterpretation of Vivaldi's 4 seasons, one of classical music's most worn out works – starting as a violin/live-electronic duo doing gigs for a couple of years, working out their versions of the pieces before producing a CD in 2008. He also works in the electronica-space making electronic dance music, and is not so keen on keeping the distance to popular music.

As you may have seen, there are in modes of working, social networks, and attitudes quite some similarities to alternative rock music and its Do-It-Yourself-ethos. Composers seem to be taking more and more responsibility for the distribution and performance of their music: arranging festivals, running clubs, running record companies – much of it with little or no pay, just for the satisfaction of getting their music played for an audience. The similarities with alternative rock are further underlined by the fact that many contemporary composers – in Sweden anyway – have a background in rock, jazz or folk scenes; the classical tradition seems to not contribute to its own reproduction.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have not spoken much of the individuality in the title of my paper, but it is presupposed that the composer has an individual voice and has something to say with each work made public. That is part of the constitution of art music in contemporary society and one of the reasons for being given the special conditions of cultural policy support. However, the idea of the solitary individual as role model of public man seems to give way to an image of the more versatile and adaptable person functioning in rhizomatic networks; in accordance, the present-day composers shape their individual voices through who they interact with, and get their social value from the situations and contexts they take part of.

³ Jag gillar det här, som kompositör kan man väldigt lätt bli isolerad och man liksom sitter och skriver och sen lämnar man noterna och så kommer man på konserten, men däremellan är det tyst. Där har man fördelen då när man jobbar med elektronisk musik Att man jobbar med själv ljudmaterialet direkt så man kan sitta och , man kan höra och få direkt respons. Men dessutom kan man då, som jag har gjort, spela liveelektronik, och då kan man ju då i princip framföra sin musik live inför publik. Och det är ju, jag tycker det, det har på nåt sätt blivit för mig då, att man får in då för, Jag slutade ju spela piano när jag började komponera på allvar, slutade öva och så där, för Man hinner inte båda två kände jag. Och Då blir det här live-elektronik-spelet blir ett sätt att Komma tillbaka till själva musicerandet och den här kicken man kan få när man står inför en publik som är ganska schysst.

Participation, Orality and Multidirectional Music-making in a Mediatized and Professionalized World

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Much discourse on contemporary musicking focuses on institutionalized and professionalized music, whether commercial or connected to elite institutions, and is often limited to a binary relationship between producer and consumer. When music is primarily regarded as a product we risk becoming blind to the dynamic character of music as an unfinished process, as a fundamental and widely disseminated human activity and behaviour (cf. Merriam 1964, Blacking 1974, Rice 1987, Bjørkvold 1991, Lilliestam 2006 etc).

This paper discusses the fact that present Swedish and global music milieus also include activities with a stress on multi-directional communication within small community and affinity groups, usually including strong elements of the oral-derived and the spontaneous. When music-making is multidirectional and partly improvised, and performed in an informal context, the boundaries between performer and audience may become fluid and blurred. What space is there for this kind of activity? Are music market and small-scale participatory activity always dichotomies? I will discuss these issues on the basis of key-words like everyday music-making and creativity, lifeworlds, flow, meaning-making and orality versus mediation in late modernity.

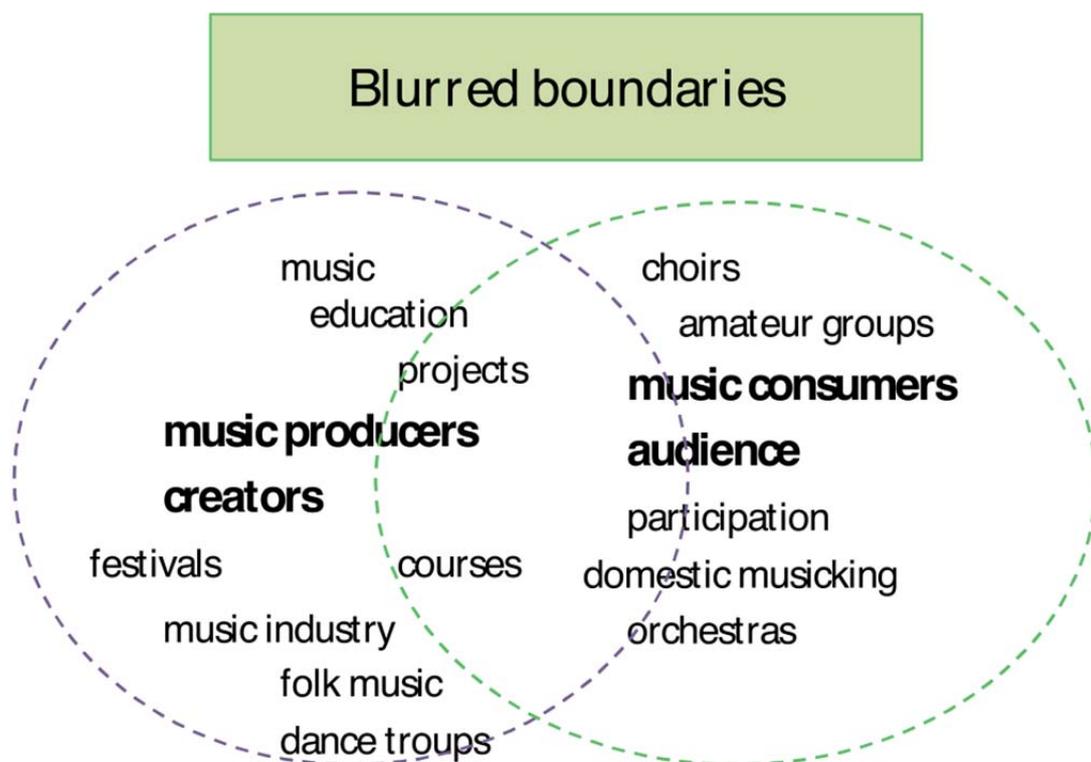
INTRODUCTION

Much discourse on contemporary musicking focuses on institutionalized and professionalized music, whether commercial or connected to elite institutions. This discourse is often limited to a binary relationship between producer and consumer. The conditions of music-making as a whole deals with " ... contemporary professionalized and artistic music-making as a process where musicians, concert situation and audience co-operate." My project, "Music for making or music for listening", represents a sidelight and an attempt at problematization of some of the concepts. As this is a work in progress, this paper is rather a sketch of my project than a report.

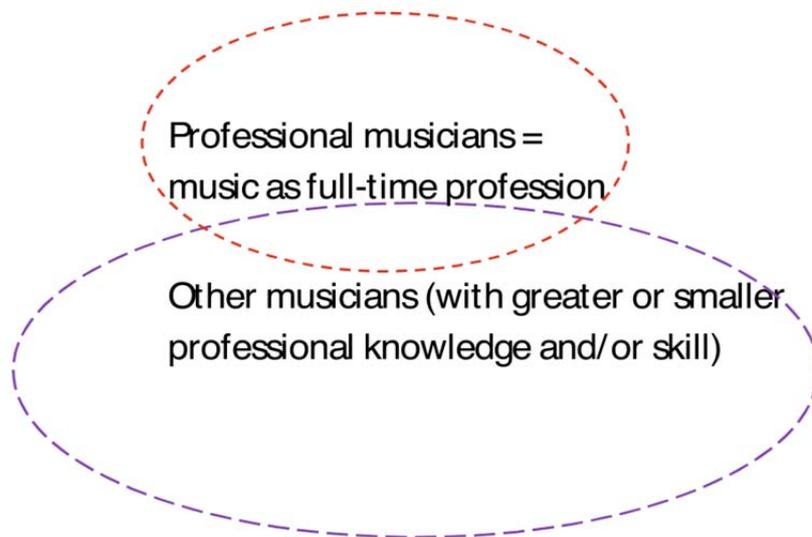
The music market as well as the cultural institutions depends, at least partly, on a broader, informal, "everyday" musical activity, which is my focal point. Audiences are to a great extent made up of music-makers, who are active in informal milieus, outside or on the borders of great festivals, institutions etc. Especially narrow genres – like jazz, Early music, folk and world music, the small-scale singer-songwriter genre (visa) – need an audience with deep knowledge of the genre, and many of their audience members are musicians or participants in music-making. It is a question of overlapping circles, not separate spheres. (See Fig.1)

Fig. 1 shows a general model of music producers/creators within one circuit or circulation and music consumers /audience within another. But at a closer look we find a great number of musical expressions and situations which cannot be assigned to only one of the main areas, e. g. courses, festivals, choir singing and several kinds of domestic or informal music-making where the stress is on participation and activity. The boundaries between music producers and music consumers are quite often blurred and overlapping.

A few examples of recurring and annual events of this overlapping kind are an international ethnic music camp for young people, the choir festival in Skinnskatteberg and the folk dance festival in Rättvik.



Another structure of overlapping areas is showed in fig. 2: on one side musicians with music as full-time profession and on the other side other musicians (with greater or smaller professional knowledge and/or skill). Both types of musicians might have or lack formal music education.



CONCEPTUAL FRAMES AND KEY-WORDS

My main point of departure is a view of music as a fundamental human capacity and expression and as a process, characterized by participation and multi-focal communication. That view is based on the classical concepts within ethnomusicology (Merriam 1964, Blacking 1974, Rice 1987 etc.) but also other kinds of input: Howard Gardner wrote about musical intelligence as one of seven (or nine) human intelligences together with logical/verbal intelligence, spatial intelligence, kinaesthetic intelligence, emotional intelligence etc. (Gardner 1998). There is also Jon Roar Bjørkvold's concept *Den musiska människan* – meaning the innate capacity for music and other forms of creativity in every child (Bjørkvold 1991). Christopher Small coined the term *musicking* for all kinds of activities connected to music: listening, playing, rehearsing, talking about music, arranging music etc. (Small 1998). His thought have been used and expanded by Lars Lilliestam (2006) who in his research has focused even more on the surrounding activities and approaches, more on what might be called active consumption or use of music. The use of music in peoples' lives and lifeworlds has been studied by many other authors, e.g. Tia DeNora (2000), Alf Gabrielsson (2008) and others. But they often seem to concentrate on the use of others' music and omit the actual music-making by the persons they write about. Thereby they also overlook the possible everyday creativity that is to be found among "non-professionals". Contemporary academic discourse is in great parts of the world more focused on patterns of consumption than on patterns of everyday culture.

The aim of my project – which is a work in progress – is to study music-making as small-scale and informal activity and participation in the field between and on the borders of, on the one hand, mediated and professionalized music-making, and on the other hand listening/music consumption. At the centre of the study is oral/aural-derived music-making, where musical expressions are neither equivalent with works of art nor with products – rather processes. Musical events or situations might be workshops, courses, sessions, dances,

singarounds, gatherings, amateur concerts/performances, happenings etc., sometimes combined with expressions of poetry, story-telling, drama, dance, visual arts etc. Some key words are:

- everyday music-making and creativity
- everyday aesthetics connected to performance/activity rather than (passive) experience
- music as influence on and expression of peoples' lifeworlds or horizons of understanding
- music as meaning-making
- orality/aurality versus mediation/literacy in late modernity
- flow as the purpose of musicking
- gender, generation and other intersectional aspects

Below I will briefly present some questions and problems grouped under a couple of headings:

PERFORMANCE AND CREATIVITY

Whom do we count as “creative music-makers”? I would like to propose that the present rather stereotyped discourse of professionals and amateurs might be informed and nuanced by adding concepts like musical specialists who are appointed by and interacting with a knowledgeable community (Merriam 1964, Herndon & McLeod 1982, Lundberg & Ternhag 2004, Åkesson 2007). Is that concept useful only historically or can we adapt it to facets of late modern society? A related concept is traditional referentiality (Foley 1991), which stresses the need of the listeners' knowledge of a (traditional) genre for full contextual interpretation of each single item. What is the role or importance of common frames of reference when there are great gaps between generations in society? How dependent on contextual understanding are musical genres; what kinds of audiences are needed for the continuance of small genres like baroque opera, polskas from Värmland or medieval ballads?

Examples where these questions are relevant are a couple of small Scottish festivals for unaccompanied traditional singing, attended by “musical specialists” of several kinds, with or without formal music education. These milieus are characterised by blurred boundaries between artist and audience, and the roles of performer and listener shift between individuals among the attendants. There is a lot of skill and knowledge present; there are very few full-time musicians.

EMBODIMENT AND PERSONAL ENCOUNTERS

Music-making originates in the human body (Blacking 1974); singing as well as handling an instrument or dancing are bodily acts. But the conception of music-as-product, music as processed sound, is separated from the musicking human body and from personal encounters. What does embodied knowledge mean in late modern musical milieus? Inspiration might be found in Michael Czordas' (1994) writings about embodiment generally, and further with Leslie Dunn and Nancy A. Jones (1994) who connect embodiment to gender and voice. Ingrid Elam discusses embodiment in relation to choir singing and flow in a couple of articles (2005, 2009).

Media and global/trans-local circulation create and influence local musics. Simultaneously we find values as the un-plugged, presence and personal encounters. Possible tools to think with might be de-mediatization (Lundberg, Malm, Ronström 2000), liveness (Auslander 1999) or a “post-digital society” (Fleischer 2009).

Further examples of case studies that bring up the importance of embodiment, presence, liveness etc. are workshops for singing and dancing the so-called medieval ballads, singing

circles (“visstugor”) with informal performance of traditional songs, and amateur choirs performing their own arrangements of songs and who add some choreography and acting.

MATERIAL

- Interviews with different actors. These may be professional and semi-professional musicians/tutors/workshop and choir leaders etc. who work with amateur musicians; key persons promoting non-arranged, acoustic music-making; pedagogues working on different levels of music education; members of musical associations; and musically active scholars.
- Inquiries and questionnaires to the same categories.
- Case studies, including participation/observation, of creative work like projects, small-scale festivals and workshops engaging both “professionals” and “amateurs”. Most of the case studies are Swedish, but I also add a small Scottish side-study; it is interesting to compare the different patterns of tradition-revival-post-revival, as well as generation and gender issues in the two countries.
- Websites and existing documentation (CD, DVD, radio/TV programmes, archival material etc).

CONCLUSION

In this short presentation of a project in progress I have focused on a section of contemporary music-making which can be described as small-scale and informal activity, with emphasis on participation and multi-directional communication. I have argued for the importance of bringing active everyday music-making and creativity into focus and questioning a binary image of musical life being constituted by music producers on one side and music consumers on the other. Besides, I have presented a number of conceptual frames and keywords which I am using for my study of musicking outside or on the borders of institutions and market.

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The Process of Remembering and Forgetting

The Dynamic Process of Remembering in Art – Perception of Victor Tolkin’s Historical Monuments Before and After Transformation of State System in Poland

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The presentation focuses on a new approach to cultural memory studies on the example of the sculptures of Wiktor Tolkin – the famous Polish artist, who represents the generation that grew up in the harsh realities of Second World War times. His monuments transcribe the memory of II world war’s experience and at the same time raise problems of visual shaping of memory.

The cultural memory is a process evolving in time. The artist always presents his/hers own, individual memory included in universalistic cultural memory – at the same time the artist connects individual and popular meaning of these problems. The artefacts undertake the dialog with the new generations of recipients and transfer individual tensions/emotions of artist into individual feeling of visitors, which in turn shape new society’s popular memory. These changes of society’s memory are always involved in politics and power relations. Polish society is the good example of this process, because the transformation of state’s system was undertaken twenty years ago, therefore it gives a good opportunity to observe these dynamic changes.

THE DYNAMIC PROCESS OF REMEMBERING IN ART

A great many contemporary researchers of various branches of science frequently address the broad issue of the analysis of processes and relations between memory and history. Their views are based on those aspects which are of special interest to them. Some, like Edward Casey, through analyses based on the philosophy of place, consider the nature of processes of remembering, memorizing and forgetting as well as their localization.¹ The aspect of memorial places was explored by Paul Ricoeur.² The author considered the issues of archived memory and remembrance sites. However, not all suggested distinctions fit the complicated socio-historical relations in Poland mutilated by the atrocities of the Second World War. A French author, Pierre Nora suggests the distinction between memorial places and historical places which seems to be inaccurate for Polish researchers³, as it is incompatible with Polish reality marked by the havoc wrought by the war both in the material and emotional sphere.⁴ The duty of commemorating both history and the places where it happened, so often stressed by Tolkin, the witness and the artist, is especially close to Tina Wasserman who emphasizes the ambiguity of the subject matter. Because of the juxtaposition of history and memory, or even their intermingling, scholars ponder the issue of the essence of individual memory and its relations with history. Tolkin's artistic work seems to confirm the importance of questions addressed by Frances Guerin and Roger Hallas. They claim that when art deals with public memory through recording the past in a work of art, it complicates and converts it into a different entity.⁵

The above outline of problems of memory and its repercussions in art is based on the views of theoreticians. Artists however, while dealing with this problem in a practical fashion, developed their own concepts. Faced with questions and doubts voiced by thinkers, they replied by means of form, composition and above all expression which, in the case of monuments of martyrdom, created foundations for the so called general message of the work of art. Once again art proved that it eludes all attempts at being defined and constrained by theory.

Wiktor Tolkin is a sculptor who attempted to preserve the memory about people, places and events and who defied the processes of forgetting.

His biography and artistic works are closely connected to historical realities. Wiktor Tolkin is part of the generation that grew up in the harsh reality of the Second World War. As a young man, he was a witness of horror in the concentration camp, Auschwitz-Birkenau, the biggest Nazi concentration camp in Europe. Tolkin's best known achievements are two monuments. Both of his greatest monuments in the Nazi concentration camps in Stutthof and Majdanek in Lublin are examples of exploration of the universal language, which is understood by victims of Nazi and also by generations of people who did not experience the war. His monuments transcribe the memories of the Second World War experiences and at the same time raise problems of visual shaping of memory.

Tolkin's most familiar achievement are two monuments. Both of his greatest monuments in the fascist concentrations camps in Stutthof and Majdanek in Lublin are examples of

¹ E. S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place. Toward and Renewed Understanding of the Place-Word*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1993.

² P. Ricoeur, *Pamięć, historia, zapomnienie*, Universitas, Kraków 2007.

³ Such is the opinion of E. Chmielewska who discusses the issue of memorial places in Warsaw (E. Chmielewska, *Niepamięć w upamiętnianiu: szczególność miejsc traumy a typowość pamięci w ikono sferze Warszawy*, "Rzeźba Polska", t. XIII, s. 101-106.)

⁴ P. Nora, *Realms of Memory*, Columbia University Press, New York 1996.

⁵ F. Guerin, R. Hallas, *The Image and the Witness: Trauma, Memory and Visual Culture*, qt. by: E. Chmielewska, op. cit., p. 101.

exploration of universalistic language, which is understood by victims of Nazi and also by generations of people, who did not experience the war. His monuments transcript the memory of the Second World War experience and at the same time raise problems of visual shaping of memory.

The main aim of the Nazi concentration camp in Stutthof was the extermination of Polish and Jewish population from the territory of the Free City of Danzig and Pomerania. The first transport of prisoners arrived there two days after the outbreak of the war – 1st Sept, 1939. During the 5 years of its existence Stutthof was the place where 110 000 people were kept and it is estimated that eighty per cent of them perished there. Only 200 of the prisoners were to survive. The Stutthof National Museum was established in 1962. The building of the Monument of Struggle and Martyrdom started in 1965. Its design came from Wiktor Tolkin, and the author of construction was Janusz Dembek. Tolkin described the camp area as a terra sacra. The whole of the architectural complex has a monumental character of space composition. The monument consists of two main parts which face the opposing directions: the vertical – obelisk and the horizontal – mausoleum. The eleven-meter-tall obelisk, also called Nation Forum, commemorates the chute of crematorium's ashes. In the rough surface of the walls are shown anthropological contours – traces, shadows of humans who were killed in that place. The rectangular prism, which is 48 meters tall, marks out the horizontal direction. From the side of the crematorium there is a glass wall where remains are shown. The shorter wall of the mausoleum is covered with prisoners' camp numbers who survived this harsh time. Both walls of the mausoleum present a symbolical contrast between life and death.

The German concentration camp in Lublin, called Majdanek, came into existence in autumn 1941. Prisoners came from nearly 30 countries with Polish citizens predominating – mainly Jews and Poles. Tolkin's Monument of Struggle and Martyrdom in KL Majdanek was created as a spatial structure situated along the north – south axis. The original intention of Tolkin's was to arise visitors' feelings similar to the emotions experienced by Nazi victims. By using theatrical effects Tolkin succeeded in building tension. The first element which prepares the recipient is a concrete ravine, the sides of which bristle with sharp stones. One can get there along a steep path which gives the impression of an unfriendly and hostile route. It is supposed to recreate the fear which gripped the people who were brought there in cattle trucks. The steep path symbolizes the emotions and for this reason it can be interpreted as an opening of an artistic vision. As a young man, Tolkin experienced this kind of trauma, not in Majdanek, but in Auschwitz – the name of the concentration camp, though, does not matter. In the concrete narrow passageway with frightening sharp-edged rocks which make the impression that at any moment they will tumble down on passers-by, the artist-prisoner spins his story about the man driven under rifle butts towards the gate of hell which was here on earth in the concentration camps. What could have been the feeling of the people who were driven through the camp gateway? Fear and feeling of hopelessness in the situation they were forced to face, unable to oppose the forces of evil. The effort of climbing the steep path is a premonition of danger and suffering that awaits on the other side of the gate. However, there is also another path – a narrow crack in the wall on the right hand side, giving hope and symbolizing those who survived. An enormous load of concrete pressed into the torn prism, hangs above the ground as if defying gravity, it is supported only by two square pillars. It is being interpreted as a comparison to the gates of hell from the Divine Comedy by Dante – "All hope abandon, ye who enter here". Tolkin mentions those days in one of the interviews:

I was close to death many times. The memory of Auschwitz Birkenau sticks to me most firmly. A gate opened between the tenth and eleventh block and there appeared a gigantic wagon full of corpses tossed by people called "body-porters";

arms and legs dangling over the edges. I could see the stacks of corpses also by the crematory at the camp hospital.⁶

The artist also suggests that the gate may present another ghastly vision: "clouds of squeezed people". Where would that idea come from? I understood the phrase when I read the former prisoner Zofia Posmysz's manuscript titled *Christ of Auschwitz*⁷ brought to me by Tolkin. The author describes her experiences:

(...) then again I could see "a chimney of the crematorium puking with flames", stacks of bare bodies beneath blocks, I could hear the apocalyptic tumult of the ramp, and I could smell the omnipresent, nauseating stench of the burnt human flesh.

The monumental, expressive form puts one in a meditation and sublimity state. Further in the distance, in the gap under the massive gate, one can notice another stage of the pilgrimage – Route of Homage and Memory. It is about one kilometre long and it runs from one original watchtower to another all the way to the Mausoleum. From the southern side of the Gate the asphalt road goes straight to the wide stairs. Distance created by the artist gives the visitors some time for reflection and contemplations. It is an important and dignified time. Every step moves them closer towards the highest point of the Mausoleum, where seven hundred cubic meters of human ashes are confined inside. Treating the remains as relics is a tribute to those who were killed there – and for Tolkin that is the most important matter. At this point one should interpret the Majdanek's mausoleum – as a chalice, dome, burial mound, or a sepulchral candle. Although deeply symbolic, the disturbing austerity of the architectural form is enhanced with sculpted elements. The massive disc on top of the mausoleum is surrounded by the frieze of irregular, sculptural negative forms which correspond with the abstract form of the gate. The complementing and specifying of the essence which until this moment was only sensory, however it was not articulated so far is a relief inscription Let our fate be a warning to you, placed in the central part of the frieze, right above steps. And here the pilgrimage comes to an end. For the visitors the Gate and the Mausoleum constitute the beginning and the end of the memory lane, and for the victims – it was an end of their life. The artist made this deeply moving journey into the past possible for the sensitive recipient. He made an outstanding presentation of expression that is a result of combining various elements. I mean not only architecture and sculpture here. I can also notice the artist deliberately generates emotions in recipients by means of this work. Tolkin using the appropriate graphic gradation means builds up the tension and creates experiences with the masterly skill of a theatre director. He uses psychological stimuli. His artistic work is a search – here e.g. I found the parallel between the danger of the rock hanging of the steep wall of the quarry and the shape of the Route of Memory, depicted in the form of the stone ravine of abyss. We can see that the number of visitors is more or less constant.

While analyzing Tolkin's oeuvre through his biography one cannot fail to observe a strong correlation between them. His subsequent artistic views on the form of monuments commemorating places of genocide may have crystallized during that winter night in 1941 when together with his fellow-prisoner, Tolinski, he was trying to envision the camp area development after the fall of fascism. His later work – which he considers his mission – focuses upon the commemoration of those heroic times as well as demanding that the memory of the genocide should never perish.⁸

⁶ Author's Interview with Tolkin.

⁷ Zofia Posmysz, *Christ of Auschwitz*. (Chrystus Oświęcimski), manuscript, owned by Wiktor Tolkin.

⁸ Sławomir Sierecki, *Wybieramy gdańszczanina roku. Pamięć o przeszłości zaklęta w głazy*, "Wieczór Wybrzeża" 1968, no 159, 08.07.1968.; G. Brał, *Głazy wołać będą...*, "Tygodnik Morski" 1968, no 19, p. 1,

In one interview Tolkin said: I was advocating a symbol, a drama. I knew it had to be a huge, monumental block which must be a reminder and a warning without, however, arousing sympathy. My idea is to use symbolism. (...) ⁹ These words took shape in Tolkin's monuments erected on the site of the former Nazi concentration camps. The impact of the artistic structures was strengthened by a verbal message. He did not hesitate to use stern words intended to prick people's conscience: THEY BURNT PEOPLE HERE; IF PEOPLE / KEEP QUIET / THE STONES / WILL SHOUT and LET OUR FATE / BE A WARNING / NOT A LEGEND TO YOU and also LET OUR VOICE / CONTINUE FROM GENERATION / TO GENERATION; LET OUR FATE / BE A WARNING TO YOU. Thus the artist challenges the generations to come. He demands that posterity should try to preserve the historical past, being painfully aware of the treacherous power of oblivion. Problems concerning the nature of remembering and forgetting seem to be an important thread in the analysis of the artist's oeuvre.

The war memories seem to be etched deeply in the minds and hearts of the generation which survived the gehenna of the Occupation. This reality is confirmed in all aspects of social life, also in art. It is incomparably harder to create the memory of those events among the members of the generation which did not experience the hardships of war. Is it at all possible to talk about remembering or perhaps one should rather talk about forgetting? Or perhaps it is not memory but history? If we want to appreciate the impact of Tolkin's work and specify its social functions these questions cannot be left unanswered. By employing particular forms Tolkin – just like other significant artists working in this field – strives to engender in the contemporary recipient those emotions which were experienced by the victims of historical events – prisoners of concentration camps. This is also supposed to save memories, and thus memory but at the same time to save history. Fortunately, the issue of memory has not been neglected in recent years. Quite the contrary. Since art and culture are considered in sociological terms, this issue is repeatedly being debated. Aleida Assmann, for instance, introduces the following distinction between memory and history:

History always clearly separates the present from the past, while there is no such clearcut division as far as memory is concerned. What matters most in history is the subject of investigation. Memory, however, has a very clearly defined subject whose role is of utmost importance. History seeks truth, whereas memory transmits values and norms and selects facts ¹⁰.

These words are confirmed and at the same time refuted in the work of Tolkin. Although the sculptor does not reject subjectivism in his artistic statements, he sets great store by presenting facts. THEY BURNT PEOPLE HERE – he points the posterity. And it is true – people were really burnt there. There is no falsehood, only the unity of history and memory. Memory, therefore, is also capable of telling the truth without downplaying it through selection of facts. But does not history introduce a hierarchy of events? History, just like memory, does not shy away from norms and values. History preserves the memory of both heroic and ignominious deeds. The reader succumbs to the temptation of valuing them, builds his ideals upon them and acts accordingly.

6.; M. Gajdziński, W 25-lecie powrotu Ziemi Zachodnich do Polski. "Przekazuję heroizm tamtych dni", "Słowo Powszechne" 1970, no 85, 10.04.1970.

⁹ A. Stanisławski, W 25-lecie wyzwolenia obozu Pomnik Walki i Męczeństwa na Majdanku, "Dziennik Bałtycki" 1969, no 226.

¹⁰ Aleida Assmann, Erinnerungsräume. Formen Und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses, C.H. Beck Verlag, München 1999. and Magdalena Syriusz-Wolska, Pamiętać historię/Rememberin History, [in:] Strażnicy doków/Dock Watchers, Aneta Szyłak (ed.), Instytut Sztuki Wyspa, Gdańsk 2005. qt. after P. Piotrowski, Agorafilia. Sztuka i demokracja w postkomunistycznej Europie, Rebis, Poznań 2010, p. 157.

Monuments erected in memorial places serve multifarious functions, one of them being retelling the history of the place using the language of the history of art. Here we come close to the Casseyian notion of localization. This is why many artists, while working out the concept of a monument, carry out historical studies connected with a particular place, so that its form refers to authentic events from the past. In order to become acquainted with its history it is important not only to be familiar with various documents or scholarly verified sources but also with accounts written by the witnesses. Faced with such materials the artist matches his design with a particular place and the traces of the past preserved in the countryside. His is a difficult task of telling many individual and collective stories, of presenting the uniqueness of the place without ignoring its universality, of presenting facts, memories and emotions. This task appears to be truly Herculean. This is why so many monuments have evoked so different reactions in the recipients. But these artists aim not only at recording the history of a particular place. In an interview Tolkin clearly states his task, 'I am showing the heroism of those days'. He is therefore interested not only in preserving the historical truth or presenting a kind of 'memoirs' written by witnesses of those events but also their mentality as well as in preserving that atmosphere of those days. The most difficult to describe and also to understand are the experiences, emotions, psychological foundations of moral choices of people who lived in a different space-time.

While analyzing the role of an artist in a process of remembering one should take into account the recipient who is often neglected by theoreticians. The recipient, however, is of utmost importance for the artist. To him or her is adjusted the repertoire of forms and to him or her is addressed this unique letter from and about the past. This struggle to preserve memory is waged for his or her benefit. Who is the recipient then? An individual but also a group. They come from the past – witnesses of events – from the present but also from the future. Their being underspecified does not make it difficult to deliver the message. The language of art is universal and its meaning does not change with time. The only obstacle in appreciating the work of art is the recipient's willingness to understand it or the lack thereof. The awareness of the recipients and their curiosity to know are crucial in decoding the message of a work of art and – thanks to it – the history of the place and the history of the people – the memory about them.

Transmitting history and memory in contemporary art is not identical with their preservation. It is difficult to compare the artistic media, their impact and the way certain forms of artistic creation are received, even though they belong to the same subject matter. In the case of Tolkin's works the final decision is unequivocal – preservation and homage paid through this monumental block. The form has been clearly defined and consistently executed. The artist undoubtedly preferred the concept of memorial sculpture understood as a monumental block endowed with symbolic overtones.

The artist opened this traditional view to certain tendencies favouring reorientation in the realm of twentieth century sculpture. One must mention here the anti-illusionistic connections between the sculpture and its surroundings and its dynamic relations with the viewer which resulted in the psychologization of effects and emphasizing the fact of the existence of the experience in time. However, he decidedly rejects both accident and conceptual visions of the so-called counter-monuments.

The issue of memory and history resulting from the subject of monumental sculpture is submitted to another important force – it is enmeshed in politics. It may not have any impact either on the works created in Western Europe, or on their theoretical considerations on this matter. Polish experience, however, proves beyond doubt to what extent politics can influence art. Politics uses the propaganda function of a monument which is irrevocably bound to it. A monument as an object existing in a particular space becomes a medium transmitting certain essence, including a given outlook on life and set of values which – consequently – involves a

kind of dissonance since the sender of the message is heterogeneous. His nature is at least dualist: he is a customer and an artist. The customer, in turn, is also dichotomous, because he can be an antagonist towards the recipient, or he can be a protagonist, in that he expresses the general will of recipients. The artist, in creating a work of art, is dependent both on his patron and the recipient.

These changes of society's memory always depend on the politics and authorities ruling the country. Polish society can be said to neatly exemplify this process – the transformation of the state system being undertaken twenty years ago, it gives a good opportunity to observe those dynamic changes. The character of the society is of extreme importance in this process. In order to fully grasp this problem one should take into account numerous aspects concerning this group: mentality, religiousness, cultural differences between social classes and cultural differences between education levels.

Education has a great impact on the process of shaping the memory of the new society. In the past, during the Communist rule in Poland, information and education were being controlled in accordance with the directives of the Communist government. Nowadays the relations between the government, education and science are decidedly positive. The process of remembering is stimulated and preserved by the state administration, museums and other cultural establishments and also by the education system in Poland. But one should remember that the deciding factor is people's individual sensibility. The analysis of this factor is invariably neglected by scientists and the analytical methods employed by them unfortunately fail to prove it.

Cultural memory is a process evolving in time. The artist always presents his or her own individual memories contained in the universal cultural memory but at the same time they connect the individual and popular understanding of these problems. The artefacts enter into a dialog with the new generations of recipients and transfer individual tensions/emotions of the artist into individual feelings of viewers, which in turn shapes the popular memory of the new society.

Historical consciousness in the cultural memory is the subject of sociological research. Carried out in Poland by the Institute of Sociology, the University of Warsaw, it focusses on the transformation of the historical consciousness of Polish intelligentsia in the period 1965-1988.¹¹ The material for analysis was collected by means of questionnaires. The aspect of transformation of the historical consciousness is particularly important, because it is related to the artistic form of a sculpture. This process has two channels of transmission – official and unofficial – which have much in common. The official channel, being controlled by the state system, depends on the political situation. The ramifications of this situation are clearly visible in art: the monument commemorating the Heroes of Warsaw Uprising (in August 1944) could not have materialized because the combatants fought not only against fascism, but also against Stalinism.

The differences in the attitude towards various memorial forms are clearly visible when it comes to the division between formal and informal monuments. Poles, for instance, generally disapproved of the so-called Monuments of Gratitude for the Soviet Army erected by the government in most Polish cities and towns. On the other hand, illegal placing of crosses and lighting candles in the battlefields of the Polish Home Army was fought against by authorities. The common ground for both groups was the erection of monuments of martyrdom in the former concentration camps.

¹¹ B. Szacka, A. Sawisz, *Czas przeszły i pamięć społeczna. Przemiany świadomości historycznej inteligencji polskiej 1965-1988*, [in:] *Studia nad świadomością historyczną*, vol. 3, Instytut Socjologii Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warszawa 1990.

Monuments of martyrdom have dual nature: commemoration, and telling a story of a particular place.¹² The story is told in forms contemporary to the time of the construction of the monument. The process of shaping forms of monuments of martyrdom is documenting the process of presenting history. This aspect touches the problem of the context of places: authentic events in concentration camps and story behind the original surviving objects. Artists base their work on historical knowledge. While designing the monument they conduct historical studies and analyze survivors' accounts. Afterwards sculptors search for an artistic form which sends the symbolic message and shapes historical discourse.



¹² James E. Young, *The Art. Of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, [in:] *The Art. of Memory, Holocaust Memorials in History*, New York 1994, Jewish Museum.

Collecting Social Memory through Museum Collection Conservation

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The traditional role of the conservator has been associated with the preservation of the tangible aspect of cultural heritage. Conservation science has been mainly developing along with material science and conservators have focused their efforts on the preservation of the tangible nature of artefacts. In numerous cases this practice has led to the underestimation of the intangible content of objects of cultural heritage in terms of the conservation methodology and practice applied.

The traditional conservation principle of minimal intervention is gaining new meaning, as we have come to realise that an artefact’s material and structural integrity interrelates and sometimes comes to conflict with possible evidence of significant historical and social memory content. As social memory is related to the experiences of individual members of the society, conservators must develop approaches of documentation and conservation methodologies in order to identify, document and eventually preserve the memory reflections of the represented societies by preserving the artefact’s intangible content. It becomes apparent that in order to safeguard the artefacts’ social and historical integrity and contribute towards the perception, appreciation and understanding of the cultural heritage, the conservators have to preserve and document the artefact’s intangible content that reflects social memory.

COLLECTING SOCIAL MEMORY THROUGH MUSEUM COLLECTION CONSERVATION

The professional discipline of conservation has always been directly dependent on the conceptual content of "Cultural Heritage". Term, which for decades described only material cultural property with aesthetic (The SPAB Manifesto, 1877; The Athens Charter, 1931) and / or historical value (The Venice Charter, 1964). As a result, conservation science has been traditionally associated with the protection and conservation of the material substance of cultural heritage and it has evolved along the discipline of material science.

But in recent decades, the term "Cultural Heritage" has undergone a series of alterations and conceptual enlargements, including, at first, the concept of natural heritage (UNESCO, 1972) and more recently, the intangible cultural heritage (UNESCO, 1989; UNESCO 2003). Result of these alterations and enlargements, is the term of cultural heritage, to refer to all cultural evidence that fall into one of the following three interdependent and complementary subcategories:

1. "Tangible Heritage" that designates monument, group of buildings or site as well as movable artefacts of historical, aesthetic, archaeological, scientific, ethnological or anthropological value.
2. "Intangible Heritage" that designates oral traditions, expressions, language, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, traditional craftsmanship, and knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe.
3. "Natural Heritage" that designates outstanding physical, biological and geological features; habitats of threatened plants or animal species and areas of value on scientific or aesthetic grounds or from a conservation perspective.

Such changes, and primarily the incorporation of intangible cultural heritage, could not leave the conservation practice and the role of conservation professionals (the interdisciplinary group of professionals, such as conservators, archaeologists, chemists, ethnographers etc., who collaborate for the documentation, conservation and preservation of cultural property) unaffected. The role of conservator has evolved from the limited "technical examination, preservation, and conservation-restoration of cultural property" (ICOM-CC, 1984), to the broader professional description assigned by ECCO (2002), where "The Conservator-Restorer contributes to the perception, appreciation and understanding of cultural heritage in respect of its environmental context and its significance and physical properties". It is clear, ECCO (European Confederation of Conservator-Restorers' Organisations) recognises that evidences of material cultural heritage are (or could be) carriers of intangible content, which is related to the natural and social environment that created them, a content useful for their comprehensive understanding. Consequently, the conservator is gaining responsibility to contribute to the recognition and documentation of the intangible content of material evidence and to safeguard it for future generations equally with the material substance of the evidence, by developing appropriate documentation and conservation methods and practices. The above proposition of course, raises a number of questions and concerns about:

- the nature of the material evidence (martyrs) of intangible cultural content,
- the methodology that the conservator should follow towards their recognition,
- the procedures for the evaluation of their cultural value and
- the methodology to safeguard them over time.

Questions and concerns that cannot be easily answered unilaterally by the traditional view, through material science, which leads to problematic practices of devaluation (or non-

identification) of the intangible content of material culture, thus altering tangible (material) evidence of the intangible cultural heritage. Instead, it is necessary to develop new inter/intra-disciplinary methodologies, which will penetrate and bridge sciences and humanities.

Under this perspective, we could conceptualise and describe the intangible cultural content of the material heritage as material evidence (martyrs) of an artefact that could irritate the natural (biological) processes of memory reflections of the members of the society associated. In other words, evidence of material culture is loaded with memories of the social environment that created it and the social group that is represented; load that is carried by particular material evidence (martyrs) and through them the collective social memory is bequeathed from generation to generation. It becomes apparent that in order to safeguard the artefacts' social and historical integrity and contribute towards the perception, appreciation and understanding of the cultural heritage, the conservators have to contribute towards the preservation and documentation of the artefact's intangible content that reflects social memory in relation to the associated experiences of individual members of the society. The following three cases are representative examples of material cultural evidence of intangible heritage and they provide a comprehensive understanding of their nature.



Image 1: leather shoes, Florina Folklore and Tradition Network, Greece

In the first case (image 1), a pair of leather shoes are presented, from one of the collections of the “Florina Folklore and Tradition Network”, Greece, whose material evidence of intangible heritage was hidden in the mud that was present on them. In an attempt to preserve as much as possible the historical integrity of the shoes, it was decided not to detach the piece of mud that had imprints of socks. Apart from the fact that this element was part of the object's

history, it provides useful information about the customs and the artefact technology of costumes (Malea E and Tampaka A., 2010)

In the second case (Image 2), there is a direct conflict between tangible and intangible content as religious (intangible) content, which is the material of the stain, interferes with the preservation and the aesthetic result of the object. An ecclesiastical liturgical covering (from the Kechrovouni Monastery, Tinos island, Greece) used by priests to cover the Chalice containing the Holy Communion, was stained by the Communion, which in Orthodox Christian Church is red wine. Conservators decided not to remove the stain as it was considered to be “sacred”. This is a good example of the interrelation between conservation practice and the nature of cultural evidence, taking into account the social and religious structure that the artefact represents.



Image 2: Chalice cover cloth, Kechrovouni Monastery, Tinos island, Greece

As a third case we could refer to the artefacts that have been retrieved from a number of Greek villages that were burned to the ground by the Nazis, during the 2nd World War. Such artefacts have been collected and preserved by the local communities as evidence of the traumatic experience and in memory of the burnt important community sites, like church and schools. Material evidences of the fire is usually apparent on these artefacts' surface. They are these evidences that preserves memory reflections of the local communities and their historical significance could be evaluated as more important than the artefacts' aesthetic characteristics. Regarding conservation approach, although the preservation state of such artefacts (by technical terms that evaluate the material condition of the artefacts) could be considered poor, conservators could decided to preserve the material evidences of the dramatic historic event (smoke deposits, signs of vandalism, ect.) to their original scale if they are not causing problems to the material integrity of the artefacts (memory carriers) themselves.

From the above, it is readily understood that conservation professionals must develop and practice *dialectical* documentation methodologies that will facilitate the understanding of cultural significance through consideration of material and non-material substance of cultural heritage in relation, contradiction and synthesis of the natural and social environment that represents through time.

Of course, the dialectic approach introduces several problems in cases where the artefact is a material evidence of ancient civilisations, as it requires a holistic¹ understanding of the society that created it, something that it is difficult to be achieved. On the other hand, if the considered material culture is part of leaving heritage, like in the cases of most ethnographic and folklore collections, conservation professionals along with the traditional systematic scientific documentation, could contact and refer to the members of the relevant society in order to collect and document their memory reflections and safeguard the artefacts' conceptual characteristics towards a comprehensive understanding of artefacts' historical and aesthetic cultural value.

In a pilot implementation of the proposed methodology, during the documentation and conservation project of the fourteen collections that form the “Network of Folklore and Tradition of Florina” (Greece), undertaken by the Department of Conservation of Antiquities and Works of Art of the Technological Educational Institute (T.E.I.) of Athens (2008), the conservation team had the opportunity to collect some interesting data (results). Due to a vast amount of undocumented artefacts that were collected by the Network's members and the short time given for the implementation of the project, the conservation crew decided to invite members of the local communities represented by the collections in order to assist the documentation research. Participating local residences were asked to tour conservators between the artefacts of their villages' collections and tell them what they could remember about them. The “tours” took place in five (5) most characteristic collections and they were all video recorded for further study and to be used in the documentation procedures of the project. The result was more than five hours of video recording with significant information. Collected data was related to the use of the artefacts, their typology and dating but, in a number of cases unexpected and interesting associated information was collected through the residences personal memories. Among the most characteristic were:

- Some recipes and traditional cooking practices.
- A historic folklore song.
- A number of traditions and festivities (some of them are not practised today).
- Traditional crafts and the local practitioners.
- And the historic events that were associated with some of the artefacts.

The question, however, on the evaluation of cultural significance remains; such an approach has the risk of endless theoretical searches and “historisation” of everything. At this point, we should not oversee that it is significant to preserve all forms of heritage on equal terms so as to maintain and promote cultural diversity which is as necessary as biodiversity and is the common heritage of humanity (UNESCO, 2001), and as cultural “evolution” is as dynamic process for societies as dynamic is the biological evolution for biodiversity, we could suggest that despite the preservation efforts of conservation professionals, society evaluates and chooses what it is worth to be preserved for future generations; rejecting (forgetting) what has no cultural significance and preserving (remembering) what has, in a deterministic evolution process of cultural diversity.

In addition to the above, it can also be said that the traditional conservation principles, such as minimal intervention is gaining new meaning, as we have come to realise that an artefact's material and structural integrity interrelates and sometimes comes in conflict with possible evidence of significant historical and social memory content carried by the artefact.

¹ The holistic understanding of a civilisation (or a social group) refers to the comprehensive understanding of social systemic taking under consideration both the physical and spiritual nature and practices of society.

In conclusion, we have to realise that as society we have to pass on to future generations our cultural heritage and as conservation professionals we have the responsibility to preserve the tangible – evidence of remembering (memory) and safeguard the intangible from being forgotten by inter/intra discipline scientific approach and collaboration beyond the traditional material science methodologies.

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This is Our Place?
Reflections on Place, Identity and Citizenship

Empowering the Unprivileged: The Case of Self-renovation in Disadvantaged Areas

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In the 90's, several European governments promoted the involvement of inhabitants as an important condition of success in urban regeneration projects. The dialogue with inhabitants was supposed to strengthen a collective movement in the neighbourhoods, to restore social and territorial cohesion and create a local identity among the residents of disadvantaged areas. However, a number of issues can be raised regarding this policy: the commitment of the inhabitants in the decision-making process is difficult to ascertain, especially throughout the whole duration of the project, and in relation to the management of the different stages of the project; it is not always easy to achieve consensus, etc. In particular, it is hard for the project managers to involve the most unprivileged groups, notably people suffering from a combination of social, legal and financial problems. The stake here is not simply their participation in a project, but more specifically their “empowerment”. In this framework, the methods of the French non-profit organization Les Compagnons Bâisseurs are instructive. They provide micro solutions to people living in poor housing conditions through the conception and the implementation of a self-renovation process. The organization proposes technical and financial support so that the most disadvantaged groups can renovate their flats. However, the goal is not only to ameliorate the material living conditions; through the organization of workshops in the neighbourhood, the participation of the inhabitants in the renovation work, the coordination between the team of Compagnons Bâisseurs and social workers, the social inclusion of the most unprivileged groups can be promoted.

EMPOWERING THE UNPRIVILEGED: THE CASE OF SELF-RENOVATION IN DISADVANTAGED AREAS

In the 90's, several European governments promoted the involvement of inhabitants as an important condition of success in local development policies as well as urban regeneration projects. The dialogue with inhabitants was supposed to strengthen collective movements through local and democratic authorities, to restore social and territorial cohesion in the neighbourhoods and create a local identity among the residents of disadvantaged areas. However, a number of issues can be raised related to the commitment of the inhabitants in the decision-making process.

Whatever the aims and the features of these initiatives, the impact of the involvement of residents generally depends on the approach, which will be selected in order to favour the dialogue with inhabitants (inform, communicate, involve participants in the decision making process). Moreover, it is very difficult to maintain a high degree of participation throughout the whole duration of a project.

- The whole population of a high-rise estate can reach ten thousand people. In that context, the community life is not locally so well structured (through tenants associations, sports associations, cultural centres, etc.), so the inhabitants will have few opportunities to communicate and formulate needs and expectations when they face institutional representatives.
- Moreover, a project is often developed in a long-term perspective and does not respond to the daily problems of the inhabitants.

For these reasons, it is not always easy to achieve consensus. In particular, it is hard for the project managers to involve the most unprivileged groups, notably people suffering from a combination of social, legal and financial problems. The stake here is not simply their participation in a project, but more specifically their “empowerment”.

Today I will focus on the most unprivileged people of these districts, those we do not use to see in the local instance or even talk about because of their social disaffiliation and their distance to the labour market. Who are they? How can associations or public bodies succeed in empowering them? To what extent can they also develop sustainable relationships so that they can say: “This is my place”? Here lies the purpose of my presentation.

THE DIFFICULTY TO INVOLVE THE UNPRIVILEGED PEOPLE IN A DEPRIVED AREA: A FEW SHADES OF NUANCES

There are often shades of nuances to notice when it comes to describing the population of a deprived area. The residents of the disadvantaged areas are often conceived as a homogenous group and sometimes categorized in terms of ethnic features and class position. This process of categorization is not explicit but is quite easy to understand if we consider the ongoing political debates on migration and multiculturalism today in Europe (Mac Schane 2010, The Telegraph 2011) or more formally the trends that are observed in the management of the lists of public housing: jeopardization of the residents in the public housing stock, “ethnicization” of the so-called segregated areas, etc (Scanlon et al., 2007).

However, residents of a high-rise estate are not systematically synonymous either with unprivileged groups or immigration. At the micro level, we can easily demonstrate that the social composition in segregated neighbourhoods varies from one neighbourhood to another. In France, for example, the district Le plateau in Champigny has different types of housing stock and is composed of different social groups while other districts are quite homogenous such as Dutemple in Valenciennes where several hundreds of coal miner families live. Le Clos Saint-Lazare in the north of Paris is a district where the associations have made a census

of 50 different nationalities. In short, the social composition can in fact be very heterogeneous from one district to another but also within a particular district.

In broad terms, these shades of nuances explain why we have to consider certain households as more unprivileged than others within deprived areas. These households have to deal with a combination of problems such as familial, social, linguistic, economic, administrative, legal, financial and psychological difficulties. The characteristic of unprivileged people who are often described as unemployed and receive basic welfare benefits (income support, child benefit, allowances for isolated parents, etc) is not sufficient in itself.

The combination of problems such as illiteracy, excessive debt and illness leads to extreme situations in housing. Let's take a few examples:

1. The households often have to face conflicts within the family unit or with a landlord because of a rental debt and their situation leads to an eviction.
2. Because of the overcrowded situation in housing, the accommodation is quickly deteriorated and many families do not have the financial and technical resources to renovate it.
3. Many of these persons do not know their rights and duties in terms of rental maintenance. Certain lonesome persons suffer from depression and do not even open the letters they receive.

Due to the complexity of the situations, the management is difficult for the institutions. Some households have to deal with several institutional representatives at the same time such as the job centre, social work or the familial allowance fund. The difficulty to find an adapted response to their cases causes distrust towards any form of participation or dialogue. As a consequence, a certain number of these people stay outside of the public devices and do not participate in initiatives organized in their districts. It is precisely those people whom the association try to involve in a self-renovation project.

SELF-RENOVATION METHOD: A GLOBAL APPROACH TO THE HOUSEHOLD'S DIFFICULTIES

In this framework, the methods of the non-profit organization Les Compagnons Bâisseurs are instructive. They provide micro solutions to people living in poor housing conditions through the conception and the implementation of a self-renovation process. The main objective is to place these households in the centre of the renovation process and make them participate in the improvement of their living conditions.

In general terms, the association develops a set of methods which respond to specific territorial features: (i) renovation project in accommodations and workshops for the high-rise estates, (ii) complete renovations for independent houses in the sub-urban or rural sectors and (iii) experiments related to specific problems such as housing for elderly or adapted housing projects for the Gypsy community. My argument only focuses on the collective projects implemented in the high-rise estates. In 2006, 25 projects were implemented in deprived areas and high-rise estates. These projects allowed intervening with 400 households.

The organization proposes a global approach in order to resolve social, technical and financial problems so that the most disadvantaged groups can renovate their flats themselves. The goal is not only to ameliorate the material living conditions; the association Les Compagnons Bâisseurs is well known for its ability to combine different supports in order to formalize an adapted project that respects the will of the residents. The representatives association and their financial partners use to say that this kind of action recovers several vocations. In that way, these activities can be considered as a hybrid approach that at the same

time includes technical advice during the renovation, time of socialization, social orientation and financial support.

I would like to stress two themes related to these actions: how the association improved the autonomy of the households in their daily life and how they promoted mutual aid and favoured social exchange during the renovation process.

THE COMMITMENT OF THE HOUSEHOLDS SUPPORTED BY A PEDAGOGICAL APPROACH

First, the renovation does not only provide adapted responses according to dysfunctional aspects of the accommodation but aims at improving the autonomy of the households in their daily life: to structure the life of the households between working hours and spare time, to propose different levels of inclusion during the housing renovation, to broach the difficulties of the households within the different dimensions of the project (how to manage a budget, respect a timing, the duty of landlords and residents in terms of maintenance, etc.).

However, the purpose of the association is not to change an unprivileged household into responsible and independent residents. The idea is to provide the pleasure that the renovation of one's own place can imply and bring into light competence and abilities developed by the households. It is the project manager of the association who has the responsibility to place the household in the centre of the project. His role is technical, pedagogic and social. What does it mean concretely?

- The first step aims at gaining the household's confidence and promoting the commitment of the beneficiary before and during the project. He/she develops small tricks in order to favour an equal relationship in order to explain the approach of the association and the positive aspects related to the renovation. "The pedagogical work begins during my first visit to the household. I do not say 'me' but rather 'we' when I present the project, in order to appear as a support rather than a rescuer. It is an attitude that inspires confidence. With this kind of approach, we efface the tragic dimension linked to the acquisition of competence and technical gestures", argues for example one of the project managers of the association (Foultier et al., 2007).
- The second step aims at co-designing the renovation project together with the participants. The household and the project manager define priorities according to the wish of the household, the budget, the technical limits as well as the ability and competence of the participant. It is the household who proposes the nature and the scope of the renovation (selection of material, colour of painting, etc.). It means that the person is able to define his/her priorities and becomes the player of her own project.
- The third step is to define the role of the household in the renovation process. "Self participation" means that the participant has to implement the renovation project. It is important to stress this point because all the beneficiaries do not have the same capacity to renovate a flat. One participant may have professional experience in the construction industry, whereas another suffers from heavy physical or mental handicaps. According to the situation, the level of participation is co-designed by the manager of the project and the participant in order to fit the skills and the resources of the participant.

The project manager develops daily relations with a household. The social dimension of his/her intervention refers for example to the time he dedicates to listening to the beneficiaries who express his/her difficulties when it comes to choosing the material and negotiating the

design according to the budget, or still in the friendly exchanges maintained throughout the construction site (meals for example). The conversations gradually lead the participant to develop ties of confidence with the manager and communicate key aspects of his/her life that are useful in order to understand the difficulties that impact on the involvement of the participant on the construction site.

To conclude the point, the relationship is built between the players on the basis of the project and the progress of the renovation site. It is important to stress that the objectives are visible and concrete. It contributes to stimulating the participants as they consider that the objectives of the renovation are reachable.

THE ART OF ARTICULATING THE PRIVATE SPHERE AND THE COLLECTIVE LIFE

An interesting principle promoted by the Compagnons Bâisseurs aims at promoting three inclusion levers during the implementation of the renovation in a high-rise estate. The basic idea is to find the nexus between the private sphere of the participant and the collective life.

First, the association proposes “a mutual aid” between all the participants of the housing renovation process. This aid is open to all the neighbours and family members. In clear, the association suggests that the participant invite people to give a hand at the construction site: the volunteers of the association, previous participants, members of the family, neighbours and other participants. There are no hierarchical relations between the protagonists at the renovation site. Rather, the project is formed through interaction, with an exchange parity, something that can be opposed to the formal relationships in an institutional framework.

Second, the association plans workshops and collective animations in order to favour competence acquisition and social exchange between the participants who are committed in the renovation process. These collective animations, which are co-organized with different public services and associations, concern the maintenance of the housing (energy conservation, prevention of accidents in the home, tenants’ rights and duties, social rights, legal dispositions related to discrimination, etc.) and technical workshops (installation of wallpaper, installation of shelf, elaboration of doors of cupboard, etc.).

Third, the coordinator tries to develop connections with multiple partners at the end of the renovation process. In sociological terms, the coordinator tries to develop weak ties with all the civil and institutional players in order to favour the social inclusion of the participants. Certain evaluations mention that this is one of the most difficult aspects of the self-renovation process because the orientation of the participant depends on the existing players and partnership network as well as the community life that is developed in the deprived area.

All these aspects stress the important role of the representatives of the association (manager of a site, coordinator of the project, etc) who have to face on the one hand the expectations of the institutions and financial partners in terms of efficiency and results and on the other the constant difficulty to coordinate the activities, to respect the timing of the renovation and to respect the degree of involvement of each participant.

It explains why they coordinate the whole renovation process within a political instance and an operational unit. The commitment of a coordinator leads the association to face the institutions, to question their objectives and propose candidates. In clear, the population, the budget and the area targeted are negotiated with the politicians rather than accepted. The selection of participants has to be negotiated within an operational partnership. The difficulties that the project managers face during the implementation of the renovation also have to be discussed in time.

IMPACT OF THE RENOVATION PROCESS ON THE PEOPLE

I mentioned above that there is a category of people suffering from multi-dimensional problems. The hybrid method developed by the association provides multiple solutions to this group, as regards the scope of the renovation and the needs that are formulated by households. Let's take a few examples.

The adaptability of the household to the renovated flat

The renovation process and the mutual aid generally allow the re-mobilization of the household in organizing and maintaining the accommodation (clearing and cleaning of rooms by the households before the beginning of the renovation process).

Several examples illustrate the desire of the beneficiaries to re-appropriate their living space. In Marseille, a housewife realized that she could coat and paint the walls of the living room and the hall herself. In Rennes, a woman wished to embellish her accommodation although she did not have the time and money to do it: "Finally, I am able to decorate my apartment." These persons discover the basic feeling: "It's good to be at home."

The housing renovation strengthens the family relations.

The renovation is an opportunity to structure the life of the families within an accommodation. This process represents an opportunity for single family parents to design a place for their child, a room dedicated to their games, their school work and so on. It can also represent an opportunity to manage a conflict between parents and teenagers since some of them can participate in different tasks during the renovation, take place in the renovation and express their choice.

Self-respect is a trigger mechanism that favours the inclusion process

The fulfilment of the renovation represents a real possibility to conquer self-respect. The beneficiary finds a place in the construction site, gradually forms herself through the tasks but also within the teamwork. The self-respect is actually the first step towards social and professional insertion. M. R. illustrates it perfectly in this process: "For me the project was an important moment in order to regain confidence. It is connected to the recognition of others... I had the impression that I was useful. I was experienced in painting. When there were skirting boards to paint, it was for me. I had not worked for many years and the renovation allowed me to understand things for the future. For example, in a protected environment (an association of insertion for example), I can make things. The project allowed me to fix purposes for myself." A few experimentations in Bordeaux between the social services, associations that promote employability and the Compagnons Bâisseurs show that the self-respect acquired during the renovation process is a powerful lever that can lead to professional opportunities.

The mutual aid, the teamwork and the collective workshops are levers for a better access to public services and for the improvement of the institutional relationship

The renovation process allows participants to reach services and assert their rights. The repercussions of a project are often the result of collaboration as well as intense exchanges on the ways of life of some and/or on the functioning of such and such service. In Bordeaux, Rennes, Castres or Marseille, the project managers of the Compagnons Bâisseurs who perceive the difficulties and problems raised in a family, have a favourable position in order to orient the households to public services (schools,

social services), services of care (dentists, doctors), associations (elimination of illiteracy, recreational activities for the children). In Bordeaux, for example, R. had enough confidence in herself to renew the links with the school where her child was registered: “Today, I have less difficulty to get in touch with people, in particular at the school of my daughter. I make contact with the teacher. I am not so shy as before, I feel less isolated.”

A FEW WORDS TO CONCLUDE

I have presented a limited view of the work that is implemented by this association. For instance, I have not brought into perspective the partnership that is necessary to lead this kind of project at the local, regional and national level.

I did not even mention the limits that the staff of the association is confronted with. For example, many politicians and technicians involved in the decisional process consider that the cost of this action is too high. In more general terms, the action is recognized and carried out locally but despite their lobbying at the national level, they do not have institutional recognition on a national scale. The self-renovation process remains a micro-solution, which is considered as a good experimentation by local developers.

The most important aspects that I have wanted to bring to light in this paper are linked first to the ability to promote a social inclusion process through a housing renovation. In my mind, finding a place to live is constitutive of our identity and it represents one of the first steps of the inclusion process. In that sense the housing policy is very close to the social policy.

The second major idea is that public authorities have the capacity to structure and to favour social innovations through this kind of housing programmes. But these initiatives are not sufficient by themselves. It is necessary to leave the logic of control, which prevails in the evaluations of public programs, and promote social innovation in the civil society.

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**Transport Planning under Pressure.
Socio-cultural Dimensions and Critical
Perspectives in Transport and Mobility Research**

Uses and Interactions: Barcelona’s Metro

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Ecology of the Metro implies recognition of two interventions, on one hand, contributions in terms of configuring space, management of stations and facilities, on the other, participation of those who transit and through use transform but are also transformed. The user-space interaction emerges as shaper and recipient of environments. Beyond its structures and functioning as part of the city, the Metro operates as a framework of representation, which responds to historic, economic, political and social dimensions. From a situated and interactionist perspective, this paper focuses on these interconnected aspects that result in the performance of the actors, as well as, the performance of the actors as a trigger for these processes. This is part of ethnographic work done in Barcelona’s Metro, through micro-study it attends to the relationship between social actors and space from which it underlines aspects of mobility, control, interaction and production of environments.

MOBILITY AND CONTROL

For several decades the partnership between private companies and public administration in the city of Barcelona marks a period of speculation related to the sale of land. As a result evictions have been carried out sometimes forced, in search of abandoned buildings and in view of remodeling or demolition, affecting sectors with fewer resources. This process known as property mobbing, coincides with significant changes in the urban landscape, <<Barcelona get beautiful>> is the slogan of the campaign promoted by the city council. This urban sanitizing has led to the gentrification of certain neighborhoods. The rise of the tertiary sector has gone hand in hand with these changes while trying to cover-up the social needs of its inhabitants. The projects, construction and the arrival of Metro in certain parts of the city has implied a rise in the price of land use and sale, as well as of the residential buildings around it; on a functional level their proximity is understood as an improvement in the quality of life.

Using the Metro is for many people an indispensable means of public transport as part of urban life. It's considered within the discourse of sustainability to be quick, efficient and less polluting. In the field of human geography, the movement of persons is governed by "the principles of spatial behavior: complementarity, accessibility and supply of opportunities" determined by convergence of space-time and cost- space factors (Ullman, 1957; in Zárte, 1991). Portability or accessibility, defined as

people's ability to overcome the distances between centers of activity, is shown not only as an expression of social differentiation, but as a component of quality of life and element that enforces social contrasts, inequalities in income and access to opportunities, goods and services. Greater the ability to move greater is the power and influence of individuals on resources (Zárte 1991:202).

Accessing the Metro area leads us to consider first its spatial dimension. This is an urban space, not only as a space within the city, but as

a space-time differentiated for a particular type of human gathering [...] in which there is widespread and constant exchange of information and is structured by mobility". It is also a public space where "relations among individuals that coincide physically and in passing a place of transit [carry out] a series a mutual adjustments and accommodations to adapt to the ephemeral association that they establish" (Delgado, 2011:15–18).

It is private space as much as a place of legal restriction. In any case it is an ideologically representative space that responds to issues that go beyond the entrance to the premises of a public transport system. Control of entry under precepts of civility and security, have converted it into an institutionally sacred space, where in addition to controlling entrance to the premises there are attempts to monitor user-behavior considered 'out of place'. The constant presence of security guards, surveillance cameras, and announcements are examples of this.

USERS, FACILITIES AND OBJECTS

An individual's mobility is expressed through gestures, postures and body motions. "Interpret a body means to interpret a society and vice versa" (Horta, 2004: 41). From the kinesics of bodies, unbundled in kinemes (Birdwhistell, 1979) body movements and proxemics inform us of perceptions, learning and adaptation to space (Hall, 1973, 1989). Body techniques (Mauss, [1936] 1971) takes shape in the symbolic system of each society subject to the dynamics of each context (Horta, 2004: 39–40). The rules of behavior are related to obligations and expectations related to a moral order (Goffman, 1967:49) therefore also a symbolic order.

Urbanity, courtesy, good manners, good conduct, good education [...] seem like words [...] stale or forgotten [...] but draw attention to an apparent fashion called the protocol fever (Guereña 2005:11–26).

Body movements, postures and facial expressions of frequent users tend to stay in a rigid

and tense state, which is maintained all along their journey. Unlike the casual users whose expressions appear relaxed. The expression of people of different age groups is notable, especially of children still learning behavior patterns, who shatter the atmosphere with spontaneous reactions. The relationships between space- environment, and between body-gesture, are linked to corporal limits but also to social boundaries.

The following situation observed at the entrance of Plaza Cataluña Metro station, located at the top of the Rambla refers to body movement and appropriateness to place. There were observed extra-daily (Barba, 1991:23) expressions of some transients. In the lobby enter two youths between 17–20 years old; one of them dancing shakes her head and body while drawing out entry tickets from the vending machines. Near them, on the turnstiles there are two security guards with a dog who although has a muzzle, starts barking and pulling the leash towards the dancing girl. The guard shouts loudly in Spanish, "aquí no se baila!" (no dancing here) . The other guard, a woman, tells the dog "it's nothing, it's nothing " while petting it. The girls seem frightened telling the dog "no, no, no, no"; they put their tickets into the slot quickly entering the Metro (May 14, 2010, 17:45).

The entrances of Barcelona's Metro, unlike other cities (for example Brussels, Berlin) is marked by a line on the ground. Here, two entry systems are used: one with turnstiles and other with glass doors that work automatically, in both a ticket needs to be introduced. In the act of placing the ticket in the slot there are differences, at the turnstiles, the ticket should be placed on the left side to pass from the right; unlike the entrances with sliding glass doors where the ticket goes on the right and one enters from the left. This move might seem simple at first glance but requires adaptation and learning. Through observation, without any interviews, you can be aware of who uses this transport often and who are occasional or novice.

Inside the wagons there are video cameras for surveillance hidden in television screens just like on the streets in lampposts, others are placed in corridors, platforms, elevators and escalators. Transit in the metro facilities – as well as in the city – implies knowing to be under surveillance (Foucault The interaction that occurs under the awareness of being observed provokes a state of extra-consciousness, which is observed in body movements regarding the externalization of individual actions. That is to say, display behavior implies in any case the transformations of the actor (Goffman, [1971] 1979: 30, 1991:211, [1975] 2006:195). In the Metro premises legal restrictions go beyond the hunting of people without tickets, they have been extended to the persecution of people without papers (residency permissions). The use of video cameras exposes Metro users to a constant analysis of their routines, a practice also extended to several public places in the city. Converting it to "a territory [...] of exposure, with the double sense of exhibition and risk" (Delgado, 2011:19) where are present the terrifying limits of public space, the terror of identification and the terror of invasion (Joseph [1984], 2002: 17).

The principles of the symbolic transformation about privatizing public space proposed by Lofland, apply to behavior observed in the Metro: minimize expressivity; minimize body contact; look before you sit; minimize eye contact; when in doubt flee; when in doubt disattend. (1985:151–157). Social interaction, "occurs only in social situations, where two or more individuals are in the presence of their respective physical responses" (Goffman, 1991: 168).

In the metro more than in any other public space, face to face, body to body contact with strangers is inevitable and almost forced in view of the closeness of spatial distances. In older wagons (Series 2100) that are still being used, there is seating for four people where the distance between facing seats is 55 cm, in these should fit the legs of two seated people. Spaces are minimal and depending on the built of people there are occasions that cause collisions that are tried to be avoided at all costs. In new trains (Series 9000) the seats are attached to the walls with which the 'danger' of collision is not so outright unless the wagon is full. Being a

small enclosed space, proximity to strangers poses a different state of meanings, therefore the attempt is, as far as possible, to avoid any contact: to touch, to talk, to see and to be seen.

During working hours, some inspectors of TMB (Transports Metropolitans de Barcelona) have devices to check validity of tickets. Security guards -of a private firm- wear fluorescent orange, in their belts carry batons, handcuffs, walkie-talkie, usually go in pairs, if alone they are accompanied by German shepherd dogs which are muzzled. The inspections observed generally coincided with solicitation and tracking of people with appearance of immigrants with few economic resources; not with appearance of foreigners (which is often how more affluent immigrants refer to themselves) nor with the appearance of tourists.

In these inspections they were asked for the ticket to check if they had paid their entry, some were taken out of the wagon and onto the street. Once driven outside the metro installations by workers, on the exit stairs they were delivered to undercover cops disguised as hippies and rockers, who after making a verbal exchange with mossos d' esquadra -regional police- asked the detainees for documents, afterwards making them sign a paper, finally they were introduced in vans without windows. (August 16, 2010 at 19:25_Metro line 2, Clot station exit crossing Rambla Guipúzcoa / Meridiana).

This type of situation leads us to wonder about the performative nature of relations in public (Goffman [1959] 2009, [1971] 1979). Is it necessary 'to act like a tourist' to get a wider range of benefits from action in a public space? There is a stigmatization against people based on appearance that, beyond personal identity is identified by a social identity (Goffman [1963] 2008: 72–85). The appearance is crucial in the interaction as indicator related to the location with respect to origin, but also as an indicator of what is appropriate with regard to how to act (Lofland [1973] 1985:84–85).

The corporation has disparate treatment for different users at different times, regarding rights and obligations as well as the use of spaces, reflected in attitudes of Metro staff, especially security guards. These performances respond to variables related to an appearance order and a spatial order (Lofland, 1985:27–65). Faced with the tourist onslaught, heterogeneity of the population is reduced to a process of homogenization, "[...] it's not that Barcelona is diverse, but that it's deeply unequal"(Delgado, 2005:76); it is a diversity devoid of its capacity to question. The resulting interaction between the different actors warns us of touristic journeys in hyper-reality (Eco 1986, in Urry, 1990:146) that also affect the daily life of the frequent users, converting a trivial journey into hyper-real. It's not so much by the mere presence of tourism, but by the contrast of relations between all social actors including the Metro's work force.

The personal use items in relations in public function as shelters and shields (Goffman, 1963). It is difficult to find people who are not holding something in their hands: cell phones, headsets, I pods, I pads, magazines, newspapers, bags, books, suitcases, cameras, musical instruments, cardboard, maps, bottles, biscuits, fruit, among other things. The relationship between users and objects of use and consumption in the presence of strangers, is an aspect that has several implications as a referent on what, whom and how they are used.

PRODUCTION OF ENVIRONMENTS

Immersing in the Metro ambit especially in the underground lines seen coldly without the everydayness that Metro's use gives: it's a foray, a trip, that no matter how routine it may seem is loaded with perceptions, symbols and meanings. Travel has been described as a ritual with different stages (Van Gennep 1909 in Terrolle 1993). The experience about learning and adaptation of the first, new or frequent travelers tell us the importance of this event. Due to this the value of production of environments: rhythms, smells, air, images, symbol and sounds, acquires an extraordinary dimension.

Production of environments, also called factory of atmospheres is related to sensitive areas

of space (Thiery, 2004). The Metro “is a constellation of points of connection, an ecological and consistent space” (Joseph, 1998 in Thiery, 2004). It reflects the actions of the company and users over the space. Here I mention only rhythmic and acoustic environments, although luminic, atmospheric and thermic aspects are also relevant.

About these points its important to clarify that whatever metaphor is used about the subway in terms of users and management. It is closer to Gottdiener thesis about themed or anti-themed environments

that are produced by codes existing outside the domains of religions or cosmology [...], more concerned with artifacts that manifest the desire for meaning objectified in other, secular material forms [...] such as in current modes of themed retailing (2001:20).

The rhythms of social life appear as an expression of lifestyle. Schedules pertaining to work, meals, and entertainment are individual and collective rhythms that mold the social rhythm (Tarrus, 1988: 116–117) easily identifiable in the Metro ambit. Not by external indicators, as is seen in places with natural light; rhythms are made by the people. Because “it is the body that makes the space it occupies. It is bodily action, bodily energy, which releases its own ephemeral territoriality” (Delgado, 2002:128) creating environments derived from these displacements. Changes in the structural rhythms, schedules of trajectories, slowdowns, unexpected stops in the middle of stations, lags in opening/closing doors, provoke immediate reactions among users.

Within the time slots exist different environments especially what takes place on weekdays from 20:30 hours to closing, due to the contrast between work and festive environments. It is especially noticeable in the interaction between some groups of people, above all at stations closer to the city center. There are those who jump the turnstiles, groups of people, looking like tourists talk among each other in loud voices, in different languages, laugh and shout, drink on platforms, in wagons between stops. The number of security guards also reduces, and there seems to be an ignoring of activities, which hours earlier were prosecuted and punished. There is a degree of permissiveness in contrast to the working hours.

The state of alert that is daily lived in this underground area, either by the atmosphere created by the public address system, by transit security guards and dogs, especially during office hours produces a general state of insecurity. In that, everyone appears suspicious or guilty of something that is unknown. In this sense we can consider the Metro as an exceptional space where frequent user’s experience is like a bare life (Agamben 1998, 2004).

As of acoustic environment, are relevant, sounds produced by interactions between people as well as by the structures: escalators, elevators, turnstiles, and gates. Wagon wheels in contact with rails produce a metallic sound that according to resonance in stations is more or less acute. Also while opening or closing doors there is a repetitive and sharp signal. Inside wagons coming stations are announced in middle of trajectories. Until few years ago the public address system was used to announce extraordinary circumstances. Now, since entering, on the platform and until boarding the wagon, are heard one to three different announcements: “Public address system is being tested at this station” / “Don’t smoke in the lobby don’t smoke on the platforms, smoking is prohibited in the metro, civility in the metro please”/ “For your safety, this station is equipped with video surveillance cameras”/ “Beware, pickpocket takes advantage of a distraction to seize your things, please take care of your belongings”. These vary in language and in gender of voice. Musical threads, which until few years ago were heard continuously, are now almost nonexistent. The responsibility for the volume levels, frequency of announcements, and languages used, says A. Mena representative of TMB, with whom I had contact only via e-mail “the responsibility is of marketing team and managers of each subway line.”

It can be stated that there is an overload of information on almost all subways lines (Hall, 1978:80–82). Being a confined space, exposure to signs, symbols and movements provides

information different from the routine. The spatial distance between people from different geographies is blurred. The importance of distance in communication from a proxemics perspective (Hall, 1989:192) responds, in this case to dynamics related to daily rhythms. Agglomerations, copresence and contact with strangers produce varying degrees of violence and the need for space increases. (Hall, 1973: 66–72). Contributions have been made on stress levels in urban transport and their social repercussions (Yago, 1983; Thibaud, 1996; Urry, 200). In recent years there have been known acts of aggression in Barcelona's Metro. The identity of individuals on the receiving end coincides with a socially stigmatized identity, where the mass media also plays an important role.

The implementation of the new line 9, without driver, has been focused on operational and safety issues. The experience in France regarding the line 14 Météor in 1998, with the same characteristics not only addressed architectural, technical and functional aspects but also social effects; where were collected perceptions of the company, workers and users had a central role (Joseph, 2004).

Barcelona Metro opened in 1924, has had several transformations, it's used by 1 million 200 thousand passengers every day. Transport Metropolitan of Barcelona is the main company that runs the Metro; the lack of data provided by them for the development of this study reveals a lack of transparency in public service. Above all it gives an account of the difficulties in relationship between users and the company when it's contrary to the corporate's interest. Although security is an aspect related to the efficiency of the service, the amount of importance that it's given makes it detrimental to other aspects. Few days ago, a new security plan based on a model for nuclear safety was announced as starting to be implemented (Vanguardia Newspaper, 3/06/2011). This makes clear the importance given by the corporation and the public administration to operation and safety, ignoring other equally important aspects.

We must not forget that a voyage, close or distant, more than its immediate purpose implies a change in the proceedings and perceptions of passengers; however routine, banal and repetitive it might seem.

Human interaction is always meaningful. Since the origins of society people have related to their environment in symbolic ways, besides using it for functional reasons such as survival. (Gottdiener 2001:175)

The ecology observed in the subway, shows us many ways to get to know and understand the diversity of control techniques and dynamics between strangers in the city.

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Knutpunkten: An Ethnographic Work at a Transportation Hub in Sweden

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This article describes and analyzes a three-month ethnographic field research study conducted at Knutpunkten, the central hub of all transportation located in the city of Helsingborg, on the southwest coast of Sweden. This busy, urban setting of transportation is affected by social conflicts and the general public’s feeling of avoidance, as if Knutpunkten was invisible. Looking further at these features the research study aims to uncover layers of social practices enacted in the space of this hub that “conveys” a diversity of people everyday through its space. In observation of material and non-material cultures as well as interviews, findings suggest that Knutpunkten reflects the social tension involving power relations, segregation, excessive alcohol consumption, and youth disorientation that exists outside its walls, as if this hub was a microcosm of Helsingborg. Contrasts, e.g., mobility/stagnation, routine/entertainment, upstairs/downstairs bring relevant and timely reflections regarding spatial practices and empowerment in the city of Helsingborg, at a time when the city is planning the urban renewal project H+ The Tolerant City, which will be built South of Knutpunkten.

INTRODUCTION

Knutpunkten, the central hub of all transportation located in the city of Helsingborg, on the southwest coast of Sweden, can be seen from the sea as a lighthouse illuminating the city's challenges and strengths. The station, which according to banners placed in Knutpunkten has around 45,000 people coming and going per day and offers buses, trains, ferries as well as airport shuttle services, is a connecting hub for the transnational Öresund region between South of Sweden and East of Denmark.

In September of 2009 I had my first contact with Knutpunkten together with other Cultural Analysis Master's candidates from Lund University. Seen by the city as a problematic place marked by violence, very little was known about this hub's social life. Since at that time I had just moved to Helsingborg, located around 60 kilometers from Lund University's main campus, the station became part of my daily routine, as I had to commute to the university. This made me continue observing this social setting while mingling as a user of the place and interviewing other users between the months of September and December.

In this ethnographic work located at a diverse urban setting of mobile flow through the space, both material and nonmaterial culture integrate data collection to bring about features of social life embedded in this structure. At Knutpunkten, the daily grind of commuting to work as well as the exceptional and playful activities of drinking alcohol at a pub or simply congregating blend to reveal urban social disorientation and tension.

Knut(knot)-punkten(point) is a local, national and international connecting hub open 24/7. However, how has this "knot-point" connected and tied itself to the community it serves? How is it perceived and placed in a segregated city space? At the hub, the conflict meeting-place vs. space of separation pointed out by David Harvey (1989) becomes a question to be examined.

There is a momentum for this analysis, when the urban renewal project H+ The Tolerant City is being elaborated "to develop central southern Helsingborg around the city's harbour entrance and create a creative centre in the Öresund region" (Helsingborg Stad, n.d., H+ vision is about the tolerant city).

The project, defined by the city as a "facinating [sic] trip into the future" (Helsingborg Stad, n.d., The H+ project), affects Knutpunkten, since the railway that comes from underneath the hub to the surface in the South part of the city will be dug as a tunnel. This way, the southern city districts will not be cutoff by the railway as they are today, opening the area between the hub and the Southern part of Helsingborg for construction. However, how the hub and its users fit into this "trip into the future" is still unclear.

Knutpunkten is a fertile social setting where urban life with its pulse and tensions is concentrated and awaiting attention. This analysis aims to spotlight social and spatial aspects of this hub as well as inspire academic studies which can focus on Knutpunkten's materiality beyond its atmosphere of an unsafe place to be avoided.

The first part of this article brings a thick description of Knutpunkten's space and user's routine during rush-hours in the pulse of urban life and daily commute. The second part focuses on spatial and time divides brought up by the youth, workers, and entertainment businesses at Knutpunkten. The third part of this article examines data regarding segregation in the city of Helsingborg, excessive alcohol consumption, and youth issues. In this third part, the H+ city renewal project's challenge of connecting segregated groups is also examined within this space that is in transformation. The final part concludes by summarizing research findings and pointing to further study possibilities.

DAILY ROUTINES IN SPACE AND TIME

It is Tuesday morning in downtown Swedish Helsingborg bathed by the waters of the Öresund strait (The Sound). In an open square, a sign containing a red dot surrounded by four

concentric dark and lighter blue circles indicates one is entering Knutpunkten, the transportation hub of a city with an area of 346 km² and a population of 126,754 (Helsingborg Stad, n.d., Facts about Helsingborg).

Walking through the main door, a spacious building structure opens up. The construction looks like a bright greenhouse made of white metal and glass, paved with a beige marble floor. In the center of the main hall, silver metal rectangular ticket machines are aligned. Above the machines, round clocks and digital monitors for arrivals and departures reflect different ethnic faces of passengers staring at them as if in a mirror of the “sort of chronological net in which urban life was caught” (Harvey, 1989, p. 171). In contrast to the spacious hall, this area, which is near the ticket booths, is a busy one where people converge, stand in line, and leave in an urban and anonymous ballet to keep moving to their destinations.

Surrounding the main hall, there is a café chain, some convenience stores, a drugstore, currency exchange house, and, curiously, a casino. Looking up, two more floors open up in mezzanine style around the main hall of the station. From down the hall it is possible to see a restaurant, some pubs, a travel agency, and offices upstairs. The first impression of Knutpunkten reminds one of a mall where people can stroll freely, sit down on cold benches made of metal and simply spend time.

Suddenly a blond woman with glasses, wearing a thick red coat and carrying a plastic bag walks by to check a trashcan. She picks up a few cans of soda and walks in a fast pace to the next trashcan. She looks as busy and on the move as passengers who are running to catch their trains and buses with tickets in hand.

From the ticket machines one can choose to take the escalators down to the train platforms or to go straight outside through a glass door, pass by smokers and youth congregating, cross the road where buses approach the station, and enter the back building to the bus terminal. Although a glass and white metal structure is still present here, ceiling, floor, and benches follow gray shades in contrast to the light colors in the front building.

After a first walk within the space and flow of this transportation hub in Sweden, one question was recurrent: Where is the violence and danger strongly emphasized about this place? Cases of fights and stabbings had already happened at the station and the advice received when moving to Helsingborg was: Avoid Knutpunkten!

In order to understand the social life pulse and challenges faced by Knutpunkten, more observation of its space and flow was necessary. If space “is imbued with cultural and political implications” (O’Toole, & Were, 2008, p. 617), the objects and organization that construct the landscape of this space can reveal social structure and cultural understanding. However, space and objects can only develop meaning through everyday life practices and, “it’s not a matter of appropriating or of being ‘scripted’ by isolated artifacts” (Shove, Watson, Hand, & Ingram, 2007, p. 143). Therefore, in Knutpunkten material and non-material cultures were observed and analyzed together to bring about social meaning.

In search of this relationship between Knutpunkten’s users, space and objects, I moved towards the train platform. In an area with two-way escalators, as in a circulatory system of arteries and veins, a pointillism flow of people takes one up or down to the underground level. In this space where the white and shiny tile walls reflect the cold lights from the ceiling and the warm tan brick floor, waiting seems to be the motif.

On a relatively crowded platform with few benches, male and female workers as well as students spread out. The electronic panels hanging from the ceiling indicate destination and time. One or two show a message of delay, which upsets some of the passengers and relieves others who step panting on the platform. Here, the feeling of mobility in space and the time constraint of urban life are definitely present. The fragmentation between working time and living time in different spaces (Harvey, 1989) is almost a portrait seen in the faces of passengers waiting for trains during rush hour at Knutpunkten.

Surrounded by the smell of brewed coffee that comes from “to go” paper cups, some people read books, others text messages on their cell phones or listen to their iPods, and many simply stand still in their own spaces, in silence, avoiding physical contact. It is interesting to note that in busy urban settings, e.g., public transportation places like Knutpunkten, the avoidance of touching and looking at each other is usually present. Although the nature of these places is collective, “individuals create something like ghettos in their own bodily experience when confronted with diversity” (Sennett, 1994, p. 366), which makes them appear to want to stay as distant as possible from each other.

Public transportation can be seen as a singular social space of “uncomfortable proximities” (O’Dell, 2006, p. 88) where diversity meets. In Sweden, analyzing his commute from Lund to Knutpunkten in Helsingborg, the anthropologist Tom O’Dell touches upon space boundaries in this setting:

As I board the morning train to Helsingborg at rush hour, I find myself longing for the tyranny of an assigned place. Instead, it is first come first serve which is the rule, and as is so often the case at rush hour, this is going to be a standing room only journey. As luck would have it, I find a seat occupied by a young woman’s book bag. I ask her if I can have the chair. Reluctantly, she concedes the place (2006, p. 89).

After conceding him the seat, the woman places her book bag on the floor, clearly delineating the space between the two. Following this sense of space protection, commuters waiting for their trains in the underground of Knutpunkten finally embark on crowded cars for one more day of shared routine, even if they try to keep it the most individual as possible.

It is interesting to reflect on commuters’ experience as a group for whom Knutpunkten is an integrative part of their daily routine, in many cases for years or an entire life. In fact, for many commuters Knutpunkten has a major role because it is tied to their daily work routine and thus, linked with the very act of sustaining life through a paycheck. Consequently, Knutpunkten can symbolize both a necessary extension of its users or even a cage that they cannot escape from.

SPACE AND TIME DIVIDES

Moving from the platforms to upstairs, passengers’ efforts for individuality seem to give place to interaction, at least among one group of users who meet and congregate at the hub. This group is the youth who usually gather in the back building of the station, at the bus terminal area where there are more benches and the only free restrooms in Knutpunkten, as pointed out by students interviewed during fieldwork. After school hours and evenings are the prime time when youth use the hub as a “meeting point”, as they defined the place. When asked why they chose Knutpunkten as their place to meet, answers varied from “It’s easier, everybody come here” to “It can be dangerous but also fun with groups of people”.

However, if on one hand the youth find “fun” with people coming and going, on the other hand this group refers to Knutpsunkten with disgust, as a place where they would not like to be if there were other “cool” places to go. The youth’s antagonistic sense of ownership and desire to avoid Knutpunkten bring some questions. What role is Knutpunkten playing beyond its capacity as a transportation hub? What kinds of social needs is the hub filling?

Searching for input that could shed light on these questions, I reached out to another group that, like the youth and differently from passengers who come and go, stay at the hub for a few hours. This group was composed of employees who work at Knutpunkten. Observing and listening to bar attendants, waiters, cashiers, and janitors brought the perspective of who is immersed in that reality and who has no choice of not interacting with users, as passengers have. When asked about their experience working at the place, the feeling expressed was not

exactly of pride but of acceptance. However, their experience especially informed this research about a divide in Knutpunkten between day/night, and downstairs/upstairs.

During daytime in this central hub of transportation, one will find a flux of workers coming and going to their jobs, students, seniors, moms pushing their baby's carriages, children, and a few homeless, who according to some Knutpunkten employees, "are nice people", implying they do not contribute to insecurity at the hub. Though, at night, when most stores are closed, with the exception of places to eat, drink and play, Knutpunkten's atmosphere changes. At this time of the day the place attracts youth and adults whose final destination is the hub itself and who are looking for entertainment. They come from Helsingborg and surroundings, or even from Elsinore, the Danish city, home of Hamlet's castle, right across the Öresund strait and linked in 20 minutes to Sweden by a 24 hour ferry.

On the second floor, at one of the pubs located next to the ferries' boarding area, one of the waitresses referred to Knutpunkten as "the worst place to work" but later she said that "the place improved and it is very good now". When asked why it is better, the waitress said: "The police is more rigid now. They're not holding the trouble guys for one hour only and letting them go". When businesses upstairs, the majority of which are pubs, were asked about violence in Knutpunkten, they named the use of drugs, drunks, fights, and homeless people. Curiously, they said these activities all take place downstairs, and not in their area.

The space at Knutpunkten materializes a strong divide between what is called "upstairs" and "downstairs". Upstairs is brighter, wider, cleaner and quieter during the day. For businesses run on the second floor, they are separated from downstairs and in their area "if someone starts a fight, this person is immediately removed downstairs by hired guards", explained the manager of one of the pubs. This dissociated managerial model with private guards to guarantee the upstairs remains safe can indicate that businesses are the ones with more power of command of space production in Knutpunkten, and therefore, the ones more equipped to perpetuate this power even more.

In order to understand the space and time divides in Knutpunkten, I also did fieldwork at night. On a Friday, I went to the busiest pub on the second floor. At the pub, the music is loud, waiters are busy, men and women laugh, talk, drink and play games available for customers. The atmosphere indicates one is at a pub.

However, looking outside the pub through the open mezzanine, arrival/departure monitors, clocks, ticket machines, and passengers carrying suitcases indicate this is also a transportation place. Mentally switching from one atmosphere to the other can be confusing since expectations in these two settings, a pub and a transportation station, tend to be different. A passenger's experience involves mobility, transition of places and the time constraint of a schedule. A pub customer's experience involves repose within a limited space and a relaxed state regarding time constraints.

If at Knutpunkten's pubs, customers can choose to not look outside and forget this is a transportation hub, travelers do not have the same choice. The loud sound of music, glasses and chatting echoes in the entire hub, signals that entertainment is taking place. At night, on the first floor and underground of Knutpunkten the feeling is of being lost. Youth congregate in flocks, drunk people wander, homeless sleep, and passengers, confused about where they are, try to stay at Knutpunkten as little as possible.

Cases of fights and stabbings can also be part of the nightlife in Knutpunkten. Having witnessed two fights when coming home at night shed light on aspects of the social structure where Knutpunkten is embedded. Both fights happened downstairs and involved males in their late teens. The exact reasons for the fights were unclear, but in both cases fighters had a group of friends with them, although they were fighting alone. It was not possible to talk to these teens on either of the nights but observing the groups' interaction amplified the universe of information about Knutpunkten and its users. The youth was an element of this social

structure that needed to be analyzed more closely to bring about a better understanding of Knutpunkten and its social actors.

SEGREGATION, ALCOHOL, AND YOUTH DISORIENTATION

Talking to the Social Services / Mobile Team, a group recruited by the city to work with the youth of Helsingborg, I was informed that the province where the city is located, Skåne, has one of the highest concentrations of parents who bring alcohol home and develop the practice of drinking in their children. The team also presented research in which is indicated that around 80% of cases of violence and vandalism in the city are alcohol-related.

If alcohol is pointed out as one element of the problem, another feature is the lack or reduced number of meeting places for the youth, as indicated earlier during fieldwork. On top of that, another aspect observed while living in Helsingborg for three months was a strong sense of segregation that exists in this city.

Segregation in Helsingborg, for the city born filmmaker Robert Lillhonga, is as if there was an “invisible razor-sharp line through it, dividing North from South” (qtd. in *City of Helsingborg & Blå*, 2007 p. 57). Historically, the Southern part of this city concentrates poorer strata of its population, initially factory workers and, in the last years, poorer immigrants and refugees mainly from the Balkans, Middle East, and East Africa. The subject involving refugee policies and mainly the influx of Arabs in the city, as well as in Sweden in general, has been a controversial one that divides Swedes’ opinions.

I recall one time on the train from Lund to Helsingborg, when two Arabic teens were sitting in the small section of the train car next to the exit doors. They were listening to Arabic music from their cell phones, dancing and saying words in Arabic. From the other bigger section of the car that was next to where the teens were, passengers, in silence, looked at each other once in a while. The feeling of being in that car all the way to my destination at Knutpunkten was as if there was a veiled tension in the atmosphere. Non-Arabic passengers’ looks and restless body languages seemed to express a dammed up disapproval of the situation but at the same time a conflicting acceptance of what it represented.

Segregation between North and South in Helsingborg is not only geographic but also part of people’s mindset, as observed in my interaction with residents during the time I lived in this city. Helsingborg has an atmosphere of avoidance towards its Southern part and what (or who) it represents. This avoidance can be felt when residents from richer areas, especially in the North, refer not only to the South but also to Knutpunkten, which is on the border between the two, as something apart. Some residents, who do not commute, simply avoid the hub and use the pronoun “those” to refer to the people who congregate there, which emphasizes a separation between them and those they see as “other”.

Looking at the bigger social context in which Knutpunkten is placed helps to gain perspective of some of the issues faced by this hub that seem to be connected to the city’s issues itself. The youth who congregate in Knutpunkten come mainly from the Southern part of Helsingborg and from economically depressed smaller towns in its surroundings, e.g., Landskrona. For them, the hub is sort of a heated “mall”, or shelter from the outside, centrally located, since the closest big mall is further Northeast in a more industrial area. In the hub the youth can congregate for free, i.e., with no demands. However, at night, the hub becomes a territory disputed by different groups and reflects the social tension involving power relations, segregation, excessive alcohol consumption, and youth disorientation that exists outside, as if Knutpunkten was a microcosm of Helsingborg.

The sense of spatial separation found between North/South, them/us, upstairs/downstairs, and so on brings some reflections regarding spatial practices in Helsingborg. In a moment when a new space is being planned in the city through the urban renewal project *H+ The Tolerant City*, asking Harvey’s question “in whose image and to whose benefit is space to be

shaped?” (Harvey, 1989, p. 177) can be pertinent.

It was interesting to note that although there is so much space in Knutpunkten and so many people who come, wait, and go daily in the station, there was no sign or even a single space at the hub dedicated to inform people about the H+ project. As a place that is avoided, Knutpunkten seems to materialize invisibility in the city. This invisibility is also felt in the doubt about who is responsible for Knutpunkten’s space, since there are no information desks or channels of communication between users and Knutpunkten available in its space. Contact between users and Knutpunkten can only be made through a few policemen spread out in the hub.

The feeling is that people at Knutpunkten are not important to be cared about and therefore informed and listened to regarding the city’s renewal planning or other activities. There is a sense of abandonment of “those” people.

The H+ city renewal project plans “to connect the Söder [South] district with the new harbour district” (City of Helsingborg & Blå, 2007, p. 133) when moving the railway South of Knutpunkten to the underground. However, how to connect segregated groups in this space in transformation is a challenge. There is the risk that when renovating and integrating the South with new residences, offices, retail, and hotels, as is planned, segregation will shift in space and move from North-South to East-West. This shift is actually already happening with the East side representing primarily a new immigrant section, and West, a rich and modern section by the water.

Facing this challenge raises a bigger issue that involves spatial empowerment of growing segregated groups in urban areas (Harvey, 1989). In this case, transformation of spatial practices that bring about segregation seems to be the crucial point to touch upon. In order to develop a city “for all Helsingborgians, regardless of income or cultural affinity” (City of Helsingborg & Blå, 2007, p. 137), as the city aims, contact with those who are considered “different” and who are now avoided is necessary. Knutpunkten, being a microcosm of Helsingborg’s issues, as this fieldwork suggests, has an important role in the city’s transformation.

CONCLUSION

Through this ethnographic analysis I aimed to uncover layers of social practices enacted in the space of this hub that is Knutpunkten. Findings bring about awareness of urban life features and suggest that Knutpunkten can help to examine Helsingborg’s social issues as if one is looking at the city through a magnifying glass. Since this analysis does not produce a definitive interpretation, it aspires to encourage further studies especially including quantitative research methods in order to enhance the discussion raised here. Additionally, in light of the absence of in depth academic studies about Knutpunkten, this paper seeks to highlight relevant issues that call for attention and more analysis in this social setting.

The findings from this research suggest that Knutpunkten is perceived as a place of avoidance that is as marginalized as the poorer strata of Helsingborg’s population. For the people who search for entertainment and a meeting place at the hub, Knutpunkten is perceived as the only option as well as an arena to fight for their social visibility. On its part, Knutpunkten seems to also marginalize its users when it does not address who is responsible for the space and allows entertainment businesses alone to take command of space production with little regard for other groups who use the space.

In its daily routine around the clock, Knutpunkten signals to space mobility through its transportation flow. But its issues also indicate social stagnation awaiting intervention. If on one hand this hub concentrates social challenges, e.g., power relations, segregation, excessive alcohol consumption, and youth disorientation, on the other hand it can be an encouraging setting to bring about social change. The hub “conveys” a diversity of people into and out of

the same place everyday and although the predominant feeling is of avoidance and disgust, Knutpunkten can help to materialize social challenges that need to be faced in the city.

At the moment of this writing, when the urban renewal project H+ The Tolerant City is still in the blueprint phase, Knutpunkten and its concrete presence can work as a stimulus to reflect and act on space empowerment as well as on alleviating the risk of having an urban renovation that will intensify segregation of weaker groups in the city.

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The Historiography and Use of Fine Arts

Historiography as a Marker of Current Paradigms

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The Italian artist Caravaggio (1571–1610) is one of the most well-known artists of the Italian baroque, but has that always been the case? In this paper I will argue that the reception and the historiography of for instance Caravaggio can be seen as a marker of both the scientific discourse and of much wider questions in society in general.

Caravaggio is a good example of this. In the 19th century his fame was not as great as it is today, instead it were other artists of his era that occupied the interest of scholars and public. Today, on the other hand, Caravaggio is recognized as an important artist and there are numerous publications, exhibitions and films about his art and life. One important feature in these publications is that he is seen as modern. This leads to what might be called an institutionalized forgetfulness on the same time as it gives the present time a possibility to reanalyze the past. In the presented paper I will argue that scholars have to be aware of these circumstances and that historiography must be a part of the studies of art of past times.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AS A MARKER OF CURRENT PARADIGM

It has been clear; at least since post-structuralism that the act of interpretation is made of an art historian or another person interested in that particular work of art is made on the basis of the ideology or other circumstances current to the interpreter. For instance was Jacob Burckhardt's works on the Italian renaissance highly influenced by the cultural debate in the German speaking countries in the mid 19th century and Heinrich Wölfflin's strive for rules of art had a basis in the emerging natural sciences and the positivism that was an important part of the scientific map of his time. It has also been noted that history writes back in such a manner that for instance the art historians mentioned above were highly influenced by the moments in history they were writing about (Holly, 1996). These two paradigms are now incorporated into the bulk of modern art history and every researcher is, or at least should be, aware of them.

In her often quoted book on Caravaggio Mieke Bal states that as art historians it is more or less impossible to strive for intentionalistic interpretations of works of art and furthermore, she is criticizing for instance psychoanalytical interpretations, common among art historians, in which the artist's relation to his or her mother stands in focus (Bal, 1999). I agree with Bal in that criticism but I would like to challenge some of the ways that the artist in question, the Italian baroque painter Michelangelo Merisi, known as Caravaggio (1517-1610), has been used by art-historians and others. My main point is that by applying purely esthetical values in the interpretation of art, and to work with the art in question from a perspective of today, we tend to miss certain important parts and, more alarming; we canonize various artists of the past.

My questions to this material can be grouped in various segments. Firstly, what ideologies can be seen in the interpretations of Caravaggio done today and in the past? And how do the interpretations reflect the different interests in the art world? Secondly, what has caused the enormous interest in Caravaggio that can be seen today, and has it always been such a great interest in his art and thirdly, what does an interpretation based on today miss out and what consequences will that have on the understanding of art from earlier periods.

There are numerous publications on Caravaggio and there has been a formal explosion the latter years. Caravaggio has also been subject of popularizations in form of films and television series. There have also been a large number of exhibitions of his art works. It is not too much to say that the interest in Caravaggio globally is larger today than it was when he was living 400 years ago. An interesting feature in all of these different forms of publications on Caravaggio is that he is seen as a very modern painter and he is also turned into a very modern person or at least an artist living up to the romantic and later on modernistic view on the artist. It seems that every period in history and every group can find its own Caravaggio.

One fascinating example on the "usage" of Caravaggio in an unhistorical context is the exhibition held Galleria Borghese in Rome 2009-10. The exhibition had the title "Caravaggio chiama Bacon: La bellezza del dolore" [Caravaggio calls out to Bacon: The beauty of pain]. In the preface the curator Anna Coliva writes that it is not sure that Francis Bacon had been influenced by Caravaggio at all but that there was similarities between the two artists that made this juxtaposition interesting (Coliva 2009). Caravaggio is thereby used in another context than the historical one.

Among the features in Caravaggio's personal life that is used in both popularizations and publications is his homo- or bisexuality and the fact that he was a convicted murderer. One can of course explain this with that sex and violence are selling arguments but there is another important part using these stories from his life in scientific as well as popular work, it is coherent with the romantic and modernistic view on the artist as a person outside or at the border of the normal society (Dahlström). Looking at how art history has been written there are many cases where such criteria of an artist has been highlighted. One can suspect that art-

ist that were living a more normal life does not get the same attention because they are not living up to the profile an artist should have, and they are by that both a bit dull and cannot be defined as genius.

Has the interest in Caravaggio always been such as it is today, and has his art been seen so genius as it is today? A short answer to that question is no. In 1708 the French art critic Rogier de Piles published his *Cours de peinture par principes avec un balance de peintres*. In that publication he lists famous artists in an attempt to compare them, using the four criteria composition, drawing color and expression. Every artist could get a maximum of 18 points in every category but Caravaggio only got 6 point for composition, 6 for drawing, 16 for color and not one single point in the category of expression (Holt, 1957-66). That should be compared with for instance Rafael with 17, 18, 12 and 18. Today such a positivistic way of analyzing art seems to be very dated, although it gives us perspective on how Caravaggio was seen upon a century after his death and it gives us information on some of the values that were connected to art in the beginning of the 18th century. In almost every publication on Caravaggio written after the modernistic breakthrough the expression in Caravaggio's work is an important feature. For Rogier de Piles there were not any expression in the art of Caravaggio or at least the expression was not of the kind that was appreciated by the author and, can one assume, the artistic preferences of the early 18th century. If we turn the problem the other way around there is not much written about the expression in the art of Rafael today but that was seen as the most perfect expression by Rogier de Piles. Of course the word expression must be put into context as it probably does not have exactly the same meaning today as 300 years ago. My view is that it changed meaning during the early days of modernism. In modernism expression stands for something positive that is closely linked to the personality of the artist whereas it earlier stood for over exaggerated personal style. This could be compared with mannerism where the Italian word *maniera* meant personal style, something positive but mannerism had negative connotations.

It is clear that it has been a huge swing in the view on Caravaggio during the past 300 years, but can this swing be traced backwards and possibly be explained. Looking at statements of today there a number of features that different art historian and others pinpoints at Caravaggio. Mieke Bal writes extensively on the narrative and the exploration of the visibility. Other word used by her is time, beauty and desire. To explore these parts of for instance "The fortuneteller"(1596–97) she uses contemporary art such as Ken Apteke's "I'm six years old and hiding behind my hands" (1996). Her argument is that by using contemporary art to work with art of earlier periods we can get a deeper understanding of the esthetical process of analyzing art. One cannot say that Bal's study really is a study on Caravaggio, instead I argue that it should be seen as study of certain features in modern art that also can be seen in the art of Caravaggio and that the way to understand them is by letting them collide so that the art historian can use the modern art to understand art from earlier periods. By using this method she can highlight parts of the esthetical process and gets beyond some of the problems in art-history dealing with historical art works, especially the fact that many of those studies are limited to a kind mapping where the questions asked to the material is by who, what is the motive, when is it made and can put the focus on esthetical matters. This could be compared with the long standing division in the subject of art history where it is possible to talk about an esthetical art history and an antiquarian art history (chapter 8).

There are a lot of popular publications on Caravaggio. They are aimed at no scientifically readers with a large interest in art or at visitors to museums and other art historical sights where it is possible to see works of Caravaggio. In this presentation I use *Caravaggio* by Gilles Lambert published by the printing house Taschen in 2007 (Lambert, 2007). Apart from the fact that there is no scientific documentation and there is no problemization of different parts of the artists life and work, it seems to be reliable in the most cases. In this paper the interest-

ing part is that it makes Caravaggio into a “modern” artist and a genius. The subtitle of the publication is *A genius beyond his time* and the titles of the different chapters are for instance *The artist as Outlaw*, *A revolutionary on the Highroad* or *The Master of Darkness*. The subtitle itself makes the publication a-historical and takes a stand in the view on Caravaggio today whereas the titles of the different chapters underline the romantic and modernistic view on the artist as a genius outside society. The real problem, in terms of what comes the public in hand is that this view on Caravaggio is not put into a historical context. The view on him and his artistic work is just being seen from a standpoint of today. It is mentioned that his fame during his lifetime was not it is today but this is overshadowed by the overwhelming statements of his genius.

One of the most widespread publications on Caravaggio is the one written by Helen Langdon and published in 1998. There are some important distinctions between this and latter publication and the most important of them is that the possible homosexuality of Caravaggio is not an issue for Langdon. Instead she states that the evidence in that matter are very weak and she bases her arguments on the research by for instance Gilbert (1995). Langdon focuses on the social and religious situation in Italy and especially Rome at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries. There could be traced a great admiration for the artist in the study of Langdon and she is, even though the study contextualizes Caravaggio he is portrayed as a genius and a somewhat “modern” hero of the arts.

Prior to the studies of Langdon and Gilbert, during the 1960s, 70s and 1980s there is an important line in the research on Caravaggio and that is his possible homosexuality. In for instance, what has become the standard publication on Caravaggio written by Howard Hibbard and published in 1983 the sexual status of the artist is one of the questions that are dealt with. Hibbard bases his study on first hand material from archives in especially Rome and of the results of Herwarth Röttgen (1974). It is possible to contextualize this line in the research on Caravaggio as it is made in an era where the strive for gay rights were very strong. One can state that we have a clear example of a shift in paradigm that makes its marks on the research of the time. During the same periods Caravaggio is the focus in films and literature. In his 1986 movie *Caravaggio* Derek Jarman lets the main character played by Nigel Terry be involved with the outcasts of society and it is played in both our time and the time of Caravaggio. One of the key points in the film is the love life of Caravaggio. The possible homosexuality of Caravaggio is also the theme of the poem “*In Santa Maria del Popolo*” (1961). The poet Thom Gunn tries to establish a theme of homosexual seduction in the painting “*The conversion of St. Paul*”, in the Cerasi chapel in the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in Rome.

Prior to the interest in Caravaggio's sexuality Caravaggio was re-established as one of the important painters of the baroque era after having been, not forgotten but artistically neglected in a period stretching over several hundred years. In 1955 Walter Friedlaender published his *Caravaggio studies* where the narrative of Caravaggio's art is in focus. This study is important as it makes the interest in Caravaggio international. Prior to the study of Friedlaender it had mainly been an Italian interest in Caravaggio. In 1951 there was an exhibition in Milan curated by Roberto Longhi. In the exhibition Caravaggio was put forward as an artist of the people that broke free from the rules of the academic art of the late 16th century. The same line is drawn in the film “*Caravaggio: Il pittore maledetto*” from 1941. In this film, made during the second world war in the fascistic Italy, Caravaggio is portrayed as an artist with strong roles in the Italian society. It is possible to interpret this film as an attempt to unite Italy and to create a national hero in the hard times during a war.

To summarize this part of the paper one can state that Caravaggio's fame during the 20th century starts in his motherlands strive for a national hero during the war, continuous with his fame being internationally acknowledged and later on becoming a symbol for the modernistic

and romantic view on the artist. He has also functioned as a canvas where different views can be painted, such as for instance the view on homosexuality. Today one of the main interests in Caravaggio and his art is how it is possible to see him as in comparison with contemporary art and what we can learn about his art by approaching it with the help of art of our time.

As researchers we must ask our self what this, in my point of view unhistorical approach to a historical material, has for consequences. To be able to, too some extinct, answer that question I will compare the reception of Caravaggio with that of some of his contemporaries, namely Guido Reni (1575-1642) and Domenico Zampieri (1581-1641), known as Domenichino.

In for instance Richard Spear's work on Domenichino (1982) it is pointed to the fact that both Guido Reni and Domenichino was considered as important artists until the mid 19th century. But as there was an esthetical change with its start in the romanticism the interest in these two Bolognese artists decreased to the point when John Ruskin explained that Domenichino and Guido Reni did not have anything to offer the modern spectator. This approach to them has been valid up until today, in for instance Kenneth Clarks work on landscape painting his notion of Domenichino and Guido Reni is that they are only of interest for historians and that they have no esthetic value (Clark, 1950).

What we can see in Clark's statement is that he judges the Bolognese painters with an esthetic approach based in his own time were their influence, importance and connection with the art of the mid 20th century had diminished. But has it always been like that? In a work of the Swedish researcher Bengt Lewan he examines letters from Swedish artists in Rome to the Royal Academy in Stockholm (Lewan, 1966). He shows that during the first part of the 19th century Domenichino and Guido Reni were among those who attracted most interest by the Swedish artists, only Rafael's name was mentioned more in the letters. The change in the interest of them that took place during the 19th century has been commented on by Spear and he means that as long as ideal beauty were the highest criteria for art Domenichino and Guido Reni were of interest for both artists and historians but as other esthetic values became more important both the artists and the historians tended to forget the Bolognese art (Spear, 1982). As it is possible to characterize them as in some sense classicists it is not farfetched to compare this with the research of Frederik Antal where he states that classicism as a style is connected with a harmonic society whereas romanticism as style is connected with a society in turmoil (Antal, . But it is not so easy as to say that Domenichino and Guido Reni had no influence after the romantic change. As late as 1901 the impressionist painter Mary Cassatt stated that here main purpose with a study trip to Italy was to see all of Domenichinos work (Spear, 1982).

That the interest in different artists varies over time is nothing new. But this must not be confused with the historical importance of the artists in question. In his earlier quoted book on Caravaggio Howard Hibbard states that Caravaggio was the most influential artist of the 17th century and an artist that speaks directly to us (Hibbard, 1993). In this Hibbard confuses the two aspects historical importance and artistic interest of today, and the question is if Caravaggio, from a historical point of view can be said to have the importance that we give him today. According to Stephen Pepper the influence of Caravaggio diminished rather rapidly during the 17th century (Pepper, 1984).

At the beginning of this paper I asked, among other questions, what interpretations based on the esthetics of today miss out in an historical perspective and what consequences this has on the understanding of art from earlier periods?

My main argument is that we need to be careful in these kinds of interpretations and be aware of the fact that we make the interpretation on a platform form of the esthetic values of today. I am certain that most art historians will agree with me on that point. But, as I have shown there is a confusion of historical importance and esthetic values. If we let the esthetic values of today guide our research we tend to forget those artists, for example Guido Reni and Domenichino, which is not comprehended in the esthetics of today. And they will not get the attention of research as they should have from their historical importance.

This will, in the long run lead to a canonization process that will exclude artists and artistic movements and the understanding of the historical processes will be weakened. Artists that were important will be forgotten and the richness of the artistic life in earlier periods will not be understood.

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Cosmopolitanism and Cultural Practice: Towards a Systematic Place of Kant’s Religion

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Throughout the whole of Kant’s cosmopolitanism – a guiding principle underlying his entire system – as defined in his idea of “philosophy in a cosmopolitan sense”, there lies a fundamental ambiguity, one that we might call the cosmopolitical problem: on the one hand, the word “cosmopolitanism” comports a political meaning, on the other, it seems nothing more than a moral stance in Kant. Trying to address this problem, departing from a reconstruction of a Kantian definition of politics, we arrive at a more specific sense of the cosmo-political, namely, the idea of the Kingdom of Virtue, as presented in his Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason. Besides the consequences of this idea upon Kant’s cosmopolitan principle, we can also observe how it gives sense to his idea of culture – more specifically, of cultural difference – as the bearer of a specifically political freedom, namely, the right to differ. Returning to the idea of the Kingdom of Virtue, we conclude that it suggests an alternative approach to cosmopolitanism. Thus understood, cosmopolitanism operates through – culturally developed – mentalities, not through common deliberation, i.e., politics proper, but it still remains the par excellence scene of the cosmo-political.

COSMOPOLITANISM OR COSMOPOLITICS?

In today's understanding, we talk about globalization and about one of the latest types of response to its challenges, in terms of cosmopolitanism, and as a result – as the complexity implied by the sheer mass issues within the topic suggests – the word takes on a great diversity of meanings; this may be visible in the growing number of sub-fields and research approaches that address it. It is, however, less than self-evident what exactly is common to all these meanings – what, in fact, is the idea behind the wording.

At the same time, Kant is regarded as the arch-cosmopolitan among the modern philosophers, equaled perhaps, in antiquity, only by the Stoics or by Socrates himself. Still more controversially than in the case of the cosmopolitan trend's guiding idea, he is simultaneously seen as the proponent of most of the contemporary types of cosmopolitanism, in most of their given forms, serving as a comfortable point of departure that may either be endorsed or criticized, being in the end reaffirmed, saved, corrected or refuted altogether. At the two extremes, his universalism is quoted as an argument for a – global – moral individualism under an empiricist paradigm (Korsgaard, 1996) – purporting the most general humanist plea – or his alleged racism is taken to undermine his teleological (historically optimistic, providential) thought through promoting inequality – a rather serious blow for cosmopolitanism.

This might be due to the fact that Kant's cosmopolitanism is indeed a multilayered system: as the renowned German professor Otfried Höffe (2007) brilliantly lists, Kant's cosmopolitanism is the very fundamental orientation of his thought, unfolding through a complex web of intertwined cosmopolitan perspectives, having no less than seven thematic cosmopolitan focuses, that is, seven systematically distinct senses of cosmopolitanism. The list reads: knowledge, morality, education, history, the order of nature, local legal order and federal/global legal order. If we so much as hope to understand Kant's cosmopolitanism, we must not lose sight of this complexity.

Kant's cosmopolitanism in its complexity

There is no space here to engage in a discussion of the specific meanings, or the systematic relatedness of these senses of the term. Still, their simple presence may stress an insight of interpretive importance: Kant's cosmopolitanism is a process, unfolding in a strategic manner along his intellectual biography, being at the heart of all the thematic elaborations of his philosophy. To put it in other words, cosmopolitanism gives sense to Kant's philosophy as a whole, being more than a rich fountain for cosmopolitan philosophies – it is the systemic cornerstone that makes Kantian philosophy possible at all.

Obviously, taking a meta-theoretical perspective on the theory of cosmopolitanism unfolding in Kant's philosophy, one may always ask, as one does: whose cosmopolitanism? That is, does a claim to cosmopolitanism suffice to in fact being cosmopolitan? Or is any claimed cosmopolitanism essentially flawed by the identity – the cultural embedding – of the person proposing it? As we shall see, – beyond his cosmopolitan identity evident from his biography – Kant does have a quite thematic sense for cultural difference, being well armed against this type of specifically external attack – one that we may describe as the post-modern critique. More exactly, he thinks that the rights of cultural difference – the grounds on which such a critique may be formulated – have a common origin with the very intercultural validity of his cosmopolitan claim. Through such an argument, he preempts external attacks, and reinforces cosmopolitanism in his own terms.

What is of yet greater interest though, is the fact that Kant also has a sense for politics. As Volker Gerhardt (1995) has shown in great detail, in the text of *Towards Perpetual Peace* (henceforth: *Perpetual Peace*) we can find the nucleus of a genuine political philosophy, understood as the theory of the free self-determination of a community, coextensive with the free self-determination of its members.

Still, it seems that throughout most of the work, it is the first unit of “cosmopolitanism” that predominates, namely, the cosmos: it is always only cosmopolitanism that is at stake, and not cosmopolitics, always only the way philosophy is expressive of a cosmic involvement, and not how it is political throughout this involvement. At the extreme, conceiving philosophy in a vulgar-Platonic manner as the science of eternal Forms, and not of perishable cities, being cosmic, but not political, it could be argued that politics is even contrary to cosmopolitanism, pertaining to the particular against the universal, and hence cosmopolitanism in a political sense – cosmopolitics – is an oxymoron. This would make Kant’s cosmopolitanism either apolitical, or his political thought not cosmopolitan. We should avoid both extremes.

Philosophy in a cosmopolitan sense

As Höffe shows, the core meaning of cosmopolitanism for Kant is apolitical, and namely, it is moral, as we shall explain. This meaning is to be found in Kant’s formulation of what genuine philosophy is, as contrasted with mere philosophical theory, namely, in the idea of “philosophy in a cosmopolitan sense”, or in a word-to-word translation, in the “cosmic concept of philosophy” (Weltbegriff der Philosophie). The title of the 2010 Kant Congress, this idea is explained as a specifically practical orientation towards the world as a whole, as against a merely theoretical, one might say, metaphysical – cosmotheoros – orientation, characteristic of academic philosophy (Schulbegriff der Philosophie). According to Kant, one should not see a conflict between the two models of philosophy; school philosophy also has its, relative, legitimacy.

The problem is, rather, to understand the practical orientation implied in the Weltbegriff. This is explained by Kant as an orientation that “considers the world as a means of exercising goodwill for the world”. We must note, at the same time, that it is a moral orientation, that does not rely on given institutions, not a political one; it expresses the very moral being of man seen in his personhood. The introduction of the cosmopolitan concept of philosophy as a fundamental idea, has a radical consequence on the understanding of Kantian philosophy, indeed of the Kantian subject. It shifts the worldliness of theoretical philosophy – known for readers of Kant who understand him as an epistemologist, for whom the “world” in Kant means a subjectively constituted horizon of object-constitution – to the “outside”, constituting in parallel the idea of personhood as a formal principle, on the “inside”. Through this shift, it normatively projects Reason into Nature, obliging knowledge to relate to Reason’s essential ends, not just in a theoretical, but in a very palpably practical manner, even with a duty to teach and set an example for this wisdom.

Thus, Kant sets the cosmopolitan orientation at the heart of philosophy; still, he does this in a way that is merely morally normative, not touching on any sense of simultaneously singular and collective self-determination – the criterion of political phenomenon. Indeed, his formulation of the Weltbegriff in the *Logic*, its late reformulation in the *Opus postumum* and its integration with Reason’s ends – the ends expressed in the *Architectonic* from the *Critique of Pure Reason* – suggest a comprehensive power unequalled in his system by any other concept. It seems, hence, that his system succeeded in its systematic endeavor, displaying philosophy in its cosmopolitan sense all along.

Here we should halt. It is paradoxical to be cosmopolitan in an apolitical manner – it is hardly better than the wishful thinking of mere goodwill. One cannot propose a philosophy with a cosmopolitan purpose and not care whether it is politically possible to pursue its goals! If Kant’s cosmopolitanism is more than mere wishful thinking, he must have an explanation of how it is political.

I claim, in line with Höffe, that he does, however, in a paradoxical sense. He does not have a different explanation than just this, the very idea of philosophy in a cosmopolitan sense, but in a more detailed understanding of the idea. In the most general sense, philosophy is cosmo-

politics, this being rendered possible by what Gerhardt calls the division of labor between philosophy and politics. Understanding the two fields as complementary, Gerhardt explains how they play a shared role in the progress of society. To put it shortly, philosophy standing for morals and politics for power, it turns out – let me paraphrase – that politics is the morality of the particular (reminiscent of Herder), and morality is the politics of the cosmopolitan.

But until being able to provide arguments for this idea, we need to ask a preliminary question: is there any other sense of cosmopolitan politics in Kant that is neither paraphrased, nor banal?

How the subsequent senses of cosmopolitanism are non-political

I shall not try to argue for or against the political character of epistemology, moral philosophy, the philosophy of education, of history, of natural teleology in Kant, all of them being understood in a cosmopolitan sense by Höffe. I take them to be fitted for their own systematic places, hence that they need not be political in themselves – perhaps working towards an indirectly political meaning in a more holistic, systematic way – insofar the whole of Kant's cosmopolitanism can be shown to be itself political. Still, we can find two inter-related topics – the understanding of law, under the heading of Right in Kant, and that of peace, as discussed in Perpetual Peace – that could be understood as both cosmopolitan and genuinely political at the same time.

Kantian law, on the one hand, is universalistic. Thus – as Thomas Pogge has argued at the Kant Congress – there is no reason why it should not be seen as valid at the global level – that is, as valid in a cosmopolitan sense, under his view. This is also not necessarily counter-Kantian, insofar as he himself claims, at certain places, international right to be coercively binding for member states of the peace federation. However, he does not conflate international right with cosmopolitan right, and sees the latter as regulating the relationship between states and foreign individuals – and there is no reason to alter his ordering. Thus, universal right remains a commandment for each state, international right, for the league of states, and cosmopolitan right for states and individuals in their extra-state relationship. Moreover, there is no easy way to show how this construction should be directly expressive of a co-genesis of a cosmopolitan subject together with a cosmopolitan legal order – the criterion for political existence set by Gerhardt. It is, to be sure, political at the state level and cosmopolitan at the global one, but the mediation is not clear and hardly arguable.

Peace, on the other hand, is an absolute concept. It signals the definitive exit from the state of nature at the level of states, highlighting the beginning – and perhaps the permanence – of a rational ordering of international relations that puts an end to the anarchical state of nature signaled by war. In its absolute status, peace functions as an active utopia that sets a goal to any political progress, should it be what it ought to be – progress of a genuine kind, progress in morality.

But should it, really? Kant never gives a rational explanation that it should – he only talks in hypotheticals. The teleological explanation is there, to be sure, claiming it to be Nature's goal to move humanity to its final end – to the perfection of morality. However, it is on moral grounds, that we should assume that goal, to put it shortly: it is our duty, to assume progress as naturally necessary, and it is a non-provable claim. In the same manner, the constitution of a peace federation, the democratization of states, and the coming to being of cosmopolitan right are all morally grounded presumptions – with no reason to be except for moral faith.

How cosmopolitanism is political in its goal

However, as Katrin Flikschuh (2009) shows – against Korsgaard and in line with Höffe – , morality cannot be understood by reference only to individuals and their rationality. In the final equation, a third term is needed, to absorb the under-determination of rationality

expressed in individuals and their – even shared – goal-setting. This third term proves to be the human species, viewed not biologically, but as a system of free individuals along space and time.

I take a system of free individuals to be exactly what Gerhardt expects a political community to be – the commonly self-determining whole of simultaneously self-determining persons. Hence, it is the meta-temporal and trans-spatial whole of all humans that serves as the goal of human action – not just abstract humanity in my person, but my own allegiance to humanity as an act of freedom.

In this sense, *mutatis mutandis*, philosophy proves its cosmopolitan loyalty once more. The only problem is, that humanity is not constituted in reality through a moral act – it is at most signaled, or noumenally constituted. Hence, the moral act may be political in its goal, but it is not political in itself – it is just what it is, an act of good faith. This split between the act and its goal is expressed by its being merely subjective – no one can prove, deny or question the morality of an act, but myself.

This system of free individuals as pertaining to the idea of morality itself is explicitly claimed by Kant to be the correlate of my own personhood and of the world outside me. In a teleological sense – in which it is seen precisely as the end of Nature – it is the linking point of Nature and Reason, the point at which the goals of the two coincide. This is the main theme of the third Critique, as the unity of the systems of Nature and Reason, an idea already signaled in the Critique of Pure Reason.

Still, is it, as a harmonious unity of all creation, a political concept? Hannah Arendt would answer positively.

How cosmopolitan action can be political in reality

As Höffe explains, it is not just the addressed system of humanity that builds up a political community – there needs to be a systemic subject to this object that will constitute it in its proper, voluntary form. Or, in Kant's wording, it's not just the Realm of Ends – even if it is a rightful, that is, lawful realm – that constitutes the cosmopolitical community, but the Realm of Virtue, that is, the ethical realm of beings having a good will. This is the properly political cosmopolitanism Kant has to offer: the system of rational beings who voluntarily conform to the ethical community, of beings who do not need right as such, since they need no constraint to be ethical – Shangri-La.

Kant's solution for arguing for this idea in Religion within the Boundaries of Mere Reason (henceforth: the Religion essay) is the gesture of introducing a common good over and against the highest good explained above. It is quite obvious that this argument is only tenable in the context of the Religion essay: it is a typically non-moral idea in the Kantian context to use a common goal against individual rationality.

Also, it is the first level at which cosmopolitanism is approximated from a political perspective: it is, in the sense of virtue, a moment of common self-determination of the individual and the community to pursue a common goal – which, could not have been valid for all individuals, had it not been utterly universal, and in turn, valid for the community, had it not been completely voluntary, hence, lacking determination through constraint. Hence, cosmopolitan politics seems to need voluntary laws – just as Kant explains later in Perpetual Peace! With the clarification of the idea of a voluntary community, light is shed on the most controversial issue of Kant's peace theory, namely, on the question of a federative (state-like, hence enforceable) or league-like (voluntary, hence always renounceable) international order.

Let us hypothesize that any particular political formation – be it in the form of a party, a state, a culture or a church – may only be cosmopolitan in an imperfect sense, in spite of the usual claims of all political formations for universality – this only amounts to their subjective universality, an aesthetic category, as the third Critique would name it. Political formations

may be cosmopolitan, at least in their goal, to the extent to which they are the carriers of humanity's moral tradition, and exactly through this universal content. They may indeed become truly cosmopolitan only insofar they become communities of virtue, lacking constraint, something quite impossible for the parties, cultures, churches and states as we know them. This is due to their sheer difference that places them in a state of competition and strife, and of institutionalization for their own reinforcement – hence of self-constraint – under the conditions of strife. The only situation rendering the lack of constraint imaginable is exactly the total and therewith natural – not imposed – isolation of the mythical mountain city.

The relevant question remaining concerning this issue is whether Kant still attributes any cosmopolitan worth to political and cultural forms. Let us remember that Kant's teleological argument unfolds in its best-known instance as the rational hope for the emancipation of mankind exemplified by the enthusiasm of observers – of citizens of other nations than the French – concerning the positive goals of the French Revolution. Insofar as philosophy needs to be historical – and the teleological argument implicitly makes philosophy historical, since it is arguing on historically contingent grounds – the historically given forms of politics and culture should also be philosophically important. Thus, there is a sense in which particular political-cultural entities should have a cosmopolitan value, namely, in the sense of a universal interpretation of history, with a cosmopolitan purpose – as the Kantian wording of Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose already shows it.

KANT'S VIEW OF PARTICULAR POLITICAL ENTITIES

At this point, we may witness a fortunate coincidence of intellectual interests. On the one hand, we may save Kant from the claimed criticism of vulgar-Platonism, which considers him metaphysically insensitive to historical forms such as cultures, as well as their differences. Obviously, Kant should prove to be cosmopolitan enough to avoid that criticism, but it should be specified how. On the other hand, we may meet the more specific interest in cosmopolitanism today, namely, the methodological interest of the social sciences, one that aims at de-territorializing its object (the socially embedded individual) and to re-conceive it in a cosmopolitan manner – needing to conceive of the life context of the individual in a cosmopolitan manner as well.

Cosmopolitanism and social science

Given that research in the social and political sciences, as well as the humanities has recently experienced a radical cosmopolitan turn – one comparable to the gender turn or the linguistic turn in its scope and implications – it seems just right to ask the question referring to cosmopolitanism together with them, involving Kant. A virtually self-standing scientific field has emerged – cosmopolitanism studies – that surpasses the limitations of individual sciences and defines itself from an autonomous perspective, if not theoretically, than at least practically. From a philosophical perspective, the importance of this event is that it not only acknowledges the fact of a global existence empirically – as our daily lives do – and it doesn't try to produce an encompassing, possibly metaphysical model for it either, but tries to create an appropriate methodology, in order to address the issue in a scientifically relevant manner.

Given also the existence of numerous theoretical and practical perspectives within the field – I am referring to cosmopolitan theories and research itineraries as multicolored as those of moral, political, legal, anthropological, architectural etc. cosmopolitanisms – I would also like to propose to locate a common ground of these territorial claims in their very possibility for a methodology. I argue, hence, that there must be a minimal criterion to assess the claim to the adjective “cosmopolitan” as referring to research fields, and therewith, that this criterion can be located in what we should call “methodological cosmopolitanism”.

As Ulrich Beck (2007) understands it, methodological cosmopolitanism – in contrast with methodological nationalism – stands for the principle of analysis, indeed of thought under which the scope of comparison of individuals – hence the horizon of society as such – is no longer limited by the nation-state as a territorially defined ultimate entity. Obviously, it is not on simply moral grounds – based on the idea that humans are equal by birth – but on political ones that this methodological expectation is stipulated: in the context of globalization, both the subject of sovereignty – formerly the nation-state – and its object – formerly the citizen – have changed. In this context, the obvious further methodological poses itself: how should we interpret the units – the subject and object – of sovereignty in order not to miss the very aim of the cosmopolitan revolution, i.e. the core concept of its methodology? Beck and others hint at a heuristic way of finding the elements usable for reconstructing this unit, however, this heuristic itself is mediated through the same concept formerly used for the critique of nation-state sovereignty: culture. Culture being the ultimate resource from which social science hopes to reconstruct any possible model for a cosmopolitan methodology, it is only self-evident to ask the cosmopolitan question regarding this resource: what is culture in its cosmopolitan function?

Also, let us remember that the one most cited historical author in cosmopolitanism is Immanuel Kant. It is unsurprising, as Axel Honneth (2010) explains, that after a period of turmoil in political and social philosophy, after the fall of great Hegelian, Marxist and liberal theories, there be a “return” to Kant. Still, the failure of all alternatives does not exactly leads to a return – rather, to the radicalization of a problematic – that of modernity – that has not properly evolved, only changed. Therefore, it is rather recommended, in my view, to re-put the question concerning cosmopolitan culture in a Kantian context, instead of seeking his legitimization for our own questions, not yet exhaustively understood within his own philosophy.

The post-modern criticism restated

Before turning to Kant himself, let us reformulate the classical post-modern criticism against modern authors, in this case, Kant. It is from a hegemonic European culture, they say, that Kant and his cosmopolitanism draw their motivation and structure, hence their claims to justice, tolerance, universality and openness – i.e. the very core of a cosmopolitan ideal – are essentially flawed. Let us be quite attentive: this type of argument always proceeds from culture to the individual, from identity to difference, from the positive to the transcendental. The short answer would sound like this: philosophical concepts are, or at least claim to be, culture-independent; but let us consider the criticism in more detail before trying to answer it more comprehensively.

As an example, let us remind of Jacques Derrida’s (2001) reconstruction of Kant’s cosmopolitanism, who complained about this not being able to accommodate foreign nationals’ claim for residence. By this, I understand the need for unconditional openness toward the “other”, towards individuals as such, reaching to their full acceptance as citizens. Obviously, this is not the case in Kant. Still, the need that it be so tells of a more profound post-modern expectation: that otherness as such should be politically embraced by the new dynamics of our global existence. Difference being interpreted, however, as cultural difference, it turns out that culture – hegemonic Western culture – is to blame for its not being accommodated.

In order to assess Kant’s ideas about culture, and a possible formulation of his defense, I recommend reading his *Anthropology*, a locus of most the major themes relating to culture, politics and history. Also, the *Anthropology* is a context rather free of the supposedly flawed aprioristic constructs, since it is not a philosophical, but educational – pragmatic – work. Our questioning concerning Kant’s cosmopolitanism – hence his understanding of difference – and its relationship to culture can find an optimal terrain within its limits.

The actual work is in fact Kant's own publication of his textbook at the basis of his Anthropology course. The course, on the other hand, has seen other, later instances of publication, becoming the testimony of the author's intellectual development.

The wording of its title, *Anthropology from a Pragmatic Point of View*, refers to the relevant epistemology of Kant's vision on the human sciences. It is not a moral approach, educating the student how to form his will, nor is it a theoretical one, since a philosophical anthropology for Kant amounts to an oxymoron. Its pragmatism can be expressed in its leading principle – in the idea of showing what man can and should make of itself – not as an empirical description, nor as a normative claim, but as an endeavor oriented by a pragmatically universal, i.e., open and unbiased – and in this sense already cosmopolitan! – views on culture and history, seeking examples of relevant human otherness, not facts about objective human nature.

Lurking in the background of the named leading principle we must mention the idea – present in Kant's writings on history as well – that the itinerary of the individual is socially embedded. This idea draws on the presuppositions of the teleological argument, stating that Nature's hidden plan includes the development unto perfection of each species – in the case of man, this meaning that the goal of the individual is directed towards the fulfillment of the species' *differentia specifica*: Reason. Given that the existence of the individual is temporally limited, it is only through partaking in a community having a common epistemic horizon, a tradition and an identity – i.e., through belonging to a culture – that the individual is able to rationally strive towards its goal defined by Nature. Still, I understand this to be a matter of the given, and not of ought, pertaining to the natural side of the teleological argument, not holding therefore any ethical relevance.

Pragmatically, the possibilities of the individual for development are to be observed through culture. Still, culture is not just an occurrence, a mere contingent historical form of social existence without rational contents: it is always a rational image of the rule according to which freedom is defined in the given society. As such, it is itself a unit – a quasi-subject – of sovereignty, as the given society is, not in the sense that it controls minds or people, but in the more implicit sense that it is itself an expression of freedom, holding by itself a normative claim to autonomy exactly insofar it conveys this claim towards individual subjects in an epistemic manner.

We must only observe the exact understanding in which culture is autonomy: as a way, an expression, a form of freedom, given beforehand, lived through existentially as something given. This fact reveals exactly of the inner tension of the *Anthropology*: even if culture is given, temporal, a posteriori, its contents, its claims are normative, transcendental, aprioristic. Here we do not have the space to even explain this tension in detail, let me only note that it is not easily dispensed with.

What we must retain from the *Anthropology* is the factual need – the natural-teleological necessity – for culture and its problematic relationship to freedom. Nowhere do we observe a normative approach having culture for a subject: it is always the individual that is free. Also, it is the individual that needs culture for attaining its natural goal, and if Nature wills that we have culture, it is only on the basis of our individually, morally and universally oriented approach to history that we can see this purpose – hence the idea of a universal history with a cosmopolitan purpose.

Kant's response to his critics

If we try to return to above-mentioned idea, the one that I would call the fetishism of culture – observable in multi-culturalism and postmodernism – we may restate its ideal structure using Kantian terms in the following way. Any culture is free in its own right as a special expression of freedom, hence no culture – and no philosophical theory, these being culturally

embedded – may have primacy over others. More specifically, any culture as an expression of Nature’s intention to lead the species to its perfection is equal to any other, simply because there is no third term the comparison could use as a criterion.

However, there is such a third term, namely, autonomy. It is there to start with, as the very reason of conceiving history, and culture therein, in a universalist manner. Viewed from its perspective, culture is not contingent on history, and history on Nature, but all are contingent on the idea of the human being as a free, rational agent living under factual, determined – historical – conditions. Hence, culture acquires a negative sense beside the positive one described before: it not only expresses, but also limits the individual’s possibilities of expressing – indeed experiencing – freedom.

The correctness of such an argument is supported by Kant’s own negative use of culture in the context of universal history, as explained by Marianna Papastephanou (2002). It is not, again, a contingent fact that there exists a plurality of cultures, rather it should be seen as an expression of Nature’s wisdom against a possible forceful formation of a world state! This is the restatement of the unsocial sociability argument with reference to culture: where man wishes concord, Nature begs for discord. Since the idea of a universal history – and therewith of a kingdom of ends – is only a regulative idea – see Kleingeld (2008) –, it is not, and should not be supposed as if it were, in our power to bring about. Hence, culture could, and should also be seen as the principle of discord, and in epistemic terms, of non-understanding, of nonsense, when viewed from a cosmopolitan perspective. This is the systematically most valuable and at the same time most surprising cosmopolitan idea Kant has to offer us about culture.

Saving Kant from this point on should prove a clear-cut enterprise. Since his claims for any normative value of culture are, on the one hand, based on a teleological mode of argument, on the other, are as much negative as positive in its treatment, his stance should prove valid – or invalid, for that matter – irrespective of its cultural embedding. To put it bluntly, he takes culture into account, and in a way both more far-reaching and more profound than his critics do or expect him to do.

Since the point concerning culture has been made, and indeed in a systematically grounded manner, we should find a way to relevantly draw conclusions from it. To that end, one interesting way to rephrase the question could sound like this: one might ask whether Kant’s philosophical culture itself – claimed to be a cosmopolitan culture – has the character of a monologue or that of a dialogue. I would suggest the latter answer to be correct, but this is a question for another research.

In a more straightforward way, the line of argument sketched above has two relevant consequences. On the one hand, we can witness the return of autonomy to the discourse on culture – and insofar we wish to maintain culture as a key element in the cosmopolitan discourse, we are one step closer to a methodologically cosmopolitan social science that seeks a global scope for its analysis. On the other hand, our focus must shift from cultures as quasi-units of sovereignty to individuals as proper ones, and if we wish to maintain a Kantian cosmopolitan perspective, we must shift to individuals’ involvement in universal history. The motive of this involvement should not be sought around a universal rationality – one that we can either take for granted or we can dismiss altogether. Rationality in the individual is subjective, with only possible claims for universality, but in all its subjectivity, it revolves around a key concept, namely happiness, an idea that is informed both by morally social and by politically cultural concepts, but remains central to the Kantian analysis of the individual in its social-historical embedding. This should be the point of departure for future research that takes both individuals and cultures into account with a continued cosmopolitan intent.

Some conclusions concerning social science

Note that I do not claim the necessity of one universal reason for investigating cosmopolitan contents in global society. Rather, I assume that the universal is there through the global, and it is the performance of each individual how to relate to it – how he/she conceives of it in terms of his/her own happiness.

A noteworthy detail offers itself at this point. As Susan Meld Shell (2003) explains, Kant shifts his concept of happiness from a Stoic-Rousseauian type that emphasized the rational representation of a harmony of pleasures as the grounds for a conception of happiness, to a mature modern idea of a teleological representation of happiness as mediated by the concept of work as a transcendental principle. Due to this shift, the modern individual does not retain the pragmatic grounds of his/her autonomy – these grounds being a given representation of happiness – to itself, rather projects it outside itself into a social sphere where it gains reality through the reifying process of work as teleological action.

The relevant import of this reinterpretation of happiness in the cosmopolitan context is that it will not only be the quasi-sovereign units of meta-individual groups – cultures, religions or states – that will need to be granted attention, but also the emancipated individual in its personal performance. Linking the above information concerning happiness as mediated by work to the vision of the individual as a performing agent of a culturally embedded universal, we shall arrive at the idea of culture as something to be overcome by individual performance, this performance referring back to a social horizon on which it can be understood as work – that is, as a goal that can be represented for others from the point of view of its effect.

Without giving up culture as a medium of understanding, but considering it also in its limiting function, we may stipulate the idea of work as a principle – both subject and object – of sovereignty, carrier of a teleological content that can implicitly refer to universal teleology.

THE RETURN OF DIFFERENCE

Through the idea of a return of autonomy, we could link the issue of difference – and hence Kant's historical conception of community – to his general, moral, endeavor. The remaining issue in this sense is to explain the manner in which his view does fit with his cosmopolitanism, or simply: whether it is, besides being moral, also cosmopolitan.

Höffe's interpretation can again be of help. He claims not only that Kant's conception is moral and in this sense cosmopolitan, but moreover, that it is a place of a co-genesis of universal – cosmopolitan – cooperation among persons and peoples and of a right to difference.

Namely, it is in the context of Perpetual Peace where this happens. The free self-determination of humanity as having a cosmo-politically common origin with the free self-determination of persons, finds its analogue in this context through the free cooperation of political communities together with a preservation of their difference.

This is, also, the sense in which culture is politically important for Kant. Not as a value in itself, but in its political-dialectical function, the difference in personal and collective identities acts as a guarantee against a possible forceful, hence inauthentic unification of the globe under one imposed rule – a global despotism. It is the essential freedom pertaining to the right to difference – not difference as a carrier of freedom – that is indispensable for a cosmopolitan constitution. Simply, given the freedom of association dictated in cosmopolitanism, difference is there in it from the very beginning – there is no need for its theoretical re-grounding.

This is evident in the correct understanding of the very cosmopolitan law Kant stipulates – in the duty of hospitality. As many have overlooked – see Brown's (2010) argument against Derrida's interpretation – the limitation of cosmopolitan law to hospitality is itself a claim to freedom – namely, to the freedom of the state, in this case, not of the individual. It is the sovereignty of the state, more exactly, its right to particularity as against the universality in the person of the other, that is defended here, making cosmopolitanism translatable – in a histori-

cal perspective – as tolerance, that is, the right to cooperation within a merely negatively understood difference. However, this also means the right to idiosyncrasy, that is, the right not to cooperate within a positively understood difference.

In the background, there always lurks the issue of right as enforceable lawfulness that is presupposed by the acts of freedom that pertain to cosmopolitics. It remains to be asked, whether this is an issue that moves the discourse into a historical direction – that is, if it remains always important, if and how right is realized in all global contexts – or if it leaves it open to the aprioristic analysis. This problem takes us back to the idea of the Kingdom of Virtue, as methodologically different from the Kingdom of Ends. It seems that these two represent two alternative ways to interpret Kant’s cosmopolitanism. On the one hand – as Höffe explains – we see the social and political progress of mankind, encompassing moral progress, leading to a cosmopolitan society – this is the range of duties of right. On the other, to the same moral end, but leading to an analytically distinct result, we have the progress of the way of thinking, and its result – the Kingdom of Virtue.

Insofar as we have understood only the latter to be properly cosmo-political, we must draw a weird conclusion. In Kant, it seems, actual cosmopolitics does not happen on the terrain of politics – as we understand it today, in the sense of a free common self-determination – but on the terrain of religion! Obviously, in metaphysical terms, it is no surprise: cosmopolitics means the active allegiance to a cosmic order – that is, practiced religion. Still, the quite straightforward and analytical way Kant argues for it leaves a taste of frustration in someone who knows religion to be the terrain of secrets. Either, we must conclude, Kant must be wrong about religion – and wrong about cosmopolitics! – or, if he is right about cosmopolitics, he must have something peculiar to tell us concerning religion, too.

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Bodies, Boundaries and Borders

Clothing and Nudity as Cultural Markers in Travelogues

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During the 19th century more than 200 travelogues by foreign visitors to the Nordic countries were published. To understand these books one has to analyze the written text as well as the illustrations as the media communicates in different ways.

One of various themes in the travelogues is the dichotomization of “we” and “the other”, where we (the author) are seen as superior in comparison to the other (the natives or in some cases indigenous people). In the depictions and descriptions of clothing and nudity it is possible to analyze how these dichotomizations were constructed, and to some extent also understand how different categorizations concerning the other still are active. It must be stated that it is not always an easy formula of “the other” as inferior in comparison with the writing “we” as the clothing also have a practical dimension in the actual environment.

The paper will deal with a small number of examples from different parts of the century. The examples will be chosen from travelogues where clothing and nudity is a theme in both text and pictures. In doing so it is possible to study development as well as the impact of media specific phenomena.

CLOTHING AND NUDITY AS CULTURAL MARKERS IN TRAVELOGUES

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First of all I must point out that this is not a paper delivered in a project that is completed, it should rather be seen as ideas formed during the work with the material and I want to test these ideas. With that in mind I must state that the actual work with this material dates a few years back and I connected with a project at Umeå University during the last years of the last decennium.

The project was formed on the basis of a mutual interest concerning travel writing among researchers at Umeå University. In the center of the project was the bulk of over 200 travelogues written and published of foreign visitors to the Nordic north between 1789 and 1914. These are written in 11 different languages with the majority in English, German or French.

In the project, apart from the individual subproject, there were three main objectives with the project:

1. Examine the construction of the Nordic North
2. Examine differences according to nationality, gender and time
3. Theoretical development in studies in travel writing.

To comment on these three objectives one can say that the Nordic North, including the northern parts of Sweden, the whole of Norway, Finland and Iceland, and the Kola peninsula but excluding Denmark to a large degree was constructed both politically and culturally during the 19th century and that the outside look on these parts of Europe were of great importance in that process as there were rather few writings from authors of the countries in question. Many of the stereotypes known in the Nordic countries today can be traced back to the travelogues of the 19th century. Concerning the differences according to nationality, gender and time it can be said that there are a more scientific interest in the writings of the central European authors and a more popular approach in the English speaking travelogues. And the development over time can be said to go from scientific to popular. In terms of theoretical development there is indeed such a need as the majority of the literature concerning travel writing emanates from the English speaking world and thereby concerns colonial discourses. There is much that is useful in these writings but it cannot be implemented on the northern arena without important changes. A concrete example is that the dichotomization man – culture, women – nature that is possible to apply on for instance travel writing concerning Africa does not function without considerable changes in the Nordic environment, due to the fact that the northern environment often is seen as male.

The research group consisted of approximately 20 researchers, the majority of whom were working at Umeå University. Among the disciplines represented in the project are English,

French, French, Spanish, Russian, Italian, Archeology, History of science and ideas and History and theory of art. The project was led by Heidi Hansson, professor in English literature.

My subproject had the title “An illustrated foreign north” and it had three main objectives

1. To examine the role of the pictures in the construction of the Nordic North
2. To study the interplay between text and illustration, what does a picture transmit that cannot be communicated through text and vice versa
3. How did the development of printing techniques change the illustration pattern in both a quantitative and qualitative sense during the 19th century

I argue that in order to understand the nature of illustrated travel literature the research has to be multidisciplinary and has to deal with the written text as well as the illustrations. The reader gained their perceptions of the places described from both pictures and texts and in order to retrieve how different parts of the world were, and still is, perceived according to certain criteria stated in travel literature, scholars must work with a variety of visual and textual communication strategies. The second of my “necessities” is that this material urges scholars to study it with quantitative methods. There are so many different illustrated travel books that it would be a loss if researcher did not try to study them as one unit and thereby gain generalized knowledge on the field. Having stated these two “necessities” I must also state that I do not mean that all research into travel literature must have these approaches.

In my work I have examined 128 different travel books that were written by foreign travellers to the northern parts of Europe during the nineteenth century.

There are of course many problems with a quantitative approach to this kind of material. One obvious problem is that it is very difficult to categorize individual works of art into genres and that one illustration can hold many different artistic subjects. Another problem is that it is hard or in fact impossible to transform aesthetic values into statistics.

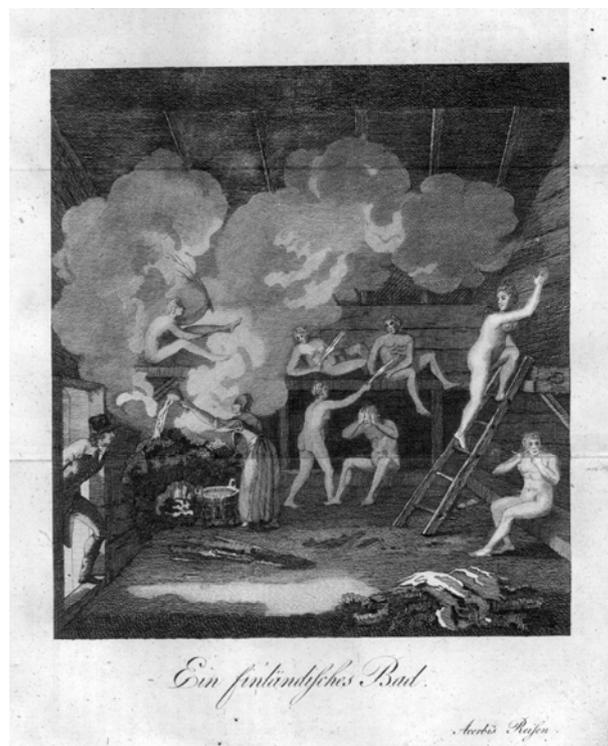
	-1820	1821-40	1841-60	1861-80	1881-	Totally
Portraits	4 (2 %) (1 %)	18 (14 %) (5 %)	4 (5 %) (1 %)	86 (16 %) (25 %)	240 (7 %) (68 %)	352 (9 %) (100 %)
Maps	28 (14 %) (44 %)	2 (1 %) (3 %)	5 (6 %) (8 %)	6 (1 %) (10 %)	22 (1 %) (35 %)	63 (1 %) (100 %)
Landscapes	38 (20 %) (5 %)	25 (18 %) (3 %)	23 (29 %) (3 %)	62 (12 %) (8 %)	595 (17 %) (80 %)	743 (17 %) (100 %)
Cityscapes	10 (5 %) (3 %)	5 (4 %) (2 %)	1 (1 %) (0 %)	27 (5 %) (9 %)	262 (8 %) (76 %)	313 (7 %) (100 %)
Cultural history	11 (6 %) (1 %)	4 (3 %) (0 %)	7 (9 %) (1 %)	112 (21 %) (13 %)	736 (21 %) (85 %)	870 (20 %) (100 %)
Archaeology	3 (2 %) (1 %)		1 (1 %) (1 %)	13 (2 %) (5 %)	257 (8 %) (93 %)	274 (6 %) (100 %)
Ethnography	59 (31 %) (6 %)	48 (35 %) (5 %)	23 (29 %) (2 %)	116 (22 %) (11 %)	770 (23 %) (76 %)	1 016 (24 %) (100 %)
Indigenous people	14 (7 %) (3 %)	25 (18 %) (6 %)	14 (18 %) (3 %)	87 (16 %) (20 %)	298 (9 %) (68 %)	438 (10 %) (100 %)
Botany	4 (2 %) (80 %)	1 (1 %) (20 %)				5 (0 %) (100 %)
Zoology	10 (5 %) (16 %)	3 (2 %) (5 %)		6 (1 %) (10 %)	44 (1 %) (69 %)	63 (1 %) (100 %)
Nat. sciences in general	7 (4 %) (7 %)	2 (1 %) (2 %)			84 (2 %) (90 %)	93 (2 %) (100 %)
Other subjects	4 (2 %) (3 %)	4 (3 %) (3 %)	2 (2 %) (2 %)	24 (4 %) (18 %)	98 (3 %) (74 %)	132 (3 %) (100 %)
Totally	192 (100 %) (4 %)	137 (100 %) (3 %)	80 (100 %) (2 %)	539 (100 %) (12 %)	3 406 (100 %) (79 %)	4 362 (100 %) (100 %)

Fig. 1. Artistic subjects, the first %-number states the ratio during the time span whereas the second states the ratio within the actual artistic subject.

The only question I will address here concerns artistic subjects. The artistic subject with the most illustrations is illustrations dealing with ethnography in different forms. That shows that the travellers or authors were interested in the peoples who lived in these parts of Europe. This is further emphasized by the fact that the cultural history of the Nordic north was also a subject of high interest. On the other hand are the natural sciences of very low interest. This can be explained by the fact that the authors that were scientists and worked with for instance botany or zoology had other channels for publishing their results. Other important artistic subjects are landscapes. Many of the landscapes can be described as ways of trying to capture the sublime and the whole genre can be seen as a part of the romantic tradition with its roots in the early parts of the nineteenth century.

There are changes over time in some of the artistic subjects. Maps are for instance more frequent in the material from the early parts of the century. This may be due to the fact that even early travel books often included at least one map but as the total amount of illustrations increased the ratio of maps diminished. Illustrations with archaeological material are on the other hand more frequent in the latter parts of the century. This can be explained in two different ways. Firstly, the archaeological material is primarily important to two authors, Ferdinand Krauss and Paul Belloni du Chaillu, and their travel books, published in 1882 and 1888, have a large amount of illustrations. Secondly, archaeology in the Nordic countries was of a very high standard in the latter parts of the nineteenth century. It is therefore natural that archaeological material becomes an important feature in the travel books produced during that period.

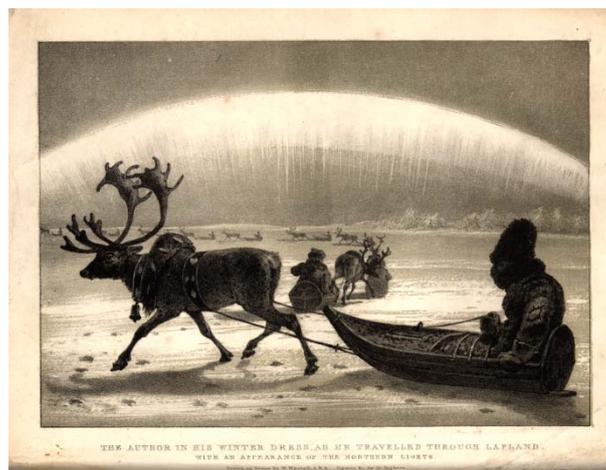
Turning to the main subject in this paper, the question of clothing and nudity as cultural markers I start of in one illustration in the travelogue by Giuseppe Acerbi (1803). This actual illustration is from the German edition but it appears in the English and Italian editions as well.



Ill. 1 Giuseppe Acerbi, Reise durch Schweden und Finnland, bis an die äussersten Gränzen von Lappland, in den Jahren 1798 und 1799 (översatt från engelska av Ch. Weyland), Berlin: Wollischen Buchhandlung, 1803.

The first one notice in the picture is that there is at least one unrealistic feature in the picture, the architecture of the sauna. It is very unlikely that a sauna would have had an interior height of four meters. The second thing one notices is that the author himself is present in the illustration. He is looking in at the people in the sauna, and, standing at the door step functions as a bridge between the reader of the travelogue and what the illustration depicts. That bridge has another function and that is the one between the civilized and uncivilized world.

In the preface to the travelogue he writes that he was looking forward to leaving the luxurious life in Italy for the wilderness of the north. There is a romantic notion of the north in his writing. But, as he comments on the sauna that notion is blown away. He argues that the sauna is a sinful place as men and women uses it together, and nudity is for Acerbi an equivalent with unmoral behavior. The fact that he during his journey more than once opens the doors to saunas and thereby unveils the nudity does not seem to be a problem to him as he do not know anything about the unwritten rules of the sauna where sexuality is left outside. Instead he practices a voyeurism looking in through the sauna door that today would be seen as problematic but for Acerbi is it more like a sport. This way of looking at naked men and women would not have been permitted in his own cultural environment in Italy but it was not something he reflected on when he was in an environment belonging to the other. In travelogues dealing with the sauna there is an ambivalent perspective. On one hand it is seen as immoral by some authors but on the other hand, it is seen as a proof of the high moral of the peoples of the north and their closer relation to the body that had been lost in the (over)cultivated modern world. It functions also as an explanation of the good health among the Finns as they are compared with for instance the Sami (Hansson, 2002).



Ill. 2. Arthur de Capell Brooke, *A winter in Lapland and Sweden with various observations relating to Finmark and its inhabitants made during a residence at Hammerfest, near the north cape*, London: John Murray, 1828.

The next illustration is from the more or less professional traveler Sir Arthur de Capell Brooke (Pettersson, 2009). In 1820 he made a journey from Alten at the shores of the arctic sea to the city of Tornio at the Gulf of Bothnia. This was the last leg of his long Nordic journey where he among other places stayed in Hammerfest for nearly half a year (Capell Brooke, 1828). The ambivalence I talked about in the view on the sauna is also present in the writings of Capell Brooke. When he comments on the life in Hammerfest the frontispieces of the books depicts women in modern clothing but as he enters the wilderness these cloths does not give any protection in the harsh climate, and the ladies that accompanies him on the nearly one month long journey are looked upon with skepticism as their clothing would not help them. In the travelogue Capell Brooke describes the impact of the snow and the wind and how he changes his clothing tom the traditional clothing of the Sami in an attempt to survive. He

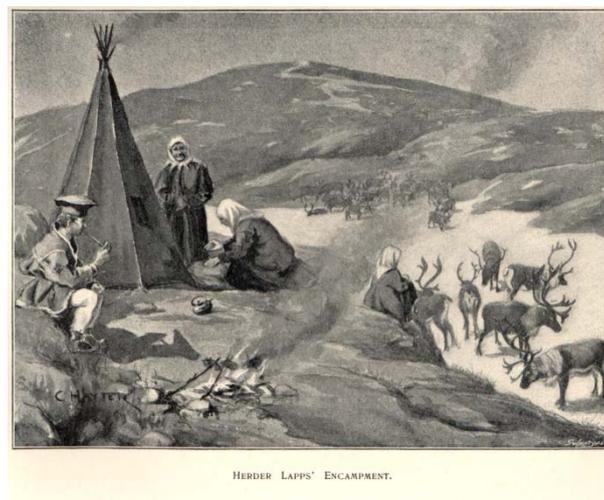
describes in detail the clothing and in the depictions of him as the traveling adventurer in what he described as the last wilderness in Europe he is clad in the Sami clothing.

Here it becomes clear that the adaptation to the traditional way of clothing becomes a necessity to survive, but is it the only role it has? It has become clear to me that the illustrations, apart from their communicative role had another purpose, they should help to sell the books. In the advertisement for the books it is always stated how many illustrations there are, in what techniques they made and sometimes even what they depict. If the author is depicted in the traditional clothing of the people at the place of the travelogue it gives an aura of genuineness and the travel book can attract more readers and buyers. The clothing can also underline the dangers the author had to endure and thereby become a marker of his or hers persona.



Ill. 3. Alexander Hutchinson, *Try Lapland: A fresh field for summer tourists*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1870.

The next picture is half a century younger than the earlier ones. It comes from a travelogue written by Alexander Hutchinson (Hutchinson, 1870). In the illustration we can see Mr. and Mrs. Hutchinson in a modern carriage followed by their butler. The icy landscape of Capell Brooke is gone and instead we can see the couple in a summer landscape, and even though it is in black and white we can see that it is all covered in green leaves. The clothing of the Hutchinson's are also changed from those of Capell Brooke. The Sami clothing is all gone and they are more "modern" or city like clad. The function of this clothing is to underline the fact that the Nordic North is no longer seen as exotic and adventurous but instead as a goal for more modern tourism. Hence the clothing functions as a cultural marker.



Ill. 4. Cutcliffe Hyne, *Through arctic Lapland*, London: Adam and Charles Black, 1898

In Cutcliffe Hyne's *Through arctic Lapland* (1898) the clothing has another function. The book was published in 1898 and the common politics and cultural view on the indigenous people of the north at that time can be summed in one sentence "Sami should be Sami". This was the official politics in for example Sweden and it was also a cultural paradigm in the late 19th century. The Sami had her or his value as long as lived in the traditional way of the nature and the reindeer. In this context the traditional clothing becomes a marker of the Sami as genuine inn their environment and not as in Capell Brooke a necessity depending on the harsh climate.



Ill. 5. Ferdinand Krauss, *Von der Ostsee bis zum Norcap: Eine Wanderung durch Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Kunst- und Culturgeschichte, Sage und Dichtung*, Neutitschen, Wien und Leipzig: Rainer Hosch, 1888.

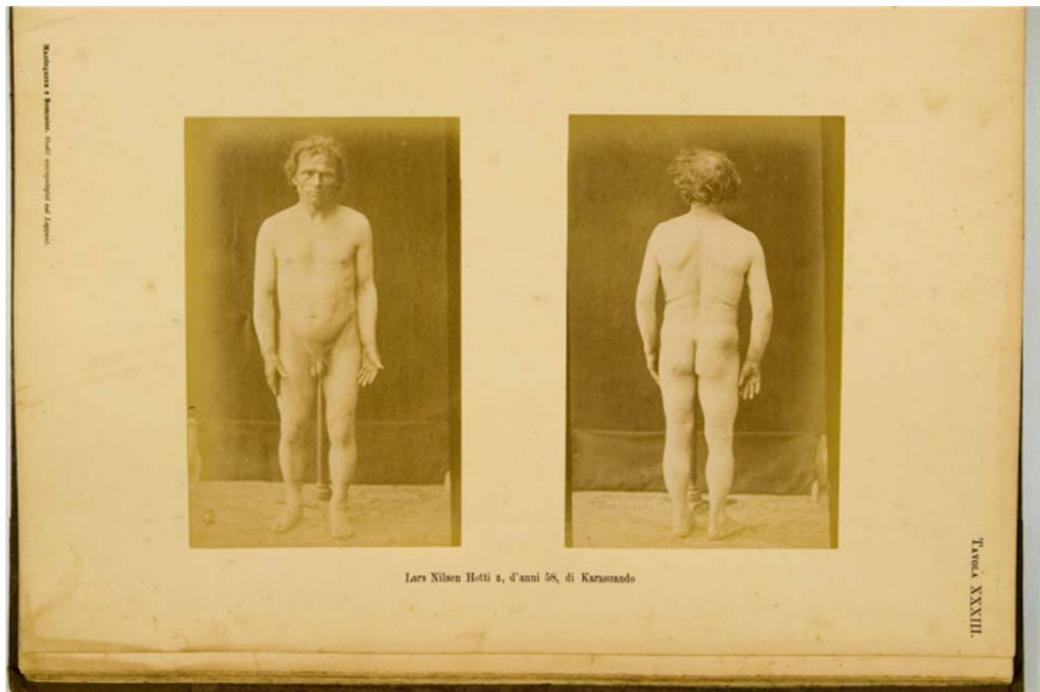
During the last decades of the 19th century the rural life was threatened in many ways. This led to a will to preserve this way of life as well as the wishes to categorize and scientifically explain it. In the travelogue of Ferdinand Krauss from 1888 there are an extensive number of illustrations that together with the text should function as scientific markers (Krauss, 1888). In this case with the peasants in clothing claimed to be traditional the clothing is a way to categorize the people. The printing techniques, allowing color prints also make them appealing to the eye of the reader. These pictures may seem harmless today but there is a darker background to them. As the process of scientific understanding of the rural culture carried on one of the means in doing it to science was to sort people in categories. The thinking that was present in this and other travelogues with scientific aspirations in the late 19th century is a dichotomization in "we" and "the other" and in Foucauldian terms a way of gaining control (Hall, 1997).



Ill. 6. Ferdinand Krauss, *Von der Ostsee bis zum Norcap: Eine Wanderung durch Dänemark, Norwegen und Schweden mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Kunst- und Culturgeschichte, Sage und Dichtung*, Neutitschen, Wien und Leipzig: Rainer Hosch, 1888.

In the same travelogue there is an illustration depicting a Nordic warrior. During the last decades of the 19th century, archaeology came into being as a modern science. It is therefore no coincidence that archaeological material becomes more frequent in the travel books of that period. It should also be noted that the prehistory of Scandinavia too many of the authors had an aura of freedom, as the Vikings were seen as the brave and free people of the North (Barton, 1998). At the same time they were also seen as a source of many other northern cultures (Wawn, 2000). Many of the illustrations in the works of Ferdinand Krauss (1888), Paul Belloni Du Chaillu (1882) and William Widgery Thomas' (1898), have archaeological motives such as rock carvings, flint axes or clay vessels. These illustrations appear to be scientifically correct and many of them were certainly taken from archaeological literature. A depiction of the same Iron Age warrior is found in both Krauss' and Du Chaillu's texts. It is interesting to note that this illustration cannot be found in the archaeological literature many of the different details are depicted in archaeological literature (Engelhardt, 1863-65). This means that the illustrator who worked with Du Chaillu's travel book before John Urry published it must have had knowledge of the archaeological literature and made an illustration based on the scientific knowledge of the period. This illustration must then have been bought by Rainer Hosch's printing house to be published in Krauss' book.

In this case the clothing has a similar function as the one with the Nordic traditional costumes; they give the publication a scientific value. But there is another function. By depicting the Iron Age warrior it changes the discourse to a discourse dealing with the expectations of the reader on the north. These expectations can be summed as a country of free men in a gender biased configuration.



Ill. 7. Paolo Mantegazza, *Studi antropologici sui Lapponi*, Firenze: Coi tipi dell'arte della stampa, 1880

The last illustrations of this article is from Paolo Mantegazza's *Studi antropologici sui Lapponi*, (1880). Together with the text there is an appendix with about 80 illustrations. A difference between these and most of the rest of the illustrations I have worked with in my research is that it is photographic illustrations. The illustrations depicts mostly named Sami, both men and women both en face and in profile. There are also nude pictures of Sami and the last illustrations depict Sami skulls. To the modern viewer these pictures give a bad taste as we are reading the history with some of the answers on hand. We know that the categorization that these pictures are a part of was important for a "we" and "the other" thinking, a necessary tool in for instance the genocides during the 20th century. But we must ask ourselves some questions in relation to these pictures. Why do we react as we do looking at these and not other pictures and do they in any qualitative way differ from other depictions shown in this paper. My answer to the first question is that the technique is of great importance. The photographic picture has a notion of realism and it does not distance the viewer in the same manner as for instance an etching. The details are more explicitly shown and the will and possibility to depict details are much greater than in earlier works and techniques. Regarding my second and last question I want to state that there is similarities with these illustrations and for example the ones published in Acerbi's travelogue. It is the scientist or traveler coming to these parts of Europe and allowing him to view the naked peoples of the north. And the bottom line is that these publications would not have been possible if it had not been for a "we" and a "the other". These publications and their illustrations derive from that thinking and it conserved it as a dichotomization still vivid.

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Cultures of Conflict

The Concept of “Structure of Feeling” According to R. Williams and the Stratification of Class-oriented Labor Movements in Contemporary Japan: A Case Study on ‘A’ local union in Tokyo

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This research attempts to rethink the possibilities lying in the labor movements of contemporary Japan from the 1980s onward within the theoretical framework of the British cultural studies. The concept of “structure of feeling” according to Williams is reliable while attempting to account for the complexity of labor movements in contemporary Japan. Based on the above-mentioned theoretical approaches, within historical changes expressible through binaries such as “industrial society /working class, welfare state/corporate-oriented unions, neo-liberalism/somewhat hardly definable agents”, the present study focuses on “the residual” class-oriented labor unions in the hegemonic processes of Japanese labor movements as witnessed in “emergent” gender-oriented labor movements, “residual” class-oriented labor unions, and “dominant” corporate-oriented unions. Making use of the concept of “structure of feeling”, the present study examines the structure, the functions, and the stratifications of “A” local union based in Tokyo. (a)The main office and the NPO, (b) “a” branch, a small and mid-sized corporate-oriented union established in 1978, and (c) “b” branch born in 2007, a union whose members are registered temporary tour conductors have been the object of our investigations. The purpose of the present study is precisely to understand the dynamic interrelation existing between the three sections of “A” local union where antagonism and the “all equal workers” philosophy seem to coexist.

INTRODUCTION

The overall purpose of the present research is to scrutinize the contemporary Japanese labor movement beyond the 1980s in an era full of upheavals manifest in dichotomies such as industrial society-working class, welfare state-corporate-oriented unions, neo-liberalism-somewhat hardly definable agents.

The 1980s have been a transitional period towards the flexibility of labor in Japan. As of yet, the labor movement has been the focus of the social movement, but in the post-war period, beyond the year 1955, with the high economic growth and the creation of the spring labor talks the weight has been put on the economic struggles. On the other hand, with the economic growth, the labor movement took “an economic” focus, and outside the labor movement sphere, a new social movement with “a political” touch emerged.

However, beyond the 1980s, increased labor flexibility has been witnessed, following the breakdown of the transitional patterns supposed to replace the market which secured the economic growth. With the flexibility of labor, the number of non-ensured workers augmented. This situation led to the collapse of the bases underpinning the argument in favor of the separation between labor movements and the newly-born social movements.

As a matter of fact, taking their roots in the women’s movement and the civil society movement, new labor movements were on the rise since the separation between “the economical” and “the political” turned out to be futile. In other words, the class struggle within the working class of the industrial society was equally conceived as both an “economical” and a “political” phenomenon. On the other hand, corporate-oriented unions within the welfare state came to be considered as an “economical” element as opposed to the emerging social movements taken as a “political” phenomenon.

Besides, with neo-liberalist premises, the labor movement beyond the 1980s encompasses “economical” and “political” elements, though certainly different from the class struggle of the collective working class within the industrial society. The present research conceives such a hybridization of “the economical” and “the political” elements as a “cultural” phenomenon.

The “cultural” element we refer to here finds its premises in the “structure of feeling” according to R. Williams. This paper is a section of our investigation on “the ‘structure of feeling’ in contemporary Japanese labor movements: a cultural study of labor movements”. Williams establishes a hegemonic interrelation between “the dominant”, “the residual”, and “the emergent”. Relying on this scheme, the present paper divides the contemporary Japanese labor movements into “the dominant” corporation-orientated union (case study 1), “the residual” class-oriented union (case study 2), and “the emergent” gender-oriented union (case study 3).

Such a division intends to obey the historical changes undergone by the concept of “structure of feeling” according to Williams and examines the contemporary Japanese labor unions, which can in fact be spatially seen as generating, transforming, and maintaining antagonism. This paper circumscribes its focus on “the residual” class-oriented union (case study 2).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE CONCEPT OF “STRUCTURE OF FEELING” ACCORDING TO R. WILLIAMS

First of all, as our theoretical framework, we shall examine the “structure of feeling” according to Williams. We focus on this concept because it allows us to express the layers of experience. Thompson examines the ‘common experience’ of the pre-industrial society and the formation of the working-class (Thompson 1963). Relying on the English tradition of experimental theory, Thompson deals with the common experience of the formation of the working class, positioning experience between existence and consciousness.

In the above-mentioned Thompson's conception Negri sees the risk of taking the working class as a unitary body, and thus, in order to examine the formation of a new subject of the labor movement based on post-Fordism, he brought up changes in Thompson's conceptual framework (Negri 2004). The concept of "multitude" finds its premises in the reality of difference, re-constructed under the elements of opposition between different and common experience.

However, with the concept of "multitude" Negri examines the formation of a new subject through the immaterial labor which symbolizes the transformation of the modes of production. This refers to the occurrence of a post-structural linguistic turn based on the affect and the language shifting the binary of mass worker/social worker (Negri 1988) to that of material labor/immaterial labor (Hart & Negri 2004), but naturally the formation of the subject stemming from an abstractive level of the intelligence of the masses. This level differs from the one that Thompson describes in terms of the constitution of the actual situation of the working class based on historical materials (documents). Relying on British cultural studies, the present paper has chosen a reflexive and experimentally different path from the one took by Thompson in order to understand the realities of the contemporary labor movement.

At this point, the concept of "structure of feeling" according to Williams reveals itself to be very fruitful since it stands as an oppositional element to the common-dynamic interrelation (hegemonic stratification). In the debate opposing Thompson to Williams between the 1960s and the 1970s, Thompson criticized Williams' cultural notion of "a whole way of life" arguing that this concept made the reality of class-struggle equivocal (vague), which led Williams to replicate that Thompson's view of "a whole way of struggle" cannot explain the situation of a society where class-struggles are less pronounced.

In reaction to Thompson's criticism of the 1970s, Williams subscribed to the expression of hegemony, thus re-conceptualizing his idea of "structure of feeling" (Williams 1977). Taking into account the whole scope of the society, Williams will re-define "the dominant", "the residual", and "the emergent" hegemonic interrelations, positing the concept of "structure of feeling" as the drive for "the emergent" in the inarticulate experience of the pre-stage of consciousness.

Furthermore, not to mention the working class, he will also consider women and races, the whole range of the marginalized of the society as the spring of "the structure of feeling". Therefore, this gives a leeway to the possibility of considering gender or race as a new drive for the productive force, 'the emergent' in the same terms as class. The present research makes use of the expression "structure of feeling", both as it has been conceived in the 1970s as the drive for "the emergent", and as the mentality of a certain group as it has been conceived between the 1950s and 1960s. In other words, it considers that being the origin of "the emergent", "the structure of feeling" respectively embodies the mentality of "the dominant", "the residual", "the emergent" groups at the same time.

This is not only because it explains that for the formation of a group and its present, the concept of "the structure of feeling" as the origin of "the emergent" is important, but also because within a group the hegemonic processes of "the dominant", "the residual", and "the emergent" exist. This paper considers each of these processes as embodied in the general frame of "the structure of feeling". Via such a theoretical approach, beyond the paradigm of common-different, this research inscribes the idea of "the structure of feeling" on the common-complex experience.

Borrowing from Thompson and influenced by Negri the present paper particularly investigates on "the residual" class-oriented union (case-study 2). We prepare a new descriptive terminology in order to reflect the transformation of the modes of production and the dispersion of the whole society.

First of all, reflecting the transformation of modes of production, we make use of Karl Marx's concepts of collective worker and the new individualized worker in order to focus on the place where the formation, the transformation, and the maintenance of antagonism occur. We use worker and non-worker to reflect the dispersion of the overall society and we utilize the dichotomy of material space/immaterial space in order to indicate the meeting place (the collective space). By utilizing such descriptive concepts and that of "structure of feeling", the present research intends to determine the place of the contemporary "class-oriented union" as "the residual" and its mentality.

PREVIOUS STUDIES & RESEARCH QUESTION

Post-war Japan saw its class structure dismantled under the rule of the GHQ. Beyond 1955, the opposition between the "capitalist class" and the "working class" has waned, while the era of high economic growth has come.

As a matter of fact, "class struggle based labor disputes" in post-war Japan within private corporations in the 1950s and "class struggle-based labor disputes" in the Government and Public Workers Unions between 1970 and the 80s were marginalized. The present-day Japanese main labor movements are right-wing. On the other hand, during the 1960s new left movements emerged (student movements' activities), and with them replacing the old (marginalized) left unions, new labor movement's activities have risen.

The assessment of the existing research on labor movements in Japan reveals that until the 1980s, a structural polarity between "collaborative labor-management relations" and "class struggle-based labor disputes" was in place. This structure has turned into the opposition between the bloc of "collaborative labor-management relations" and the one representing social movement unionism. This explains the fact that in the literature on labor movements, the "class struggle-based labor disputes" has vanished.

However, this research defines the contemporary Japanese labor movements organized on the basis of class antagonism as class-oriented labor unions. Even if these movements are still marginalized to this day, the situation is taking new shape. This paper in a theoretical framework intends to examine the formation of such class-oriented labor movements with 'A' local union in Tokyo (about 800 members) as a case study.

THE DYNAMIC OF THREE PARTS: THE MAIN OFFICE & NPO, THE 'a' BRANCH, AND THE 'b' BRANCH

The present paper is a three-staged analysis of 'A' local union as the main office & NPO, plus the 'a' and 'b' branches. In fact, we believe that the three-fold composition of the 'A' local union perfectly typifies the contemporary Japanese class-oriented labor unions.

In order to focus on the antagonism and the collective space, while at the same time indicating the changes in modes of production, this research makes use of the binary expressions of collective worker/individualized-worker, worker/non-worker, material space/immaterial space as collective spaces.

Labor-management relations disputes within the enterprise justify labor union activities which take the shape of enterprise-oriented labor unions if their activities do not spill over the confines of the enterprise. 'A' local union maintains its community-based flavor as far as its base remains outside the enterprise while addressing the enterprise internal antagonism in which salaried workers are involved.

Such a conservation of the class-orientation spirit has historically been witnessed in the shift from the material space (physical space) of the 1960s to the immaterial space (virtual space) of the NPO blog of the 2000s. Along with the new left wing movements 'A' local union was established in the 1960s in the suburb of Tokyo where small and medium-sized factories agglomerated together, so activists from the new left wing became factory workers.

In the 2000s side-by-side with the NPO, the internet allowed the creation of the NPO blog which attracted new activists. Different from the collective workers labor movements who held their meetings in material spaces, such an immaterial collective space, was composed of activists among individualized workers with no meeting facilities.

This means that the class-oriented labor movement is not a monolithic phenomenon. It emerged and has perpetuated itself as a new left wing and an NPO antithetically to the traditional left wing. Consequently, class-oriented labor movement is not to be perceived as separated from the contemporary labor movement as, say, between a material space-based union and a newly normal social movement, but always intertwined.

Besides, both the labor and the labor movement bear these two-sided characteristics. Workers and activists from disparate backgrounds used to gather together in such a space and beyond the 1980s the disparity became more and more pronounced. Nevertheless, ‘A’ local union publication newsletter and party meetings came to develop a class-based consciousness visible in the motto of “all equal workers”.

Collective worker:	Main office: New left-wing activists (a senior group)
Non-worker:	NPO: volunteer
	‘a’ branch: Regular worker-non regular worker A union board -Part-time worker
Individualized worker:	‘b’ branch: Registered temporary tour conductors

The case study dealt with in the present paper is a linen supply labor company-based union (1978), ‘a’ branch, composed of about 100 collective workers in an industrial agglomeration. In 1978 its members held a 48 hour non-stop strike at an area where industrial factories agglomerated and, which ended up in the creation of the labor union. The small cottage utilized by the labor union is located inside the compound of the enterprise and the labor movement activities are held there normally on a daily basis.

The work category among the members is diverse ranging from production, sales-management, clerical workers, regular workers, retirement (shokutaku) to part-time workers, but they entertain a strong allegiance to the “all equal workers” slogan. They engage in a two-dimensional collective activism, i.e. fighting for their cause and enjoying “together”.

Despite the slogan “all equal workers” middle-aged women part-timers have seen themselves marginalized. Their request for “equal pay for equal work” has been turned down by the union board. This means that, while hampering the efforts deployed by part-timers to request “equal pay for equal work” on the one hand, the board members of ‘a’ branch come to the rescue of non-regular workers of ‘b’ branch via the activities initiated by the main office, namely ‘A’ local union, on the other. Such a state of affairs reveals a Janus-faced behavior which consists of oppressing the part-timers inside the branch and assisting the dispatched workers of ‘b’ branch within the general frame of the broader ‘A’ local union. The maintenance of such an old class mentality within ‘a’ branch is an important element to explain the emergence of the regrouping of the individualized workers witnessed beyond the 1980s.

The 'b' branch is a union of registered temporary tour conductors who coordinate travel schedules and assure the management of the transportation of passengers. On sightseeing spots, each member alone attends to tourists in Japan and/or overseas. Their work is very flexible both in terms of time and space.

According to the Survey on Temporary Tour Conducting carried out in 2006, "because I do not need to be at a working place at fixed hours", "because there's no need to work within a structured environment or an organized body" are the motivations tour conductors gave to choose their job, an indication that flexibility in time and mobility in space were decisive in the selection of the work.

However, "minashi roudou" constitutes the source of disputes registered tour conductors are involved in. The idea of "minashi roudou" refers to the situation in which working hours are materially difficult to determine to the point that there are no other possibilities than to be subjected to a labor time prescribed in advance. Labor disputes at 'b' branch have revealed that the flexibility in time and the mobility in space that motivated members to become tour conductors turned out to be a reality of low wages and unsecured working conditions. The individual worker who dreamed of freedom has been thoroughly dispersed, but at the same time temporally and spatially bound by the rules of capitalism.

The registered temporary tour conductors who are stripped of a physical (material) working base find their collective space in the blog. On such a meeting space labor disputes repeatedly occur. Activists of the new left wing and the ordinary workers of the 1960s, had agreed upon the motto of "all equal workers" based on class antagonism as collective workers, and for them the antagonism was focalized on the material (physical) spaces which are the enterprise and the local community. However, for individualized workers like registered temporary tour conductors of the 2000s, who do not have such a base, the antagonism is individually expressed via a collective immaterial space allowing them to relate to each other.

TEXT

"A tour conductor working 18 hours a day"
6:00 -7:30 : breakfast at a hotel (Marseilles)
... (omission)
22:40-24:30 : giving directives and listening to passengers, contact/arrangements with the hotel side, writing the account of the flight

REACTIONS

A tour conductor, searching I bumped on you
...(omission)
Is there anybody out there to consider our misery???? (6 month on the job)

The grim reality is that, 2 to 3 years on this job you're disposed of. (veteran tour conductor)

The present research has focused on the respective collective space proper to collective workers and individualized workers. In other words, we have looked into the emergence and the management of antagonism within such collective spaces. Collective workers resolve to go beyond the enterprise, thus, maintaining a class-orientated mentality through the material space represented by the local community. For individualized workers such as registered temporary workers, the blog of the NPO represents the collective space.

However, it goes without saying that the gap between antagonism expressed through an immaterial space and the one experienced in a material (physical) working environment is big. Thus, antagonistic relationships among individualized workers take different shapes comparatively to that lived by collective workers.

First of all, 'b' branch members do not agree with the "all equal workers" put forward by collective workers. They stress upon the "I" versus the "They" distancing themselves from the labor union. Different from collective workers in terms of working environment experience, without colleagues at the working place, they enjoy no warm friendship with their peers. Working alone in independent environments, they see themselves too different from collective workers who brandish the "all equal workers" motto.

Secondly, where is the "enemy"? In the labor-management relations, the registered temporary tour conductors find themselves sandwiched between the temporary agency and the employer. This means that at collective bargaining or in case of labor disputes, the counterpart is not the travel agency, but the temp agency. With the deregulation of the Worker Dispatch Law, affiliated groups pooled into temporary agencies, which resulted in the fragmentation of the labor-management relations which used to be previously unified.

In fact, the deregulation occurred after the capitalist class/working class structure has been dismantled, but the labor-management relations remained fluid, which puts the registered temporary conductors in front of an (invisible) enemy they cannot find. This state of affairs drove registered temporary tour conductors to choose the negotiating path and to seek the solutions to their problems in joining the labor unions of collective workers who brandish the "all equal workers" status. By replacing the red flag with an orange one, and against their will, by giving their approval to join in the group behavior they have managed to find solutions to their labor disputes so far.

CONCLUSION

The present paper investigated on "A" local union utilizing the concept of "structure of feeling" in a "residual class-oriented union". The "structure of feeling" is an appropriate notion to express a complex experience rather than a common experience within labor unions. This should not be conceived as a monolithic order of things, but rather as a dynamic interrelation between "the dominant", "the residual", and "the emergent".

Presently, the core members of the main office & NPO regroup activists of the new left wing of the 1960s and the people who started as NPO volunteers in the 2000s. Activists of the new left wing have made possible the establishment of a class-oriented union, which developed into "A" local union as "the emergent" "structure of feeling" at the period that saw the leftists marginalized in the 1960s.

However, activists can be divided into those of the new left wing, the "dominant" category perpetuating a class-oriented mentality, those who take the "all equal workers" class-oriented stance, NPO volunteers, and collective workers of "a" branch. Collective workers who strongly adhere to the "all equal workers" philosophy represent the "dominant" group in the structure of "A" local union.

Class antagonism within "A" local union is subsumed thanks to the adherence of members to the "all equal workers" philosophy which covers an area spreading beyond the confines of the enterprise. Except, NPO volunteers, collective workers meet at a material space which is

the enterprise or the local community. NPO volunteers gather at the material space which is the local community making use of the NPO blog.

Conversely, the “b” branch members, registered temporary tour conductors find their collective meeting space in the immaterial space which is the NPO blog. They remain skeptical towards the “all equal workers” ideal while they express doubts about class antagonism with their unanswered question “where is the enemy?” They convene at the NPO blog, but they are different from NPO volunteers who readily agree with the “all equal workers” philosophy. Comparatively to NPO volunteers who easily and intellectually conceive antagonism, the “b” branch members perceive it as an incongruity since they face labor dispersion and experience labor disputes.

The state of affairs referred to supra, led us to categorize registered temporary tour conductors as individualized workers whose collective space is immaterial, which sets them apart from collective workers who enjoy a material collective space. NPO volunteers have been categorized as collective workers. It might be mentioned, though, that in order to practically address their labor disputes individualized workers have no choice but to conduct negotiations with collective workers. As a matter of fact, their labor disputes are dealt with in a material space.

The “residual” of the “A” local union is the group of middle-aged women part-timers. As being part of the enterprise as a material space, we have categorized them as collective workers, but as non-regular employees, they are the marginalized of the “a” branch union. “A” local union is a class-oriented union with both collective and individualized workers, but when it comes to the “the emergent” and “the dominant the issue of gender remains unaddressed, and the dichotomy of class/gender persists.

Having said that, “A” local union is an example of a residual class-oriented union in which “the dominant”, “the residual”, and “the emergent” elements are dynamically interwoven. Such a dynamic interrelation of the “structure of feeling” within “A” local union can be well conceived as the paradox and negotiation in the notion of class antagonism.

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