

A Special Issue of

# ***BUDKAVLEN***

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# A SPECIAL ISSUE OF BUDKAVLEN

*The Council of editorial staff*

John Hackman  
Lena Marander-Eklund  
Ulrika Wolf-Knuts  
Maria Schulman  
Anna-Maria Åström

Editor for this issue  
Ann-Charlotte Palmgren

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and exchange copies, are sent to:  
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*Participants in this issue:*

Phil. Dr. *Beate Binder*, Berlin, Germany  
Hum. kand *Nicklas Hägen*, Åbo  
Ph.D *Sven-Erik Klinkmann*, Vasa  
FD *Lena Marander-Eklund*, Åbo  
FM *Ann-Charlotte Palmgren*, Åbo  
Prof emeritus *Nils Storå*, Åbo  
FM *Ann-Helen Sund*, Mariehamn  
Prof *Ulrika Wolf-Knuts*, Åbo  
Prof *Anna-Maria Åström*, Åbo

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ANN-CHARLOTTE PALMGREN

## BUDKAVLEN 2005

special issue

This special issue of *Budkavlen* in English consists of articles that have been published in Swedish earlier in this journal. The articles fall into three themes, very different but of current interest in the fields of ethnology and folkloristics at Åbo Akademi University. The themes are *urbanity*, *narration* and *masculinity*. The issue begins with eight interesting articles on these subjects, and finishes with two thorough presentations of folkloristics and ethnology at Åbo Akademi.

The theme of urbanity starts with an article written by Beate Binder. Binder writes about the re-structuring of the city's landscape using the German capital Berlin as an example. In her discussion about the re-structuring of the city's landscape, Binder takes two public events as starting points in order to explore the symbolic re-structuring of the city over recent years. The events cited are the day of German unification and the opening of the Mex-Artes Festival. In order to understand the cultural logic underlying this symbolic re-structuring of the city and its landscape, Binder proposes to concentrate not only on discourses concerned with old and new architectures and the (re-) naming of streets and places, monuments and commemoration sites, but to take into account the special quality of cultural performances and their "contribution" to the symbolic structure of a city's landscape as well.

Binder's article is followed by one from Anna-Maria Åström. In her article Åström analyses the structures and identity of the Finnish capital Helsingfors, writing about the capital as symbol and meaning, and as a constructed and lived space. The article maintains the notion that the city of Helsingfors does not possess a negative identity, does not belong to either east or west, but rather is a point of integration where certain bridge-building functions and national elements combine to create the basis for a positive identity. One basis for a positive identity can be found in the residents' own accounts of their city, in which the city's different elements, buildings and suburbs, as well as symbols for social situations, nature, climate and daily life are used for the appropriation of space. The identity of the urban residents is based upon their own experiences of the city.

The third article connected to urbanity is Nils Storå's article about fish fairs in Finland. This article discusses the history of fish fairs in Finland, and especially in the city of Åbo as an urban environment. In his article Storå asks the following questions: What attracts people to the fairs? Who are the visitors? What is the significance of the fish fairs today? In order to illuminate these questions a review of the concept of the fair is needed, and Storå gives a presentation of the fish fair from the 19<sup>th</sup> century to 1997 – a year in which a

total of 47 fish fairs were organised in Finland. Storå points out that during the long history of fairs, their nature has varied. Fish fairs are held both in towns and in the countryside, mostly on the coast, but also inland. The fairs mostly take place on market squares and in harbours, or along the banks of a river, where goods can be sold directly from boats. Storå stresses that the fair concept can be explored in terms of its financial, social and commercial, as well as carnival elements.

The theme of narration is the subject of two of the articles included in this volume. In her article, Lena Marander-Eklund discusses why it is important to be able to tell stories, and what significance narratives have for each individual. Marander-Eklund attempts to answer these questions using the three principal functions which Albrecht Lehmann (1978) distinguishes in personal experience narratives. She has taken her examples from her research on stories of childbirth (Marander-Eklund, 2000). Marander-Eklund further asks: Why are narratives an important form of communication – so important that they are used in drama-inspired pedagogy in some of today's schools? This is done with the help of the fable beast Baltus, which is a visual characterization of the basic structure of a story. It is used to teach the components which comprise a narrative – how one recounts a message in the form of a story.

The other article on narration is written by Nicklas Hägen. This article analyzes the report of soccer articles about the team FF Jaro in the Finno-Swedish regional newspaper, Jakobstads Tidning. The basis used for the analysis is William Labov's theory about a complete narrative comprising six elements (abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution and coda), but focussing on the perspective of the reports. The objective is to obtain an understanding of what makes soccer newsworthy by looking

at how it is reported, and at the same time, even if more indirectly, by looking at how the reporting role of the mass media is dealt with. In reporting on soccer, the articles assume a certain position of expertise and, paradoxically enough, both "objectivity" and solidarity with the team. Soccer is spoken of in terms of its own time, space and actors: expectations, solidarity, conflicts, ideas about fairness and feelings of joy or disappointment are expressed.

A third theme, that of masculinity, is represented in three articles. Ann-Charlotte Palmgren's study is primarily focused on the male ideals in the new men's magazines *Slitz* and *MG* that began to be published in Finland in the middle of the 1990s. Palmgren looks at what male ideals the readers were being encouraged to aspire to and she wonders if these men's magazines are entering into a search for the new man. She therefore analyzed the men's magazines and interviewed readers and non-readers. Even if the intended group of readers differ between the two magazines, the ideal man is relatively stereotypical. He is fixated on gadgets and the body, sporty and at the same time distinguished and domestic when it comes to delicious recipes. Palmgren comes to the conclusion that it is the culture as a whole that has changed, and not only ideas about masculinity.

Ann-Helen Sund attempts, in her article, to describe Formula 1 as a modern/post-modern phenomenon: in part as a phenomenon in and of itself, and in part in terms of how the average TV audience experiences and describes it. The concept of manliness is also studied: what sort of manliness is manifest in this sport, and what is meant when Formula 1 is referred to as a "manly" sport? This article is based on interviews with students who are interested in Formula 1 and watch Formula 1 races on television. A small portion of the informants was not interested in Formula

1. The study shows that the concept of prestige is central in Formula 1, and attempts to determine what this prestige encompasses. The significance of nationality in Formula 1 is also discussed, and how different nationalities are organized in the spectator's consciousness to build a whole entity. The article also briefly addresses the Formula 1 computer game and the experience of witnessing a Formula race in person.

The third article on this theme is written by Sven-Erik Klinkmann. In his study of coolness as the central significant sign for youth in the American 50's, the semiotician Marcel Danesi demonstrates that the concept of "cool" has its roots in the jazz

scene of the 1930's. Accordingly, one also has good reason to argue that coolness, as a quality in youth, is related to an entirely unique range of cultural formations which, at the beginning of the 1800's in Europe and America, had a very specific and strong effect on the formation of popular culture. In this article, Sven-Erik Klinkmann discusses the history of the concept of "cool" as a complicated process of conversions, manifest in discourse, from signifying a complex black masculinity, a black bearing, with many meanings, to symbolizing Elvis Presley's rather playful and outer coolness and masculinity, expressed in his public 50's persona, the carnival-like King of Rock 'n' Roll.

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BEATE BINDER

## Performing and Constructing:

**Ethnological Perspectives on the symbolic transformation of Berlin<sup>1</sup>**

On 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2002, the youngest German national holiday was celebrated in Berlin: the day of German unity. This newly established national holiday (having begun in 1991) is meant to commemorate the re-unification of Germany which took place on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1990. A state-ceremony took place in the opera house and a street was held at the Pariser Platz and around the Brandenburg Gate. The most important symbolic center of the re-unified city turned into the grounds for a huge open-air festival. Like every year, German counties were encouraged to present their regional or local specialties, in the first place food and drink, such as fish from Hamburg, Hessian apple wine, Bavarian white sausages and so on, and to show folk dances, music or other “traditions” from their “home” countries. Dancing companies, cabaret, music or folklore groups presented their programs during the day on a huge stage which was put up for this occasion. The Ministries and the government had information desks and gave informative materials and gadgets to punters. A parade took place in the afternoon, which was also meant to present “Germany’s feast” as a celebration of the re-unification and to show the richness and diversity of Germany’s regions: folklore groups, groups wearing traditional costumes, and some brass bands walked along the alley Unter den Linden and showed the richness of German regional “heritage.”

This year, the celebration was even bigger, because Berlin hosted the central festivity which is the honor of that country – the chairman of the Bundesrat, the upper house of the German parliament which houses all the representatives of the German counties. On this occasion, the Berlin government thought of a special event to celebrate re-unification day. Thus the focal point of the celebration was the uncovering of the Brandenburg Gate, which had been under reconstruction during recent years. The famous German designer Willy Bogner lifted the covering out of the air and the rebuilt monument came to the fore – new and bright.

The symbolic structure of this event is not very sophisticated: the day is meant to celebrate the national self-image of Germany as a federal state, and to commemorate the re-unification as an important turning point of national history. It aims at showing the progress of the unification process and stages the joy at the fall of the wall and the overcoming of the division of Germany. In the terms of Don Handelman, it is a public event “that presents the lived-in world”.<sup>2</sup> Thus the celebrations and the feast offer Berliners as well as city visitors a pleasant atmosphere of consumption which enables to experience the “German-ness” of Germany and its new capital.

Another short glimpse at another public event: the opening of the Mex-Artes festival which took place at the House of World



*Street party on the occasion of the arrival of the government – September 1999.  
Photo: Beate Binder*

Cultures in the summer of 2002. The House of World Cultures describes itself as one of the leading centers for contemporary art of non-European origin. It provides a platform for projects and themes transcending borders and frontiers. This is also what the opening ceremony aims at. It announces the beginning of a rich cultural program – that is an art exhibition, concerts and film programs, round table discussions and symposiums all concerned with the contemporary culture of Mexico and German-Mexican relationships in terms of cultural exchange over the centuries.

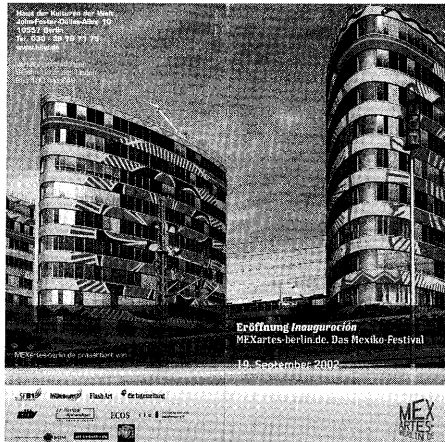
About 1000 people came to the House of World Cultures that very evening. Advertised all over the city, the event obviously was able to pull in a crowd, and it offered a stage for all those who are involved in culture (politics), who are simply interested in culture and/or Mexico, and, last but not least, for all Mexicans and Latin Americans living in Berlin. Framed by the speeches of national representatives of both Germany and Mexico, the festival

stages an atmosphere of multiculturalism and creativity, of importance and a “Good to be here”-feeling in terms of networking and showing oneself to the public.

These two events are taken out of a huge amount of similar happenings which have taken place in Berlin during the last few months more or less randomly. While talking about the restructuring of the city’s landscape, I shall take them as starting points in order to discuss the symbolic restructuring of the city during the last years. In order to understand the cultural logic underlying this symbolic re-structuring of the city and its landscape, I propose to concentrate not only on discourses concerned with old and new architectures, the (re-)naming of streets and places, monuments and commemoration sites (in short, with the whole “architexture”<sup>3</sup> of the city), but to take into account the special quality of cultural performances and their “contribution” to the symbolic structure of a city’s landscape as well. Cultural Performances – commemorations,



**Invitation card for the  
opening of the  
Mexartes Festival.**



demonstrations, or in short all kinds of modern public “rituals” – inscribe meaning into the urban landscape on the one hand, and offer a space which allow people to experience the city in a particular way on the other.

Per-Markku Ristilammi<sup>4</sup> proposed that we compare the space of public events with those spaces that Foucault called heterotopias – spaces which reflect and comment on the hopes and fears of society. “Events”, writes Ristilammi, “are inextricably linked to the surrounding world because they are designed to reflect and make an impression on the world outside. The visualizing of an [*sic*] utopian past and future is often a technique used in the managing of events.” At the same time, public events bear mechanisms of opening and closure within them. They show who belongs and who will not. And last but not least the special atmosphere of public events effects people and opens them up for agency. Thus the space-time structure of public events allows people to join together, to confess to celebrated goals and symbols and to conceive of decisions for their engagement in something because of the emotional surplus which taking part of the event produces.

Therefore, as I would suggest, public

events are also important “agents” in the structuring and defining of urban space. They offer stages for a special way of experiencing a city and, in addition, they take part in the production of a “discerning eye”, which is what the anthropologist Yi Fu-Tuan named the eye which is able to read and interpret the meaning of urban space, and which perceives the historical heritage incorporated in the urban structure.<sup>5</sup>

Of course – public events have always been of great interest for ethnographic research. For example, Emile Durkheim, Milton Singer, Victor Turner, or Clifford Geertz proposed that they are keys for the investigation of societies, because they enable ethnographers to grasp the symbolic structure, collective understandings or principles of social structures underlying a societal order. Or, as Don Handelman put it: “They constitute dense concentrations of symbols and their associations, which are of relevance to a particular people”.<sup>6</sup>

Today these assumptions are being criticized. Whereas Clifford Geertz<sup>7</sup> interpreted the Balinese cock fight as a key symbol of the whole society, and Milton Singer<sup>8</sup> saw cultural performances as elementary for the great tradition of Hindu Indian culture (to mention only those two classic accounts on cultural performances), these holistic interpretations are questioned today. It does not seem to be clear if it is possible to “read a culture from the symbols of a cultural performance,” warns for example Bailey.<sup>9</sup> And Don Handelman calls for careful consideration that a cultural performance or public event “among a particular people communicates only a *version* of their social order.” Different versions or interpretations, according to Handelman, “overlap and conflict with one another, in the knowledge and experience, and affect they convey. If events contain keys to codes, then these unlock many doors, as much to labyrinths

as to great halls and cosy kitchens.”<sup>10</sup>

Nevertheless and with this warning in mind, I suggest taking public events more seriously not only in ethnography as such but especially in urban anthropology. But before talking more about the theoretical framework which investigates the study of public events with sense, I would like to return to the city of Berlin for a moment where those above-mentioned events were set onto the scene. The special situation of Berlin during the last decade gives reason for the assumption that studying public events allows one to explore the question how the new-old capital of Germany is re-defined and – in a certain sense – produced.

### **Building a “new, old capital” – the symbolic transformation of Berlin**

The two events, the celebrations of 3<sup>rd</sup> October and the opening ceremony of the Mexartes festival, belong together insofar as both offer spaces in which the “New Berlin” is staged. They are meant to show different aspects of this newness in that they talk about a twofold problem which Berlin is confronted with today while trying to find a place on the mental map of European Capitals as well as in the international network of metropolises. And they are meant to produce places which are appropriate for staging these events.

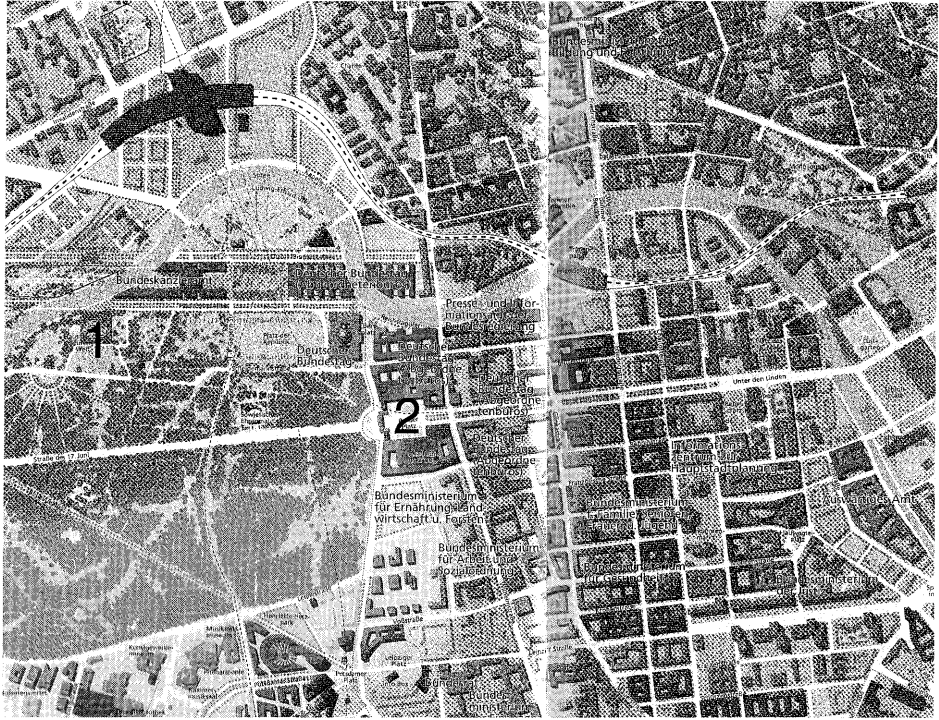
Since the fall of the wall in 1989, German unification in 1990 and the decision to move the seat of parliament from Bonn to Berlin, the city has been undergoing a process of symbolic transformation which is set on the scene in different places. Because of this, Berlin offers a special frame for investigation. The city is a “zone in transition”<sup>11</sup>, and this, the city’s liminality (Turner), is visible last but not least in the very fact that the public spaces are not finally defined and classified in terms of symbolic structure and in terms of their appropriate uses. In this sense Berlin

is very much “in the making.” Thus the transformation Berlin is undergoing on a material level is accompanied by transformation processes concerning the symbolic content of the urban landscape. For the former front-line city, a socialist capital and a capital waiting to become a capital and metropolis in its own right, Berlin must modify or even change the symbolic structure of its image and its representations in public spaces.

This means that the process of defining spaces and structuring the urban landscape is not only at work “as usual”, but is also very dynamic and accompanied by a whole range of conflicts and discussions. Indeed, since the fall of the wall in 1989, the reunification of Germany and Berlin, and last but not least the decision to move the parliament seat from Bonn to Berlin in 1991, turned Berlin’s inner-city into an immense collection of cranes, construction fences and ditches and more. As soon as the first plans were rendered, the construction work was accompanied by a discourse on questions of national representation, the appropriateness of the planning and the emerging new tasks and functions of the city. Politicians as well as newspapers, panel discussions, exhibitions and “normal citizens” engaged in these questions of who, where and what of the transformation, the re-definition of the city and its urban landscape.

On the one hand, the task of national representation is questioned. Since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, European capitals have been distinguished sites of national politics and culture. They have represented themselves as national cities, and they are still treated as products of different national histories. London was – and in a certain sense still is – an English, Paris a French, Helsinki a Swedish-Finnish, and Berlin a German city in the first place. Even though modern European cities have always been international, heterogeneous and

**Map of the City  
Center: 1 House  
of World  
Cultures, 2  
Pariser Platz**



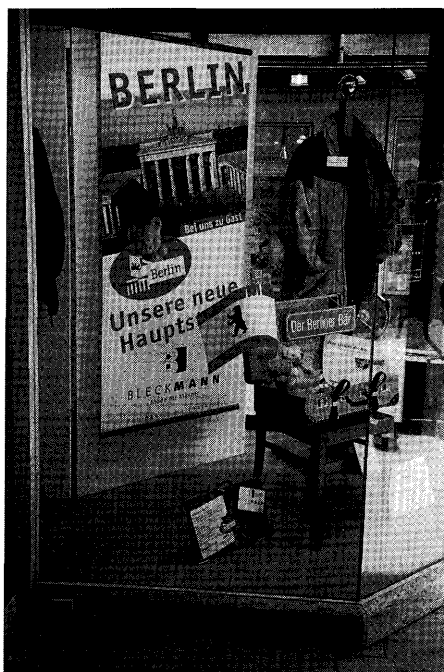
cosmopolitan sites, European capitals have been first of all localized manifestations or peculiar urban versions of different national cultures and histories. It is not only the architecture and the cultural grammar of the built landscape which represents changing images of the national self. The capital serves at the same time as a stage for national representations, feasts and ceremonies which stage the central values and convictions the “imagined community” of the nation which it will follow.

Indeed, since 1991 the question of what consequences the move of parliament will have for national and international politics has been under discussion. How will other countries perceive the new German capital and its buildings? Which kind of national representation is necessary and appropriate for a nation in the middle of Europe at the turn of the millennium in general and appropriate especially for Germany with its national past?

In this context, the discourse produced the metaphor of the “Berliner Republik”, which opened up a symbolic space for a bundle of different interpretations and meanings of the national. The metaphor structures time by separating the new period from its predecessors, namely the “Bonner Republik”. Despite the somehow felt beginning of a new era, the discourse emphasizes the continuities between the old Federal Republic of Germany and the unified Germany in terms of democratic consent, the reliability of German politics, and the state’s orientation towards Europe and the West. At the same time, the metaphor “Berliner Republik” structures space and emphasize the importance of the capital as a central site of national representation. Thus it refers to the city as symbol *and* as the output of the new political situation in general. Due to the high degree of “social present time reality” ascribed to the city, the discourse stresses

the question of whether the past is still alive in Berlin. Thus, while the discourse on the “Berliner Republic” opened a space for negotiations about national self-images and the possibility and necessity of national pride, even for Germans, it has to cope with the problem of representation. For in many respects Berlin represents an undesired national continuity, which is of history, or even better, the continuing effect of history on contemporary politics. By moving from Bonn to Berlin, the German government as well as the “Germans” in general are perceived as being confronted with the “burden” of German history more than ever (mit der Last der Vergangenheit). Whereas Bonn was a “neutral” place in terms of history and therefore able to represent the West-German will to begin anew in 1949, many consider Berlin as a place where history “really took place”, and that means German fascism and the killing of millions of people, the beginning and the end of World War II, the Cold War and the division of Germany, of Europe, and, in the end, of the whole world, the fall of the wall and German and European unification – just to mention the most important turning points of 20<sup>th</sup> century history. And all these events have left their traces in the spatial and symbolic structure of the cityscape. Therefore, for the former “front-line-city”, the socialist capital, and the old centre of power to become a true capital city in its own right, Berlin must structure its historical narrative in a new way and find new modes of national representation in and through the city. And that is what the metaphor of the “Berliner Republic” tells us about.

But apart from this national narrative touched on with the metaphor “Berliner Republic”, a second metaphor, namely the “New Berlin”, tells us about another story and about another problem the city has to cope with. Because cities, and especially big cities and metropolises, are now the



*Advertisement for the new capital in a shop window in Tübingen, October 1999. Photo: Beate Binder*

most important scenes of current social and political transformations taking place in late capitalism and post-socialism. A whole range of sociological as well as anthropological accounts narrates the story of the late modern city and renders pervasive pictures of the dramatic changes the political and cultural economy of urban space is undergoing. On the one hand, they tell us about the emergence of a new urban underclass, living in damaged or ruined urban quarters, about slums and ghettos, about poverty and social exclusion. On the other hand, there are the new urban shopping and entertainment centres as well as the business quarters with their malls, sky-scrapers, and bank towers representing richness and economic growth.

The changes which urban landscapes are undergoing are reflections of the ongoing processes of social, political, and economic transformation which normally underline terms of globalization and/or second modernization. Many authors in this

context have pointed out the emergence of a new symbolic economy and new city marketing strategies, which are mainly based on culture and cultural politics. In as far as the imaginability of cities “becomes the new selling point” – as Christine Boyer put it<sup>12</sup> – the aesthetic and design of the urban landscape, its incorporated heritage and its new zones of attraction are strong and powerful resources for marketing a city.

Efforts to create a symbolic, selling economy produce social, political and cultural conflicts between local economies and the logic of globality. Cities have to accumulate ever more political, economic, and cultural functions, making them international, or (even better) cosmopolitan. Thus the representation of cosmopolitanism within a city offers pervasive symbolic capital in the world-wide struggle for hegemony; it enables cities to enter and to take part in the global competition for economic and symbolic capital successfully.

And this is what the term of the “New Berlin” tells us too. It tries to bundle all those efforts undertaken during the last decade in order to attract investors, developers and, last but not least, tourists to leave their money in the city. The economic situation of Berlin changed dramatically after German unification. While West Berlin used to function largely on the basis of an extensive politics of subsidies and East Berlin, as the capital of the GDR, had access to larger resources than any other East German city, Berlin now must enter the general economic and cultural competition of cities in order to gain ground on a national as well as on an international scale. Whereas the old production industry broke away on a large scale, the city aims at building up an economy mainly based on service industries. Tourism, media, and information and communication technologies are the main areas of engagement. Thus a lot of different efforts of the last decade aim at the modernization of the entire city. The

metaphor of the “New Berlin” tells us about the “cosmopolitan dream” of becoming an economic and cultural metropolis. This dream is a strong force, and it structures the rhetoric of change and legitimizes a lot of different activities that are concerned with the rebuilding of the city. By envisioning the future role of Berlin as a “turntable between East and West” and as an important economic as well as political knot in the network of European cities, Berlin tries to render the attractiveness of its location.

Insofar as Berlin encounters both the task to become more national and more global at the same time, the symbolic transformation of the city appears to be extremely dramatic. Behind the question of how to cope with the contradictory tasks of becoming national and cosmopolitan at the same time hides a field of political and cultural struggle and conflicts which accompany the restructuring not only of the city and its landscape but of the entire society.

This is even more so because of the former division of the city into two halves. Today two societies with different experiences and starting points come together within in the city of Berlin. And that is what the metaphor of the “New Berlin” tells us about as well: the vision of the re-unification of the two city halves and of the will of rejoining the divided metropolis into one smoothly functioning urban structure.

With the two metaphors of the “Berliner Republic“ and the “New Berlin” I have rendered the central problem that faces Berlin today. In short, the “New Berlin” aims at constructing a new image which is supposed to fit the tasks of representing both the national and the global. To reinvent the “new/old capital” means to produce new images which can turn the German and the Prussian Berlin into a world city by keeping its local traditions at the same time.

To follow this field of struggles between



*The Dome of the Reichstag building is open for public. Photo: Beate Binder.*

different symbolic systems and their respective logics, I propose starting with the texture of the city, or even better, the changing pattern(s) of this texture. Understanding cities as texts means to interpret the buildings, places, streets, parks, monuments – in short the whole urban street design and built environment – as a culturally encoded text of urbanity. The “architexture” of a city represents historical imaginations, political visions and myths, social memories and cultural nostalgia living in the society. Cities with their spatial order, their architecture, buildings, and commemoration sites, represent historical imaginations and political visions, social hierarchies and cultural constructions of the self. And as far as cities are places and locations of cultural myths, memories and nostalgia as well as of contemporary power and hegemony, the constantly changing physical environment tells of the social, political, and cultural changes a society is undergoing.

As Sharon Zukin pointed out in her book “The Cultures of Cities”,<sup>13</sup> the decline of

industrial production and the increasing importance of deal-making and selling investment have fundamentally changed the working and meaning of the symbolic economy of cities. While it is most important for cities to construe a legible and identifiable image nowadays, Zukin emphasizes that the material landscape itself became the most important visual representation of cities and thus plays a fundamental role in the construction of cities. The new symbolic economy is based on the appropriation and use of culture for the development and material reproduction of cities. This means that the very social and cultural conflicts in contemporary societies take place as struggles about modes of representation, aesthetics and their connected meanings. The new symbolic economy structures cities by making “decisions about what – and who – should be visible and what should be not, on concepts of order and disorder, and on uses of aesthetic power”, to quote Sharon Zukin again.<sup>14</sup> Thus understanding cities as texts means taking the representational

practices of different social groups and the aesthetics or visual means of inclusion and exclusion as starting points for further investigation.

But, as I have proposed at the beginning, not only the architecture and design of a city structures its texture, but so do social practices themselves and public events which take place in urban space. In the remainder of this article I would like to concentrate on this last point. Because, in the context of the symbolic transformation processes of Berlin, new public events are invented and/or incorporated into the urban landscape. These public events are meant to make the content and possibilities of “New Berlin” visible, and they open these contents and possibilities up for experience. As cultural representations these events become real in order to define and structure urban space, and in order to articulate political positions and power.

To be able to follow up these mechanisms of public events, I will have a somewhat closer look at the events mentioned in the beginning. I can’t describe them in complete detail, so they are not meant to prove the thesis of the evidence of public events in any systematic sense. But they allow me to discuss some preconditions and problems concerning the investigation of public events in urban settings. My considerations focus on the question of the effect which public events have on the production of locality as outlined above.

### **Public Events re-visited: The 3<sup>rd</sup> of October and the opening of the Mexartes Festival**

Both events, Germany’s Feast on 3<sup>rd</sup> October and the opening ceremony of the Mexartes Festival, serve different purposes and speak different languages. And they are set on the scene in different parts of the inner city, even though both locations are not far away from each other. The old congress hall which hosts the House of

World Cultures is located close to the newly built Kanzleramt, the seat of the Chancellor. The Pariser Platz, which is maybe a 15 minute walk away from this place, is situated close to the Reichstags-building.

Despite their closeness, the two places belong to different symbol systems in terms of the national and the cosmopolitan. Gerhard Schröder, the German chancellor, characterizes the House of World Cultures as follows: “When we say that Germany has to become more international, then the House of World Cultures is doing real pioneering work.”<sup>15</sup> While the House of World Cultures represents the world’s cultural diversity, it simultaneously shows the openness of Berlin towards the diversity of its own citizens. It stages new ways of cultural hybridization, products of cultural contact and its influence – especially on the high arts. First and foremost, it opens a space for the intellectual exchange on questions of cultural globalization. Or, as Homi Bhabha put it last year: “In this momentous of transition, the House of World Cultures – like Berlin itself – is becoming a meeting place for dialogues between cultures, a bridge between the past and the present, East and West, North and South.”<sup>16</sup>

In contrast to the House of World Cultures, the Pariser Platz represents the local and national heritage of Berlin. The reconstruction of the buildings around the place followed the guidelines of historical reconstruction issued in the beginning of the 1990s, even though interpretations of these guidelines vary from building to building. Thus the two more postmodern houses designed by Behnisch and Gehry were discussed heavily and had to change at least their front façade to better fit the rules of historical reconstruction. Nevertheless, the Pariser Platz is perceived as the “parlor” of the city for now. The Berlin Newspaper Tagesspiegel named the square a magical site and the “first address

of Germany”, last but not least because of the four Bank houses, the French and the planned American embassies, the Hotel Adlon. And, the Tagesspiegel announces, “Besides the nearby Potsdamer Platz, the citadel of the globalized urban planning, the Pariser Platz appears as a national forum made of stone.”<sup>17</sup> In short, the Pariser Platz is a German place – not only because of its architecture but because of the events taking place there. It is not so much a place of daily routines of the citizens but a place for special events and, of course, for tourists looking at the Brandenburg Gate or watching the official guests of Berlin residing in the Hotel Adlon on their way from the car to the entrance.

Thus a perfect alliance exists between the two events and their respective locations. On the one hand, both belong to different symbol systems; on the other, the two locations are able to investigate the events with legitimization and authority, whereas the events themselves structure and reify the symbolic content of these locations.

The opening of the Mexartes Festival does not stand alone. In fact, the efforts to stage Berlin as multicultural, as open to the world and as enjoying its diversity structure a whole range of different public events which are put on during the year. Parades – like the Love Parade of the techno kids, the Carnival of Cultures – a parade of different migrant organizations -, the Christopher Street Day, which is the parade of the gay and lesbian community, or – to some extent – the Berlin Marathon. These all are the biggest and most important of these public events which operate on arguments of cultural diversity, multiculturalism and internationalism. Besides these, every year events are performed. There are a lot of single occasions, like the opening ceremony of the newly built Debis and Sony Center at the Potsdamer Platz, which try to produce an atmosphere of cultural diversity and to show difference as a central resource of the

city. All these events belong to the process of the festivalization of city politics, which Hartmut Häußermann and Walter Siebel have identified as an emerging new marketing strategy of cities.<sup>18</sup> Even though they all have different promoters and organizers, these events are part of the city’s marketing because of their attractiveness not least of all for tourists who will come to the city and leave their money in the city.

All of these events are interesting by themselves, as they stage different messages and produce different modes of agency. But in light of the restructuring of urban space they belong together. In the line of these events, the process of restructuring becomes visible. In this sense they are interconnected as they together produce the text of multicultural diversity, of openness towards the world and of the rich mixture and creativity Berlin is able to offer. Combined, they draw a mental map of the city in which all of those places where these events take place are integrated. This map tells about the joyful atmosphere of festivities which are able to satisfy curiosity and the lust for adventurous tours through the diversity of the world. The title of this map is “through the world within the city”.

The 3<sup>rd</sup> of October belongs to another map of the city and to another atmosphere of discovery. It is the map of national heritage and of those events which enable one to experience the “imagined community” (Anderson) of the nation. And this map also creates its own centres and places. The Pariser Platz, the Brandenburg Gate and the famous Alley Under den Linden, the Reichstags-Building and in a certain sense the Museumsinsel are built at the very centre of this map. The events taking place in these inner city spaces do not only strengthen the national meaning and perception of these places, but they do make it a lively space of encounter and negotiation framed by features of national self-image.





SCHLUSS. Manche Probleme hätte es bei der Restaurierung des Brandenburger Töres gegeben, seine Ehrfüllung aber, showgerecht serviert von Willy Bogner, vertief wie am Sc

Tagesspiegel 4. 10. 2002

## Die Hüllen sind gefallen

henk zum Einheitsfest: Brandenburger Tor mit spektakulärer Aktion ausgepackt / Hunderttausende drängten

ingungen waren ideal. Der  
 ill. Zum krönenden Ab-  
 ern zum Tag der Deutschen  
 Berlin seine Bescherung:  
 20.30 Uhr schwebte der

Schon Stunden vor der spektakulären Ent-  
 hüllung des Nationalsymbols war der neue-  
 geplasterte Pariser Platz mit Menschen über-  
 füllt. Weitere Schaulustige drängten nach-  
 doch rund 700 Polizisten sicherten die abend-

Operndiva Montserrat Caballé auf. Vor dem  
 großen Akt der Enthüllung des Töres versam-  
 melten sich Bundespräsident Johannes Rau,  
 Bundeskanzler Gerhard Schröder, Bundes-  
 tagspräsident Wolfgang Thierse, der Regie-

der Hoffnung auf Freiheit für alle Völker der  
 Welt", sagte Clinton, nachdem er von Wowe-  
 reit einen Stein des Brandenburger Töres als  
 Geschenk erhalten hatte. Bereits am Nach-  
 mittag hatten hunderte Menschen die Aus-

Especially the Pariser Platz became the locale for staging the national during the last years, thereby using the symbolic content the Brandenburg Gate as national monument bears and strengthening it at the same time. Already in 1991 the official opening of the reconstructed Gate was meant to set the national symbol anew. The farewell ceremonies for the allied troops took place at the Pariser Platz in front of the Brandenburg Gate in 1994, and the official celebration of the 9<sup>th</sup> of November, the day of the opening of the wall, is normally staged at the Pariser Platz, to mention but a few festivities which the place hosts. More and more, the Gate and the Pariser Platz became the central stage for celebrating national holidays and commemoration ceremonies in public. Located next to the Reichstags-building, the Pariser Platz and especially the Brandenburg Gate seem to offer the "right" setting for the staging of these national holidays. At the same time, these public

events help to strengthen the role of Berlin as the new national capital, which, in turn, found in a way its public stage in the Pariser Platz. Historical narratives which talk about the varied history this part of the city experienced established finally and strengthen constantly the image of the Pariser Platz as the "parlor" of the nation.

Especially the celebrations on 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2002 made this mechanism obvious. Even though the renovation work was finished some weeks ago, the uncovering took place during the celebration of German unity and, thus, was embedded in the national narrative of unification. Probed in advance and more than once announced in the newspapers, people were put in the mood of expectation. Finally, the Brandenburg Gate was given back like a gift to the Berliners and their visitors, given to them as a site of identification and belonging.

But the process of defining this national urban space was structured not only by the public events themselves but by those

discussions accompanying and commenting on them as well. At least two discourses structure the staging of 3<sup>rd</sup> October at the Pariser Platz in 2002.

The first is concerned with the question of whether it should be allowed to pass the Brandenburg Gate by car in future. This discourse touches questions of everyday practices taking place in public urban space in general, and in this square in particular. Both the pro-car party as well as those who want to have the Gate car-free try to strengthen their argument by pointing out the national importance and symbolic content of the Brandenburg Gate.

The second discourse is concerned more directly with the symbolic content of the Gate and the square as national locale. It asks who shall be allowed to use the Pariser Platz as site of demonstrations and as a stage for festivities. In 2000, this discussion became extremely dynamic because of the right wing party NPD, which marched through the Brandenburg Gate.<sup>19</sup> During the days following the event, the media, especially the Berlin newspapers, and some politicians asked for stronger restrictions on the right's ability to demonstrate in the middle of this newly built government quarter. And somehow it seemed that the walk of the NPD through the Gate was even worse than the very fact that their right wing positions gained ground in Germany at all. In the following weeks, counter-demonstrations and meetings were arranged in which thousands of people joined. Of course, this took place at the Pariser Platz. It was a symbolic occupation of the somehow "contaminated" place, a public demonstration of the "other", that is democratic Germany, and, at the same time, a self-assurance that those democratic forces are stronger than the NPD and its followers.<sup>20</sup> Here as well, the localized urban history and the newly constructed national content of the Pariser Platz worked together and invested the demonstrations

with legitimacy and gave them their strength.

**To sum up:** Discussions between events are most often concerned with the question of whether the setting, the framing and carrying through of the event fulfilled its purposes. And while the public event itself represents only one single version, namely the one which has gained the most authority, the discussions taking place (whether in the media or in face-to-face debates) offer a wide range of different interpretations, while showing strategies to legitimize positions and interpret the staged performance in terms of content, sense and meaning. In short, they evaluate and reify the very meaning of the public event and thus help to uncover the problems and conflicts underlying the performance itself. In consequence, these debates restructure the event and reflect on their "improvement." The discourses on events become themselves part of the following stagings.

And the discourses offer a key to follow up the process of the symbolic transformation of an urban landscape. Coming back to my starting point (namely that public events may help to investigate in the symbolic landscape of cities), I suggest the following: Ethnological investigation of cities finds in public events a useful starting point for investigation, but has to keep in mind that public events can no longer be interpreted as a single key to a society. That is why not only the events themselves and their immanent symbolic language are important sites of investigation, but also the discourse following up these single events investigates them with sense and meaning. Lead by the question of how it is possible to stage an event at all, the reflexive interconnectedness between event and discourse seems to be a key feature. It contributes to producing the symbolic structure of the event and is the most important frame for understanding the input

and outcome of a single event. Last but not least, the series of events during the year as well as over the years offer a key to investigate the process of (re-)structuring an urban landscape.

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ANNA-MARIA ÅSTRÖM

# The capital as symbol and meaning. Helsinki as a constructed and lived space.

An analysis of the structures in Helsinki which convey meaning to both outsiders and to those who live there must be based on the history of the town, and on the capital as an incarnation of the country itself. Historically, Finland was part of Sweden until 1809, and between that and 1917 it was part of Russia. During that period, in 1812, Helsinki was proclaimed the capital of the Grand Duchy of Finland. In the latter part of the 19th century, many national institutions were established in the capital. The independent national era began in 1917.

Meanwhile, the daily life of the people and their interpretations of the town form another cornerstone of the history of the city. I would thus want to stress the picture the local residents of Helsinki have of their home town and the meanings they give to the symbols that are thought to constitute Helsinki. Through these memories Helsinki can be seen as the scene for everyday life. The urban elements (the architecture and city life), the impact of nature (the sea, the four seasons), the monuments, the multiculturalism of the 1950th (Finnish, Swedish, Russian, Jewish) are the cornerstones providing a base for a positive story on which the identity can be based. Much of what was written down as answers to my questions was based on the memory of the inhabitants, of how they remembered their childhood town after the Second World War and what they thought about it today.

We can thus point to the historical roots in Helsinki in different ways, and we can also look at the formation of its identity and the inhabitants' identities on a symbolic plane. I will start with a brief introduction to more general standpoints and concentrate then on how the ordinary townsman formulates his or her local identity, and what its foundations could be.

The debate on the feeling of identity of the Finns has frequently been focussed on their agrarian background and, more recently, even pagan features such as shamanism have come to the fore. The search has been for something that transcends the language and the country. At the same time, it has been maintained that the Finns have always had to define themselves in a negative manner, as not Swedish and not Russian, belonging neither to the West nor to the East; the folklore specialist Pertti Anttonen argues for this thought. He points out that such a definition, based on negation, has not allowed any positive history or positive narration to evolve. There is no heroic history, but throughout the history of the country, external threats have provided the uniting factor (Anttonen 1996). The Kalevala epic, and a small farmers' mentality have of course been stressed, and equally, the lack of a "European" finesse and an inability to play at different abstract levels (Apo 1995). But a negative identity must perforce be uncertain. In what ways can an urban dimension alter this picture?

*The Cathedral on the Senate Square constitute the premier landmark. Helsinki City Museum*



As far as the identity of the capital and the Helsinki townspeople are concerned, there are nevertheless features pointing in the opposite direction, at a tenacious - possibly even spasmodic - striving for self-esteem, and this reflects both national and international goals. Helsinki's identity could be regarded as having become crystallized in opposing the negative features, in various synthesizing and thus more favourable straits, and also in various efforts of securing a national security and identity. The townspeople themselves also participate in this identity-building by means of their local identifications.

I base my discussion on Herman Bausinger, who says that one has an identity insofar as one is sure of oneself and is capable of tying one's past in with one's future, and one is fully accepted by the others. In a transposed sense, a person may then be said to have a home region, that is, a place or locality in which he or she feels a deep confidence, and this place is, in the last instance, not only the basis of the personal identity but in fact its very essence (Bausinger 1985, 89). The individual identities are a result of interaction with others but also of interaction with a place or in some way of "producing the place".

As far as the town Helsinki is concerned,

its position as the capital of Finland is the result of a conscious goal-oriented process during almost two hundred years. During this period, the town has been endowed with its national buildings reflecting symbolic values: the university, the Cathedral, the government palace, all in the early 19th century, the Bank of Finland, the House of the Estates, in the late 19th century, and the Railway Station and the Parliament building in the first and second decade of independence, and many others. All these are incarnations and symbols of the nation's road towards the independence and its stabilization. The buildings in themselves are active efforts to represent the nation as something positive and permanent.

On the other hand, Helsinki has also remains of both the Swedish and Russian era. In the course of its history Helsinki has not been especially keen on removing signs of the foreign rulers. The fortress Sveaborg is still a reminder of the Swedish era although it was renamed Suomenlinna (The Fortress of Finland) in the 1920s. The Russian era is symbolized by the orthodox church, and a statue of Tzar Alexander the first and a monument of tzarevna Maria. The names of many streets still bear the name of relatives of the czar's families (Alexander-, Dagmar-, Elisabeth-, Anne-, Catharinastreet etc.) The names Wladimir- and Andréstreets have nevertheless been changed to Kaleva- and Lönnrotstreet, national names per se. But altogether one could say that the forementioned cultural threats have been woven into the history of the city. The names of the streets are still in both Finnish and Swedish - the Russian names were however excluded after 1917. Officially Helsinki has still two names: Helsinki and Helsingfors.

During the 20th century Helsinki has been changed to a more homogenous ethnic town at the same time as the industrial features has given way to high tech. The influx of people and the growth of the population figure has, by and by, made Helsinki

TABLE 1. POPULATION OF HELSINKI IN INNER AND OUTER REGIONS 1946-1998

	1946	1950	1960	1970	1995
Inner city *	243.116	247.140	212.387	171.046	115.534
Old suburban areas**	43.380	48.357	56.325	49.932	42.446
Suburbs***	<u>51.054</u>	<u>62.631</u>	<u>164.813</u>	<u>286.069</u>	<u>346.651</u>
	337.550	358.128	433.525	507.047	489.212
Övrig befolkning	<u>4.013</u>	<u>12.834</u>	<u>14.790</u>	<u>16.630</u>	<u>11.134</u>
S:a	341.563	370.962	448.315	523.677	515.765

The inner city and the old suburban areas are called Inner city

\*city districts 1-15

\*\*city districts 16-27, 52-53

\*\*\*city districts 28-51,54

change, from a small town to the only real city in Finland, with half a million inhabitants. This fast development may also be a source of naive pride - especially when acceptance is looked for elsewhere. Helsinki has also changed remarkably with regard to its linguistic distribution: still in the 1870s, the majority of the population spoke Swedish, whereas in the 1990s, the Swedish-speaking Finns were only about 7%, due to the vast immigration of Finns. Some of the old minorities, Jews, Russians, Tatars and Gypsies, have received additional influxes, mainly in the 1990s of completely new ethnic groups. The new immigrants now constitute 3,2 % of the population. Although the town is now mostly Finnish-speaking, neither the municipal authorities nor the old inhabitants in general will exclude Swedish as the second language.

The expression "the Helsinki spirit" was coined during the first SALT meetings in 1969 between American and Russian delegates, to denote a relaxed atmosphere, in which they met. In the course of the numerous meetings - the U.S. and the Russian Presidents have met twice in Helsinki -, a joint diplomatic chronology has eventually been created. This could also be seen as one expression of a wish to bring about a positive, neutral diplomatic

"history", a narration of a kind. At the same time, the Finns have striven to launch Helsinki as an attractive city for all kinds of international conferences. Thus, the intentions of the national leaders, townplanners and the tourist leaflets as a mediating forum, produce different ways of pushing and presenting the town, of creating an image which brings out the positive features. There is nothing remarkable in this. Similar efforts are made by almost all European and other cities trying to distinguish themselves. The result is pictures for the outsiders. What is remarkable is the effort - or slowness to react - that leads to incorporation even of foreign or even in some senses negative traits. Today we still have a Leninpark and a somewhat grotesque statue of peace and freedom presented as a gift from the Soviet Union in the 1980s. An historical awareness represents on the other hand the failure of an anachronistic effort to install a Lenin monument in 1999. In this way Helsinki has not forgotten its history and compared to many other cities this history can still be seen in its monuments.

### The voices of the townspeople

One of my points is thus that the city perhaps naively and perhaps unconsciously has worked to develop and synthetize a

number of symbols and that the politicians have worked to give a positive image of the city internationally - but my main point will be that the citizens themselves have also taken the symbolic dimensions to their hearts in a deeply personal way and they have in their narratives also produced "places of their own".

During the mid-1990s, I have collected a material consisting of about 500 narratives, where Helsinki townspeople describe their surroundings, their everyday life and their opinions of the town. These narratives are replies to four different letters of enquiry and they can be looked upon as outcomes of what Henri Lefebvre calls *lived space*. Lefebvre is also of the opinion that this kind of space, e.g. the lived one, can be expressed only in art - but I would argue that we have not been listening and questioning the ordinary citizen, he and she can also express him- or herself.

Looking at the different aspects dealt with in the texts, we may apply David Harvey's "grid of spatial practices" to the material. This narrows down to the townspeople's descriptions of personal space and mental maps of *occupied space*, or descriptions of familiarity, *open places* and places of popular spectacle, that is, streets, squares and markets. On the other hand, the narratives of the townspeople also include *official places*, for instance monumental spaces and constructed places of ritual, i.e. just those places that tourist brochures have a predilection for (Harvey 1989, 220-221). Helge Gerndt mentions four kinds of symbols or markers in urban settings: urban space and buildings, symbols of the social situation, symbols of the geographic position and the climate, and symbols of everyday life. In the narratives they mingle together, but I would like to threat them in two blocks - the more material first and the more social later - just for the sake of clarity (Gerndt 1985).

Moreover, in contrast to the official

pictures which at most stress *history*, there is a vantage-point in the personal *memories* and in the *process of recalling* the town. All informants refer to their own experiences and memories of the town of bygone days. Only individuals can have memories and base their ideas of the town on them whereas institutions produce only museums and archives (cf. Eriksen 1997, 130). In the memories of the Helsinki residents, the place as such has great importance (Åström 1997). The place becomes equal to roots. This is explained with rare lucidity by one of the informants:

*Helsinki, to me, means "roots". In life, a person may feel at home anywhere, but those pictures which were built into our brains in childhood follow us and remain alive throughout our lives. These are sights, atmospheres, human relations, various experiences communicated by our senses. They come into our minds as short glimpses or as entire series of events. Time changes them. For each one of us, they are unique. To me, as I am born in Helsinki, the town is the sum of the images of my childhood. IV:16, 1*

### **Urban space, buildings and the geographic position**

I will now look for general, symbolically important elements and study how attitudes are developed as personal standpoints and as part of the personal histories of the townspeople. Another very lucid passage of this same informant is the following:

*As I grew older, Helsinki was the scene for my growing independence and for widening the sphere of the world. Adventurous tours around the town, to the Suomenlinna fortress and to newly incorporated areas at the end stops of the blue buses, were part of both my own development and of the expanding picture of my home town and its many different*

faces. Even then I could already guess that being a Helsinki inhabitant could be approached from many different angles, from Kaivopuisto (the diplomats' area), from Kallio (a workers' area), from Maunula (a suburb), and all these pictures would be different, but true. There were workers, gentlefolks, rural immigrants, and all from Helsinki. I was not sure about my own place: at times I wanted to come from one kind of place, and at other times from another. Master of Arts, IV:16, 3

Helsinki as a vast area, containing of different districts with different social stamp is obvious as well as the dynamic of the city in the formative years of the 1950s and 1960s. The entity of the Helsinki stories is on the whole created by the mixture of descriptive parts containing important urban elements, and other parts where the feelings of freedom, security - and insecurity - and beauty are verbalized. Sometimes criticism of the development of the town is expressed. Also the geographical position comes out as references to the weather, the differences between winter and summer and the fact that Helsinki lies on a peninsula with many islands and inlets. The sea, and the town as seen from the sea with the silhouette against the sky, are perhaps the strongest element in the positive pictures. I quote two descriptions of the same phenomenon:

*The most important element for me is the proximity to the sea. The sea shore -the Kaivopuisto shores. The image of the town itself: the seaway into the harbour. The silhouette of the town with the Cathedral and other towers and familiar buildings. There is no sight to equal this in beauty. It is like being embraced, wrapped into strong arms.* MA, author, born in 1935, IV:24

*As I arrive in Helsinki by boat from the sea, the morning mist will at first only let*



**The city's social heterogeneity, the mix of old and new and Finnish and Russian; Enso's head quarter designed by Alvar Aalto and the Uspenski Cathedral in the background. Helsinki City Museum.**

*one see the tower of the Cathedral. It comes out, takes form, you can see it from far away, it shines. This is always heart-stirring to me, I am coming home, I am coming to Helsinki.* Author, born in 1954, IV:32

The town is thus by these literary open persons seen as beautiful and inviting, and even as the symbol of home-coming. The built environment of the market square is meeting the natural elements as the boat moves into the inlet harbour. The sea as a natural element also comes up as references to childrens playing at the shore or moving dangerously on the ice floes. Another frequently occurring mention is the shores as experienced by walking along them. They have become familiar to the informants during walks at various stages in life. Some also talk about walks on the sunlit ice and about skiing to islands off the coast. Summertime is on the other hand depicted with a lazy tone, as hot asphalt and again trips to the outshore islands.

The architecture in itself is seen as beautiful, especially around the Senate Square, with the Cathedral. The center of the city is described as exciting. The fact that buildings listed in contemporary tourist brochures have a real meaning for the townspeople is revealed by the long lists of



buildings which are mentioned as incarnating the town:

*The most important impressive houses are, to my mind, the Senate Square with the surrounding buildings, the Uspenski cathedral, the Railway Station, the National Theatre, the art museum Ateneum, the Parliament Building and the National Museum. The Temppeliaukio church is impressive in its own way. In Eira, there are many beautiful houses, and also in Kruunuhaka. The Suomenlinna fortress is an impressive sight. Also, the wooden house areas in Vallila and Käpylä illustrate the times when they were built. The Glass Palace, the bus station building and the Tennis Hall are part of the picture. Maybe this is where you can see the Helsinki spirit. But this spirit also includes the main market on the south harbour and the Kappeli outdoor restaurant, the Hakaniementori square and Työväentalo (the workers' house), and the townspeople, the tramcars and the buses. Labour safety worker born in 1941, IV:41, 4*

Like in tourist brochures the informant also mentions the town dwellers themselves but in a more initiated manner. He knows the places and he has made up his opinions of them. In the lists of buildings, we thus frequently have stress on the same buildings as in the tourist brochures, but the places and buildings have been worn into the minds in the course of long lives. How the central areas in town were appropriated may also have to do with the first workplace of the person:

*I moved around the centre quite a lot with my work: first I was a bicycle messenger, and then I worked in a restaurant, travelling to and from work. What comes to my mind is the Railway Station, the Central Post Office, the Hankkija building, the Bus Station, the "Sausage house" (christened because of an architectural feature), the*

*Aleksi (slang for the Aleksanterinkatu street), the Kaivohuone building and the centre of Helsinki at night... The picture of the town consists of the buildings, the traffic, the streets and the people. Unemployed, born in 1941, IV:14, 7*

The environment as a totality made up of urban elements is strongly. We are still witnessing a city where traffic is a main element everywhere (Benjamin 1990, 93). But also a city that is captured by bicycle, an occupation that was the fate of many young in the 1950s and 1960s. A young person of today, just moved in and quickly rooted, will start in the opposite way:

*Is there anything good in Helsinki? Well yes, definitely! A beautiful and active lazy summer can be spent in many ways in the Kaivopuisto park. As a matter of fact I "move out" there every summer. There is park gymnastics, Roller blading, picnics and chess. The stairs to the Cathedral and its surroundings are a real "living-room" for the Helsinki townspeople...*

But she continues with the same references to symbolically important buildings, but mentions also important meeting places for the inhabitants:

*As a town for representation, Helsinki is unnecessarily shy. I would like some more life and movement. The symbols of the town are the Railway Station, the Cathedral and the Uspenski cathedral. Also, the (new modern art museum) Kiasma and the house of Parliament, and the Stadion with its tower. For the local people, the symbols are the clock outside the Stockmann department store and the compass at the main Railway Station. The town derives its character from the sea, the embassies and representations, the tipping stations in Hakaniemi-Kallio and the cafes where you can have beer. The spirit of Helsinki is best condensed in the*



**Helsinki with Suomenlinna in the background. Here is Helsinki's most popular walking thoroughfare. Helsinki City Museum.**

*Kaivopuisto park on a sunny summer's day, with many people, events, things to do, cliques. A kiosk vendor born in 1971, IV:43, 2,6*

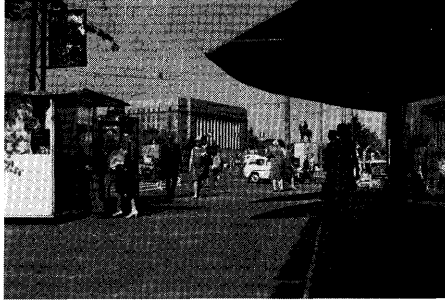
In many narratives the parks, both those opening to the sea and those lying in the centre, and the three different markets for greens and vegetables are said to contribute to a sense of homeliness and belonging. One narrative takes us to all parks with the same pride as in all former narratives:

*The parks, the lungs of the city, where of utter importance for our wellbeing. In my opinion also large green areas belong to the parks; Kaivopuisto, Alppipuisto, Seurasaari and the other islands as well as the graveyards. With the children we used to go to the Sinebrychoff park and also the graveyard of Hietaniemi was a superb place. There you could sit and feed the wild ducks and the squirrels and enjoy the landscape and the vegetation. Of course every*

*town dweller (stadilainen) admires the flowerbeds at the Esplanad. Informatian b. 1931, III:29, 3*

But negative phenomena are also mentioned: the noise and the pollution, the graffiti, the drugs, the roadworks and the destruction. Some regard the change, with the extinction of local shops, as particularly unhappy, whereas others rejoice that the city area has become so attractive, with new cafes and a generally more open atmosphere. Some speak up against the drunkenness in the streets, the ugly language used and the misplaced architecture.

Especially the innovations of the 1960s, with a department store and an inbuilt parking house facing the respectable Railway Station, and a main office block designed by Alvar Aalto in the centre of the South Harbour area, irritate some townspeople. Again, some looked forward with trust and curiosity to



the new possibilities offered by the modern arts museum Kiasma next to the Main Post Office, whereas others abhor this building. All phenomena are part of everyday experiences of the citizens, former experiences mingled with experiences of the city of today.

Also, the “stonetown” itself, consisting of blocks and of stone, is mentioned. These mentionings take the stonetown as granted, but fill them with the life they used to witness, in this earlier stage, only one street is here depicted:

*On the Iso Roobertinkatu street there was this milkbar Valio, with its “pirtelö”, nowadays called milkshake. There was also a shop for rubber wares... and at least three cinema theatres... and in the vicinity there were still many more, Gloria, Edison, Merano and Alice on Fredrikinkatu. Iso Roobertinkatu has stayed in my memory as a colourful distinctive street... At that street there was also a second hand bookshop, where we used to spend hours after school. Economist, born 135. III:45,4*

The fact that it has a somewhat old-fashioned and traditional imprint in the central part is appreciated. One informant says that no skyscrapers are needed. The human format, the public transports, the social services and the limited city area all contribute to the feeling of security. Even the townspeople themselves are said to

enrich the town. Are they the missing heroes?

### **Symbols of social situations and everyday life**

We are now already moving with descriptions that illuminate also the social side of the the everyday life. What makes these lists and descriptions more than a kind of vote for beautiful and less beautiful values is the perspective that the informants have. They pronounce their opinions on a town which they mostly know since childhood, the buildings and places they mention are things that they say mean much to them personally. The question “is there a special Helsinki spirit” is very rarely associated with the diplomatic sense of the expression. Instead the search for the Helsinki spirit often leads the thoughts to something more timeless and permanent:

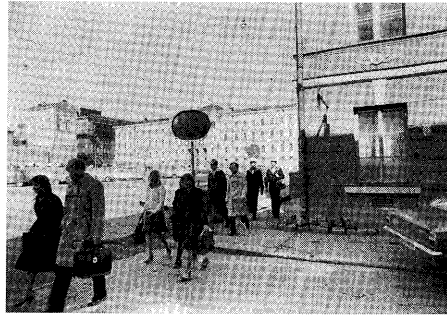
*I think that the best-known symbol of the town is the Havis Amanda statue. There are so many who want to be photographed next to it. The Helsinki spirit is concentrated in my mind as I enter the Esplanaadi park, there I have reason to remember... Helsinki has many great things, but there is also peace. Foreman born in 1925, IV:18*

The informants describe both the changes in the outlook of the town and the permanent features. The styles used, which are sometimes literary, give the narratives a tone of recognition and of identification with the town. The informants refer to types of behaviour that have remained the same for several years. A Swedish-speaking elderly woman from the workers’ district relates of Helsinki as a place for visitors and events:

*The main market was something that absolutely had to be visited during the fish market days, since every year, one simply had to taste the black bread from the Åland islands... Every New Year’s night, the whole*

family would walk to the Senate square to listen to the Mayor's speech. There was no tram, but we walked in the cold and the wind from Hermannin along all of the Hämeentie street and up the Unioninkatu street. Book-keeper, born in 1915, IV:6,1

Many of the informants revert to the days of their childhood in the 1950s and describe their impression of the town of these days, not paying attention to the official or modern image:



**The street as the town dwellers living room with nationally important buildings in the background: here the Parliament, and on the previous page the Government Palace on the Senate Square. Helsinki City Museum.**

*My Helsinki is from the time when I was a child, when the courtyards were alive with street singers, trash bin divers, potato sellers, long lines of washing and angry caretakers. We, the children, lived all this and saw all kinds of things. We became tolerant but perhaps a bit hard. The Swedish language was also definitely part of my Helsinki, as were the grocery shops, the meat shops, the milk shops and the paper shops. I loved the library in the Ludviginkatu street, and the swimming hall in the Yrjönkatu street. I learnt the basic rules for living close to one another. I loved the shop windows, because at that time they were beautiful and offered a child visual pleasures. The Helsinki of my youth offered... art exhibitions on Sunday mornings, movies, the marvellous homes of friends in personal blocks of flats, the tram trips, the hurry to catch the last bus, the spring evenings in the Kaivopuisto park, and the sea, the sea. Lecturer, born in 1945, IV:9, 1*

The home district as parts of the town is characterized in various ways:

*I loved Katajanokka and its smell of asphalt on a hot day, the echoes of children's clear voices in the pitlike inner courtyards, strictly separated from one another by high walls; the mysterious lofts and basement cellars; the din from the harbour; the architectural details and the familiar people moving around our own*

*courtyard. I could not understand that one of my aunts used to expound on my "ill fate to have to grow up in a stone desert like this one". Was she unable to see the rich stimulating environment that I lived in? I:55, 13*

*An everyday greyness, densely populated small dwellings, crowds of children, adults at work, life being more of everyday routines than celebration. No lustre, but as seen from the present day, alive with the gold of memories. That was Kallio of my childhood and youth, where I took root as a slow-growing rowan tree in a tiny nook of the Vesilintu hill. In those days, like today, Helsinki is to me the town. I:70, 10*

*So I lived in the old Rööperi area. Our block lay between the streets Sepänkatu, Albertinkatu, Pursiniemenkatu and Laivurinkatu. Actually, "home" was not just the dwelling, but to me, "home" was the whole building with the yard and Sepänkatu street as an outer yard. We spent much time there. But the borders of my area went further. They included Punavuori, Eira, Kaivopuisto, Tähtitorninmäki, Ullanlinna. Since we spent much time out of doors, in those days, those were the areas where we walked. The streets, the people were familiar.. There also lay my school, my hobbies.. We knew a few of the "kings of the street".. To me, the sea also belonged to us. We often made trips to the shores by*

**A characteristic place in the town: The Pentagon (in Swedish Femkanten) on the border of Punavuori and Ullanlinna, the district cinemas also constitute dear "place for memory", in the picture cinema Merano. Helsinki City Museum.**



*Kaivari, and to the little island Uunisaari. This marine imprint distinguished our area from so many others. I:41, 4, 6*

Stone in itself - or nature - are phenomenons to relate to. Only tree glimpses of the lists of the citizens of ones own house will show how the social situation is imprinted in the memory:

*The building was mainly inhabited by working people. Family fathers and most mothers were working outside the home. I cannot remember anyone unemployed living there at the time. They were decent and quiet workers: drivers, workers especially from the Kone lift factory, tram drivers and ticket collectors, tramway track cleaners, night watchmen and people working at a printer's. The women worked either in factories or in nearby shops. There were also some manual workers such as a dental technician, who had a car as early as the '50s, seamstresses and a tailor. The other car was owned by a family who had*

*a service station. The caretaker with his family lived by the other staircase. His sister Iita kept order in the whole building and especially among the children. I:73a, 2*

*Our building had quite many people with academic degrees: a meteorologist, a forester, a professor of history, a master of languages, a high-school engineer, a master of business sciences, and so on. But there were also shift workers, a night watchman, an entrepreneur, one-parent families, pensioners. Actress Ruth Snellman made a special impression on me, and so did the European boxing champion Eelis Ask; both lived by our staircase. Actually, the only uniting factor was the children in the building who were diligently cruising from one home to another, thereby also making their parents acquainted with one another. I:42, 2*

*The people living in the building were quite colourful: downstairs the Jews, whose boys we were teasing, and the Jews on our floor who had beautiful dark-haired daughters, the upstairs Jewish ballet dancer, Mother "rälläkkä" (a Salvation Army officer with an adopted son), Värtsilä engineers (the building may have been owned by the Värtsilä company), the genteel family of the manager of the building, families with children my own age, whose workplaces I was ignorant of. The father of my friend was a painter, their home was one room, a kitchen and a toilet, and four children. There were few spacious dwellings. I:22, 1*

The social, linguistic and ethnic cultures of the town, and the dichotomies, recur as a background element, but sometimes also find articulation, first a bourgeois view, then a worker:

*In the same way it must be said that the Helsinki of my youth was the bourgeois town, which was only spiced by the*

# Stadin stailein skuru skulaa taas.

Helsingin hienoin raitiovaunu kulkee taas.

## Se stannaa steissillä tasatunnein.

Se pysähtyy Rautatientorilla tasatunnein.

## Stikkaa ittes ineen.

Käy sisään.



HOK\*

Spårakoff vie taas pitkälle. Rautatientorilla tasatunnein 11-15 ja 17-22 joka arkipäivä ja lauantaisin 11-17; Oopperatalolta varittia yli ja Kauppatorilta puolelta. Spårakoff on tilattavissa yksityisajoon. Soita 040-548 0175 tai La Tour myyntiasasto 684 07420.

HUOM! Yksityisajoa ei perjantaisin, lauantaisin eikä ajalla 21.6.-31.7.

workers' quarters in Rööperi (slang for Punavuori). The other workers' areas, Kallio, Vallila, Hermanni and Toukola, were in fact unknown to me, foreign districts which, in my early youth, were even slightly frightening... The landscape of my youth was the centre of Helsinki, the cafes and the streets. Development manager born in 1952, IV:20, 5, 6

Perhaps the occurrence of the Swedish language and Swedish people in Helsinki has lowered the threshold to meeting foreigners, regardless of their skin colour. I do not think there were ever any problems in this respect in Hesa (slang for Helsinki)... The basic ideas of my life were reflected in the Stadi (slang for the town, meaning Helsinki) and its variety. A bilingual town, where the mastery of the second national language was approximately centered where the "gentlefolks" lived. Also, the strong division by the Pitkäsilta bridge, where this north side was the workers'

quarters, is very strong in my memories. Here, you learnt to understand that everyone did not have the same starting point, and that some had more than others. This was easy to accept, since the whole of the area where I lived was similar, so this is part of being a towns person. Unemployed restaurant worker born in 1941, IV:14, 2

However, what the informants say really belongs to them is neither the public face of the city nor the atmosphere of the centre, and not even the quarters of the childhood scene but more specific spots, such places as "daddy's house in the Punavuori area" (IV:24), "my uncle's and aunt's record shop on the Viiskulma square" (IV:9), the cemeteries (IV:10, IV:14, IV:23), a crevice at the south end of the Seurasaari outdoor museum (IV:31), and various places with a view (the Kallio church, IV:13; the Observatory hill, IV:23). These are places where the informants felt

Advertisement for Sinebrychoffs tram, which function as a pub. The text says: The city's most stylish tram runs again. It stops at the (railway) station every hour. Drop in!

safe as children, places where there is a strong feeling of the continuity of the family, places where the town can be viewed and embraced, and places where one can be quietly alone.

For those who move out from the centre of the city, there is one way of maintaining contact with that which is felt to be important:

*When I long for the proximity of the sea, we drive along the shore lane in Kaivopuisto, or walk there. The wonderful autumn storms in particular will take us to the shore of the Kaivari (slang for Kai-vopuisto), and there, the wind tears at us and blows our lungs full of oxygen, and the waves break and splash us with salty drops. We visit the herring market almost every autumn, and on Mayday we will naturally walk in the throng of people and go to the Esplanaadi Kappeli restaurant for a beer. The Stockmann department store is the main place where I have always bought clothes and special items.* Researcher born in 1938, IV:5, 7

There is a noticeable element of sensations experienced in cultural life, consumption and luxury, but also with nature; this is wholly compatible with the international trend in uniting local identity with the consumption of culture, goods and events (cf. Andersson 1997, 110). Important local aspects such as the traditional department store and the two carnivals of the town, that is, *Mayday* and *the fish market*, occur in most of the narratives. The carnivals are experienced as rites in the sense that people feel “obliged” to take part; they are also calendary festivities: on Mayday, summer-Helsinki wakes up to life, and with the fish market, the townspeople say farewell to the previous summer. At that time, the tourists have already left the town, which means that the fish market is a festivity for the townspe-

ople themselves (cf. Åström 1994). There are also mentions of more recent festivities and festivals. Since the 1980s there have been new mass events, such as rock concerts, the Night of the Arts, the Ladies’ Ten Kilometres, and the Helsinki Marathon; and also a number of other happenings for the townspeople, which have been accepted and appropriated, and this comes out in the narratives of the informants. That things happen in town is generally regarded as something positive and new: old borders are transgressed.

To sum up, I will quote a somewhat more critical and ironic analysis of Helsinki:

*A small city or a big town. Helsinki. Sometimes the soul is bigger than the body, sometimes it gets pompous. Something of Engel and of Aalto stills hovers over the town, there is some megalomania, something of a banana republic. The museums are oversized in relation to the population, the operas, churches and culture centres are oversized. Maybe this is a feature typical of a young country fighting for its place, its identity. But Helsinki is no Paris, no Rome, no Vienna, and will never be. Nor is this what I am looking for or have sought. In Helsinki there is something else, difficult to define, difficult to catch, volatile. Perhaps it is the proximity to the sea, or the short distance to St. Petersburg, or perhaps it is ourselves.* IV:28, 3

### **The way of reliving your town**

The ways of finding one’s own identity in a small city are manifold, but they all reflect the locality. The message contained in the verbalizations of the feelings of the townspeople quoted here seems to be that the place has put its imprint on the people. These quotes, I think, display part of a positive history of how the informants have experienced their town. A positive answer to the question “Who are we?” can itself

be seen in the fact that people want to express these experiences. The glimpses that we have had here of the full picture delimits the town in accordance with central symbolic areas, and at the same time, the picture forms the background to the personal identities of the informants. The symbolic elements in these pictures have been united with the townspeople's practices. The sea and the architecture of the imperial period, the parks and the core city, the islands with fortifications, zoo and bathing, the national monuments, e.g., the contrasts between the built and the natural environment is what the local people themselves set value on. The street as a home area and the salty sea breeze, the freezing cold and the intimate cafes, the difficult process of uniting the self-sufficient "original" culture with the previous agrarian lives of 20th century immigrants, the stressed town dweller's dream of a better world are difficult phenomena to outline. It seems however that the ordinary townspeople has been able to catch them while looking nostalgically back at the blocks where he or she lived in the past.

It also seems as if the different Helsinki informants would not yet be fully conscious of the "split in the urban space and the castration of the post-modern city, or the re-evaluation of old symbolic landscapes" as postmodernist researches define the cities of today (Andersson 1997, 108-109). The built environment with various national and local elements, and the interaction with nature, as well as the cultural fabric created by all the different people in the town, and the collective experiences of the town is still the history or text that all townsmen can continue to build on.

### **New dichotomies, new ways of dividing the town and the townspeople**

A way of exposing a positive history is thus

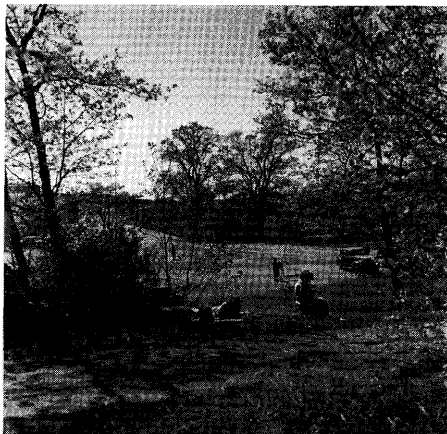
by means of self-definition, the way we speak of ourselves and of our town in relation to others. But even a positive story about "us and them" will always remain ambivalent. The "home districts" of the informants are often minutely described. We may thus regard the narratives as one way of outlining the informants relationships to their home districts (Heimat). Nevertheless, the writers seldom expressly use these words - the urban vocabulary shies away from them.

On the other hand, two frequently occurring words are *Stadi* (the slang expression for Helsinki) and *paljasjalkainen* (barefoot, i.e. born in town), and I will close by discussing them. The word *Stadi*, from the Swedish *stad*, is a nickname for Helsinki which has, during the last few years, occurred with increasing frequency both in the press and in daily parlance. The use of this word also means that the memory of an urban lifestyle is recalled to mind, a lifestyle that is felt to characterize Helsinki. At the same time, there is an effort to convey the meaning of the word to future townspeople. The word is intimately related to the local slang, which is called *Stadin kieli*, and consequently to those who used this language, primarily in the workers' districts and in gangs all over the old stone town and the earliest after-war suburbs. The use of slang occurred in a kind of "street boys' society".

Different parts of Helsinki also have nicknames in this slang, which is a mixture of Finnish and Swedish and which was, even at an early date, abhorred by the Finnish-speaking and the Swedish-speaking bourgeoisie alike. Nobody has denied, or now denies, that this was a genuine Helsinki feature. In the 20th century, interest in this language and in the style of life that it reflects, and the use of the word *Stadi* in many secondary meanings has increased tremendously. A slang exposition in the city exhibition hall, with



**The Esplanade  
Park is an  
oasis. Helsinki  
City museum.**



old photographs and texts written in Stadin kieli, attracted as many as 72,000 visitors, which is quite considerable. Primarily, old Helsinki people visited the exhibition. It was as if their subjective personal memories were thus reflected in public, so that the joint collective memories opened a channel. The remembering process could then be shared with others (cf. Eriksen 1997, 131).

The memories, which are also social in character, are thus based in the social reality where the informants lived. There are many who maintain that the old dichotomy, the division into workers' Helsinki areas and bourgeois Helsinki areas, today no longer exists. The previous sharp limits were so strong that they actually formed a constituting element in all the townspeople's ideas about the town.

It also seems however that the mental structure of the town would still require a basis of a "we and the others" dichotomy. The concept of the genuine town dweller, the "barefoot" one, could then function as an axis to which to affix one's identity, or as a way of pointing out the differences between us and the others. The fact that those who inherited the old Stadi culture now frequently live in the new suburbs and no longer in the blocks where their roots are, does not lessen the attraction of this

"belonging somewhere". As I have pointed out in another connection, this town culture, which used to be a marginal one, possesses many features resembling popular culture in general, such as traditions, ties to a locality, a requirement of authenticity, a language of its own, and now even a reconstructed costume (Åström 1998).

The opposition between the Stadi culture and the bourgeois culture is no longer pointed out, but to the contrary, the Stadi culture can have an attraction even for the inheritors of the old bourgeoisie. In the same way as one is happy to appreciate popular culture, one enjoys that one's childhood dialect in the streets is appreciated. The old social stigma of certain parts of town has now largely disappeared, and a gentrification of the inner town in combination with an intensified city and pleasure life is a fact. Stadi nowadays frequently refers to the whole of Helsinki, although it still mainly refers to the more central parts. Stadilainen refers to a person living in Helsinki, but there are still many old Helsinki people who find it important to make a distinction between genuine "barefoot" Helsinki people and people who have moved in later. In this case the "barefoot" people have higher status.

In this situation, appurtenance to Helsinki becomes something attractive, but also something raising strong feelings. When Helsinki had been selected one of the nine Capitals of European Culture for the year 2000, the special themes of the town were given as science and technology. And in fact, an enormous input in communication technology and science is a marked characteristic in the current development of Finland and Helsinki. In the second half of 1999, Finland held the chairmanship of the European Union. In this international perspective, the old Stadi culture seems to be on a small scale and something genuine, to nostalgically hold on to. But it has also been made attractive and

capable of development for young people, the slang can be taken further, the mundane and tough attitudes of the Stadi culture are well suited as a background to the fast-moving youth culture of today.

So everyone can create his or her picture of a Stadi culture which suits the personality, and an identity which matches or stands in opposition to it. However, the situation is not all that simple. Earlier, the Stadi culture was primarily anti-rural, although there was a relatively high urban tolerance level for other differences between those who were regarded as “from Helsinki”, and this is naturally an expression of the “us and them” mentality. Today the unanimity about the concept Stadi is nothing given, but rather, the word evokes polemics in different quarters.

The fact that the concept “stadilainen” works as a catalyst for many different approaches indicates an ambivalence in the identifications which is more fluctuating than what the town is as an environment. Nevertheless, the catalyst itself is important. With its aid, Helsinki and the people living in Helsinki achieve a social cohesion of another kind than what the town offers as an environment. It also counteracts the internationalization and the strong expected influx into the town. This concept, then, will become a basis for negotiations, providing cohesion between opposite opinions in a matter which *per se* is not unambiguous.

We are discussing different attitudes to what is “genuine” and what it means to “belong”, and this also occurs at the level of bickering. Negative attitudes towards other strangers, the “really other”, are still relatively inarticulate, but it is possible that they are based on negative self-images, both a general hostility to foreigners, and a stressing of the ethnic-national, the genuinely Finnish. I will give an example:

*Refugees and returning emigrants can at a cinch be accepted, if they come here in*

*great distress, honestly and without any crookedness. To behave as people behave here, modestly and satisfied with little, to work. There are too many immigrants and Russian-speaking returning emigrants who have come dishonestly and by crooked means only to take economic advantage, to live for free at our expense. Their demands for special treatment and special arrangements cannot and must not be accepted at the expense of our citizens and our townspeople... The lazy ones, the good-for-nothings, the crooked ones and the profiteers can be sent away from Helsinki and out of the country, no questions asked. Pharmacist, IV:54, 6-7*

This is no marginal voice. Yet against the background of the not too strenuous circumstances of the informants, the collected narratives often are a defence for an immaterial dimension of existence in the city, and is based on satisfaction with the opportunities to “do things” that the town offers, which both are ways of getting rooted in the urban environment. Consumerism is one element here, but only part of the total. Therefore, most of the narratives are stories about various experiences of the town. Such an appropriation and use of urban space as takes place at several levels and is based both on personal histories and on the present, works as a combined process, uniting the past with the present and fortifying the personalities. There are also positive conscious stories about how newcomers shoot out their roots, and these describe the process as a personal appropriation of space.

It remains to be seen if the ways of appropriating urban space in a positive way will stay sufficiently strong and open, so that they can counteract aversion against strangers and, instead, continue to introduce and generate positive self-images for various kinds of townspeople.

In the Proustian way the internal appropriation of a bygone space or world is, while recalling it, given a new and completed form, which also strengthens the identity of the narrator. The time and, here, the space long gone, are thus recovered in an "integral reconstitution of place" (Proust 1982; Mohrmann 1991; Poulet 1977, 66). The fact that the narrators themselves state that the experience of telling their story was gratifying, is a sign that such a mechanism was working.

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NILS STORÅ

## Commerce and Carnival: The Fish Fair as a Meeting-Place

In 1997, a total of 47 fish fairs were organised in Finland. In Åbo not only was the usual autumn fish fair held, but a fair was also arranged in the spring, too early (because of the ice) for people from the archipelago to be able come into town by means of their own boats. The times and places of the fish fairs over the year are given in the Fish Fair Calendar which is published by *Fiskeritidskrift för Finland* (Finnish Fishing Journal) (2/1997). Seven of the 47 fairs are called herring fairs, and among these is the autumn fair in Åbo, which is the one I will particularly focus on in this article.

Fish fairs are held both in towns and in the countryside, mostly on the coast, but also inland, where five fairs focus on the freshwater whitefish, or vendace. The fairs naturally mostly take place in market squares and harbours, or, as in Åbo, traditionally along the banks of the river, where goods can be sold directly from boats. Today, the fairs are organised by various organisations, in many cases fishing associations and fish businesses in cooperation with municipal bodies, but also by Lions Clubs and other non-profit making organisations. The fish fairs offer much more than fish in various forms and other foodstuffs. The organisers often aim at increasing the visitors' knowledge about fish as food, about the handling, breeding and cooking of fish. In addition, there is music, dancing, lotteries,

wheels of fortune and other entertainments. Various kinds of food are served as well as drinks and these are sold in, for example, beer tents. The archipelago fair in Eastern Nyland, held on the Lökören boat pier in the Broby village of Pyttis parish at the end of August 1997, is described in the calendar as "an event smelling of fish and tar", with "things going on from morning until late night". The fish fair in Kuopio is said to be "nationally important" and one of "the large fish fairs", which in 1996 attracted about 25,000 visitors. In comparison to this, it may be mentioned that the autumn fish fair in Åbo in the same year attracted approximately 170,000 visitors over four days. The prevailing weather conditions, understandably, have an influence on the number of visitors a particular fair will attract.

There is obviously a great interest in fish fairs today. What attracts people to them? Who are the visitors? What is the significance of the fish fairs today? In order to illuminate these questions a review of the fair as a concept is needed.

Ethnologists who have explored issues connected with local fairs include Matti Räsänen, who has studied the fair in Kuopio (1970), and Jouko Heinonen, who has dealt particularly with the fair in Rovaniemi, "*Rovaniemen markkinat*" (1974 and 1979), which has been the theme of both a film

and a popular song. More recent ethnological interests are represented by Birgitta Skarin Frykman's historically focussed studies (1993 and 1995) of the St Laurentius Day fair (*Larsmässemarknaden*) in Göteborg, in which she puts special emphasis on social groups, and by Anna-Maria Åström's article (1995), inspired by Bourdieu, on the fish fair in Helsingfors during the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a Finland-Swedish identity marker.

The concept of the fair is characterised by the fact that the time and place for trading are officially determined and advertised in advance in the calendar. As a form of trade the fair is annually reoccurring, short and subject to the control of the local authorities. Definitions depend upon which aspects of the fair concept are emphasized in each case, be they the financial or the social, commercial or carnival elements. As an expression of old trade policy that favoured towns and limited and regulated trade in the countryside, fairs have, despite the focus on trading, traditionally presented themselves as annual gatherings of people associated with church festivities or masses, political meetings, court sessions and tax collection (Staf 1935). Studying fairs as meeting-places for different groups of people is a given. Social anthropologist Börje Hanssen, who explored the social significance of fairs, regarded them as "focal points for the inter-regional contacts between strangers" (Hanssen 1952, 270f). The various groups that met at the fairs were drawn there by different elements within the multilayered fair complex. The fairs constituted meeting-places not only for producers and consumers. At fairs both in town and the countryside, the dominating category of visitors were country people. Free fairs were attended by a considerably wider circle of people than the local, separate fairs, and according to a royal charter of 1788, all fairs were to be free fairs

(Lindequist 1928, 463).

Fish fairs in earlier times can be regarded primarily as a place where archipelago dwellers traded their fish for grain and other necessities. Barter still took place to a certain extent at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mostly at the autumn fair in Uskela, or Salo, where predominantly Swedish-speaking people from the archipelago traded with mainly Finnish-speaking people from inland. There, unlike in Åbo, bartering could be carried out without the interference of the third party consisting of town merchants. On the other hand, the circle of paying customers formed by townspeople was missing at the country fair. Gradually, the number of Swedish-speaking townspeople and merchants decreased. Åström's point of departure is the strong Finland-Swedish element at the fish fair in Helsingfors, and thus the visibility of Swedish in an official context, as she emphasizes the symbolic meaning of the fair (Åström 1995, 135ff). However, fishermen from remote Finnish-speaking areas in the archipelago have also regularly attended the fish fairs both in Åbo and Helsingfors.

### **Fairs and fair traditions in Åbo**

The two most important fairs in Åbo have been the two annual St Henry fairs (*Henriksmässmarknaden*), that is to say the winter fair that started on 19 January and the summer fair, the "birch-bark fair" on 18 June. During the Middle Ages, these were the largest and most frequented fairs in the country. The autumn fish fair dates back to the free fair which was established in 1636 and started at "Mother mass", the St Mary mass (*Mariamässa*) celebrated on 8 September. Originally this fair was allowed to continue for three weeks. When it was introduced, both inhabitants of Finland and foreigners were given the right to "sell their produce from ships and boats", but it had to be done according to organised



*The herring fair at the eastern river bank in Åbo in 1987. Photo: Annika Jokiranta. Department of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi University (40776).*

forms (Bonsdorff 1894, 499f; Qvist 1909, 8). Later a fourth fair was established, in the form of a movable Lent fair in February, when people from the archipelago would usually come into town by horse over the ice.

In one of his newspaper columns, Ernst Lindberg provides a lively description of the events of the St Henry fair on 15 January in Åbo during the 1870's (Lindberg 1921, 73ff). Local merchants and craftsmen had prepared well in advance for the arrival of people from various parts of the country. "On the spot where the Hotel Phoenix stands today", he wrote in 1921, the merry-go-round constantly turned while music was playing and bells were chiming; in the tent next to it "the handless woman" and "the lifeless violin player" were on display, while a panorama of the Franco-German war created a sombre atmosphere. In the pleasure ground between the Market Hall and Kristinegatan, a waxworks cabinet invited viewers in to see Napoleon and Garibaldi, or "the beautiful Galathea with her rocking bosom", and "the dying soldier"

with a bleeding breast. The crowds amused themselves by throwing rings or games of shooting. Alcohol flowed, according to Lindberg, so that the whole town was like one big open public house. Already by the end of the 1600's, the town's authorities expressed concern about the harmful influence of the fairs on young people (Lindequist 1928, 466).

Alcohol was one of the products sold by distilleries in and outside the town, and the purveyance of spirits was traditionally connected with trade, as an important round of bargaining was often concluded by a confirmatory toast. This was a widespread custom, which could easily get out of hand, since the toasting was not limited only to the buyer and seller.

The fairs attracted large crowds of idle people and trips to the fair were included in the rights of servants. Maids and farmhands could find new employment at the autumn fairs. Skarin Frykman (1995, 27ff) points to the similarities with so-called hiring fairs in England. For young people, their first trip to a fair, like their first trip to

town, could mean a significant step towards entering the world of adults (see Talve 1960 and 1978), an event they impatiently waited for. Here young people could meet and form couples. Lindberg describes the fairs in Åbo in the 1870's, during which farmers' sons and their girls gather at the stalls of the goldsmiths Lundgren and Willgren to try out rings or finger brooches and earrings (Lindberg 1921, 75).

If the town's merchants and fish-buying bourgeoisie had a positive attitude towards the crowds that the fairs attracted, it must, however, be assumed that there were other townspeople who disliked the tumult, with all the shouting and shrieking that the fair days often brought about. A considerable portion of the visitors had not come for the commerce, but for the entertainments that were on offer.

### **Fairs and interest in the fairs**

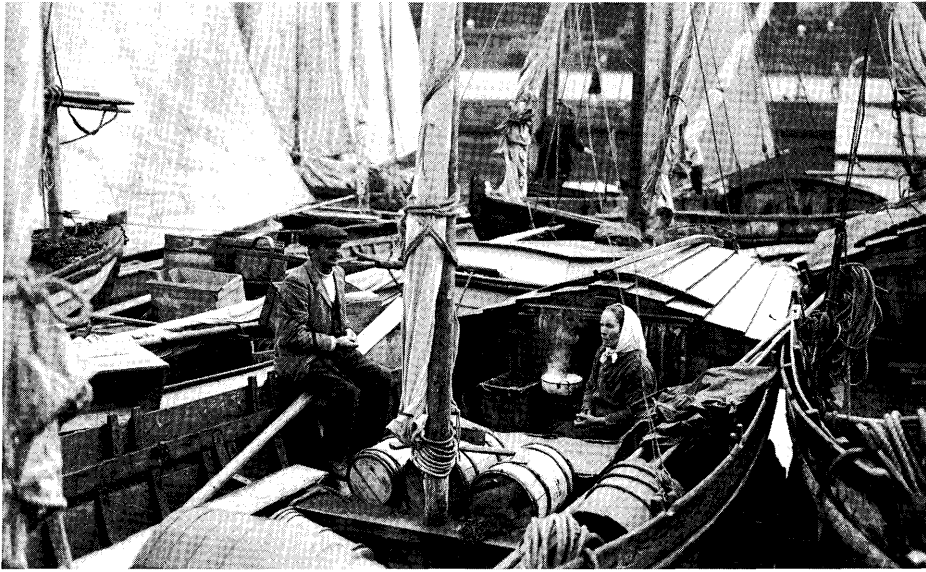
During the long period of existence of fairs, their nature has varied. It is usually emphasized that in the 18<sup>th</sup> century they were still largely an important and integrated portion of trade, but that they later gradually lost their financial significance.

As can be seen from the calendars published at the time, the number of fairs decreased significantly in Finland during the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Already by the beginning of the century, many fairs were abolished both on the coast and in towns and the number of days a fair would run was decreased. In 1821, there were only nine fairs left in the countryside, while the number of town fairs amounted to about 60. In 1867, there were only 20 fairs left (Lindequist 1928, 466ff; Heinonen 1979, 43ff). On the other hand, some new fairs were established, and the fact that a fair was abolished did not necessarily mean that people stopped gathering at the fair ground at the traditional time of the fair. During the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when

country trade was freed from regulation and transport gradually improved, the financial significance of the fairs diminished and instead the entertainments and drinking came to dominate. The variety of amusements was expanded; for example, dancing was introduced. This contributed to the feeling of carnival that came to be associated with fairs. The selection of goods became more variable, as all kinds of knick-knacks started to appear. The fairs now functioned more as annual festivities for the people, organised at the same place and officially announced in the almanac.

It has been claimed that the fairs had lost their actual significance by the beginning of the 1880's. It is, however, clear that they had such varied offerings that they could survive in some places and still attract large crowds. Not even the extensive years of war could completely break the enduring fair tradition. Some fairs were over time substituted by separate market-days, which were attended only by local people. Other fairs were maintained as specialising in certain goods, such as cattle and also fish. The best known fish fairs during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were those in Åbo, Salo and Helsingfors, all three of which mainly sold salted herring. Barter - exchanging goods for goods - still existed to a certain extent at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Spot checks in almanacs show that the number of fairs was just over 30 at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, while they amounted to around 20 from 1910–1960. In the 1970's, the interest in fairs increased again as the result of a wave of nostalgia that, for example, revived old folk festive customs (Heinonen 1979, 45). In 1980, the number of fairs had grown to 58 and in 1990 the almanac includes more than 150 fairs, which, however, are probably of greatly varying kinds. This number, which has increased immensely since 1970, thus also includes the fish fairs, which, as already



*Cuddy boats and longboats at the fish fair in Åbo, autumn 1922. Photo: Birger Lundsten. The Åbo Akademi Maritime Institute (I 373).*

mentioned, amounted to 47 in 1997.

### **Fish fairs and herring fishing**

The old winter fair held in January in Åbo was of little significance as a fish fair, since people from the archipelago were usually unable to come into town at that time of year because of the ice situation. The second St Henry fair, known as the “birch-bark fair”, held in June shortly before Midsummer, was more important in this respect. Here, the archipelago dwellers could obtain birch bark which was an important roofing material and usually unavailable on the islands. In 1850, more than 700 boats of various sizes arrived at this fair, which was the largest in Åbo at that time (Nikula 1973, 275). Most of the herring available during that season was fished with a seine-net and was not of the same quality as herring fished in the autumn. Nevertheless, the seine herring was salted and found a market particularly in Russia through Tallinn and other Baltic ports. The herring fished with drift nets during late summer and autumn was the best (Storå 1979, 141ff). This was the fish that was to give the archipelago dwellers

their main livelihood. Therefore the autumn fair was the actual fish fair. The fact that it was a free fair widened its circle of customers. However, considering the herring trade, the autumn fair in Åbo was held somewhat too early, while the important drift net fishing was still going on. From the perspective of herring fishing, the country fair in Salo and the town fair in Helsingfors were more convenient for many, since they were held later in the autumn.

At the autumn fish fairs the archipelago dwellers could sell most of the year's herring haul as salted fish. The buyers were partly townspeople, partly farmers from inland who could give grain and other goods in exchange for the fish. At the country fairs there were also purchasers who sold the herring on inland. At the market, the town dwellers bought fish and other food for a few days' supply, while at the fish fair they bought all the fish they needed for the whole winter. The trade at the fish fair obviously often depended on the return of the same customers year after year. In a newspaper advertisement for the fish fair in Helsingfors in the autumn 1895,



*Motor and sailing boats at the fish fair in Åbo 15 September 1931, some with the sail tent raised.*

*Barrels of various sizes with salted herring are still a visible element.*

*Photo: Birger Lundsten. The Åbo Akademi Maritime Institute (I 375).*



it is said that most of the archipelago dwellers have old customers that they have supplied with fish for many years. “Everywhere one can witness reunions, greetings and invitations”. The advertisement also mentioned goods apart from herring sold on a ship from Kökar in the Åland Islands: whitefish, butter, cheese, eggs, seal fat, smoked meat, down, feathers, black bread, nuts, decoys, empty gulls’ and other birds’ eggs. The most important merchandise, salted herring, was sold in tubs of various sizes, down to a sixteenth of a barrel. The fact that these small-size tubs were now mentioned reveals that the townspeople’s interest in this product had decreased. There was no longer a need to store food for a whole year and with an improving standard of living, salted herring was no longer such a favoured food. (Hbl 2 October 1895).

### **Salted herring: producers and consumers**

When discussing the goods sold at the fish fair, it is reasonable to assume that the staple produce at the fair in Åbo was salted

herring, even if herring in earlier times was also conserved in other ways, such as drying and souring (for details see Storå 1986 and 1988). Fermented herring existed during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but it did not survive in Finland as it did in Norrland in Sweden. Grilled and salted “coal herring” is also mentioned in the Åbo region as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Smoking did not become common until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at least not warm smoked herring. A publication on the conservation of fish (Reuter 1898, 3f) claims that smoking of fish (herring and whitefish) is done in Finland only in the Helsingfors region, where “the odd archipelago dweller” will warm-smoke fish to sell in town – using the same method as in the herring smokeries of Kiel and Lübeck. In the winter, it was possible to freeze herring when fishing with a winter seine-net.

In 1877, the autumn fair in Åbo was held on 19 September, and the salted herring sold so well that by noon very little remained of the total of more than 1,500 barrels brought to the fair by the archipelago dwellers. Over 200 of the 600 boats attending the fair had



**The fish fair in 1931 (see picture 3). Photo: Birger Lundsten. The Åbo Akademi Maritime Institute (1 374).**

been loaded with herring. About three quarters of the barrels are said to be measured, while one quarter were unmeasured barrels, where the fish was thrown in and not neatly layered. The newspaper article I quote complains about the fact the archipelago dwellers still (1877) did not realise the advantage of packing their fish in a “customarily measured vessel”, which would sell much better (Folkvännan 3 October 1877).

During the times when salted herring also formed a substantial part of the winter food of town dwellers, large amounts of salted herring were brought to the autumn fairs. To the fair in Helsingfors alone, between 15,000 and 20,000 barrels were brought every autumn at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Reuter 1898, 9). Usually, for one barrel of herring, one third of a barrel of salt was used, but the amount varied according to the kind of salt used.

There are many ways of preparing salted herring. The Ålanders, who also sold fish in Stockholm, had learned a good method from Gotland, and Finska Hushållningssällskapet (the Finnish Agricultural Society) spread

another method through the expertise of Ossian Reuter. *Method* meant that the herring was *layered* in the barrels. The old way was to *toss* the herring into tubs and barrels, which took much less time. At fish fairs in the 1890’s some ships from Åland advertised their herring by signs saying “We have herring salted according to method” (Hbl 2 October 1895).

Already during the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, salted herring started to lose its earlier status. There are many reasons for this. The fishermen who sold salted herring traditionally made their own barrels. The making of barrels and tubs was a skill required of all who sold salted herring. It was a craft that sons learnt from their fathers, an example of the tacit knowledge which attracts great interest today pertaining to the learning of cultural knowledge, both within ethnological and anthropological research. A young boy had to learn to handle more than just axe and knife. Tools needed for making tubs, usually of pine, were, among other things, various kinds of planes, the cross axe, various kinds of knife and files. For the hoops, which were made at a special

**Selling fish products at the herring fair in Åbo in 1986, at the eastern river bank. Photo: John Hackman. Department of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi University (39345).**



knife-bench, hoop knives and hoop hooks were needed.

To manage the many phases of making barrels was regarded as something of a test of manhood by the people in the archipelago. One had to make evenly planed staves, perfectly round bottoms, and split and cut hoops that tied together the staves with well cut joints, in order for the brine not to leak, and kept the bottoms in place in the notch on the inside of the upper and lower parts of the staves. Sworn crowners travelled around with their marking-irons and cans and tested out that the barrels corresponded to their measures: a half-barrel 24 cans (60 litres), a quarter-barrel 12 and an eighth-barrel 6 cans. There were models for each size, since the tubs were to have a slightly rounded form and the edges the correct angle so that the tubs could be pressed closely together.

Making barrels was hard work that was carried out periodically from autumn to spring. It took a long time and good wood was required, which was often hard to find in the outer archipelago.

The wood issue contributed to the decreasing demand for salted herring. As steam sawmills were established, sawn boards could be bought, but these were not watertight. The old way of making staves for the barrels were to split the pine wood so that the sap rings, where the brine easily leaked through, did not run across the staves. The fact that the timber was rafted to the sawmills additionally impaired the

quality of the stave boards. During the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the barrels became an increasing problem. In the 1890's an industrial company, *Brändö-Lemsjöholms fiskkärleksfabrik*, was founded and they sold ready-made barrels of good wood during a few years. However, the cost of these was too high for the fishermen in the archipelago.

The townspeople became choosier about their food. Their standard of living improved and their diet became more varied. Many people preferred fresh herring to salted. When times got harder, the interest in salted herring increased again, as can be seen during the First World War, the years of financial depression in the early 1930's and the latest wars. During the years of food shortage the demand for salted herring was so great that even all badly salted and prepared herring was sold. Bad produce contributed to the aversion against salted herring as soon as the shortage of food was over. Salted herring was increasingly regarded as poor people's food, as "shoemaker's salmon" and its role at the fish fairs diminished (Storå 1986).

### **The fish fair as a meeting-place today**

One of the big changes that have taken place from the perspective of the archipelago dwellers is that salted herring, which earlier totally dominated the trade at the fairs, gradually lost its significance. Today's concept of the herring fair no longer includes the tubs of salted herring which, loaded onto boats and piled on deck, constituted a distinct feature of the herring fairs in earlier times. The small plastic buckets of salted herring sold today are of no great significance. As long as salted herring was the most important merchandise, the working year of the herring fishermen was largely focused on the autumn fair. The whole year's income was basically dependent on the fish fair.

Interviews with archipelago dwellers today indicate that the income from the fish fairs still is of great financial importance for many. Another important function of the fairs is the encounter with other, sometimes previously unknown, fishermen and fish entrepreneurs, people with shared attitudes who have the courage to choose fishing as their livelihood. Many emphasize the feeling of community that the assembled archipelago dwellers and fish sellers experience today at the fish fair, regardless of their language. Here, the fishermen's identity is strengthened. Most of the Swedish-speaking archipelago dwellers today feel that they know Finnish well enough to sell fish. The fish is on display and "speaks for itself". Finnish-speaking town dwellers, for their part, understand that a relatively large section of the fish sellers are Swedish-speaking. The informal situation and the "fair atmosphere" make it easier to cross the language barrier.

It is also obvious that it is not only the increased interest in fish as food that has contributed to the townspeople's increased interest in the fish fairs. Even if the elements of old fair entertainment have disappeared, there is still space for amusements and knick-knacks, alongside a varied supply of fish for all tastes. There are even fish products that have more or less eliminated the taste of fish, such as sauna smoked herring ham, for those who do not like fish. Herring flavoured with garlic, dill, carrot, pepper and mustard compete with perch balls, pike burgers and salmon pies. At the 1997 herring fair in Åbo a competition for the best "delicacy herring" was organised. The awarded products included salted herring tartar and marinated, smoked herring rolls (ÅU 24 October 1997). Thus also salted herring, usually sold as shoemaker's salmon, is one of the products that have been developed further. There is tough competition from farmed fish. Despite the occasional debates on mercury



*Salted herring in plastic vessels and small wooden tubs are sold together with other fish products at the herring fair in 1986 (see picture 5). Photo: John Hackman, Department of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi University (39346).*

and polluted fishing waters, fish is today regarded as an attractive, healthy food. Advertisements claim that "Clever people eat fish".

Town dwellers used to impersonal supermarkets get into direct contact with producers at the fish fair. The concentrated supply of goods is another contrast to the situation in supermarkets. The interest in fish fairs can perhaps thus be seen as somewhat of a reaction against the negative aspects of today's consumerist society.

However, the most important function of fish fairs is perhaps still that of a meeting-place. A distinct feature of today's autumn fish fair in Åbo is "maritimely" dressed summer visitors and leisure sailors who after a few weeks in town re-encounter archipelago dwellers that they know or at least have had prior contact with. For them, the autumn fair marks the end of the summer season.

It is also clear that today's otherwise somewhat introverted town dwellers meet not only already established friends and acquaintances, but also make new acquaintances from amongst their fellow townspeople at the fish fair.

In the crowds along the river banks people move much more closely to each other than is customary, which contributes to the creation of a specific "fair atmosphere". It is impossible to keep the normal physical distance from other people. Bodily contact, so to say, is more permissible. There is no

need to show the total indifference to strange people that the contemporary person usually displays in, for example, lifts, where one is temporarily forced into a proximity which in a normal situation would feel uncomfortably intimate. The American anthropologist Edward Hall as early as 1959 (according to Crapo 1990, 188f) showed that the distance we place between ourselves and others can be interpreted as a message in non-verbal communication. He distinguishes between four distances of different lengths, where *intimate* is the shortest and reserved for situations where cuddling and touching are acceptable. The intimate distance is followed by the *personal*, after that comes the *social* distance and furthest away is the zone for the *public* distance.

Using this interpretation, the crowd at the fair is a situation where crossing the border between the personal and intimate distance is accepted behaviour, marked by a festive context of an informal character.

The external scene of the fair is today quite different from the times when wooden cuddy boats, longboats and the occasional *skötbåt* lay close to each other, creating a forest of masts, sometimes with the sails hung out to dry, fluttering in the wind. The number of boats, mostly plastic ones, is markedly smaller than before and the fish trade has moved up onto the river banks. The inland farmers have disappeared from the market scene, as have the barrels of salted herring. Despite the changes, the diverse fair tradition represented by the fish fairs still contains attractive elements.

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LENA MARANDER-EKLUND

# The Significance of Narratives and Narrating

## Introduction

This is Baltus, a fabular beast. It is not, however, an animal character in a story, but a visual presentation of a scheme of narratives that are used in classrooms today. In this lecture<sup>21</sup>, I shall discuss the functions and significance of narratives and narrating; why it is important to be able to tell stories, and the significance of narration for the individual. The examples presented here are taken from my research on stories of childbirth (Marander-Eklund 2000).

## Baltus – teaching how to narrate

The fabular beast Baltus is a concrete visual presentation of the basic structure of a narrative. Baltus is used in drama based pedagogy<sup>22</sup> (Hagtvet & Pálsdóttir 1992, cf. Østern 1994) in some comprehensive schools today, to teach pupils what elements to include in a story and the order in which they may be narrated – in other words, how a message is conveyed in narrative form. The children will learn that a narrative includes the following elements: an introduction indicating *who* is involved, as well as *when* and *where* the events of the story take place. After this, *the main action* of the story is narrated, with a treatment proper of the story's dilemma, followed by *its resolution*. In addition, an assessment or evaluation of the event itself is presented, along with a description of such integral

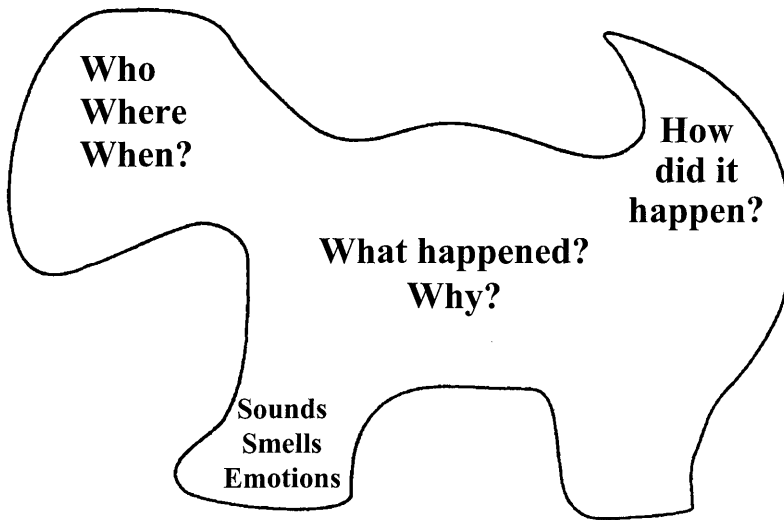
elements of the narrative as feelings, emotions and smell perceptions.

These are also the elements of which narration consists according to linguist Mieke Bal (1985), and that according to another linguist, William Labov (1972), constitute the basic structure or schema of a story. Schema refers not merely to a specific form of narration, but equates to an internal model, a general knowledge concerning a structure that helps organise concepts and events in the memory which can then be brought forth and re-presented when necessary.

These elements, which we can see constitute the fabular Baltus, also exist in narrations of personal experience as they are given in an interview situation where the interviewee is able to speak freely about the event. This study explores narrations of childbirth, where the narrations consist of an oral expression of a personal experience of giving birth to a child. It is an event that is narrated from a strictly personal point of view, taking place in a particular time and a space, by specific actors. Furthermore, the events are evaluated or assessed in one way or another. The events are narrated in the form of a plot where a problem is solved at a dramatic turning point – in this case the 'problem' is the delivery and the 'solution' is the birth of the child.

Today's school children thus learn to narrate by means of engaging with the

# The fabular beast “Baltus”



*Figure 1. The fabular beast “Baltus” – a visual presentation of a narrative structure (Freely based on Hagtvet & Pálsdóttir 1992: 90)*

fabular beast Baltus as a pedagogical tool. Baltus provides a narrative structure, a disposition that helps the pupil remember what the elements of which a story consists are. Baltus exercises stimulate linguistic awareness, develops story telling techniques, and helps the child produce texts of better quality (Hagtvet & Pálsdóttir 1992, 88ff.)

A question raised by the example of Baltus is: why do stories constitute such a vital form of communication, to the extent that it is taught in schools? Viveca Adelswärd is a linguist who considers the fact that children are taught the “right” way to tell a story, i.e. a way that is recognised by the listener, as a step on the way towards adulthood – becoming a fully functioning member of society (Adelswärd 1996, 24). In her view, the child learns to tell a story by co-narrating with adults. By co-narrating with the child, the adult trains the child to ask questions such as “when did it happen?”, “where was it?”, which in turn helps the child to understand what a story may be about or how an event might be

presented. Narrating stories is a basic cultural and social skill.

## **The function of narration**

Narration is a basic form of communication between human beings – a way of communicating experience and understanding one another. According to media and communication researcher, Professor Arthur Asa Berger, narration is an effective way of sharing ideas, because it is a means of learning about life, and of communicating what one has learned (Berger 1997, 9-10). Narratives are also a means by which an individual can arrive at an explanation of the world, giving expression to his or her own view of the world or of shared values (Hydén 1997, 9-10). Narratives can thus be seen as an analytic resource that helps us to develop social and cultural insights (Hymes 1981).

Albrecht Lehmann, a folklorist, distinguishes three main functions of personal experiential narration: an individualizing function, an identifying function and a comforting function



(Lehmann 1978).

The first, the individualizing function allows the narrator to reinforce her self as an individual. This is also pointed out by another folklorist, Charlotte Linde, who emphasizes the social function of narratives in creating and maintaining personal identity. Narrating is significant for creating our internal, private sense of self and a major resource for conveying that self and negotiating that self with others (Linde 1993, 98).

This function is strongly present in the narrations of childbirth that I have studied. They were all narrated in interview situations. I interviewed women who were giving birth for the first time; once before childbirth, once right after childbirth, and once a year after delivery. The interviewees are at the centre of their narrations, both as narrators and as the main characters of the narration itself. The women clearly had a need to speak about the event which was significant for them; something they narrated with feeling, and great enthusiasm. The story literally “bubbled out” of them. They were also pleased to have someone listen to them, and to get the main role as narrator in the interview situation, talking without being interrupted. During the interview, my aim was to create a situation where the interviewee was able to narrate the experience without being interrupted. I considered this strategy essential as a means of gaining narrations that in due course I could compare in form, content and meaning. This was essential also in order to let the women themselves decide what they considered important enough to be highlighted in the narrative, what message they wanted to convey – in what way they chose to present themselves. In these personal narratives the women giving birth are at the centre of the experience. They speak about giving birth in terms of their own physical experience, from the point of view of an empowered “self”. The physical

experience bestows structure to the narration, giving it form and content. The narrator, the woman giving birth, draws the listener into the sequence of events in a space with an intensified meaning, a time of particular significance. The events are narrated, dramatized and explained, all according to the narrative patterns she has access to. The narration is based on examples from expert literature, the media, maternity clinics, and narrations by other women. These narrative patterns shape the structure of the narration and, to some extent, its content as well, naturally in interaction with the general opinions of childbirth. The events that are narrated are assessed and reassessed in relation to perceptions of these external viewpoints on the woman’s situation in the present moment. Contents and themes of the narratives include expectations, pain, lack of control or hopes of controlling the situation, the functioning of the body and its intuitive responses to the situation, as well as a sense of exposure. The “I” of the narrative expresses both happiness and joy in giving birth, as well as feelings of fear and anxiety related to it. It expresses a wish for individual choice in the delivery itself – to be able to choose a safe and painless delivery *or* a delivery untouched by outside interference, with the facilitation of it as an experience being a key requirement. The narration confirms the narrators’ self-identity as birth-givers and as women; it is a heroic telling of a heroic deed. These childbirth narratives become self-presentations, a description of the narrator herself. She places herself in the position of a woman giving birth when narrating the story when it is told directly after the delivery, and mainly as the mother in the narrations given a year later.

The second function introduced by Lehmann is the identifying function, where the narrator formulates her membership of a group. Alf Arvidsson, a folklorist,

describes this as “narrating your group”, suggesting that the essential values of the group are expressed and repeated within the group in order to reinforce membership and belonging, creating a feeling of togetherness (Arvidsson 1998). This function was less evident in my research data than the individualizing function, quite possibly because I encouraged the interviewees to take the main role in the producing of the narrative. The narrations can nevertheless be viewed through a sense of a female community and the act of telling the story does bestow upon the narrator membership in the group comprising “we who have given birth”, which by definition excludes women who have not given birth. Women take great pride in talking about their performance in giving birth to a child. At the same time, the role of a mother is experienced as both surprising and bewildering. Their narration gives expression to those values which may be shared by women who have given birth, and the features of real, normal delivery. It also reflects the concept of a “real” woman who gives birth to babies.

Outside of interview situations, narrations of childbirth also have a pedagogical function, where the narrator gives her personal view of what may happen during childbirth. Narratives on childbirth can also have an entertaining function, despite the fact that some people consider childbirth narrations unpleasant to listen to, and despite the fact that anyone who has not given birth is excluded from the narrative community.

According to Lehmann, the third function of a narrative is to gain comfort. By telling the story the narrator aims at achieving an inner balance, at times even to reconcile herself to an unpleasant reality. This is often done by turning a negative event into something positive, as if to adjust something that has happened so as to come to a *happy end* version of the event by

narrating it (Lehmann 1978, cf. Virtanen 1982). Narrating an event is a way of making sense of experiences, structuring the events in a meaningful way, and in a way in which the narrator and the recipient may resolve a dilemma (Robinson 1981).

As I have already pointed out, the women giving birth felt compelled to narrate this significant event in their lives. Thus, in my view this kind of narration can also be seen as therapeutic: creating order by verbalising the event, analysing what has happened, and making sense of one’s own role in it. This also involves opening up sore points, revealing disappointments and difficult experiences. By making sense of the actual event and one’s role in a sequence of events, the narrator is also empowered in the situation. The narrator gratifies her own wish to tell the story and perhaps only rarely takes into consideration that her description may inspire aversion, anxiety or apprehension in the recipient.

One function of narration is ‘glossing over’. The narrators transform what did not go *so* well into a *happy end* version by making changes they can live with. With time, they become more critical about their own input as well as that of the hospital staff. The woman giving birth excels as the parturient. Narrating the event also involves dramatization and the story is amplified by evaluating the described events. This is done by repeating the descriptions several times with a sense of situation comedy and a comic tone of voice, using laughter as a means to ease a trying experience.

Narration is a way of conveying a message. The message may involve the experience of giving birth as such, with positive or negative comments concerning the day in the maternity ward, or the narration experience as such.

### **Message and identity – the power of narration**

Let’s go back to the question as to why

it is so important to be able to narrate; what makes knowledge of the structure of narratives so important that it is included in teaching today. There are two reasons for this. Firstly, narrations are a very effective way to convey a message, more efficient than non-narrations, such as descriptions of different kinds, and lists, including chronologies and tables – texts that lack a dramatic turning point. Secondly, stories are vital in forming our self-identity.

We are subjected to a stream of narratives. Narrations conveying a message, biblical metaphors, stories such as *Peter Struwelpeter*, or today's news. In the view of Ulf Palmenfelt, a folklorist, TV news has much in common with folklore. For example, the language used is very "down to earth"; events are linked in time and place, with names given to the persons involved. Events or incidents are narrated in a compressed form and with a very clear turning point, often as a battle between good and evil. Stereotyped roles are given to the 'characters' in the news; a person in power, the debater or the opposition to the person in power, the entertainer and the hero. The newsreader's introductions have their parallels in the introductory "Once upon a time..." (Palmenfelt 1995, 39ff.). It is no coincidence that TV news is structured in this way – it is an effective way to trigger emotions, be it aversion or sympathy, and to convey the message compellingly.

Why is it so important to tell stories about yourself and your personal experience? According to sociologist Anthony Giddens, autobiographical narratives and the formation of self-identity share a lot of common ground. In today's post-modern world, it is no longer the *great* social and political narratives that our lives are structured by. Interest in self-narratives can be seen as an expression of self-reflection and modernity, the kind of self-reflection that is a prerequisite for identity forming

(Giddens 1991, cf. Lyotard 1984). The individual becomes "a somebody" through stories and narration, as opposed to being a nobody, "a zero". In her study of life-stories of criminals, ethnologist Birgitta Svensson has been able to draw the conclusion that her subjects preferred their criminal identity to that of being "a nobody" (Svensson 1997).

The spirit of the times insists that we all should be placed in a context. Everyone must continuously strengthen their identity in relation to their environment. Narratives are a way to form this identity, a way of saying who you are.

#### NOTES

<sup>i</sup> *Lectio praecursoria* (introductory lecture at doctoral disputation) 14 April 2000.

<sup>ii</sup> I would like to thank MEd Petra Örn who introduced Baltus as a pedagogic tool for my children and also helped me get more information about this type of pedagogy.

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ANN-CHARLOTTE PALMGREN

# In Search of the New Man. Masculinity in the New Men's Magazines

## Introduction

Making the right choices in life is increasingly important in our present time, which is characterised by reflexive thought. Previously, magazines for men have been mainly focussed on one issue, for example, hobbies, pornography and comics. Many men have primarily read newspapers. Today, there is a relatively large offering of men's magazines - magazines that partly resemble the women's magazines that have been on the market for quite some time - and they contain articles about most aspects of life. Men's magazines started to appear on the Finnish market in the mid-1990's, but they have existed much longer in, for example, the USA, where they originated. These new men's magazines are intended for men of various ages and lifestyles. Contrary to the hobby magazines, these men's magazines contain articles on a wide range of subjects, in order that all readers may find something they are interested in. The magazines deal with relationships, music, film, sex, technology, women, fashion and everything men are assumed to be interested in.

Many media researchers presume that gender behaviour is increasingly moulded by our contact with the images, concepts and values communicated by the mass media. In today's society, mass communication represents the major part of all communication. The concept of masculinity has changed over the last

twenty years. Nowadays, men are also perceived as objects. Masculinity has become both sexualised and feminised by the media. It is now acceptable for men to be soft, passive and body-conscious in advertisements, although they remain strong, in control and dominating (Ekman 1995, 68f).

My aim in this article is to explore today's male roles and ideals by analysing the new men's magazines. I have primarily focussed on two magazines. I have also chosen to interview men in order to gain an understanding of how they perceive the masculine ideals prevalent in today's society as well as what they think of the new magazines. Does the everyday ideal correspond to that presented in the magazines? As my article deals with men's magazines, I find it relevant to explain concepts such as masculinity, gender systems and constructed gender. I agree with the theory that gender is socially constructed, primarily on the basis of the nature of my research problem: I suspect that these men's magazines are attempting to convey a way in which a man can achieve masculinity through the acquisition of certain attributes.

## Problems and theories

I have chosen to divide my introductory sections into firstly a specification of problems and then a presentation of theories. I will start by specifying my area

of research, identifying the main questions and the subsidiary questions. After that, I will discuss theories and explain concepts that will be used in the article. I have opted to give the theories and concepts ample space, since men's studies is a relatively new area of research, and my definitions of the concepts are fundamental to the argument.

### **Problem specification**

The main problem of my study is the masculine ideal in the new men's magazines. I explore what kind of masculine ideal the reader is encouraged to aspire to. I ask whether these magazines for men are entering into a "search for the new man". I will therefore analyse men's magazines and interview readers and non-readers of these magazines. Furthermore, I will ask what masculinity represents in today's society and the culture in which we live. What norms should a man follow in his life? What is masculinity?

Since I use, amongst others, theories on the construction of gender, I will also ask how a man becomes masculine and what the men's magazines present as being masculine. Are the magazines trying to teach their readers to become men? In addition, I wonder whether masculinity is being redefined. Will the currently prevailing masculine ideal disappear? Do the readers experience a feeling of male fellowship? And further, do the magazines communicate a certain beauty ideal for men? Is there a masculine jargon in the magazines? How do the magazines differ from each other, depending on their target group?

### **The gender system**

The concepts of gender and the gender system are frequently used within ethnology. Gender can be defined as the socio-cultural aspects of the division of the human race into two sexes. The concept of

gender can be studied at three different levels; that is, at the individual and the conceptual level, and at the level of social organisation. The gender system is an overall description of these levels in a certain society (Åström 1990, 16f.). The gender system could thus be said to be the mutual social and cultural organisation of the sexes. The gender system permeates all forms of cultural expression in a fundamental way. The interest in problematising gender has increased within ethnology during the last decade. Within this discipline, gender is usually studied with a focus on how it affects the overall cultural reality. In this article, I will study gender at the individual and the conceptual level.

There are two basic principles operating within the gender system. Firstly, the sexes must not be mixed, and secondly, man is the norm. These principles can either both be accepted, or both can be rejected. In addition, one might be accepted while the other is rejected. Various strategies have been used during different stages of the women's struggle. It may be asked, whether men in their struggle to maintain traditional masculinity only use strategies that directly or indirectly aim at preserving male dominance. Could it, however, be in the interest of men to diminish the difference in power between men and women (Cox 2000)? The idea of what is masculine varies considerably between cultures, contexts and historical periods. Within some cultures men are allowed to cry, while this is a taboo in others. Nevertheless, we know that gender is fundamental for our individual existence. This is one of the basic principles of social life, according to M. Kimmel, researcher in men's studies (Ekman 1995, 136).

### **Masculinity, manliness**

In Swedish dictionaries we often find that the word 'masculine' (Swedish: *manlig*) is defined as the opposite of feminine. Then

Slitz, for men  
who are  
allowed to  
kiss beautiful  
girls.



follows a list of characteristics such as brave, noble, strong, courageous, virile and fearless (Svenska Akademiens and Språkdata 2001). In a dictionary published by the Swedish Academy, masculinity stands for bravery, courage and capability (Ekman 1995, 40). Society is still, to a great extent, a male society. Man and his interpretations subconsciously saturate all cultural values. Previously, it has been almost impossible to pose questions about men, and it has been too complex to describe masculinity. Partly this is, of course, due to the fact that men form a heterogeneous group, partly that men have been invisible. Man is invisible because he is the norm. Man has been taken for granted (Ekman 1995, 133f.).

Conceptually, both masculinity and the male role are perceived as static. This does not reflect the fact that they are processes, and that masculinity is constructed. Such concepts do not take into account that men are different from each other. Instead of masculinity, then, such concepts as masculinities and male identity may be

used. These concepts facilitate an understanding of the fact that a man undergoes a process of development. Masculinity is thus something that is formed within the male individual in relation to everything that exists outside him. Primarily, masculinity is to be regarded as a social and cultural construction. The term masculinity simply refers to those stereotypes, ideals and expectations aimed at and associated with men in a given society (Ekman 1995, 101ff.).

Our society is imbued with an enormous quantity of invisible rules. Usually the point of departure referred to in discussions on masculinity is the cultural patterns for men's expected or assumed behaviour. Masculinity is seen as both a mental and a social structure, depending on the prevailing patriarchal circumstances. There is a stereotypical image of man in today's society. We must, however, keep in mind that masculinities irreconcilably differ from each other, depending on the position of the men in the contractual power hierarchy. Besides, the masculinity of an individual man is based on his personal situation in life and his unique experiences (Haddad 1993, 313). During the late 1970's, men considered masculinity to stand accused for several crimes against women, children and other men, primarily homosexuals. Since the 1980's, men's groups have attempted to counter these crimes by, for example, starting men's movements (Haddad 1993, 37ff.). Men have become aware that masculinity is a problematic concept not only for men themselves, but also for women, homosexuals and other men who do not conform to the standard dominant masculine ideal. Men have therefore realised that masculinity must be reconstructed. Masculinity would then instead form a valuable source for men (*Miehyyden tiellä* 1993, 13ff.).

Sports comprise several stereotypical

elements of masculinity: comradeship, competition, hierarchy, legitimate emotions, control over injuries, limitations, codes, anxiety and distinction (Badinter 1994, 106ff.). Team sports are often more important for boys than for girls. Pre-school girls and boys are prone to play with children of their own sex. The tendency towards grouping according to sex is strengthened from the age of 6–7 and up to puberty, when subcultures with both male and female emphasis start to arise. Sports involving competition, aggression and violence are regarded as the best way to foster masculinity, particularly in the USA, but also to varying degrees in other cultures (Ekman 1995, 44).

### **Constructed gender and essentialism**

What are the reasons for man being what he is? The most common view is that a combination of biological and environmental factors influence the way in which a boy is formed into a man (Ekenstam 1998, 11). Generally speaking, there are two ways of regarding the institution of gender. One talks about constructed gender, while the other talks about essentialism. Essentialists seek a genuine and authentic masculinity. The interest in essentialism increased in the early 1990's. According to this view, the human psyche is not formed only according to the individual's own biography, but primarily by the collective unconscious and archetypes embedded in the human spiritual and genetic heritage (Ekenstam 1998, 12).

Constructivist researchers claim that the focus should be on exploring the social construction of various types of masculinity. The construction is influenced by several dimensions (Haddad 1993, 43f.). According to pure constructivism, masculinities are only constructed ideas of what men should be like. Masculinities do not reflect what men are actually like

(Haddad 1993, 37ff.). Researchers have claimed that if men are aware that their masculinity is a social construct, they may then choose to reconstruct their masculinity according to a more ethical line. Men would understand that neither they nor any other person has the right to use violence and power (MacInnes 1998, 83). According to Freud, human sexuality is not a biological product, but primarily a cultural and symbolic product. Thus, sexuality is a product constructed by society, and therefore something learnt (Ekenstam 1998, 12). In addition, there is the view of essentialist constructivism. According to this school, a child is formed during his or her early years (Bengtsson & Frykman 1987, 9). In this article, I will primarily use the theory that gender is socially constructed.

### **The male role and male ideals**

Research on gender roles was a growing field within cultural and social studies at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Bengtsson & Frykman 1987, 14). The most fruitful approach seems to be to explore how male identity is formed by cultural and social factors. However, this presupposes that the definitions of roles within a culture are relatively uniform. And, as we know, male roles have varied according to class and age, power positions and in relation to female roles (*Mannen i förändring* 1983, 34ff.).

In order to really understand the male role, we must therefore look at how the role or the various roles have been formed. We can ask what the prevailing norms are for the behaviour of boys. How are the norms developed and conveyed? Expectations and influences from his environment are, of course, crucial for a boy's development into a man. Boys experience demands to be men very early in life. The demands not to be like girls trigger dependence in boys, primarily in relation to their friends. It seems to be part of the upbringing of boys



to learn to be suspicious and guard oneself. There are also strong taboos. Men do not dare appear unguarded in the way women do. Men often have the attitude that everything might be used against them. Therefore they cannot talk about feelings with other men. A pattern in relations between teenagers is to appear "the least interested". Researchers claim that in this way youngsters engage in games with each other. The point is to gain power in the relation by caring the least. Revealing emotions also means revealing that one cares about the relation and thus losing power. It means appearing to be weak in front of others (Bengtsson & Frykman 1987, 18).

The male liberation during the 1970's tended to describe the male role as defective. Deep down, men, like women, were good at heart but culture and society had bound them in the straitjacket of the role. It was assumed that the traditional male role made men do nasty things. Men became aware of this, primarily through the women's movement, and those showing most insight wanted to come to terms with the role. The most sensible thing to do was to let men take care of female chores at home. Some researchers think that if today's men had grown up with their fathers taking care of them at home, they would be better equipped emotionally. Thus, the new man lives in a clear contrast to an old reprehensible masculine ideal. The physical, challenging macho man, who had not realised the value of softness, differentiation and the will to talk about his problems, was seen as the stereotypical image of working-class men (Ortman 1970, 14).

Despite the cultural change that is taking place, and which has been taking place over the last century, it is still a common assumption that boys should be active, tough and sporty. An effeminate boy is not as appreciated as a masculine boy (Ekman 1995, 123). In my opinion, the view within

Nordic culture today is still that boys should be manly. It is true that a greater tolerance of femininity has slowly grown, but the male norm does still not allow men to carry out certain more feminine jobs, such as childminding and cleaning.

The attitude towards masculine characteristics can vary depending on age. According to, for example, men's studies researcher Daniel Ekman, important masculine characteristics at a young age, around 24 years, are the ability to function in a family, responsibility and foresight (Badinter 1994, 152). I also asked my informants what kind of male ideal they have perceived, and I will present their answers further on in this article. I think the attitude to masculine characteristics to a large extent depends on a person's situation in life. For example, 24-year-olds exist in a wide variety of situations and have different lifestyles.

Apart from the characteristics mentioned above, the general view is that men should experience strength, control, potency and success according to the norm for the ideal male role. By contributing to the upholding of this unattainable image of masculinity, one heightens the painful feeling of inadequacy among today's men (Badinter 1994, 208). At the moment, it seems as if young men can feel comfortable neither in the soft nor the hard masculinity. They are first generation heirs of a transformed masculinity. Young men appear to find it difficult to identify with their fathers, since young men today are sons of masculine mothers and feminine fathers (*Mannen i förändring* 1983, 24ff.). At the same time, society is dominated by men and the opinions, values and perceptions of men are prevalent. The present assignment of roles is thus problematic for both men and women.

However, all men do not hold power in society. The powerless are situated in a hierarchical structure which is the actual

condition for the power and dominance of men in the crucial higher positions in society. Most men have been brought up not to break free from these hierarchical structures (Cox 2000). Besides, men today manifest their masculinity primarily through success in working life. Today's economy is global. Companies invest in specialised production and move factories between countries (*Mannen i förändring* 1983, 24ff.). This can result in it being both more difficult and more attractive to manifest one's masculinity. Masculinity is something that men can lean back on even if they have to move from country to country in order to find work. In this way, they strengthen their position in society and the hierarchical structure.

A modern man must split his personality as he moves from one place, group or activity to another. His various sub-selves need have no connection with each other. The labour market is based on principles of profitability and efficiency. The increasingly bureaucratic system demands impersonality and emotional control. The male role thus requires that men possess self-control. This is a prerequisite for being able to act rationally, compete and achieve results. This pertains to all men, but takes on various expressions depending on social position. The privileged man is focussed on self-realization and success. Most other men are focussed on fulfilling their duties, for example as breadwinners for their families (Conell 1999, 9).

### **The image of man: men in the popular press**

During the 1930's the strong man was the ideal. However, much has happened since then, from furriness and reflectiveness, to the 1980's pinstripe suit fashion and aggressive stubble. The man of the 1990's is portrayed in advertisements as at least as vain as his female counterparts. Even if the image of men in the media differs

immensely from the everyday life of most men, there is always a connection between fiction and reality.

Masculinity has become a popular subject during the last few years in all industrialized countries. Some of those who have worked with the subject for a long time have shown some dismay concerning what catches the media's interest in men. According to many men's studies researchers, the most popular books on men are full of vague thoughts (MacInnes 1998, 1f.). But why is writing on masculinity so popular among men? One theory is that modernity has systematically weakened the patriarchal society. Men have seen a great deal of diminishing of their power over women. Gender is, in a way, an ideology that is used by people in modern societies in order to perceive differences between men and women based on their sex. The perceptions help individuals understand that they live in a society which is unequal even if it is formally equal (Ortman 1970, 130f).

### **Death of the old male image**

Lately great technical changes have happened very quickly. More information reaches us at a rising speed. Mass media increases our knowledge and we get an insight into a growing number of incidents. The world is shrinking. All this has impelled us to change our attitudes. For example, we realise that conventional and traditional behaviour and prevalent ways of thinking are not always the best. Since many old values have lost their significance and been replaced by new, many people have become insecure and confused. Some strive for freedom to begin with, while others want to live even more freely than they already do. We become unsure of our gender roles. For example, a small boy still encounters the old masculine image in his childhood. He is thus unprepared for his future family role. Demands on masculinity arise everywhere (Salonen 1995, 187ff.). In

addition, men live in two worlds. One world is inherited from their fathers, and is a world which no longer functions coherently. The other world, on the other hand, advocates a masculinity which is not yet developed enough to function. The new man should defend, but not attack. Man is vulnerable and needs care, but he should also protect others. He should be both strong and weak. Men should be perfect, but no individual can ever be perfect (Ekenstam 1998, 242f.). Cultural liberation, self-reflection and individualization are signs of modernity. This does not, however, pertain to all in the same way and to the same extent. Social and cultural gender are factors influencing this (Badinter 1994, 149). Thus today's male image can not totally die, only gradually change.

### **Superman and the four imperatives**

The definition of the male role formulated by two American university teachers is, to a large extent, prevalent in Western culture. Robert Brannon and Deborah S. Davies claim that a man who obeys four imperatives is superman. An example of this superman whom the masses have dreamt of for a long time is the so-called Marlboro Man. Most cultures have adopted this masculine ideal and created their own versions of it. The four imperatives are the following: "*no sissy stuff*", "*the big wheel*", "*the sturdy oak*" and "*give 'em hell*". By "*no sissy stuff*" Brannon and Davies refer to the expectation that men should not do anything feminine or effeminate. Even if it is known today that men have the same emotional needs as women, the stereotypical male role forces men to sacrifice a part of their humanity (Cox 2000). Women are aware of the significance of their gender identity, while men continue to live according to the first commandment of masculinity: "*no sissy stuff*".

Similarly, today's young men should

learn to feel safe, secure and self-confident in their masculinity - and not follow the stereotypical male ideal. Those who are not securely rooted in their masculine identity continuously feel their masculinity being challenged and are forced to always prove to themselves and others that they are real men and no sissies (Badinter 1994, 129f.). "The big wheel" means that man is a very important person. He must be better than others. The scale for masculinity is thus success, power and corresponding admiration. "The sturdy oak" refers to the fact that men should be independent and only trust themselves. "Give 'em hell" is an expression for men having to be stronger than everybody else - even by using violence if necessary (Cox 2000). These masculinity rules are passed on from generation to generation. There is one man who, still today, is a symbol for these ideals. He has been the most admired masculine hero in the USA for many decades: John Wayne. Clint Eastwood could also be called a superman of our times.

### **Methods, source material and choice of method**

I will present my material and methods in two phases. First, I will explain my choice of working method. After that follows a presentation of both informants and the men's magazines I have analysed.

I have chosen to focus my analysis on two men's magazines, *Slitz* and *MG*. Both of these are relatively new on the market. I have read all the issues published in 2000 in order to get a clear view of the contents of the magazines and their attitude towards man. I will primarily analyse recurring subjects of the magazines' articles.

In addition, I have interviewed four 23-25 year-old men, who are all students. The very limited age group of my informants needs to be explained. I have chosen this age group because the magazines I have analysed are primarily intended for this

group. Two of these men read men's magazines, while the two other are non-readers. I have interviewed non-readers in order to find out what their opinion of the magazines is, and whether their male image differs from that of the readers. I used slightly different sets of questions for interviewing the two groups. I also quickly realised that it is easiest to find men who do not read men's magazines or at least do not admit to doing so. It seems that reading magazines is something shameful. I assume this might be explained by the countless women's magazines that have existed for a long time. Men are possibly afraid of being labelled feminine. I get the impression that reading pornographic magazines is better tolerated among men than reading men's magazines, probably because this is regarded as masculine. It was, however, interesting that one informant who reads men's magazines said that:

*I don't know, it's the same as for girls and women. It is like the same kind of magazine but for the other sex, more like that. It's not like, it's not so to say any kind of porno magazine in that sense... there is a clear limit there.*

In addition to the two men's magazines that I have analysed, I have also read a few issues of other men's magazines. I would have liked to analyse these, too, but I chose to only get a quick overview of other men's magazines, primarily in order to confirm that the two magazines I had chosen were also representative of the rest of what is available. Most men's magazines do have their individual profiles which differ somewhat from each other, depending on what group of men and also what age group they are intended for. Since all my informants are about 24 years old, I have assumed that men of this age might be in slightly different life situations; some might study while others are in working life, some

might have a family of their own while others are single. I think the lifestyle and life situation of the men influence their choice of magazine.

### **Presentation of the informants and the source material**

As has been mentioned above, my informants are men between 23 and 25 years of age. All of them are students. Two read men's magazines, while two do not read them. One of the readers has been exchange student in the USA and the other reader has done a work placement in the USA. This is interesting, since men's magazines originated in the USA. Both non-readers have only spent shorter periods abroad as tourists. One of the informants studies at Sydväst Polytechnic, while all others study at Åbo Akademi University. I discern no differences between the hobbies of the readers and non-readers; these include music, TV, books, shares, socialising with friends and weight training. Geographically the readers come from Ostrobothnia and the non-readers from Nyland. All informants currently live in Åbo.

The magazine *Slitz* is intended for younger men, while *MG*'s target group is the mature man. This is obvious from the headlines, covers and contents of the magazines.

My first object of analysis is the Swedish magazine *Slitz*. A Finnish-language edition of *Slitz* is published in Finland, which primarily contains translated articles from the Swedish magazine. I have chosen to only analyse the Swedish *Slitz*, since there is virtually no difference between the Swedish and the Finnish editions. Besides, all my informants are Swedish-speaking, which makes me assume that they also read the Swedish edition of the magazine. All the editors at *Slitz* are men. At the top of the cover, there is always a sentence starting with the words: "For men who...", for

example, "For men who get to kiss beautiful girls." or "For men who only live twice." The target group of the magazine are men aged 18 to 35. The magazine contains articles on sports, film, computers, politics, music, women, gadgets, clothes, sex, living together, food, training, drinks and entertainment.

Apart from the above themes *Slitz* also contains articles on everyday life, usually something associated with the military. In addition, the magazine has a column for readers' questions, where a woman answers men's questions, and interviews with well-known men, as well as a section called "Manual", that is, "the ultimate style guide for men". "Manual" uses sub-headings such as "Style news", "Pure style", "Object", "Expert", "Training", "Motor", "Technics" and "Materia". As these headings suggest, "Manual" contains tips for men on clothes, fashion items and gadgets. In "Pure style" men are taught manners and the art of being a gentleman. In "Expert" experts on religion & spirituality, food & training, skin & body care, sex & and co-habiting and economy answer readers' questions on virtually anything. "Training" consists of, for example, tips on how to train a certain body part, and sometimes also introduces new training equipment. The cover of *Slitz* always features a scantily dressed, famous woman.

*MG* is a Finnish magazine. Most of the editors are men. The target group is somewhat older than that of *Slitz*, that is 25–45 years. The magazine always contains a section called "Men's world" with articles on film, media, music, books, events, gadgets, style icons, bistro, gastro, health, "your place or mine", and "what you must get yourself". The book reviews usually present so-called male books. By this I mean that the books are mostly written by men or deal with fatherhood and related matters. The gadgets are small things, funny presents and the like. "What you must get",

on the other hand, presents, for example, new, expensive telephones, cameras and dressing-cases. Style icons are older successful men, who present some of their more valuable possessions. Bistro deals with drinks and gastro with food. "Your place or mine" consists of pictures of a scantily dressed young woman. In addition to these recurring subjects, the magazine contains columns, articles on famous men, fashion, cars, extreme sports, and similar subjects. Every issue also has a column on the subject of men. This is always written by a well-known woman. The pictures in the magazine often show men of the ages of 25–35 years. The message of *MG* seems to be that even at a young age men can become "dynamic, successful salesmen, that is, heroes of our times" (*MG* 12/2000). The cover usually features a middle-aged well-known Finnish politician, businessman or sportsman. Sometimes the cover model is a Finnish musician, actor or a famous woman.

### **Analysis of the men's magazines**

I have divided this chapter into sections on *images of masculinity*, *male fellowship*, *male roles* and *male ideals* in the magazines, and *male jargon*. Under all these headings I take into account both my informants' answers and the contents of the magazines, as well as theories of masculinity. I have chosen here not to refer to my theoretical sources, primarily as I have presented them in detail above. Neither do I use references to particular issues or articles when I discuss the men's magazines. My analysis of the magazines is of a more general character, since I have used so many issues of the two magazines.

### **Images of masculinity**

In advertisements, the man of the 1990's is depicted as at least as vain as his female counterpart. Many mass media researchers assume that gender behaviour is

increasingly formed by our exposure to the images, concepts and values communicated by the mass media. Men in advertisements are nowadays allowed to be soft, passive and body-conscious (Ekman 1995, 93f.). This is also obvious in the pictures in advertisements and articles in *Slitz* and *MG*. The masculinity of a specific man is also based on his personal life situation and unique experiences (Ekman 1995, 102). The pictures in the new men's magazines do not seem to take into account that men can have different experiences and a private life situation. Rather, the men's magazines keep to stereotypical images of men. The stereotypical man must own certain items in order to be a man according to the magazines. Masculinity is constructed through clothes, cars, telephones and the like. *Slitz* says that the reader must turn to its "Manual" if he wants to dress like a man. Thus *Slitz* claims that clothes make a man. Both *MG* and *Slitz* contain a lot on sports. The area of sport, including competition, aggression and violence are, according to Western culture, the best way to achieve masculinity (Badinter 1994, 106ff). This attitude appears clearly when reading and analysing the magazines. Men's magazines were originally created in the USA, where many masculine sports are given priority, such as American football and ice-hockey. The Nordic men's magazines that I have analyzed also primarily present traditionally male sports.

One of the informants who read men's magazine answered as follows to my question on whether the norms for a man are changing:

*Yes, they are changing. As I said earlier, paternity leave has come about and such things. But men on the whole have perhaps become more fixated on their bodies and therefore there are many men who undergo plastic surgery. And that has*



**MG, for traditional and luxury men.**

*hardly existed before. So in that way the image has changed.*

I also asked the informants what they think masculinity is. I did not get any explicit answers; instead, most informants said that they could not define the concept. I was somewhat surprised by this, while I also realised that a change in the image of man is actually happening. I was expecting answers that would have emphasized *strength* and *control*. One of the informants said that being polite to women is masculine. Such an answer suggests a traditional image of man.

*Well, I don't know if there is anything particular that I think is masculine in that sense. Of course, society has certain ideals for what a man should be like. The man should provide for his family, the man should work and the woman stay at home, but I don't know if this is so intrinsic any more. It does still exist to some extent in society. But that too is changing, as paternity leave is introduced, for example,*

*so then the man can stay at home with the kids and the woman can go to work.* (Reader, b. 1976)

I also asked the informants how a man becomes masculine. According to what I have read and seen in the men's magazines, men become masculine through clothes and other attributes. However, none of the informants mentioned this. Most of them said that men become men while doing their military service. They explained that men mature there. One informant said that there is nothing special one can do to become masculine:

*If he is a normal man, then I suppose he is masculine. There is nothing special one can do, one should not be... gay at least.* (Non-reader, b. 1975).

### **Male fellowship**

*I think that, I think one needs it at the same time, for example this socialising, nice socialising with other men. Let's say because well, I think one should, that one has the right to it. There's nothing wrong with it. So one does really feel that one is part of a fellowship.* (Reader, b. 1977)

There are general perceptions of what men are like together with women and children. A world less known and less explored is men's relations to other men, that is, male fellowship. It is, however, possible to describe what one sees in the team of builders, military service platoon, football team, or in a gang of friends (Ekman 1995, 175). All informants mentioned one of these groups as teams within which they had experienced male fellowship. One informant gave the following answer to the question on where he experiences male fellowship:

*Perhaps sometimes at a sauna evening, or actually even if one is with a group of women or girls it can be just as fun, or at*

*least one can be just as involved in these things, I don't know if it must necessarily be a group of the same sex.* (Non-reader, b. 1975)

This can also suggest that the statement that men seldom have a close male friend is true. Exposing his soul to another man would reveal a man's underlying insecurity and thus all men would be potential enemies and rivals (Ekman 1995, 181). But the answer can also be interpreted in a way which implies that men are not constant rivals. It is also possible that the informant answered in this way because he misunderstood the question, or did not want to hurt me as a woman by directly saying that he always has a better time in male company. I also asked my informants who read men's magazines whether they felt a fellowship when reading the magazines. One informant said he felt no fellowship in that situation, while the other answered:

*Well perhaps sometimes. It depends on what one is reading. Well yes, for example these different stories that people tell in there about something or another, then maybe I feel a fellowship. Yes really, that's what it's like, sort of.*

The magazine *Slitz* conveys the notion that sports are a male territory, that is, a place for male fellowship. Sports are holy and this is a male area where women are usually not invited. Women are not portrayed as active within sports, but as fans, or they are there for decoration. In *Slitz*, women and sex are virtually always mentioned in the same article. When women are presented, they are usually portrayed in the role of sexual beings. I therefore asked myself whether the fact that women are portrayed as sexual beings creates fellowship among the men. However, there is one exception: the questions column where men ask a woman

about relationships, sex, body matters and so on. In this column, on the other hand, the woman is presented as an oracle since she is assumed to have the answer to everything. Nevertheless, one can ask whether this actually is an exception, because on the same page as the questions column there is a picture of a very attractive and scantily dressed woman, who possibly is supposed to depict the oracle.

In the magazine *MG* women are also presented as sexual beings, but not exclusively so. Women also appear in articles on, for example, motherhood. So, the male fellowship in contrast to women is not as strong in *MG* as it is in *Slitz*. Women are also given an equal position as creative subjects. In *MG*, I nevertheless discern a male fellowship or a male territory when it comes to the book reviews. All books presented in the magazine, except one in issue 12/2000, are written by and about men. The one book written by and about a woman is a detective story. Three of the other 11 books deal with male politicians, one presents the best sportsmen of the century, one is about the new financial gurus (all men), one is about a Finnish rock group consisting of four men, and the remaining four are fiction with a male main character. In fact, *MG*'s recurring section "Men's world" is a totally male territory.

### **Male roles and male ideals in the magazines**

A modern man must split his personality in order to move from one place, group or activity to another. I asked myself what male roles are presented in the two men's magazines that I have analysed. I primarily used pictures, articles and the list of contents of the magazines in order to find male images or male roles. I further asked the informants what they thought about the male roles communicated in the magazines and also if they thought that a certain type

of man read the magazines.

*Slitz* conveys an image of boyishness. In this way the magazine appeals to a certain type of man, or it might suggest that *Slitz* is a haven for all men, a free zone where women have no access. In my opinion, *Slitz* can be seen as a reaction to changed gender roles at a time when it is uncertain what a man actually is. Many probably read *Slitz* for entertainment and do not take its contents that seriously. However, I think that men are indirectly influenced by the image of both men and women communicated by the magazine. I assume that those who read *Slitz* as a Bible and take the magazine seriously form a marginal group. Both informants who read men's magazines said that they do so mainly as a pastime. One informant thought that mostly socially active men read men's magazines, that is, men who either study or work, since the magazines are relatively expensive. One informant who does not himself read men's magazines thought that it is primarily men who are unsure of themselves who read these magazines.

*Slitz* gives the reader a relatively stereotypical image of man and also a stereotypical image of the reader. According to this magazine, men should be interested in sport, alcohol, women, technology and they should think it important to dress in the right way. These aspects of masculinity recur throughout the magazine and *Slitz* thus becomes a producer of a stereotypical image of men. The texts are often instructive and provide the reader with tips and pronouncements on what is right and what is wrong. A man must learn to behave like a gentleman, to satisfy his woman and cook delicious food. Delicious food according to *Slitz* consists of very exclusive and culinary dishes. A man should not stand by the stove every day, but only cook about once a month. *Slitz*'s idea of men and cooking is comparable to the 1950's notion of man and the barbecue.



In addition, men should buy the right clothes and fashion items. Men are increasingly interested in clothes and looks, which is also noted by *Slitz*. Just like women, men also have to change and adapt their appearance in order to be a real man, and *Slitz* provides the ways and attributes needed to do this. It may be argued whether men have become interested in clothes and looks because of these new men's magazines and other ideal images set up of men, or because of other phenomena in our culture.

The magazine *MG* is primarily characterised by a male image which can be seen as traditional. Men should be successful, the head of the family and wealthy. When comparing *Slitz* and *MG*, I notice that *MG* seems to take the male role more seriously. The articles exclusively deal with successful and career-oriented men. *Slitz* can be said to speak for the younger macho man, while *MG* advocates the older businessman. *MG* 12/2000 contains a fashion article which includes the following statement:

*Freedom and individuality are in, but there are limits. Your work place defines your dress code - intentionally or unintentionally.*

The *MG* man has discretion and style, and he follows strict rules on what a real *MG* man should be like. *MG* usually also contains an article presenting a man doing an extreme sport, but in daily life this man is a businessman, director or the like. The non-readers also have an idea of this male model:

*You're supposed to have one of those muscular bodies and do many different sports and work, have one of those 'suit jobs'. And then you're supposed to help with the household chores and then you're supposed to do all sorts of other things as*

*well. You're supposed to be a real superman.*  
(Non-reader, b. 1975)

The informant here describes the superman. The four imperatives *no sissy stuff, the big wheel, the sturdy oak* and *give 'em hell* to a large extent fit the informant's description of today's male ideal. Admitting weakness, frailty or infirmity makes one seem like a sissy and unmanly.

This is obvious also in *Slitz*. Men should not, for example, do feminine sports. The only exception is if the men are at the top. By feminine sports I mean ballet and other non-aggressive physical activities. Even if men are usually not allowed to do feminine sports, they may make good and finer food, and are encouraged to do this by the magazines. The informants, too, mention the feminine household chores as something that men should help with at home, which is something the traditional man would not do. It can thus be seen that the norms for a man are perhaps changing. The second basic rule or imperative, *the big wheel*, is also reflected in *Slitz* and *MG*. In the former, the rule appears in the section "Power & Freedom". Here, powerful men get to show what characteristics are desirable and thus function as examples for the readers. It could be said that powerful men as role models characterises the entire contents of *MG*.

Body fixation has increased since the beginning of the 1980's and I think that the body has gained a more central role. This can be seen not least on the cover of *Slitz* where the producers use half-naked beautiful bodies in their attempts to sell the magazine in true commercial spirit. The media has gained increasing power in setting the norms for what is desirable and beautiful. The pin-up girls of both *Slitz* and *MG* have very similar forms, which is an example of the media's normative tendency. Also the men featured in the

pictures in the magazines have perfect bodies, stylish hair and fashionable beards. The fact that beauty is not something objective is forgotten, and the more pictures of “perfect” bodies we see, the more we perhaps think that they really are beautiful.

The interest of many men today in their appearance and their spending quite a lot of time in trying to change their bodies in a desirable direction do not necessarily reflect actual changes in gender identities. I would rather talk about certain shifts in what is regarded as feminine and as masculine. The narcissistic man is not necessarily a new man, but perhaps rather a traditional man in a new packaging. This argument has clear relevance with regard to *Slitz* and *MG*. The fact that a man is interested in the contents of, for example, the clothes section, does not need to bear any deeper significance. When the whole society is body fixated, it is no wonder that men, too, show an interest in these areas. Even if outer factors might change, the internal can remain more or less the same. One informant said:

*It depends more on personality and behaviour and not necessarily on what he looks like in the magazine.*

There is a beauty ideal in the men’s magazine, but it is possible that men do not perceive this ideal or follow it. Perhaps beauty is not everything that matters, after all, at least according to my informants.

### **Male jargon**

The form of a message is very important as to what kind of concept of reality it conveys and how the readers receive the message. Actually, the focus should not only be on what is said, but also on how it is said. *Slitz* has created its own jargon which is used in all sections of the magazine with only a few exceptions. The jargon used by the editors is so clear and strong that it even dominates the style of the letters from readers. *Slitz*

uses unusual words, such as ‘esoteric’, ‘infamous’, ‘gamine’ and ‘magisterial’, mixed with slang and swearwords. English expressions are ‘Swedofied’, translated or used as they are. The whole magazine is characterised by ironic, sexual and easy-going language. This is most noticeable in headlines, introductions and captions, where the angle of the media is most apparent.

People who hold a high and secure position in their group or class can easily take on a certain nonchalant attitude towards the cultural rules. Those who know best and are clearly aware of the rules can afford to be a bit careless and bohemian (Ehn and Löfgren 1986, 94). *Slitz* is dripping with irony, which, apart from its function to amuse, can also serve as a shield against criticism. *Slitz* is always right and can make the critics feel inferior by pointing out that what they attacked was ironic and intended to be a joke.

On the other hand, male language stands for rationality, order and objectivity (Dyer 1989, 68). This statement is largely true of the magazine *MG* and its language. Both pictures and texts radiate rationality, order and objectivity. The jargon is very matter-of-fact, as is the rest of the magazine. It might be asked whether *MG* is more mature and more masculine than *Slitz*, or more mature and less masculine. However, I would rather define the magazines as conveying different kinds of masculinities, and therefore their languages also differ from each other. Both magazines try to teach their readers to become men, but different kinds of men.

The language also separates the two magazines in another way. As I said above, *Slitz* in a way holds a high position in its group and can therefore be nonchalant. This is true also of *MG*, but in a contrary fashion. *MG* also holds a secure position among its readers and thus they can afford *not* to appear nonchalant. By this I mean that *MG*

by its objective, matter-of-fact and rational language signals that the magazine is so esteemed among its readers that they can let the reader join it at the same level. After all, the readers admire the magazine. By its language the magazine even seems to *want* the reader to be on the same level. This of course is due to the fact that *MG* is intended for successful men, or men who are on their way towards success.

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ANN-HELEN SUND

# The Formula 1 Race as a Phenomenon. Aspects of Masculinity and Modernity

## **Formula 1 and its great popularity in Finland**

Formula 1 has attracted a great deal of interest in Finland among an increasing number of people. This is primarily explained by the success of the Finnish driver Mika Häkkinen.<sup>23</sup> Finland is also represented by another Formula 1 driver, Mika Salo, and a third, Kimi Räikkönen, has recently arrived on the scene. Formula 1 is a large, international car racing sport, but the overall number of drivers is nonetheless relatively small. Therefore it is quite remarkable that there are three Finnish men among them.

When I started a course in English, the teacher explained that we were all to give a presentation on a chosen subject, but he did not want to hear another one on F1 and Mika Häkkinen! This shows that there is not only an interest in watching F1 on TV, but also in exploring the subject and talking about and explaining facts about the sport. I also seem to discern a current debate on the meaningfulness versus the meaninglessness of Formula 1. I myself have found F1 fairly meaningless. But why is all this discussed? What values does the debate express? What opinions are there of Formula 1 and what do they tell us about today's society? My aim is to analyse Formula 1 as a modern/late-modern phenomenon; partly as a phenomenon as such and partly in terms of

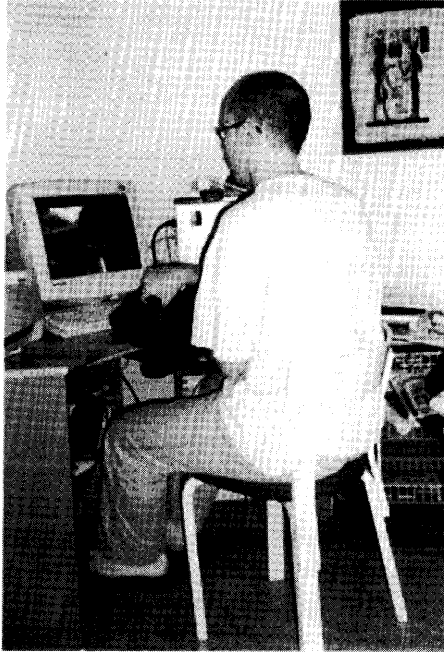
how the ordinary TV audience experiences and describes it. Today only men drive F1 cars, and therefore I think that Formula 1 might also reveal something about the current concept of masculinity.

## **Interviews with students**

The material of this study consists of interviews with nine Swedish-speaking students in Åbo. The interviewees were born between 1972 and 1979. Three of them are studying at Polytechnic Sydväst and six at Åbo Akademi University. The fact that all my informants are students and of about the same age naturally typifies my material. This article should therefore be regarded as a study specifically of students' opinions of Formula 1.

My friends suggested suitable interviewees to me, whom I then contacted. I also personally know some of the interviewees quite well. I chose these particular persons, since I knew they had a lot to say about Formula 1. As F1 has gained such popularity in Finland, and as watching F1 is very widespread in the context I have chosen, this subject can be said to pertain to most persons in one way or another: everybody has an opinion on Formula 1. Therefore, I wanted to interview both persons who are interested in F1 and persons who are not. However, I permitted more space to those who are interested in

*Playing computer games gives you a feeling what it is like to drive Formula 1. Photo: Ann-Helen Sund*



the sport, since it is primarily this interest in F1 car racing that is the subject of my study. I had noticed that it is mostly men who are interested in Formula 1, and I therefore interviewed five men, as well as two women, who are interested in the sport, and two women who are not interested in F1. Of course, I could have included men in the latter category, but it was not, however, easy to find men uninterested in F1. Criticism can be raised against me for this choice. If men who are not interested in Formula 1 racing form such a marginal group, it would have been interesting to hear their opinion, too, especially as my article explores masculinity in this context.

The point of departure for my work was the notion that it is mostly men who watch Formula 1 (which is reflected in my choice of interviewees) and that F1 is usually seen as a masculine sport, which is what I wanted to explore.

My own position in relation to my subject is that I have not been interested in watching

Formula 1 races on TV. One can never totally disregard one's own opinion, but being aware of one's own stance helps to avoid being biased. On the other hand, I have not actually known very much about Formula 1. Being a sort of outsider perhaps makes it easier to "exoticise" the subject and to approach it objectively.

### **The interviewees and their relation to F1**

As mentioned above, my interviewees fall into the two categories of those interested in and those uninterested in Formula 1. The interested ones can be further divided into those who have "always" been interested in F1, and those who have been uninterested to begin with, but later changed their opinion. Actually only one of my interviewees (a woman) falls into the latter category, but it is nevertheless a very interesting group: on what level does one have to rethink in order to be "converted"? Is this a case of crossing a border, and in that case, what border? Those interested in F1 can also be categorised into those whose motor racing interest is limited to Formula 1, and those who are interested in various kinds of motor racing sports. This difference might partly be explained by the Finnish F1 drivers' influence on the interest in their sport. As in many other contexts, the "real" fans have been there "from the start", before a phenomenon (e.g. F1, a band, a dressing style) has become too popular and easily accessible. The "real" fans disapprove of popular features that are regarded as superficial. F1 is very popular in Finland today and in this case this might mean that some people, to a certain extent, distance themselves from the huge interest surrounding Häkkinen or from the F1 sport as a whole. This is to simplify the matter, but in times when "everything stable evaporates" and people seek authenticity and originality in something, I think it does signify something. In addition, change is

needed for a phenomenon to stay interesting. For some, their interest has decreased when the one in focus, namely Häkkinen, has been on top for so long. He has proven to be an excellent driver and the hardest competition is experienced as being resolved. Finally, I want to point out that the discussion throughout the article is a discussion with the interviewees. I refer to individual informants only in direct quotations.

### **The concept of modernity as a tool for analysis**

In the analysis of my material, interviews on F1, I have chosen to focus on a number of themes that to me seem essential for the understanding of F1 as a phenomenon, and what this phenomenon, both in itself and especially in terms of the habit of watching the races on TV, signify for the viewers. I have chosen to use modernity as my overall theoretical tool. The other two themes that I explore in more detail are masculinity as a social and cultural gender, and sport. These can be placed in the general theoretical framework of modernity. Since I base my study on interviews that primarily deal with “watching F1 races”, the medium of television as a narrator also forms an important element. TV presents F1 as a story, and I will attempt to explore what this story is about and what is experienced by the fans as being important in it.

In what ways is F1 a modern phenomenon? I have used certain characteristics of modernity presented by Magnus Berg in his book *Modernitet – som empiriskt fält, som teoretiskt redskap. Brottningar med begrepp* (“Modernity – as an empirical field, as a theoretical tool. Wrestling with concepts”). The overall figure of thought in modernity is rationalism; “claiming the right of reason to critically evaluate and discard unreflecting, self-evident knowledge that is legitimated by tradition”. Berg refers to

Peter L. Berger, an American sociologist, who distinguishes five tendencies in modernity: *abstraction, individualisation, liberation, secularisation and future-orientation*.

Thomas Ziehe, a German researcher on socialisation, talks about *late modernity*. He regards *demystification* as its most important feature, which can be studied in terms of three tendencies pertaining to “the subjective aspects of reality”. These are *reflexivity, possibility and individualisation*, which together result in a change of the individual’s *horizons of opportunities*. This means freedom for the individual, but also decreased security. This “doubleness” is an important criterion for late modernity. The lack of a stable base to stand on, of ultimate truths, creates a need to substitute this void with something else. In this “something else”, certain attitudes or “attempts at cultural orientation” can be discerned. The most common attitude is claimed to be *conventionalism*, a denial of late modernity and a wish to return to old truths. Other attitudes are *subjectifying*, “seeking security in the minimum of social relations and in oneself”, where emotions are supposed to create security; *ontologising*, which includes attempts at new forms of mysticism; seeking security in something original and authentic. This orientation attempt differs from conventionalism in that late modernity is not denied, but instead, a pre-modern security is consciously sought. The last category of orientation is *potentialising*: “artificially loading something with meaning” – what is sought is “intensity as protection against emptiness”. The object of intensification is the lack of an overall context in late modern society (Berg 1992, 185ff). In this essay, I will seek to explore how these modern or late modern themes fit my material and whether the attitudes towards late modernity presented above can be used to shed light on what the habit of watching F1 races on TV signifies for the viewers.

## **Masculinity and gender**

Is F1 a masculine sport? All F1 drivers are men and most of the interviewees think that a majority of those interested in the sport, that is, the audience and the TV viewers, are men. All the informants also regarded F1 as a masculine sport, in that “traditional” male ideals and characteristics are expressed in it. However, not everybody thought that these ideals and characteristics are specifically male today. All informants were positively inclined to the idea that women will in future enter the sport as drivers.

In this context, I find it important to discuss masculinity and gender in more detail. In his article “Manlig myt och vanlig vardag - om manlighetens förvandling” (“Male myths and everyday life - on the transformation of masculinity”), Jonas Frykman explores how the masculine is constructed and filled with content. He thinks that today’s masculinity is threatened. The genders are being democratised and there are no preordained patterns any longer. This results in a variety of effects: partly a wish to return to the past, partly in men creating new identities that they themselves can verify. Frykman points out that the myths, the narratives about masculinity, must be such that men can believe in them and feel an affinity with them. The narratives and everyday conditions are linked to each other. Frykman says that the myths are crucial, since belief, empathy and emotion are at stake here. The myths create a symbolic family bond between men and express what men are and what they are not. The aim is to find a “natural masculine substance”, something genuine and original, and therefore the body has taken on such an important role in today’s narratives of masculinity. The primitive and the wild have also acquired positive connotations, since these are associated with authenticity, with a past where life was easier to grasp.

Frykman sees parallels between the previous and the present turn of the century. The period of the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries entailed a break-up of traditional society: the world was unstable and this led to the construction of a new man. This man was self-confident, had a stable character and aimed at “new bold targets, simple definitions and genuine togetherness”. Frykman thinks that many similarities to our times can be discerned here. The difference is, however, that at the previous turn of the century, man stepped out of the private sphere while today he is trying to re-enter it. Today’s narratives on masculinity must show how this is to happen (Frykman 1994, 13ff).

## **Sports - motor sports**

All interviewees watching Formula 1 think of it as a sport, while those interviewees who are not interested in F1 do not regard it as a sport. What is “sport” actually, what characterises a sport? I do not attempt to once and for all determine whether Formula 1 is a sport or not, but rather, I am trying to say something about what one does with a phenomenon by calling it a sport. What does sport signify?

By calling F1 a “sport”, the importance of human beings over machines is emphasized. Driving a racing car (successfully) requires the driver to be in good physical shape, with an ability to concentrate and with courage/foolhardiness, depending on the viewpoint. The fact that money (the car) is actually to quite a large extent crucial for gaining the desired results is something which is disliked by most informants. At the same time, the big money and the fast cars are two of the basic factors of the sport, contributing to its “extreme” character. Denying that F1 is a sport means claiming that everything is agreed on, that money is decisive. It is tantamount to degrading the entire Formula 1 ethos and taking all

meaning out of the sport: the competition, the drama, the excitement disappears, since the significance of the individual is diminished. Here, I make no difference between sports and motor sports, since they are so similar, both regarding their structure and what the viewers prioritise when watching them.

In his book *Mandighet og sport* ("Masculinity and sport"), Hans Bonde writes about the history of men involved in the early Danish sports movement of 1880–1920, i.e. the creation of modern sport, as his point of departure. Sport is not an isolated phenomenon in society, but one of the strongest and most basic rituals of modern society, where important norms and values are dramatised and expressed. However, sports are not only a reflection of society, but also an active cultural force. Bonde also thinks that the focus around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was on the significance of sports for male culture; an issue which is seldom addressed today, but which is, however, still relevant. Many norms survive in new forms: having a strong character and ambition are still seen as desirable features (Bonde 1991, 7ff). Frykman, too, claims that masculinity has always been created through a ritual causing of pain. Sport constitutes such a ritual, he writes (Frykman 1994, 14).

To sum up, it can be claimed that sport expresses certain male ideals and norms pertaining to masculinity in society, while sport also creates men as they take part in it. Viewers witness this as they watch sports on television.

Similar arguments can be applied when discussing sport and national feeling. In his book *Försvenskningen av Sverige* ("The Swedification of Sweden"), Billy Ehn claims that "sports have become one of the most emotional and expressive areas of the national". This is particularly obvious in sports broadcasts on TV, where the commentators use a special kind of

chauvinistic rhetoric. The sportsmen personify an abstract concept, that is, their native country. Sports have such a great impact because they appeal to the emotions. The viewers' fervour turn the national feeling into a purely physical experience for them: they feel excited, happy or disappointed. They feel that they belong to a nation, including everything which that entails in the forms of community and identity (Ehn 1993, 204ff).

### **The media of television as narrator**

In this essay, I mainly base my analysis on narratives from watching Formula 1 on TV. However, the TV broadcasts are narratives which have already been edited, and the viewers are guided by professional narrators, the F1 commentators, who describe what is happening and why, and what is important. Some of my informants think that the TV commentator plays a very important part; others only find him disturbing, since they know enough about F1 to understand the action of the races. Most interviewees usually watch the Finnish F1 broadcasts, while a few of them prefer to watch the races on Swedish TV. What is interesting is that both groups present the same argument for their choice of channel: the expertise of the commentators. It is, however, pointed out that the Finnish commentator is very focussed on Mika Häkkinen and very enthusiastic when it comes to him and his successes or losses, to the point where he is verging on being notorious for this bias.

In her book *Nostalgi og sensasjoner* ("Nostalgia and sensations"), Torunn Selberg talks about the use of television in Norwegian everyday life, analysing, for example, news broadcasts. It has been claimed that the strategy of the television broadcast is to attempt to control reality, and herein lies its popularity. We can ask ourselves whether we actually learn



anything new, since the programmes follow as strict a routine as the watching of them. Selberg thinks that the news items are actually constituted of new editions of well-known versions (Selberg 1995, 274).

Watching F1 races is not an everyday activity: on the contrary, many say it might become boring if there were F1 races on every weekend. Today, races are broadcast every other weekend. But this does not, however, prevent there being a predictable routine to the programme: on the contrary. The F1 races and their preparation always follow the same pattern. The races cover three days, an "F1 weekend". On the first day, the cars are trimmed and adjusted, on the second, the drivers race for a starting position in the actual race, and – finally – on the third day the race itself takes place, which, of course, being the most important, attracts most viewers. The race also usually follows a special pattern. All of the interviewees agree that the start is the most important, or one of the most important and exciting parts of the race. That is followed by lap after lap on the course, depot stops, overtakings, possibly crashes. Sometimes a race can turn out to be boring, in cases where nothing *happens*. The broadcast is rounded off with the prize-giving ceremony and a press conference where the drivers analyse the race. The TV broadcast offers an overview of what is happening, an overview that would not be possible to achieve at the site of the race; but, on the other hand, something of the reality of the race is lost.

The TV broadcasts focus on the winners; those driving in the lead. Those who are less successful are mostly shown only if they crash.

*Nowadays only the winners count, we want to see winners, we want to (and are able to) identify with winners. Win or get out is to be taken very literally. Those who are seen and heard in the media are*

*winners. Those who are invisible and marginalised – the large, grey mass – are not winners, but losers. (Klinkmann 2000)*

I think the above quote suits Formula 1 very well and perhaps illustrate the significance of Mika Häkkinen, the Finnish winner, in the popularity of F1 in Finland.

Klinkmann refers to the Finnish culture researcher Jussi Orajärvi, who thinks that we have doubted ourselves in the sense that we see ourselves as being free from all big narratives except for capitalism. If this is the case, then perhaps our society is not, after all, that late-modern, at least not Formula 1, which in that case could form an offshoot to the narrative of capitalism, the objective of which is to win.

### **Driving in a laboratory**

The car arrived at the same time as modernity, and it can be regarded as a step in the individualisation process, as a symbol of freedom. The car enabled a new kind of mobility. F1 races can be seen as driving a car under laboratory conditions, in a controlled, but still dangerous sphere. It is a kind of ritualisation and dramatisation of driving, which takes place on tracks specially made for the purpose – which fact in itself constitutes an abstraction of driving. Racetracks are required, since the technology has developed and the cars are increasingly fast. Thus, the way has been paved, literally, for the development of the technology, as was done when railways were built for trains and roads were asphalted for cars – but Formula 1 has taken this one step further. F1 has been created for an audience and the racetracks therefore offer a better overview of the races than, for example, driving on ordinary roads would do. The F1 races contain several components found also in the "real" world of cars: starting the engine, pumping petrol, changing tyres, overtaking, the occasional crash – simply moving forward. But all this

takes place at a much faster pace and everything is prepared and organised. An F1 race also has a clear beginning and a clear finish. Specific symbols mark these: the start is shown by lamps going out one after another, and when the first car reaches the finish, a black-and-white chequered flag is waved. A special sphere, with its special significances, is entered and exited.

Despite F1 driving being controlled, there is nevertheless a certain degree of disorder and risk: not everything is foreseeable, and if it were, a lot of the excitement of the race would be lost. The viewers try to understand what is happening and to bring order and coherence to the events displayed on the television screen. This requires some previous knowledge of the rules and actors, but the commentator is also important in his role as “explainer”. Part of the excitement lies in figuring out how everything is connected. Therefore, the events must not be too predictable. In fact, the unpredictable elements are experienced as the most interesting, as for example overtakings and crashes. Of course, crashes are not totally unexpected, either, but form an integral part of F1 races. They are, however, treated as exceptions, as they break the order and control which the F1 strives to maintain. This is comparable to what Torunn Selberg says about news broadcasts: even if they usually deal with injustices and catastrophes, they are still regarded as positive. Since the news items differ from what is considered normal, they confirm that normality (Selberg 1995, 266).

A phenomenon which sits on the boundary between the F1 laboratory and “normal” driving is the F1 race on the streets of Monte Carlo, Monaco. It is actually a relic, the only street racetrack left within Formula 1 racing. The racetrack does not fulfil today’s security requirements for an F1 track. The races are therefore slightly slower and the opportunities for overtaking are fewer than



*Formula 1 competition in Nürburgring in Germany. Photo: in private possession*

on the other tracks, which is why many think that it does not offer particularly interesting viewing. On the other hand, the Monte Carlo racetrack is the favourite of some, since the race is, in a sense, moved out into “reality” and thus more varied and “for real” than when driving around a field of grass, or a patch of wood. The abstraction is not so great here. In addition, Monaco has a certain sound to it, which resonates with the origins, traditions and character of Formula 1. The Monaco race is therefore highly prestigious.

### **Mika Häkkinen in Formula 1 – Finland in the world: contrasts**

Within ethnology, sport has been compared to war. Nationalist sentiments are allowed in sport. Stereotypes of other countries or regions are used and also stereotypes of one’s own country are employed. Who are we, what are Finns like and what distinguishes us from others? Various national characteristics and values concerning positive and negative features are processed. Often the heroes of sports become moral exemplars. As a person comes to symbolise the fatherland, the basis for the patriotic feelings, the collective identity, becomes concrete and emotional. In sport, “the enemy” and one’s own country or region are seen as clear entities, which is important in order to have something to feel and fight for. One’s own country is contrasted with the other, and the

national is thus created (Ehn 1993, 213).

Formula 1 is an international, highly organised sport where a “team” usually consists of three components: the manufacturer of the car’s engine, the stable and the driver. These can all be of different nationalities. However, even if the teams can be very mixed, nationality is relatively important in explaining what kinds of units the teams make up. This thought process also entails a large amount of flexibility, particularly taking into account that many drivers change teams before a new season. There are two Formula 1 stables that are more successful than the rest and these are thus also the most visible ones.

These two big stables and their respective front figures, who, slightly simplified, are those who duel on the course, stand in sharp contrast to each other, at least when seen from a Finnish perspective. The English McLaren team have German Mercedes engines in their cars, and their leading driver, Mika Häkkinen, is Finnish. The McLaren cars are as grey “as the English weather”; they are also called “silver arrows”. McLaren has the image of being a “calm” stable, which is run with “German” preciseness; everything is controlled and carefully calculated. Mika Häkkinen, as a “quiet and calm, typical Finn” will suit the stable.

The other big stable is Italian Ferrari, which has a particularly strong profile since Ferrari is a combined stable and car manufacturer, also making ordinary cars. Ferrari is well-known for its expensive luxury cars. Ferrari’s colour in Formula 1 is red and their logotype a black, rearing horse against a yellow background. Associations can be developed from this: Ferrari is the temperamental, southern European F1 stable. Their main driver is German Michael Schumacher. But how does a German fit the image of the stable?

*Well, he’s like a person who likes to brag*

*about how good he is, so that probably suits with Ferrari, although Ferrari would perhaps rather have a , for example an Italian driver and not a German one, but he’s a very self-confident person, so he fits with Ferrari (L 1428, female b. 1978).*

Schumacher, Häkkinen’s prime competitor, is contrasted with Häkkinen, and certain values concerning positive and negative characteristics are displayed. Often, Schumacher is described as the self-confident, boastful and cheeky type, representing characteristics that are perhaps not that highly esteemed according to Finnish values. Häkkinen, on the other hand, is seen as humble and therefore likeable. But not all admire Häkkinen’s “personality” that much. Most informants agree that Häkkinen is a good driver, but many think that Schumacher’s character fits the sport and world of F1 better. I will discuss perceptions of the character of the sport further in the next chapter. Still, Häkkinen stands for Finnish success and it is not surprising that some think that another great Finnish success, that is, Nokia, should sponsor Häkkinen. Statistical surveys show that Häkkinen is currently the best known Finn in the world.

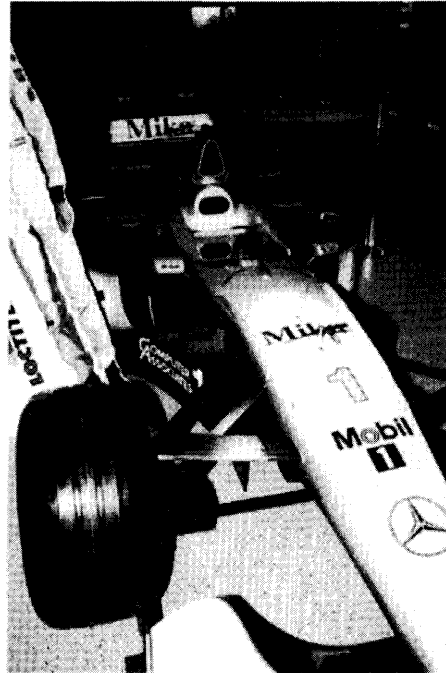
### **The F1 pilots in the royal class: prestige and respect**

*Prestige* is a word that the interviewees often use when talking about Formula 1. Prestige in this context is perhaps explained by the fact that everything that is seen as prestigious in F1 is that which makes the sport serious and “real” and not just a game. The prestigious aspects are not to be underestimated, since they reflect what is regarded as valuable. Prestige and respect go hand in hand.

What then is regarded as so prestigious within the sport? The concept of “the royal class of motor sports” in itself reveals a great deal of this issue. Individualisation

is a strong tendency within F1. The drivers have successfully made their way up from the “lower” classes of motor sports and F1 is the culmination of their careers: there are no classes above it in the world of motor sports. The best drivers – *the winners*, the fastest cars – *high technology* and the biggest *money* bestow prestige upon the sport. All these aspects are regarded as prestigious in our society, and money is the means of wielding power. This is an area of contradictive emotions. The drivers must be skilful and in good physical shape; this is what makes Formula 1 a sport. According to sporting ideals, everybody should compete on equal terms in a sport. In F1, however, a stable can prioritise a successful driver above a less successful one. The latter is given an order to let the other driver overtake him. This is done because within F1 the winning stable gets money and thus an opportunity to develop their cars. This is why two stables have come to dominate the sport, which most viewers find makes the sport more boring. One of the interviewees compared the adjustment of technical details of the cars with doping. There is, nevertheless, a difference in that development of the cars is part of F1, while doping is common, although forbidden, in other sports.

The book *Idrottens själ* (“The soul of sports”) claims that sports are becoming alienated from the old ideals of amateurism, idealism, fair play, decency and a healthy lifestyle. Today, sports mainly provide a show: entertainment, not moral edification (Schoug 2000, 330). The interviewees also say that watching F1 is entertainment for them. Sports have also become increasingly commercialised, particularly on an international level. In the case of F1, however, advertisements have, according to the informants, “always” been there, and they claim that F1 has never stood for either amateurism, decency or a healthy lifestyle



**The Formula 1 cars are constantly developed, both *Någonstans* under rubriken to be faster and safer. Can they still be called “cars”? Formula 1...”**  
**Photo: John Hackman**

(at least not in the minds of the informants). Rather, there is an opposite tendency: F1 has become a more “decent” sport in many respects, which can be seen in, for example, the advertisements. The F1 cars and the drivers’ overalls abound with adverts. The stables have various sponsors, usually large international companies. The most visible and noticeable sponsors are tobacco companies. Today, several countries where F1 races take place have banned advertising of tobacco products. Smoking does not currently have a positive reputation, but is rather associated with “losers” than “winners”. However, tobacco adverts are something of a tradition within F1, and, to put it more positively, in this context they can be said to represent a certain kind of dangerous living and risk-taking that are part of this sport and aspects which make it fascinating. Recently, however, companies in, for example, information technology and men’s top brand outfitters increasingly

advertise within F1. The IT companies symbolise expansion and success. When it comes to the clothes companies, the drivers also function as models. The sponsors provide them with clothes to wear during their "leisure" when they are "seen", and engage them in various advertising events. The fact that menswear has also become part of the F1 world, perhaps indicates that men have started to care more about their looks.

The prize ceremony is a tradition within Formula 1; a ritual always performed in the same way. Champagne bottles of a gigantic size, as with everything within F1, perhaps represent something of the luxury, glamour and prestige which is (traditionally) associated with F1. The prizes are usually awarded by a representative of those in power – for example the mayor – of the place where the race takes place, which also emphasizes the prestige of the sport. The world of Formula 1 entails material affluence, big money and contacts to the political and financial elite, and, in addition, the traditions of the sport create prestige. A stable that is not very successful, can still possess a certain prestige because of its long-standing tradition.

*Of course there are old stables with long traditions and it's a pity that many of them have disappeared... and it's good that there are such old institutions in this world too, but McLaren and Ferrari also belong to these old, legendary stables, for example. (L 1435, male b. 1978)*

Thirdly, there lies a certain prestige in what the F1 drivers do: they are entrusted with the fastest, most expensive cars. Within ethnology, it has been suggested that people must be sacrificed in order for technology to develop. Those sacrificed are young men. Thus, the activity of driving racing cars comes to resemble war, and in F1 this is perhaps particularly obvious.

Here, the F1 drivers could also be compared to war pilots, those most prestigious actors within the army. War pilots also form a small, select elite endowed with the dangerous task of controlling fast, expensive highly technological machines. They are sent by their country to fight against an enemy. The F1 pilots are "sent" by their stable. Both the pilots and the drivers communicate with a "tactician" via radio. In F1 the driver also sits in the "cockpit" and the drivers are called "pilots" in many languages. All F1 drivers today are men and most war pilots are also men. All the interviewees agreed that there will, in future, be female F1 drivers, which shows what we are striving for, that is, equality. However, some doubted whether the stables really dare employ women since so much money is at stake. This illustrates that a gender system basically is a prestige system (Bengtsson & Frykman 1988, 71).

Within Formula 1, the masculinity that was created around the turn of the century is very apparent: that is to say, in the form of a man who is successful in society by being controlled, self-confident and of firm character. As a driver, it is important to control one's nerves and oneself in order to be able to keep control of the car. Loss of nerve is something to be blamed for; it is a sign of not being a good driver. At the same time, F1 is an aggressive sport. Competition is hard and it is important to be pushy. The only thing that counts is winning, since the losers easily disappear into an anonymous mass. Calmness and aggression: therein probably lays one of the great paradoxes of Formula 1. This is also visible in the code of behaviour concerning the drivers' manners with each other *outside* the track. There, the drivers are not allowed to display any aggressive feelings.

*...as I said, they risk their lives when driving, so being on bad terms with someone... they have the power to crash*

with them in some way... like "o-oh, accident, I killed you". (L 1432, female b. 1979)

The prize-giving ceremony is perhaps one of the events where the duality of rival-colleague is most highly charged, as the first, second and third prize winners as supposed to celebrate their achievement together:

*...and then they get a bottle of champagne each that they're supposed to open and then they spray it on each other, but somehow it feels quite forced since they are such rivals many times there and they can be really annoyed with each other since they've just competed on the course.* (L 1428, female b. 1978)

F1 could perhaps be called an "aggressive gentlemanly sport". A concept associated with the ideals of a gentleman and which seems to be important here is *respect*. The drivers' aim is to be respected, both by other drivers and by the audience. This they strive for by proving that they are good drivers. Respect is something that one earns. Perhaps this can be linked to the above discussion on how sports create men and masculinity being a project of conquest.

### **Formula 1 on TV – variations, habits and togetherness**

During the active season, F1 races are broadcast every other weekend. Each race is part of the World Championship and success in the individual races gives a certain number of points that are added. As this is the structure of the championship, most viewers find it important to watch every race, even if not all name F1 as their favourite sport. Most informants want to see the races in live broadcasts, and because of the time difference in the various racing places, this means that TV viewers must sometimes get up in the middle of the night

or early in the morning. A certain lifestyle, probably most typical for students, can be associated with the habits of watching F1:

*... then they drive at such times that it's early Sunday morning, perhaps five or so, so then usually one's been to the pub all night for example, otherwise it'd be so hard to get up.* (L 1437, male b. 1977)

Many find it nicer to watch the races together with other fans, since they can discuss and comment on the events of the race. In fact, often there is not that much discussion during the actual race, but the viewers share the experience of the race and emotions of excitement, joy or disappointment. The girls might find it a bit boring in cases where their (female) friends are not interested in watching races with them. The following are the thoughts of one female informant, who does not watch F1, of her boyfriend's and his friends' F1 habits:

*... when it was clear that he (Häkkinen) lost, it was like, then they knew that there wouldn't be anything more like that... the last fun race with the lads would not happen then either, so they were probably a bit disappointed by that, too.* (L 1434, female b. 1977)

On the other hand, some prefer watching the races alone, so that they can better concentrate on the race and what the commentator says. The commentator becomes a kind of "discussion partner". But the feeling of community pertaining to the interest in F1 can take on many forms. Since all my interviewees have said that F1 is a masculine sport, one could perhaps talk about an imagined male comradeship between the men watching F1 and the F1 drivers. Since the national interest in F1 is also great, it can also be claimed that F1 creates a national feeling of community.

This is sometimes very obvious in the TV broadcasts: when Finland has been successful through Häkkinen, the broadcasts have occasionally contained inserts from Häkkinen's home town where people are cheering and celebrating. Thus it is underlined how all Finns belong to the same community. In addition, the interest in F1 might be something that one shares with an otherwise unfamiliar person, a topic to discuss not only with Finns but also with other nationalities:

*...I've been student tutor to these exchange students and there were Italians in my group, so they are of course fans of Ferrari and so on, but when they first came here there wasn't perhaps that much to talk about except to say "well this is Åbo and this is where we study and bla, bla – do you watch Formula by the way?". (L 1431, male b. 1977).*

### **The image of man and woman within Formula 1**

Women, cars and technology. The traditional perception of the relation between these is that women cannot handle cars and technology – an attitude that today has perhaps somewhat modified to the view that women, or most women, are not interested in technology and cars. However, the conclusion is the same: claiming that women in general are not interested in technology makes this appear as a personal choice, which can be associated with the trend of individualisation in modern society. But since this is a categorisation based on gender it is not, after all, a personal lack of interest but a gendered one. This, however, is perhaps changing. Two different advertisements for cars shown on television recently touch upon this; both played with the existing stereotype concerning women and cars. One of them parodied the image of a scantily dressed woman flouncing by a car in a car show.

The other showed a car driving very fast and daringly and at the end of the ad a female rally driver stepped out of the car. The objective of the advertisements is, of course, to promote a new car model and the message is underlined by discarding an old order. The following quote can be understood against the background that women and technology are traditionally seen as incompatible:

*If one doesn't know anything about it it's usually boring... I suppose I had a bit of this silly attitude, had these prejudices of it all that "everybody's boyfriends just sit and watch it on Sundays and..." so I suppose I was just like everybody else... (L 1432, female b. 1979)*

Starting watching F1 as a woman might thus be a way of breaking a tradition, which is what this informant had done.

Formula 1 is surrounded by an aura of money and fast cars, but also of beautiful women. Traditionally, woman in the F1 world has been of the "car show type", that is, a young, more or less scantily clad woman, also called "asphalt rose", who is there only as a "decoration". Her task is to emphasize the prestige of the sport and the masculinity of the drivers, as the contrast between man and woman is thus sharpened. The stables also willingly invite models to the races. Thus, two glamorous worlds meet: the world of models, dominated by femininity and the world of Formula 1, dominated by masculinity. This can easily be interpreted as an instance where the traditional dichotomies of female-passive and male-active are still valued. But, as mentioned above, the drivers have also started acting as models for various clothing companies. Looks have become more important for men, too. Below a quote from an interview with a woman who is not interested in F1. She answers the question whether a certain

kind of male ideal is discernible in F1 as follows:

*No-o (laughter), no I don't think so, not if compared with like other sports, where the men usually are good-looking, have nice bodies that many perhaps watch in order to try to look like them in some way, but I don't think that Formula 1 drivers... they haven't really been that good-looking. (L 1438, female b. 1979)*

Perhaps pressure by women also make men care more about the way they look, given that one thinks looking good is an ideal to strive for. One of the reasons for the change in men is the change in the situation of women. The traditional relation between men and women is therefore also changing and gender identity is subject to negotiation to a larger extent. Man has also become an object (Knutsen 1998, 52).

The women who most frequently appear on the TV screen during F1 broadcasts are the girlfriends and wives of the drivers. My informants find that they represent different roles. On the one hand, they can be seen as a new type of the decorous woman; they are there only "to be seen". On the other hand, they can be regarded as devoted supporters, which is to assign them a more active role. In any case, they represent the private sphere of the drivers and underline the drivers' status as spouses or boyfriends. There may be a conflict inherent in this, too. F1 has perhaps traditionally been something of a "bachelor sport", while the two presently most successful drivers both have a wife and children. If today's myths of masculinity are supposed to direct the men back into the private sphere, this is what might have happened within F1. Still, the drivers put their highly dangerous job first, which creates a conflict. Arild Knutsen, who has studied the construction of today's man in the tabloid press, says that being a father has become a new moral

project for men (Knutsen 1998, 50). Thus, the question is whether a man can be an F1 driver and parent at the same time. The interview with Mika Häkkinen in an F1 magazine on the web ends as follows:

*Despite wife Eija waiting the couple's first child, Häkkinen responds to talk of retirement with a firm shake of the head. There is life in the old dog yet. He is an angry man, and the determination to avenge Schumacher's success this year will drive him on in 2001. (<http://www.atlasf1.com/2000/nov08/collings.html>)*

Two ideals collide, and in this passage the "aggressive" F1 model for masculinity is given a positive charge and filled with vitality, even if the reporter first expresses some doubt. The clash of different male ideals is also problematic in society at large. In the Finland-Swedish newspaper *Vasabladet*, an article with the headline "New father roles are confusing" was published on 28 October 2000. In it, men's studies researcher Arto Tiihonen says that "men have ended up in a difficult situation where they are expected to be bachelors, have a relationship, make a career and be fathers at the same time". The problem is that all these male roles have different life values.

The fact that the lifestyle of F1 drivers seems to have changed is something that some of my male informants find regrettable. The drivers are now more "politically correct":

*The old image of an F1 driver is this that he sits at a casino and throws away money like hell (laughter) and like being a playboy... well, as I said, it's a pity in a way that these don't exist any more, since they're so politically correct... and like Häkkinen now, Formula 1 is like his life, he's never like... no scandals, out partying and rampaging, in the 70's it was more*



*common that ... even during the Grand Prix weekends they were out partying on the Saturday night before the race... (L 1435, male b. 1978)*

So F1 has not only become safer regarding the cars and the courses, but the drivers have also adapted a “safer” lifestyle. The risk-taking has been reduced. “In the old days” the sport was more extreme and therefore more “whole”, but now shifts from the “original” have taken place on many levels. If the drivers today are seen as being politically correct, the thought is that they were more rebellious earlier, that they challenged the established order and took risks. Thus, the un-ordered and wild is what is associated with the original and gets a positive quality, while today’s more “tame” drivers are seen as having a more ordered and “boring” life.

### **Formula 1 – a boy’s dream. Toy racetracks and computer games**

Various toy cars and racetracks have been and still, to a large extent, are boys’ toys. Many boys dream of becoming racing drivers and perhaps they never stop dreaming? However, there is a difference between what is objectively realisable and an individual’s wishes. To actually become a racing driver is very difficult and, in the end, very few enter that career. Only a tiny elite get the opportunity to drive F1 cars. Playing F1 computer games provides a way of experiencing the feeling of driving an F1 car – and probably the closest most get to actually doing it. There seems to be something childish or perhaps boyish in playing these games. Most (male) interviewees reacted in an embarrassed/amused way when asked about this:

*– Do you play these Formula games on the computer?*

*– No (laughter)*

*– Well, do your friends play?*

*–... yeah, I have some that do (laughter)*

*– Oh, do they have this complete kit with steering wheels and pedals and...*

*– Yes, they actually do, at least in high school there were some that did...but I don’t know, I don’t think that... well one can’t really know what they’ve got in their closets (laughter) (L 1430, male b. 1977)*

F1 computer games with steering wheels and accelerator pedals can be regarded as toys. The interviewees have pointed out that F1 is something serious and real, or possibly a serious game, but never pure play. Perhaps play is not very highly valued and therefore it can be somewhat embarrassing to play as adult, something “to be hidden in the closet”. On the other hand, some of the interviewees did talk in quite a serious tone about the games. So, is it actually a game when they play F1 games on the computer, or something else?

The computer games are increasingly technologically advanced. In order for the experience of driving an F1 car to be as real as possible, it is important that the games are as realistic as possible and that all the details are up-to-date. For a maximal experience, one should have a kit with a steering wheel and accelerator and brake pedals. Views on whether it is a good or a bad thing that the games are difficult vary. Some think that the games are supposed to be difficult, since it is also difficult to drive Formula 1 in reality, whilst others do not have the patience to play if the game is too difficult. There are also varying views on whether more concentration is needed to play or to watch Formula 1:

*Of course one has to be more concentrated when playing these games, since it is as easy to crash as if one was driving for real since they are so realistic these days. (L 1437, male b. 1977)*

It is possible to engage strongly in the games, since they are so realistic, which is rather paradoxical. Driving a car on a computer is an example of the abstraction tendency that characterises modern society. But the purpose of it, that is, seeking experiences, is perhaps more typical of late modernity. Driving is lifted out of its context, but linked to reality by the games being made as realistic as possible, and by the players own knowledge of F1.

### **A step into “reality”**

All my interviewees have a perception of what it would be like to see a race “in reality”. The overview of the events would be lost, but one would get a stronger audiovisual *experience* of the cars’ actual speed and not least of the atmosphere, which, to a large extent, cannot be conveyed by TV broadcasts. Thus, watching TV is a version of following F1 where the viewer perhaps has the strongest experience of being in control of the events. Witnessing a Formula 1 race on the spot is a totally different experience from watching it on TV. One informant gives a lively description of this experience:

*... at least what I noticed was, well they are utterly skilled... it's the speed, the performance, like they never brake at all...it's like from 350 to 80 just like that... it's the noise, it's carnival, it's like the happening around it and there were like a hundred thousand, a hundred and fifty thousand people at the Nürburgring when I was there... everybody is happy and friends with each other. (L 1435, male b. 1978)*

Another interviewee talks about her ideas about what an F1 race might be like:

*At the same time perhaps I'd like to leave it being like “oh, imagine if one could, if one could...” instead of when one's seen it it's like “now I've seen it and well, what's*

*so extraordinary about it and one didn't see a thing and it seemed as if they drove really slowly” — it might get more linked with reality, but then again it's nice when it floats there on some unimaginable level. (L 1433, female b. 1979)*

There is something late-modern in travelling to see an F1 race and not least in dreaming about going to see a race, to go into “reality”. There is a wish to be in the centre of events, to be part of a larger community and enter a reality that promises a penetrating, intense experience. It is something one can dream about, but at the same time fear that once actually being there it would not be that exciting, that the only feeling would be one of emptiness: “is this all?”; the dream would be shattered. This shows the duality in the individual's changing horizons of opportunity, which is a typical late-modern feature.

### **Excitement and/or meaninglessness**

Formula 1 is not meaningless. It is filled with several meanings and values concerning, among other things, masculinity and femininity, national feeling, prestige, morality and order, which are not isolated concepts, but change with the society that surrounds them. I have tried to show how this dialogue about and negotiation of meaning takes place by focussing on how students watching Formula 1 on TV experience these changes. But how does Formula 1 become interesting and exciting to watch? It is, after all, simply cars driving around racetracks. The attitude to modernity called potentialising, making the late-modern lack of context intensive and exciting, is a possible explanation. However, it is rather *modernity being intensified* and not late-modernity. The modern belief in development and progress, and the capitalism dominating Formula 1 are perhaps not compatible with late-

modernity where “everything” can be questioned and changed. TV viewers reflect and take a stance on many issues pertaining to F1, and this attitude is often of a late-modern kind:

*I'm a bit fascinated by this, that their fascination with speed and excitement... can be so huge and that they really, since of course they know that...any time might be their last.* (L 1432, female b. 1979)

I find the above quote a good illustration of late-modern society's contradictory reaction to other people's total devotion to something. While seeing the meaninglessness in somebody risking their life for something like Formula 1, speed and excitement, one can also be fascinated by the fact that the drivers are so totally dedicated to what they believe in.

*This essay was originally written in the autumn of 2000, and the situation in Formula 1 has changed since then. For example, Häkkinen no longer drives Formula 1.*

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SVEN-ERIK KLINKMANN

## Elvis, "Coolness" and Masculinity in the 50s USA

This article discusses Elvis Presley in relation to the concepts of coolness and masculinity in the 1950's in the USA. One point of departure is that words can be used in a number of different ways; for example, as carrying either a more literal, or more metaphorical or figurative meaning. An example of the way in which words are given figurative meanings, without us even giving it further thought, is the song by the American country singer and songwriter Tom T. Hall. The song "Old Dogs, Children and Watermelon Wine" tells the story of the singer's encounter with, as the song goes, "an old gray black gentleman". The two adjectives signifying colours, that is, grey and black, here very clearly carry different meanings and are formed on different bases. The word "gray" metonymically, primarily based on hair colour, refers to the man's age, that is, how the man is categorised age-wise as an elderly gentleman. Also the word "black" is used metaphorically, but in a different way: as signifying that the man in question is ethnically Afro-American, thus also referring to the problem of colour, which is still highly topical in present-day USA. The concepts of "cool" and "coolness" are also, in my opinion, directly connected with issues of colour in a metaphorical sense.

But, starting my study purely linguistically: what does the word "cool" actually mean? According to Bartleby's

online dictionary "cool" has the following meanings: "1. Neither warm nor very cold; moderately cold" as in: "*fresh, cool water; a cool autumn evening.*" Its second meaning is "giving or suggesting relief from heat: *a cool breeze; a cool blouse.*" The third meaning given by the dictionary is something "marked by calm self-control: *a cool negotiator,* and the fourth "marked by indifference, disdain, or dislike; unfriendly or unresponsive: *a cool greeting; was cool to the idea of higher taxes.*" Fifthly, the word can be "of, relating to, or characteristic of colors, such as blue and green, that produce the impression of coolness." Sixthly, cool can, in slang, mean "a. Excellent; first-rate: *has a cool sports car; had a cool time at the party.*" or "b. Acceptable; satisfactory: *It's cool if you don't want to talk about it.*" Lastly, the word can be used in slang as expressing something "entire; full: *worth a cool million.*"

So, it is clear already at this stage that the adjective "cool" has a number of diverging meanings, from chilliness to indifference, from cool colours to calm self-control. Here, we can also add another meaning for the word "cool" which the online dictionary does not include, that is, "cool" as a noun signifying a certain musical style within jazz, as created in the 1950's by musicians such as Miles Davis, Bill Evans and Gerry Mulligan. In fact, the word "cool" came to virtually explode in

50's America, not just as a name for a specific style of jazz, but also as a much more fundamental pose and attitude associated with both a rock'n'roll artist such as Elvis, within rock'n'roll music, and, last but not least, within the entire teenage culture, which in the 50's was connected with rock'n'roll and jazz.

### **The pre-history of the concept of "cool"**

In order to trace the pre-history of the concept cool, I think we must assume that the USA is a strongly colour-fixated society, where, in the 1950's black artists, such celebrated jazz stars as Miles Davies or Charles Mingus could still, when stepping out onto the street from a jazz club in New York, be harassed by the police and thrown into "the nick" without any valid reason. Descriptions of this racist culture are found in, for example, Charles Mingus' autobiography *Beneath the Underdog*, or in *Blues People*, a history of jazz written by the black author and cultural critic Le Roi Jones, or Amira Baraka, as he later called himself.

Where do the roots of the concepts "cool" and "coolness" lie? The American art historian and folklorist Robert Farris Thompson (1973) traces the earliest history of "cool" to West Africa. According to him, the concept in its traditional West African context expresses a social and aesthetic ideal characterised by cultural control, individual restraint and social stability. The concept is also associated with the ritual use of water and chalk, or other substances saturated with meanings of coolness and purity. In a traditional West African environment, coolness pertains to a transcendental balance, Thompson notes. Based on his studies of coolness in tropical Africa and also in black America he has defined what he calls "an aesthetic of the cool". This is characterised by fundamental, intricately motivated, artistically aware

intertwined elements of sincerity and pleasure, of responsibility and play (Ibid.), which thus also can be described as a complex, artistic and even spiritual form of coolness. Being cool in the West African cultures means being calm, serene, composed, balanced, expressing atonement and offering sacrifices. According to Thompson (Ibid.), this West African form of coolness also expresses 1. discretion, 2. healing, 3. rebirth and 4. novelty, or purity. A central metaphor for people's "cool" qualities is the image of the strong, clean flowing waters of a river.

Thompson discovered the "cool" character of Yoruba art during a field trip in West Africa in 1963. In what follows I absolutely do not want to belittle the significance of Thompson's observations. The connections between Afro-American and West African cultural expressions are well established within, for example, jazz music. Therefore I find it an obvious fact that a general attitude such as coolness can also possess deep historical roots. However, the timing of Thompson's study of the traditional West African "cool" art might prompt a certain apprehension. In thus connecting a specifically American set of issues from the 1950's and 1960's with a totally different cultural environment, the West African one, or vice versa, there is a risk of a "transferred" interpretation of a cultural phenomenon from a mainly sacred and traditional context in West Africa to a secular and modern setting in North America.

Perhaps the roots of the concepts of cool and coolness should after all – at least as pertaining to a more limited time framework – be sought in the USA, and there particularly in the black music scene in the New York of the 1930's and 1940's. In his study of the concept of cool as a sign of adolescence in the America of the 1950's (*Cool: The Signs and Meanings of Adolescence*, 1994), semiotician Marcel

Danesi claims that the origins of the concept are to be found in the American jazz scene of the 1930's in the heat and smoky air of the jazz and night clubs (Ibid. 37ff). In order to get some fresh air to breathe in the clubs, windows and doors were opened to let in "cool air". By an analogy, according to Danesi, the type of jazz, slow and polished, played in these clubs was therefore began to be called cool, and the musicians playing this music – black musicians, but also others, including white "experts" of the music, were termed cool, too.

I am not quite convinced by the analogy and metaphor of the opened windows. Rather, I am inclined to look for an explanation of the origin of the word and attitude to cultural phenomena such as drugs and the use of drugs. This is supported by the fact that the jazz scene in, for example, New York during the 1930's, displayed both a number of drugs and a number of metaphorical expressions poetically renaming the drugs in order to keep the white audience, including the police authorities, ignorant and outside of the entire phenomenon and culture. In his book on the American swing era in the 1930's (*The Swing Era*, 1989:332f.), jazz historian Gunther Schuller presents a thorough description of the armoury of slang expressions relating to drugs. Here, we should perhaps rather talk about argot instead of slang, which is to say, a language used by a specific subculture, in this case jazz culture. Words and expressions like "viper" or "kickin' the gong around" referred to marijuana or smoking opium. A secret language was created, which also left its mark in the titles of many of the popular jazz songs of the time – for example, "I'se a Muggin', You'se a Viper", "Viper's Drag", "Minnie the Moocher", "Kickin' the Gong around", "Texas Tea Party", "Chant of the Weed", etc. – and in a number of song texts. Marijuana was the dominant drug on the jazz scene of the

1930's and it was called hay, tea, shuzzit, muggles, muta, grefa, gunja, reefer, gauge or weed.

The spread of heroin in the jazz circles in the 1940's often resulted in the musicians being described as cool or withdrawn, emotionally indifferent. This, according to jazz historians, stood in direct relation to the intolerable racial situation of Afro-American artists and intellectuals after World War II. Older jazz artists, such as Louis Armstrong, Cab Calloway or Ella Fitzgerald, had been able to hide behind an attitude of a laughing jester, by carrying a nice and friendly mask (for a description of this defensive attitude of, for example, Armstrong, see Stearns 1956/1977:317–320). As this attitude was no longer adequate among the young black artists in the 1940's, they adapted a cool stance instead: a protective wall against racial harassment, personified not least by Miles Davies and the attitude he came to represent musically and culturally.

### Characteristics of coolness

George Elliot Clarke lists a number of typical characteristics of coolness in black America:

*(...) coolness involves a willingness to engage in violence (...), to risk death (...), to suppress emotion (in interactions with friends, family members, lovers, spouses, and children), to value spontaneity, expressiveness, and stylishness (...), and to prize verbal dexterity (...). These qualities of cool render it an essential survival mechanism in a society in which 'except for people over age eighty-five, black males are dying at a higher rate than any other group at any age' (...). Given this vicious context, any moral code that signals meaning, community, and purposefulness, that is to say, that combats anomie, is potentially irresistible. Coolness is one such code. (Clarke 1998)*

The question of a possible connection between coolness in black America and coolness in West Africa can hardly be answered adequately, based on the short descriptions above. The brief material points in different directions. There are both clear similarities and considerable differences between the ways in which the concepts are used in their respective contexts.

Anthropologist Mary Douglas has taught us that something socially or geographically marginal, as for example the predominantly black, hip New York jazz scene in the 1940's (which also gave rise to the bebop style), symbolically speaking often might seem very central to its surrounding society. This is also the case with the black musicians who attracted admiration when playing in various joints and clubs on 52<sup>nd</sup> Street in New York, but could get beaten up by brutal policemen as soon as they came out into the street. The unknown, the marginal, the Other becomes something attractive, exciting and desirable at a symbolic level, through cultural transformation.

As LeRoi Jones writes in *Blues People* (1963:234–238), quite frequent crossings of the so called racial boarder also took place in the 1940's New York artist and jazz circles. The black and white markings of American racism were no longer valid; the watertight bulkhead of the racist politics here leaked like a sieve. As a consequence, the black musicians' cool, emotionally seemingly indifferent attitude became adaptable also for others. This pertained, for example, to the New York based theatre school the Actor's Studio. When Miles Davis' album, *Birth of Cool* was released in 1957, the culture of the cool had already begun to penetrate American society to an increasing extent. The Actor's Studio was headed by Stanislavsky's former student Lee Strasberg and, using the so called *method acting*, the school trained what

could be called the new, cool heroes of film, such as Marlon Brando, James Dean, Paul Newman and, to a somewhat lesser degree, also heroines such as Eve Marie Saint. Method acting has been described as a method where the actors try to base their acting on personal and emotional memories and use improvisation and spontaneity to develop the character of their role (for a more detailed description of method acting, see e.g. an online interview with Richard Herskowitz 1998: *Cool. The 11<sup>th</sup> Annual Virginia Film Festival*).

Alongside film, parts of American contemporary literature adapted an attitude characterised by coolness, particularly so in works by the beat writers Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and also LeRoi Jones. The link between cool jazz and the beat writers is very obvious and well documented. The beat writers borrowed a lot of expressions from the 1940's jazz/hipster slang, such as *square*, *cats*, *blow your top*, *dig*. And, of course, *cool*. But the influence from jazz was deeper than just words: the beat writers attempted to transfer the central ideas of the bebop aesthetics and ways of playing to literature. This pertains to both prose and poetry; for example, Jack Kerouac's beat poetry has been described as bop prosody (see Jones 1963:237). The beat writers, like the black musicians and the radical theatre people, came to stand for a mental revolution against the established American society, particularly perhaps against the backdrop of the experiences from the Korean War at the beginning of the 1950's. LeRoi Jones says he is "almost certain that the 50's got its own special ominous character by the sinister influence from the Korean War and the emotional chaos following it" (Ibid.:219).

The step from Miles Davies, Lee Strasberg and Jack Kerouac, who can well be called examples of coolness within an artistic highbrow culture, to popular culture is very short. Just think of the classic

composer Leonard Bernstein's American version of *Romeo and Juliet*, *West Side Story*, which first opened in New York in 1957 and was filmed in 1961. *West Side Story* is a love story set against the background of gang wars in New York between the white Jets and the Puerto Rican Sharks. We all remember the chorus in "The Jets' Song": "Just play it cool, boys!" Here, we meet not only Marlon Brando and James Dean as angry young men, but also, and above all, Elvis Presley as representing a new social stereotype, the criminal teenager, *the juvenile delinquent*, or, to put it more nicely: "the rebel without a cause", to quote the famous 1955 film in which James Dean starred. Suddenly, the concept of cool was present nearly everywhere in American society. And one who was cooler than most was Elvis Presley.

### The "dangerous" youth in the USA of the 1950's

In the USA, the 1950's can be characterised as the era of the teenager. The difference compared to earlier periods pertained, for example, to the number of teenagers, their higher level of financial and other resources, and their group awareness.

According to James S. Coleman (1961:205f.), sociologist of adolescence, the American teenage world of the 1950's consisted of three relatively clearly distinguishable groups of adolescents. The connecting feature of the three groups was that their natural environment, above all, was high school, the drug store, the car and, to a certain extent, also the family. Coleman divides his teenage world, which was later portrayed in fictional form in the TV series *Happy Days* and romanticised and idealised in teenage films such as *American Graffiti*, *Back to the Future*, *Peggy Sue Got Married* and *Pleasantville*, into three groups; "the leading crowd", "the rough crowd" and "the middle majority". The leading crowd of the teenage world and in high school consisted

of the brightest students in the school system. This group publicly adapted adult values in America of the 1950's. However, the general cultural strategy of the group also included a manipulative ability to use breaches against these values for personal purposes. As Erling Bjurström points out (1997:44f.), Coleman's view of the American youth in the 1950's is based on two primary premises, or figures of thought. One figure of thought pertains to the gap between the adult and the adolescent world; the other, which is connected with the first, to the world of youth being a deviation from the world of adulthood. Bjurström draws the conclusion that both premises are static, because the development, values and norms of the adult world are never problematised but are regarded historically. One figure of thought that Bjurström does not explicitly mention, but which also seems central and which I will discuss in more detail further below, is that the strongly male dominated discourse of the music form of rock'n'roll has, from the very beginning, been a central expression for this teenage culture.<sup>1</sup>

The rough crowd consisted of a number of teenagers in different kinds of distressed situation. The group was replenished with other marginal groups, which, in the American 1950's, when teenagers and adolescents became known as being dangerous and unlawful, were defined within the frames of something called "subterranean traditions" in an oppositional triad of *delinquency*, *radicalism* and *bohemianism* – that is to say, the things that make up the roots of the different sub and anti cultures of the 1960's within the area of youth culture. Another sociologist, Philip H. Ennis (1992:247), has noted that it is as front figure for, above all, the sociologically regarded "lowest" group, that is, the rough crowd, of high school students that Elvis and rock'n'roll offered a solution to many of the teenagers' problems. While the adolescents could still "love their mother



and God”, they could also hunger for the wild promises of love and sex as conveyed by Elvis and rock’n’roll. Ennis further notes that various artefacts with a strong symbolic significance – such as the black leather jacket, pomaded hair, the cool gaze, but also, and above all, a general resistance to middle class values – found a home in rock’n’roll. At the same time, rock’n’roll could also find its most important symbolic frame of reference, its own symbolism, in this form of teenage culture with its (real or assumed) background in perceptions of juvenile delinquents, dangerous motorcycle gangs and hooligans.

In this case, the habit of regarding adolescents in negatively defined terms emanates from an American petty bourgeois of middle class horizon of understanding. This categorising of young people as potentially dangerous, and thus as objects for regulation by schools, teachers, supervisors, psychologists and criminologists, culminated in the 50’s in a number of debates and contributions to the discussion on the dangerous teenager, the adolescent, *the juvenile delinquent*.

The cultural researcher Luisa Passerini (1997:318) has shown that the construction of the dangerous juvenile delinquent reached a clear peak in time at the end of the 1950’s, that is, just after Elvis and rock’n’roll entered the scene. However, the roots of the dangerousness constructed as a double or combined image of the parental generation’s fears and worries and of the cultural industry’s codification of a dangerous adolescent behaviour, existed already in the USA of the 40’s. Important books that crystallized the dangerous, subversive adolescent were beat writer Jack Kerouac’s novel *On the Road* and Robert Lindner’s novel *Rebel without a Cause*. Kerouac wrote his novel as early as 1941, then with the title *The Beat Generation*, but the book was refused publication and came out only in 1956, the same year as Elvis

won nationwide popularity. The novel *Rebel without a Cause* was published in 1944, but became widely read and admired only about a decade later, in 1955, after the book was filmed with young film stars James Dean and Natalie Wood in the leading roles.

Another film that mirrored many of the perceptions of the dangerous and subversive teenage and adolescent world of the time was *The Wild One* (1954) with its threateningly rebellious lead role played by Marlon Brando, donning black leather, as the leader of a motorcycle gang. The film *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), with Bill Haley’s “Rock around the Clock” playing as background music to the credits in the beginning, also presented an image of adolescents as dangerous. The portrayal of young people as a socially and culturally dangerous category was emphasized in this film by the teachers appearing as an example of adults totally lacking in authority, terrorised by violent and criminal gangs of adolescents.

Adolescence thus became a legal and social status that had to be disciplined, protected and accorded its own institutions. Young people represented a danger both to themselves and to society. At a symbolic level, this discourse of adolescence came to function in two totally contradictory ways, depending on the position from which it was viewed. For those who embraced the dangerousness in the discourse – either in its fictive form, as in Elvis and rock’n’roll, or in a mimetic-realistic form as in the criminal youth gangs – the danger turned into a positive value, something to identify with and obtain strength from.

On the other hand, in the eyes and minds of the “nice” adolescents – those listening to Pat Boone and Connie Francis and not to Elvis – and the well-adapted parents, concepts such as juvenile delinquency and rock’n’roll represented a dangerous Other,

an unknown that had to be rejected. For these latter groups, rock and adolescence thus appeared as symbolically charged issues that they strived to discard using all possible means. However, as cultural researchers Peter Stallybrass and Allon White (1986:193) have shown, this dangerous, so-called 'first grotesque' will, on a subconscious level and through what they call the political unconscious, invade the identity formations that have taken place on a conscious and political level. Thus, the second grotesque is born, of which the dangerous youth culture, rock and Elvis can be interpreted as clear examples.

### **Coolness as a mask – Elvis in action**

As I have said above, in his study of coolness as the central significant sign for youth in, for example, the American 1950's, Danesi notes that the concept of cool originates in the jazz scene of the 1930's. Accordingly, I find that there is good reason to suggest that coolness, as a quality in youth, is related to the entire set of unique types of cultural formation, which, beginning in 19<sup>th</sup> century Europe and America, has had a very specific and powerful effect on the development of popular culture. As the anthropologist Victor Turner (1974:233, 252–259) and musicologist Peter Manuel (1988:18f, 60f, 77, 107, 127) have shown, the development of genres of popular music is connected to phenomena such as marginalisation and liminality. Turner describes those marginal groups which have a significant function in forming culture as being part of a *petty proletariat*. Important historical musical genres within popular culture, such as fado, blues, ragtime, jazz, tango, Paris chanson, flamenco and rebetika, have been developed by forms of anomalous, marginal grouping, often situated on the outskirts of big cities. These groups have

thus come to function within their society as experimental laboratories; pools through which various cultural influences have flowed, and giving rise to new hybrid genes which have spread and also become popular outside their original environment. A similar proletarian and marginal feature is also implicated in the birth of rock'n'roll. Or, as Judd Phillips (older brother of Sam Phillips, the man who recorded Elvis at Sun Records) states: "It was the poor white seeking the soul expression. Not the uptown white, but the poor white" (Bane 1982/92:125).

Something of the hesitation between an insider and an outsider perspective which seems to characterise these marginal groups is also, in my opinion, included in the adolescents' use of the concept of cool both as a style marker and a symbolic sign. According to Danesi, the central elements of coolness have not changed significantly since the 1950's. Thus coolness can still, as in the 50's, be signalled by activities such as smoking, drinking alcohol, using drugs, slow movements, the art of wearing "the right" clothes, listening to "the right" music and adapting "the right" postures; that is, signalling what is regarded as right and important within the group one belongs to (Danesi 1994:40, 60–67). The basic assumptions in Danesi's definition of coolness as an adolescent attribute is, on the one hand, that it is localised to the sub-group, the gang, the "tribe", or sub-culture that the adolescents belong to, and, on the other, that it is gender specific, that is, the expressions of coolness among boys and among girls are clearly different from each other. As Passerini notes, terms such as "tribe" or "sub-culture" are taken from ethnographic studies of persons or peoples who were "different", people who did not share a number of those perceptions that were central for a Westerner (Passerini 1997:320). The

concept of coolness thus functions as an attribute linked both to liminality and to reflexivity; two phenomena that, according to folklorist Barbara Babcock, are mutually dependent, in that the one presupposes the other (Babcock 1980:5). As an integration of unknown and dangerous symbolic material, transported from one discursive domain to another, coolness constitutes a root metaphor of the type that Stallybrass and White call a secondary grotesque (Stallybrass & White 1986:193f.).

In order to understand what the teenage idol and rock'n'roll star Elvis represented in terms of a concept such as coolness, the public image, the dramatic mask that Elvis constructed must be deconstructed. This mask is laden with many semantic and symbolic significances. A representative image of the various transgressions that the Elvis mask stood for in the USA of the 50's is provided by Elvis's rockabilly colleague Roy Orbison in his description of their first encounter when he was 19, at a country & western jamboree in Dallas on 16 April 1955. The description, included in a biography of Orbison, is a mixture of "direct quotes" of Orbison's feelings and a more reflexive meditation on what was special about the Elvis mask. It thus illustrates the complex web of significances attributed to incidents when they are recounted and, in a way, re-formed by the human imagination:

*It was like nothing the bespectacled Wink Westerner [Roy Orbison] had ever experienced before. Presley, sneering, didn't seem to care how badly he behaved up there – breaking guitar strings, spitting out his chewing gum, swivelling his hips in a rude way, doing the splits, knee-dropping and crawling to the very edge of the stage. He told jokes "that weren't funny, and his diction was real coarse like a truck driver's". Roy observed the "pandemonium*

*in the audience because the girls took a shine to him and the guys were getting a little jealous". Nonetheless, while pulling out all the stops and unfettered by slickness, the lurid Presley's instinctive control kept the mob just short of open riot – though females continued to shriek and faint in defiance of their boyfriends' sporadic heckling. By the close, all had tuned into the situation's epic vulgarity. (Clayson 1989:21)*

The vulgar, but also obviously irresistible creature that Elvis, according to Roy Orbison, constituted became, as youth researcher James Coleman notes, the favourite singer of that very rough crowd described above. In that group, practically everybody smoked and drank. However, their favourite singer neither smoked nor drank. Dressed in black rock'n'roll jackets as a symbol of an orientation towards entertainment, cars, music and roller-skates, this group had chosen Elvis as their favourite singer because of the implicit deviance and rebelliousness of Presley (Coleman 1961:205f.).

Ennis points out that Elvis meant trouble from the very beginning, since he personified the contradictions "inherent" within the American family concerning the view on parental authority, the independence and sexuality of young people:

*His rebellion was masked in southern manners bordering on obsequiousness. Even the restraint religion imposed went awry in Elvis's case. His church training and gospel music experience did not prevent the incipient excesses of sexuality from living beside (being, in fact, augmented by) the religiosity that fired the most explosive emotional yearnings in southern Protestant life, white and black. Those themes of rebellion, religiosity, and ungovernable sexuality were emblazoned*

*in all his performances and in his public presence.* (Ennis 1992:244)

### **The logic of the Elvis mask: vulgarity, rebellion, sexuality**

Key words that emerge from these short descriptions of Elvis as a symbol for youth and teenagers are “vulgarity”, “rebellion” and “sexuality”. The texts also contain contradictions or oxymorons such as “He told jokes that weren’t funny”, “the situation’s epic vulgarity” and “His rebellion was masked in southern manners”. Thus, both Elvis and rock’n’roll stood, from the very beginning, for a transgression of various borders. Philip Ennis talks about the transformative symbolic process which Elvis and other rock artists started and maintained with a “capacity to transcend race, religion, gender or region in the name of music”.

The rebellious and challenging trace in Elvis’s masks, in his public personae or the impersonations of a rockabilly and rock’n’roll star that he constructed (in 1954–58) is based on borrowing a number of disparate elements from both the white hillbilly and country cultures, from the black street culture, and black and white popular culture. This reflexivity is a strong feature in his early rock mask. Elvis absorbed influences like a sponge. His reflexivity thus also meant that he, consciously or unconsciously, placed himself in a liminal position. Even at this early stage he is already both a transgressor of borders and a border guard. While his fans see him as an emblem of opposition and renewal against their parental generation and authorities, his opponents – who form a very heterogeneous group consisting of the “nice” adolescents and above all of somewhat older Americans – regard him as dangerously subversive. A statement by a witness before the Senate’s Subcommittee on Delinquency is very telling: “Elvis Presley is a symbol, of course” ... “but a

dangerous one... The gangster of tomorrow is the Elvis Presley type of today” (Passerini 1997:326).

Elvis’s first rock’n’roll mask – that of the 1950’s – appears, compared with, for example, his Las Vegas mask of the 1970’s, as a mainly realistic one, with its origins in forms of low and popular culture. Its models, particularly pertaining to clothes and choice of colour (predominantly dark and bright colours such as black and pink), are the black hipster and/or pimp. Other background figures for his early rock’n’roll mask are the young rebel and the truck driver. The mask also implies a way of moving (hip, leg and arm movements) that originates in black culture (blues, gospel). These various cultural signs in Elvis’s rock’n’roll mask can be said to comprise the stereotypical rock’n’roll rebel; a figure with pronounced low cultural, rebellious, “bodily” roots, and a person who constitutes a threat to the puritan and middle-class view of life and its cultural ideals during the 1950’s.

The figure of Elvis becomes liminal and marginal in relation to the 50’s general classification system of social control. This means that Elvis in his rock’n’roll appearance represents a threat against the existing order, a threat that somehow has to be integrated into the prevalent system. The rebel image is also clearly connected to Elvis’s southern background. An important feature of Elvis’s rebellion is that it is not focussed on any particular issue. Instead, this is “a rebel without a cause”; an angry, young rebel, aiming his opposition against the parental generation, just as Elvis’s rock’n’roll persona does.

However, the most dangerous and subversive feature of the mask and image that Elvis created in the 1950’s was the fact that he combined elements from black and white cultures. Elvis was a prime example of what the New York-based author Norman Mailer called “the white Negro”.

In 1957, the same year that Miles Davies released his record *Birth of Cool*, the same year that *West Side Story* opened and Elvis gained his international break-through, Mailer wrote an essay titled "The White Negro" in the left-wing journal *Dissent* (also published in Mailer's collection of essays *Advertisement for Myself*, 1961). In it, he defends the thesis that a new white social outlaw had been established in the American landscape, a hipster or a philosophical psychopath, whose primary inspiration consisted of the sexuality and music of Afro-Americans. "The hipster has absorbed the existentialist synapses of the Negro, and for all practical purposes could be considered a white Negro", Mailer wrote in his essay. The description could be one of Elvis Presley, but Mailer found his musical sources of inspiration and examples in jazz.

Like the concept of cool, the hipster also originates in black jazz and black street culture; more precisely in the hip bebop-jazz scene of the 1940's. The hipster demonstrated, through a style of dress, gestures and a general cool attitude, that he was something very special: an urban young man who dressed fancily in order to impress people around him. In Elvis, teenage culture had found its hipster figure, a "hipster for the millions", as he has also been named.

What are the features in these cool rebels – "rebels without a cause" as they may be called after the film discussed above – that is, what is it in the make up of an Elvis Presley, a James Dean, a Marlon Brando that makes them so central to the decidedly masculine iconography of the USA of the 1950's? In order to find an answer to this question, I think we again need to explore both the sociological and the psychological roots of the phenomenon at issue. This shows that two important socio-psychological phenomena emerge at about the same time in post-war USA. One is the

culture of rock'n'roll and the teenage rebel. The other is a phenomenon usually called *mom-ism*: a misogynist concept coined by the American writer and debater Philip Wylie in his pamphlet *Generation of Vipers* (1942/1955), which was widely discussed in the mass media at the time. Wylie's aim is to find a scapegoat for the supposed degeneration of American culture caused by materialism, superficial popular culture, soap operas, fashion, TV, radio, sentimental pop songs, Hollywood and department stores. According to Wylie, all these phenomena are expressions of *mom-ism*, of a female or motherly sensitivity, which undermines the virile element in American culture. As Jacqueline Rose (1992:166ff) notes, the dangers of femininity and of mass culture have thus been linked very intimately together. This link was further developed *within* rock'n'roll culture where a gendered division between rock and pop was established according to the principles presented by Simon Reynolds and Joy Press in their study *The Sex Revolts. Gender, Rebellion and Rock'n'roll* (1995:5): "Here the correct response (male connoisseurship, discerning and discriminating) is opposed to degraded feminine fan-worship (superficial, hysterical, idolatrous, at once fickle and blindly loyal)".

In the case of Elvis, his "rebel without a cause" iconography comes to appear as a restless, uncertain combination of, on the one hand, his way of imitating male black sexuality in "the white Negro" configuration (see above), and, on the other, an affirmation of his extreme dependence on his mother, Gladys (Klinkmann 1998:121f). Albert Goldman points out that as a young boy, Elvis was constantly in the company of his mother and was as frequently encouraged to speak out and reveal all his thoughts and feelings to her. Goldman notes that Elvis became so accustomed to sharing his inner life with his mother, so dependent on her opinion and

advice, that he later did not hesitate to wake her up in the middle of the night if he had something on his mind and could not sleep. Thus there cannot, according to Goldman, be any doubt about the reason for the extreme reserve that characterised Elvis during all of his adult life. His utter reluctance to confide in anybody or reveal his inner thoughts can be explained by the fact that, in his mind, there was only one single person in the world that could understand and guide him (Goldman 1981:62).

### **Cultural loans and social flexibility/inflexibility**

Blackface minstrel<sup>24</sup> researcher Eric Lott links the old black face tradition with the later white representations of “blackness” which are also included in the expression “white nigger” and in the Elvis figure: “To put on the cultural forms of ‘blackness’ was to engage in a complex affair of manly mimicry” (Lott 1995:52). The “black” cultural element that Elvis “steals” in his persona of “white nigger” emphasizes (ultra) masculinity, adulthood and sexuality. However, Elvis’s complex and ambiguous cultural representations also include clear androgynous features (Klinkmann 1998:131f, 334; Garber 1992:367). Thus, the masculinity of Elvis can be connected with the new type of male role also exemplified by film stars such as Marlon Brando, James Dean and Montgomery Clift. According to Fredrik Hertzberg, the common feature of these three film stars was that they revolted against conventional masculinity. The new male role was both more masculine and more feminine than before. It was more physical and less verbal than the role typified by predecessors such as Humphrey Bogart, James Cagney and John Wayne. It demonstrated a new way of being cool, but also openly exposed its vulnerability, writes Hertzberg in a special, body themed issue

of the Finland-Swedish journal *Horisont* (1992:66).

This can be compared to the way in which the black, masculine and cool mask or pose, according to sociologists Richard Majors and Janet Mancini-Billson, functioned. That is, as an adaptive mechanism for handling the reality of the existence of Afro-American men: “... to enhance social competence, pride, dignity, self-esteem and respect. Cool enhances masculinity. Being cool also expresses bitterness, anger, and distrust towards an oppressive society for many years of hostile mistreatment and discrimination” (Majors & Mancini-Billson 1992:105).

Herman Gray (downloaded on 29 March 2001) notes that the image of the cool black jazz man was not lacking in contradictory features:

*As a “different” sign of the masculine he was policed as much as he was celebrated and exoticized by white men and women alike. Policed as a social threat because he transgressed the social role assigned to him by the dominant culture and celebrated as the “modern primitive” because he embodied and expressed a masculinity that explicitly rejected the reigning codes of propriety and place. Drugs, sexism, pleasure, excess, nihilism, defiance, pride, and the cool pose of disengagement were all a part of the style, personality, vision, and practice of an assertive heterosexual black masculinity that could not be confined within the dominant cultural logic. (The lives and careers of John Coltrane and Miles Davies illustrate the complex and wide-ranging relations of gender at play in the jazz world; Coltrane’s wife was a respected member of his band, while Davies often treated women with derision and abuse. My point is that, although the masculinity created by the black jazz man at once challenged dominant white discourses of heterosexual*

*masculinity, with respect to women this same powerful and defiant black masculinity just as often maintained unequal relations of power between men and women.)*

Against the backdrop of this complex black masculinity, this black bearing, as described by Gray, Elvis's coolness and masculinity expressed in his public persona of the 50's appears as something relatively playful and superficial. However, in his book *Blues People*, LeRoi Jones (1974:226f) presents a surprisingly positive picture of Elvis and rock'n'roll. He says that rhythm & blues, the contemporary expression of blues in urban environments, was the source of the new vitalisation of popular music, and that rock'n'roll was the end-product of this: "And it is, as every American 'average mother'<sup>25</sup> thinks, music for 'non-intellectuals'. But an Elvis Presley to me seems like something of greater cultural significance than a Jo Stafford".<sup>26</sup>

According to LeRoi Jones, rock'n'roll nevertheless mostly constitutes a blatant commercialisation of rhythm & blues. In many cases, however, the music is based on enough material which is so unfamiliar to the average middle class and middle intellectual American culture that it, according to Jones, becomes interesting.<sup>27</sup>

The rhythm & blues historian Nelson George (1988:62f) says that Elvis's exposure to black culture, both blues and gospel, was as strong as it could ever be expected to be, when seen from his white Mississippi perspective. Elvis listened to the black radio stations WDIA in Memphis and WLAC in Nashville; his dress and hair style revealed an image with a clear background in black culture. George's conclusion of this cross-cultural collision is that Elvis adopted black styles from black people who had adopted a whiter appearance. And George adds:

*Of course, Elvis' reverse integration was*

*so complete that on stage he adopted symbolic fornication blacks had unashamedly brought to American entertainment. Elvis was sexy; not clean-cut, wholesome, white-bread, Hollywood sexy but sexy in the aggressive earthy manner associated by whites with black males. In fact, as a young man Presley came closer than any other rock & roll star to capturing the swaggering sexuality projected by so many R & B vocalists. (Ibid.:63)*

Nelson George then contrasts this superficial blackness, this mimicry effect that Elvis could attain in his stage performance and his singing, with the singer's lack of real insight into black culture:

*– Elvis was just a package, a performer with limited musical ambition and no real dedication to the black style that made him so dangerous. Presley, as his life later revealed, never put the time into developing his interpretation of blackness – the most important part in his appeal – in the way Mick Jagger has, for example. (Ibid.)*

Nelson George calls Presley "a damn lazy student" and describes him as a mediocre performing artist who, during his entire career was transfixed in the unyielding grip of his manager Colonel Parker. If Elvis had kept closer to the blues style of his early Sun recordings, he would, according to George, been able to produce 20 years of music that would qualitatively corresponded to what George calls the myth about Elvis Presley.

The superficial and playful adaptation of the black man's bearing that Elvis, according to Nelson George, represents, might perhaps explain the socio-cultural mechanism as a basis for the famous rumour that spread in black cultural circles

and was obviously believed also by leading black cultural persons. Relatively early in Elvis's career, according to Peter Guralnick (1994:425f) already during the spring and summer of 1957, a rumour spreads in black housing areas in the USA claiming that Elvis had said: "The only thing Negroes can do for me is to buy my records and shine my shoes."<sup>28</sup>

In my doctoral thesis on Elvis Presley as a king of carnival (Klinkmann 1998:284), I have, in accordance with the title, characterised the persona of Elvis as markedly carnivalistic. In my view, Elvis comes very close to the Harlequin strategy essential to the Renaissance *commedia dell'arte* theatre; a strategy that seeks to amuse in a chameleon-like way, incorporating aesthetics that balance between the high and low, the serious and the humorous. Elvis constantly moves between the sublime and the grotesque, between the cultivated, which, with him is particularly expressed in a form of dandyism and a strong feature of "mummy's boy", and the burlesque, grotesque, which, however, with Elvis is never directly transferred from black culture, but slightly changed, parodied, or, to use Elvis's own expression, "goosed up".

Taking all of this into account, it is perhaps somewhat easier to understand why a rumour such as the one described above, claiming that Elvis would value black people only for their ability to buy his records and clean his shoes (that is, to be subservient in all to him, the white master) has started.<sup>29</sup> The thought that Elvis had stolen the music of black people and gained fame using feathers he had borrowed from them, or that he, to use the white rock reviewer Greil Marcus's words about the same phenomenon, like a present-day American Prometheus had stolen the black musical fire<sup>30</sup>, makes it slightly easier to discern certain possible background motives for this bizarre rumour. It is also

possible to see the social need there might be today for such a rumour, which has resulted in several black cultural persons believing in it. Gilbert Rodman (1994:465f) quotes a writer, Dan Heilman<sup>31</sup>, who points out that black cultural figures such as Vernon Reid (from the group *Living Colour*). Chuck D (Carlton Ridenhour) from the rap group *Public Enemy* and film director Spike Lee have all heard the rumour and believed it.

### Concluding remarks

To summarize, it can be noted that in his public persona, Elvis appeared as a white Negro, but his commitment to black people and black culture do not actually seem to have been more than superficial in nature. While in his persona he included important elements that at this time by many whites were seen as a black, animalistic, strongly sexual image, he continued, as the person Elvis Presley, in all essential aspects, to defer to the culture that he came from, a white southern culture of a lower class character. In this culture, in the kind of racially segregated society that Elvis grew up in, poor white people were a "caste" superior to black people, but also in a situation where the "racial sexualization" of society made relations between white men and black women, and between black men and white women threatening, forbidden and dangerous.

Despite Elvis's proven lack of racial prejudices (Klinkmann 1998:280-284), the impression remains that the rock artist and entertainer Elvis, notwithstanding the black elements in his persona, consciously chose to maintain a certain distance from black culture and black Americans. Thus he appears as a carnivalistic figure, a Harlequin or trickster figure, who can wear black features – and particularly the cool and masculine ones – as a mask, but who avoids making this black bearing a more integral feature of his personality. Compared to the



grotesque and for black people, strongly degrading, parody of black culture that the blackface comedians performed, Elvis's mask of the 50's (a mask with certain selected black meanings, connotations) appears as a slightly ironic paraphrase of black culture, performed with an entertaining, playful twinkle in his eyes. Thus also the dangerous and subversive element in Elvis's representation of coolness and masculinity is disarmed or neutralised fairly quickly. This happened gradually with his entry into military service; the establishment of Elvis as a film entertainer and, finally, with his Las Vegas persona, in which the cool and masculine elements of Elvis as a "white Negro", a "rebel without a cause" were almost turned to their opposites through the increasingly grotesque and self-parodying aspects of the representation.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion on the one-sided gendered construction of rock discourse, see also, for example, Lähteenmaa (1988/1989, 1989) and Swiss, Herman & Sloop (eds.) (1997).

<sup>2</sup> Blackface, or blackface comedy, was a sub-genre within the popular American type of stage entertainment, called the minstrel show, where to begin with white and later also black artists imitated black people by painting their faces black with charred cork. The genre was born within English music hall entertainment and artists such as Charles Dibdin and Charles Mathews, but was soon exported to the USA, where it became popular with, among others, George Washington Dixon and Thomas "Daddy" Rice.

<sup>3</sup> Note the clear reference to mom-ism in LeRoi Jones's wording.

<sup>4</sup> Note, however, the clear male chauvinist feature in this comparison: Jo Stafford was a contemporary female white jazz singer. Comparing Elvis to her appears to be unfair, not least considering that Jo Stafford was not nearly

as famous as Elvis.

<sup>5</sup> Thus, Jones's arguments can be interpreted as a kind of confirmation of Norman Mailer's reasoning about the concept white Negro.

<sup>6</sup> Guralnick says that trying to trace a source for this rumour is "like running a gopher to earth". Elvis is supposed to have said this in Boston, a place he had never visited at this stage, or in Edward R. Murrow's nationwide TV show on which he had never appeared (Guralnick 1994:426).

<sup>7</sup> The untrustworthy nature of the rumour is revealed by the fact that each time it emerges, it seems to have taken on a new, slightly altered form. The following are some examples of the wordings of the rumour, taken from Rodman (1996:34ff, 43, 54, 56): "All I want from blacks is for them to buy my records and shine my shoes" (source V. S. Naipaul), "The only thing niggers are good for is to shine my shoes" (source Greil Marcus), "The only thing niggers can do for me is shine my shoes and buy my records" (source N. M. Zuberi), "The only thing they [blacks] can do is shine my shoes and buy my records (source Eddie Murphy), "The only thing a nigger is good for is to shine my shoes" (source Dave Marsh). Rodman summarizes the collection of quotes by saying "While the statement's general theme of contemptuous prejudice is consistent from one version to the next, the precise words Elvis reportedly said vary an extraordinary amount for a statement that's 'on the record'." This, obviously is a folkloristic legend.

<sup>8</sup> See Marcus's essay "Elvis: A Presliad" (Marcus 1975/90).

<sup>9</sup> Heilman's text "Trying to get to you: Greil Marcus chases the ghost of Elvis Presley", is published in *Rock & RollDisc*, March 1992:9ff.

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NICKLAS HÄGEN

# Narrative analysis of football reports in a Finland-Swedish daily newspaper

In the summer of 2000, I began my career as a freelance sports reporter for the regional newspaper *Vasabladet*. I was to report the local Second Division matches. It was the first time I had written anything that was to be published, and being nervous, I asked advice from more experienced sport reporters, i.e. my father. The advice was as follows: "Remember that the text should be easy to read, and write about the things your readers are interested in!" I wasn't told exactly how that was to come about, but in order to find out what the readers might be interested in, I flicked through some match reports that had been published earlier in the newspaper. Having read football reports before, I was familiar with the style and terminology involved, with words like "canons" and "last ditch tackle". Reading these texts keeping the question "how" in mind, I recognised certain tendencies I had not previously been aware of. Most striking were the similarities in form and content, which had gone unnoticed earlier. The same basic pattern in nearly all: first, the result, followed by the match details, and finally interviews and future prospects – sometimes overlapping, but always presented in this order.

This observation was – hardly surprisingly – a coarse simplification. The structure of

the reports is not as hard and fast as I had thought, but this observation did awaken an interest in the form and content of football reports. The aim of this article is to study the structure of football reports, and by concentrating on the main points of the report, create an understanding of football, by which I refer to what makes football newsworthy; why is football written about in the daily papers? Analysing the structure of these newspaper articles, I indirectly regard the newspaper's role as a narrator.

As a method for examining the structure of the articles, I decided upon a narrative analysis of my material. This is done mainly by making a thorough qualitative analysis of three match reports on FC Jaro, published in the local paper *Jakobstads Tidning* (later referred to as JT) during the summer 2000 football season. Furthermore, I have taken into consideration 24 articles about FC Jaro published during the season in the same newspaper, as background without conducting a thorough analysis of them. I was looking for a team with a strong local connection, with a feeling of the team being "our team" in the reports, which is why I chose JT and FC Jaro. I wanted to analyse a Finland-Swedish newspaper and being born and bred in Vasa, the local team and

articles about them in the local paper would have been a natural choice. The only problem being that they were mainly written by a person with the same surname as the author of this article, which would have caused problems with analytical distancing. This is why I chose a different team and a different newspaper, FC Jaro and JT. I wanted to analyse all 27 articles published during the season, but in order to limit the amount of data, I decided to concentrate on three and to use the rest as background. In this study, a match report refers to an article about a match that has already been played. These are more than just summaries or reports of a game of football. The 27 articles were written by seven different journalists, only one of them female. The three main articles were written by two males. I do not think this selection of data in any way distorts any point made in the analysis. A word or a sentence does not gain in value depending on the number of times it is repeated in various texts, but according to the context in which it is used.<sup>1</sup>

The three articles selected were the first and last written that season, with one from the middle of the season as Jaro secured its second place in the league. The articles were published on the following dates: 30.4.2000, 8.8.2000 and 29.10.2000. These were conscious selections. In choosing the first article I wanted to include the expectations for the team at the beginning of the season, and the last to show how the team managed to live up to the expectations. Furthermore, these were the extremities of the football season. The mid-season article serves as a bridge between the other two articles. As Jaro had secured the second place, they focussed on to the playoffs. This is emphasized by the fact that the last league match is described as "uninteresting" as the result made no difference to promotion (Sundqvist 2000). The three main articles in this study are special in that they reflect more directly the team's success during the

football season, and receive their main meaning through that.

### **Narrative analysis**

Discussion on the definition of a narrative is quite extensive. Arthur Asa Berger, for example, defines a narrative as something that has happened or is happening, and it consists of a sequence of events in a certain place, in a certain space of time. Viveka Adelswärd in turn gives a more limited definition of the concept; narratives are verbally narrated events that have taken place, and she describes this process: "time passes, something takes place and the event is evaluated or assessed" (Adelswärd 1996: 31). She continues by saying that a narrative is different from a report because a narrative gives evaluative information, whereas a report is more like a list in its nature. The evaluative characteristic of a narrative is called the narrative point (ibid: 38). Adelswärd refers to three different points in a narrative: "anecdotal point", "underlying point" and "the narrative point". "The anecdotal point" can be found in an amusing story – what the narrator considers the listener may find amusing, unusual or exciting. "The underlying points" are more subconscious, what the narrative deals with on a deeper level: the value systems and themes the narrative expresses. "The narrative point" made by the narrative is in a way "an underlying point". A narrative can be seen as self-presentation, and "the narrative point" refers to how the narrator presents himself or herself with the help of the narrative. (ibid: pp. 46-)

Adelswärd's description of "the points" is useful, but I cannot agree with her definition of a narrative. She seems to view narratives as something linked to the past, which I cannot agree with. For the purposes of this study I use Marander-Eklund's less limited view of narratives as "narrated events, that are somehow interrelated, with

cause and effect that are assessed or evaluated, and make a point, also including self-presentation” (Marander-Eklund 2000: 33).

Narrative analysis is a theory that is suitable as a method of analysis. According to William Labov, a complete narrative consists of a basic structure that includes six elements I shall use in this study. These are: *abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, result or resolution* and *coda*. Narratives often include an abstract where the narrator signposts what is to come to the listener. This is followed by the orientation with a presentation of the actors, the time and place, as well as a description of any other significant circumstances. After the introduction follows the core of the narrative, as the narrator describes the action, the problem, the changes taking place and how the problem is solved. The body of the narrative is where the evaluation takes place, i.e. this is the point of the narrative. The coda is where the narrative is summarized and the narration is brought to its end (Labov 1972: pp. 363-).

The current material is analysed by trying to discern the six elements presented by Labov in the three main articles. As I want to analyse the structure of the articles, the method also becomes an aim in this study. Labov’s structural elements offer a tool to break down the articles into sections and to analyse them. I begin by giving an overview of the features the articles share, as a basis for my analysis. I then move on to analyse the three main articles in more detail by using Labov’s theories on narrative structure.

### **Features the football reports have in common**

The formats of the narratives have some shared features. The headline comes first, and is printed in the largest font type. This is followed by subheadings that support the

main headline. These are not necessary, but they are very common. The result is given before the preface in boldface type, and its aim in principle is to describe what the article is about. Between the preface and the text proper, we see the name of the writer. Alongside the text, there will often be some photographs of the match, or archive photos of a player. At times there is a table with points awarded for individual players’ performance.

Each report describes a particular match. Naturally, it is not enough for a local paper like JT to merely publish the score of a match involving FC Jaro. The newspaper does not report the match, but gives a kind of a narrative about it. The only First Division team the paper reports is FC Jaro. In my view, this is due to the fact that the team and the paper have the same “home town”, and at least some of the readers (and why not also the editorial staff) feel for the team and football. There must be someone who has some interest in the reports in order for them to be published in the newspaper. The fact that it is “nice”, or “good” that Jaro scores a lot of goals (Lindholm 2000) and that “unfortunately, the edge was lacking in the finishing” (Furu 2000a), indicates sympathy for FC Jaro – it is *our* team.

The texts are quite similar in content. The results, the team (actors), and various indications of time and place are used consistently. “Expert commentary” may be given in separate interviews, or at times included in the report itself. Various aspects relating to the game or specific incidents are taken up, e.g. the condition of the pitch, weather conditions, decisions made by the referees, substitutions and goals. The main thing is that they build tension in the narrative, or that they may have influenced the final result of the game. One and the same journalist is not limited to a specific form, there is variation between texts and between journalists’ style. The journalist’s writing style has not

The football season's first game is described as a "Footballparty", which express positive associations and expectations. The game did not, however, end so happily for FF Jaro, who did not make it to the league football. JT 30.4.2000

Järnbrocks Tidning



**"Kryset var öppet"**

**Fotbollsfesten har börjat**  
Jaro hade inga som helst problem i första matchen i Wäkeforn premiärskytt!

**United dominerade stort**

**Sportens stora nyheter**

been the focus of my research.

Interestingly enough, all articles except one include expert commentary, which is cause enough to draw the conclusion that they are of some importance. These commentaries have two main functions: they strengthen credibility by expert evidence, partly to legitimize emotional reactions or moods. In case the author's voice becomes too conspicuous, if the author's person or feelings are too explicit, the assumed objectivity of the narration is at risk. Objectivity and expertise are "narrative points" in journalism in so far as the author never mentions his or her own person in the narrative, and moods are reflected through other actors. Their presence can also be seen as a "narrative point" – the text is supposed to give evidence of the writer's presence, while, paradoxically remaining invisible. The writer should have information that the reader does not have access to, and should be able to get his or her message across in a believable manner. A way of doing this is to present the text as a witness whilst showing one's competence. Players and

trainers are silent experts, they are the ones that create the game and are the game. By adding commentaries by them, the writer adds "presence" and competence, legitimising emotions in the narrative.

## The introduction of the narrative

For the purposes of this study, I shall begin my analysis in accordance with Labov's structural elements. The introduction consists of an abstract and an orientation. The football reports begin with a clearly marked abstract: the headlines. They appear first, and indicate what comes next in the text. They often include background information and if strictly based on Labov's structural elements should be viewed as 'orientation'. The headlines do not capture the reader's interest through classic narrative means, for example by saying "it was extraordinary", but instead by exposing the contents of the narratives. For example, the headline in the final article "Defeat for Hangö – no promotion for FC Jaro" (Furu 2000b) contains information about the place (Hangö), the actor (FC Jaro), and the result (defeat), as well as the consequences (no promotion). While containing the information, the headline signposts the contents of the article and it functions both as abstract and orientation. Thus the headline awakens the reader's attention, giving an opportunity for disinterested readers to ignore the rest of the article. According to Umberto Eco, the writer aims at creating a *model reader* – who interprets the text in the way the writer wishes. In reality, the reader aims at creating a readable, sensible text by interpreting it from his/her own premises (Eco 1992b: 64). Bearing in mind that the reader's choice to either read or not read the article is based on the headline, one can argue that the *model reader* of the football reports has at least some previous interest in football.

My choice of the earlier example was

carefully made – not many of the headlines give as much background information. Quite a few of them, however, narrate both where the match was played and which team the article is reporting, and only few of them can be seen as “genuine” abstracts. The first article of the season is an example of the latter type, with the headline “The football feast has started” (Lindholm 2000). This headline does not specify the actors, the time, events, etc, but it says that there is a football feast that has started the moment the word “feast” is read.

According to Labov, different kinds of background information may be presented later in the narrative or, as in this case, before the action. The order of the different elements is not fixed (Labov 1972: 364). Even though it may be difficult to differentiate the elements, it is obvious that the football reports always begin with an abstract and an orientation. The headline, the subheadings and the lead already tell how the match went, and gives a general outline of it. The subheading of the first article reads: “No problems for FC Jaro in the first match”. The lead of the same article reads: “FC Kemi Kings hammered in the premier 5-0...” These two sentences strongly indicate that FC Jaro is superior, and they enable the reader to read and understand the rest of the article.

In order to clearly indicate the result, the football report always shows the result between the headline and the lead, where also the sport in question is indicated, as well as the teams, the division, how many goals were scored by each team. This information is emphasized – and emphasizes – information in the text, in the headline and the lead, which also often give the names of the teams and the result. These two combined outline the match and the final result. In football reports the abstract gives quite a lot of background information, not only signposting what is to come in the text proper.

The beginning of the main text is often reminiscent of the abstract and orientation. This is to be expected, as this is where the narration itself really starts. The three main articles start by giving a fairly superficial account explaining the match photograph or the result. Jaro won the first match of the season by 5-0 (an overwhelming result in a football match), and the introductory sentence reads: “Jaro was the better team, no doubt about it.” (Lindholm 2000). This sentence explains both the match result and the match as a whole, while also strengthening the headline and the lead. The second article in this study tells about a match won by Jaro 3-1, with the introductory sentence: “FC Musan Salama from Björneborg is a football team with skilful players such as Saku Laaksonen, Janne Puputti and Tomi Leivo-Jokimäki, and FC Jaro had great problems in asserting control over the game early on” (Furu 2000a). This does not explain the match result, but it does help the reader understand why the beginning of the match was how it was, and also indicating how the game looked early on. This sentence also strengthens what was already said in the lead: “The reds won in the end quite comfortably” (Furu 2000a).

The final article is different from the previous two in that the headline and the lead do not paint a picture of the match, but instead focuses on the result and its consequences. FC Jaro lost the match described in this article and did not gain automatic promotion. Since FC Atlantis beat FC Jokrut, the result of Jaro’s last match was irrelevant regarding the outcome of the season for the team, subsequently the match photo was not of much interest. The introduction explains FC Jaro’s loss by saying: “the players could hear when anything happened in the Jokrut-Atlantis match ... when the situation was 0-3, the loss of interest showed on their faces...” (Furu 2000b). Each individual match has



to be viewed in the context of the season as a whole. Jaro aimed at gaining promotion and it seems that this aim gave significance to the whole competition. I will return to this later in this study.

### **The main action of the narrative**

The main action of the narrative deals with incidents that may have had a significant effect on the outcome, or were in some way sensational. These specific incidents are narrated as shorter narratives. According to Alf Arvidsson, narratives are "limited episodes told by the interviewees as narratives with a beginning and an end, built around a narrative structure with a complication – resolution (Arvidsson 1998: 25). Despite the fact that Arvidsson talks about interview situations, the terminology applies to match reports, too. They consist of stories about incidents during the course of the match. The main action of each report – being a narration as such – consists of several narratives that more often than not include the central elements of a narrative: time, space, place and action. The action in the reports is presented in narrative form. The following passage is an example of this:

"The final nail in the Björneborg-lads' coffin was the last ten minutes of the match. Svanbäck made a successful interception, arriving before the oncoming MuSa goalkeeper. This time Svanbäck unselfishly pulled the ball back to Timo Peltola who had an easy job of putting the ball in the net." (Furu 2000a).

This section of the report narrates an incident in the match, and consists of time, place, actors as well as action.

The narratives function as a description of the action and are most often presented chronologically. The action of the first article is presented in this order and with the following definitions of time:

1. "Early on also the visitors seemed a little

sharper ..."

2. "In the 17<sup>th</sup> minute of the match the first goal was due."

3. "Three minutes after the opening goal, the visitors almost equalized."

4. "Five minutes before half time FC Jaro put together a fine attack..."

5. "In the 45<sup>th</sup> minute Nicklas Widjeskog took a quick free kick ... FC Jaro were able to go in at half time with a secure 2-0 lead."

6. "...the same frenetic pace continued for about ten minutes early on in the second half. That was how long it took FC Jaro to extend their lead to 3-0."

7. "After the 3-0 goal, the game fizzled out."

8. "FC Jaro did nothing until there was only 18 minutes of the match remaining..."

9. "With only 15 minutes of the match remaining, FC Jaro changed their tactics and employing man for man markers."

10. "He came onto the pitch with 20 minutes left, and in the 88<sup>th</sup> minute he increased their lead to 4-0."

11. "*In the last minute of normal time, Peltola set up Borissov for 5-0.*" (Lindholm 2000. The author's italics)

It is obvious that the action is presented in chronological order. Furthermore, the narratives exist in their own separate time frame, as time is expressed in terms of match time.

In the introduction the narrator places match time in the context of ordinary time.

Time is stated more precisely in the narratives, than in the abstract and the orientation, in accordance with match time, Borissov did not score at 8.15 pm, but in the last minute of the match.

In addition to the time frame, the narratives also name the actors, and often also a place of action. Actors and places are more accurately indicated in narratives of action than in the introduction/orientation. Rather than merely stating the name of the team, the narration takes place

on a more individual level, calling the players by name, for example: "Ridvan Zeneli and Fredrik 'Mini' Svanbäck worked a short corner and the resulting cross was headed in by Mathias Kass for 1-0. ...", rather than, for example "one Jaro player passed the ball to another who crossed the ball to a third player who headed in 1-0." Without the details, the article would be all too uninteresting. As an observation, it may seem absurd, but it makes a point: despite the fact that football is a collective team sport, the articles require individuals as heroes and losers. Rating of each player's performance is done in a separate box at the end of some articles, which supports the above assertion. One should, however, pay attention to the fact that the (opposing team) players are often described in terms of their role on the pitch, such as "full backs" and "MuSa-defender" (Furu 2000a). The actors are named in football terminology. The same applies to descriptions of space, when certain areas of the pitch are mentioned in more detail. Places of action are specified in more detail in the narrative than in the introduction, and one writes about "the left touchline", "on the right hand side" and "on the edge of the penalty area" rather than "Jakobstad" and the name of the stadium. The narration moves on to using football terminology in terms of space: the football pitch.

One of the functions of the article is to explain why the result was what it was. A general principle is that you start from the match result and then go through the whole match, describing the main action chronologically, until you have created a narrative that reaches the end (the result), which was already stated at the beginning). This is achieved by narrating the dramatic, significant and strategic incidents, together with commentaries from the players and the coaches. A text is constructed that affirms the initial image.

The action is described in more detail in

the body than in the introduction, and the narration is narrated by using concepts of football time, space and actors. The introduction creates a framework through which the short narratives are interpreted.

The narrative is evaluated and assessed by narrating the "surface points" of the action that are mentioned in the narration. They have been selected as points of interest. I recollect the advice I was given: "The text should be easy to read, write about the things your readers are interested in". In other words, the goals and scoring opportunities, exceptional circumstances, incidents that are relevant to the final result, etc. are all "surface points". The development that takes place in the course of the season is another one – individual matches and how they affect the season's ambitions or the league position are commented on frequently. The last article begins: "Because FC Atlantis outclassed Jokrut by a 5-2 score line in Helsingfors, *it did not matter* how the match between Hangö Sports Club and FC Jaro ended" (Furu 2000b, my italics). This means that FC Jaro did not gain promotion. The sentence has both "a superficial point" (FC Jaro did not gain promotion) and "an underlying point" (the individual match gets its significance from the season as a whole). As I mentioned earlier, the crowd and the fans had expectations in regard to the team. The players also had their own ambitions, the goals they expected to score before the season started. The season lasts from the end of April to the end of October, and everyone involved in such a long undertaking will want to see the fruits of their labour. The "value" of the final goal increases with the amount of time and effort put in. Sure, it's always nice to win, but matches certainly gain in value as the season progresses; to reach the long-term objectives is more important than success in an individual match.

In other words, the season acts as a frame

of reference by which to interpret the match reports. It gives meaning to the individual matches. Each match in turn gives meaning to individual incidents occurring within it. The anecdotal point/superficial point in telling how, when and where a goal was scored, or an opportunity to score that was missed has consequences on the course of the game. The underlying point in these narratives is that these have consequences on the season's success. This functions simultaneously as a superficial point in the narratives of the matches: how the season progresses.

What is the point of knowing how the season goes? In my view, the "underlying point" of football and football narratives is that they awaken emotions, a feeling of belonging to a *winning* or a *losing* community that is created in the team. The relationship between the team and its supporters can be demonstrated by the following quotation:

"He calls for an organisation that functions better, that does not promise what it cannot keep. According to Paananen, FC Jaro has a responsibility towards its fans..." (Furu 2000b).

This expresses a responsibility the team has, not to disappoint its supporters – by giving the fans a sense of belonging to a losing community. As I pointed out earlier, objectivity and information overflow could be "narrative points". I also found that there has to be an interest in football and FC Jaro that makes them worthy of the space given in the newspaper. There is also an emotional engagement that is recognizable in the way it is talked about. Empathy for the team can be seen as a "narrative point" highlighting the sense of belonging. When writing that it is good to see the team score, the journalist strengthens the sense of belonging with the model reader, who, choosing to read the match report on reading the headline is supposed to be interested in football. I also

think that the imagined reader should also empathise and support FC Jaro. As Anne Eriksen writes, the mass media appeals to us not through its content, but through embellishment, and the way the narrative catches our emotions (Eriksen 1989: 67). The match reports are very emotive – they allow the reader to feel the joy of winning and the disappointment in losing a match.

What is the source of this belonging and interest in a football team? What makes people scream and hug each other out of joy when a team scores? Jaana Venkula states in her praise of football "*Fair play jalkapallon sieluna ja käytäntönä*" ("Fair Play, the soul and the practise of football") that football imitates life, which makes it an emotive activity. The significance of mimetic activities lies in the fact that being emotive they allow the expression of these emotions in a way that is not as "dangerous" as they would be elsewhere (Venkula 1998: 45f). Venkula wants to explain why football is played, but I think it also explains the interest in football of the numerous people who do not actually play themselves. As my study indicates, football is popular because it is emotive (raises emotions) – at least for some. Football and narratives about it are a battle between winning and losing which gives anyone interested a chance to feel and express the joy of victory and the disappointment of defeat. The battle between winning and losing – between heroes and losers – makes it attractive and exciting. With this in mind, it may not be that difficult to understand a pass as "catastrophic" if it gives the opposing team a scoring opportunity – a goal that may change the narrative of victory of a winning team to a narrative of defeat for a losing team.

Is it not then unlikely that one can feel joy by investing emotions in a football team? Only about one in ten to twenty teams can be the best at the end of the season, does that mean that there are many who never win? The fact is that there is a sense

of justice that mitigates the circumstances. The match result is evaluated in the light of the match as a whole. In the match reports this equals the overall picture that is given. It is the “sum total” of the narratives, which become the evidence in evaluating the fairness of the match. The evaluation is often given in direct terms, e.g. “the visitors were good opposition and they deserved to win” (Lindholm 2000) and “the right team won the match with the right result” (Furu 2000a). The season’s result is evaluated in relation to the aims of the season – how a team achieves its ambitions. In the quotation I gave earlier Jaro’s coach called for an organisation that functions better, that “does not promise what it cannot keep” (Furu 2000b) in order not to disappoint the fans. How things go for “us”, and how things should go decides if “we” are the heroes or the losers. Even if it is important to win, the self-image is preserved if the team gives a good fight.

The conclusion or resolution is more demanding to deal with. As I explained earlier, the obvious objective of the story is to explain why the result was what it was. The narratives do not aim at exposing the result of the match, that information is given in the very beginning in the introduction, and the rest of the narrative supports and explains the initial information. According to Labov, the conclusion or the resolution should be placed at the end of the main action of the narrative, but in the articles analysed in this study the result is given very first, and yet the reports follow the development towards the result. The main action reaches the conclusion, and the results are given when the narratives work through to match result.

The conclusion or the resolution need not be the match result; it can also be expressed in the description of the final goal or the final whistle. This is where the narrative descriptions of the football incidents or narrative events the narrative moves on to

Järboblad Tidning

1 Tidningen sista 2 augusti 2000

## Jaro säkrade andraplatsen

Tabelltrean MuSa från Björnberg fick stryka på foten med 3-1 • "Rätt lag vann"



Foto: Johan Sjöstrand / Bildbyråerna

**Tabelltrean MuSa från Björnberg fick stryka på foten med 3-1 • "Rätt lag vann"**

**FC Jaro** vann matchen mot MuSa med 3-1 i Järfälla. Det blev en viktig seger för Jaro i kampen om andraplatsen. MuSa, som tidigare varit tabelltrean, förlorade matchen efter en mållös första halvlek och ett mål av Jaro i den andra halvleken. Jaro tränare, Per Johansson, var nöjd med resultatet och kommenterade: "Det var rätt lag som vann och vi fick en viktig seger i kampen om andraplatsen. MuSa var en stark motståndare och vi fick visa upp vår styrka som lag." MuSa tränare, Lars Eriksson, var besviken över förlusten och sade: "Vi gjorde en dålig match och vi fick stryka på foten. Vi kommer att analysa matchen och försöka bli bättre nästa gång." Matchen blev en viktig seger för Jaro i kampen om andraplatsen. MuSa, som tidigare varit tabelltrean, förlorade matchen efter en mållös första halvlek och ett mål av Jaro i den andra halvleken. Jaro tränare, Per Johansson, var nöjd med resultatet och kommenterade: "Det var rätt lag som vann och vi fick en viktig seger i kampen om andraplatsen. MuSa var en stark motståndare och vi fick visa upp vår styrka som lag." MuSa tränare, Lars Eriksson, var besviken över förlusten och sade: "Vi gjorde en dålig match och vi fick stryka på foten. Vi kommer att analysa matchen och försöka bli bättre nästa gång." Matchen blev en viktig seger för Jaro i kampen om andraplatsen.

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The appearance of the football articles vary. This article consist of both a picture, grades and a separated interview. The result between the headline and the introduction appeared in all the articles studied. JT 8.8.2000

the coda to lead the reader away from the text.

### The conclusion of the narrative

The three main match reports are rounded off with different kinds of abstracts. The last sentence of the first article says: ” In addition to scoring the team likes to push forward which is promising”. Considering that the lead mentions ”FC Jaro is one of the favourites for promotion”, this is very interesting. I think that, too, expresses the significance of the rest of the season. The same happens in the second main article, when FC Jaro’s coach comments that the team has secured second place in the regular season. The last sentence says: ”I would like to express my gratitude to the players and their performance so far, Paananen said”. This sentence expresses that the aim has been partially fulfilled, the ambition has not quite been achieved yet. This is a way of setting the time. Both past ambitions and expectations, and those remaining are expressed here. The first

introduces the text, the second leads the reader on.

The ways the reports are concluded vary a lot, some seem to have no coda at all, some have no abstract, they finish with a conclusion (a resolution) or “leftovers”. Those finishing with a conclusion put a full stop on the match action, for example by saying: “...the team were more or less just waiting for the final whistle” (Bäck 2000). By “leftovers” I refer to any extraneous material tacked onto the end of the text, which did not fit earlier. A couple of “leftovers” can be found in the data studied here, mentioning, for example, the attendance or the amount of red or yellow cards issued.

The third main article is different in that almost the entire latter half is dedicated to explaining why the season’s ambitions and aims were not achieved. This is by no means out of the ordinary, the season had come to an end by the time of writing. Expectations have either been achieved or crushed. If all the season’s reports were analysed as one long narrative, this report could be called the coda of the season’s narrative. The narrative became, in this case, a narrative of losing, and the last sentences express the moral of the long narrative:

“It is not enough for the team to work towards promotion. Even the organisation has to pull its weight. Both Tampere United who was promoted last year, and FC KuPS who took a step up this year have a well functioning organisation behind them, concludes Paananen.” (Furu 2000b)

The reason FC Jaro’s narrative did not become a winner’s narrative can be found outside the field of play. The reader is safely guided out of the narrative, the scapegoat is found, and it is neither the team nor the fans, and therefore not “us”.

## **Conclusion**

It is fairly obvious that football reports can

be seen as narratives. They are narratives of interrelated incidents which show cause and effect, evaluation, points, and self-presentation. Labov’s six elements of narrative structure correspond to a certain extent with my data. The reports include an introduction describing the match, arousing the (assumed) readers’ attention and interest. The body or the main action of the narrative consists of shorter narratives describing match incidents that underline the description in the introduction. This is, in my opinion, reasonably clear, but how Labov’s elements should be defined is open to interpretation, because it is not always possible to distinguish between the different elements. There are similarities between the structures of the reports, but no particular order can be identified.

Evaluations of the match incidents are useful when evaluating the match and the whole season. Football is a battle between victory and defeat, and whether “we” are winners or losers, good or bad – is decided by trials and tribulations of the team. The point of a narrative is created by this battle, and a sense of belonging, but the points vary. The anecdotal point is that the match result is significant. The anecdotal point in commenting on the matches is in turn that they are significant to the outcome of the season. With increasing engagement as the match drags on, the tension between victory and defeat increases, and emotions become involved. The underlying point of the narrative is that “we” FC Jaro supporters are winners or losers, depending on the outcome of the match or the season. Sympathies for a team function as a narrative point, giving expression to the sense of belonging. Judgements in the match reports are, in other words, also judgements of “us”. The fairness of the result is judged on the basis of the performance and the passion of the struggle. The performance is connected to your expectations of the team, and the

relationship between expectations and their realization influence the sense of joy or disappointment. Football offers football fans a chance to share an affinity with those who win or lose. Thus, it is not enough for the newspaper to only report the match or publish match results. Instead, it must make an attempt to describe the excitement or fairness of the match by narrating it. This concurs with Anne Eriksen's view on the mass media addressing us through our emotions.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> There are most often one or two photos that accompany the match reports, but I decided not to include them. I also exclude anything that is not a part of the match review. Commentaries by players or trainers are often included, but there were none in six of the articles. Five of these had an interview with a player alongside the match review/report, but I chose not to include them in my analysis if they were a separate article. Neither have I included articles of cup matches, or smaller articles about FC Jaro. The material in this study is limited to the season in Division 1. In Finland the Finnish Championship league is the top league, followed by divisions starting from 1 downwards. The divisions are divided into regions and districts, and the further down the divisions you go, the number of districts included increases. As the districts become smaller, the more local, less time consuming and less professional it gets. The different divisions have different rules concerning promotion. In the summer of 2000 that I used in my study, in the beginning of the season FC Jaro was forecast a possible candidate to promotion during the season. (Lindholm 2000). However, they were not successful.

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ULRIKA WOLF-KNUTS

## Finland Swedish Folklore Studies

Due to historical and political matters, what is, today, called Finland was a part of Sweden until 1809. Thereafter, the region was an autonomous Grand Duchy in the Russian Empire. Beside Latin, for a long time, Swedish was the language of the authorities, of education, and partly of science and scholarship. Not until the Russian time Finnish played an important role as a language outside the private sphere. German and Russian, respectively, were used on special occasions. Finland certainly was a polyglot region.

Folklore plays a great role in the shaping of the identity not only of single individuals, but also of nations. The Finnish case demonstrates this very clearly. Even during the Middle Ages, the initial perspective was to prove that the Swedes were Gothic descendants. Already in the fourth century, Jordanes had placed the primordial home of the Goths in the island called Scandza, i.e. Scandinavia. The aim was to create a model for courageous behaviour in times of war and crisis. During the seventeenth century, Sweden was one of the most influential and expansive kingdoms of Europe. Again, efforts were made to prove the rich history of the country. In 1666, the Chancellor of Sweden (rikskanslern) founded the Antikvitetskollegium (The Collegium of Antiquities) the task of which was, in a systematic way, to collect reminiscences of historical events and to document historical sites. Due to the

contemporary understanding of historical sources, information valuable to the folklore students of today was stored. Only much later, historians started to question the value of certain historical sources, in order to improve the ability to discern so-called facts from fantasy. This was an advantage to the folklore students. Although neither the word 'folklore', nor the study of folklore existed until the middle of the nineteenth century, the folklore material was still gathered, although with the wrong preconditions as historically reliable sources.

The eighteenth century was the time of Enlightenment. Folklore was interesting for two different reasons. On the one hand, the authorities wanted to document the lives of the inhabitants of their country, in order to be able to improve economics. This happened by describing the customs and rites found in the countryside. They also strived to eradicate such cultural traits that they regarded as irrational, but before this was possible the beliefs had to be documented. Therefore, the priests and other representatives of the Enlightenment reported on what special kinds of non-Christian forms of religion they had seen in their parochial environment. These collections are extremely valuable. On the other hand, in Europe inspired by the ideas of Montesquieu and Rousseau, an interest grew for the Nordic countries as exotic countries. The people were supposed to live

near Nature, their lives were regarded as parts of a Paradisiac way of existing. Again, the old history was accepted as a model for human life.

To some extent these ideas also affected Finland. However, folklore as a target for studies for its own sake was not evoked until the end of the seventeenth century. Certainly, there had been some efforts earlier, too, to collect and discuss folklore texts, but the main achievement was that of Henrik Gabriel Porthan (1739-1804), librarian and teacher at the university library in Åbo (Turku). He was inspired by the ideas of Enlightenment, but also by the new humanistic thoughts found in Europe that admired classical antiquity with its aesthetic and ethical values. Moreover, contemporary Finnish-minded political currents seem to have had some influence on him. This combination of ideas made Porthan aware of the Finnish folk poetry, which later on was the target of several students at the Åbo Akademi and which, during the first three to four decades of the nineteenth century, resulted in huge collections of folk poetry and the *Kalevala* editions of Elias Lönnrot.

The question, what language, Finnish or Swedish, was the main constituent in the identity of these young men is not quite easy to answer. Some of them had a Finnish background, others were from Swedish speaking families in Finland, but Swedish was the main language for educational purposes, which means that all of them were in command of the language. However, political reasons must also be considered. After Finland had become part of Russia in 1809, a growing awareness of language can be spotted. In fact, being the language of the losing part, Swedish could no longer be the official language, and Russian was the language of the conqueror and, therefore, not suitable. The only remaining possibility was to create Finnish as a valid means for any kind of communication, also

outside the nearest circle. Huge systematic work started to reach this goal. Many a university student, no matter what language he regarded his own one, felt responsible and helped in collecting folk poetry which was considered the best source to start with for this

During this period in Finland, i.e., the beginning of the nineteenth century, Swedish was still generally spoken. However, the eagerness to create the Finnish language made people take the existence of the Swedish language for granted. This circumstance made the Vice Rector of the school Vasa Lyceum, Johan Oskar Immanuel Rancken (1824-95), aware of the risk at losing the corresponding insight into the folk culture of the Swedish speaking population of Finland that the immense collecting work in the Finnish regions brought along. Therefore, he started to gather folklore items specifically in Swedish, but recorded in Finland. He had quite a lot of problems and disappointments before he saw that the most efficient way to reach his goal was to encourage his pupils to document their own environments. Anyhow, thanks to Rancken's efforts, the folklore archives in Finland contain quite a lot of records in Swedish from the 1860s onwards.

Largely at the same time in Helsingfors, where the university had moved from Åbo after the great fire in 1827 and changed its name, there was a separate awakening for the Swedish folk tradition through one of the teachers at the Imperial Alexander University, namely Axel Olof Freudenthal (1836-1911). He supported a liberal perspective on being an inhabitant of Finland as he maintained that the Swedish population should function as a link between the Finns and the Scandinavians. The Swedish dialects in Finland were his special field of interest and, therefore, he urged his students to collect and discuss dialect items, such as legends, superstition



and other folklore. He was the founder of the Svenska Landsmålsföreningen in Finland (The Swedish Dialect Society in Finland) and he inspired a great number of young men to become aware of the conditions of living in Finland, but speaking Swedish.

Rancken was a historian who regarded his folklore collections as a means to the understanding of the Swedish culture in Finland, and Freudenthal was a historically educated philologist. Each of them had a political motive for their folklore interest. Freudenthal succeeded better than Rancken to realise his ideas, perhaps because he stayed in the capital of the country. In 1885, the Swedish Literature Society of Finland was founded by Freudenthal, among others. One of the aims of the Society was to collect and record folklore items. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, a system was created for how to do this work. The Society engaged the teacher Ernst Lagus (1859-1923) to plan this work, but he also gave the collectors instructions for how to conduct their work and criticised the result after they had handed over their collections to the Folklore Commission of the Society. Eventually, the collections grew, but soon the Commission realised that they gave an uneven image of the Swedish folk culture in Finland. Therefore, specially educated experts were engaged in order to collect completing recordings, which they also did. This work was accomplished during the first decade of the twentieth century. This is the explanation for the exceptionally big collection abounding in variants of Swedish folklore from Finland that, today, is kept in the archives of the Swedish Literature Society in Finland and which is also, to a great extent, published in eighteen volumes in *Finlands svenska folkdiktning*, 1917-. The publication work started when comparative research methods prevailed and therefore a great amount of variants were regarded necessary because they

constituted a sign of high quality folklore collections. Later on, in accordance with a growing interest in performance and in the process of folklore, this way of presenting the material and this kind of publishing and editing work were questioned. Therefore, the series has not yet been finished, but the recordings are available at the Archives of the Literature Society in Helsingfors.

During the nineteenth century, the collecting and recording of folklore items was a scholarly task *per se*. On the one hand, the aim was from an evolutionist-devolutionist perspective, to gather all kinds of items along the contemporary principles for how to define folklore. Folklore was needed for political reasons, i.e., to demonstrate the identity of the nation. This identity was not one and the same to all inhabitants. The two language groups wanted to profit in different ways from their folklore, correspondingly. The Finns, and their sympathisers wanted to demonstrate the value of the Finnish language as a means of literary, cultural, administrative, and scholarly activities. The Swedes wanted to show their connection to the Scandinavian culture and the Scandinavian peoples.

One of the preconditions for this twofold aim was the evolutionist theory with its historical perspective. In 1858, although he had a strong Swedish identity, Carl Gustaf Estlander, called upon the necessity to compare all the variants of the *Kalevala*. He also emphasised the importance of relating the *Kalevala* to other epics and he referred to what had been done with *The Songs of Ossian* when the debate on their authenticity raged. Other scholars worth mentioning here are, for instance, Carl Collan, who investigated Serbian folk songs, and O.A. Toppelius, who was inspired by the Danish folklore student Svend Grundtvig in his study of the songs on Marsk Stig.

Estlander's thoughts preceded Julius and Kaarle Krohn's research. In the 1860s,

Julius Krohn pondered over the age and descent of *Kalevala*. His son, Kaarle Krohn, refined his method for the purpose of folklore studies. The method relies on different kinds of comparison over time and space and it has, therefore, been called the historic-geographic method, or the Finnish method. Its concentration on the will to find out primordial facts on folklore items was a good tool when it came to demonstrate where and when an item had come to be and how it had changed and spread since. To the Swedish folklore students in Finland, in the latter half of the nineteenth century, it became more and more important to prove a western influence to their folklore, due to the above mentioned fennophil ambitions.

The Swedish Literature Society certainly supported the scholarly ventures. The above mentioned Ernst Lagus planned the publication of the monumental collection called *Finlands svenska folkdiktning*, for he saw the need to make the collections available to comparative scholarly investigations. In their dissertations on charms and the Polypheme legend, respectively, his colleagues O.J. Brummer and O. Hackman regarded the Swedish folklore as a reflection of the Swedish parts of Finland, mostly situated along the western coast, as a bridge for folk culture to reach the country. However, around the turn of the twentieth century, at the Literature Society, mainly collecting work was conducted, whereas the folklore research was carried out at the university.

In this connection it is also important to mention the Brage society. The founder was Otto Andersson, who had been working with the Literature Society. In this connection his main contribution was on the area of folk music and folk song. The participants at Brage paid tribute to Swedishness, and the aim of the society was to revive folk culture, but also to influence on the gathering of folklore and the

documentation of folk culture. However, this organisation was not very important for the investigation of folklore.

Otto Andersson (1879-1969) is a prominent figure in Finnish folklore studies. He started as a collector of folk music with the Swedish Literature Society in Finland, but in due course, in 1926, he was appointed professor of musicology and folklore studies at the recently founded Swedish university in Finland, the Åbo Akademi in Åbo (Turku). The chair was a counterpart both to chairs of the kind in Sweden, and to the folklore chair founded in Helsingfors in 1898, which was one of the very first in the world, and which was held by Kaarle Krohn. Andersson combined his interest in folk music and folklore, he worked eagerly for the Swedish culture in Finland, and eventually, he became the Vice Rector of his university. He continued to collect folk music items, he introduced the phonograph, he built up a huge archive on folk music recordings, he analysed, edited, and published his material, and he wrote a lot of scholarly articles. He had the most important support from Greta Dahlström and Alfild Forslin, two ladies who were able to record songs and plays just by ear. Alfild Forslin also published a lot of articles and monographs on Swedish folklore in Finland.

Since the middle of the 1920s Swedish folklore in Finland has been of interest to the persons connected to the Swedish Literature Society in Finland situated in Helsingfors and to the university people at the Åbo Akademi University in Åbo. The collecting work went on in the capital, the editions of *Finlands svenska folkdiktning* were published at the instigation of the Society, but by the work of scholars who were situated both in Helsingfors, at the Society, and in Åbo, at the university. The Archives of Folk Tradition expanded. In Åbo, at the university, Otto Andersson mainly collected folk music and published

his collections. A great amount of scholarly articles and monographs were published, too.

In the middle of the 1930s an idea came up within the Swedish Literature Society that an institute should be founded in order to prepare for an atlas on Swedish Finn folk culture and for an ethnographic dictionary. The model was brought from the Finnish Sanakirjasäätiö (the Dictionary Fund). In 1937 the Folk Culture Archives (Folkkultursarkivet) was founded within the Literature Society. Its aims were defined as collecting folklore, ethnographical material, dialect recordings, and place names. Moreover, at this time the collections of folklore gathered at the archives of the Swedish Literature Society had grown so voluminous that they needed an organisation of their own. In 1939 Valter W. Forsblom, who was in charge of the collections, quit his work and his tasks were taken over by the two employees at the new archive, Ragna and Olav Ahlbäck. They made inventories of the existing material, they collected new recordings, and they created questionnaires. However, "pure" folklore material, i.e. folk poetry, folk belief, and folk music was not at their focus, Ragna Ahlbäck being an ethnologist and Olav Ahlbäck a scholar of dialects. Their perspective was inspired by corresponding archives in Uppsala and Stockholm and comprised all kinds of folk culture. 1939-44 during the wars, everyday work was made difficult, but soon thereafter it took more or less normal forms again.

In 1967, the first officer specialised in "pure" folklore was appointed. Since then, folk music, folk songs, folk dances, oral traditional narratives and belief recordings have been gathered in great amounts. During Ann-Mari Häggman's era collecting and publishing work was in the center of the activities. Later on a balance was found between the main fields of purposes, i.e. collecting and registering, public service,

and research. During the last decades of the twentieth century the number of folklorists increased again. Among other things is worth mentioning the archives specialised in Ostrobothnian folk culture in Vasa. The Folk Culture Archives conducted several field expeditions along the Swedish areas in Finland and Estonia. A fair amount of questionnaires and competitions was administered and arranged. Regularly, several hundreds of informants corresponded with the archives on specific topics. A catalog of the collections was published and a lot of interesting books on folklore issues are, nowadays, part of the series published by the Swedish Literature Society in Finland. Cooperation with other folklorists in Finland and the other Nordic countries goes without saying.

In Åbo the successor of the retired Otto Andersson was John Rosas. He was in charge of the folklore studies at the university, but he was himself more interested in the other part of his chair, i.e. music, than of folklore studies. Still, he managed to find money to pay part time teachers to give lessons on folklore. It is worth mentioning, among others, Alfild Forslin and Ann-Mari Häggman from Finland, Iørn Piø from Denmark, and Britt-Marie Insulander and Jan-Öjvind Swahn from Sweden as inspiring teachers coming for some weeks to give courses on general and special folklore topics. Gradually, a growing interest in folklore studies came to the fore with the students at Åbo Akademi University and Jan-Öjvind Swahn was appointed a permanent visiting teacher from the 1970s. During that decade, the organisation of the university changed so that folklore studies were administered within the department of ethnology. Swahn spread the knowledge of folklore among the students to such an extent that the Foundation of the Åbo Akademi University decided to appoint at half time lecturer of folklore studies from the beginning of the

1980s. Since 1985 this lecturership was a full time appointment held by Ulrika Wolf-Knuts. Since 1987 Lena Marander-Eklund is her working partner, today she is an academic lecturer of folklore studies.

The last two decades of the twentieth century were characterised by international cooperation. The Nordic Institute of Folklore, followed by the Nordic Network of Folklore, may be mentioned beside the Coimbra Group of Universities' Culture Task Force which arranges international conferences on various topics of folklore. *Arv, Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* was published at the Åbo Akademi University from 1993 to 2002

During the last twenty years nearly forty students have received their master's degrees and four doctors have defended their dissertations. Although working conditions for folklorists are not very good, the young people have still found their ways of earning their living. In the future there will be more research conducted on Swedish Finn folklore from various aspects adjusted to relevant politically correct currents, but there will also be studies on individual fields of interest, historical and contemporary themes. A number of new doctoral dissertations will be published to complete the existing ones on folk belief, migration, women's narratives, and contemporary popular culture.

Characteristic for Swedish Finn folklore work have been matters of identity. The first decades were marked by a desire to rescue Swedish Finn folklore from being forgotten when Finnish folklore was put in the core of collecting and publishing. The national eagerness to popularize folklore and spread the knowledge of Kalevala had no counterpart in the Swedish population. Instead, scholarly critical editions of folklore were published. To some extent, the Finnish Literature Society and the Swedish Literature Society in Finland were each others' equals, although the Finnish

Society is more far-reaching, due to the greater number of individuals in the Finnish population. Today, the two organisations work parallelly within their language areas, and in a corresponding way the universities share the students and young researchers along their command of Finnish or Swedish, respectively. Rescuing the folklore is no longer an issue within archives or universities, instead contemporary folk tradition and ways of living and narrating are documented and analysed according to the interests of the scholars.

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ANNA-MARIA ÅSTRÖM

## What is a Swedish Ethnology in Finland?

In his article *Five ethnologies - the rise of Finnish ethnology from a Finland-Swedish point of view*, prof. Nils Storå has characterised the development of Ethnology in Finnish and in Swedish not as dichotomised striving for two unique kinds of ethnology based only on two languages in Finland but as five paths that together make the history more diverse and sometimes overlapping, sometimes not. The article looks for the roots in different spheres: antiquarian interests, languages, regionalism, an interest in cultural history and in anthropology. Prof. Storå takes us up to the 1960s. The starting point is of course language based disciplines where the need for this emphasis was felt very strongly. In Finland almost 5.9% of the population has Swedish as their mother tongue; in the beginning of the 20th century the percentage was 12,9. A result of the fact that the Swedish speaking also under the Russian rule until the late 19th century held important civilian and political posts, was that Finland after the independence 1917 was declared a bilingual state (1919). This meant and means that the Swedish speaking have a strong guarantee when it comes to their linguistic rights. Also strong institutional support make a Swedish or bilingual life especially in the Swedish coastal regions and towns possible.

My intention is to look to what has happened in ethnology since 1960 in this Swedish context and what actors where and

are working and also in which scientific context one can look at the ethnology that is carried out at the Åbo Akademi University in Åbo (Turku), that is the Swedish university in Finland. But I will also consider the ethnological work at the Folk Culture Archives in Helsinki, since a similar documentation and research work has been made there. A third actor is the Scientific section of the Brage Society also situated in Helsinki.

To understand the present one has to have in mind also the outset when the discipline was founded and the chair of ethnology donated (1919). What one then must know is that not only the interest in the culture of ones own, that is the Swedish culture in Finland but also in other cultures, has since the beginning of the 20th century been a distinctive mark of Swedish speaking ethnologists in Finland. The study of ones own culture goes hand in hand with studying others. In this respect the two professors in Åbo, Helmer Tegengren (1952-1971) and Nils Storå (1972-1997) are exemplary. Helmer Tegengrens dissertation concerned a rural parish in Ostrobothnia, but his main scientific work adressed the historically distant culture of the Sami in the Kemi lapplands. Nils Storå in his work has also been interested in two marginal cultures in Finland, the Finnish Archipelago and the Scolt Lapp society as well as the same parish that his teacher engaged in, that is

Kronoby in Swedish speaking Ostrobothnia. In this they distinguish themselves from their predecessor and teacher, the first professor in ethnology, Gabriel Nikander (1920-1951) who on the whole can be said to have dedicated his scientific life to the culture of the Swedish speaking Finns. His scope was nevertheless very broad as he was interested not only in the folk culture of the peasants and other rural elements, but also in the culture of higher layers exemplified by manor- and mill owners and the urban bourgeois and the surroundings they formed. The area for his studies where thus cultural history and folk life studies, also stipulated in the name of the chair in his time (Storå 1992, 92-98, Lönnqvist 2000, 24-25)

The professors succeeding Nikander can on the other hand be said to come close to the anthropological paradigm of Edward Westermarck (1862-1939), contemporary and a colleague of Gabriel Nikander. The ethnologists seem to have been content in researching Northern and Arctic people and did not like Westermarck's pupils expand their interest to other continents like for instance Gunnar Landtman (Papua New Guinea), Rafael Karsten (Peru, Bolivia) or Hilma Granqvist (Palestina). An important researcher between these two trends is K. Robert W. Wikman, who did his research on premarital relations with a comparative perspective using material not only from Scandinavia but also from remote parts in Central Europe (*Die Einleitung der Ehe* 1937) and concentrating on folk customs, a speciality also for the "westermarckians" (Storå 1992, 98-101)

Operating in the ethnological field in the 1920s and 1930s was thus the holder of the chair of Nordic Cultural history and folk life studies at the Åbo Academy University, with intimate relation to the chair of Nordic history in the same building and since 1927 also the Institute for Nordic folk life research with K.R.W.

Wikman as its head. It had been the idea of Edward Westermarck that a deliberate direction in ethnology was to be towards the Scandinavian cultures because the Swedes in Finland orientated from the west. The chair was thus founded for the research of the origins and development of this culture. Already in 1885 a learned Society, the Swedish Literary Society in Finland was founded with the same purpose but without the Nordic orientation. Gabriel Nikander engaged himself also in The Swedish Literary Society in Finland and in questions concerning museums and he was also head of the Brage scientific section for the study of folk life. This section gathered also anthropologists and folklorists and their main forum was *Budkavlen*, which presented their articles in different spheres such as folk architecture, economy of the archipelago, folk customs, folk religion and belief and other different folkloristic genres. Early members were among others Yngvar Heikel, K.R.W. Wikman, Gunnar Landtman, Otto Andersson and Fritz Burjam the last ones folklorists.

Shortly before the war also a new agent had come into being as The Swedish Literary Society founded an Archive for Swedish Folk Culture in Helsinki 1937 with MA and later PhD Ragna Ahlbäck, the daughter of Gabriel Nikander, as the first ethnological archivist.

When after the war the task for Helmer Tegengren since 1952 was to build the Cultural history department and broaden and consolidate the Nordic orientation, the task for Nils Storå was since 1972 to continue this work and keep the Nordic contacts alive at a period when ethnology in Scandinavia changed in a direction not foreseen. Tegengrens interests were directed to cultural contacts and cultural diffusion, hence his interest also in founding the Questionnaire network and the Archives, the material of which was

gathered through extensive fieldwork and documentation in the Swedish regions. Tegengren's main areas for study where economic contacts, economy in itself, colonisation and settlement and his views could widely be labelled as cultural anthropological. Prof. Storås interests are directed to acculturation, technology, innovations and the ecosystem and natural resources of the archipelago. Prof Storås interest also in the history of the discipline has been instructive for this article.

In the 1960s the ethnological archivists at the Folk Culture Archives in Helsinki where two and on to the scene came MA, later PhD and professor Bo Lönnqvist, with studies in Finno-Ugric Ethnography at Helsinki University as his background. In Turku at that time the comparative methods where used with a material collected there, in Helsinki the documentary work was stabilised. There an Ethnological Atlas over the Swedish folk culture had seen the light already in 1945 with Ragna Ahlbäck as its editor as the first number in the series of *Folkklivsstudier* (Folk Life Studies), which soon was filled up with research reports also of the Åbo School.

### **The Scene in the 1970s**

The name of the chair in Turku at the Åbo Akademi had in 1974 on professor Storås request been changed to Nordic Ethnology and Folkloristics whereas the brother Finnish University in Turku was dedicated to Finnish and comparative Ethnology ( in 1986 Folkloristics was changed to a discipline of its own).

The five ethnologies described by professor Storå had changed a lot but new challenges were still ahead. The antiquarian ethnology stayed important as ethnology as a discipline was also directed to museum work, the linguistic base was never forgotten and the regional research was still one outset. The cultural historical trend was

not as alive as before, but still courses in cultural history belonged to the curricula. Anthropology as a separate discipline can almost be said to have died away with the last pupils of Edward Westermarck, but fortunately a chair was erected at the university in Helsinki, with Arne Runeberg as its first professor, a rescue operation that soon led to a flourishing tradition again.

In Åbo both professor Storå and the Finnish professor Talve had mentioned urban ethnology as an important task for the future. In Sweden the direction in ethnology moved towards social anthropological perspectives, later to more hermeneutic approaches and reflexions about the role of the researcher. Also studies of everyday life in the present became a new sphere that again meant that many ethnologist took up fieldwork but now with contemporary problems also in mind. A special focus was now on small communities, working culture, subcultures, youth culture and other economic activities than that of farmers and fishermen.

Nils Arvid Bringeus' *Människan som kulturvarelse* ( Man as cultural being) has stayed as the core literature for beginning students as well as Orvar Löfgrens and Billy Ehns *Kulturanalys* (Cultural Analyses). The move to studies of contemporary society and all layers of society was never fulfilled completely in the ethnology at Åbo Akademi and by such a direction also the traditions of the former ethnologies were saved. But the focus of study was since the 1970s new: The rural population was broadened to encompass crofters and different categories of maritime populations as well as workers of different factories and mills. The comparative methods stayed in use, also historical approaches were applied and modernisation theories used. For long the research object had been cultural patterns and life forms. Also an interest in artefacts remained as a speciality for the



Åbo Ethnology. The intensive questionnaire work continued with dedicated informants in both Swedish and Finnish speaking areas all over the country. The intendent John Hackman was one of the first to use information technology in handling the answers. The interests of study were artefacts in rural and maritime surroundings and the economy in these areas.

At the Folk Culture Archives the decade was also full of activity. Bo Lönnqvists dissertation *Dräkt och mode i ett landsbygdssamhälle 1870-1920* in 1972 had led him to more deliberate research funded by the Academy of Finland and the staff now consisted of four ethnologists the tasks of whom were divided into rural ethnology, maritime ethnology, ethnology of customs and documentation (photography and drawing). Ragna Ahlbäck, Ivar Nordlund and Mary-Ann Elfving and since 1979 Bertil Bonns and the writer of this paper formed the team. Bo Lönnqvist had stipulated the work also to be directed to cultural elements and cultural forms, their vanishing, change and appearance.

Work was dedicated to fieldwork in different surroundings (a manorial society in western Nyland, a paper mill near Porvoo, insular communities in the western, south western and southern archipelago etc.) Ragna Ahlbäck's work still consisted in analysing the peasant culture in a historical perspective and a move on to handicrafts. The Archive got a printed Catalogue and Bo Lönnqvist published a Bibliography on all ethnological publications in Swedish until 1976. The questionnaires documented school life, the culture of children, reading habits, dress, annual festivities and material culture as well as the habits of drinking, smoking and the habits of taking snuff and the poor in society. The marginal layers of culture where to be covered.

### **The 1980s - an era of new theoretic insights and intensive fieldwork**

In Åbo the challenges of the new Swedish ethnology were taken up in teaching at all stages. This manifested itself in the choice of themes for master's degree theses. Life modes, life styles, subcultures of different groupings in society as well as more traditional subjects of rural and maritime life were targets of study for the young and eager generation. The move towards documentation of contemporary society was accompanied by new insights in the mechanisms of culture and by intensifying fieldwork in surroundings where the categories of peasant life could no more give clue to an understanding of the manifestations. One could not however talk about a shift of paradigm, since another focus was still on the disappearing forms of traditional life. Concepts such as cultural identity, acculturation, cultural niche, cultural ecology nevertheless gave a deeper insight to the studies accomplished. The habits of summer residents in rural areas, new forms of economic activity in the countryside as well as the traditional way of women's life were focuses of studies among the Åbo ethnologists. A keen interest in the material life and artefacts were still very strong. Since 1981 Bo Lönnqvist was also attached to the department as docent and teacher.

At the Folk Culture archives in Helsinki an even heavier weight than before was put on fieldwork with an problem oriented outlook from the start. The archipelago life mode was thought of as moving and changing as a result modernisation in for instance communication, and with intensive contact relations between residents of the islands and summer residents. Peasant life was studied with the concept of time as its outset and a small town (Kaskö) was studied as an arena for different urban dwellers and language groups to manifest

different attitudes and life modes of their own. The extensive fieldwork was reported in a volume of the series Folk life studies: *Kaskö - kontinuitet och förändring i en småstad* (Kaskö continuity and change in a small town, 1985). Fieldwork was always carried out with a historical perspective that sought for answers to the changes of the 20s century. This meant that also historical sources and newspapers were used to clarify the picture of change. Some of the fieldwork took place as joint expeditions to different localities in the Swedish speaking areas with ethnologist from Jyväskylä and Åbo as partners and even Swedish partners from Sweden were invited. The position of the memories that the interviews highly relied on were not problematised in other manners than that the remembrances had to be controlled by other data and with memories from the same epoch. Bo Lönnqvist work was directed to different aspects of the Finland Swedes and the historicity of this population. But the bourgeois culture also attracted the interest of both him and me, with both the urban scene and the manorial as its main focus. Inspirations were sought by keen attending to international conferences such as the SIEF conference in Zürich (The Life Cycle) and the German ethnological congresses with City culture, Children's culture, Remembering and forgetting, Culture Contacts-Culture Conflicts and Industrial man as their themes.

### **The 1990s - the era of new research in ethnicity, urban ethnology and modernisation, generational and gendered culture and historical anthropology**

At the ethnological department in Åbo the concept of culture and its consequences for its many-faceted articulation of differences could be dealt with by heavily leaning on the thought of Swedish scholars such as

Orvar Löfgren, Jonas Frykman, Lissie Åström, Barbro Klein, Karl Olof Arnstberg, Britta Lundgren and others. An interest in modern life was self evident by now and themes of gender and ethnicity came to the fore. This was reflected also in the work of Monica Nerdrum on tradition and modernity among archipelago women and a deliberate study and teaching about the different minorities in Finland. Courses were also held in Nordic ethnology and ethnicity as a field of study.

This was also the most active period of the Brage section for folk life studies with monthly meetings and yearly symposias with titles such as Goodbye to urban history books, Nature and Culture, The Dynamics of Culture, Symposium on Symbols, Ethnicity, Archipelago Culture and the Land of the Regions. Only the last mentioned covered explicitly the Swedish speaking Finns whereas the other were directed to general issues under the headings. As chairman functioned Bo Lönnqvist and as secretary Anna-Maria Åström. Lesser seminars and meetings were held where tourism, seaside resorts, the Russian culture in Finland and stereotypes where dwelt upon. All of the papers presented were published in the bulletin *Laboratorium för folk och kultur* that had since the light in 1989. The ethnological series *Budkavlen* that had been founded by Brage had since 1928 jointly been published by Brage and the Institute of Folk life research in Åbo but in 1971 the work had been taken over entirely by the ethnologists and folklorist in Åbo. Thus the new circle in Helsinki had decided to take the risk at starting a new series that had the popular stance which was connected to Brage, a society founded 1906 to ensure and preserve the interest in Swedish folk life and folklore in Finland.

The decade of the 1990s proved to be productive in many other ways. The Swedish ethnologists published a book of

honour for Bo Lönnqvist called *Kring tiden*, Around time, for his 50th birthday, with a deliberate outset in the concept of time. In his teaching docent Lönnqvist had always underlined this concept among with the concepts of things and space. Bo Lönnqvists own large work on children's creative culture *Ting rum och barn*, Things space and children was published 1992 and won the National prize of information in 1993. The small town urban studies with an ethnic component was continued by a team under the head of professor Matti Räsänen of the Turku University in the formerly Swedish town of Loviisa and at that time the Soviet town of Võru in Estonia as a joint Finnish-Estonian project. The Swedish part was written by an ethnologist from Åbo Akademy, Marina Airo (*Everyday life and Ethnicity* 1994). This study focussed on the contacts and possible conflicts between Finnish- and Swedish speaking local residents of Loviisa in comparison to those of the Estonians and Russians in Võru. Also new studies were initiated in the capital of Helsinki, where four large ethnological questionnaires were sent to the inhabitants looking for memories of and attitudes in the capital. Already in 1990 a book called *Hemma bäst* (At home is best) dedicated to childhood memories in bourgeois and worker families in the first three decades of the 20th century written by Swedish speakers was published and sold out in a year. The new material also resulted in a book *Elämästä kaupungissa - Att bo i stan* (Living in the city) which concentrated on memories of living in the immediate center of Helsinki in the bustle and traffic of the 1950s. The memoirs were published in the language in which they were written, either Finnish or Swedish.

The writer of this article had since 1987 been working on the historical cultural arena of manors owned by Swedish officers and officials in the eastern Finnish district of Savo. The work was entirely based on

historical sources and the historical anthropological disertation "*Sockenboarne*" was presented in 1993, soon followed by Monica Nerdrums disertation *Skärgårdskvinnor* Archipelago women (1998), where the author discusses the modernisation process among women. An interesting and thorough study on the world view of a female museum creator and curator Irja Sahlberg, *Kvinna i museivärlden*, was presented by Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen (1997). Thus two books dedicated to women studies made the male dominated ethnology change. Already in 1987 a book written by one of Gabriel Nikanders pupils, Hjärdis Dahl, could be published although the author was over eighty. The book was named *Högsäng och klädbod* and it is a grand survey of the textile culture of the Swedish peasantry in Finland. And thus the link to museology was once again intimately connected to the university discipline ethnology. In 1993 professor Nils Storå celebrated his 60th birthday with the Festschrift *Resurser, strategier, miljöer* and in 1999 the portrait of him was uncovered in the auditorium at the Humanisticum building in Åbo, where he sided with professor Nikander, Tegengren and Wikman and the donators of the building councillor of commerce Ernst Dahlström and his wife Rosina. Professor Storås many-faceted task was successfully completed and he can be said to have done something impossible: reforming ethnology at the same time as staying true to his own visions. He has since continued his work and in 2002 a new book will appear.

As the 1980s in Sweden can be said to be the decade when the Swedish ethnologists woke up with the questions like what is Swedish and how can Swedishness be reliably researched, the decade for such reflexive thoughts were the 1990s in Finland. This new interest was a direct result of the multicultural situation in Sweden, but in

Finland the challenge from the outset was the European integration. Many a book on what Finnishness is appeared in the early 1990s, seeking different and inherent traits but also discussing the term in a constructionist manner. The Finnish ethnologists on the other hand began the debate by inviting anthropologists and ethnologists to reflect on cultural contacts and cultural conflicts rather than looking at different cultures from inside. The ethnic questions were thus focal and this was reflected also in dissertations about contacts between different segments of the Finnish population. Works in these matters were carried out for instance by Pirkko Sallinen-Gimpl and Outi Tuomi-Nikula. The former studied the interference between evacuated Carelians and Finns after the Second World War and the latter marriages between German men and Finnish women. These topics also activated ethnologists in the Swedish institutions: Anna-Liisa Kuczynski studied the acculturation of Polish immigrants in Finland and later wrote her licentiate thesis on the cultural loyalty in marriages between Finns and Poles. Marjut Anttonen in her turn defended her doctoral thesis on Finnish descendants in Norway and their political awakening in the 1990s. Since the middle of the decade Finland's decision to join the EU also activated the cultural sciences.

The position of the Swedish speaking Finns in this new political and scientific context was somewhat blurry. The Academy of Finland launched a great program Ethnicity, Identity and Multiculturalism in 1994 and in this context three scholars, Bo Lönnqvist, Yrsa Lindqvist and myself, got the opportunity to offer our view on the question. The two cultures, the Finnish and Swedish was thought to intersect on each other both by transgression of borders and by upholding borders to keep the cultures as pictures or mental images clear. At the same time a

quest for having to define oneself in terms of ones own had began to appear on the scene. The construction of this image of the Swedish speaking Finns relied on two different pillars, the one consisting of four regions (Ostrobothnia, Åboland, Nyland and the Åland Isles) and the other of a "pact" between the leading layers, the political party and the "people". Our goal was to show how this apparatus worked on the image plane and how confrontations between different language groups took their content from different images and stereotypes about oneself and the other. The result was a monograph with the title "Gränsfolkets barn" ( Children of the border) which won a National information prize in 2002.

At the end of the 1990s you could fairly say that ethnology with the Swedish prefix in Åbo and Helsinki was well informed with the latest trends in the field. The theoretical points of departure encompassed semiotic perspectives, historical anthropological views, constructionist views on ethnic identity and on modern modes of life in rural and urban settings. What had not been neglected either was the study of modern customs and material culture with new inspiration from symbol theories of different kind, nor where the ecological theories abandoned. The difficult connections between nature and culture were still ahead waiting for answers, not the least because of the population areas of the Finland Swedes: the vulnerable areas at the Baltic Sea. Pollution problems and other problems concerning the environment were in focus also because the Åbo Akademi University had declared itself an Environment University. An ethnological answer that focused on the cultural environment of the archipelago appeared 1998 with the name *Etnografi på hemmaplan* (Ethnography at home)

The shift to studies of contemporary society was well under way and new studies

of urban life and urban memories were initiated in the Finnish Academy project Town Dwellers and their places, which was a joint project with ethnologists from Åbo, Jyväskylä and Helsinki. Methodological questions were discussed during seminars and the Brage Symposias: on debate were mentalities, topophilia and lived space, symbol theories, ethnicity, stereotypes, representations of different kinds, not the least in the area of museums and tourism, authenticity, and the intricate questions on memories and questionnaire answers. Ethnology had come to a reflective phase.

### **Into the new millennium and looking back to historical times**

The new millennium meant even more changes and challenges also for the ethnology that can be characterised as Swedish in Finland. The starting point was defined to rely on an examination of what the post- or late modern times have meant for the cultural arena and everyday life in localities in Finland. The late modern times are said to be fragmented and focused on different life styles at the same time as history becomes a fantasy area to explore at the same time as heritage sites become popular places to visit. At the department of Ethnology at Åbo Akademi the look for days gone was started by a questionnaire concerning the 1950s. This starting point could reveal both how people remembered this already remote time and how they considered the changes of time. The students made an exhibition of this material that took us the 1950s of Åbo and a book *Så minns jag mitt Åbo* (Thus I remember my Åbo). The exhibition in turn proved to be successful, and one masters thesis was dedicated to the source critics and the study of narration, generations, places and things that were mentioned in this context.. This thesis by Katja Hellman was one of many that sought to penetrate the role of History in our lives and in contemporary society.

The quest for historical milieus is at the moment under focus on different levels in Åbo. Solveig Sjöberg-Pietarinen is completing her doctoral thesis on two open-air museums: The Klosterbacken handicraft museum in Åbo and the Amuri workers living museum in Tampere. But her ambitions are higher: to look for what can be represented in open-air museums and how the representation work is done.

As ethnology in Åbo still is connected to cultural history and courses on European cultural history and historical anthropology is being taught, it is natural to look at contemporary culture with one eye to history. Besides master thesis on Internet and mobil phones many young ethnologist have been fascinated by new forms of history presentation and historically valuable living areas. The former studies have been led under the title of History in our times and encompass studies of how the 18th century is elevated in dramas and historical enactments beside expositions in museums, how the medieval times come to live one week in Åbo every summer as the medieval market is put to play, and how children join pedagogical groups at the museums focusing on medieval knights and archaeological times at ecomuseums. Other studies under the head of History in local society, focus on the gentrification processes of urban areas including mostly wooden houses in the centers of the towns or just outside and the awareness of history by the inhabitants and the meanings they give the historical milieus. Other studies focus on the agrarian roots and how living on historical farms is understood and used as a means for living or how old farms only consist of one alternative while modern replicas have higher value for young families. Thus it is well understood that postmodern ideas and images are as easily planted in the rural milieu as in the towns.

The questionnaire department under John Hackman is as active as ever. Beside

the 1950 questionnaire (200 answers) two more have been released since 2000: Our Nature (120) and Mill and factory milieus (by now 90 answers). The network being the whole of Finland we have got long narrations from very different and distant localities both in Finnish and in Swedish as the main officials and high officials in the factories used to be Swedish speaking until the end of the 1960s. The last fieldwork in May was also located to a factory milieu, in Varkaus in eastern Finland, where the students could feel as anthropologists in a somewhat alien milieu of a large paper mill and an inland town. We also visited Sorsakoski, where the manufacturing of cutlery last year was moved to France. But the delivery station was still functioning and the Hackman saucepans still produced in this factory that was started as a sawmill in 1787. Thus a vanishing culture is explored, the material of which will be useful for many disciplines in the future. The insights in industrial logistics were also thought provoking for ethnologists, and led us to contemplations about consumer society on the whole. New topics are now also found in youth culture, rites the passage and the challenge of the new migrants to Finland. Another area of great interest is also consumption where focus already has been on ecological and reliable consumption and the consumption of young people in different decades.

As has been presented, ethnology at Åbo Akademi university has engaged in contacts with other ethnological departments in Finland in joint research projects. This is quite natural because the personnel at the department in Åbo only consists of the mentioned professor Anna-Maria Åström (since 2000), the intendent Johan Hackman and the assistant Niklas Huldén. Six researchers are attached to the department with projects of their own and they also take part in the training of the students. For the time being the total

number of students is 82.

A new project has started in 2002. It is project initiated by the Swedish Literary Society with the name Faces of the City. It is an interdisciplinary project, that focuses on urban culture in 1880-2000 in many different towns and from different angles. For the first time historians, ethnologists and researchers in literature are working together with the aim at founding new ways in looking at the urban transition and how it has been perceived. International contacts are intimate with Sweden, especially with Gothenburg and Stockholm but also more distant universities as St Petersburg Kiel and Krakow are sites of contacts.

If we look at the near future of ethnology at Åbo Akademi it can be said that focus is both on contemporary society and its historical roots; applications lie waiting for funding for two large research projects: Tradition and modernity concerning public festivities in cities and The modernisation of the countryside in which the aim is to study the new challenges rural areas and the rural population have to confront. As the interest in anthropology is growing, more than elementary courses has to be offered. Thus ethnology in Åbo could once again be connected with the great traditions were Edward Westermarck started.

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