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# Indledning

*Serving Society* – titlen på dette nummer af Nord Nytt refererer til temaet for NEFA-Nordens sommerseminar 2004. Seminaret fandt sted i Danmark med deltagelse fra andre nordiske lande og var et forsøg på at sætte fokus på, hvordan kulturvidenskaben bidrager til samfundet. Gennem oplæg fra nordiske etnologer og folklorister samt workshops, hvor både oplægsholdere og seminardeeltagere deltog, blev problematikken tematiseret ud fra flere vinkler. Ved at anlægge historiske perspektiver på kulturfagenes legitimering blev det belyst, hvordan kulturvidenskabelige praksisser gennem tiden har influeret og er blevet influeret af sociale og kulturelle processer. Kulturfagenes videnskabelige potentiale blev ligeledes sat til diskussion, og der blev reflekteret over kulturfagenes position i samfundet. Endelig blev mødet mellem det videnskabelige produkt og offentligheden også debatteret. Dette nummer af Nord Nytt er blevet til i samarbejde med NEFA og præsenterer en række oplæg fra seminaret, der forholder sig til førnævnte temaer.

De første artikler indkredser, hvordan etnologien og folkloristikken er blevet legitimeret gennem tiden. Den politiske brug af folklore i Finland er således temaet for **Ulrika Wolf-Knuts** artikel *Folklore and Politics – the Finnish Experience*. Wolf-Knuts skitserer den skiftende, men ofte meget systematiske brug af folklore i forhold til politisk legitimering, identitetskabelse og grænsedragning. Særlig opmærksomhed tildeles det nationalromantiske folkepos Kalevala. **Signe Mellempgaard** introducerer i sin artikel *'Til fleres nytte'. One hundred years of Danish Ethnology in the service of society* historien om den danske etnologi, og viser, hvordan dennes rolle har forandret sig gennem tiden. Ved at se på, hvordan etnologien har tjent samfundet, samt ved at stille spørgsmål til den måde, hvorpå etnologer har overvejet effekten af deres subjekt, giver artiklen indsigt i, hvordan forskningsobjektet har transformeret sig gennem H. F. Feilberg, striden mellem Troels Troels-Lund og Dietrich Schäfer, Axel Steensberg, Bernard Olsen, Bjarne Stoklund og Thomas Højrup.

De følgende artikler belyser kulturvidenskabens videnskabelige potentiale og position i samfundet. I artiklen *Kultur og økonomi* følger **Orvar Löfgren** oplevelsesøkonomiens spor i Skandinavien. Oplevelsesøkonomi som koncept vokser frem i 90'erne, hvor bl.a. turisme, underholdningsindustrier og detailhandel går sammen og genopliver gamle regioner og urbane steder og skaber nye spændende oplevelseslandskaber. Forfatteren peger på, at dette felt, hvor kulturen økonomiseres og økonomien kulturaliseres, skaber et behov for et kritisk etnologisk blik på de måder, hvorpå kultur bliver en del af den nye økonomis produktionssystem. På

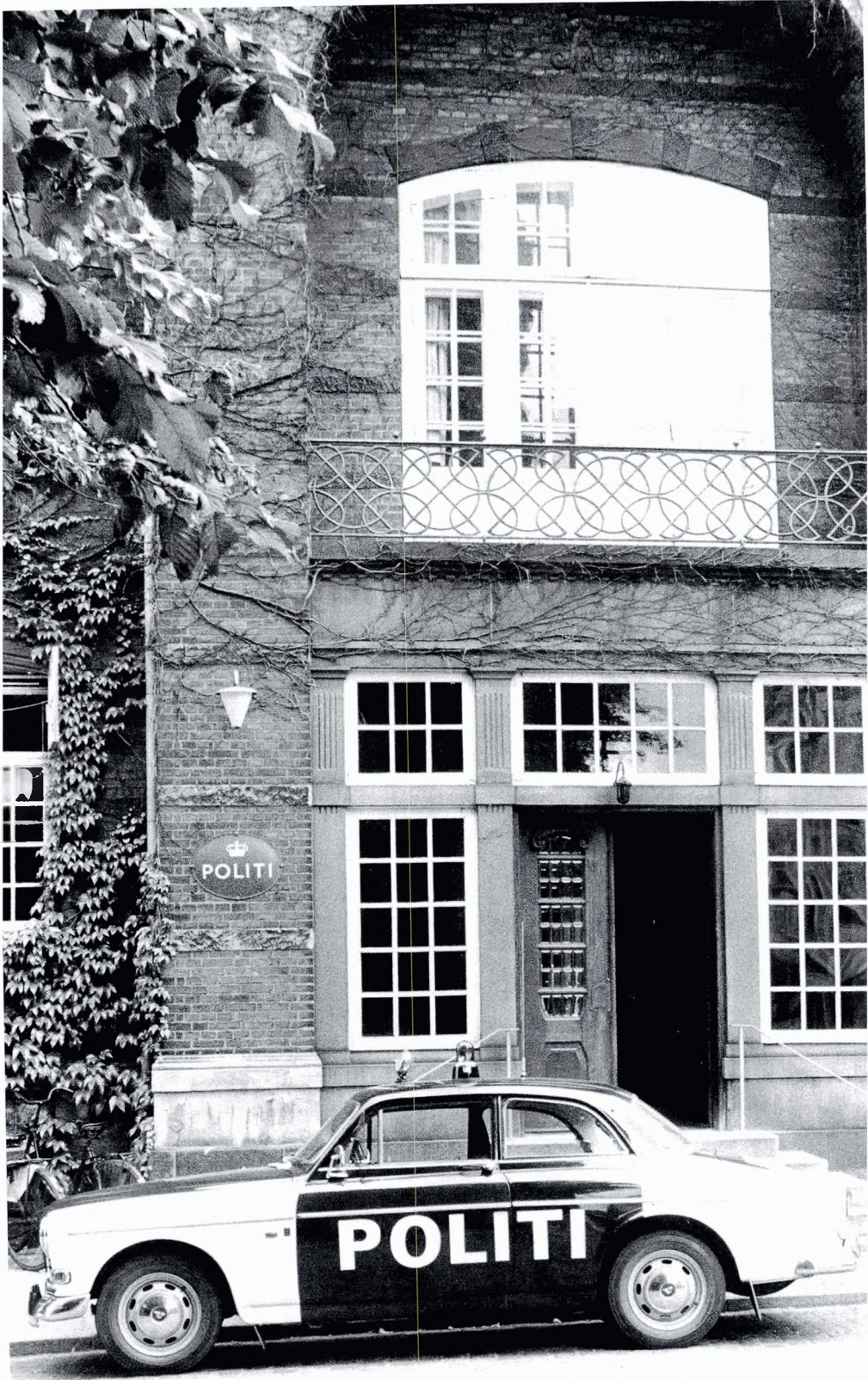
baggrund af erfaringen med udarbejdelsen af et masterprogram i Service Management reflekterer **Karin Salomonsson** over de nye veje etnologien er gået i de seneste år. Bevægelsen over i de mere markedsorienterede sektorer har skabt en frygt for at blive 'opslugt' og udnyttet, men Salomonsson argumenterer for, at etnologien i kraft af sin kritiske og reflektive tilgang tværtimod kan gøre sig gældende ved at blande sig i udviklingen på markedet.

Derudover tematiserer en række artikler, hvordan det videnskabelige produkt bliver mødt af omverdenen, og hvordan det spiller en rolle i erhvervslivet og i den offentlige debat. Med udgangspunkt i Estlands Nationalmuseum ser **Pille Runnel** i sin artikel *National Identity and State building in post Soviet Estonia – experiences of 'reinventing' the Estonian National Museum* på udviklingen af en national identitet og nationen i Estland. Artiklen eksemplificerer, hvordan den estiske nationaldragt er involveret i dette 'nationale projekt'. Dragten, der er udbredt i estiske sang- og dansefestivaler, bruges her til at vise de nationale symboler, der er knyttet til folkekulturen. Med dette afsæt og med udgangspunkt i Nationalmuseet som case diskuterer forfatteren, hvordan etnologer bør lære at blive hørt og præsentere resultatet af deres arbejde indenfor de eksisterende samfundsdiskurser. I artiklen *Help, we are attractive on the business market!* reflekterer **Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl** over forskerens rolle i erhvervslivet. Med udgangspunkt i egne faglige erfaringer med temaparker i Norge understreger forfatteren, at det i stor udstrækning handler om at overbevise omverdenen og erhvervslivet om, hvordan en kulturel baseret viden kan være med til at rejse nye spørgsmål og udpege nye perspektiver. Med udgangspunkt i mediernes anvendelse af eksperter gennem de seneste år analyserer **Jakob Arnoldi**, hvordan disse eksperter styrer debatten herhjemme. Med Bourdieus optik omkring kulturel kapital forsøger Arnoldi at give nogle bud på, hvorledes eksperter kan opnå en form for magt over flere felter, end deres uddannelse og viden egentlig giver ret til.

Eftersom *Serving Society* i høj grad var båret oppe af studenterkræfter bringer Nord Nytt nogle af de mange og gode studenteroplæg, som også var at opleve på seminaret. Oplæggene debatterer etnologiens rolle i samfundet og giver hver især deres bud på aspekter ved etnologien, der kan engagere etnologien yderligere i samfundet. **Trine Olsen** argumenterer for etnologers kompetencer inden for erhvervsetnologien, men også for at vi som 'kulturelle' analytikere ikke blot skal gøre knæfald for ethvert af erhvervslivets krav om markedstilpasning. **Jeppe Høst** slår i sit indlæg til lyd for en mere anvendelsesorienteret tilgang til kulturanalysen. Via noget så eksotisk som afrikansk filosofi anskueliggøres en praksis- og anvendelsesorienteret tilgang til den europæiske etnologitradition. **Kristine Holm-Jensen** advokerer for, at diskussionen om etnologiens studiefelt bør handle om, hvordan et fænomen studeres, i stedet for hvad der studeres. Slutteligt kommenterer og reflekterer **Carina Ren** over et forskeroplæg om den klassiske "Bildung" som forsker- og dannelsesideal i forhold til den kreative økonomis stadig voksende indflydelse på uddannelsessektoren.

Med en stor tak til Morten Krogh Petersen præsenterer vi med dette nummer Nord Nytt i et nyt format og i et nyt mere læsevenligt layout. Indholdsstrukturen er fortsat den samme med plads til både artikler uden for tema, debat og boganmeldelser. Med det nye layout er sideantallet lidt mindre end tidligere, men tekstmæssigt er størrelsen uændret.

**Karen Ida Dannesboe, Carina Rohrbach, Lisa Rosén Rasmussen & Jacob Suhr Thomsen**



# Folklore and Politics – the Finnish Experience

By Ulrika Wolf-Knuts

**This paper was held at a summer school in Rødding in August 2004. It concerns the role that folklore played in the struggle for cultural identity in Finland. I am especially glad to be in Rødding, for this part of Denmark had the same kind of history as Finland, belonging to different masters during different periods. There are some connections between this place and the history that I am going to tell you about now. William A. Wilson's book *Folklore and Nationalism in Modern Finland* (1976) is my main source. This paper is more or less a summary of the book. Annamari Sarajas' thorough investigation *Studiet av folkdiktningen i Finland intill slutet av 1700-talet* (1982), is an excellent source of knowledge to the earliest history of the study of**

## **Finland and Sweden**

To a great extent Finnish history is the history of Finnish nationalism. To a great extent the history of Finnish folklore studies is also the history of Finnish nationalism. This is my point of departure. Finland belonged to Sweden for 700 years, which is a fact that is often forgotten. After those 700 years we belonged to Russia for a century. Since 1917 Finland has been an independent country.

In the 17<sup>th</sup> century Finland belonged to Sweden, which then was one of the most powerful regions of Europe. In Swedish we

call this period "Stormaktstiden" – The Time of Great Power. Sweden had conquered a lot of what is today's Germany and the Baltic states. As a matter of fact in 1640 the third university of the Kingdom of Sweden was founded in Åbo, the name of which was The Royal Academy of Åbo. Some times there is a debate on which of the existing oldest Finnish universities is the successor of this very first one, The University of Helsingfors/Helsinki or one of the two universities in Åbo/Turku, the Finnish one, called Turun yliopisto, or the Swedish one, i.e., Åbo Akademi University. The answer

certainly depends on where the debaters are from. (Both cities mentioned here have two names, one in Finnish, i.e. Helsinki and Turku, and one in Swedish, Helsingfors and Åbo.)

Anyhow, in 1640 there was a university in Åbo. It is important, because all sorts of influences from the continent were let into the country through the scholars' contacts with foreign colleagues and through the students' journeys abroad. During that period, scholars collected folklore in order to throw light on the past. They wanted to glorify the exploits of their forefathers. Since then we know that folklore was regarded as a valuable source of knowledge to the history of Finland. Moreover, folklore was regarded as historically true. King Gustavus Adolfus (1594–1632) stated the function of folklore when he said that the scholars had to show through folklore "that our forefathers have not been barbarians"<sup>1</sup>. Obviously, the folklore stories were regarded as evidence for people's real lives and experiences; the folklore stories about heroes were stories about living people in flesh and blood. The difference between what was reliable history and what was not - that is myth, or legend, or what ever you call the narratives - is rather late.

### **Finland and Russia**

In the 18<sup>th</sup> century National Romanticism spread to the northern parts of Europe. One of the most important figures in Finland was Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739–1804). He was the head of the university library and the professor of rhetoric in Åbo. Porthan promoted the ideas of passion and emotion as significant in understanding culture, and pointed at concepts such as the folk spirit, and, on the whole, the folk. To him, folk poetry was an important source of the contemporary worldview.

Around Porthan gathered a lot of young students. They realised the paradox that a lot

of people in Finland spoke Finnish although this language was not regarded as an officially accepted language, not to mention that they did not have an officially accepted literature, or even a history of their own, the official life all being led in Swedish. These young students around Porthan started a movement of cultural separatism from Sweden. The main idea of this movement was that the Finnish language and culture should come to the fore. This happened even before 1809 when the war between Sweden and Russia ended and Finland was separated from Sweden. Folklore was the material in which the ingredients could be found.

It is difficult to tell today whether these young people were Swedish-speaking Finns or Finnish-speaking Finns. At that time the language of the schools was Swedish so everybody had a command of the language. Many of them came from Swedish speaking families, but still they were very eager to promote the Finnish culture. As a matter of fact they changed their language. In other cases the students descended from Finnish speaking families, but, going to school in Swedish and meeting with Porthan and his colleagues, they saw that there was something wrong in having the Finnish population in Finland unaware of its own history and culture. At that time the borderline between the two groups of inhabitants was hardly a matter of national identity.

Students tend to grow up and go out into the world – this also occurred to the students of Porthan. So, as they grew up and went out into the world they spread his ideas. There was an active movement for collecting folklore. A lot of young people were inspired to go not only all over Finland but also to Sweden where there had been Finnish settlements from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. So from the first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century there are very comprehensive collections of Finnish folklore,





The Finnish flag with its heraldic lion brandishing a sword is an important symbol of Finnish independence. Photo: Lars-Runar Knuts.

Now kept at the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki.

### ***Kalevala***

The students founded a society called *Åboromantikerna* – the Åbo Romantics. The

newspaper *Åbo Morgonblad* was one of their mouthpieces by which they spread their ideas. Elias Lönnrot (1802–84), a student of medicine, was very much influenced by these ideas. He walked around the countryside performing his job as a doctor, speaking to people and at the same time collecting folklore. In 1835 he published the first edition of the *Kalevala*. Gradually through this book, the national consciousness was strengthened. People could see from the collection of *Kalevala* that there had been heroes in Finland, that there had been a striving for something, that there had been successful people and failing people, victory and defeat. Moreover they saw that it was possible to publish literature in Finnish. The *Kalevala* was regarded as authentic, Finnish and old enough to tell about primordial times. However, these opinions turned out to be folklore on folklore.

Later on Julius Krohn (1835–88) investigated the *Kalevala* and he frankly stated that the poems were neither old nor Finnish. Nobody listened to him because they did not accept his results. His serious scholarly investigations had no effect on the folk ideas and folklore of the *Kalevala*.

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the relationship with the Russians became more and more problematic. There were endeavors to 'Russify' the Finnish people, but a great deal of the population did not sympathise with these efforts. Every opportunity to show that there was a specific Finnish culture was important, of course. The 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Lönnrot occurred in 1902, and moreover, there were *Kalevala* jubilees both in 1910 and 1915. All these three festivities were officially regarded and celebrated with the *Kalevala* as a symbol for a nation that could not – and would not – perish under the Russians, for the *Kalevala* described a lot of scenes where Finns had not given in to foreign enemies. The folklore of the epic became the ground for

political ideas, which were realised through the independence of the country in 1917.

### **The Independent Country**

Now one would think that folklore had no function anymore. But that was not the case. Instead, folklore became the handmaiden of the state. The study of Finnish folklore was regarded as almost a service of the fatherland. The idea of the *Kalevala* as old, genuinely Finnish and authentic was evident and the epic was even regarded as a poem that reflected the Finnish spirit. Now *Kalevala* became popular. This had not been the case when it was printed back in 1835 and it took several decades before a new edition was published in 1849. Because of the political complications around the turn of the century, the epic became more and more popular, which accelerated the dissemination of the folk ideas that accompanied it.

After 1917 a lot of semi-correct scholarly, and also ideologically coloured, articles were published. They stated that the Finns were a creative, highly cultivated people worthy of their independence, thereby referring to the heroes of the *Kalevala*, the descendants of whom were certainly not worthy of being anything else than independent. Several patriotic festivals were celebrated with a lot of patriotic speeches concerning the theme of the independent and self-conscious Finnish folk.

The schoolteachers played an important role. In the university or teachers' training seminars they were influenced by these semi-correct ideas about the *Kalevala* and when they went back to their homesteads or became teachers themselves, they spread their knowledge. From this time on we have quite a number of teachers' handbooks on the *Kalevala* with prefaces written by uncritical authors who accepted these ideas. In the schools the pupils were prepared for times to

come with reference to these ideas.

There was also a lot of propaganda pamphlets, radio programs and newspaper articles as well as other means of communication where the *Kalevala* people were idealised and regarded as models for the young republic of Finland. These media contained well-known, recognizable ideas from the readers' and listeners' school time. So when they read what was written or heard what was said, they could identify with what they themselves had learnt at school. The folklore of the *Kalevala* spread more and more.

One can summarise the presuppositions reflected in the articles like this:

1. The *Kalevala* was a genuine folk tradition and Lönnrot was the last great folk poet.
2. Finnish people thought that foreigners regarded the Finns as worthy of their independence because of their valuable folk poetry, which could be paralleled with the Greek epics.
3. The *Kalevala* was the foundation of Finnish culture and the reason for an independent Finland.
4. The *Kalevala* was regarded as completely vernacular, authentic and untouched by foreigners.
5. The *Kalevala* was seen to reflect the real Finnish folk spirit.
6. It was a duty to reshape this *Kalevala* society. There was a model for contemporary Finland in the *Kalevala*.

These stereotypes spread and the effect was that the schools in the 1920s and 1930s taught that the *Kalevala* people were historically existing people who had been very courageous. For instance one of the main characters in the *Kalevala* is Väinämöinen who was regarded as a sea warrior-chief. In the same way as there had been strong warriors in the *Kalevala*, there should be a strong contemporary Finnish army to conquer

the enemy, i.e. Soviet. In 1926 F.A. Hästesko wrote a book about how to teach *Kalevala*, and he stated that Väinämöinen would return to Finland when Finnish literature, music, art, science and political, as well as social life were based on a pure Finnish foundation. This messianic passage in Hästesko's text is important because the effect of its message was that Finland would have to regain its 'natural' borders. But what are a nation's natural borders? The answer at that time, after World War I, was quite clear. The 'natural' border was stated at the peace of Nöteborg in 1323. East Carelia and Ingria should be taken back. The Finns had to reach that borderline and, moreover, they had to unite all the Finno-Ugric people who lived on the 'wrong' side of the border to Soviet. Carelia was an important issue, for in the *Kalevala* the Finnish people are the people of Carelia. Carelia was regarded as Väinämöinen's land and unless it was Finnish he would not return.

There is yet another way of thinking. The poems of *Kalevala* had been gathered in Carelia and the epic had played an important part in making Finland independent. So it was the independent Finnish people's obligation to help the Carelians and Ingrians among whom the texts had been found. One of the most important right-wing politicians at the time was Eemil Nestor Setälä (1864–1935). He became the professor of Finno-Ugric studies at Helsinki University, he became a chancellor at the Finnish university in Turku and he became a minister of education and a folklorist. He was one of the most impressive advocates to reunite the parts of Finland that had been lost in 1917.

*The Akateeminen Karjala-Seura* – the Academic Society for Carelians was founded in 1922 to create working places and jobs to refugee students from East Carelia. The main task of the society soon became nationalistic. One of the most important propagandists in



this society was Martti Haavio (1899–1973), who became a professor of folklore studies at the University of Helsinki. *The Akateeminen Karjala-Seura* was important at the University where the students were influenced by the professors. Again we can refer to the process of teaching ideas to young people who place themselves all over the country and disseminate their thoughts. Especially the schools and the army were influenced by the ideas of the missing parts of Finland that should be reunited.

## World War II

In the year 1935 the hundredth anniversary was celebrated of the first edition of the *Kalevala*. The political situation together with this jubilee was an excellent combination for a lot of propaganda in the newspapers and in the radio, in a lot of concerts, theatres, feasts, and art exhibitions. Three comprehensive scholarly books were published this year. At the same time *the Akateeminen Karjala-Seura* became more and more militant and now the ideas had even been refined. In the *Kalevala* there is an object called Sampo, which resembles something like a mill, and which has been interpreted as something extremely important and valuable connected to man's fortune. Within this frame of interpretation *Kalevala* was equalled with Sampo. *Kalevala* had been gathered from different songs, which meant that there must have been a complete epic some time. In a corresponding way Sampo had been broken and now, in the 1940s, all the pieces of Sampo had to be put together again. This is a good metaphor – and it was successfully spread very rapidly. Among others the folklorist Matti Kuusi (1914–98) at the University of Helsinki promoted an expansive Finnish strategy.

Politics went even more dangerous and serious in the beginning of the 1940s. It was no longer a matter whether Finland should

expand, but the problem was how Finland would exist at all. From a Finnish perspective, World War II ended with a still existing and independent country, which had lost a few more regions than was the case after World War I.

## The *Kalevala* and the Left

Generally the left wing politicians were not very interested in the *Kalevala*, for it did not fit with the idea of international socialism, genuinely Finnish as it was regarded to be. *Kalevala* represented a bourgeois society, and it was an object of luxury when bread was what people needed. However, some left-wing politicians interpreted the *Kalevala* as an image of the genuine folk spirit. *Kalevala*, they maintained, described the labourer's soul. The labourers had created the prerequisites for the *Kalevala*, according to this perspective. Moreover, the *Kalevala* could be seen as an image of great humanism and international understanding.

From a Soviet point of view the *Kalevala* was used as a means to blacken the fascists. Yrjö Sirola (1876–1936) was a folklore student of Helsinki and a minister of education in Petroskoy. He stressed the epic from a Marxist perspective. According to him it was not to be interpreted historically. To him the *Kalevala* pictured peaceful peasants working for a harmonious and good society.

## The Swedish Finns and the *Kalevala*

However, the right-wing nationalistic perspective and the left-wing peaceful perspective are not enough when describing the political impact of the *Kalevala* and folklore in Finland. The students gathering around Porthan in the 19<sup>th</sup> century had a language problem. Probably all of them identified themselves as Finns, although most of them spoke Swedish and all wanted to create a solid Finnish culture. The relationship between Finnish and Swedish was, at that

time, not a problem. However, in due course, the Swedish language was no longer self-evident in Finland, and, in the 1860s, a corresponding activity among the Swedish speaking students at the University started – with the Swedish folklore of Finland as the target. From 1917 onwards, perhaps as a kind of pendant to the *Kalevala*, the Swedish Finns published a great work called *Finlands svenska folkdiktning*, but, as a matter of fact, from the start this work was a scholarly edition of folklore texts. It is really very boring to read compared to *Kalevala*. This work, for sure, has never generated any common passion such as the one the *Kalevala* created.

Why did the Swedish Finns not claim parts of Finnish culture and history by the help of folklore? There might not be one single answer. An explanation may be connected with different perspectives on language. According to one of them, the soil, the language and the mind belonged together. After 1809 some people found it important to make as many inhabitants as possible Finnish in order to maintain political autonomy for the country. Others thought the opposite way. Why? The answer may lie in stereotypes. The Swedish Finns lived along the coast. They were regarded as practical, open-minded, happy, and joyful. However, they were said to be shallow. The Finnish Finns lived in the enormous forests, and they were seen as melancholic, deep and unpractical. We have seen that the Finnish Finns were able to regard themselves as oppressed. Taking this into consideration in combination with the ideas of Bengt Holbek on folklore as the poetry of the oppressed one might see an explanation for why the Swedish Finns did not promote folklore with the same kind of emphasis, for they did not see themselves as inferior. Generally, the scholars stayed away from this debate except for a few of them arguing that Finland had two races that would never really meet. To

some extent, the folklore on the two language groups was a voice in the choir on people's value. The folklore on the difference between the two language groups created quite a lot of problems in everyday life.

### **Folklore Studies in Finland Today**

Today the study of folklore is quite different than 30 years ago. The *Kalevala* was hardly referred to during the process of joining the EU, which might be regarded as a loss of independence. Today we have a different way of using our folklore knowledge; we have a different material; not even everybody finds it self-evident to study the old material. We invent new methods of analysis to give it new value. We have other objectives than 30 years ago; we have new theories. We have a lot of things to do if we want to continue as folklorists, but I think somebody else will take up this theme during our seminar.

Today, folklore in university politics has a bad starting point. Who needs us? What would be THE working place for a folklorist? I do not know, and I do not know how to solve this problem. The importance of the problem is due to the university funding system, which is based on the number of assessed degrees. If no one studies folklore due to the lack of relevant job opportunities – then there will be no degrees and consequently no money. Anyhow, the need for a national identity has given Finland 6 professors in folklore studies – more than anywhere else in the Nordic countries.

### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Wilson 1976: 10.

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# 'Til fleres nytte' - One hundred years of Danish ethnology in the service of society

By Signe Mellemegaard

**The position and subject of research of Danish ethnology has changed through the years and there seems to be different ways to see ethnology in the service of society. This article gives a short introduction to the history of Danish ethnology starting at a point where ethnology began to find its form and where research institutions were established. This short outline of Danish ethnology identifies a series of views and arguments as to the ways in which the discipline serves society.**

As a scholarly endeavour, Danish ethnology through its years of existence has had to take a position on its relationship to society. The views of in which ways to serve society and with which means have varied, and in this paper I want to give a short outline of the history of Danish ethnology with respect to the ways in which the scholarly discipline has been thought to act in the service of society.

The question of the societal role of arts and sciences has presented itself with greater force in the later years. Last year, the Danish government issued a new law on universities. Alongside the debate it created, it has generated comprehensive changes and put a

strong focus on the utility and usefulness of university research and education. Central to this debate has been a deep political concern about the future livelihood and survival of a nation whose major economic assets, it is assumed, lie in the knowledge and capacities of its citizens.

In the future, no doubt a central term in the new government of universities is going to be the word 'effect'. Universities are demanded to point out the effects produced by the generated knowledge. Hence it will become important for the humanities to be able to show that it as well has its effects in society. University departments in future will get

public funding according to the employability of their candidates and to the effect of their generated knowledge.

Thus, the theme of this summer school in every sense is highly relevant to the present situation. I have seen it as my job here to give a short introduction to the history of Danish ethnology with specific relevance to the way in which ethnology's role in society has been conceived through time. How was ethnology to serve society? Or to put it in the wording of today: how have ethnologists thought of the effects of their subject?

By no means, this is a new discussion, even though the political implications have not always stood out that clearly. The clearly defined goals of the early ethnologists were replaced by the more automatic methods of a 'normal science', and later, during a particularly moved decade, research could disqualify itself not only by being bad science, but also by being wrong politics.

### **Serving society through a century**

One can choose to let the history of Danish ethnology start at many points – either when fifty years ago, a professorship was established, or with the early topographical descriptions of folk life of the 18<sup>th</sup> century or, if one chooses, with the writings on society and culture of Antiquity. In my short introduction, I have chosen to start at a point where ethnology began to find its form and research institutions were established. Bjarne Stoklund, in a review of the history of Danish ethnology, establishes three starting points of the research practice that was to become ethnology in Denmark<sup>1</sup>:

**Firstly**, the tradition of a comprehensive cultural history writing in Denmark as seen as an alternative to the political history with its narrow focus on certain types of events and processes. The founder of this tradition, Troels

Frederik Troels-Lund, may serve as an example.

**Secondly**, the founding of the early cultural history museums: first of all Danish Folk Museum and the Open air Museum that has since then hosted ethnologists, their studies and considerations. The founder of those two museums, Bernhard Olsen, here serves as an example.

**Thirdly**, the establishment of a folklorist tradition with a special view to folk life as exemplified by Henning Frederik Feilberg.

I shall start with the last one: the vicar H.F. Feilberg (1831-1921) through many years collected aspects of folklore and folk life and wrote several major publications on it. Behind these effort, there was a definite national aim, as he thought of it as his task to revive a national feeling, in particular among people in southern Jutland, as they were, as he put it, the brothers of the inhabitants of northern Jutland, even if they did not all of them conceive of themselves as such<sup>2</sup>.

To him, the 1864-defeat in southern Jutland was central. At that time, Denmark was involved in a war with Prussia and allied with the result that the southern part of Jutland was lost, a region that – to make things even worse – was the richest and in many ways most developed in the Danish Kingdom. It was no less than a national disaster, and the recollection of it stayed influential in the time following.

Feilberg lived through this on close hand – he saw the disgraceful and totally unexpected withdrawal of troops from Dannevirke; the extremely old and, it was considered, impregnable fortification of the borderline to Germany. The German conquest meant that Feilberg was dismissed as vicar, as Danish clergy was replaced with German as a part of a germanification process.



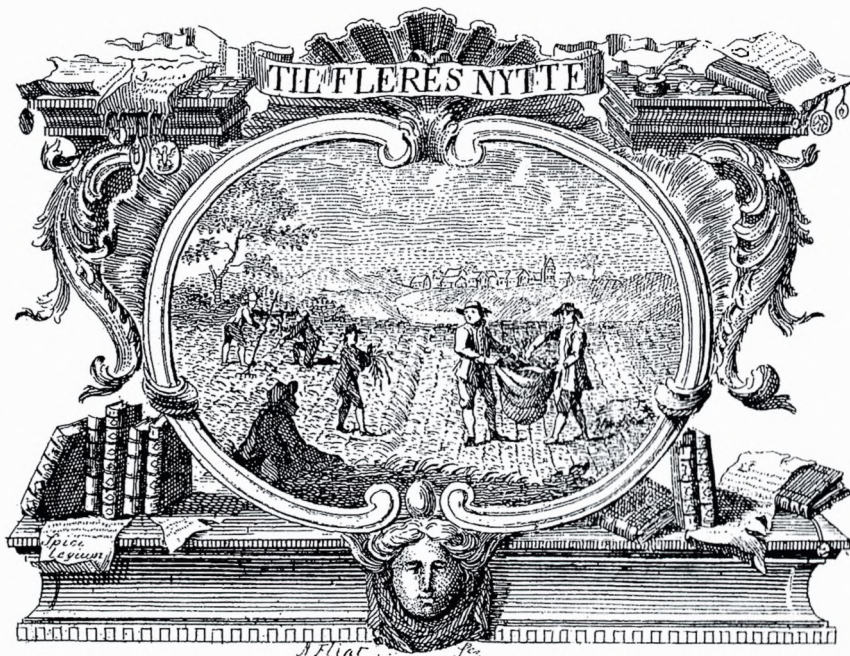
Feilberg was particularly interested in peasant culture as for him the peasantry represented an original, genuine expression of the national culture. It was through their culture that is their manners and customs, one could establish that the people of southern Jutland had more in common with the inhabitants of the rest of the Jutland peninsula that they themselves may have thought.

Feilberg was associated with the so-called Askov circle – a centre for historical research at the Askov Folk High School that took up subjects that were not compatible with those taught at University. An alternative university, so to speak, that dealt with folk life or cultural history as opposed to political history. By no means was it a coincidence that it was a folk high school that hosted these efforts. The

folk high schools also put much weight on the Danish (national) peasant culture and could identify with that sort of historical research.

Behind Feilberg's research efforts there was an acknowledged, conscious and declared political aim: a reunion, however distant it may have seemed, with Denmark of the German conquests, and this he probably saw as the most important direct, societal importance of his research.

Troels Frederik Troels-Lund (1840-1921) also aimed at a version of history in opposition to the state and political history of the university establishment of his days. He wanted to create a cultural history – the history of, as he said, "how life presented itself to the people of past times"<sup>3</sup>. The first volume of his giant *Dagligliv i Norden i det sekstende århundrede* was published in 1879.



Kilde: Aksel Steensberg: *Dagligliv i Danmark i det 17. og 18. århundrede*. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck, København 1971.



His work soon became very popular with a wide public and stayed so for more than a generation.

In *Dagligliv i Norden*, he argues that political history can never be a history of developments, of true evolution. It is rather the history of fights and wars. Cultural history, on the other hand, with its focus on material objects, tells a story of evolution and ameliorations that are to the benefit of all people. It is therefore a more moral history than the political history, Troels-Lund argues in direct opposition to the German historicism. Troels-Lund, however, finds that there is yet another advantage to cultural history: to a tormented people it presents the chance of a national revival. Cultural history will present people with a common identification and a national proudness<sup>4</sup>.

In his small publication *Om kulturhistorie* ('On cultural history'), which was later issued as an introduction in the republished *Dagligliv i Norden* he gives his answer to the German historian Dietrich Schäfer's harsh critique of Troels-Lund's work. Schäfer had argued that Troels-Lund's historical account was inferior, because it dealt only with what Schäfer saw as "the animal aspects of human life". Schäfer himself proposed a political history which he saw as the essential one. Other types of history could only serve as auxiliary disciplines, Schäfer argued. He saw Troels-Lund's cultural history as the small history of a small people; "small people that are not in our time presented with greater national tasks that can strain every nerve or that has voluntarily given up those", as Schäfer expressed it<sup>5</sup>.

Troels-Lund in his answer argues that *Dagligliv i Norden* is not a despairing history. Quite the contrary: it is thought as a means of a national awakening after the 1864-defeat. In his motivation, Troels-Lund appears painstakingly aware of the interrelation

between concepts (or 'theory', as he calls it) of history and the contemporary international political situation. Troels-Lund gives an account of Schäfer's history theory by way of a parallel to a story from *The Arabian Nights* about a camel that has disappeared. The herdsman meets three travellers who deny having seen it, but none the less describes it in details. It is blind on the left eye, limps on the right hind leg, and is loaded with lead on the one side and sugar on the other. The herdsman accuses them of theft, but they are later released as they prove they can tell all the details from the tracks that the camel has left.

Schäfer's 'theory', that is the political history with its focus on the intentions and personalities of those in power and its focus on diplomacy and wars, including Schäfer's idea that this particular history is a more moral and hence more noble one than other, Troels-Lund sees as an expression of the contemporary situation:

"It has as its precondition the victories of Prussia in 1864, 66 and 70 and the establishment of the German empire... For a theory can be determined by its time and circumstances to the extent that it itself disappears, as it were, losing the essential of a general theory. Deprived of its ability to form a general view, it sinks, winged, to serve as etiquette of a single historical situation. .. This is of course the case for everybody, for everything human is marked by limitation. But with you I see no really energetic effort to rise to a more general point of view than to be a Prussian of 1888." (Troels-Lund, 1908)

Troels-Lund here points to the fact that Schäfer's view of history serves the politics, the government and the history of a certain country in a certain situation. In passing, he even remarks that "the theory first and foremost encourages to fulfil the Prussian conscription"(Troels-Lund, 1908). Writing

history for Troels-Lund is not just a question of the enumeration of certain details. The writing of history is, what he calls it, an explained world, it is the putting together a picture, true to the best of one's abilities, but seen from a certain point of view. There is an element of ethics in the writing of history, and the political history is not a moral one, as it concerns destruction and wars, which transforms citizens to murderers and tormentors. In contrast, the cultural history concerns the evolution and improvements of the material culture, which is "unblemished of brother blood".

Troels-Lund must see his own history writing, too, as embedded in a social or cultural history: the loss of Slesvig meant a series of persons engaged in the safeguarding of the remembrances of the people as a part of the claiming of sovereignty. About his own work, Troels-Lund says:

"I became aware that the plan I wanted to pursue was something new. Just like the effort after the war to enlarge the land that was left for Denmark and to reclaim land by planting the moors, it was my hope that the carrying out of my plan would not just develop and strengthen the consciousness of the people, but also serve as the reclaiming of new land for history to the honour of my native country." (Troels-Lund, 1908)

It was however important to Troels-Lund that this would happen without losing sight of the national task, and he kept an awareness that what he strived for mostly, was to bring comfort and strength to his people, including those under foreign domination. Troels-Lund maintains that he has worked to strengthen his people and at the same time wanted, as he said "that it [his country] would outwards of all powers defend its sovereignty [...] A higher and more markedly national undertaking I cannot imagine, neither for a people nor for

a writer"<sup>6</sup>.

Bernhard Olsen (1836-1922) was a member of the same generation of early cultural historians. His major efforts lay in the establishment of museums, as he wanted to document the daily life of the people, with a specific interest in the living rooms and clothing of the peasant. Olsen wanted to include cultural historical material because this was not represented in the existing museums that integrated only objects of importance for political or art history. In 1884 a beginning was taken with the establishment of a Danish Folk Museum, as a parallel to *Kulturen* in Lund and *Nordiska Museet* in Stockholm.

At least when it comes to the motivation for an open-air museum, Bernhard Olsen, too, thought of his efforts in terms of a national revival. When the beginning was taken to the establishment of *The Open Air Museum*, B. Olsen chose to include buildings from the now lost regions: the former Danish lands in Sweden were represented by a room from *Engelstad*, just like the former Danish lands in Germany were represented by a *Holstein* room. This was a conscious choice, as Olsen regretted that the national museum (then *Oldnordisk Museum*) had let those areas out of sight. He thought that this had meant a lot for the conceptions of ordinary people, who would in school be taught that *Skåne* and *Blekinge* were provinces of Sweden, even if, as he said, those regions "are the most important part of the Danish realm and there still lives a Danish speaking people, however little the old native country is still reminded"<sup>7</sup>. The existing institutions had thus, according to Olsen, given up preserving a national feeling of community. Olsen wanted to work for a unification of what had been scattered, as he felt that that was "the only form of recapturing I can envision"<sup>8</sup>.

When the *Open Air Museum* was opened in 1901 it consisted of three farm steads from

east of Øresund, and a Saxon from the (now) German village Ostenfeldt, because Olsen thought that those would reflect essential stages of evolution in house building, but also because they represented the lost lands.

In a review of one of Olsen's early exhibitions, the newspaper 'Nationaltidende' expressed hopes, that it would mean an awakening of "a sense of and the urge to a museum of arts and industry", the meaning of which would be to contribute to the education of taste<sup>9</sup>. The education of taste was often the motivation for the establishment of art and cultural historical museums in other countries as well, and it was seen as urgent because of the increasing mass production and industrialisation that would produce uniform objects and alienate people from them. There was, it was thought, a need for a revival of handicrafts and folk styles. As a matter of fact, the starting point for Olsen in his museum activities had been the art and industry exhibitions that on the one hand showed all the new techniques and technologies, on the other hand showed old handicrafts that could serve as inspiration to good and tasteful production.

Olsen's ideas on museums and the collection of objects of peasant culture were taken up favourably by folk high schools and many farmers, as they could easily identify with his view on history. It seemed all the more urgent as it happened in the 1880's when Danish agriculture was undergoing tremendous changes and industrialization proceeded at a rapid pace. There was a feeling that this was the time to act, should not the former culture totally disappear.

These three ethnological pioneers' views on the usefulness and effect of their work quite clearly show that there was a certain and very explicit political aim behind the establishment of ethnology as a scholarly discipline in Denmark, even though this aim

was not much disputed in their time.

Where as until the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, ethnology as a scholarly practice had been attended to by committed individualists, the beginning of the century was characterized by a period of institutionalization. Ethnology in Denmark still had no place at University, as this was still dominated by the political history of historicism. The cultural history was practised by museums, where great collection and documentation projects were launched. In the years between the two world wars and even in the 1950's and 1960's, ethnology was dominated by these great projects, with their focus on cultural elements. In this period, diffusionism was the leading theoretical framework for ethnology, and not least through that a professionalization and specialization could gain ground. Diffusionism meant a continuation of the interest in objects to illustrate cultural history and evolution, but it rejected the unilinear idea in evolutionism to the benefit of cultural diversity and variations. This also meant, that the scholarly endeavour became less nationally and more internationally oriented, as cultural boundaries were something to be detected, not to be presupposed, and as these boundaries did not necessarily follow national boundaries.

The projects took form of the mapping of cultural elements, but the resulting works seem to include very few accounts of the supposed societal or contemporary reason for these projects. A series of technical and methodological problems are discussed, but the usefulness of the great projects seems to explain itself. In a description of the time, Stoklund has also stated that "there was seldom time or energy for scholarly considerations of a more theoretical kind"<sup>10</sup>, and this seem to be valid for considerations of the way that ethnology was to serve society as well.

Danish ethnology in the 1950's and 60's was much inspired by Swedish ethnology, in particularly by Sigurd Erixon. But not even by reading for instance *Svenskt Folkliv*, one gets an impression of how ethnology serves society. Erixon leaves no doubt that the scholarly undertakings are urgent, but it is not clear what their direct societal significance is – if any. It seems as if, for Erixon to deal with folk life, the very conduct of life, is the closest one comes to dealing with life itself, and this must be justification enough of the scholarly activities. A very reasonable statement perhaps, for the justification of the humanities could be said to be an expression of an inappropriate feeling of inferiority.

Fifty years ago, in 1954, Danish ethnology entered university as a subject. Firstly as a lectureship in Cultural History, later as a professorship in Material Folk Culture. Axel Steensberg was the first to fill both posts. In his time the meticulous collection and excavations projects were continued. No doubt his fundamental view on the subject was empiricist and positivist, and focus was much on the gaining of detailed knowledge and on problems of method. He did, however, in a collection of newspaper articles written earlier, but published on the threshold of his retiring as a professor, consider the usefulness of cultural history - or archaeology as he sometimes calls it, as he was trained and worked in the borderland between archaeology and an ethnological oriented history<sup>11</sup>.

Firstly, there is a practical, direct usefulness of archaeology and cultural history. Steensberg argues (very relevant to present day discussions on universities) that 'the state' tends to think that natural science and medicine are particularly useful subjects, thus failing to see that humanities and cultural history have practical uses. He exemplifies this by the market analyst that need ethnological knowledge on how

'cultural fashions' spreads. Ethnology also has a practical and technical importance as inspiration for pottery and other handicrafts. During the times of scarcity during World War II, old techniques were revived to produce articles for everyday use that could no longer be mass-produced.

But, Steensberg argues, archaeology and our old folk culture can become of great educational value, and it is clearly here, he sees its greatest value. Archaeology and cultural history are granted with the interest of a broad audience to an extent that is no other humanistic subject. Thus people will flock to excavation sites to see what is going on and whether anything is found. Even fairly uneducated persons get very interested, not only in excavations, but in collections and museums as well, Steensberg stresses. This has important consequences because it gives people the opportunity to get into contact with the past. Without this, people will suffer from a sort of amnesia. Steensberg lean on the writer Johannes V. Jensen when saying that "history is the memory of mankind"<sup>12</sup>. To uphold this becomes even more important in a time of rapid development in society and technology. Without cultural history and humanities in general the memory of mankind cannot survive, and without that civilisation will not endure. Humanists teach the understanding of others and to take due considerations to other persons' just claims. To do so will increasingly become necessary because of the demand as to public spirit and organisational abilities put on us by the technological development in the atomic age<sup>13</sup>. Implying a functionalist view on society and its development, Steensberg declares:

"the acceleration of the technological evolution will probably become even more predominant in the atomic age. But the technical wonders should not make us forget the real aim of evolution: to reach

perfection as humans and to remove us from the erratic nature, callousness and brutality of animals." (Steensberg 1970)

Cultural history is essential in this, and for Steensberg it becomes the precondition of sustaining the civilisation and securing the human mental balance and hygiene.

In the introduction to *Dagligliv i Danmark*, planned as the continuation of Troels-Lunds major work, Steensberg expresses the hope that the book will reach a broad audience. To end the introduction, Steensberg places a small vignette taken from the 18<sup>th</sup> century journal *Danske Magazin*: its motto "Til Fleres Nytte" (to the benefit of more people).

"We have reproduced the vignette with this motto in the hope that our work, too, will be of use and pleasure to everybody who seeks knowledge of humans in past times." (Steensberg 1970)

Steensberg here clearly alludes to the Danish as well as English and French enlightenment writers who like Voltaire wished to be able to 'prodesse et delectare'; to benefit and delight.

The years around 1970 meant a turning point for Danish ethnology. In 1968 the international student revolt had taken place, and with that a new focus was put on the societal role of science and arts. A little belated this had influence in Danish ethnology as well with the change of professor and name of the subject (1971). With the establishment of Nefa (1967), an inspiration among others came from British social anthropology, and community studies and the ethnology of contemporary societies based on anthropological fieldwork made their entries. The *Nord Nytt* volumes of these years reflect the turn towards contemporary studies, even though the 'old' ethnology and folkloristic are still represented. There is an obvious

interest in politics and particularly politics on a local plan, in peripheral areas (often surviving under hard circumstances due to the development), in culture clashes between different groups or modes of life, in industry milieus and working people, in problems concerning the closing down of industry or mines, in subcultures as children or women, ethnic minorities and immigrants and in workers history and oral history. Fieldwork as the combination of interviews and participant observation is introduced. In these volumes, it is clear that ethnology, like other university subjects, now is thought to have a more direct usefulness for society and a critical potential. In community studies there usually was a certain, more or less explicit, sympathy for the people of the community in question and for the internal logic of their way of life that ethnologists saw as their job to describe and to communicate to the outside world. Later, subculture studies and studies of different modes of life continued this sort of acting as advocate for those groups.

The Marxist influence, so often connected with the student revolt of 1968, is not very predominant in these volumes of *Nord Nytt*, although it is there and seems to culminate as late as in 1979. This particular volume is a review of the decade since the student revolt of 1968. Here, the incidents of 1968 are seen as a revolt against the bourgeois university order, which was probably true some places at university, but less in ethnology. But the past decade is criticised, too. For instance, those inspired by the Norwegian social anthropologist Fredrik Barth with a strong focus on individuals and entrepreneurship are called 'more capitalist than capitalism itself'. Here the critical potential of cultural studies comes out extremely clearly, as the intention is at least some sort of socialist revolution.

As already mentioned, the change of professors in the early 1970's put Bjarne

Stoklund into office. In his inaugural lecture, he outlines the task of the ethnologist as to describe and study his own culture (as opposed to the anthropologist who studies primarily non-European cultures) as a means to orientate and enlighten people sharing this culture. He goes on to say "Let us[...] ask whether the society in which we live, needs the subject ethnology. Naturally, we are not the proper ones to answer this, but I should say that in a society and a culture, undergoing changes at a still quicker pace, there must be a need for a world orientation ('omverdens-orientering'), that ethnology practised in the right way can give. Modern people have lived through radical changes not only of society but of the physical milieu, and their relations to material and artefacts are completely different than it was only fifty years ago. To study and explain these changes must be the most important task for ethnology"<sup>14</sup>.

During the professorship of Bjarne Stoklund, Danish ethnology has maintained an interest in historical studies, but, as said before, ethnology has turned to contemporary situations also, firstly with an inspiration from functionalist and barthian anthropology in the form of community studies and subculture studies, later with the latter's continuation in life mode analysis as originated in Thomas Højrup's work. Life mode analysis marked Danish ethnology as a university subject for more than a decade and meant a focus on contemporary social problems (even though it did not exclude historical work) as well as the more or less explicit aim to see the cultural logic of other life modes. That is, it often became advocate for cultural and social groups forgotten by an ethnocentric government or majority.

Here, Thomas Højrup's *Det glemte folk* ('the forgotten people') may count as a representative. The starting point is the attempts to understand apparently old-

fashioned and uneconomic activities like those of being a 'part time fisherman' or farmer at small family holdings during times where these forms were apparently substituted by paid work and industry. Højrup, in his book, explains this in terms of particular modes of life, furnished each of them with a certain ideology that is sustained despite the changes in its social, economic or political preconditions. This means that the political intention of the Welfare Society to give to the population equal conditions of life, based on a conception that the population is fairly homogenous, must be broken up into a series of fundamentally different life modes, the aims and values, conduct of life and social organisation of which are not reducible to each other. For Højrup the aim is to understand the different modes of life as meaningful forms of everyday life. The forgotten people thus turn out to be primarily the self-employed mode of life: the fishermen and farmers, the minor tradesmen and contractors. They have been forgotten, because stat policy assumes that modern society is an industrialized society based on paid work and sharp boundaries between work and leisure time. With the self-employed, these merge into a day's work. Here, the family is a production unit, centred on the common effort to uphold the production despite the problems presented to them by the effects of central government.

In his later effort to understand the complexity of the different life modes, Thomas Højrup has seen it as necessary to broaden the frame of analysis from a single society to the system of states<sup>15</sup>. By doing so, according to his argument, it becomes possible to understand how the state allows for different modes of life. Højrup's work from the 1990's thus means a rejection of the dualism that has marked ethnology since romanticism: that state and people are, as it were, opposed to each other as two fairly incompatible specimens, and

that the state is fundamentally something external and alien, even a threat to the life of the people. Højrup's project now turns to the study of the ways in which the state allows for certain modes of life.

Life modes are still present in Højrup's theory, and Højrup himself sees the state approach as a continuation of the life modes approach. However, to a certain degree the perspective changes. The point of view now more often becomes that of the state and seen from the perspective of an earlier generation of ethnologists the theory thereby tended, as it were, to gain a state legitimating function: Had not ethnology come very close to the history writing that Troels-Lund identified and criticised with Schäfer, and which had always stood as the implicit counterpart of ethnology? By explaining how the state, so to speak, functioned, had not Højrup made this his primary point, and thus for real the people had been forgotten? Instead of representing the people and a critical voice against government, was he not aiming at helping the state reason?

### **In the service of society**

This short outline of the history of Danish Ethnology has identified a series of views and arguments as to the ways in which the discipline serves society, ranging from a 'legitimating function', finding its clearest expression in the ideas of ethnology's role in a national awakening to the reflections on the critical potential of the discipline (as in the case of cultural studies as the precursor of a revolution). Or ranging from its sheer practical-technical utility as a means to an educational end, as the education of taste or the formation of an ability to orientate in one's world.

Perhaps, one could sum up by saying that there seem to be 3 or 4 different, but mutually combined and mixed, ways to see ethnology

in the service of society:

**one legitimating**, as in the case of the establishment of a national feeling – although of course the way of thought as represented by Feilberg, Troels-Lund, and B. Olsen is based on the idea that there is an old and indissoluble unity between state and people that leaves the concept 'legitimating' without meaning. One could perhaps mention Th. Højrup's theory of state – although this just as well could be said to have a critical role in giving different and unexpected accounts.

**one having a critical function** – as most clearly in the Marxist influence in the 1970's, but also visible in many other cases.

**one educating**, as in the case of the education of taste (B. Olsen).

**one identity shaping**: to enlighten and orientate and thus function as a sort of 'memory of mankind' (Steensberg, Stoklund).

### **Notes**

<sup>1</sup> Bjarne Stoklund: *Europæisk Etnologi i: Københavns Universitet 1479-1979*.

<sup>2</sup> Feilberg, H.F.: *Dansk bondeliv*, København, 1910

<sup>3</sup> T.F. Troels-Lund: *Dagligliv i Norden*. Bind 1 s. 16. Gyldendal, Kbh. og Kristiania 1908.

<sup>4</sup> T.F. Troels-Lund: *Om kulturhistorie i: Dagligliv i Norden i det sekstende Aarhundrede*. Bind I. Gyldendal, Kbh/ Kristiania 1908.

<sup>5</sup> quoted in Troels Lund: *Om kulturhistorie*.

<sup>6</sup> T.F. Troels-Lund: "Om Kulturhistorie" s. xxx og xxxiv.

<sup>7</sup> Holger Rasmussen: *Jeg har i dag købt 12 Tønder Land*. Museumsmageren Bernhard Olsen. Greens forlag, Virum, 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> Quoted in Holger Rasmussen: *Jeg har i dag købt 12 Tønder Land*. Museumsmageren Bernhard Olsen. Greens forlag, Virum, 1997.

<sup>10</sup> B. Stoklund: *Europæisk Etnologi mellem Skylla og Charybdis*. *Fortid og Nutid* xxiv, hefte 6, 1971.

<sup>11</sup> A. Steensberg: *Fra kulturens overdrev*. *Nyt Nordisk*

Forlag Arnold Busck. Kbh. 1970.

<sup>12</sup> A. Steensberg: Fra kulturens overdrev. Nyt Nordisk Forlag Arnold Busck. Kbh. 1970.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> B. Stoklund: Europæisk Etnologi mellem Skylla og Charybdis. Fortid og Nutid xxiv, hefte 6, 1971.

<sup>15</sup> Thoms Højrup: Det glemte folk: Livsformer og centraldirigering, København 1983.

### **About the author**

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# Kultur och ekonomi

Av Orvar Löfgren

**På det som kommit att kallas upplevelsemarknaden flätas kultur och ekonomi samman på nya sätt, samtidigt som olika aktörer försöker få en del av kakan – från storstäder till små lokalsamhällen. Vilka former av kultur låter sig paketeras och marknadsföras efter detta recept?**

Konferensrummets väggar är täckta av små gula och rosa post-it-lappar. När mötet startar lyssnar jag till hur de en efter en mister greppet och singlar ner på golvet, som rasslande höstlöv. Jag samlar upp en bunt och läser stickorden: *rymdresa, en fest för alla sinnen, pensionärer, serietidningsland, cyklar, vikingar, kärlek vid första ögonkastet...* Väggedekorationerna är resultatet av förmiddagens tankesmedja då ett urval av kommunens 'vanliga medborgare' kommit med förslag till en stor temapark, som ska locka besökare till trakten. Nu sitter vi här, ett tiotal medelålders män i svart och grått runt konferensbordet för att välja och vraka bland idéerna. Nästa vecka kommer nämligen konsulterna från USA för att göra tummen upp eller ned för projektet. De flesta i vår grupp kommer från kommunalförvaltningen, planerare och administratörer, men en av deltagarna skiljer ut sig genom sitt snaggade hår, sina läderstövlar, randiga strumpor och

röda skjorta. Han är kreativitetskonsulenten som är inhyrd för att få upp vår energinivå. Ord som IT-generationen, *edutainment* och upplevelsepotential flyger genom luften. De flesta av oss är lite blyga och har svårt att komma loss med alla djärva förslag till kommunens förnyelse.

Runt om i Sverige och stora delar av världen befinner sig folk i liknande möten och försöker få in en fot på upplevelsemarknaden. Startskottet gick i mitten av 1990-talet, under de euforiska år som kallades "den nya ekonomin". Det var en del av den postindustriella omvandling som gavs skiftande etiketter, från nätverkssamhället till "romantisk kapitalism" eller "en emotionell ekonomi". Här fanns en betoning av kreativitet och lekfullhet, möten mellan konst och ekonomi och en starkt estetiserande tendens. Verb som *branding, styling, designing* och *imagineering* drogs in i företagslivet. (Alla sådana verb på "-ing" signalerade kraftfull rörelse framåt.)

Det skapades nya yrkeskategorier från event managers och destination developers till framtidsmagiker och coolhunters. Ekonomin kulturaliserades, samtidigt som kulturen ekonomiserades, hävdades det. Ett resultat av denna sammanflätning var att många etnologer gav sig in i diskussioner om ekonomi, inte minst därför att de kunde se att företagsekonomer utan att tveka började ägna sig åt kulturalanalys. I detta nya gränsland fanns det behov av en tvärvetenskaplig dialog men även en kritisk etnologisk granskning av de sätt på vilka kultur blev en central del av den nya ekonomins produktionssystem.

Nya ekonomier uppstår med jämna mellanrum, och snarare än att diskutera en fyrkantig tudelning i gamla och nya tillstånd kan vi se det nya som exempel på ekonomisk upphettning och intensifiering. Ofta handlar det om mötet mellan ny teknik, nytt kapital, nya former för produktion och konsumtion, samt inte minst annorlunda former för kulturell gestaltning av den ekonomiska förändringen. Det skapas en nervös energi som försöker att kolonisera framtiden med hjälp av koncept och visioner. Nu är det bråttom.

När begreppet "den nya ekonomin" tog form kring 1990-talets mitt baserades det på en uppfattning om en radikal ekonomisk och samhällelig omvandling. Här skulle utvecklas en synergi mellan ny IT-teknik och ett ungdomligt kreativt och lekfullt tänkande. Det handlade inte minst om att överskrida traditionella gränser mellan olika branscher. Det var till en början främst några fält som identifierades som den nya ekonomins kärnområden: it-teknik och e-handel, bioteknik och upplevelseindustri. Dessa fält fungerade mycket olika men delade vissa drag. De drog nytta av den nya digitala kommunikationsteknologins sätt att hantera, lagra och sända data, de byggdes upp med hjälp av nya organisationsmodeller, där flexibilitet och platta organisationer var

nyckelord, de gavs stora möjligheter att skapa innovativa experiment genom ett ovanligt stort inflöde av riskkapital (Löfgren 2003).

Men hur kom upplevelsefältet att bli en så markant del av den nya ekonomin? Under detta paraply samlades branscher som på många sätt hörde in under en mycket traditionell ekonomi, verksamheter som inte minst byggde på turist- och underhållningsbranschens mer än tvåhundraåriga matriser för hur man kan paketera och marknadsföra upplevelser.

Ordet "upplevelse" hade fått en ny högkonjunktur i turistbranschen redan några år tidigare och då framförallt som ett sätt att markera behovet av mikrodramatik. I en värld som flödade av virtuella budskap, texter och bilder, skulle upplevelsen markera något autentiskt och självupplevt, men även något som tog tag i människor - ett alternativ till vad som sågs som förutsägbara erbjudande i masskonsumtionens värld. Känsla, fantasi och kreativitet var andra nyckelord (se Löfgren 1999, O'Dell 2005 och Schulze 1995).

Begreppet upplevelse-ekonomi importerades från USA och gavs handfast form i en bok skriven 1999 av ekonomerna Pine och Gilmore: *The Experience Economy. Work is Theatre & Every Business is a Stage*. De turnerade runt i Europa och presenterar sina nya idéer. "Du sitter på en guldgruva" var appellen från deras företagarseminarium i Stockholm hösten 2000, som handlade om "att ta sig från produkter och tjänster till att erbjuda attraktiva upplevelser".

Nu handlade det om att omsätta ett magiskt ord i konkret handling och här är den svenska utvecklingen intressant. Sökte man i mars 2003 på nätet efter det danska ordet 'oplevelsesindustri' fick man tre danska träffar, varav en hänvisar till Sverige. Slog man däremot in 'upplevelseindustri' fick man 306 träffar med svenskt material. Orsaken är främst att söka i de sätt på vilka statliga och privata intressen flätats samman. När den

danske kulturministern i september 2003 utgav rapporten *Danmark i kultur- og oplevelsesøkonomien - 5 nye skridt på vejen. Vækst med vilje* markerades att man nu tog ett krafttag för att hinna ikapp det man kallade "frontlöparna", Sverige och Storbritannien. Vill man förstå det svenska försprånget får man gå tillbaka till det pengaflöde som uppstod när de svenska löntagarfonderna omvandlades till stiftelser under 1990-talet. En av dem var KK-stiftelsen från 1994, som framförallt skulle skapa kreativa kunskapsutbyten mellan kulturvärlden, forskarsamhället och näringslivet. Hösten 1999 gjorde stiftelsen en förstudie av den upplevelsemarknad som man såg som en potentiell motor för svensk ekonomi och fattade så ett beslut att de närmaste fem åren satsa 50-60 miljoner på "svensk upplevelseindustri". Man ordnade sammandragningar, temadagar och definierade vilka verksamheter som skulle samlas under paraplyet. Listan såg ut så här:

mode och design, arkitektur, data- och TV-spel, film och andra medier, författarskap och publicering, konst, musik, PR och reklam, scenkonst och evenemang, turism (härunder måltid, muséer, natur och nöjesparker), handel, utbildning och "edutainment".

Med hjälp av denna breda definition kunde man konstatera att drygt 370 000 personer arbetade inom svensk upplevelseindustri 1998 - c:a 10 procent av den totala sysselsättningen - medan den traditionella basindustrin endast sysselsatte 260 000. Upplevelseindustrin skulle bli ett svenskt profilområde och en framtida exportidé, en brokig blandning av webbdesigners, hotellstäderskor, designers, pistvakter, reklamfolk, servitörer, ljudtekniker, konsthantverkare och museiguider. Tillsammans gavs de etiketten "Sveriges kreatörer" och man slog fast att Sverige hade chansen att bli världsledande på detta

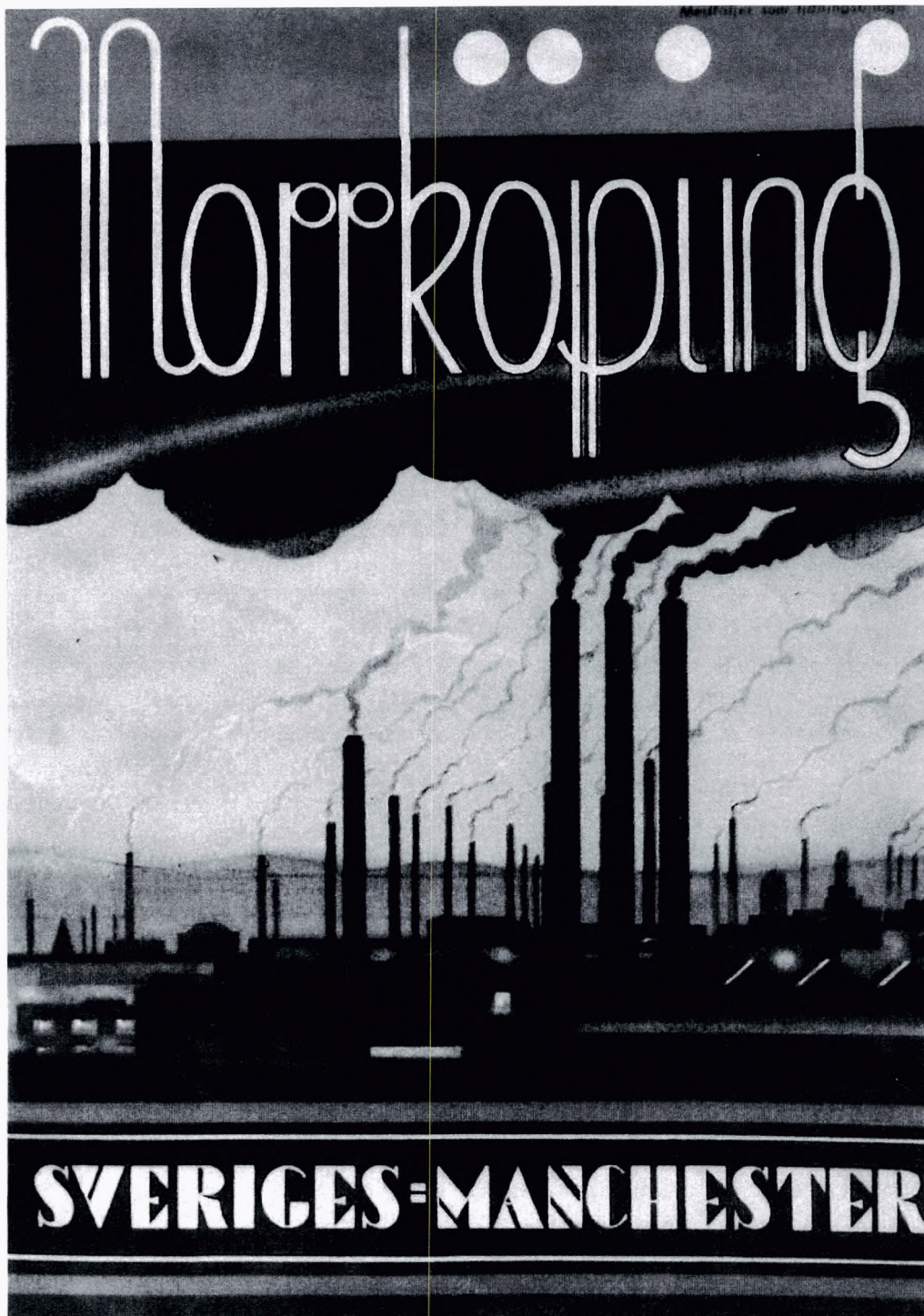
område.

Varför denna entusiasm? För det första ska man inte underskatta en så enkel faktor som den optimistiska klangen i ordet *upp*-levelse. Det låter betydligt bättre än engelskans vaga "experience". Det blev ett ord med glad framåtklang, efterhand synonymt med *goda* upplevelser. I frammanandet av "den nya ekonomin" utgjorde upplevelseindustrin vidare ett viktigt komplement till de smalare branscherna inom bioteknik och IT. Här handlade det bland annat om att integrera delar av den gamla ekonomins traditionella servicenäringar med den nya. Till skillnad från IT-sektorn var det ofta frågan om arbetsintensiva låglönebranscher. I takt med att de uppskrivade förhoppningarna om Sverige som en spjutspets för IT-branscherna kom på skam och investeringsbubblan brast, blev det ännu viktigare att hitta en vinnare på längre sikt.

När den nya IT-tekniken utvecklades talades det flitigt om dess obundenhet till plats. Nu fanns en chans för periferin att gripa initiativet. Det blev snarare så att storstadens position stärktes under 1990-talet. De nya kombinationerna mellan branscher och kompetenser skapade krav på närhet till andras specialkunskap, samtidigt som den kosmopolitiska storstaden lyftes fram både som kreativ energi samt attraktiv nöjes- och konsumtionsarena. Det var i närheten av Stureplan man kunde ägna sig åt WorkPlay. Upplevelseindustrin skulle däremot ge resten av landet en ny chans och KK-stiftelsen var angelägen om att skapa nya tillväxtorter. 2002 fick fem mindre orter i Sverige stöd för att bli framtida 'mötesplatser för upplevelseindustrin': Hulstfred (musik), Hällefors (mat och design), Karlshamn (edutainment och TV-spel), Piteå (turism, media och musik), Trollhättan (film och media). Detta var både glesbygdspolitik och försök till lokal synergi. Somliga projekt lyckades bättre än andra.

Det är lätt att ironisera över denna





Så här kunde man marknadsföra Norrköping på 1930-talet. Idag är temat "Upplev Norrköping" - i de gamla industrikvatern har den nya ekonomin flyttat in och skorstenarna på de gamla elektricitetsverket har blivit en konstinstallation. Foto: Norrköpings Stadsmuseum.

ambition, men optimismen resulterade i lokala initiativ. I många småsamhällen skapades en känsla av att även vi här ute i periferin kan bli delaktiga av det nya. I en handbok från 2002, *Guide till upplevelsesamhället. Från musik & muséer till sushi och spa* är målgruppen framförallt lokala politiker, företagare och intresseorganisationer. Att bläddra i boken är möta en alternativ europa- och sverigekarta. Här presenteras de lokala succéerna: ishotellet i Jukkasjärvi, Astrid Lindgrens Vimmerby, Hultfreds RockCity, Trollhättans Trolleywood, medeltidsveckan i Visby och Måltidens hus i Grythyttan, men även förebilder ute i Europa, som Glasgow, Barcelona, Bilbao, bokstaden Hay-on-Wye, Autostad i Wolfsburg och slow-cities runt Medelhavet. En ny emotionell geografi träder fram, med heta platser.

Runt om på andra orter förhåller man sig till denna ekonomiska karta. Finns det någon lokal upplevelsepotential här hos oss? Det organiseras festivaler och paketerbjudanden. I bohuslänska fiskelägen förvandlas höstens lågkonjunktur till hummersafari, i Dalarna blir ett stenbrott till spelplats för sommaropera, man startar riddarturism runt Skara för att följa i bästsäljarhjälden Arns fotspår, gamla konferenshotell byggs om till spa-anläggningar.

Denna högkonjunktur påverkar även utbildningssystemet. Inte minst för humanistiska utbildningar blev upplevelsebegreppet centralt, speciellt då på mindre högskolor där det gällde att hitta en lokal profil. Det skapades utbildningar i "upplevelseproduktion" och "upplevelseteknologi". I utbildningskatalogen för Dalarnas högskola marknadsfördes hela det humanistiska fältet under etiketten "Upplevelser".

Det vi möter här är alltså ett frambesvärjande av ett ekonomiskt framtidsland. Steg för steg ges detta land allt fastare konturer. Man definierar fältets omfattning och skapar recept för hur upplevelser kan paketeras, marknads-

föras och konsumeras. Man försöker identifiera de kompetenser som behövs, de utbildningar som ska skapas och visar på de goda förebilderna och de pedagogiska exemplen. Det delas ut startbidrag och pilotpengar, ett globalt begrepp omsätts i lokal praktik.

För många orter i Sverige sågs satsningen på en upplevelsemarknad som en möjlighet att vända en ekonomisk nedgång. Den nya ekonomin skulle byggas på ruinerna av den gamla. Ibland skedde detta som i Norrköping mycket konkret - det var i det övergivna industrilandskapet som det nya tog form. Här fanns något av en ruinromantik som Robert Willim diskuterat i begreppet "Industrial Cool" (se Löfgren & Willim 2005).

Hässleholm är en garnisonsstad som förlorat sina regementen. På många sätt är staden prototypen för en ort där man systematiskt måste söka nya utvecklingsmöjligheter. Kommunen startade för några år sedan ett samarbete med Interaktiva institutet, en annan organisation skapad med hjälp av statliga investeringsfonder för att bedriva innovationsinriktad forskning. Dess medarbetare rekryteras från konstvärlden, design, systemvetenskap, medier, teknik och beteendevetenskap. Digitala tekniker och medier står i fokus och därför kom idéerna kring utvecklingen av Hässleholm att få denna inriktning. Man kan dock se hur de nya förslagen i ganska hög grad följer upplevelsemarknadens matriser. Här presenterades tankar om ett *Gastronovum*, 'ett kompetens- och upplevelsecentrum kring mat'. Man diskuterade en sinnlighetsstudie, ett IT-centrum i gamla stationsområdet, men framförallt ännu ett temaland. Projektet *Intelligenta äventyrlandet* handlade om att förvandla delar av militärens gamla övningsområden till "ett upplevelse- och rekreationsområde för äventyr, rollspel, lärande, fysisk utmaning och naturupplevelse". Här skulle vildmarksliv för stadsbor och turister kombineras med ny

digital teknik.

I Hässleholm har man uppenbarligen nagelfarit KK-stiftelsens planer för att locka både turister och företag till staden. Därför är marknaden för det planerade äventyrslandet formad med en blick på möjliga offentliga stödåtgärder. Skulle inte skolbarn och invandrare från storstadsmiljöer vara möjliga målgrupper? Äventyrslandet blir även skola där där stadsbor får lära sig möta den svenska naturen.

Därför handlar det inte bara om synergi mellan naturupplevelser och ny digital teknik utan i lika hög grad om synergi mellan offentligt och privat kapital. I exempel som dessa kan vi se hur lokala aktörer försöker växla ner upplevelseindustrins nyckelord i mindre valörer. I en intervju i *Dagens Nyheter* talar ett kommunalråd i Karlstad om möjligheter att skapa "ett nöjeskluster med synergieffekter". Man vill skapa ett regionalt eller åtminstone lokalt magnetfält och det sker en miniatyrisering av Silicon Valley-drömmar på sätt som radikalt förändrar konceptens ursprungliga innebörd.

Runt om i Sverige kan vi se hur liknande strategier prövas. Somliga blir kortlivade försök som inte överlever trendernas berg- och dalbana eller förmår ta sig ur den kuvös av riskkapital som gjorde det möjligt att starta. Samtidigt kan man konstatera att kommunalfolk är tvungna att pröva allt. Hur ska man attrahera nya företag, inflyttare och turister? Ibland tvingar själva idéstormen och de kanske orealistiska drömmarna lokala aktörer att tänka på nya sätt. Även i ett misslyckande ligger ett kliv framåt, alternativet hade varit uppgivenhet. Samtidigt utvecklas en glad amatörism, runt om i landet sitter kommunala tjänstemän och hjärnstormar kring det lämpliga innehållet i en temapark, ett upplevelsecentrum eller en sinnlighetsstudio.

## Staden som upplevelsearena

Men även storstäderna känner av problemet med att förnya både stadsliv och image. Det är mitt på dagen och avgångshallen i Kastrup är glest befolkad. Vi står vid gate nio och väntar på avgången till Bologna tillsammans med en hop andra par i kategorin 50 plus. Alla är vi klädda i praktiska jackor och rejäla promenadskor. Bredvid oss blåddrar ett norskt par ivrigt i handboken *Experience Italy*. De ska som vi andra konsumera ett europeiskt city-break.

På nätet hittar jag över 600.000 hänvisningar till detta resekoncept, som bara för några år sedan var okänt. Nu står det för en av de snabbaste växande delarna av det som kallas upplevelseindustrin, skapat genom förändringar i resandets villkor. Hotellkedjor byggda för affärsresenärer kom underfund med att de kunde erbjuda sina många tomma helgrum som weekendpaket för korttidsturister. Det avregulerade flyget började tävla om billiga veckoslutspriser och leta efter städer med låga flygplatsavgifter. Samtidigt satte de resvana fyrtilisterna igång med att lösa ut sina pensionsförsäkringar.

Idag är det asfaltsdjungeln som gäller. "Trygghetsnarkomanen tar en äventyrscharter till Samoa, medan äventyraren tar till Dresden", konstaterar en entusiastisk journalist i tidningen Elle. En ny Europakarta skapas, inte minst med hjälp av nätets gör-det-själv-program. Jag klickar på annonsen som vill hjälpa mig att 'bygga ett city-break'. Så dyker det upp en fotokarta där varje resmål får sin korta beskrivning. Amsterdam är "vackert, liberalt och kulturellt", Barcelona ett av de mest hippa och stylade målen i Europa, Berlin har stordstadspuls, medan Dublin rekommenderas för svensxor och möhippor. Prag är berusande, Nice lite mer glamoröst, Paris fortfarande mest romantiskt. Här skapas en nygammal turistgrammatik, som kan jämföras med det gamla Europas turistkartor

och resvägar.

Bologna tävlar inte i upplevelseindustrins elitserie med städer som Barcelona, Venedig, Paris och Amsterdam, men staden arbetar hårt på att skaffa den infrastruktur som är nödvändig för att bli en citybreak-destination. En medeltida stadskärna för flanerande och shopping, en lokal gastronomi, många trottoarserveringar och ett lagom antal svala kyrkor, ett gammalt operahus. Det obligatoriska moderna konstmuseet håller man på att bygga mitt i staden, men i en kongresshall visar man den typ av påkostad temautställning som nu vandrar mellan citybreak-städer: den nakna kroppen i konsten från Rubens till Cindy Sherman.

Ett vanligt city-break är ett upplevelsepaket om 48 eller 72 timmar. Det riktas främst mot medelålders par och innehåller gärna en romantisk middag, sena men överdådiga frukostbufféer, kanske en kväll med musik eller balett, lite sightseeing och mycket shopping. Det är sådana matriser som formar den nya stadsturismen. Hur blir man en attraktiv destination? Det lånas friskt från vinnarna. Över hela världen möter vi liknande projekt, som försöker skapa en lokal profil med hjälp av en global kulturell grammatik. Risken för denna typ av kulturell kloning är en trivialisering som inte förmår ta tillvara den egna platsens speciella förutsättningar.

Detta var till exempel uppenbart när den gamla turistmagneten Köpenhamn mot slutet av 1990-talet fick problem. I den nya ekonomins listor över heta platser, kreativa städer och attraktiva besöksmål passerade gamla konkurrenter, som till exempel IT-staden Stockholm, Köpenhamn, som fortfarande levde med en lätt kulturhistorisk aura av den lilla sjöjungfrun. I Köpenhamn kunde man uppleva charmen av hur städer var 'förr'.

Marknadsorganisationen *Wonderful Copenhagen* startade ett projekt för att uppdatera staden. Konsultfirmor kallades in för att

kartlägga stadens upplevelsepotential, rykte och rankingar på olika listor. Tre succéer ville Wonderful Copenhagen mäta sig mot: Barcelona, Las Vegas och Vancouver. Så drog man igång kampanjen *Copenhagen Eventures*. Köpenhamn skulle bli den första i staden i världen som skapade ett bokföringssystem för vad man kallade upplevelsekapitalet, "eftersom framtiden är en upplevelse-ekonomi, där människor förverkligar sig själva".

Här definierades upplevelseindustrin som produktionen av värde i termer av evenemang, känslor och drömmar. Kapitalmetaforen förde med sig andra underbegrepp: ackumulation, investering, avkastning, tillväxt, bokföring och revision. Man hyrde in en internationell revisionsfirma som skulle skapa upplevelsebokslut.

Helsingfors är ett annat exempel. I början av 1990-talet klagade planerarna över bristen på en pulserande urban kultur. I internationell jämförelse var staden helt enkelt för tråkig. Man önskade producera mer av det svärfångade kapital som kallas storstadspuls (Lehtivuori 2001). Det togs initiativ för mer liv på gator och torg, och 1999 uppmanade en stolt annons i *The New Yorker* turister att besöka staden under år 2000, då skulle den erbjuda "more than 20.000 events".

Exemplen med CityBreak-industrin och förnyelseambitionerna i städer som Köpenhamn och Helsingfors illustrerar vad som händer när man placerar en upplevelsematrix över stadslivet. Med målet är att skapa färgstarka upplevelser och evenemang blir frågan om vilka miljöer och situationer i stadens offentlighet som har 'eventpower' eller upplevelsepotential. Vilka blandningar av situationer, aktörer, berättelser och element fogas samman och vad väljs bort? Över hela världen möter vi liknande projekt, som försöker skapa en lokal profil med hjälp av en global kulturell grammatik. Risken är hela tiden imitation och en trivialisering som inte



förmår ta tillvara den egna platsens speciella förutsättningar.

Men kulturen av den pulserande staden handlar inte bara om att locka turister utan i lika hög grad om att attrahera investerare, företagare och arbetskraft: att placera sig som en het plats på den nya ekonomins karta. Här kopplas föreställningar om den upplevelserika staden till idéer om den energigivande miljön. Den perfekta storstaden blir ett rum för kreativitet, begär och kanske lite ängslan - en rastlös energi som söker olika utlopp. Det konstanta mötet mellan flöden av människor, idéer och kapital ska bli en magisk brygd som måste resultera i aktivitet och innovation. Stadsforskaren Richard Florida (2002) skrev succéboken om den kreativa klassen och började även han resa världen runt för att sälja sitt recept på hur städer skulle bli framgångsrika genom att satsa på färgstarka subkulturer, konst och kultur<sup>1</sup>. Hans besök i Köpenhamn förlades mycket passande till en gammal varvshall, där man inrättat en alternativ restaurang och nattklubb, klart 'industrial cool'.

Men i drömmarna om storstadspuls finns en svår balansgång. När blir denna brusande och pulserande rörelse snarare rörig, inte längre en spännande puls utan ett hotande kaos? När går mångfald över från att definieras som en tillgång till en fragmenterande och destruktiv kraft i storstaden? Vilka aktiviteter och aktörer definieras som produktiva eller intressanta, vilka som improduktiva eller skadliga?

Etnologen Lisa Högdahl (2003) har analyserat sådana processer i den vardagliga praktikens stadsmiljöer. Hon jämför bilderna av det etniskt sammansatta Möllevången i Malmö med de lokala invånarnas hantering denna mångfald och visar hur ömtålig balansen mellan den aptitliga och den problematiska mångfalden är. Så går hon vidare till Kapstaden i Sydafrika där samma process blir ännu tydligare. Här gäller det att förvandla

ett nedgånget centrum till en attraktiv turistmiljö. Butiks- och restaurangägare vill finna den perfekta balansen mellan ett färgstarkt folkliv och en trygg besöksmiljö. Diskussionen handlar om allt från övervakningskameror till nedskräpning, men framförallt om vem som hör hemma i gatulivet. Lisa Högdahl följer olika grupper, från gatubarn, pensionärer och nyinflyttad medelklass, till säkerhetsvakter och entreprenörer. Vilka aktiviteter ska bekämpas eller uppmuntras, vilka är vinnare och förlorare i denna nya kamp om stadsrummet?

Ambitionen att skapa förnyelse kan resultera i kulturell kloning snarare än lokala innovationer. Det slående i många av dessa försök är i vilken utsträckning man fastnar i uppslitna hjulspår, i vilken grad det finns färdiga matriser för hur en ort ska försöka koppla upp sig till ny ekonomi. Man kan bli något matt när man bläddrar igenom alla EU-ansökningar om regionalt utvecklingsstöd eller utredningar om det nya Sverige. Prefixet "upplevelse-" som redan tidigare hade invaderat turistbroschyrerna finns nu som del av det ekonomiska nytänkandet, även om det bara gäller etablerandet av en strövstig eller upprustningen av en hembygdsgård.

Denna rutiniseringsprocess har flera orsaker. För det första måste man skapa handfasta ekonomiska former för den bräckliga och flyktiga kulturella mjukvara som stämningar och händelser utgör. I denna förvandlingskonst ligger en svårhanterlig paradox, den starka upplevelsen eller den händelserika dagen bygger oftast på det oplanerade och oförutsägbara. Upplevelsemärknaden måste rutinisera dessa förlopp och därmed även riskera att trivialisera dem, skapa äventyr utan alltför stora äventyrligheter. Ofta är ledan och långtråkigheten det nödvändiga förspelet till en omtumlande upplevelse. Men i upplevelseindustrialismens tänkande blir upplevelse alltid till något underhållande, något som resenärer ständigt

måste utfordras med. Risken är överstimulans och övermättnad.

Paketeringen innebär även att skapa en hanterlig spelplan i tid och rum. Hur organiserar man en minnesrik parweekend, en kul familjeutflykt, en lyckad kick-off? Här faller aktiviteter och upplevelser bort som inte låter sig fångas i sådana former. I Sverige kan man följa hur somliga framgångsrika satsningar spritts ut över landet och även gått på export. Skördefesten på Öland som förlänger sommarsäsongen ett gott stycke in i hösten, kulturnatten i Lund, konstrundan på Österlen, skaldjurssafarin i Bohuslän. Ofta riskerar kloningen att bli en trivialisering, som då ishotellet i Jukkasjärvi växlas ner till att bli en isbar på ett nystartat designhotell i Stockholm. I längtan efter att bli en del av en kreativ ny ekonomi kan man även se hur traditionella aktiviteter hoppar på upplevelsetåget som fripassagerare, som en följd av marknadens rationalitet. Varför inte kopiera en succé? Oftast är aktörerna väl medvetna om att detta kanske bara blir en kortvarig framgång. Den höga förslitningstakten skapar stor efterfrågan på nya koncept, idéseminarier och konsulter.

Ett annat slående drag i utvecklingen av upplevelseindustrin är dess besatthet av kulturell alkemi, som framträder i en förkärlek för ord som synergi, crossover och mix. Men vilka sorters alkemi? Ofta handlar det främst om en enkel additiv strategi. Vad händer om vi kompletterar bowlingbanor och spelautomater med gastronomikök och koncertestrad och döper om det hela till upplevelsecenter? Kan vi kombinera medeltida rollspel med handdatorer och TV-spelsteknik här på museet? I andra fall prövar man det mångsinnliga receptet: låt oss bara lägga till smakupplevelser, känslor, dofter. KK-stiftelsen talade gärna om fusion, deras workshops var "fusionsdagar", då folk från olika områden skulle mötas och upptäcka vilka synergieffekter som fanns i ett framtida

samarbete. Fascinationen inför klusterbegreppet handlade om tron på att tillräckligt många olika aktörer i fysisk närhet skapade ny energi och kreativa miljöer.

Men den kanske viktigaste frammaningstekniken låg just i cirkelns magi, den cirkel som drogs kring aktiviteter som nu definierades som en gemensam upplevelseindustri, som t ex i KK-stiftelsens lista. Vad hamnar innanför eller utanför? I KK-stiftelsens övervägande fanns inte bara en ekonomisk utan även etisk och moralisk dimension. Dataspel ingick i den nya upplevelse-ekonomin men hur var det med casino-besök och hasard? Romantik var ett viktigt element, men absolut inte pornografi. Samtidigt kastar de framgångsrika jätteindustrier, som spel- och pornografibranschen utgör sina skuggor över upplevelsefältet. Här om någonstans ägnar man sig åt att paketera upplevelser i en miljardskala som slår alla andra branscher, och som mer än andra aktiviteter drivit fram ekonomiska möjligheter för ny teknik. Det skapas starka allianser som i de stora hotellkedjornas omätliga behov av sexvideos, utvecklingen av on-line escortservice och uppsjön av erbjudanden via nät eller mobiltelefoni, där små östater plötsligt kan tjäna pengar på att erbjuda telefonsex.

I backspegelns efterklokhet ter sig den nya ekonomin i hög grad som en metaforfabrik, där ordets makt var stor. Det gällde att skapa begrepp som var energigivande och slagkraftiga. Många av dessa begrepp hade en kort livslängd. Men det är viktigt att inte reducera dessa euforiska år till "bara ord" eller "en bubbla". Fokuseringen på upplevelseindustrin handlade inte bara om drömmar och visioner utan även om ekonomiska praktiker, omfördelningar av resurser och inflytande. Somliga gränsöverskridande fick mer genomgripande betydelse än andra. Det slående med etableringen av upplevelsemarknaden som begrepp i Danmark och Sverige var det starka statliga

intresset, som dock färgades av olika politiska utgångspunkter. Den nya borgerliga regeringen i Danmark såg upplevelsemarknaden som ett sätt att gifta samman kultur- och näringsliv (och kanske disciplinera det i regeringens ögon alltför vänsterdominerade kulturlivet). I det rödgröna Sverige blev regionalpolitiken en viktig bricka i spelet.

Gemensamt var dock den nya synen på kultur inte bara som en mjukvara utan som ett produktionsmedel. Det handlade inte bara om att skapa nya varor och tjänster med hjälp av svärfångade kulturella energier, utan även att sätta kreativitet, konstnärlighet eller entreprenörtalanger i arbete. Det vi kan följa på den skandinaviska arenan är vad som händer i översättningen av ett nytt ekonomiskt begrepp. Vad innebär det när man försöker omvandla upplevelsepotentialen till upplevelsebokslut eller när man börjar tala om kreativa och estetiska kapital?

Precis som i så många andra sektorer av den nya ekonomin finner vi en hög 'burn rate', i de projekt som startades. Samtidigt bör vi minnas att i denna typ av kulturell alkemi var experimentlusten och misslyckandet en del av processen. Några av den medeltida alkemin misslyckanden resulterade i oförutsedda uppfinningar. Psykoanalytikern Carl Jung påpekade att det viktigaste inte alltid var vad som hände i kolvarna på bänken utan i alkemistens medvetande: det ivriga blandandet resulterade sällan i guld men innebar en mental förändringsprocess.

Om man från Stockholms horisont kan le överseende åt försök att skapa äventyrsländ i Hässleholm, nöjeskluster i Karlstad, måste man samtidigt fråga sig vad alternativet är: att sätta sig och se hur jobb och ungdom går kommun förbi, i takt med att traditionella industrier läggs ner eller flyttar utomlands. Upplevelseindustrin blev i Sverige en väg att skapa lokal energi, som ibland resulterade i nytänkande, andra gånger i fantasilös

trendighet, klädd i förutsägbar konsultprosa. Men en sak är säker. Redan nu väntar nya koncept för ekonomisk förnyelse runt om hörnet.

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### Författarpresentation

Orvar Löfgren är professor i etnologi vid Lunds universitet och har de senaste åren dels arbetat med studier av turistindustrin och dels lett ett tvärvetenskapligt projekt kring Öresundsregionens utveckling. Hans senaste två böcker är *Hur blir man klok på universitetet?* (tillsammans med Billy Ehn, 2004) och *Magic, Culture & The New Economy* (redigerad tillsammans med Robert Willim, 2005).









# Cultural studies at the marketplace – experiences from Service Management

By Karin Salomonsson

**The experiences of being an ethnologist in a multidisciplinary master program like the one in Service Management at Campus Helsingborg, are here being discussed in the light of the imaginations and perhaps prejudices that many humanists share about business economists in particular and ‘the marketplace’ in general. What happens when ethnologists get the chance to move outside their traditional area of museums, cultural institutions and university-life, into the world of business? Do we stand aside in fear of contamination or do we see opportunities to ‘save society’ in new ways?**

In my presentation I want to reflect on one of several different ways ethnology, or cultural studies, has moved along in the last decade and why some paths have been considered accessible, when others have been closed or considered less suitable to choose. The urge to break new grounds, the urge to change, can be initiated from within the discipline itself – as an uprising from a new generation who wants to make space for themselves, or because you want to distance yourself from other related disciplines (cf. Hallberg 2001). Maybe the government has defined new “problems” to be researched, and therefore made new priorities

in funding of research and education. Last, but not least, there might be changing demands on the content and design of the educational programs from the students themselves.

The example I want to discuss is when - in this case ethnology - as an academic discipline becomes part of educational programmes where you ten years ago hardly expected to find a humanist at all. My own experiences come from a 4-year master program in Service Management with several courses in business administration and management, but other examples like participating in medical training or engineering – not to mention musical

Management – could be given (cf. Mathiesen Hjemdahl 2004).

When someone in the organizing committee suggested that I should include the word marketplace in the title of my talk I spontaneously thought that was a good idea. Firstly, working in a new institution at a newly established Campus, had made me acutely aware of the fundraising side of academic life where it is necessary to be seen as a full-fledged 'player' in 'the market (place)', if you want to get any external financial support at all – which you need. Secondly, working with business economists not unused to functioning as private consultants and teaching in executive programs - and most importantly fully accomplished in economical thinking - forced me to rethink my own humanistic praxis.

I also thought it interesting that people from outside, from other departments, consciously or unconsciously associated my Department and the discipline Service Management with a word like 'marketplace'. Perhaps it says a lot of the popular academic humanistic notion of a department like this – a notion or perhaps a prejudice that I myself also shared before I actually started working there. Before I go on describing the department in more detail, just a short comment on academic change in general.

The need to change or move further into new paradigms, make alliances with other disciplines, direct your eyes to new topics is nothing new in itself. Of course cultural studies in its various forms have always been in a constant mode of change. But this process has been faster or slower at different times in history, or it has been presented as being slower or faster. As you all know change can be described as something positive and necessary or something that is being forced upon you, something desirable or regrettable. Today – at least if you want to survive in the Swedish

university world, with its growing dependence on external governmental or private funding, one need to present the discipline and the department in question as dynamic, flexible, adaptable and open to all societal- and market driven needs and demands.

'Change', development, progress – whatever one wants to call it, could be interpreted as new ways to legitimate your existence. As we have heard earlier on in this seminar, proving you are a vital part in the building of a new nation is one way of doing it. Proving yourself to be just as a vital and necessary part in 'the market' - a password in today's society, is another way of seeking legitimacy.

### **Service Management**

So what does an ethnologist or cultural studies-person do in an educational programme where one of its objectives clearly is to improve the workings of the service sector and increase the profitability of its acting companies? Before I go on stressing the differences between traditional - lets say ethnology departments – and the Service Management department, and cultural studies and business economics I shortly want to touch upon the similarities and introduce you to the new academic discipline.

The whole thing started out as a course in tourism, as a collaboration between ethnology in Lund, with Orvar Löfgren and Tom O'Dell as the true enthusiasts, and people from The Department of Cultural Geography. Here presented itself an opportunity of expansion and colonization of a growing field where some were wise enough to see the visionary possibilities. That someone was not me, I'm afraid. Along with many others I first turned up my nose against the Helsingborg-project and I'll come back to the reasons for this later on.

The Department of Service Management is now established at Campus Helsingborg,

which is part of The University of Lund. The Campus is very eager to institutionalise its independence from Lund, but is at the same time very aware of the positive effects of the brand name of the old and well-established university. The students can choose between four different four-year long master programs: Tourist Management, Hotel/Restaurant Management, Retail Management and Health Management. In 2005 the department will have about 800 students and around 50 teachers/researchers and administrative staff. When the students graduate they get the academic title Master of Service Management and they are certified to call themselves "civilekonomer" or Master of Business Administration. They will probably work as top- or middle managers, private consultants, or with HR or marketing in places like hotels, restaurants, cruise liners, shopping centres, hospitals, spas, resorts, travel agencies, design- or marketing bureaus etc. Next year a programme for post-graduates will also start, an important step in the right direction when we talk about colonizing new fields and gaining legitimacy.

When I compare the students I used to meet in the Department of Ethnology in Lund with the students I teach now, the gender-division in Helsingborg is more even and considerably more students come from mixed ethnic backgrounds and fewer have a academic tradition in their families. Quite a few have said that it feels "easier" to begin at Campus, with its non-existent academic heritage. The physical surroundings are also different: Campus is situated in an old, rebuilt rubber factory just by the harbour on the waterfront, a typical example of the knowledge-factories of the new economy (cf Idvall & Schoug 2003; Carlberg & Møller Christensen 2004).

There are two features in the organisation of the programme I especially want to mention. Firstly, its multidisciplinary character with teachers from business administra-

tion, management, marketing, accounting, cultural- and economical geography, ethnology, sociology, media, human ecology, environmental studies, commercial law and so on. Some courses are taught by teams of teachers from different disciplines, while others are not. The "higher research seminar" also consists of people from different disciplines.

The second feature that was new to me, but very familiar to the economists, was the cooperation with about 40-50 different 'associate-companies' (partnerföretag). These companies, big and small, national and international, do not contribute in any direct financial way, but as partners in giving lectures, presenting ideas for projects and essays, giving students an opportunity to do fieldwork, taking part in an advisory board etc. They have no direct influence on the programme in the respect that they can withdraw financial support. In an indirect way they can give hints about what they think is relevant from their point of view in an educational programme like this. A problem we have discovered is that the collaboration between students and companies regarding different student projects can result in the fact that students tend to be too positive about the companies policies. They simply fall in love with their research subjects and tend to reproduce a positive image of the company, when the company rather had hoped for some new critical and reflexive tools.

Today the 'non-economic' disciplines of the Service Management programme share a lot of concepts with other disciplines in the cultural studies field: cultural heritage, tourism, travel and regional questions, cultural industries and the experience economy, consumption, identity, gender, media and so forth. Theoretically and methodologically there is no great difference. Researchers from economy and cultural studies even share a



common worshiping of the theoretical gurus of our time. Still, in the beginning, there were a lot of discussions, positioning and even arguing about the content of the programme. The economists and 'the others' had a few heated debates about their different 'musts' and necessary ingredients that they thought should be part of the programme.

A positive side of this squabbling and positioning is the fact that you actually have to reflect on why the discipline and the students need a cultural theoretical perspective at all, what's the use of it? This isn't automatically taken for granted, as could be the fact in a 'one-discipline' department and therefore seldom formulated. Although, the multidisciplinary way to organize departments are getting more and more common today and ethnology quite often finds itself paired together with other disciplines.

It's a great asset to be able to work together with people with different approaches to the same topics – even though meetings tend to be more frequent and longer when the aim is to reach concordance. But if these foundational discussions tend to be recurrent – if one has to explain the whole purpose of being there, to defend your existence again and again, and once more correct your colleagues when they call you a sociologist (instead of an ethnologist) – then it becomes contra-productive, tedious and alienating.

Naturally this positioning has to do with power and influence, and the advantage it gives to be able to define what is what. The right of speech, but also the popular notion of the status of different academic disciplines, shapes the hierarchies in a department. I'll give an example that actually became somewhat of an eye-opener. I taught a part of a management-course, given to the students who were doing their last term. In their examination they were supposed to do an analysis of the gender structures of the

department. Here it became obvious that in their experience and in their eyes the more prestigious disciplines were the ones connected with economics, and the other ones were often called the 'soft' subjects (as opposed to 'hardcore' economics). They also (quite rightly) concluded that the top positions in the economic courses were held by men, just as most of the top positions in the department as a whole. The women who had any kind of leading positions nearly all came from 'soft' subjects.

This fact was perhaps not surprising, even though it's always a surprise to see it put down in bald figures. The apparent hierarchy between different disciplines surprised me more I must admit, being used to students who come to ethnology because they want to study just that (or because they couldn't get in anywhere else – the reality of humanistic disciplines that are in desperate need for more students). When I first gave a course on *Consumption, Identity and Media* I had certain fears that the students would question the usefulness of such a course, but out of 350 students this has only happened twice.

So if economy students have a set notion of what 'soft subjects' like cultural studies imply, people from cultural studies are of course free of such predetermined opinions about economists and business economy as a discipline...or are we?

### **The fear of contamination**

As I mentioned earlier, quite a few people in Lund, at The Department of Ethnology and in other disciplines, were rather sceptical of Campus Helsingborg, sceptical of working with economists and teaching management! As one professor in Lund, whom I've met earlier in connection with my dissertation on social workers, said when he helped us with the application for a research programme: "What is Karin doing at the department of

Service Management! Teaching students how to convince customers in a department store to choose the right bed?”

A lot of people obviously thought that topics like tourism, retailing and hospitality are either uninteresting or lightweight and shallow. Some also meant that teaching management was the same as supporting capitalism, an unethical business world and a privatized neo-liberal market as well as teaching how to deceive and dupe consumers and employees alike. As a researcher in The Department of Service Management one would have no or little chance of conducting any critical research because of the close affiliation with private companies. One would not be ‘allowed’ to do any ‘free’ research, or theoretical work for that matter, as no economists are interested in ‘serious’ research.

Today I’m slightly embarrassed to admit that also I shared a notion that went somewhere along those lines. Now I know that most of this is a direct misunderstanding built on ignorance and conceit about business economy as a discipline. But I still have my doubts from time to time about the overall meaningfulness of an education like this, and I’m a bit afraid that I’ll end up thinking more about the profitability of a single company, than transforming the whole service sector into becoming more ‘user-friendly’.

It is important, as in all academic work, to reflect on the content of what you are teaching. Working in a discipline like Service Management with concepts and topics well known from cultural studies like “understanding social and cultural change” can suddenly and perhaps without you noticing it, be translated into “prognosticating new markets and new trends”; “understanding and interpreting peoples cultures” becomes “monitoring consumer behaviour and life-styles”; “power analyses” becomes “strategic

market decisions” and “identity” becomes “image” and so forth.

But what happens if we leave this field open, and decide we don’t want to have anything to do with these people and this side of reality, in the fear of being contaminated? It would be presumptuous to believe that there wouldn’t be a programme in Service Management if the non-economic disciplines were absent. I’m sure there would, as there is in other universities, but the content and design of the programme would certainly not be the same. The students would not get the chance to see and interpret culture and society from another point of view than the one formed by the rationality of economy and the market. And they probably wouldn’t be told that this rationality, this economy and this market are just as “cultural” as anything else in society. For this you need a cultural theorist or someone who is interested in cultural theory.

Lately ethnology has moved more and more in the direction of becoming a perspective, a method to reflect and critically question the seemingly self-evident, to problematize the taken-for-granted. These abilities are crucial to master today, both as a consumer, a creative and independent employee and as a manager. Here I have, a maybe naïve, vision of being able to introduce a new kind of “other” leadership or management, to inspire a “different” producer of services where the customer plays a more active and influential role. In questioning the “natural” behaviour of companies and consumers in general, which most students and service-companies tend to believe in, I can return to issues that I was committed to when I worked in the department of Ethnology, like gender, class, ethnicity, power, symbolic meaning, identity and discourse. As an example, one of the top managers of a chain of big department stores asked me if and how men and women shop

differently, something that interested them at the moment. This simple (and yet very complex) question gives you the opportunity to do theoretical and methodological research including all those issues I mentioned above. One thing was different though from my time in Lund. As an answer to his question I said "I'll find out if you give us the money to do so". The terms of this collaboration has not yet reached its completion ...

### **Serving society – or the marketplace?**

When cultural studies became a part of not only Service Management, but other management and business economic-programmes as well, is that when we entered 'the marketplace'?<sup>1</sup> The answer of course depends on what we mean when we use the word. What is the marketplace? Where is the marketplace? Who is there? Do we want to be there?

In some respect cultural studies have been part of a market situation for some time now. The very fact that a new discipline actually called cultural studies was formed, points to the need to create a distinctive image, to brand oneself in new ways, and attract new groups of students and research financiers. The standardization, the big scale, the assembly line of higher education - the "McDonaldization" of university training as sociologist Georg Ritzer (2000) calls it, is nothing unique to Service Management. The rate of the flow of students, who actually graduate, control and shape the activities of many academic departments today.

But as cultural theorists we know that language, symbols and metaphors do something with us, it constitutes our way of thinking and acting. So when you hear the head of department talk of 'bench marking' and 'the point of breaking even' (in English!) when discussing the number of students, you know that you're not just in it for fun!

I want to stick my neck out and say that

there is nothing wrong about being at the marketplace – as long as you yourself are in control. It is naïve to believe you could stay out today, when economy *is* culture, when "the move to the centre of the economic stage of all things cultural and creative" is a fact as the geographer John Allen says in the book *Cultural economy* (2002). So to me personally it seems impossible not to be at 'the marketplace' if you want your academic work to have any impact what so ever.

But it's important to consider a few things. What sort of 'marketplace' are we talking about? How big is this space or sphere which we define as the marketplace – business, media, politics, peoples' everyday life – all this is somehow included in the concept. Or this is the way I would like to use it – in a very broad sense. What then becomes the difference between marketplace and society? Would the expression serving society and serving the market(place) then mean the same thing? Instinctively (being raised in the 'radical' ethnological tradition in the distant early eighties) this sounds alarming to me – I don't want to be serving a crude, brutal, neo-liberal market – still it's difficult to see a society today that hasn't got some sort of a marketplace.

To solve this dilemma it's important to me, to believe that it is possible to influence and to act upon the discourse, the logic, the rules of 'the marketplace' – not by avoiding the world of business and big enterprises, management and money, but actually taking part in it as a cultural theorist. But this of course raises another delicate question: with what aim should we participate? To facilitate for single companies to make higher profits and to explore new markets? To try to improve working conditions and underline the ethical aspects of customer relations and leadership as well as social cooperate responsibility? Can we have the latter without necessarily having

the first? Or can we have both and still feel OK about it?

The slowly bridging gap between culture and economy, that a department like Service Management could be seen as an example of, is of course part of a larger trend in both academia and business life. The expression cultural economy wants to recognize that economic practices, processes and theories are inescapably cultural and needs to be analysed as that. It also points to the growing economic importance of the so-called cultural sector of the economy. Finally as many researchers have pointed out, 'the market' and the business world freely borrow the language, symbols and even theories from 'cultural sciences' (du Gay & Pryke 2002; Löfgren & Willim 2005). How do we like the role ethnologists or people from culture studies have come to play in this process?

In the outlining of the theme for this summer seminar the organizing committee ends up with suggesting three different future roles for the candidates of cultural studies: the general educational and humanistic "bildung" ideal, the critical watchdog of the social debate or the candidate who will be able to meet the demands of business life in the global network-society.

But do we have to see these as three *different* and exclusive alternatives? I would like my students to be able to meet the demands of a new work life, to be able to understand contemporary economical and organizational life and the changing meanings of work and employment. At the same time, to be able to do this, to be successful and to survive out there it's vital to also have the abilities of a 'critical watchdog', to reflect and to be prepared to re-consider and re-think one's own role and society as a whole. To be able to do this you need some analytical tools and a frame for understanding the contemporary and here is where the need for "bildung" becomes

obvious. Therefore the three alternatives in fact amounts to one ideal candidate to aim for. So there you are – a small and modest request for what culture studies should bring to this world of ours!

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Today there are more and more examples of how ethnologists or anthropologists study the world of management and working life of the new economy (eg Bovbjerg 2001, Salamon 2002, Salomonsson 2005)

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# National identity and state building in post Soviet Estonia - experiences of 'reinventing' the Estonian National Museum<sup>1</sup>

By Pille Runnel

**Proceeding from historical background in the Estonian National Museum's relationship with the wider public, the article outlines the developments of national symbols connected to folk culture, taking the folk/national costume, widely used in Estonian song and dance festivals, as an example. Original items of the costumes have been collected by museum. Discussions of the clothing reflect how traditional folk culture and its researchers are involved in the 'national project' through different ideological conditions. A closer look at the current plans for establishing the new building of the museum, both a public, political and museological project, shows how consumerism and safeguarding nationally significant values are intermingling as part of the same 'project'.**

21<sup>st</sup> century has shown a new interest towards museums and the increase of their importance worldwide. It poses several complicated questions in museology and ethnology also in Estonia, including the question about possible meanings a museum has in the surrounding society and the means through which the meaning is created. Estonian National Museum (ENM) is a good example for studying the issue of nation building through three centuries. The ideas, which founded the basis for the

museum, were part of the wider set of ideas present in Europe in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In this way, following the developments connected to the museum in this article, serves as a case study of the self-determination processes of the national community. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century there are also new kinds of ideas surrounding it, as the museum is becoming part of consumer culture and heritage industry, facing the need to serve both tourists from home and abroad, whereas its previous meanings



– to be a symbolic object and national 'project' have not disappeared. The history of the museum, including the decisions on its development reflects the question how scientifically organized cultural heritage is facing the wider public, but it also enables to follow, what kind of groups or actors form the 'wider public', who are making extensive and important decisions for the community and finally what kind of knowledge do they use for decision-making.

### **Building the museum**

The Estonian National Museum has always been without a special museum building, located in temporary houses. First attempts to get a specially designed museum building started almost a century ago, with no success until now. Therefore the building issue has been a central theme in the museum's existence. At the beginning of 1990s, in the general flood of liberalization, Estonian Parliament (Riigikogu) made a decision to establish the Estonian National Museum with its specially designed museum building in the central districts of Tartu. The building should have been ready by 2004, but the process slowed down. Finding a sufficient amount of money was connected both to the economical facilities of a newly independent country and the preferences of the ruling political parties. As almost 10 years had passed with no results, the topic arose again in 2002. Next year the Estonian minister of culture decided that the location of the museum had to be changed and the museum is going to be established in the border areas of Tartu, nearby the manor house where it had been located before the Second World War, where currently the depositories of the museum have recently been established. This sudden change of plans inspired me to follow the most recent debate, its participants and the arguments used. Although the discussion apparently is just about changing the location

of a building, it also reflects ideas about cultural tradition, folk culture and the role of cultural research in the transition society.

Changing the location of the museum building could be interpreted as a political decision, as the political coalition and the counselling bodies (architectural, museum and heritage councils) of the ministry of culture played a significant role in it. In addition to the political preferences there are obviously also other more or less visible factors behind this decision. "Political" does not mean anything in itself, as it is always a set of ideas of the people involved in politics. The period between the two decisions was not a static period. A continuous formulation of meanings and change of power relations took place continuously on different levels.

In the beginning of the 1990s an architectural competition had taken place. The winner developed the initial work into a more detailed project; the building site in central districts of the town was prepared (including the significant investments into it). The decision made at that time was applied as a basis of the general development plan of the museum, including decisions about ongoing research, collecting policies and exhibitions. The project seemed to be waiting just for the money. Suddenly, after the local elections, a new political coalition of Tartu introduced its cultural program, stating that the coalition "supports erecting the Estonian National Museum at Raadi"<sup>2</sup> ([www.tartu.ee](http://www.tartu.ee)). It meant that the already started project will be neglected and the decision made by the parliament changed. Why? Certainly it was connected to the recent changes in local urban development, as the idea of establishing the international airport in the Raadi area had been neglected and the building site in the town centre was not entirely suitable for the museum. Also, several groups of citizens had claimed throughout the 1990s that the

museum should be built at Raadi in order to restore the pre-war situation.

When a investigative journalist would list previously described events asking, "what happened?" and would try to find explanations by interviewing the parties involved in the decision making (politicians, experts) at the time (2003), the ethnologist, on the other hand, has to ask "what has taken place?" to focus on the long-term processes. In order to try to answer the latter question one has to study the processes both during the last 10 years and previous decades. My interest in taking up the topic is not to treat it from the perspective of future development ("what-if" questions) and discuss, what the museum could have become, if it became a part of the urban milieu in the narrow grounds in the town centre, being on the trajectory of both the tourists and citizens. My interest is rather to approach both the decision-making and the background of the decision, reaching almost back to the last 100 years, through the means of cultural analysis. Therefore, a large part of the article follows the historical processes and agents forming the ground for the cultural political decisions made about the building.

### **Historical meanings behind the museum**

The Estonian National Museum was founded in 1909 as a nation-wide museum in order to preserve Estonian culture most thoroughly. The task of the museum was the collection, preservation, research and introduction of ethnographic and cultural-historical subject matter and folklore. The meanings connected to the museum are very coherently connected to the ideas, already from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. National movements spreading throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century in Central and Eastern Europe involved also Estonia, where the national movement lasted until the First World War,

finding its solution in the birth of the Republic of Estonia. In the long-term fight for the nation state and national culture a general rule has usually proved to work: until national and cultural identity is under attack, there is no need to safeguard or stress it through particular national or public organizations or ideology. In Estonia the situation has been rather controversial (Vunder 1997: 89-90). Therefore the development of institutions like newspapers and books, museums and educational movements became the integral part of the idea of the national movement.

The first ideas about establishing the museum appeared already in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when its programme – to record particularly the life and material culture of Estonians started to take shape. The first calls for it in the form of the printed sources from 1878 belong to one of the central figures of Estonian national movement, Carl Robert Jakobson. During the next decades, when the oldest Estonian male student fraternity was formed, establishing the museum belonged also to the aims of this organization.

Estonian ethnologist Ants Viires (2001) explains the shaping of the particular focus of the museum with the peculiarities of the national movement in Estonia. The basis of the national movement was elaborating self-consciousness of the nation and recognizing its ethnicity. As the land's people did not have its "grand" history, the objects of the museum could only be the features characterising the ethnic belonging, the elements of peasant everyday life, becoming fast only a part of the past in the ongoing changes

The museum was finally established in 1909, after the death of the biggest Estonian folklore collector Jakob Hurt in the winter 1906/1907. Among the heritage of Jakob Hurt were vast folk song collections, representing the common heritage of the whole nation. The folklore collections were important

signifiers of Estonian national movement because of extremely wide collective support and participation in Jakob Hurt's collecting activities among Estonians.

Among the founders of the museum were schoolteachers, artists, writers, and so on. Different societies and associations operated, organizing undertakings for the benefit of the museum to introduce its aims to the wider public. In a few years' time, the volunteers managed to implant the idea of the museum into the minds of thousands of Estonians all over the country and start a large-scale systematic collection of material heritage, mainly traditional folk culture. Through the collection activities, Estonian National Museum became certainly one of the national symbols at that time (Õunapuu, online).

The group who established the museum started to look for the suitable location for the museum building. A few possible grounds were found unsuitable, because of being too far away from the city centre (around 1 km). The question of the exhibition space was solved in 1922, when Tartu University donated the museum a representative manor house with a beautiful park in the outskirts of Tartu. The exhibition, depicting mainly the traditional peasant culture was established in a manor house, which had been used as a huge living house of its owners - Baltic Germans, the local landlords. Still, the museum was not in a particularly good situation. The building was not suitable for scientifically organized ethnographic exhibitions, and being located in the border areas of the town, it became more difficult to have thorough contacts with the university which was quite significant, as the study of Estonian folk culture was established through the cooperation between the university and the museum.

Despite this, during the 1920s and 1930s the museum in the Raadi manor became popular and obtained a symbolic value especially

through becoming a practical reality and an emotional lived space for the visitors. With its beautiful surroundings and parks it became a destination for town dwellers spending their free time and functioned therefore not only as a site of learning about one's past, but also as a site for socializing and maintaining social relations. It was all ruined during the Second World War, when the manor house burnt down; the park was destroyed and the collections of the museum were evacuated to various locations all over Estonia.

At the after-war period the sovietization was started by the Soviet authorities immediately after Estonia. It had been occupied had a direct impact also on the museum. The Raadi manor was given to the Soviet army; it became part of the military airport area. The museum as an institution was split into three museums: literary museum, art museum and the ethnographic museum. The latter had to adapt itself to culture treatment and museum work based on Soviet Marxist ideology. The role of the museum changed gradually - the main task was introducing the official ideology into the masses (Austa 2004).

During the liberation period, especially since the 1990s, the ENM had to focus its main attention outward, to make society aware of its necessity, to justify its existence. The museum focused again more on scientific research than on the previous decades. Although the aim is to maintain an optimal balance with collection and popularization work, the ongoing research is partly moving closer to the social sciences, therefore being less visible to the wider public.

### **Estonian National Museum and folk culture**

Estonian National Museum is connected to the central axis of Estonian identity both through the research carried out in the museum and through safeguarding ethnographic

collections. For example the museum owns the biggest collection of clothes being worn by the peasants, which have served as the basis for reconstruction of folk costumes. Constant teaching, publishing and counselling makes Estonian National Museum the central promoter of folk costumes.

Nowadays the most large-scale event, where the national costume has a significant role, is the song festival in Estonia, which can bring as many as 20 000 singers on the stage at the same time. Song festival as an event denotes in the Estonian context traditional gathering of hundreds of amateur choirs and huge audience to the special song festival grounds in Tallinn. Similarly to the history of ENM, the history of song festivals goes back to the 19th century when Estonia was a province of a Russian Empire where German upper class landlords ruled the Estonian lower class - the peasants. In the German cultural area the Baltic-German singing societies *Liedertafel* became the open form of activities, the organising of song festivals. Also in Germany it was one of the ways, through which national ideas were expressed (Kuutma 1996a, 1996b). 1860 marks the beginning of the period of the National Awakening in Estonia as a part of which a singing society of Estonians started and carried through the nationwide idea of the Song Festival, initially a cultural loan from the Germans. The first Song Festival took place in Tartu at 1869. It was both a musical and political event, where the foundations of the further national awakening programme were laid out. Since then, song festivals became a long-lasting tradition.

Although the Second World War brought large and fundamental changes, the song festival tradition was perceived as a useful tool for soviet propaganda. Since the 1950s the song festival started to take place regularly in every five years. Despite the political regime, song festivals have been the place for the

demonstration of cultural identities. Also in the soviet-time situation of ideologized and administered cultural events, song festival and choirs carried either exposed or hidden a cultural sign system (Geertz 1973), what we perceive as maintaining Estonianness nowadays. Characteristically of the time (balancing itself between loyalty to the political regime and exposing nationality) song festivals were almost the only mass gatherings, based on voluntary will. The results of the study of the maintenance of national identity show that the strongest factor for national identity was participation in song festivals (Rakfeldt 1996: 1574 quoted in Kuutma 1996a).

The role of the song festivals in the identity formation processes has been so significant that Estonian (cultural) identity is well characterized by the term "the singing nation" that has united the nation in their struggle for their national independence till 1918 and during the period of the Soviet Occupation (1941- 1991). Concerning the Song festivals there are two beliefs in the Estonian conscience. The first one says that in 1869 a nameless country folk sang themselves to a European nation and the latter confirms that Estonians sang themselves their independence (Piiri 2004). The survival of the song festival tradition also helped feeding the national reawakening. "The singing revolution", which began in 1988, gathered to the song grounds in Tallinn hundreds of thousands of people to make political demands and sing patriarchal songs. Singing in choirs is a mass cultural activity in contemporary Estonia, and for an average Estonian the combined concepts of "folk" and "singing" associate with "song festival" (Kuutma 1996b).

It is noteworthy that the meaning of Estonian song festivals have been studied primarily as the manifestation of identity or as a ritual event, but at the same time the



Preparing the walls for the future storage houses of the Estonian National Museum. Photographic collections of the Estonian National Museum. Photo by Arp Karm.

material expressions, including the process of the ritual itself and the role of the material culture - folk costumes - as a part of the event. Only a limited number of texts has been published on the issue. It is known that by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the performing choirs wore usually their national costumes (Piiri 1992: 132), as did the participants in the first Estonian song festival (1869). It is quite probable that it did not have clearly symbolic meanings yet, as in these places the clothes were still in everyday use. A more active folklorism-movement took shape in the framework of urban culture only at the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, depending largely on collecting and researching folk culture. As part of the idea of establishing the Estonian museum, a wide-scale campaign for collecting ethnographical objects started, following quite clearly the example of Nordiska Museet. In the case of traditional folk culture there existed a set of comprehensions of how and what to collect. For example, when collecting

the items from the material folk culture, they were colourful and aesthetically more exciting than the rest of the material culture (see Viires 2001).

In the 1920s a more wide propaganda for wearing folk costumes started. Following the heritage movements in Scandinavian countries, it was connected to folk dance movements. Wearing folk costumes at different kinds of celebrations formed a part of it. In the beginning there were no clear concepts, what kind of clothes to wear and where particularly. Although the director of Estonian National Museum Ilmari Manninen called for wearing folk costumes according to the knowledge available about the authentic costumes, the whole development also favoured innovation, including the attempts to develop folk costumes into national costumes, supported by the general ideas of modernisation. Besides collecting, the ethnographic study of clothes has had a strategic importance. Entire sets of costumes were reconstructed, which

served as examples for clothes made for the big celebrations. Therefore the research in general has been dealing with problems of form/shape, including the questions about the importance of maintaining the original details and reconstructing the costume, or improvisation, creating the "models" of costumes of folkloristic fashion (see Vunder 1997: 97). Ethnological research has been part of social expectations and needs and it has been dependant on the ideas, which both early enthusiastic collectors and later on also other people ascribed to the artefacts representing traditional peasant culture. Similarly to Finland, in the beginning the approach to study single items of costumes dominated, as the items were originally also collected piece by piece, not as entire costumes. Since the 1930s, when wearing the folk costume was also supported by the state, the most important part of ethnological folk costume research focused on compiling entire costumes and studying their regional peculiarities which brought along a new phase in folk costume research (Viires 2001: 382). During the 1920s and 1930s the Estonian National Museum actively supported the use of the original national costume. At the last pre-war festival in 1938 the trend that had been supported by the museum prevailed and participants in the song festival were mostly wearing the authentic national costume (Piiri 1992).

It is significant that characteristically to the popular understandings of what kind of traditional heritage should be maintained, also the collections of folk costume in ENM present mainly the Sunday-side of folk costumes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The concepts originating from the 19<sup>th</sup> century have set limits to the possible directions of research and possible interpretations, feeding also the process during which the folk costume became one of the central elements of the song festival

movement.

Second period in the history of folk costume research started after the occupation of Estonia in 1940. Both socioeconomic structure and culture were shaped by political ideology. When the occupational regime used everything "national" as its formal slogan, also Estonians used it in its mental resistance. Estonian national culture became in all its forms a real stabilizing social-psychological element, giving hope (Vunder 1997: 96-97).

National identity was primarily a protest identity, using all the materialised phenomena like song festivals or wearing the folk costumes. Paradoxically both the soviet regime and the silent protest favoured using folk costumes as national festival clothes. Soviet regime favoured it, as it enabled the presentation of the friendly family of soviet nationalities and their happy lives. Ethnologists were able to continue carrying out similar kind of research under different kind of ideological conditions - reconstruct historical folk costumes. It is paradoxical that Estonian ethnology during these decades had a double role, supporting both the aims of official culture and the hidden contra culture.

The third phase in the research of folk costume started in the 1960s. It was characterised by extensive use of museum collections and revising sources from earlier periods in the framework of historical-comparative method for researching material culture. It enabled the reconstruction of costumes, suitable also for wearing at contemporary events. As Estonian ethnologist Ants Viires has concluded, the research from that period was rather narrow both at the level of methods and research subject (Viires 2001: 385). Therefore there does not exist a deeper understanding of the history of folk costume. In the 1960s the Bureau of Song festivals of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic accepted the museum's view, according to which the



historical folk costumes have to serve as the basis for making the new costumes for performing choirs at Song Festival. Samples, published at that time were entirely based on ENM's collections.

At that period in the preparation of folk costumes the ideas of authenticity and "wrongs and rights" dominated. As costumes for the public performances, the clothes had to face much higher demands than earlier. Ethnologist Reet Piiri mentions in an overview about the developments of the folk costume as a uniform for public performance that the folk costume commission of the song festival has even banned the performance of some choirs for wearing wrong costumes (Piiri 1992). As a huge "store house" for folk costumes, ENM became a part of the massive song festival culture and supported for a long time also the idea of wearing the costumes in the "right" way, for example Piiri has written concerning the artist's ideas to interpret the costumes more freely:

"[...] during the early 1980s one could see the so-called national costume advocated by some fashion designers favouring the tenets of applied art being worn by men of a few performing ensembles. The Estonian National Museum had always been against this trend, and in the 1960s it officially confirmed its stand: the national costume should be patterned on the model of the historical costume." (Piiri 1992: 133)

In the end of the 1980s, along with the general freedom movement, folk costumes became especially popular. A fundamental change took place – the costumes were not only made for public performances anymore. Folk costumes became significant in the private sphere – appeared as festive clothes at family events like parties, birthdays, weddings and elsewhere. At the same time also the concept of folk costumes became the subject of change, an example of it is freer

mixing of ordinary clothes and elements from folk costume. Ethnologists followed in a way the general developments and neglected a restricted approach. Among the suggestions of the researchers from ENM (see Õunapuu, Reeman 2003: 19) it is said that when a performer wears folk costume, saying that it is from a specific parish and from a certain decade or period, the costume should present accordingly all the knowledge which the researchers have obtained from the museum collections. Although everybody might choose the costumes from their home area, the participants of informal festivities should have the choice to make their outfit and mix together new and old elements.

When following the opinions published in the media concerning the 2004 song festival, it seems that the public opinion was still rather demanding in concern of the "authenticity" of the folk costumes. Wearing folk costumes was perceived as a kind of moral issue, connected to the honourable attitude towards the costumes. At the same time the questions of function, authenticity and the changing folk culture were openly discussed. For example, the singers of the children's choirs, who were wearing rubber boots and sports shoes because of a very rainy weather instead of original footwear, caused annoyance for the journalist, who wrote in the commentary:

"What did people wear as a part of the folk costumes at the celebration? Adidas footwear with blue stripes. Low boots. A soviet-time tin badge. A voluminous belly-bag. Grumbling beach sandals."  
(Postimees)

In the answers from the readers at an online forum of the newspaper's web page, it is mentioned that folk costumes have been in a constant change throughout the history and mere copying and formalizing would equalize them with the costumes held in the museum.

Studying, collecting and wearing folk costumes has been an object of ongoing discussions where the arguments are directed both by the existing meanings and actual uses of folk costume. Although the ethnologists working in the museum have always been involved into the meaning-making processes, their involvement is rather invisible. Though Finnish ethnologist Bo Lönnqvist's statement that folk costumes are just an illusion originating from museum collections (Viies 2001: 386) is familiar also for Estonian ethnologists, the actual wearers of the costumes prefer to know that museum does keep sets of original costumes (the idea was also expressed in newspaper commentaries). Ethnologists, who once compiled these costumes, are not seen as participants in the negotiations of the meaning and allowed changes, neither are they telling what is "right" or "wrong". It is rather expected that the people in the museum are the safe guardians of the authenticity.

### **The representation of the museum in the media 2002-2003**

After the insight into the historical developments of the museum, it is time to return to the decision about the location of the future museum building. This enables to see, how and if the museum and ethnologists working in the museum, the meanings and roles of whom we could see through the issue of folk clothes and song festivals, are or are not serving the society.

To follow the formulation of the new decision and to describe the opinions represented in the public debate an analysis of media texts was carried out. The sample consisted of 30 articles from the years 2001-2004 in Estonian newspapers (*Postimees*, *Eesti Ekspress*). The texts about location of the new building and new storage houses were selected, whereas general announcements about

exhibitions and pedagogical programmes were left out. A majority of the texts covering the developments in the decision-making process were news articles, features and interviews (22), but also five opinion articles and two editorials were included.

According to the idea of the social functions of media (McQuail 2003), media fulfils certain roles in the social process. In the debate about the location of the new museum building, the media was in the role of information provider, but it was also a converger, as it interpreted available information and helped to form the consensus among the audience. Thirdly, it acted as a motivator by raising the question of the still missing museum building, appealing for achieving the general, common aims of the society.

We can also approach the media as a public text, as it contains opinions, evaluations and discussions, involving the voices of different groups. At the same time the media has its specifics, including the ways the media depicts any event in the real world and in which ways the stories are built. The content is always biased due to various forces. When asking, why building the new storage houses and the new exhibition house for a museum was considered significant and followed by the media at all, there are two main answers: although the museum is first of all a nationally important object having high symbolic value, it is also important as a part of local urban development. According to the distribution of the media texts, the issue was considered even more relevant to the local audience, until it became subject of political discussions.

But in addition to these two, there are also other issues, seemingly not relevant at all behind the coverage: local politicians raise the topic as a part of their own campaigns, making it more interesting to the journalists in this way; the journalist himself, following certain topics picks the story up every now

and then, as nothing more important is going on. There might be many contexts behind any body of texts and these all participate in the formation of meanings of the treated subjects. Because of these contexts and not because of the text's inner qualities, texts work to position their readers in various ways, providing their readers with certain ways of reading and certain interpretations (Lehtonen 2000: 103).

### **Ethnography of the meaning-making**

Which groups were more active in presenting their message or opinion and who were silent in the debate? The position of visionaries or experts (publishing opinion articles) participating actively in the debate was taken by a few people only. Apart from two editorials, the opinion articles were written by professors of Tartu University (physics and pathology), a member of the NGO Friends of Estonian National Museum (the former head of the city planning department of the city council) and by a urban planner, responsible for the local project of renovating the Raadi manor. They were all strongly against building the museum in the central areas of the town. The variation of persons, who are quoted or referred to in news stories (including experts), is slightly wider. The most quoted was the man responsible for the renovation project, economic director of the museum (8 times). He is followed by the director of the museum (4 times), ministry of culture of Estonia (4 times), mayor of Tartu (2 times), the architect who won the former architectural competition (3 times). They are followed by those appearing only once in the articles: a former director, researcher and main treasurer of ENM, some members of advisory boards and officials of the ministry of culture, but also heads of the environmental department of Tartu City Council and Tartu Rescuing Forces. It can be concluded that mainly the formal

representatives were used to report about various developments before the new decision was made, confirming the general facts in the ongoing discussion. Various experts, including the researchers, were mostly of secondary importance as sources for the newspaper.

It is also significant to follow which words and expressions form the texts' representation of the museum. A long list of expressions refer somehow to the content, purpose or function of the museum from news and opinion articles: 'historical park'; 'the built depositories'; the museum at Raadi as a 'symbol (of Estonianness)', 'a destination point of nice Sunday walks', expressions like 'enjoying the elevating influence of the fabulous place', 'the architectural ensemble with alleys and fountains'; material representations of the museum like 'storage houses', 'a depository system', 'old stuff', 'buildings', 'items in the "folk museum"'; expressions referring to the museum as a space of leisure: 'recreation area', 'cafeterias for refreshments and a place to enjoy spare time'; but also 'the source of enlightenment of the prehistory of the nation' or simply 'ethnographic exhibitions'. Dominant discourses on what is ENM according to the published texts on the debate, a museum as a storage place dominates (especially in the news articles), which is followed by the image of the museum as a leisure-place with a park and open-air amusements. Only then the exhibitions come up, followed by the museum as something representing a high symbolic value. The latter belongs mostly to the opinion articles, which try to escape the level of the everyday and to reason the importance of the decision (about changing the location of the building place) from a more general level of common values of the community. Past and present form a single entity. An author writes about May 13<sup>th</sup>, 1923:

"From now on, the museum's Raadi-era started, the remembering of which brings a sparkle in the eye to the older generation. The museum in Raadi, a beautiful park and flower garden brought people to Sunday walks, to enjoy the elevating influence of the fabulous place." (Postimees)

The author, trying to outline the future of the museum in the outskirts of Tartu describes it almost similarly, as a return to the nostalgic past:

"There are boats and water attractions on the tidy Raadi lake. It is cosy to have a walk in the park. The cafeterias for refreshments, and in general it is a place, where you are able to recreate or enjoy culture with your family or friends." (Postimees)

The latter description could as well belong to the history book from the Museum's brilliant years in Raadi in the 1920s.

Clearly the central figure in the texts becomes a man, who is responsible of building the depository houses and supporting the museum's moving to the manor area. His work enables the representation of the museum as a supernatural, symbolic object of national importance. Newspaper texts refer here even to the supernatural powers, because rational, everyday reportage-style does not represent the importance of the process thoroughly enough:

"I would like to re-establish Raadi, as you can see it on the photos" Siimets said. "I have noticed that when I push something with all my heart, then my dreams will come true". [...] When the problems with Raadi started to overwhelm Ülo Siimets<sup>3</sup>, he lighted seven candles for the Nepalese death god. "And I became really successful. And then we got the (Raadi) land back and then...". With the help of the death god Siimets has managed to get 51 millions for repairing the manor and 3 millions for buying the equipment. Raadi is developing and growing." (Postimees)

Also in the opinion articles and editorials the museum became instantly a supernatural, symbolic object of national importance. The authors' aim is to represent bigger communities of nostalgia and justice, saying that:

"Next year we will re-establish the symbol of the war for independence, the Kalevipoeg, after which there is time to re-establish Estonian National Museum in Raadi as the next symbol." (Postimees)

Or:

"Re-establishing the Estonian National Museum at Raadi helps us to pay our honorary debts for the history." (Postimees)

and stressing the meaning of Raadi as a symbol:

"Renovating the architectural ensemble is not just possible and good idea, but when thinking on the cultural heritage as the maintainer of the national identity, it is even obligatory." (Postimees)

Slightly after the Estonian ministry of culture had announced that the museum will be erected in the Raadi area, it was interpreted as the triumph of justice and even more: the museum became the material, bodily manifestation of the nation:

"The return of Estonian National Museum to Raadi is also the return to the home of the nation, which should give us the certainty of our national cultural survival. There is no future without the past for a nation. Let us take care of the past." (Postimees)

The majority of the discussion in the news and in the opinion articles were about a museum as an architectural issue and issue of regional planning. Entirely missing topics in the debate were the museum as a content provider and participant in the creation of knowledge and discussions about the museum outside the 'ethnographic project', including

the concept of the museum as a multicultural institution, presenting and preserving the cultures of other nations or ethnic groups<sup>4</sup>, and finally also understanding the museum as something wider than the presenter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century peasant culture – all the topics, in which the ethnologists would have considered significant and felt comfortable to talk about to the wider public. This is partly explained by the bias of communication in the media, as usually the museum was a significant issue just in the news because of depositories being built (news articles) and as part of paying the symbolic debts in the face of the history (opinion articles). Therefore it seems that the building process is for the public a kind of manifestation of a symbolic, even ritual act.

It is also explained, when looking at the experts and those quoted in the articles. It mostly covered the groups involved in the public debate about the future of the museum. The contents of the museum was mentioned during the debate by a researcher and a museum pedagogue, who both were quoted once in one article. The museum was mostly described in quotes from the person responsible for the building issues, and from the point of view of the journalist, trying to report on different interests (Tartu City council, NGO Friends of ENM, urban planners working for the city council and the Cultural ministry), the person responsible for the building seemed to be the most active agent in the middle of them. In his quotes, a museum inevitably became an object being built.

### **Conclusion**

The Estonian National Museum has various roles and meanings for the community. In the article, there are two main issues: a museum as a representation of national culture and a museum as a spatial object.

The example of folk costumes as a part of contemporary song festival culture and the

mediated debate on the location of a building confirmed that although public interest towards the museums is growing, traditional museology and ethnology are still having a representation crisis. The audience expects the national museum to provide both authenticity and consumable ready-made leisure spaces, whereas ethnology and museology are critical about the previously mentioned, arguing that museum collections are constructed and that cultural traditions are not carried through time as a authentic entity, but rather reinvented as a symbol of the time being. Both the attitudes towards the folk costume and the building issue confirmed that the public considers culture as something to be protected, as material objects are treated as a proof for the existing differences between ethnic groups. A distinction drawn with the help of physical evidence (material objects) helps to express a wider distinction between "them" and "us" (Runnel 2003). According to Danish anthropologist Bente Wolff, material objects are understood by humans as evidential and play an important role in maintaining distinction between groups, since we tend to identify various cultural traits with certain objects (Wolff 1995). Therefore the discussion about where and how to build a national depository becomes a critical issue, because, to quote an author of one of the opinion authors, according to popular understandings, "where is the treasury of the nation, also its mentality is" (Postimees). The museum building in this way becomes a ritual confirmation of nationhood through the use of the material (a museum building, filled with "old stuff"). A constructivist approach, being dominant in contemporary ethnology, does not support this worldview and therefore the expert opinions of the ethnologists do not fit into the framework of the decision-making (about establishing a depository for national culture). It is paradoxical that in a similar

way ethnologists are not suitable for being the spokesmen of the consumer-oriented heritage industry, nor, according to the public expectations, interpreters or meaning givers of culture. The only role remaining for the ethnologists in the context of the museum according to this case study seems to be the invisible role of the content-provider and guardian of the 'authenticity'. Ethnologists were not used as experts in decision-making nor covering the latter in the media, as the topics (urban planning, national symbol, depositories, tourism industry) founding the grounds of the decision being made, seemingly did not touch upon them. It follows that for the ethnologists it has become critical to learn how to make their voices heard and represent the results of their work also within the existing popular discourses. Quite often it is a matter of successful interpretation. It also seems that the meaning and aims of the work made by the ethnologists working in the museum has become ambivalent.

In the story about the museum building and its location it became visible that especially for the elderly town dwellers, the national and local identity intermingle through strong feelings of nostalgia concerning the museum's location at Raadi. Some places are emotionally more important than others, because similarly to material culture, "place" denotes some kind of centre through which we experience the meaning of things. Nostalgia served as one of the central forces in making the new decision. Besides being a historical monument of the past, the Raadi area denotes one of the starting points of the Singing Revolution at the end of the 1980s. The first meetings with openly used national colours and speeches for the independence of the country took place at the former territory of the national museum at Raadi, which at that time was still occupied by Soviet air forces. One of the direct aims of the meetings at that time was to force the

army to leave the place.

As it became visible, several paragraphs in contemporary media texts describing the nation returning home in the form of the museum could as well belong to the speeches of the 19<sup>th</sup> century nation builders. The second national 'awakening period' by the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s has mingled with the pre-war past, as the aim of the national awakening was largely restoring the pre-war independence of Estonia. Therefore some authors of the contemporary opinion articles obtained the 19<sup>th</sup> century-kind of rhetoric, expecting that this still represents shared meanings within a national community and forms a kind of cultural code, through which it is possible to express national aims.

At the same time, it is interesting that in the ongoing changes these national-romantic ideas are supporting a museum as part of contemporary tourist consumer culture, as both support the same idea – moving the museum to a leisure area in the outskirts of the town where it has several opportunities to develop into a recreation area and symbolic space for the national community. Neither of them supports the idea of the museum as part of everyday practical and informational spaces of the town dwellers (museum as a part of contemporary knowledge society). Rather, the museum is supposed to be a kind of combination of collectively owned representational space and liminoid space (Turner 1982), a part of individualistic experimental and exploratory leisure settings.

### Notes

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<sup>2</sup> A former manor house at the outskirts of Tartu,



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currently a district of the town.

<sup>3</sup> Ülo Siimets is the economic director of the museum.

<sup>4</sup> ENM has outstanding collections of Finno-Ugric cultures.

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## About the author

Pille Runnel is a PhD candidate (media and communication studies), working also as a researcher at the Estonian National Museum and as a director of Tartu festival of visual culture. My main research areas are media anthropology and anthropology of post-socialism, the central project being currently a study about the sociocultural practices and new media in Estonia.





# Help, we are attractive on the business market!

By Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl

**The current trends of a culturalisation of economy or economisation of culture, processes that are often labelled as so-called experience industries, are providing ethnologists with a whole new range of possibilities on the business market. Still, the roads between academia and the marketplaces seem to be more travelled by coincidence and luck than clear-cut systems for helping students entering the 'world outside'. Based upon her own experiences of entering the business life, Hjemdahl challenges the academia to put more effort into dealing with the post-student phases.**

How does the scientific product meet the outside world? How does it get to play a part in both business life and public debates? How is it used and what is regarded as relevant to scientific production? When trying to reflect on these questions that have been posed for this session, I will dwell upon my own experiences after finishing my PhD-project in ethnology on Nordic theme parks *Tur-retur temapark. Oppdragelse, opplevelse, kommers* (Hjemdahl 2003).

I have been working both as a concept developer for a children's cultural festival in one of the theme parks that I studied, the Kristiansand Dyrepark in Norway, and as a leader of the project *Opplevelsesindustri på*

*Sørlandet* (Hjemdahl 2004) discussing the connections between developments of tourism and so called creative industries. Through the work on this project on experienced industry in Southern Norway, I got acquainted with two exciting milieus that are based upon and are frontrunners in developing the experience economy within Scandinavia. I will give you some stories from these places, which are Musical Valley in Roskilde and Rock City in Hultsfred, and present some of their key learning as well.

When naming this lecture *Help, we are attractive on the business market* and stating that this is a rather puzzled situation on many levels, it is not only the case for the individual

researcher moving from one world to another. It also seems to be a somewhat puzzled situation for the worlds one moves between, both for the business life that receives knowledge that it wasn't quite aware it could benefit from, and for the academic milieus - and maybe especially for the Faculties of Humanity - that do not appear quite familiar with the connection to an outside world of private business industries. Even if I base this lecture on my own experiences from taking this move, I do believe and hope that there can be some more general learning from it.

### **Entering business life by pure coincidence**

So, how did I get to play a part in this business life in the first place? It was really by pure coincidence. Actually it was my brother who started it all. He is a photographer for a newspaper, and he was covering a story on female recruiting in executive boards on 'the other side', at the Norwegian School of Business School in Bergen. It's a rather long way both from the Faculties of Humanities and the Department of Cultural Science to this business school, even if they are situated in the same city. Well, my brother was listening to one of the PhD-students, Irene Nygaardsvik, talking about tourism, and he thought it sounded very much like me when talking about my theme parks, except this girl focused on economy where I was highlighting culture. He asked her if she knew of my study, which she (of course) did not.

But she became rather interested. So interested that she wrote the essentials on one of these well-known yellow post-it notes and put it on the wall in her office. As she told me later on, this note made her think of theme parks when sitting there later on trying to develop a new way of teaching the students in marketing. She thought of the complexity of theme parks, being both cultural and economic

industry, being within the service industry and at the same time dealing with both more traditional and experienced economy, and she chose to use the Kristiansand Dyrepark as a concrete example to contextualise theories, do case studies through-out the whole term, and being the base for the exams.

To present and discuss the theme park from two quite different approaches and understandings, the manager of Kristiansand Dyrepark and I were invited as guest lecturers. Luckily for me, the manager Reidar Fuglestad was giving his lecture first, talking about the theme park in a very confirming way according to the analysis of *Tur-retur temapark*. This gave me the pleasant opportunity of presenting my rather critical perspectives on how these parks were managed and produced, with examples from this lecture that the students had already heard.

### **When the economists rule on their own**

Studying the theme parks I followed a rather traditional approach for a cultural analyst: Of the four chapters in the book, the first three are all dealing with how people are using these parks and how they enter the everyday life of people: Why they turn so popular, how people are actually moving around when being there, how the park experiences are being used in the kindergartens back home. These were the most interesting aspects from a cultural point of view. But I also wanted to explore the parks from the management's point of view, which is the focus of the last chapter. This turned out like an unconnected appendix of my study, and it took some time for me to understand that this was not only a consequence of poor structuring of an academic text.

My claim was that the way theme parks were managed was based on a very narrow and traditional economic thinking. There were only economists in leading positions and in



the executive boards, running the parks by strategic tools that focused on systems rather than fantasy, control rather than creativity, infrastructure rather than experiences and events. In many ways it seemed like the management not at all considered the cultural dimensions in form of the fairytale worlds as their main products, or acknowledged the children as an important part of the theme park production or communication.

Maybe the marketing tools in which the production was based upon did not manage to clarify the significance of neither the experiences nor the children? The marketing surveys in the form of questionnaires, which were very much trusted and in use, communicated first and foremost with the visitors least interested in being there. Like the others who often are the first family members to be bored in the parks and very happily grab

Help, we are attractive on the business market these forms as an opportunity to sit in a quiet corner with a cup of coffee, giving them the chance of doing an important task and not being labelled as 'happy-holiday-breaks'. The clear impression was that the parks turned more boring, and was not renewed with the same kind of guts or touch.

I was kind of surprised by this, because when discussing matters concerning experienced economy, the theme parks are often presented as proto examples. When for instance the American management consultants Joseph Pine and James Gilmore introduced the so called fourth economy, in their bestseller *The Experience Economy – Work Is Theatre & Every Business a Stage* (1999), they claim the theme parks, particularly the Walt Disney parks, as starting point of this way of doing business and of developing cultural industry.

And when the Danish guru within



After attending the "Schools of Animal Keepers" - feeding giraffes and camels, tickling the tapir on the stomach, checking the fences of the Tigers Kingdom, playing with the monkeys, shovelling the leftovers from the donkeys, or looking after the snakes - surprisingly many children rethink their future career plans. Foto: Kristiansand Dyrepark.



experienced economy Rolf Jensen talks about his dream society, in another bestseller *The Dream Society: How the Coming Shift from Information to Imagination Will Transform Your Business* (1999), he also states that theme parks are one of the businesses for the future, because of their capacity to rapidly evoke emotions and to build worlds of stories that are possible to enter.

### **How does your theories work in 'real life'?**

Some days after these lectures the manager of Kristiansand Dyrepark called me on the phone. I was more or less expecting him to cut my head off. It is not that pleasant being criticised in front of some 500 marketing students, or within the form of a book. Most people would take that quite personally, and I could understand any anger and a wish to punch back. But he surprised me. He said something like this: "Usually I meet people who think just like me, people who clap me on my shoulder whenever I propose anything, who rarely dare to speak up, criticise me or suggest something else. But you actually say things that I haven't even thought about before".

Then he came up with a quite adequate notion concerning my analysis: "One thing is what you claim in your theoretical working. Another thing is how your knowledge works in the practical life. You know, it's very convenient and pleasant being a researcher almost always turning to what have happened, to analyse what we approach as rather fixed or stable. A totally different thing is to go into a practical life, where you're going to develop something you don't have a clue what's going to be the end of".

"I have a challenge for you!" he ended the conversation. To check the relevance between this theoretical analyses and the practical 'outside world' of academia, in form

of developing a concept for a cultural festival for children in the Kristiansand Dyrepark. They had already started planning this festival, and I was asked to comment upon what they had done so far.

As normal, one might say, I had quite a few critical comments and also some new suggestions. The four pages of their original festival planning turned into eleven pages. When meeting in the park to discuss possibilities, I turned increasingly interested in participating in this project. I was ensured that this was something the management was serious about, and that they would put effort, means and quality in this in a manner that both convinced and impressed. When I showed up the first day, it was really interesting to see how the manager Reidar Fuglestad had turned these eleven pages of my writings into a business kind of language that presented the festival within more or less one page of key words.

I have to admit that before accepting this challenge, I had to consult my supervisor Jonas Frykman. I asked: "Can I really do that? Is it ethically correct to start working for someone you have studied and researched?" Frykman answered: "I can understand why you ask, but I guess it's only within the faculty of humanities that we are posing these questions. It is actually what the university is about, to give knowledge to go out and work somewhere. So of course you can go out and work there".

### **Developing a concept for a festival**

One of the first important things I've come to learn was to put up a vision for Dyreparkfestivalen, which was decided as the name for this children's cultural festival. The vision was to become for children what Quart Festival has become for youth within three to five years. Quart Festival in Norway is like Roskilde in Denmark or Hultsfred in Sweden.

In short terms it is a must for Norwegian youth, mainly because of its guts to think big, its ability to be in front of trends, and of being based upon quality. With this vision it was easy to communicate the aims for our festival.

Further on, Dyreparkfestivalen should be *grounded on the established successes* of Kristiansand Dyrepark, which can be summed up in three headings: *Cardamom Town*, one of the fairy tales of the well known Norwegian author Thorbjørn Egner that is build in full size in this park. *Captain Sabertooth*, a highly loved pirate among Norwegian children but not so much loved among their parents mainly because of a high degree of commercialism. And of course the some seven hundred *animals* living in this park, some of them quite famous with own personalities and TV shows.

The reason for grounding the festival on the already established, was not to lean back safely on previous successes. Quite on the contrary, we wanted to surprise, to create something new and to challenge. So the two main key words for developing the festival were *artistic and cultural creativity*. But being based on this well known stories, provided us of with a base for communication that already reached all over Norway. With artistic creativity, we had three more key words to steer from: *New interpretations, underground culture and new productions*.

Let me give you some examples. The first year we chose the world of Thorbjørn Egner as the main focus, and we booked different performances to interpret him in new ways. The Norwegian rock star Erik Røed set the stage already at the opening show, singing a really rocked up version of the song *Jeg er Kaptein Sorte Bill fra 1514...* We had never heard Egner like this, accompanied with heavy air guitar playing. A string quartet from London called Graffiti Classics, which have specialised in playing classic music for

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children and among other things play the base as if it was a guitar, made a CD and held several concerts on their interpretation of Egners songs. A theatre group put up the play *Hakkebakkeskogen* in a quite alternative way, making people laughing their heads off. So new interpretations of the established was one artistic creativeness that we searched for.

Underground culture is mostly connected to youth culture, but appears of course within children's culture as well. People working in small communities, who are really dedicated to what they are doing, but do not have the opportunity to perform on a big stage in front of a huge audience. We put quite some effort into searching for underground performers. One positive consequence has been that people got aware of this possibility, and the second year of the festival we had groups contacting us. There was also an ambition to use the festival to produce new stuff. Scenekompaniet, one of the groups that was engaged the first year to perform an interactive piece on children's rights, developed a whole new concept with songs and stories on threatened animals called *Bare dyrebare dyr* that became the next years pre-summer entertainment in the park.

The second important key-work in developing the festival, *cultural creativeness*, was also followed by some leading focus points: *Involvement, contra points, meeting place*.

When arranging a youth festival, for instance a rock festival, you can more or less offer people performances from stage in forms of concerts, and be rather pleased with that. When dealing with children, it is not enough just put them in front of a stage to receive. Children have to be involved in different ways, and be given the opportunity and the challenge to move, learn, play and perform themselves. Therefore we organised the festival in form of several work shops, which



The most popular show is Festivalavisen. As the director of the park states, here the children challenge their own limitations and perform on stage with singing, poetry declamations, theatre performances or circus artistry in front of proud and exciting parents, grand parents, siblings and friends. Foto: Kristiansand Jyrepark.

offered a number of different opportunities to participate: Working with the animals, playing theatre, being circus artists, creating poetry, singing and recording your own cd, making your own newspaper or an animated film, working with aquarelle painting and print processes, building bridges, playing on African drums or dancing Indian folkdance.

In the afternoons children from the different workshops met at the huge amphitheatre in the park, to perform in what turned out to be the most popular show of the festival: *Den Levende Festivalavisen*. It was never as crowded as when the children went on stage to show what they had been doing on their workshops. And it does really get to you somehow, seeing children declaring their own poem, singing alone or in choreographed groups, doing all kinds of things in front of thousands of people, like the most natural thing in the world. A lot of parents were truly amazed too, by the fact that they normally

quite shy children actually dared.

### **The power of difference**

We deliberately searched for break points when seeking partners for the workshops, being convinced that it is when meeting in the space-in-between traditional cooperation and thinking that new and creative things occur. We ended up with as different contributors as the organisation *Save the Children*, The Museum of Modern Art in Kristiansand, Nordea, The Faculty of Technology from Agder Collage, Gyldendal, Egmont, The Kristiansand Symphony Orchestra – just to mention a few. One aspiration was also to create the festival as a necessary meeting point also for producers dealing with children's culture, or for producers wanting to communicate with children.

When a theme park organizes a festival like this, it is not out of charity. It is because one believes that there is business in it. That

is how the private world of business really separates from the world of the academic. And this is where I learnt a lot.

It turned out that this way of organising the festival where different partners 'owned' their own workshops, also benefited and corresponded well with developing business of this event. All the partners were organised within a festival guild, where everyone had to pay NKR 50 000 to become member. One could either deliver content to a workshop within this amount, or one could pay the money upfront and become the sponsor of a selected workshop – like for instance the bank Nordea did to become the sponsor of The Modern Art Workshop.

It was quite easy to sell partnerships to most of the contributors, because of the obvious possibilities of benefiting from being a part of this event. There were a lot of so-called win-win situations. Take for instance the publisher company Gyldendal. For them Dyreparkfestivalen was an event of marketing and communicating with a targeted public in form of families, in which they could release new books (some of them about Dyreparken), present 'old' authors and books for a new public, or simply highlight the fun of reading and the excitement of entering stories. For the festival, the benefit was obvious: all this fabulous authors, doing great shows, for nearly no costs.

This possibility the festival provided of direct communication with children, was a main factor for several of the partners to join in. Like The Faculty of technology was saying: "We lack recruitment to our technology studies and we have to go out to tell that the stuff we are dealing with is actually fun". Or the Museum of Modern Art: "Our most interesting costumers are children. When they enter the museum, they are curious, ask questions, and think further on. But our problem is that there is not really a lot coming. So we have to go

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out and be where children are and meet them in their way. And hopefully create a curiosity that the next time will lead them to come to our museum".

### **Key learning from being in this 'outside world'**

"Please stop writing all this stuff. Can you just tell us? We don't have time to read, it's not our form of communicating, and you have to express yourself differently", was the message after a short while of me attending meetings, always with a package of written papers that I had also handed out before so that people could prepare themselves beforehand.

I have been thinking of this when we have been talking about being in the business life these seminar days. It seems like it somehow is a pre-notion that we would enter this world outside as a researcher expressing ourselves as researchers. I think it is very important to try communicating in different ways than the 'pure academic', because this is really not the most comprehensible way of talking to people.

Another puzzling thing: Within academics one aims to write things in new ways all the time, to invent new forms, to play with words, to see what pops up by changing the sentence just a little bit. In business life that is totally wrong. When presenting the festival, the whole thing is about using the same words. Because when one has come this far, implementation is far more important than innovation. In this park there were six hundred employees, who had to understand what this festival was about and if we turned up with a new way of telling them every time it would just be really confusing. When we came to actually having the festival the first time it turned out that maybe 25 % of the employees had understood what it was about. The rest really did not. That surprised me then. It does not surprise me now.

After running through one festival, it was much easier. Then people had their own experiences. We had a lot of pictures to communicate the festival, instead of only words. Then people understood much, which is kind of essential in order to get people eager to work in the same direction. So we have chosen some key words for the festival that we would just reproduce, reproduce and reproduce. Maybe that is why it is also good to go back to the research society after a while. But that is another matter.

When I was preparing a 'kick-off' for the executive board, which was meeting to discuss the strategic future of the Kristiansand Dyrepark the next 10 years, the manager helped me 'translate' my message. "Here you're going to lose them, here also", he marked in the text, suggesting where I needed to be more specific or where it would be possible to use other terms that they were more used to from their worlds of finance. He said something very important: "When people start to feel that this is not of their concern, they will stop listen to you. So you really have to guide them through your arguments, and make sure to connect to their realities. That's how you will get them to understand what you have to say is relevant. But the burden of proof is yours".

And then there is patience. I thought sometimes that this so-called post-modern clash of the so-called high and low culture, which we have been dealing with for years within the cultural sciences, was purely theoretical. It can be scary to enter the unknown, or 'the other side', from whatever position one is most familiar with. The last, but not least, key learning is the importance of having a mentor. Someone who can help you into these 'other worlds', who are willing to share networks and who can help build bridges between different milieus and their ways of communicating.

I have been thinking about these three key words we have been discussing throughout this seminar: *bildung*, critical watchdog and marketplace, and the connections between them. My experiences are that they are highly connected; through my "*bildung*", materialized through the PhD, I got a chance to enter the marketplace. The position as a critical watchdog was really the thing being appreciated, the ability to raise different questions. But of course, one has to be constructive as a critical watchdog when trying to develop the marketplace.

### **What is done to help students into the business markets?**

I was invited to give a lecture for the new PhD. students of the Faculty of Humanities at the University in Bergen, and this return to the academic world turned out to become somewhat of a cultural shock. I was talking about 'Life as a PhD. Student', and chose to focus on what happens after the dissertations.

There is so much effort put into getting PhD. students into the programmes, and getting them through in due time – this was more or less what the rest of the seminar was focusing on – but what happens afterwards seems to be mostly a matter of coincidence or luck. And it should not be like this. There should be, I claimed in this lecture, a more developed system where the university should take an active part in also thinking about what to do with all these students exiting the universities.

It seems as young academics really need this. When the manager of Kristiansand Dyrepark was selling me as leader of this project on experience industries in Southern Norway, he was met with resistance, just because of the fact that I was an academic. They said: "But we don't want an academic report, writing in a language no one can



understand. We don't want an academic, who's used to sitting in her office behind closed doors analysing the world". He managed to

Help, we are attractive on the business market! sell me in because he convinced them that I was a non-academic academic. If this is not only my experience, but also an over-all

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experience, then the university really should deal with this problem.

When I was finishing my lecture it was quite silent, and the chairman of the session stood up looking kind of awkward, seemingly unaware of how to respond. Then he said: "Yes, maybe it is good that someone finally breaks this taboo". But he was one of the few who meant that. Mostly people seemed to think that this is not of our concern; this is not the task that the university should put much effort into. One professor actually said: "Our students know they will never be able to work within their qualifications regained from academy, that is how it is and that is ok". When I asked the students if they agreed, no one answered.

If this is a general opinion of the universities, also outside this very seminar room, who can really blame anyone from the 'world outside' of being a bit afraid of hiring academics?

### **Entering the world between the jungle and the reservoir**

So why do I claim that we as cultural scientists are attractive in business when all I have talked about now is the large borders; the large borders between culture and economy, between different kinds of cultural expressions, between academy and business life?

Because there is a huge space in between the jungle and the reservoir, to refer to a phrase used in a recent congress on creative industries in Scandinavia, to enter for the one who wants – or dares. There are actually a lot of people and places that are already on their way, and there is a lot of space in between, which is still possible to enter.

But it is not obviously offered to ethnologists who are sitting in their offices waiting to be discovered. We have to dare to go out ourselves, make ourselves visible, search

different arenas, and maybe show up in the most unexpected arenas. The most interesting jobs in this space in between are never put in an advertisement in the newspaper, you have to meet someone who you can think something with, you can develop something with or you can start yourself.

If the academia does not offer much help for lonely students wanting to work within their achieved competences, there are actually several places one can turn to. Here in Denmark, there is for instance Louiz and Dream house, which both are offering a vast number of possibilities to help you make your ideas into businesses. There is also an increased interest within Scandinavia to put the so-called creative industries on the agenda. This has been the focus of this project on experienced economy that I have been leading, and I will briefly take you through some of this work.

### **Creative industries on the agenda**

In the town of Kristiansand in Norway they have definitely put creative industries on the agenda. Very much inspired by the Danish rapport *Danmarks Kreative Potensiale* (2000), and Richard Florida's book *The Rise of the Creative Class – and how it's transforming work, leisure, community and everyday life* (2002), they decided to sell all their stockings in the old energy company and established the two funds *Cultiva* and *Kompetansefondet* that are highlighting culture, art and competence. The argument went something like this: "The power of energy belongs to the industry of the past, and it is the power of creativeness which belongs to the future". They are the ones paying for this report *Opplevelsesindustri på Sørlandet*.

This is a rather extraordinary move in Norway, because we have never dealt with these creative industries as much as in for instance Denmark or Sweden. In 2001 there

was cooperation between the Ministry of Culture and the Ministry of Business in the form of the rapport *Tango for to. Samspill mellom kulturliv og næringsliv*. But the year after there was a change in government, and the whole report was put in a drawer and forgotten. When the next reports from these ministries came, in 2003, they came separately – and they did not even refer to each other.

In Denmark and Sweden this has been different. The KK Foundation in Sweden has around sixty million SEK from the year 2000 to 2004 to challenge the knowledge business to develop, or make offers within, this mixed field of competence (KK-stiftelsen 2001, 2002). So in Sweden there is actually a huge bunch of educations dealing with this field between culture and economy. The Danish government published *Danmarks Kreative Potensiale* already in 2000. It is a fabulous report that has made an impact, I think, throughout Scandinavia. They also had a change of political power not long after, but the new government continued this cooperation and in 2003 came a new rapport *Danmark i kultur- og oplevelsesøkonomien - 5 nye skridt på vejen*.

It seems like these efforts to put the creative industries on the agenda, are paying off. When Richard Florida and Irene Tinagli were analysing *Europe in the Creative Age* (2004), both Finland, Sweden and Denmark scored high: “Sweden is the top performer on the Euro-Creativity index, outperforming not only all of the other European countries, but the United States as well”, “Finland is also well-positioned to compete in the Creative Age with a high level of overall creative competitiveness and rapid growth in its creative capabilities”, “The Netherlands, Denmark and Belgium also appear to have considerable assets with which to compete” (Florida and Tinagli 2004). The only place Norway scored high was on the value index,

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where it came second only beaten by Sweden that was on the top. Denmark and Finland came close, on the fourth and sixth place. Hopefully this will encourage Norway to follow in the footsteps of their Nordic neighbours, on an even larger scale.

What we did when working on this rapport on experienced economy in Southern Norway was to search for inspiration of good practice. Because one thing is to read all these plans, which spell out the idealistic sayings of how things could or should be. A totally different thing is how it actually works. Maybe some short presentations from two such places of good practice, Hultsfred in Sweden and Roskilde in Denmark, can also serve as sources of inspiration for how we as ethnologists can see possibilities within this field of creative industries.

### **A small village turning into a rock city**

The story of Hultsfred is too long to tell in full form, but they have a fabulous website that is possible to enter and check out ([www.rockcity.se](http://www.rockcity.se)). I will give a short version, though. Hultsfred is a really small community in Småland, with around 5000 people inhabitants. The traditional industry has more or less disappeared, and into one of the previous industry halls the Rock City of Hultsfred has now moved in.

When you are a teenager in such a community, you have to create your own fun. Rock City actually started at a secondary school with a concert they made for themselves, which grew into Hultsfred Festival, Rock Party, Puzzle and then eventually into Rock City, which now have, just to pick out a few things, six different new educations, their own research department where the ethnologist Jonas Bjälesjö is in charge, more than twelve different businesses and more than seventy employees.

One of the main figures behind this, Putte Svensson, says that it was not so much the KK Foundation that was important for the development of Rock City, but actually the Olympics at Lillehammer. Because that was where he recognised he had a specific knowledge that he actually could use for more than arranging the toilet facilities for the competitors. He went back to Hultsfred where he met Errki Lathi, who was working at an electronic shop and was a bit of an Internet freak. The space of different competence and mutual interests between these two guys really made things happen.

On the way another very important guy, Lars Eric Rönnlund, came along. He was working in the IUC, which is the Swedish Industrial Development Centre. He said: "This experience industry is so different from the traditional industry that we really can't understand how to invest in it. Therefore we have to develop a special branch within IUC, focusing on experience industry". He managed to convince the decision makers of this need, and this brand is now called IUC Hultsfred. It is situated at Rock City, to be close to this place where potential ideas for a future industry is developed.

Rönnlund has written the report *FUNK* that has been presented to the government in Sweden and also in Brussels for the EU, discussing and developing innovation systems within the experience industries. *FUNK* stands for Forskning, Næring, Utdanning, Kultur – in English that is, Research, Business, Education, Culture. Rönnlund claims that these four dimensions have to interact, not on a level of 'party speech rhetoric', but really cooperate, in order to make the experience industry take off. Because it is when different opinions, different ways of thinking, different milieus meet that you get something explosive. Within the natural sciences this knowledge is 'old news', that the further you draw two poles of

negative and positive apart, the more energy is created. Put in this setting of creating new industries, it gives renewed content.

### **Walking the beach of Musicon Valley**

Musicon Valley in Roskilde is a similar project to Rock City in Hultsfred, growing out of Denmark's most famous rock festival, The Roskilde Festival. They also have a vast amount of things they are dealing with, and I recommend you to check out their site [www.musiconvalley.dk](http://www.musiconvalley.dk). What I want to tell here is what they presented to me as their key learning, when I visited them.

There are of course a tremendous amount of challenges when people from different backgrounds are meeting, or are tried to be put together. The role as facilitators between all these possible milieus and competences is in many ways the main purpose of the people working in Musicon Valley. How to do that, and at the same time try to overcome the traditional thinking, was presented to me in form of a story:

They had for some time tried to get someone within the academy or research societies to enter Musicon Valley and had struggled a bit with it. Then one guy said: "Why don't you ask your neighbours? You have Risø Forskningspark just across the road". As Risø is mostly dealing with technological research in outer space, they hadn't really thought of them, and were struck once again with their own traditional thinking.

So they invited the leader of the festival and the leader of the research department of Risø, not on a meeting with a schedule plan before hand - because like most happenings within experience industries, you really cannot tell what is going to come out of meetings like this - but for a walk on the beach. They were chatting along, and then the guy from Risø asked the festival guy: "So what is the most annoying thing when dealing with this

festival? What is the most problematic or disturbing element, what would you really like to be different?"

The festival guy was thinking a bit and then he said: "Well, all these cables we have to put in the earth every year and dig them out and stretch from the music desk to the stage. That is really quite demanding". This guy from Risø, whose job is dealing with outer space and satellites, had no problem helping out with a wireless communication from the desk to the scene. This communication based on radio waves has now been developed in form of a proto type product, but still not industrialised.

### To conclude

So this was a brief talk of the possibilities and the challenges of leaving the academic to enter the 'outside world', and how the scientific product can get to play a part in business life, as I have experienced it myself. I hope that this somewhat self-oriented contribution can still serve as an input to more general based perspectives. And maybe also to raise some questions on how the academic societies might benefit from starting to communicate more with this, in my opinion not so threatening but rather fun, 'world outside'. That is actually where most people tend to be, and also where most students are going to find themselves after collecting points and degrees at the universities. It would be nice if one could also benefit from the knowledge gained, when walking out the doors of the universities. Don't you think?

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# Knowledge and expertise in the media age

By Jakob Arnoldi

**Experts feature heavily in the news media. This article argues that the appearance of experts as sources in the news media legitimises, as expertise, the selected persons and their professions. Today, university academics are competing with many other professions about who should have this role as experts in the mass media. 'Competing' may however be a badly chosen word, because universities and university researchers are partly poorly equipped for dealing with the media, partly unwilling to do so. The danger of this is, the article argues, that universities will lose out in the competition with other knowledge and research institutions about which institutions create the most valid and legitimate types of knowledge. Hence, universities and university academics find themselves in the dilemma between having to say silly things in the media or letting other people look smart by saying the same things.**

The topic of this article is the role of expertise in a modern mass mediated public sphere. A lot of things have already been said about experts, especially about the role of university employed researchers. I will touch upon many of these issues. My main concern will be how the media's selection and usage of experts influence the legitimacy of experts. My attempt to answer that question will be given with an explicit focus on the university and university researchers. My argument will be that university researchers at the moment are poorly equipped for (and also at times

unwilling to) dealing with the mass media. Therefore, people from other professions, from what we with Nowotny et.al. (2001) may call 'mode-2 knowledge institutions' are increasingly gaining ground in the mass media as experts. These people are more willing to, and better equipped for – quite simply, it is part of their job description – dealing with journalists and functioning as expert sources. My concern is that media exposure today is an important way of legitimising particular types of knowledge as socially relevant and useful knowledge. And if university researchers are



poorly equipped for taking up this role, then the university, as an institution, and scientific knowledge, as a specific type of knowledge, will lose legitimacy and status.

This line of thought does not mean that I think the medias' usage of experts is particularly clever or that it is a desirable state of affairs that knowledge is legitimised through the mass media. But I believe that it is so. And it should also be remembered that science and scientific knowledge historically has attained a specific status precisely by proving to the general public a specific usefulness (Turner, 2001). The special legitimacy that science has enjoyed, and to some extent still enjoys, has not come from out of the blue. Many commentators however believe that this status is waning (Gibbons et al., 1994; Nowotny et al., 2001). There are several reasons for this, but one may very well be an inability to interact with what for better or worse (and probably mainly worse although that is not my concern here) is the reminiscent of a public sphere today, namely the mass media.

### **The background**

Quite a lot of research has been done in regard to the relationship between primarily university academics and journalists. Most of the research focuses upon how journalists use experts as expert sources. And the research points out various problems: journalists use experts too much; they use them to little; journalists are incredibly superficial in the way they use experts; the journalists have already decided the angle of the story before they even get in touch with the expert and they will continue with this angle no matter what the expert says, meaning that if an expert disagrees they will just delete that expert from the story and instead find someone else; journalists will always use the same experts again and again; and journalists will delete

all the caveats that the academics will make in their statements.

All of these things are basically true, and of course they are serious problems, but this is something I will leave be. I do not have any solutions, and I am not concerned with these issues here. Yet they will be in the background of what I will say later. It should also be mentioned that there is much less research that take the journalists' point of view. Journalists will tell you that university academics can be extremely slow; that they always use caveats; that they cannot express themselves clearly, cannot say anything in a short sentence and so forth. There clearly is a culture clash between the journalists and the university academics. A clash of professional culture.

When I speak of experts, I mean those persons who get to *explain* or *interpret* the specific events that are being reported in the news. This type of source is a common phenomenon in Danish media (and everywhere else). Journalists seek out expert sources that can explain the background, describe the context, evaluate the importance, and predict the consequences and implications of the given events. Expert sources that, in short, can explain what the information really *means*. This is obviously a very privileged position to be in. It gives specific persons the symbolic power to construct reality, as Bourdieu would probably have put it (1991:166).

This assumption about the symbolic power should not be taken as an indication that the privileged position of experts is hidden from view. On the contrary, the way experts function in news stories only underscores their authority. Experts typically have four roles in a news story (Arnoldi, 2005). The first is of course, not surprisingly, that they explain technicalities. When, for instance, there is a story about a big legal case there will probably be a professor of law functioning as an expert

source in the coverage of that case, trying to explain to the public the legal technicalities and so forth. The second function will very often be to describe the consequences, the context, to pinpoint the causes of the occurring events. In short: To explain the significance, implications and meaning of what has occurred. When the Danish prime minister two days ago reshuffled his cabinet, a so called political analyst – Ralf Pittelkow – got to assess whether this was a good cabinet reshuffle, will it work, will it change the voters’ attitude, will it alter the government’s standing in the polls? and so forth. The third function is, albeit to a slightly lesser extent, to legitimise the importance of the events, thereby also legitimising that the journalists and editors have chosen that particular story as a story that is newsworthy. Then the role of the expert is to imply that it is an important event that has taken place, whereby the coverage of the event is legitimised to the public. Lastly, experts act as ‘judges’ or ‘critics’. Experts are very often used as an authoritative source that can confirm that we here have a problem for society, that people have been badly mistreated, that the holders of power have acted illegally or unethically, that bad things have happened and need to be changed and therefore also need to be covered by the journalists. In all four roles, however, the journalists are actively underscoring the authority of the experts (Roth, 1998). This happens discursively and also visually (in TV news stories). Expert sources are rarely contradicted by a second opinion. And their roles in the news stories simply accentuate their importance and authority.

**Who are the experts?**

The selection of experts is not a simple affair. As an example, in last night’s TV-broadcast Steen Boccian, who is a financial analyst from one of the big Danish banks and an often-

used expert in the Danish media, commented on the Danish fashion industry. He rather elegantly managed to mention that he really did not know anything about fashion and the fashion industry. Nevertheless he gave a very impressive statement about the development of the Danish fashion industry. Hence, he was expert in the story about the success of the Danish fashion industry.

I have done research on which professions actually function as experts (Arnoldi, 2005). However, the example I will give is from an American survey about which experts were used in the coverage of the first Gulf War on American TV (Steele, 1995).

University professors	16%
People working in think tanks	29,5%
Retired military	12,9%
Former public officials	17,2
Journalists	4,3%
Unidentified	20,1%

Table 1: Distribution of different types of experts. Taken from Steele, 1995.

My own research shows that the Danish media are more likely to use university academics. But also here political commentators, financial analysts, consultants, and public officials are often used. I do not mention this to establish exactly who are being used as experts and who are not. The point is simply that a range of people from a range of professions can be used as expert sources.

We cannot therefore grasp expertise by defining some intrinsic essential characteristic that it possesses. If we want to get an idea of what expertise is, we have to conceive it differently. We have to conceive it as simply specific forms of knowledge that have somehow, through a social and cultural development, achieved a certain kind of status, legitimacy, and authority. When

we today talk about science, or talk about academia, we have to perceive this as a type of knowledge that, through a historical process, has achieved a certain legitimacy, for instance through science's ability to provide knowledge and technologies that somehow have proved beneficial to society. However, we may also say that science today perhaps is in a state of crisis as it has lost some of its legitimacy. This may, in part, be because people have realised that technology also creates many new problems. But it also seems to be a plausible hypothesis that this loss of status has occurred because the university, as an institution, has lost its monopoly on knowledge production, i.e. research. Knowledge is today produced in many other institutions as well. And these new institutions, and their employees, challenge the privileged status that the university, and university researchers, used to enjoy. The point I am trying to make is that expertise in the end comes down to norms about what counts as valuable, useful, legitimate, authoritative types of knowledge. This might be a very relativistic and social constructivist argument, but it does not need to be (see Turner, 2001).

A non-essentialist way of characterizing experts would be to say that they are people who, due to their profession, titles, and academic credentials, command a certain kind of authority, people who are somehow trustworthy in a specific sense of the word. I will draw on Pierre Bourdieu and his notion of capital without elaborating on this theory. Experts can basically be defined as people who have a high amount of cultural, symbolic, and in many cases academic capital. It is this capital, which somehow gives them the authority and trustworthiness that render them experts, render them credible, authoritative expert sources for journalists. There are many reasons why I like this sort of Bourdieuan notion of expertise. One has really got

nothing to do with what I writing here but it is that it can be used for analysis also on a micro level. Expertise then also becomes a question of symbolic capital that is, so to speak, embodied as for instance linguistic competences, meaning that an expert – to function very well in a news broadcast – has to have command of the language, to possess an authoritative body language, look the part in other words. The second nice thing about this approach to experts and expertise is that Bourdieu's whole idea about capital carries with it the notion that what constitutes capital is historically and culturally arbitrary – it changes as society changes. This goes very well with my assumption that today, for various reasons, university academics are losing out in the competition with people from other professions about who should be experts, about what constitutes expert knowledge, and that the mass media themselves are very much changing what counts as capital, as the power and autonomy of the field of the mass media increases. Through that process, the media are changing the hierarchies of capital in the field of power as well as the distribution of capital between different professional fields.

### **Mass media as creators of expertise**

I have already put forward my final argument, namely that the mass media are important actors in regard to the changes of culturally shared norms about what counts as useful, valuable, authoritative types of knowledge. Or put differently, what constitutes symbolic capital. If experts today mainly are communicating to the public through the mass media, then the mass media's selections of experts reproduce or change those culturally shared norms about what counts as legitimate and authoritative expert knowledge. This leads me to the core problem that I wish to touch upon: when journalists choose people other than university academics as expert sources,

these persons and the professions from which they are coming from gain in authority, gain in legitimacy, and gain in trustworthiness exactly by being chosen, as persons, and as professions.

I have to admit it is very difficult to show empirically that such changes are taking place. And I am to some extent simply trying to warn against a possible future outcome of current state of affairs here. But research from the US does show that the recruitment of experts from outside the academia, especially from think tanks, is on the rise (Rich, 2001). The US in particular has also witnessed the rise of a whole new profession, the media pundit, consisting of people who analyse the news (Alterman, 1999). More generally, the new knowledge and research institutions (like for instance think tanks) of the knowledge society, information society, or Mode 2 society (whatever one wishes to call it) are gaining in economic and political importance, thus also gaining status, gaining capital. And therefore, one may argue, people from these institutions are increasingly recruited as experts.

Changes in the recruitment of expert sources in the news thus to some extent reflect a more general social development. Journalistic selection is not, it follows, *the* causal factor that is determining who counts as experts. Indeed journalistic preferences to some extent reflect an existing status hierarchy. Or hierarchy of capital in Bourdieu's sense. Finding an expert to some extent means establishing who has authority and capital. Is it an academic? A political editor of this or that newspaper? Or is it the entrepreneurial person who has just started a new think tank? But journalistic choices not only reflect, but also influence, these hierarchies. Each journalistic choice legitimizes the chosen person, and the chosen person's profession, as expert(ise) in the eyes of the general public. And it is an absolute certainty that the new

knowledge and research institutions are aware of this fact. And they are acting accordingly, actively targeting journalist in order to gain media exposure. This, it seems, is in stark contrast to university academics. Within universities, little priority is given to media exposure. Academics are hired and paid to do research and teaching. And the resources for doing PR-work are rather small. At University of Copenhagen, two persons are at the moment in charge of the whole organization's communication and public relations work.

So should university researchers be much more active in this regard? Firstly, some things have happened already. Danish universities at least have public relations offices. But I have to admit that there also seems to be a terrible dilemma in taking a more active stance. What academics experience when journalists contact them is very much that the journalists do not want their specialized academic knowledge that they have generated through research. Not at all. They want the big picture; they always want the experts to be transgressive, to move out of that narrow field of expertise developed through research. If journalists were to ask me today about the media and the relations between experts and the media, they would not want my research results, they would want to know about how it will look in the future, or if things are good or bad. These are big broad questions, questions that for an academic very typically are difficult to answer because we tend to think "where is the research data upon which I can base my answer". This is the first thing that we will think. Second thing will be to think "what about my colleagues? My colleagues will know that I now am talking about things that nobody can ever determine scientifically – and what will not happen?" Another problem would be that you very often find that once you have said something in the media about something you know a little bit about, journalists will

start contacting you with questions regarding a lot of other problems, simply because they know your name, or because they have just read about you or seen you in the media within the last week. Of course you realize that you are being contacted by journalists who do not know anything about what you really are doing but who just happened to see your name in *Mandag Morgen* or in *Berlingske Tidende* on Tuesday, and now it is Wednesday. Journalists work like that – they have very short deadlines, and they basically just need somebody with a title who can say something with a title and a bit of authority about something.

Then again, the alternative seems to be that we let someone else take up the role as expert. I think that the universities have to be very aware that, for better or worse, journalists will use experts no matter what, and I also think that in the end, although journalists work in an incredibly superficial way – sometimes incredibly stupid – that they also have some very good reasons for using experts. Simply because we have this overload of information there is a dire need for interpretations. Journalists no longer write old-fashioned journals, only describing factual events, like they did a hundred years ago. Journalism today tries to come up with causal explanations about whatever is in the news and tries to outline the possible implications, the context and so on. And this is an entirely logical and desirable way of making news. So in spite of all the problems with journalists, there are good reasons for why journalists work as they do.

I therefore think that the university academics have to pick up this challenge and actively compete in this new market place, and it really is a market place, for public expertise in the mass media. Exactly how that should be done, I must admit, I really do not know. One problem is how many resources should be

allocated to this. Should the few means that the universities have not been used primarily on research and teaching? I at least still tend to think so in spite of my argument here. Still, something needs to be done. A lot of the new knowledge institutions will very often actively target the journalists when they know that something is on the agenda. They will contact the editorial desks and the individual journalists. This an academic would rarely do, unless perhaps she or he really happened to have the specific topic as his or her field of expertise. Basically, I think the universities will end up having a very hard time if they do not adapt to this new world. I am not trying to say that it is a nice new world, but I think it is a question of necessity. We have to decide if we, as university researchers, want to say some admittedly very often rather silly things or if we want to let other people get to look very smart by saying the same things.

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### **About the author**

Jakob Arnoldi is assistant professor at The Department of Sociology, University of Copenhagen. He is at the moment completing a book on experts and intellectuals in the media age which will appear as *Den Offentlige Ekspert* (Samfundslitteratur) in 2005. His other main research area is the sociology of finance. The research on experts and intellectuals is funded by the Danish research network MODINET ([www.modinet.dk](http://www.modinet.dk)).





## Debat

Formålet med denne rubrik er at danne et forum for en aktuel og levende faglig debat indenfor etnologi og folkløstik i Norden. Debatten kan tage udgangspunkt i de temaer, Nord Nytt behandler, f.eks. enkelte Nord Nytt artikler. Debatredaktionen modtager også gerne indlæg om andre fagligt relevante problemstillinger. For at rubrikken skal blive levedygtig er det nødvendigt, at I - Nord Nytt's læsere - tager aktiv del i debatten. I opfordres derfor til at indsende kommentarer og debatindlæg. NordNytt modtager som tidligere også gerne interviews eller aktuel information om f.eks. seminarer og udstillinger.

### Etnologen i 'kompetencekapløbet'

Af Trine Olsen

Gennem de senere år er kompetencebegrebet blevet en stadig vigtigere del af de fleste menneskers professionelle liv. Både skoleelever i folkeskolens mindste klasser og voksne akademikere opfordres i mange sammenhænge til at definere og kommunikere deres kompetencer<sup>1</sup>. Men hvordan klarer etnologer sig i 'kompetencekapløbet', uden at lade sig omslutte helt af det? Hvordan gå ind i et felt, samtidig med at man bevarer 'den akademiske distance'?

#### Kompetencekapløbet

Der er fart over feltet, når Peter fra 1. klasse er i skole! Han sidder sjældent stille mere end få sekunder ad gangen, og er i sandhed en udfordring for enhver lærer og pædagog. For blot få år siden ville Peter blive betegnet som 'klassens ballademager' og 'urostifteren'. Men med det 'udvidede intelligensbegreb' betegnes

Peter som en dreng med en 'fysisk og social intelligens', hvorimod hans klassekammerat Emma, der er stille og tilbageholdende, men dygtig til matematik, bliver betegnet som et barn med en 'logisk-matematisk intelligens'.

Det 'udvidede intelligensbegreb' stammer fra den anerkendte, amerikanske psykolog og Harvardprofessor i pædagogik, Howard

Gardner<sup>2</sup>. Hans liste over 'de syv intelligenser' er i dag et meget udbredt arbejdsredskab i skoler verden over, og i anvendelsen af den opfordres selv helt små børn til at definere deres type intelligens. Set i relation til traditionel psykologi og intelligensforskning udgør Gardners model et fremskridt, idet den udvider intelligensbegrebet og fokuserer på ressourcer frem for begrænsninger. Men i et kulturanalytisk perspektiv kan Gardners model også ses som et led i den nye kompetencediskurs, der installerer disciplinen i individet i form af en optimal udnyttelse af dets ressourcer!

De højere læreanstalter oplever også i stigende grad, at der skal sættes ord på kandidaternes *kompetencer*. Vi opfordres løbende til at formulere, hvad det egentlig er, vi kan og gør. For fag, der som etnologien er almindennende og rummer et element af selvindsigt, kan det være svært at håndtere denne meget objektorienterede formulering i forhold til subjektet.

Indenfor humanvidenskaberne er objektet, selve genstanden for vores undersøgelser, også subjekt. Humanister og etnologer i særdeleshed er skolet i en tradition, hvor denne sondring mellem subjekt og objekt ikke eksisterer, og har derfor svært ved at forholde sig til en objektorienteret diskurs. Det kan være svært i 'kompetencekapløbet' at adskille vores kunnen, væren, haven m.m. fra vores egen person. Hvordan ekspliciteres etnologiske kvaliteter i en art heuristik over 'etnologiske kompetencer'? Skal vi gå ind i 'kompetencediskursen' og prøve at præge den i vores egen retning – eller skal vi helt lade være?

Det er med andre ord ikke nemt for etnologer og mange andre humanister at imødekomme 'kompetencediskursen', fordi den ofte fokuserer entydigt på kompetencer som noget, der kan udskilles fra individet selv – og det er for mange humanister en

umulighed. Alligevel vil jeg argumentere for, at etnologer er i besiddelse af en lang række kvaliteter (læs: kompetencer!), der måske netop er kvaliteter, fordi de er så indlejrede i personen selv.

### **Etnologisk selvrefleksion**

Ved det nylige NEFA-seminar i august 2004 med titlen "Serving Society" blev der lagt op til en diskussion af, hvorvidt etnologer skal 'tjene samfundet' via det traditionelle, humanistiske dannelsesideal, om vi skal påtage os rollen som 'samfundskritisk vagthund' – f.eks. i udlændingebatten – eller om vi skal rustes til at imødekomme erhvervslivets behov i en globaliseret verden?

I diskussionen heraf er det imidlertid efter min opfattelse vigtigere at se på *udformningen* af diskussionsoplægget frem for *indholdet* af det. Som overbygningsstuderende er jeg på ingen måde i tvivl om, at etnologistudiet ruster os solidt til både at leve op til det klassiske dannelsesideal, deltage i den politiske debat samt imødekomme erhvervslivets krav. Og jeg betragter det som en selvfølge, at en etnolog i løbet af sin karriere vil komme i berøring med mindst to af disse funktionsfelter.

Men hvorfor denne *tredeling*, når etnologiske kompetencer og genstandsfelter skal diskuteres? Hermed indikeres – måske – en konflikt mellem især det klassiske dannelsesideal og erhvervslivets krav, mens rollen som 'kritisk vagthund' befinder sig i et 'vadested' midt i mellem de to andre 'modpoler', og måske heller ikke altid er forenelig med en rolle i erhvervslivet.

### **Etnologens synlighed**

Når startskuddet til kompetencekapløbet lyder, må jeg imidlertid påpege et problem, der har optaget mig et stykke tid – og det er *etnologers manglende synlighed* udenfor museer, forsknings- og uddannelses-institutioner! Det har ofte slået mig, hvor lille et kendskab om-

verdenen har til os og vores kompetencer. Befinder man sig helt udenfor den akademiske verden, er det forståeligt, at mange studier, ikke blot etnologistudiet, forekommer en at være et tågelandskab – men selv blandt akademikere, ja endda andre humanister, er jeg stødt på en forbløffende mangel på fornemmelse for, hvad en etnolog egentlig beskæftiger sig med.

Hos de samme mennesker oplever jeg imidlertid en langt klarere fornemmelse for, hvad f.eks. en sociolog eller en antropolog kan og gør. Det er faggrupper, hvis genstandsfelt ligger tæt på etnologens – alligevel synes kendskabet til dem at være større. Hvorfor forholder det sig sådan, og hvad kan vi gøre for at ændre dette forhold?

### **Forholdet mellem forskning og formidling**

En del af årsagen ligger efter min opfattelse i manglen på en mere 'populær' formidling af etnologisk forskning. Der er desværre meget få etnologer, der formidler deres forskning i en form, der kan forstås af et bredere forum. Alt for få etnologer optræder i medierne – og jeg ved godt, mange etnologer vil stejle ved denne udtalelse. For hvorfor gå på kompromis med formidlingen af sin forskning og derved risikere, at den forenkles og måske forfladiges? Bliver det så ved med at være forskning, eller kompromitterer vi os selv, blot for at blive set og hørt?

Ikke nødvendigvis. Der er tale om et svært dilemma – men er man i stand til at bedrive forskning, bør man også være i stand til at imødegå spørgsmålet om, hvordan ens forskning bør formidles, så den forstås af mange.

En del forskere føler forståeligt nok, at deres forskning ikke tildeles den plads i medierne, der er nødvendig for at kunne formidle den fyldestgørende. Spørgsmålet er for mig at se dog mere, hvad man vinder ved helt at stille

sig uden for mediernes eksponering? Uden at mene, at forskere ukritisk skal være medspillere i en art medicirkus vil jeg dog påpege, at et vigtigt led i en ansvarlig forskningsproces er selve *formidlingen* af den. Forskning bør kort sagt integreres mere i den offentlige sfære og f.eks. danne udgangspunkt for langt flere kronikker, artikler, debatindlæg etc., end den gør i dag.

En stor del af 'serving society elementet' – vores akademiske forpligtelse til at tjene samfundet – består efter min opfattelse i at formidle vores forskning til udenforstående. Det er en forpligtelse, vi skal tage meget alvorligt – og den bringes yderligere i spil netop nu, hvor især humanisters kompetencer og vores berettigelse i øvrigt debatteres i medierne, ja nærmest ofte har karakter af en diskussion af humanisters berettigelse i det hele taget! Jeg mener ligefrem, at en kvalitetsparameter for forskning bør være, i hvor høj grad den kan formidles til uindviede!

Forskning er for akademikeren en karriere – og i det perspektiv er måden, hvorpå en forsker formidler sin forskning til kollegerne, vigtig. Men vi må ikke glemme, at også andre end kollegerne skal have glæde af vores forskning. 'Serving society' bør i langt højere grad tænkes ind i vores virksomhed som etnologer.

### **Erhvervslivet – skræmmende eller spændende?**

Etnologers synlighed er afgørende for, hvor let eller svært vi får det, den dag vi skal ud at søge et job. En del af de færdiguddannede etnologer vil søge og få jobs i den private sektor. At dømme efter diskussionerne på det nylige NEFA-seminar synes erhvervslivet at udgøre et spændende, men også skræmmende og ukendt område for mange etnologer. I forlængelse af disse diskussioner opstillede en diskussionsleder ved seminaret ligefrem en analogi til begreberne

*forskning/uddannelse/museum –medierne - erhvervslivet som hjemme – ude - udlandet* i etnologens bevidsthed. Erhvervslivet repræsenterer iflg. denne analogi således det store, ukendte og skræmmende udland i manges bevidsthed.

Igen finder jeg det vigtigere at se på selve udformningen af analogien frem for selve indholdet af den. For hvorfor betragte forsknings- og uddannelsesverdenen som 'tryk', medieverdenen som 'semi-tryk', og erhvervslivet som 'utryk'? Selvfølgelig er der overenskomstmæssige forskelle på den private og offentlige sektor, der kan betragtes som 'tryghedsparametre' – men jeg tvivler på, det er det eneste, der er afgørende for denne placering af de tre funktionsområder på "tryghedsskalaen"! Følelsen af tryghed afgøres derimod i høj grad af kendskabsgraden – og måske er det netop sidstnævnte, der skal arbejdes med? Jeg kan kun lade dette være en opfordring til etnologistuderende om at søge et samarbejde med erhvervslivet på forskellige planer, f.eks. i forbindelse med praktikophold eller brug af empiri i forbindelse med opgaveskrivning på studiet. Hvis man vel at mærke overvejer en karriere i erhvervslivet.

Jeg har selv en uddannelse indenfor markedsføring og således også en fortid i det private erhvervsliv. Jeg mener derfor at have belæg for at sige, at etnologer har mange kompetencer, der kan finde anvendelse i f.eks. en HR- eller en marketingafdeling i en virksomhed. Naturligvis er der mekanismer i en privat virksomhed, der vil komme bag på en nyuddannet etnolog. Men det er mekanismer, man kan tilegne sig – ikke nødvendigvis nogle, man behøver at gå på handelsskole for at lære. Selv for en kandidat fra Handelshøjskolen kan erhvervslivet skam være en chokerende oplevelse.

### **Humanistens fremtid**

At dømmes efter 'mediehetzen' mod humanister

har vi dårlige odds på arbejdsmarkedet. Men den virkelighed, der lige nu tegnes i medierne, står i skærende kontrast til den kommerialisering af viden, der de senere år er blevet så populær - f.eks. i form af tænketanke, der fungerer som rådgivere for både politikere og det private erhvervsliv. Der ses både i det politiske liv, i medierne og i erhvervslivet en øget tendens til at rådføre sig med 'eksperter', når der skal tegnes et større billede af virkeligheden. Samtidig med at forskellige grupper akademikere i medierne fremstilles som nyttesløse stakler, der alene imødeser arbejdsløshed, gør man altså brug af akademikere i stigende grad, når man søger at genetablere 'de store fortællinger'. Det er et interessant paradoks, der er godt at have i bagehovedet, når vi etnologer skal definere os selv i forhold til omverdenen. Og et kedeligt tegn på, at 'humanist-hetzen' snarere har rendyrket politiske end primært samfundsøkonomiske undertoner.

Om vi selv ønsker at 'spille ekspertrollen' og måske således medvirke til at holde liv i myten om 'de store fortællinger', er et helt andet spørgsmål, der må være op til den enkelte – men igen vil jeg påpege, at man sjældent opnår noget ved at stille sig helt udenfor spillet.

Virkeligheden er altså langt fra så dystert, som den lige nu tegnes i medierne. Netop det forhold begribes måske bedst i kraft af etnologens evne til at gennemskue og sætte sig ud over det herskende, politiske klima. Måske netop her bør vi påtage os rollen som 'kritisk vagthund', blande os i debatten og søge at indkredse, hvilke politiske interesser der kan være i at 'underminere' det klassiske dannelsesideal og 'erhvervsrette' de humanistiske uddannelser – eller nedprioritere dem.

Derfor: Find gerne 'nye' og skæve genstandsfelter som etnolog; der er masser af 'objekter' derude, som skriger på etnologisk

behandling - men tag udgangspunkt i det klassiske dannelsesideal og vær *virkelighedssættende* frem for blot *virkeligheds konsumerende!* Det er det, vi kan – og det skal vi holde fast i.

### Noter

<sup>1</sup> Weekendavisen; 12/2004: Alle er gode til et eller andet.

<sup>2</sup> Gardner, Howard, 1997: De mange intelligensers pædagogik. Gyldendal, 1. udg.

## The Will to Change - inspiration from contemporary African philosophy

By Jeppe Høst

**The distance from Scandinavia to Africa is significant, both geographical but also in an economic and cultural sense. In spite of the distance African philosophy can be inspiring for research and projects in the Scandinavian countries. In this article I would like to discuss how European ethnology can benefit from African philosophy, by adopting what I call *the will to change*. As a part of this the production of alternatives, answers and solutions becomes necessary.**

### A Society in Transition

Most African countries are in a transition from a traditional to a modern society. The role of the philosopher in this context is quite clear; to mediate between the traditional and the modern. What is not clear, however, is the meaning of the concepts of the modern and traditional. Whether one rejects (or perceives) the traditional as a construction of a mythical past or the modern as an illusion of a future there is, however, no point in denying that African countries are in a cultural transition, and in this transition cultural praxes from the traditional will have to be modified or abolished. Protecting and revitalising the traditional from a cultural relativistic point of view is not only a step backward, it is tragic. This is the case when explanations of magic and witchcraft continue to be used as explanations and cures of illness. This leads to the death of thousands of Africans, especially children, each year. Protecting this praxis as *just one way of constructing the world* is

surely tragic. As a response to this one might then propose that there is both a pragmatic and an aesthetic dimension of the traditional culture, and while some cultural habits of the pragmatic dimension will have to be modified and abolished some elements of the aesthetic dimension can continue and be revitalised. This might work at an analytical level but results in, I believe, a too simplified picture of the traditional life. The traditional life is not just a symbolic interpretation of life, but a way of controlling, explaining and predicting the world. The aesthetic dimension is fully integrated into the explanations and predictions made by the traditional people. So what seems to many non-africans as exotic, symbolic and aesthetic actions (like pouring ceremonial schnaps on to the ground for the forefathers to drink) are in many ways inseparable from traditional life. Another way to solve the question of what to keep and what to modify, would be for the African



philosopher to recognise that modern science in some aspects has *better* explanations, but at the same time to stress that modern science is just one of several explanations. This proposal too, has clarity at the analytical level but becomes blurry on the particular level. Take for instance the question of social organisation. What kind of social organisation does modern science suggest? In questions of technology, modern science often has better solutions, but these are sometimes in conflict with the different contexts in Africa (i.e. agricultural risk aversion strategies and highly productive but vulnerable seeds). The pattern of where the answers of modern science is better, is simply not there, and the consequence is a case by case procedure. Therefore the African philosopher is in need of a set of conceptual tools to deconstruct the traditional life and find the elements and mechanisms worth keeping. The European societies are as the African societies, in a transition –from what to what is perhaps different but equally blurry – and the conceptual tools might also provide clarity for the European ethnologists serving the society. I will therefore take a look at the African philosopher's conceptual tools, and discuss how European ethnologists can get inspiration from the African philosopher.

### **The Anachronistic and the Supernatural**

What happens to cultural and social praxes when society changes but the praxes stay the same? The African philosopher Kwasi Wiredu develops in his *Philosophy and An African Culture* (1980) the principle of *anachronism*. Wiredu defines *anachronism* as the failure to perceive anachronistic cultural elements. Anachronistic elements were once useful and functional, but today they are dysfunctional, backward and constrain the development of society. Most anachronisms in Wiredu's understanding have to do with either

supernaturalism or unjustified authorities. Wiredu's teleological vision of rational science as the goal of any society makes him an easy victim for the opposite belief. As they see it, Wiredu has been mentally colonised by Western thoughts. It is true that Wiredu's belief in modern science is optimistic, but this, I think, is a minor problem compensated by Wiredu's straightforwardness and will to change society for the good of people. Because what Wiredu wants is not just to localise and criticise backward elements of the traditional society, he wants to change these elements. Indeed Wiredu defines African philosophy as philosophy concerned with African problems and the aim of solving them. The definition is in two parts: The area of interest (1) and the production of solutions (2). But if African cultural philosophy is defined by its focus on African problems, then what is European ethnology? Can we say that European ethnology is defined by its concern with European problems? I believe the answer is yes, but if the production of solutions is also a part of the definition (as it is in this case), the answer is unfortunately no. In light of this we must ask, if the production of alternatives, answers and solutions is a part of the method through which European ethnology can serve society: Do European ethnologists serve society? One way to answer this would be to say that the European ethnologist provides analysis and detailed description of the society, but leaves the question of which changes to be made to politicians and decision makers. If we turn back to Wiredu and take a further look at his reason to define African philosophy as a discipline that provides solutions, he argues that it is important not to leave this area to economists and politicians. Anyone who knows just a little of African history and tragic situation will know his background for this argument. I think the major part of European ethnologists would

be dissatisfied with leaving decision making completely to economists and politicians. Because we, like Wiredu, believe that there is a need for a cultural perspective, also in the production of solutions. To do this I think European ethnology, as a discipline, needs conceptual tools that are aimed for changing society for the better. It might not be useful to adopt Wiredu's concept of anachronisms, but we could with benefit adopt his idea of making concepts aimed at finding elements and mechanisms of a culture that could be modified or totally abolished. Further we could benefit from Wiredu's stressing of the importance of a cultural philosophical perspective. Above, I said that European ethnology needs a set of concepts aimed at changing society for the better. But what is the better? As European ethnologists trained in the *complexities of culture*, we have to dare to say that *we* know what is the better in questions related to the cultural dimension of a society. We cannot leave it to economists and politicians. Scandinavian countries might not have supernaturalism to the same extent as African countries do, but people in Scandinavian countries have a wide range of social and cultural understandings, some of which result in sad and tragic situations (i.e. integration, city-planning, racism, hooliganism, overweight, etc.).

### **Reconstruction of the Deconstructed**

I would like to turn from Wiredu to another African philosopher. In his elegant book *In My Father's House – Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*, Kwame Anthony Appiah deals with the idea of a metaphysical union in Africa. He deconstructs and criticises the construction of a fellowship on the idea of

race or common destiny. Appiah's point is that to unify around a wrong idea, takes away focus from contemporary problems and makes their solutions invisible. Looking backwards is surely a bad idea when you try to walk forward. His method is inspired by deconstructionism, and while the first half of the book deals with the deconstruction of the above mentioned, the second half is dedicated to guidelines of reconstruction. What Africans, according to Appiah, share is the colonial experience, slavery, economic isolation and for the majority of African countries a plurality of ethnic identities. To build a African union on a race ideology or theory of common destiny, is ignoring what is really shared, and by doing so creating even more internal problems. Instead Africans should unify around their contemporary situation(s) and their values. The last half of Appiah's book deals with this purpose and the questions attached to this. Maybe European ethnologists should learn from Appiah, and dedicate larger parts of projects, papers, ph.d.'s and books to the reconstruction and to the production of solutions. Is it possible to modify cultural elements, or even identify them, as Wiredu tries to? This simplification might not be useful to adopt, but what I find useful is the will to change and the dedication to provide solutions. By doing this, concepts, theories and thesis will be forced in a direction toward the production of answers. Some might not survive this migration and some might improve, but this change of attitude has to go hand-in-hand with a discussion of values and aims. It is not a necessary condition that all agree on every topic, but a dialog and openness is certainly necessary.

## Fra hvad-orientering til hvordan-orientering

Af Kristine Holm-Jensen

**Hvilke områder vælger vi inden for etnologien at studere, og hvad kan det fortælle om relationen mellem etnologi og samfund? En refleksion over disse spørgsmål er forudsætningen for, at vi kan diskutere forholdet mellem etnologien og samfundet.**

En måde at angribe dette på er ved at se nærmere på den omstændighed, at nogle områder bliver anset for typisk etnologiske, mens andre bliver anset for mindre typiske. Jeg vil i det følgende beskrive, hvordan forestillingen om det typiske etnologiske studie kan være med til at lukke vores øjne for vigtigere aspekter ved relationen mellem etnologi og samfund. Dette vil jeg gøre på baggrund af de erfaringer, jeg har gjort mig i forbindelse med mit speciale *Ud af trædemøllen? - Transformationen af landbruget til miljøets fjende nr. ét set gennem et iltsvind*.

### **Nye spørgsmål til et traditionelt etnologisk studieobjekt**

Specialet handler, som titlen mere end antyder, om landbrug. Landbruget er i dag et stærkt omdiskuteret emne. Et af de temaer, der kan sætte gang i diskussionerne, er forholdet mellem landbrug og miljø. Denne diskussion har jeg i mit speciale taget op til nærmere undersøgelse efter at have observeret, at den hverken bevæger sig frem eller tilbage. Der er behov for en analyse, hvor der bliver stillet nye spørgsmål til relationen mellem landbrug og miljø, således at diskussionen har mulighed for at bevæge sig ud af den trædemølle, den er havnet i.

For en etnologistuderende som jeg, burde en undersøgelse af landbruget ikke ligge fjernt. Skuer vi ud over den etnologiske fortid, er der i Danmark såvel som i de øvrige nordiske lande en stærk tradition for studiet af bonden og livet på landet. Hele etnologiens

fremkomst som en videnskab er tæt knyttet til interessen for sådanne studier. Det er i hvert tilfælde den historie vi ynder at fortælle om os selv. Denne historie slutes dog altid med en understregning af, at sådan *har* det været, men sådan er det bestemt ikke længere, i dag er vi kommet videre og ud af det bondehængedynd.

Det er i hvert tilfælde de forestillinger, jeg er blevet mødt med, når jeg fortæller om mit specialeemne. Det viser følgende lille eksempel. For at kunne undersøge relationen mellem landbrug og miljø har jeg været nødt til at søge tilbage til 1980'erne, hvor en række begivenheder med konsekvenser for relationen mellem landbrug og miljø fandt sted. På et ret tidligt tidspunkt i specialeprocessen fandt jeg imidlertid ud af, at det ikke var tilstrækkeligt at sige, at jeg undersøger landbruget i 80'erne. Responsen på en sådan præsentation af specialet var typisk, et spørgsmål om det var *1880'ernes* landbrug, det drejer sig om.

Det lader således til, at etnologien har vanskeligt ved at forstå landbruget som andet end noget, der er over 100 år gammelt. Forventningerne til relationen mellem etnologien og landbruget er således ret faste. Bønder og landbrug, det er noget, der hører fortiden til. Nutidens fremadstræbende etnologer kan sandelig andet og mere end at beskæftige sig med landbrug.

Studiet af landbrug har således vist sig ikke kun at være et studie af et højspændt politisk emne, men også et studie af, hvordan etnologer forstår sig selv og det, de studerer. Før vi går videre med dette, skal vi dog endnu

en kort stund dvæle ved udformningen af mit speciale.

### **En nutidsanalyse af nutidens landbrug**

Som jeg tidligere var inde på, handler mit speciale om nutidens landbrug. Formålet med specialet er at belyse en igangværende diskussion, der breder sig ud over flere andre områder end lige det etnologiske felt. Det er en diskussion, der især foregår i en politisk sammenhæng og hyppigt ses diskuteret i medierne. I denne sammenhæng diskuteres landbruget ofte som miljøets store fjende.

Det er netop spørgsmålet om, hvordan landbruget blev transformeret til miljøets store fjende, som specialet fokuserer på. Det er ved at stille spørgsmålet på denne vis, at en etnologisk analyse kommer ind i billedet. Som beskrevet har det ført mig tilbage iltsvindet i Kattegat i oktober 1986, som er en af de begivenheder, hvor relationen mellem landbrug og miljø for alvor diskuteres. Den måde, hvorpå landbrugets relation til miljøet her diskuteres, medvirker til, at landbruget transformeres til miljøets store fjende. Ved at gå tilbage til lige præcis denne konkrete begivenhed og pege på de helt konkrete diskussioner, der her finder sted, bliver det muligt at diskutere den nutidige diskussion om relationen mellem landbrug og miljø på en ny måde. Ved at gå ind og reflektere over forudsætningerne for den måde, hvorpå diskussionen foregår, kan den etnologiske analyse bibringe ny viden om relationen mellem landbrug og miljø. Denne mulighed for at reflektere over forudsætningerne for diskussionen hænger ikke sammen med, om landbruget er eller har været et typisk etnologisk studiefelt. Derimod ledes diskussionen i en helt anden retning, hvilket jeg i det følgende vil pege på.

### **Fra hvad til hvordan**

Lad os vende tilbage til indgangsspørgsmålet:

Hvilke områder vælger vi inden for etnologien at studere, og hvad siger det om relationen mellem etnologi og samfund? Den erfaring jeg har gjort mig i forbindelse med mit speciale er, at etnologien er meget ivrig for at debattere relationen mellem etnologi og samfund. Problemet er imidlertid, at diskussionen ofte ender i en blindgyde. Den hviler på en udsagt ide om, at noget er mere typisk etnologisk end andet. Herefter kommer diskussionen til at dreje sig om, hvorvidt og hvordan etnologien kan bevæge sig uden for disse vante rammer. Den ultimative konsekvens af dette er, at vi i sidste ende med at diskutere hvad, der er et etnologisk studiefelt.

For mig at se handler det om ikke at stirre sig blind på, om f.eks. landbrug eller erhvervslivet er et mere eller mindre etnologisk studiefelt. Diskussionen om, hvad etnologien kan og skal studere, er for mig at se ikke det afgørende. Det helt afgørende er hvilke spørgsmål, etnologien stiller til et givent fænomen. Fra at diskutere *hvad* etnologien studerer, må fokus flyttes, så det bliver et spørgsmål om, *hvordan* etnologien studerer. Det vi har behov for er en diskussion af hvilke spørgsmål, vi stiller til det, vi studerer, og hvad der kvalificerer disse spørgsmål som etnologiske spørgsmål. Kun ved at tage denne helt grundlæggende diskussion kan vi sige noget om relationen mellem etnologien og samfundet. Ved at forskyde diskussionen så den orienterer sig mod, hvordan etnologien studerer, opnår vi muligheden for at se, hvordan de spørgsmål, vi stiller, adskiller sig fra andre måder at stille spørgsmål på. Kun gennem en større bevidsthed omkring hvordan vi stiller spørgsmål, kan vi opnå en større bevidsthed om, hvordan vi som videnskab indgår i det samfund, vi er en del af. Det vil nemlig skærpe vores blik for, hvordan vores spørgsmål adskiller sig fra de øvrige mange spørgsmål, der bliver stillet. Hvis vi i stedet for at diskutere, hvad der er det typisk

etnologiske studiefelt gav os til at diskutere den typisk etnologiske måde at studere et felt på, ville vejen være banet for en konstruktiv

diskussion af, hvad etnologien har at tilbyde det samfund, vi er en del af.

## Er Bildung for 'åndet' til nutidens dannelse?

Af Carina Ren

**Følgende debatindlæg er en kommentar til Mikkel Venborg Pedersens oplæg *Know Thy Self: On Bildung and academic Scholarship in our Time* på årets NEFA-sommerseminar.**

Omtrent samtidig med afholdelsen af Serving Society-seminaret blev den da netop offentliggjorte litterære kanon vendt og drejet i den offentlige debat og i den danske presse. Beskyldninger om tvang og nødvendighed, formynderi, slaphed og konservatisme føg gennem luften og vægtige ord som almindelse, kulturarv, ansvar og nytte blev taget op til diskussion. Med sit oplæg om Bildungs nødvendighed og berettigelse for humaniora og den humanistiske studerende i det kompetence-orienterede videnssamfund leverede Mikkel Venborg Pedersen på sommerseminaret et interessant bidrag til debatten og kampen om dannelsen.

At være tilhører til Mikkel Venborg Pedersens oplæg var på flere måder en tvetydig oplevelse. På den ene side følte man i høj grad sympati for synspunkterne, der blev givet til kende. Det var fornøjeligt at være tilhører til et veloplagt og velartikuleret (og efterhånden sjældent) kampråb om vigtigheden og nødvendigheden af en humanistisk dannelse som modpol til et stadig højere ønske fra samfundets side om flere 'kulturelle ingeniører', hvis formål ses som så effektivt så muligt at levere løsninger til samfundets kulturelle problemer. Humanioras rolle er ikke blot at være *nyttig*, mente Venborg Pedersen. Den er også *nødvendig* ved kritisk at afspejle samfundet og stille spørgsmål til det naturlige

og de eviggyldige sandheder. Udelukkende at fremstille og levere værktøj til 'reparation' af samfundsmæssige problemer er uværdigt (demeaning), hvorimod indsigt og ikke mindst individets fornøjelse ved at tilegne sig denne, er så vigtigt som mad og drikke og ganske enkelt et værn mod barbariet (barbarism), der i denne kontekst kunne forstås som samfundets tiltagende, evindelige og til tider hovedløse efterspørgsel af det nyttige og afsværgelsen af eksperter – og dermed af den reelle ekspertise.

Under mottoet "taking care of life and deeds" vendte Venborg Pedersen bevidst ryggen til det utilitaristiske og nyttefikserede syn på de humanistiske evner og kompetencer. I stedet rettede han sig imod mennesket, som jo netop er humanioras fokus og omdrejningspunkt, det dannede individ, med modet til at tage "a humanistic claim to heart", og på nærmest eksistentiaalistisk vis at stå ved sine rødder og arbejde, handle og leve derudfra. For Venborg fungerer Bildung desuden som en slags forsikring, både for samfundet og for den enkelte, idet dannelsen giver individet de nødvendige pejlemærker og en vis form for sikkerhed og ro i en ellers foranderlig og kaotisk verden.

Efter denne lærde tour de force rundt i humanioras magasiner af nyttigt, nødvendigt eller blot fornøjelige og smukke skyts og

tankegods, var der dog et par kritiske spørgsmål, der trængte sig på. Ikke mindst blandt de svenske og norske tilhørere, der i den grad havde manglet genkendelse i præsentationen af og argumentationen for etnologiens humanistiske rødder og tradition. Særligt i en mere samfundsvidenskabelig retning, som man til en vis grad kan vælge at betragte den svensk/norske etnologi, kan referencer til de ni musere og hele det resterende humanistiske parnas nemt virke elitært og ekskluderende. Som det også blev bemærket i den efterfølgende diskussion, hvor man kunne konstatere, at man hér var inde på et følsomt emne, synes flere, at Bildung-begrebet bar præg af meget stærke 'bias', hvor dannelsen stivner og i stedet for at skabe et kreativt og kritisk grundlag bliver til et diskriminerende, selvrefererende og isolerende mantra for de udvalgte.

Interessant er det, at diskussionerne efterfølgende in plenum og i workshops havde meget store ligheder med den diskussion, der i øjeblikket raser omkring den nye danske litterære kanon. To af de overlappende diskussions- og kritikpunkter omhandler det kønsdiskriminerende aspekt, idet hverken den humanistiske eller litterære kanon er udvalgt eller skrevet af (eller til) kvinder og det reaktionære aspekt, traditions- og samfundsbevarende, som både begrebet Bildung og ideen om et litterært kanon er blevet beskyldt for at rumme og viderebringe.

Flere andre kritikpunkter, der specifikt læner sig op af etnologiske problematikker, kan rejses i forhold til hævdelser af den nødvendige Bildung. Ét oplagt af slagsen, men ikke af den grund et mindre provokerende, ville være at spørge, om den danske etnologi overhovedet længere kan siges at være et humanistisk studie i klassisk forstand. Er der nu om dage ikke i højere grad tale om et samfundsstudie, hvor de kulturhistoriske aspekter, herunder kendskab til den græsk-

romerske og jødisk-kristne kulturkredse og deres påvirkning af nutidens tænkning, som Mikkel Vendborg gjorde så flittigt brug af i sine referencer, ikke er relevante af andre end rent almindelige grunde?

Og hvis, som det også blev påpeget - og hvor de fleste af de tilhørende udtrykte deres enighed - Bildung er et spørgsmål om den personlige dannelse, "taking care of life and deeds", hvorledes kan Bildung da siges at have andet end i første omgang personlig relevans? Hvis Bildung ikke kun er forbeholdt universitetsfolk, humanister, etnologer, hvad adskiller den så fra almen dannelse? Og er dannelse, i denne definition, ikke en almenmenneskelig ret og et personligt krav til alle?

Hvis Bildung skal bevares som et ideal med et indhold, der reelt formår at skabe grobund for kritisk tankegang og selvstændig stillingtagen, fordrer det en konstant opdatering og jævnføring med resten af samfundet. En kanon er ikke evigt uforanderlig, men transformeres til stadighed i takt med udviklingen og kravene i det samfund, der bekræfter og stadfæster den. Efterhånden som vi kulturelt og i samfundet retter vores opmærksomhed mod kvinderne, de fremmede, de udsatte osv., vil også vores ønske om at høre deres røst, læse og erfare deres verdenssyn forøges, hvorved kanonen vil forandres. På samme måde må Bildung ikke anses som et fast og uforanderligt credo og håndhæverne af Bildung og dets nødvendighed må ej heller forledes til at tro, at dannelsens grundlag udelukkende kan findes i latinske citater eller hos 'the founding fathers'.

Det er i dette lys nødvendigt, at den klassiske humanistiske viden og den dannelse, som følger i kølvandet af dets tilegnelse, for at sikre en vedvarende samfundsmæssig relevans og kulturel mening, bør kombineres med nye krav og kompetencer, hvor nytte og nødvendighed ikke længere betragtes som to modsatrettede størrelser, men i stedet som



## Debat

to sider af samme og forenelige sag. Denne forening af det nyttige og det nødvendige følger faktisk godt i tråd med Venborg Pedersens tale om Bildung som værende en forening af tanken og de handlinger, der udspringer af denne. I denne udlægning ophæves ideen

om tanken som det rene og ubesmittede og handlingen som dets vulgære modsætning. I stedet vil der i denne forståelse af begrebet Bildung både være plads til at lære og modnes af fortidens erfaringer og samtidig forandres og udvikles i nuet og for fremtiden.



# Boknytt i Nord Nytt

## Til alle interesserede !

### Hvem er vi?

**Nord Nytt** er et tidsskrift for kulturforskning i Norden udgivet af NEFA (Nordisk Etnologisk Folkloristisk Arbejdsgruppe). Tidsskriftet udkommer tre gange om året, og redaktionen er sammensat af studerende og yngre forskere med lokalredaktioner i alle de nordiske lande.

**Boknytt** tager sig af boganmeldelserne i Nord Nytt og virksomheden er i øjeblikket placeret i Danmark. Vi sender jævnligt lister ud med aktuelle bøger via e-mail, som de tilmeldte anmeldere kan byde ind på.

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Så har du lyst til at være med til at give studerende og andre interesserede i hele Norden et overblik over den relevante litteratur, så tilmeld dig som anmelder. Alle forskere, overbygningstuderende/hovedfagsstuderende inden for etnologi, folkloristik eller beslægtede kulturfag, samt andre interesserede med en relevant baggrund er velkomne som anmeldere. Anmeldelserne kan være fra ½ - 3 sider lange og skal indeholde et kort indholdsreferat samt en faglig vurdering af bogen. Der er normalt 1 måneds frist for aflevering af anmeldelser til Boknyttredaktionen. Skriv et par linier om din baggrund og dine interesseområder og send det til Boknytt, så vi kan tilføje dig til vores anmelderbase. Arbejdet er ulønnet, men du kan beholde bogen!

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Boknytt v. Carina Serritzlew og Lone Ree Milkær

## Boganmeldelser

Nord Nytt bringer anmeldelser af relevant etnologisk, folkloristisk og lignende litteratur. Formålet er at give Jer - Nord Nyttts læsere - et overblik over aktuelle udgivelser. Forskere, overbygningsstuderende, hovedfagsstuderende og andre med en relevant faglig baggrund er velkomne som anmeldere.

### **Muistin paikat. Vuoden 1918 sisällissodan muistamisesta ja unohtamisesta**

**Sites of Memory – On Remembering and Forgetting the 1918 Civil War in Finland**  
Written by Ulla-Maija Peltonen. Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran Toimituksia 894.  
330 pages. Helsinki 2003. ISBN 951-746-468-1

Reviewed by Eda Kalmre

Wars never end. The dead are buried and wounds are healed, but the wounded souls do not recover – the wars of the past influence international relations and politics for many generations. In case of a civil war, where different political powers of one and the same nation fight against each other, injustice and violence towards the other party remain as dark shadows hanging over this nation for a long time, causing fissures and trying out the nation's unity.

In her monograph "Muistin paikat. Vuoden 1918 sisällissodan muistamisesta ja unohtamisesta" Ulla-Maija Peltonen, lecturer at the University of Helsinki and special

investigator in the folklore archive of the Finnish Literary Society, discusses the Finnish Civil War and the post-war period from the viewpoint of oral history. Good knowledge of the research subject, clear and fluent discussion, as well as the use of rich sources are clearly the strong points of the research "Muistin paikat...". The book deals with the war and post-war time through numerous imprints that the war has left on the paper of letters, photos, newspapers and books, but also in souls, feelings, stories and landscape monuments – that is, the whole society.

"Muistin paikat" is in a way a sequel to the studies of the Civil War, such as "Punakapinan

muistot. Tutkimus työväen muistelukerronnan muotoutumisesta vuoden 1918 jälkeen” (Memories of the Red Revolt: A Study of the Formation of the Memorial Narratives of the Working Class after 1918) (SKS 1996) and “Naisia turvasäilössä” (Women in Preventive Detention) (Art House 1989), which Ulla-Maija Peltonen has written during the last years.

The Civil War of 1918 in Finland took place between the “reds” and “whites”, i.e., workers as one side and the bourgeoisie together with their ally Germany as the other. The war lasted for four months only, but claimed many lives. According to several former researches, the total number of casualties was 36,500. The majority of them, about 30,000, came from among the losers - the “reds”, who were killed during the acts of warfare, but were also executed later on or died in prison camps. The fate of many people is still unknown. The list of the Civil War victims is not closed yet, and the Finnish government is financing a project called “War Victims in Finland, 1914-1922”.

### **To remember or to forget – that is the question the author is trying to answer in her book**

After the war the memories basically split into two. The opposition still existed in Finnish society. The ruling “whites” tried to forget the injustice and violence, while the side who suffered injustice tried to find their own way to remember the dead and express the sorrow. The author’s opinion here is that the conflict of divergent memoirs could be associated with the feeling of responsibility for the war results, while the interpretation of truth and justice also plays an important role. These Finns, who had lived encapsulated in their war memoirs, got the opportunity to express their views of the Civil War only as late as in the 1960s. At that time different archives in Finland became interested in collecting these

materials and tens of thousands of pages covered with the stories written by ordinary people about their personal experiences and memoirs were collected, along with photos, letters and other materials.

### **Death – the most obsessing topic in war**

The author is interested in what kind of truth it is that the defeated have stressed so often in their stories, and what were the questions the winners thought that nobody should ask them any more.

Almost without exception, it was the issue of death. Folklore – but also collections of oral history and letters sent to the archives by the citizens within the project “War Victims in Finland, 1914-1922” – offered information about deaths occurring in uncertain circumstances. According to the author’s opinion, the letters, photos and other items associated with death carry reminiscences that are important from the folkloristic viewpoint because they help us remember our relatives and tell us about some events in their lives. Thus, letters and other documentary material give us abundant contextual information on the origin of folklore and storytelling processes.

This book delves into the topic of death using all available channels. It contains chapters *Before Death* and *Process of Death*, *Good and Bad Death*, *Stories about Death Told by Children*, *Civil War and Women*, *Family Reminiscences*. Ulla Maija Peltonen discusses folkloristic, psychological and political aspects of death, as well as mourning and memorizing that accompanies deaths, but also personal and social coping with historical traumas. For example, in the chapter on official and unofficial monuments, with maps enclosed, something like a visual yardstick for changes in remembering politics appears. To the monuments dedicated to the “whites” after

the war, the monuments dedicated to the opposite side have been added since 1940, so that by the year 2000 the monuments for both the “reds” and “whites” cover the map of Finland evenly.

“Muistin paikat...” could be classified as a research discussing “coping with the past” (in German tradition there is a word Vergangenheitsbewältigung). Weighing the archive materials, collecting biographies associated with the need of their writers to weigh themselves, “wash off” or give up something, find their place in this all-important tragic event – all these factors make the “coping with the past” an endless process in history. Since the 1990s, the Civil War has once again become an important topic in the public discourse,

opening new levels of understanding through micro-history (memoirs and experiences of common people).

In the context of World War memories, the research conducted by Ulla-Maija Peltonen on the Finnish Civil War sounds very modern. Until lately, the world history of nations has primarily been the history of the winning side – it has always been the voice of the winners that reaches our ears. But humankind has stepped into the 21<sup>st</sup> century as though nothing has changed... Yet, something has changed, because more and more often the voice of the losers becomes audible as well, which makes us aware of how monstrous wars really are.

## **Kotona, maanpaossa, matkalla (Hemma, i landsflykt, på resa). Hemmets betydelser i livsberättelser skrivna av invandrare.**

**Författare: Laura Huttunen. Finska litteratursällskapets förhandlingar 861. FLS, Helsingfors. 2002. 374 s. ISBN 951-746-362-6.**

**Recenserad av Pihla Vuorinen.**

Laura Huttunen fäster särskilt uppmärksamhet vid de betydelser platsen, utrymmet, hemmet och tillhörighet får i sin läsning av livsberättelser skrivna av invandrare för sin doktorsavhandling i sociologi och socialantropologi. Samtidigt deltar hon i diskussionen kring globalisering och dess följder, skiftande betydelser för plats och rum. Enligt Huttunen är 'lokal' i dess geografiska bemärkelse alltid en benämning som är genomsyrad och definierad av relationer och band som sträcker sig utanför det lokala. När en person flyttar från ett land till ett annat

framhävs betydelsen av relationsnätverk som sträcker sig över statens gränser. Det kan gott hända att även det som personen själv uppfattar som sitt "hem" är beläget utanför det nuvarande hemlandet. "Hemmet" kan även skapas genom att en person domesticerar ett utrymme i en plats eller ett landskap som uppfattas som främmande.

Huttunen samlade sitt material 1997 genom en för invandrare organiserad tävling i skrivandet av livsberättelser. Redan i början när hon funderade över möjligheten att nå potentiella skribenter måste hon ta ställning



till huruvida ett 'möte' över kulturgränser alls är möjligt. I tävlingen deltog 73 första generationens invandrare bosatta i Finland. De deltog alla på valfritt språk. Dessa representerade 25 olika nationaliteter. Huttunen valde 20 av dessa texter för närmare analys i sin doktorsavhandling. Skribenterna från före detta Sovjetunionen utgjorde den största gruppen. Detta faktum beskriver Finlands nuvarande invandrarsituation väl: en fjärdedel av alla invandrare som kommer till Finland är invandrare som återvänt till Finland från före detta Sovjetunionen och deras familjemedlemmar. Olika avgångsland är väl representerade i materialet. Det bör dock framhåvas att endast en somalier deltog i tävlingen fastän somalierna utgör en av Finlands största grupper av invandrare (6000 personer).

I slutet av 1990-talet då berättelserna skrevs pågick det till och med häftiga diskussioner om invandrapolitiken. Både staten, myndigheterna, media och tillfälliga förbipasserande och bekanta trängde sig på invandrarnas liv med sina utvärderingar. I texterna framkommer det att inte ens familjen är en sluten enhet inom vilken invandrarna helt lungt kunde fortsätta sina liv enligt gamla vanor. Gränsen mellan det privata och det offentliga är porös, man vill även göra förbunden mellan finländare och invandrare till en offentlig diskussion kring moral.

I sina livsberättelser svarar invandrarna på finländska antaganden. Deras argumenteringar för sin rätt att vara i Finland får formen av vittnesutsagor. Genom att skriva om sina liv vill de bli sedda som hela människor och inte enbart som personifieringar av det som uppfattas som främmande. De vill framstå från den enhetliga invandrarkategorin. Enligt Huttunen kan å andra sidan invandrarberättelserna ses som en reflektion över sig själv eller en politisk kommentar, en kamp mot glömska. Speciellt invandrarna som

flytt till Finland undan krig har ofta omfattat rösten av ett samtida vittne. På detta sätt refererar deras personliga upplevelser till förekomsten av ett plural subjekt. Genom att berätta om något väldigt personligt behandlar de ofta offentliga, moraliska och politiska frågor.

Boken "Hemma, i landsflykt, på resa" består av 9 kapitel av vilka kapitlen 2-8 byggs upp kring livsberättelserna. Huttunen har indelat berättelserna i olika kapitel enligt skribenternas förhållande till eller ställning i Finland. Indelnigen har även gjorts utifrån förhållandet till avgångsländerna, det förgångna, nutiden och framtiden. Fastän det annars är svårt att hitta gemensamma benämningar för berättelserna så utgör hemlandet och de föränderliga situationerna i alla bakgrunden till vad som berättas om Finland och vilka betydelser det får. En del av skribenterna ser Finland som sitt nya hem. Andra igen beskriver Finland endast som en tillfällig landningsplats på vägen till någon annan plats. En del personer balansera mellan en livsstil i diaspora, som baserar sig på längtan efter att få återvända hem, och en transnational livsstil som gett upp tanken på återvändo. I de olika kapitlen granskas hemmet genom sammanhanget som skapas av upplevelser av rasism, landsflykt, tortyr och krigsupplevelser, nationalitetspolitik gällande sovjetryssar och ingermanländare, giftermål över nationalitetsgränserna och kosmopolitens inriktning på kulturell mångfald.

Huttunen definierar hemmet som den fasta punkten eller stället varifrån vi förhåller oss till världen. I texterna har hon så också sökt efter olika sätt på vilka skribenterna producerar förhållanden till de platser och utrymmen de berättar om. Kroppslighet, socialt varande och minne skapar i berättelserna olika skikt av hemmet. En del har skrivit om hemmet som familj, andra som nationalitet, stat eller religion med sina tillhörande ritualer. Hemmet

kan finnas i avgångslandet eller bestå av en föreställning kring avgångslandets framtid. Hemmet kan även bestå av ett förhållande, av språket, av den egna kroppen eller av minnen. Till upplevelsen av att vara hemma hör även nära ihop möjligheten till att agera, ett fysiskt landskap, hus eller lägenhet upplevt genom sinnena. Även på resan kan vi vara hemma.

Huttunen har tolkat en del av livsberättelserna som ett slags berättelser om hemlöshet. Bosättningen i ett nytt land tvingar människorna att ta fasta på sina identiteter och till att värdera dem på nytt. Invandrarna blir ofta tvingade till att representera sitt hemland och dess kultur i finländarnas ögon även om de kanske själva inte anser sig vara typiska representanter för dessa. Även gällande ingermanländare kan det hända att ingermanländares finländskhet och 'Finlands finländskhet' inte nödvändigtvis möts på ett förväntat sätt. Många av skribenterna berättar om sina känslor av rotlöshet. På grund av sina avvikande livserfarenheter är de inte längre en obestridd del av sitt förra hemland och folk men kan inte heller kallas finländare.

Det verkar som en del av skribenterna i sina berättelser försöker påstå att människor kan uppfatta många platser i världen som sitt hem bland annat med hjälp av släktskapsförhållanden. Det utrymme som öppnar sig i berättelserna når på många sätt över det lokala sammanhanget, men det globala utrymmet är inte öppet för alla på samma sätt. Passet reglerar sin innehavares rörelsefrihet och mottagande i de olika länderna. Byte av nationalitet är ibland endast en praktisk lösning och inte nödvändigtvis ett bevis på ett bindande förhållande till det nya landet. Genom att hänföra sig till Sara Ahmed (1999) konstaterar Huttunen att gruppen av privilegierade människor (vanligtvis manliga världsresenärer) lätt kan överge den uppfattning av hemmet som baserar sig på

en lokal förankring, eftersom hela världen framstår för dem som ett hem. För en person som rest i landsflykt kan dock även hela världen te sig som ångestfylld på grund av sin globala karaktär: alla platser är lika omöjliga, fränstötande och övergivande.

Den globala ojämlikheten återspeglas även i giftermål över nationsgränserna. Det förkroppsligas i förhållandet mellan makarna och polariserar eventuella meningskiljaktligheter. Gender dimensionen sipprar även fram i diverse sammanhang. Bland annat när det diskuteras våld och kön. Temat kunde gärna ha behandlats mera ingående. Det blir delvis oklart hur könet förhåller sig till beskrivningar av hemmet och tillhörighet. Finns det ett samband mellan att de flesta kvinnliga skribenter ger lite uppmärksamhet till att diskussioner kring politik och nationalitet, hör detta ihop med deras kön eller andra bakgrundsfaktorer?

Huttunen låter skribenternas röster komma fram genom långa citat. Det är möjligt att läsa självbiografierna i sin helhet i kollektionen "Samma himmel, olika länder: En invandrades berättelse" som publicerades 1999. Huttunen har lyckats i sin strävan till att göra invandrarnas olika upplevelser av hemmet mera synliga på det fält som kontrolleras av medias och myndigheternas uttalanden. Det breda materialet skulle kunna utgöra grunden till flera olika forskningar. Boken ger en färggrann beskrivning av olika attityder till Finland, hemmet, det förflutna och nuet. Sist och slutligen känns definitionen av hemmet som väldigt enkel: Människans hem är där var ett gott liv är möjligt och var hon trivs i både det sociala och fysiska landskapet. I det praktiska livet består valen ofta av kompromisser. Forskning kring hemmet med hjälp av berättelser för uttryckligen fram hur hemmet skapas genom en förhandlingsprocess och i en föränderlig tid.

## **Pop, protesti, laulu. Korkean ja matalan murroksia 1960-luvun suomalaisessa populaarimusiikissa**

**Pop, protest, sång. Brytningar i det höga och det låga i 1960-talets finsk populärmusik.  
Tarja Rautiainen. Tampere University Press 2001, doktosavhandling.**

**Recenserad av Vuokko Asikainen**

I den europeiska forskningstraditionen har populärkulturforskningen typiskt utgått från att indela kulturen i hög och låg kultur. Denna indelning har omfattat den uppfattningen att den först nämnda är något allvarligt och den andra något lätt. Även inom den akademiska populärmusikforskningen har termen populär stämplat av en kritisk förhållning till massproduktion och standardisering. På 1960-talet skedde en brytning i populärmusiken, vilket idag kan åskådas även inom den akademiska forskningen. Forskarna har börjat fästa uppmärksamhet vid de betydelser som de gett för termen "populär". Det har funnit strävan efter att ifrågasätta kategorier mellan det höga och det låga.

Tarja Rautiainens doktosavhandling behandlar finsk protestsång på 1960-talet och ny sång genom populärmusikens historiska kontext. Hon använder den diskussion som förts om populärmusiken då hon analyserar den begreppsliga indelningen i hög protest och låg protest. Med det första avser hon den unga intelligentians diskussion om populärmusik och de protestsånger som uppkommit i samband med den. Med den senare hänvisar hon till den angloamerikanska populärmusikens expansion genom folkrörelsen. Som exempel på den låga protestens representant använder hon Irwin Goodman.

Rautiainen finner den höga och låga kategorin inuti den populärmusik som redan i sig själv definierats som lågkultur. I undersökningen kommer detta fram såväl genom analysen av de musikaliska dragen som genom mediadiskussionen. Undersökningen utreder de finska artisternas produktion och deras offentliga uppträdanden och klarlägger därtill mer omfattande den samhälleliga och kulturella situationen i vilken den nya sången i Finland i början av 1960-talet uppkom.

Rautiainens avhandling är i många avseenden mycket aktuell. Den påvisar än en gång hur man inom konsten och olika vetenskapsområden ofta samtidigt kommer ut med resultat. Inom den finska filmen har populärmusiker fått träda fram och populärmusikens värdighet återställts t.ex. i Markku Pölonens film *Baddig* och Timo Koivusalos film *Rentun ruusu* som berättar om Irwin Goodman.

Rautiainens avhandling kombinerar både musikvetenskapens och kulturforskningens utgångspunkter på ett intressant sätt. Att gå igenom och analysera diskussionen kring populärmusiken och kombinera detta med en analys av de musikaliska dragen av olika musikers produktion utgör en mångfasetterad helhet varav läsaren har lätt att utforma sin egen helhet.

# Lyckan kommer & Lyckan går: Tankar, ord och föreställningar om lyckan

Bringéus, Nils-Arvid, Stockholm: Atlantis, 2004

Recenserad av Alf Arvidsson, Umeå universitet

Professor em Nils-Arvid Bringéus har här samlat ett stort material av folkliga föreställningar kring lycka; vad som är lycka, hur man fångar den, hur man vårdar den, hur den kan gå förlorad. Rikedomen av material och variationsbredden visar på att "lyckan" står för de mest centrala värdena i tillvaron - om man så vill, meningen med livet.

Merparten är hämtat från det förindustriella samhället, med en bakre gräns hitom det norröna materialet. Även äldre uppfattningars fortsatta existens i nutid. Vi får den historiska bakgrunden till några av nutidens mest centrala metaforer och symboler, som lyckohjulet, hästskon, tomtebolycka, lyckodagar, segerhuva. Aftonbönen Gud som haver, med sin avslutande betoning av lyckan, får sin presentation. Jag saknar dock en viktig instans för spridande av begreppet "lycka" under 1900-talet: arbetarrörelsens sång Internationalen, "åt alla lycka bär" - säkerligen ett tidstypiskt ordval men också en sällsynt formulering av en rörelses utopiska mål.

Det är också många företeelser som har innefattats i lycka och att ha lycka, och som Bringéus presenterar och diskuterar utförligt. Lyckan som det goda förhållandet till Gud fader. Lycka som ett transcendent begrepp och som samhällsbegrepp. Solen och månen som lyckobringande. Spådomstekniker för att utröna lyckans vägar. Lycka i livsloppet och barnalycka. Det lyckobegrepp som kopplats samman med idén om "limited good" återkommer i många gestalter: Äktenskapslycka, Matlycka, Bondelycka, fiskelycka, reselycka, lyckligt möte,

Penninglycka, tur i spel.

Som så många gånger förr bygger Bringéus på ett rikt bildmaterial av bonadsmålningar, väggmålningar, kistebrev, oljetryck där tankar och idéer om lyckan är tydligt re-presenterade. Lyckohjulet är redan nämnt: En bildidé som får stor spridning under 1700-talet är den av den lycklige bonden. Även poetiska texter får stort utrymme, med en genrespridning innefattande skillingtryck, kistebrev, poesialbum och litterär diktning.

Det är alltså ett mycket stort och brokigt material Bringéus redovisar och diskuterar, och nyckelbegreppet kan ju tänjas till att inrymma vad som helst som tillskrivs en positiv bedömning: "Lycka är...". Men Bringéus försöker också summera och formulera några allmängiltiga drag. Ett sådant är tendensen att förlägga lyckan till förfluten tid, att den blir del av idén om en svunnen guldålder. En annan är den rumsliga dimensionen, eller att skapa ett Lyckans land som finns någon annanstans. Men lyckan kan också ligga i tiden, vara något som skiftar, och är en flyktig gåva. Vidare så är lyckan också sammanknippad med idéer om avund och om att "lagom lycka är bäst".

Det är glädjande att Bringéus - återigen - låter sin beläsenhet, materialkännedom, etnologiska och teologiska kunskap materialiseras i ett standardverk. *Lyckan kommer & lyckan går* kan fungera på flera sätt: den är inte 'bara' en diskuterande översikt av äldre folklivsmaterial, den har också en aktualitet som utgångspunkt för diskussioner och studier av det nutida samhället; vad gör någonting värt att sträva efter? Vad gör tillvaron meningsfull?



# Abstracts

## **Folklore and Politics - the Finnish Experience**

By Ulrika Wolf-Knuts

In my paper I have shown how folklore was used in political matters in Finland since the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, during "Stormaktstiden", politicians supported the collection of antiquities; in the 18<sup>th</sup> century the National Romantics started to create a Finnish cultural identity by the help of folklore; the 19<sup>th</sup> century saw this effort flourish in the publication of the *Kalevala*. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century the *Kalevala* played an important role as an ideal and motor for creating an independent country. Parallel to the right wing politics in Europe there were also ideas of an expansion of the country in Finland. This adjustment of the borders of Finland should equal the regions where *Kalevala* poetry was performed. Left wing political ideologies were not much interested in the *Kalevala*.

The Swedish Finns started their systematic collection of folklore in the 1860s, but to them the *Kalevala* was not important in the same way. Instead, it is worth mentioning the folklore of the two groups of inhabitants, the Swedish and the Finnish Finns. Expressed in tough stereotypes, this folklore is still partly the ground for the politics of languages in everyday life.

## **'Til fleres nytte'. One hundred years of Danish ethnology in the service of society**

By Signe Mellemgaard

Signe Mellemgaard gives a short outline of the history of Danish ethnology with respect to the ways in which the scholarly discipline has been thought to act in the service of society. As a starting point Signe Mellemgaard has chosen a period of time, where ethnology began to find its form and where research institutions were established: The vicar H. F. Feilberg (1831-1921) collected aspects of folklore and folk life through many years and wrote several major publications about it. Behind these efforts, there was a definite national aim, as he thought of it as his task to revive a national feeling. Troels Frederik Troels-Lund (1840-1921) aimed at a version of history in opposition to the state and political history of the university



establishment of his days. He wanted to create a cultural history of how life presented itself to people of past times.

Bernhard Olsen (1836-22) wanted to document the daily life of the people, with a specific interest in the living rooms and clothing of the peasant. Olsen wanted to include cultural historical material because this was not represented in the existing museums, which integrated only objects of importance for political or art history.

In 1954 Danish ethnology entered university as a subject. Axel Steensberg was the first to fill the post as lecturer in cultural history and later as a professor in material folk culture. His fundamental view on the subject was empiric and positivistic, and focus was much on the gaining of detailed knowledge and on problems of method. During the professorship of Bjarne Stoklund, Danish ethnology has maintained an interest in historical studies, but has also turned to contemporary situations, firstly with an inspiration from functionalist and Barthian anthropology in the form of community studies and subculture studies, later with the latter's continuation in life mode analysis as originated in Thomas Højrup's work. Thomas Højrup's *Det glemte folk* may count as a representative. The starting point is the attempts to understand the apparently old-fashioned and uneconomic activities at small family holdings during times where these forms were apparently substituted by paid work and industry. For Højrup the aim is to understand the different modes of life as meaningful forms of everyday life. Life modes are still present in Højrup's theory, and Højrup himself sees the state approach as a continuation of the life modes approach.

We thereby get an insight into how the subject of research has transformed itself during time, by looking at how the ethnologist has served society.

## **Cultural studies at the marketplace – experiences from Service Management**

By Karin Salomonsson

In this paper I have reflected on one of several different ways ethnology, or cultural studies, has moved along in the last decade and why some paths have been considered accessible, when others have been closed or considered less suitable to choose. The example I have discussed is when - in this case ethnology - as an academic discipline becomes part of educational programs where you ten years ago hardly expected to find a humanist at all. My own experiences come from a 4-year master program in Service Management at Campus Helsingborg.

There are two features in the organisation of the Service Management programme I especially want to mention. Firstly, its multidisciplinary character with teachers from business administration, management, marketing, accounting, cultural- and economical geography, ethnology, sociology, media, human ecology, environmental studies, commercial law and so on. The second feature, which was new to me, but very familiar to the economists, was the cooperation with about 40-50 different 'associate-companies' (partnerföretag).

During the construction of the programme, heated debates about different 'musts' and necessary ingredients were not uncommon. A positive side of this squabbling and positioning was the fact that you actually had to reflect on why the discipline and the students needed a cultural theoretical perspective at all, what's the use of it? This isn't automatically taken for granted, as could be the fact in a 'one-discipline' department and therefore seldom formulated.

Certain scepticism was raised from humanists (and ethnologists in Lund) about this new discipline and the organisation of the department. What is an *ethnologist* doing in an educational program where one of its objectives clearly is to improve the workings of the service sector and increase the profitability of its acting companies? As a cultural theorist one better stay out. In the paper I shortly discuss what might happen if we leave this field open, and decide we don't

want to have anything to do with “the market” and the business world and this side of reality, in the fear of being contaminated.

### **Culture and Economy**

By Orvar Löfgren

Concepts and blueprints of “New economies” seem to travel effortlessly around the globe, in management handbooks stacked at airports, through travelling to international seminars or local consultants, but what happens when a new idea is transplanted into a local setting and turns from blueprint into practice? This paper looks at the American concept of “The experience economy” which was such a powerful idea of the 1990s. Tourism, retail, event management, heritage and entertainment industries should come together and revitalize old regions and urban settings creating new exciting capes of experiences.

I follow some of the ways in which this blueprint travelled through Scandinavia in the 1990s and early 2000s. There was clearly a process of nationalization involved in this translation process, in which local conditions, state intervention and the various business landscapes interacted. How was the concept changed in this process, how was it institutionalized and routinized, how was it brokered and above all what was the kind of cultural alchemy needed to put it to work?

### **National identity and state building in post Soviet Estonia - experiences of ‘reinventing’ the Estonian National Museum**

By Pille Runnel

Estonian National Museum is a good example for studying the issue of nation building through three centuries. In the 21<sup>st</sup> century the museum is also becoming part of consumer culture and heritage industry. The article follows a few central themes, proceeding from the historical background in the museum’s relations to the wider public. A closer look is taken at the plans for establishing the new building of the museum, which can be interpreted both as a public, political and museological project. The article outlines the developments of Estonian national symbols connected to folk culture, taking the Estonian folk/national costume, widely used in Estonian song and dance festivals, as an example. Original items of the costumes have been collected by the museum and preserved there. Discussions of the clothing reflect how traditional folk culture and its researchers have been involved in the ‘national project’ through different ideological conditions.

Second example, a recent decision about erecting the new museum building shows how two developments – consumerism and safeguarding nationally significant values - are co-existing or intermingling as part of the same ‘project’ and how ethnologists are or are not part of it. The case study suggests that the only role remaining for the ethnologists in this project according to the public expectations is to be the invisible content-providers and guardians of the ‘authenticity’. Ethnologists were not used as experts in the decision-making about the new location of the museum nor covering the latter in the media, as the topics (urban planning, national symbol, depositories, tourism industry) founding the grounds of the decision being made, seemingly did not touch upon them. It follows that the ethnologists should learn how to make their voices heard and represent the results of their work also within the existing popular discourses.

## **Help, we are attractive on the business market!**

By Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl

When the scientific product meet the outside world, in terms of playing a part in business life, this seems most of all to happen by coincidence and luck. There is not so much effort into the post-student phases in form of systems to help the students entering the marketplaces, even if there has been quite a move towards entering each other's worlds between culture and economy the last decade.

It is also not that obvious what is regarded as relevant to the scientific production when going out on the marketplace, it is more a matter of convincing the "world outside" how a cultural based knowledge can contribute through raising different questions and highlighting new perspectives.

What is obvious is that the 'burden of proof' is on the researchers or the students themselves, and in order to be able to communicate with the 'world outside' one has to be willing to address one's knowledge and message in other ways than a purely academic genre.

What also seems to be the case is that there are lots of possibilities for the students of ethnology who want to enter this increasing space between culture and economy, which appears within the field of so-called creative industries.

This is at least the experience of Kirsti Mathiesen Hjemdahl, who reflects upon her own experiences of leaving the university with a PhD on Nordic theme parks, entering one of these parks to start working on concept developing a children's cultural festival, and after being the leader of a project on experience industry in Southern Norway seeking inspiration from the neighbouring Scandinavian countries.

## **Knowledge and expertise in the media age**

By Jakob Arnoldi

The article deals with public expertise, assuming that public expertise today mainly takes the form of appearance as expert sources in the news media. Drawing briefly on theories of changed forms of knowledge production and on Bourdieu's theory of capital, the article argues that expertise is historically constructed, and that the current transformations of the knowledge society have created many new professions that can function as experts. The article also argues that journalists' choices of who they use as expert sources reflect distributions of symbolic, cultural and academic capital. People with capital also have authority and are trustworthy, hence they function well as experts. However, the recruitment of experts by the news media not only reflects the distribution of capital and the relations between different fields. It also actively either changes or reproduces this distribution. Hence the media constitute a market where different professions, and different knowledge institutions, compete about the legitimacy and authority coming from the appearance as expert sources in the news media. However, the universities and university academics are poorly equipped for taking up this competition and also to some extent, and for valid reasons, unwilling to do so. The consequence of this may however be that the university as an institution loses legitimacy in the eyes of the general public.

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