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CONCEPTS AROUND SELECTED PASTS: ON 'MNEMONIC TURN' IN CULTURAL RESEARCH

Ene Kõresaar

Abstract: The aim of this article is to outline the main concepts used in cultural research, which denote the use of the past, to look into the trajectories of their mutual relationships, and to discuss the causes and development potential of the multi-faceted landscape of concepts that has emerged. Serving as an introduction to this thematic volume, this article creates the necessary conceptual framework for reading the following case studies. Two pairs of concepts are observed, which provide information on the modern cultural research of selected pasts: history culture and memory, and tradition–heritage. It is concluded that all the observed concepts could in the current situation be dealt with not only as fields of research, but as perspectives relevant for all areas of cultural research. Whether and to what extent the research of history culture, memory, tradition and heritage are entangled, is dependent on problem settings and objects of research, to which the respective research directions were originally related, but also connected with disciplinary contexts and academic traditions in different countries. In addition to impulses arising from inside research directions, the reason for the greater engagement of these directions could be the rise of interdisciplinary fields, which are not anchored to any specific concepts. A situation in which cultural research concepts with solid trajectories become replaceable occurs also in the case of transdisciplinary 'turns'. The research perspectives behind different concepts are best engaged within a specific field of research, which in turn have made way to the emergence of new concepts that bridge the established ones. In the context of this thematic volume, it is meaningful to refer to the increased cross-disciplinary interest in how the representation of the past in a variety of public spheres takes place. In this respect, concepts have been taken into use that refer to the 'public' at different levels: from official, state-sanctioned institutions to less formal, often locally based settings, and to particular, individualised contexts.

Keywords: cultural heritage, history culture, memory turn, social and cultural memory, tradition

INTRODUCTION

The starting point for this thematic volume was the History Culture and Selected Pasts panel organised at the 32nd Nordic Conference of Ethnology and Folkloristics in Bergen in 2012. This brought together twelve panellists from ethnology, folkloristics and history research, to discuss the representations of the past in museums, archives, local industrial companies, tourism, social media, autobiographic narratives and the print media. It is significant to note that only two of the twelve panellists actually used the concept 'history culture'. The landscape of concepts that was outlined as a result of the panel turned out to be varied, yet still intriguingly interrelated. At the same time, the abundance of different concepts did not cause problems in understanding each other or objections from other schools, which indicates that the meanings of the concepts are overlapping or at least sufficiently similar. The aim of this article is to outline the main concepts used in cultural research, which denote the use of the past, to look into the trajectories of their mutual communication, and to discuss the causes and development potential of the multi-faceted landscape of concepts that has emerged. Serving as an introduction to this thematic volume, this article creates the necessary conceptual framework for reading the following case studies and deals with the analysis categories selected by the authors of the articles in their mutual relationships.[1]

From time to time it has been said that social sciences and the humanities have undergone a 'mnemonic turn' (see, e.g., A. Assmann 2002: 27; Bachmann-Medick 2006: 381). As it is a real conceptual leap from the object level to the level of analysis categories, and therefore a novel 'turn' with a transdisciplinary potential, it is a question to which answers must be looked for in the future (Bachmann-Medich 2006: 382). So far, it is clear that the mnemonic turn has neither taken place simultaneously in all disciplines – and in some of them there has been no direct need for such a turn – nor has it followed a common trajectory. Also, the concepts developed for denoting mnemonic practices are by far not uniform. Quite the opposite, there is an abundance of them across fields and disciplines as well as across national borders.

Astrid Erll in the introduction to her book *Memory in Culture* maintains, "[t]he heterogeneity of the concepts and disciplinary approaches to possibly identical objects of research represents one of the most important challenges of contemporary memory studies" (Erll 2011a: 6). This could be applied more generally to social sciences and humanities. On the other hand, it is not certain whether the diversity and overlapping of concepts is a problem, i.e., whether we do inevitably need one concept to denote all these phenomena of using the past. Opponents of memory studies, for example, have criticised the fact that

one concept denotes a multitude of diverse phenomena (ibid.: 7). Therefore, it could be useful to periodically revisit concepts that are used both intra- and cross-disciplinarily to study the uses of the past, as well as the relationships between these concepts.

In the following, two pairs of concepts are observed, which provide information on the modern cultural research of selected pasts. Focusing on the approaches that are included in this thematic volume, a comparative analysis of the trajectories, uses and mutual relationships of the concepts is made.

HISTORY CULTURE & MEMORY

The concept of history culture as it appears in the title of this special issue was coined by German historian and history theorist Jörn Rüsen in the late 1980s and early 1990s. He postulated the term '*Geschichtskultur*' in order to position historical thinking in everyday life, by arguing that it is through the category of culture that historical thinking becomes rooted in everyday practice (Rüsen 1994b). Rüsen conceptualised history culture as a set of temporal interpretations articulated in the practice of historical remembering. Every society needs to interpret time in order to compare itself to others, to adapt to social changes, and activate changes in turn. Hence, the main keywords of history culture are experience, interpretation, communication and identity. Rüsen was certainly not the first one to come up with the concept of history culture. In the 1980s, the terms 'historical culture' and '*Geschichtskultur*' already existed, either in a more limited meaning, as a tool for analysing specific discourse of historical research, or in a broader sense, designating various forms of representation of the past in the present.[2]

The term 'history culture' is related to another important concept – historical consciousness (German *Geschichtsbewusstsein*). The starting point for Rüsen's fundamental discussion of history culture is the analysis of historical consciousness, which through the treatment of historical methods eventually leads to the conceptualisation of history culture (Rüsen 1994a). Historical consciousness, which was conceptualised already in the first half of the 19th century (Hegel 1970 [1832–1845]), became the central category in the renewing didactics of history in the 1970s–1980s (see, e.g., Jeismann 1980; Pandel 1987). It was understood as an experience-based "individual mental structure" (Pandel 1987: 132), which involves different, individually and complexly combined dimensions and categories. The classic differentiation of the dimensions of historical consciousness was provided by Hans-Jürgen Pandel (1987). Within historical consciousness, he also distinguished between the consciousness of time (*Bewusstsein für*

die Zeit), the consciousness of reality (*Bewusstsein für die Wirklichkeit*) and the consciousness of historicity (*Historizitätsbewusstsein*). The dimensions of historical consciousness are made more complex by social categories: (group) identity, political consciousness, social-economic consciousness and morals. Later, Bodo von Borries differentiated the historical consciousness theory still further, distinguishing coding levels (biographical experience, social memory, cultural heritage, science methodology), types of meaning creation, temporal relations (past, present, future), and modes of processing (information, moral decision, emotion, aesthetic contemplation) (Borries 2001).

According to Rüsen, "history culture is only a little step away from historical consciousness" (Rüsen 1994a: 213). In other words, as he later maintained, "history culture is practically effective articulation of historical consciousness in the life of a society" (Rüsen 1994b: 5; Rüsen 2001: 2). This means that the relationship of historical consciousness and history culture consists in the relationship between the individual and the public (collective). In other words, if historical consciousness is an individual mental process, history culture is its materialisation, containing manifestations that accompany the usage of the past, historical images, events, places and products. Hannu Salmi treats history culture as an extensive concept, embracing all kinds of ways that the past exists in the present: as memory and experience, customs and rituals, artefacts and other materialised realms of memory, marketable "products of the past" (Salmi 2001). The same approach is used in this volume by **Anna Sivula**, who under history culture means "the entirety of generations, modifications, transformations, and utilisations of the images of the past". For her, "[h]istory culture is an umbrella term that refers to all types of use, production, formation and transmission of historical images". In the light of a microhistorical case of Porin Puuvilla Oy, Sivula demonstrates how and why the different actors select one past to be historicised and leave another to be obsolete. She introduces an analytical four-field of the internal and external dimensions of history management.

The study of historical consciousness was somewhat influential in the ethnological research and folklore studies of the 1980s and 1990s. The term 'historical image' was applied successfully in German oral history and *Erzählforschung* (Heins 1993). Elsewhere, however, established disciplinary concepts were often modified rather than new concepts adopted. The concept of 'collective tradition' in folklore studies, for example, can be understood in terms of history culture which, as a part of national culture, offers support and order, as well as leaves scope for varying individual reminiscences (Eriksen 1997; Heimo 2010: 40).[3]

Already this brief excursion into the practice of the neighbouring disciplines demonstrates how in the 1990s concepts related to selected pasts started to

'travel' between disciplines and relate more to each other. The same goes for the relationship of 'history culture' and 'memory'.

The 1980s and 1990s were the time of very influential research which later became memory studies. After the works of the French sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1925, 1950) were translated into German (1985, 1990) and English (1980, 1992), the term 'collective memory' gained a wider theoretical ground.[4] Under collective memory, Halbwachs meant the social entwinement of individual memories, including their relations with handing down cultural knowledge and intergenerational communication. His ideas have been generative for much of the subsequent scholarship, most notably in France and Germany (Olick & Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy 2011: 25). In France, the re-emergence of the memory problematic in the 1980s was led by Jacques Le Goff (1992) and ultimately by Pierre Nora, whose monumental work *Les Lieux de mémoire* (1984–1992) introduced the concepts of 'realms of memory', 'sites of memory' and '*Erinnerungsorte/räume*'. Nora understood the latter as geographical places, buildings, monuments, works of art, but also historical figures, anniversaries, cultural texts, rituals, etc.[5] A realm of memory in Nora's sense is broader cultural objectivisation that fulfils a certain function in society (intentionality) and holds a meaning that is symbolic for society, be it right from the moment of its emergence or in retrospect. Parallels with how history culture was perceived by the turn of the century are obvious here.

With Nora's work – and other historical studies on the role of collective memory in the making of national identity[6] – the history and memory debate started and the understanding emerged that it is not appropriate to define a distinctive contrast between history and memory; the two (notions) should overlap and 'discipline' each other.

At the end of the 1980s and in the 1990s, Jan and Aleida Assmann in Germany developed the concepts 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory'. They used these two concepts to distinguish between the collective memory, which is based on everyday intergenerational communication, and the collective memory, which is based on cultural objectivisations with symbolic meanings, respectively (J. Assmann 1988; 1992). Aleida Assmann (1999) elaborated the concept of cultural memory in the theory of dynamics between its actuality and potential (the concepts *Funktionsgedächtnis* and *Speichergedächtnis*) (see also Assmann & Assmann 1994).[7] In Germany the concept of communicative memory became popular both in oral history, especially in studies on family memory and intergenerational transmission, and also in social psychology in conversational remembering and communicative unconsciousness/unconscious communication studies (Welzer 2005).[8] Later, Aleida Assmann (2004) has referred to communicative memory also as social memory. The use of the social memory concept

has become most heterogeneous and varying, due to both national and language borders as well as disciplinary borders. For example, in the German-language academia, differentiation is made between Assmanns' concept of social memory and the social-psychological 'social memory'. In Harald Welzer's approach, 'social memory' is an implicit and unintentional sphere of memory, and its media – interaction, documents, pictures/images and spaces – are not inevitably meant for trading the past, but they still "transport" history and represent the social use of the past in everyday life (Welzer 2001). In this sense, the 'social memory' concept in the German research area differs considerably as compared to social memory studies in the Anglo-American research area (cf. Fentress & Wickham 1992; Olick & Robbins 1998; Climo & Cattell 2002; Misztal 2003). The latter is not concentrated on a specifically defined type of memory, but represents a common name for the increased number of approaches across all disciplines that recognise "the importance of social frameworks and contexts in the process of remembering" (Misztal 2003: 1). Here 'social memory' is synonymous with 'collective memory' (Olick & Robbins 1998; Olick & Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy 2011).

Hence, by the end of the 1990s there was a large variety of memory concepts, behind which usually also separate research fields formed. Returning once again to how history culture and (collective) memory as fields of research relate to one another, the table below matches the three dimensions of history culture by Jörn Rüsen (Rüsen 1994a) with different directions in memory studies, using Aleida Assmann's differentiation of types of memory to denote them (A. Assmann 2004; 2010).

History culture (Rüsen 1994a)	Memory (A. Assmann 2004; 2010)
Cognitive	Personal memory / social memory
Political	Political memory
Aesthetic	Cultural memory

In Rüsen's sense, cognitive or experiential dimension of history culture is centred on knowledge of the past and orientation in time. This is where the parallel term, historical consciousness, comes up more often and where oral history and life story research as well as social (and communicative) memory studies are more in dialogue. Political dimension means that history culture is analysed from the viewpoint of political discourse, asking what the key agencies and powers are that intervene in the production and dissemination of the symbolic constructs of historical culture. In memory studies there is a special branch, Politics of History and Memory, with the terms 'collective memory', and 'political memory' in its focus. The aesthetic dimension of history culture includes its aesthetic

manifestations and artistic objectifications: media, art, literature, museum, etc. In short, this is the field of what is known as cultural memory studies.

In addition to the similar development processes concerning the differentiation of concepts in history culture, and (collective) memory studies and their changing into separate fields of research, memory studies have approached history culture research by paying increasingly more attention to the category of culture. While in the late 1990s *Erinnerungskultur* was more a German phenomenon (cf. from the cultural-historical point of view Erll 2005: 34–39; from the aspect of recent history, e.g., Hockerts 2001), then by the mid-2000s the term 'memory culture' was already a transnational term (Radstone & Hodgkin 2005). Such rapprochement of history culture and memory culture is, on the one hand, connected with the central position of German schools in memory studies. Erll, when postulating cultural memory studies as a dialogic space of diverse memory studies, dwells on the same notion of culture as Rüsen did – the German *Kulturwissenschaft* – as well as the anthropological understanding of culture as a specific way of life, led within its self-spun webs of meaning (Erll 2008: 4). On the other hand, it has to do with the ongoing transcultural turn in cultural research and with a search for concepts, which avoid tying memory to clear-cut territories and social formations (Erll 2011b).

Still, the relations between 'history culture' and 'memory culture / cultural memory' continue to be characterised through the tension of approaching and distancing. A sign of the former process is the synonymous use of concepts or, even the "swallowing" of one concept by another. For example, around the turn of the century Rüsen admits that there is no dialogue between history culture and memory culture studies (Rüsen 2001: 4–5), but five years later he uses these concepts as synonyms (Rüsen 2006: 70). By means of the semiotic model of cultural memory that Erll elaborated at the same time, relying on the Assmanns (Erll 2005), she tried to embrace the whole of all the processes related to the relationship of the present and the past in the social and cultural context. Later she sees the concept 'cultural memory' as an umbrella term that draws the disciplines together:

> It is exactly the umbrella quality of the term 'cultural memory' which helps us to see the (sometimes functional, sometimes analogical, sometimes metaphorical) relationships between phenomena which were formerly conceived of as distinct, and thus draw connections between tradition and canon, monuments and historical consciousness, family communication and neuronal circuits. Therefore, the concept of cultural memory opens up a space for interdisciplinary perspectives in a way none of these other (albeit more specific) concepts can. (Erll 2011a: 99)

It seems, however, that disciplinary borders (still) play a relatively clear role in whether and how certain concepts are used. For example, in history writing and particularly in history didactics studies there is no need for a new concept of memory; yet, there is a need to deal with the confusing variety of concepts with partly synonymous, partly overlapping meanings. A recent book on Nordic history culture defines memory culture narrowly as a field of commemoration and as a part of history culture which, in turn, is to signify "the whole spectrum of ways the past is addressed and used in a society" (Bjerg & Lenz & Thorstensen 2011: 8). At the same time, a book from the same academic cultural area, but with a more interdisciplinary authorship, does not concentrate directly on the concepts of (collective) memory or history culture, although it admits to originating from them, but focuses on the nature of activities connected with using the past, studying how negotiations of the past are performed and what strategies are employed (Eriksen 2009). **Tuomas Hovi** in this volume adopts a similar position, when he poses a question about the use of history and tradition in Dracula tourism. Although he distinguishes between the concepts of history (as the interpretation of the past), (legend) tradition and fiction, he combines them from the point of view of an agent, and treats them as (analytical) parts of the use of history.

TRADITION & HERITAGE

When introducing the concepts of tradition and heritage, and their relations to memory, one has to start differently. There is no use postulating the beginnings of the term 'tradition', as it has such an exhaustive and elaborated trajectory in ethnology, folkloristics and anthropology (cf., e.g., Boyer 1990; Noyes 2009; Howard & Blank 2013; Oring 2013). Even when memory studies have evoked an enthusiastic response in anthropology – and perhaps a less enthusiastic response in folklore studies – the question for the critics of the popularity of memory studies remains as to its capacity of replacing established concepts. In 2005, anthropologist David Berliner, when criticising the obsession for memory in anthropology, asked: "What is actually new in our current fascination with memory?"– and answered: "The success of memory among anthropologists is an avatar of the never-ending debate about the continuity and reproduction of society" (Berliner 2005: 203); "memory is [---] an ideal entry point to engage with issues of cultural continuity" (ibid.: 2005: 204). A few years later Erll noted in her introduction to the *Handbook of Cultural Memory Studies*:

> [---] even today scholars continue to challenge the nation of collective or cultural memory, for example, that since we have well-established concepts like "myth", "tradition", and "individual memory", there is no need for a further, and often misleading, addition to the existing repertoire. (Erll 2008: 1–2)

The fundamental question about the continuity and reproduction in society, as Berliner specified the main question of anthropological disciplines, as seen from the position of folkloristics, is solved by the concepts 'genre', 'transmission', and 'tradition', which make up the folklore researcher's toolbox (McNeill 2013: 175). The central concept signifying cultural continuity – tradition – has taken many forms and the trajectories of using it reach back to the beginnings of the disciplines of folklore studies, ethnology and anthropology.

Lynne McNeill (2013: 176) maintains that 'tradition' is the key to mark the boundaries of folkloric inquiry. Dorothy Noyes distinguishes three main "traditions" of the concept 'tradition': tradition as communication, as temporal ideology, and as communal property (Noyes 2009). Such approaches in studying tradition have clear touching points with the different directions of memory studies. The study of tradition as communicative transaction has shifted from the original understanding of tradition as inheritance to the one of migration, then after the turn to context in the 1960s and 1970s to the community-centred view, and finally, beginning in the 1990s, to the category of circulation accelerated by the "metacultures of newness": "Whereas earlier scholarship assumed continuity and tried to explain change, today flux is assumed…" (Noyes 2009: 239). If we compare this dynamics of the concept of tradition to what has taken place in cultural memory studies, obvious parallels in development can be seen. Let us take, for example, "travelling memory", a cultural memory research-centred metaphor, which points to the fact that "in the production of cultural memory, people, media, mnemonic forms, contents, and practices are in constant, unceasing motion" (Erll 2011b: 12). The touching point between tradition as circulation and travelling memory is particularly clear, when the issues of transmission and media(tisa)tion are problematised and new fields of research are captured, for example, communication via the Internet and other ways of technological mediation.

The connection of tradition and memory studies actually extends much further, being elaborated in tandem with the theory of modernity, to which both concepts provide a binary contrast (Noyes 2009: 239). Just to mention the salvage fieldwork that was in the centre of early folkloristics and ethnology, and the Western popular traditionalist movements since the 1960s, which arose in defence of traditions and which somewhat later became objects of cultural analysis. In this volume, **Coppélie Cocq** studies the emic uses of 'tradition' as

well as the process of traditionalisation in the context of revitalisation of Sámi languages and culture. She approaches traditionalisation as a basic cultural process, in which people select valued aspects of the past considered traditional within the community for cultural attention and custodianship. It is a self-conscious process that takes place in the community at different levels. Cocq's view of 'tradition' stresses its power and ability to define a culture, categorise communities, and establish common grounds and boundaries.

The process that later on became critically called the 'memory boom', is rooted in the same turn towards the past as a crucial concern of the Western societies from the late 20th century modernity (Huyssen 2000: 57). Earlier on, influential collective memory studies used the concept of tradition to emphasise the primary role of the state in shaping collective memory. Hobsbawm and Ranger defined tradition as "a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of arbitual or symbolic nature, which seek to incalculate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition which automatically implies continuity with the past" (Hobsbawm 1983: 1). Hence, their understanding of 'invented tradition' conveys the meaning of tradition as temporal ideology (cf. Noyes 2009: 243–244). As Barbara Misztal (2003: 56) suggests, the invention of tradition approach promoted the development of the study of the institutionalisation of remembrance within national ritual and educational system. While folkloristics and ethnology featured an attempt to democratise Hobsbawm and Ranger, arguing that communities themselves continually reinterpret the past for the present purposes (Noyes 2009: 243–244)[9], Pierre Nora's 'tradition' as a *lieu de mémoire* (in English: Nora & Kritzman 1997) provided a broader model for scholarship. Nora regarded the realms of memory as the remaining points of intersection between memory and history, and he understood them in a really broad sense: as symbolic elements of the memorial heritage of any community. This also extended to the concept of tradition, which encompassed both songs, books, cafés, and wine, as well as places imbued with national symbolism such as Notre Dame.

The part in the monumental work edited by Nora, which was dedicated to traditions, was later on translated into English as *Legacies* (Nora 2009), and reflects a frail distinction between the concepts of 'tradition' and 'heritage'.[10] Heritage is a tradition as communal property; it no longer serves ordinary social purposes but is a monument of cultural identity (Noyes 2009: 245).

The concept 'heritage' gained importance especially since the 2000s, in the context of globalisation (Harrison 2012: 5). The scope of the concept 'heritage' can be considered as ambiguous as that of the concept of memory (Lowenthal 1998). Some authors would define heritage (or at least 'official' heritage) as those objects, places and practices that can be formally protected by using heritage

laws and charters. But there are many other forms of official categorisation that can be applied to heritage sites at the national or state level throughout the world (Harrison 2012: 14). As Kristin Kuutma argues, "heritage is a value-laden concept that can never assume a neutral ground of connotation" (Kuutma 2012: 21). Her discussion of cultural heritage focuses on the practices of arbitration and engineering in the context of cultural politics. She demonstrates that the contemporary heritage regimes are situated in the framework of curative concerns (heritage "care") and cultural engineering. In other words, as contemporary critics argue, the concept of cultural heritage is used to sanction, give status and materialise the intangibilities of culture and human experience.

The recent research draws attention to the process of heritagisation by making visible how choices involving inclusion and exclusion of relevant history cause disagreement in a number of heritage cases. **Grete Swensen**, in this volume, is making use of the concepts 'difficult heritage' (Logan & Reeves 2009; Macdonald 2008) and 'contested heritage' (Flynn 2011) in analysing how prison history is described and mediated in two former prison buildings in Norway. She demonstrates that the motivations behind the present use of the buildings range from the intention to stimulate new local cultural arenas, to increasing insight into local cultural history, to serving solely commercial ends. Through this approach, Swensen supports the standpoint that views heritage as a mode of cultural production, which actively uses the past to produce something new (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2012: 199 in Swensen).

Pauliina Latvala takes this idea even further and discusses narration on political practices and emotions as "heritage from below" (Robertson 2012). Following Laurajane Smith (2006), she approaches the transmission of oral histories as acts of heritage management. Focusing on one case of archived documentary heritage making, in this particular case an archive collection campaign, Latvala demonstrates how tangible collections saved for future generations pass down multi-dimensioned historical and political knowledge through intangible, experienced history, and may thus serve as a counter-history. Therefore, heritage from below makes up a part of the process of changing past images and challenges the significance of the master narrative.

The triangle of concepts 'traditionalisation' – 'heritagisation' – 'memorialisation' illustrates a close connection between the concepts under scrutiny. They all signify the 'making of', whereas traditionalisation applies more to local contexts and actors, and heritagisation to a global context. Memorialisation, in its own turn, may include both traditionalisation and heritagisation. For Rodney Harrison, heritagisation is a way and form of memoralisation in society (Harrison 2012: 168). While Harrison views heritage as a mnemonic process, Scandinavian historians and cultural researchers Peter Aronsson and Linda

Gradén (2013: 19) stress heritage's "capacity to form a historical consciousness, an understanding of why we are at this position in history and where we ought to direct our actions". Recently 'heritage' has become increasingly related to 'cultural memory' and here the same pattern is evident as it was in the case of 'history culture' and 'memory': diverse concepts meet in the framework of some concrete research field.[11] **Anne Heimo**'s article in this issue is a good example of this. Heimo investigates the different ways that the 1918 Finnish Civil War is commemorated and represented on the Internet, on both private and institutional websites as well as in social media. She takes the perspective of participatory history culture (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998) and vernacular authority (Howard 2013) and approaches the online history-making in relation to memory and heritage politics. It is a relevant lack of focus on historical representation and commemoration in folklore studies on the Internet that makes her to rely, to a large extent, on the work done by scholars of other fields, mainly oral history, memory studies, media studies and cultural heritage. By stressing the performative nature of online documenting, she makes use of the increasing tendency in memory studies to focus on the active processes of remembering and commemoration instead of memories as static products. She maintains that digital memories are open to continuous remediation, reformulation, recycling and remixing to the extent that boundaries between private and public, personal and collective memories become blurred or even disappear. This, in its own turn, has consequences to the understanding of heritage. Heimo's approach focuses on digitally born "new heritage", which comes to being "through shared and repeated interactions with the tangible remains and lived traces of a common past" (Giaccardi 2012: 1–2 in Heimo). As Heimo demonstrates, this new way of heritagisation also implicates new culture of commemoration.

CONCLUSION

As this article demonstrates, the key concepts related to studying the use of the past have started to overlap quite a lot in their ways of conceiving themes and approaching objects. The understanding of tradition "as a rhetorical and political resource for promoting certain values and motives [---], as a point of intersection between ideology and agency, and as a constituent of common sense and practical judgement" (Gencarella 2013: 50) bears a strong resemblance to the concept of 'collective memory' in Anglo-American social memory studies (Olick & Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy 2011: 36–39), albeit it may be more disciplinary focused. In its most general sense, the term 'heritage' refers to something in the past that has influenced what is now present; it also func-

tions as "a meta-cultural activity – a culture about culture which takes the view that both tangible and intangible heritage is selected, named and framed in the present but has recourse to the past" (Aronsson & Gradén 2013: 19; see also Kirchenblatt-Gimblett 2004). In this sense it barely differs from the broad definition of cultural memory as "the interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts" (Erll 2008: 2). Naturally, the difference lies in how the criticism of these concepts has acted as compared to the internal development of the concepts: for example, the criticism of tradition and heritage has driven these concepts to expansive development (Smith 2006), while at the same time the criticism of memory studies still appeals "to clarify the conceptual fuzziness surrounding the label 'memory'" (Berliner 2013). Aronsson, having worked out the concept *historiebruk* (the use of history), which could be regarded as the Scandinavian equivalent for history culture, conceived it as functioning in the institutional, official, commercial and private sphere in all its forms (aesthetic, cognitive, affective or normative) (Aronsson 2004: 278). Following his train of thought, all the observed concepts could in the current situation be dealt with not only as fields of research, but as perspectives relevant for all areas of cultural research (ibid.: 275).

Whether and to what extent researches on history culture, memory, tradition and heritage are entangled, is dependent on problem settings and objects of research, to which the respective research directions were originally related, but also connected with disciplinary contexts and national borders. For example, 'memory turn' usually cites as its catalysts the Jewish Holocaust memory industry and 20th-century wars, as well as the end of communism in Eastern Europe, so that it is often associated with 'trauma'. In Germany, where, as a result of the Second World War, attitude to the past has been namely a political issue, the studies of history culture and remembering (*Erinnerungskultur*, oral history) also have a strong political and social dimension. Besides, focus on studying the pivotal events of the 20th century has brought closer to one another the research of the grassroots-level remembering and the construction of national memories, as well as cross-country and cross-disciplinary study of memory politics (Heimo & Peltonen 2003; Kõresaar 2007). At the same time, the relationships between, e.g., the research of individual and private remembering and the research of national memory policies are far from being tension-free. If for Rüsen in the German context both approaches have common roots and aims ("… *die Rettung von Zeitzeugenschaft im Modus der historischen Erinnerung…*") (Rüsen 2006: 68), Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (2008b) see fundamental differences here. In their point of view, memory studies are differentiated from oral history by their more abstracted approach, which asks how broader cultural memory is created, circulated, mediated, and received,

while oral history concentrates on how individuals produce meaning from their memoirs (Hamilton & Shopes 2008a: x). It is interesting to observe in Finnish and Estonian contexts how oral historians' contacts to earlier memory studies differ according to their academic background. Whereas folklorists relied on already established disciplinary concepts and got embedded to the international (mainly Anglo-American and Italian) tradition of oral history, ethnologists found inspiration from Halbwachs's and Assmanns' theories of collective/cultural memory as well as from *Erfahrungsgeschichte* (a German eqvivalent for oral history) (Kõresaar 2001; Heimo 2010: 40–41).[12]

Concentration on different cultural levels and raising of different research questions has also kept memory studies and research of heritage culture in a relatively disengaged state until recently. While the focus of memory studies was on experiencing traumatic events and its articulation, in the research of heritage the legal discourse was predominant for a long time, focusing on particular kinds of objects, buildings, towns and landscapes. Additionally, until quite recently, memory studies were confined within national borders, while heritage studies have global "roots". Due to the recent criticism of heritage research, which maintains that even if places are not officially recognised as heritage, the way that they are set apart and used in the production of collective memory serves to define them as heritage, the object levels of both research trends have approached one another.[13] By specifying intangible heritage, also contacts with oral history and tradition studies have emerged, as referred to in the articles by Coppélie Cocq and Pauliina Latvala in this volume.

In addition to impulses arising from inside research directions, the reason for the greater engagement of these directions could be the rise of interdisciplinary fields, which are not anchored to any specific concepts. It was already referred to in museum studies, in which – especially when they focus on the heritagisation of pivotal historical events – the concepts 'heritage' and 'memory' may become interchangeable. The same line in this issue is represented by Tuomas Hovi's study of tourism.

A situation in which cultural research concepts with solid trajectories become replaceable occurs also in the case of transdisciplinary 'turns'. Naturally, a large number of different starting points, objectives and concepts are circulating in the sphere of influence of each 'turn'. Furthermore, the 'turns' are interconnected (Bachmann-Medick 2006: 381–383). Anne Heimo's article in this volume demonstrates how different concepts meet and start to overlap in the interaction of various cultural turns, e.g., performative turn, and medial turn in the research of a specific field – here online remembering.

This leads to the last point. The research perspectives behind different concepts are best engaged within a specific field of research, which in turn has

made way to the emergence of new concepts that bridge the established ones. In the context of this thematic volume, it is meaningful to refer to the increased cross-disciplinary interest in how the representation of the past in a variety of public spheres takes place. In this respect, concepts have been taken into use referring to the 'public' at different levels: from official, state-sanctioned, institutions to less formal, often locally based settings, to particular, individualised contexts. In English-language literature, we can encounter concepts like public folklore (Baron & Spitzer 2008), public history (Kean & Martin 2013), and public memories (Hamilton & Shopes 2008b) in this context. 'Public', if we use the reasoning of Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (2008a: xiv-xv), denotes here both how the making of memory/history/folklore affects and is effected by various publics, and why and how some memories or re-presentations of the past become public, emerge in particular ways in attempts to fix their meaning. This thematic volume takes a position in the interconnected settings of the public and proposes a complementary perspective of how the concepts and views of neighbouring disciplines relate to each other.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

[1] Having said that, it should be noted, however, that the way I choose to highlight the relevant concepts also derives from my own background in ethnology, memory studies and oral history in a sense of *Erfahrungsgeschichte*, which is closely related with the study of history culture.

[2] In the same programmatic article, Rüsen refers to earlier uses of concepts (Rüsen 1994a: footnote 1).

[3] See, e.g., Ruusmann 2003 on the use of the concept 'image of history' in the same sense as oral history research in Estonian.

[4] More thoroughly on the context, predecessors and outcomes of Halbwachs's works see Olick & Vinitzky-Seroussi & Levy 2011: 6–25.

[5] Cf. the criticism by Olick, Vinitzky-Seroussi and Levy (2011: 23) that Nora's *les lieux de mémoire* have been unreasonably understood as a narrow spatial concept. See also international reception of Nora's *les lieux de mémoire* in similar projects in Erll 2005: 25–26.

[6] Nora's monumental work has started to embody the history-memory debate in historiography. The debate is rooted, however, in a still earlier discussion on the rhetoric nature of historical interpretation. By the 1990s, the problems of history and memory shifted to the focus of history writing. See Le Goff 1992 [1988]; Maier 1988; Burke 1989; Kammen 1991; Zerubavel 1995.

[7] See about Assmanns' contribution to the founding of cultural memory studies in Erll 2005: 27–33; Erll 2011a.

[8] See more closely about the development of concepts in the German-language area in Gudehus & Eichenberg & Welzer 2010: 75–125.

[9] In folklore scholarship, however, rather than 'invention', the term 'appropriation' became favoured: power takes over the symbolic forms of the subaltern, while individuals borrow from the larger culture and make it their own.

[10] Cf. concepts of 'tradition' in historians' approach (Kammen 1991), which can also be regarded as 'heritage'.

[11] It depends on the background of the researchers and the disciplinary trajectories of research fields, how the different concepts start to relate to each other. For example, in cultural landscape studies (Moore & Whelan 2012), (collective) memory is a heuristic category to explore the landscape–identity relationship, whereas heritage is a functional category that means curating, managing landscape for identity-building purposes. In museum studies, however, the relationship between diverse terms associated with cultural memory, heritage and history culture seems to be more relaxed (Arnold-de Simine 2013).

[12] Cf. Heimo's detailed treatment of interdisciplinary web of influences in Finnish oral history (*muistitietotutkimus*) (Heimo 2010: 37–52) as well as Jaago & Kõresaar & Rahi-Tamm (2006) on diverse (inter)disciplinary trajectories of Estonian life story research. The point that both overviews make is that oral history and life story research are not linear processes and instead of trying to reduce them to coherent "origins", one should focus on significant "meeting points" of diverse academic traditions and interests.

[13] See, for instance, a recent study of Sharon Macdonald (2013), in which she treats memory-heritage-identity relationship as a tightly intervowen complex.

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CORPORATE HISTORY CULTURE AND USEFUL INDUSTRIAL PAST: A CASE STUDY ON HISTORY MANAGEMENT IN FINNISH COTTON COMPANY PORIN PUUVILLA OY

Anna Sivula

Abstract: Histories are used and produced for several reasons and purposes. History culture consists of the entirety of generations, modifications, transformations and utilisations of the images of the past. This article is concerned with corporate history culture that is manifested in commissioned company histories and other representations of company history.

History culture is always oriented to the future. Corporate history culture developed out of the demand in companies, not within universities. I clarify, in the light of a microhistorical case of Porin Puuvilla Oy, how and why different actors select one past to be historicised and leave another to be obsolete.

I open my contribution with an introduction to the concepts and practices of corporate history culture and history management. Then I move on to the case study and analyse the way that practice and representations of corporate history culture changed between 1948 and 1973. As my methodological contribution, I introduce the analytical four-field of the internal and external dimensions of history management. I conclude the article with a discussion of the corporate history culture in the context of the concepts of retro and nostalgia.

Keywords: business history, company histories, corporate history culture, history management, nostalgia, Porin Puuvilla Oy, retro, use of history

CORPORATE HISTORY CULTURE AND BUSINESS HISTORY: THE DEMAND FOR, AND THE USE OF, COMPANY HISTORIES

Marc Bloch opened his famous essay *The Historian's Craft* by asking: "What is the use of history?" (Bloch 1997: 37; Bloch 1937: 3, 15). This article is a study about how commissioned company histories are produced and utilised.

I am, however, more interested in the use of different kinds of histories than in their quality. I begin my article with a short introduction to some of the key historiographical concepts, business history and corporate history culture. I analyse history management and corporate history culture in the light of the microhistorical case of Porin Puuvilla Oy (Pori Cotton Ltd). Porin Puuvilla

Oy was founded in 1898 under the name of Björneborgs Bomullmanufaktur Aktiebolaget. The name was coined after a bankruptcy and changed to A.B. Björneborgs Bomull-Porin Puuvilla O.Y., and after another bankruptcy to Oy Porin Puuvilla-Björneborgs Bomull Ab. After the 1920s, the company used the name Porin Puuvilla Oy (Sivula 2013: 139–150). In the beginning, the enterprise was financed by local investors. In the 1950s, Porin Puuvilla Oy had already grown into a textile manufacturer with more than 3000 employees. The company merged into another textile company, Finlayson Oy, in 1974. Finally, all the textile industrial activities at the factory of Porin Puuvilla Oy ended in 1994.

I here discuss how the practices and representations of corporate history culture changed during the life of the company and during the period of the downshifting of the merged company. In addition, I pose the question of how useful the concepts *retro* and *nostalgia* are to a researcher who is trying to understand the culture behind company histories.

History is a *representation* of the absent past. The past is both *presented* and *re-* (meaning 'again') *presented*. History provides a proven interpretative description of what has happened (Ricoeur 2000: 169–170, 302), and is therefore considered to be a "true story" until proven to be false. History is useful, and therefore histories are used and produced for several reasons and purposes. *History culture* consists of the entirety of generations, modifications, transformations and utilisations of the images of the past.[1] History culture is an umbrella term that refers to all types of use, production, formation and transmission of historical images (Salmi 2001: 135).

This article is concerned with *corporate history culture*, manifested in *commissioned company histories* and other representations of company history.

Corporate history has developed out of the demand within companies, not within universities. The tradition of commissioned company histories is not rooted in the academic tradition of business history, but it surely is an emerging institutional form of knowledge production. Over the last two decades, diverse institutions, companies and organisations have commissioned projects of historical research at universities or at other public research institutes (Ponzoni & Boersma 2011: 123–124; Karonen & Lamberg & Ojala 2000a).

The first chair of *business history* was established at Harvard in 1927 (Fridensen 2008: 9).[2] Business history has been primarily positioned as a sub-discipline of economic history, but recently there have also been some pleas for a more organisational cultural approach (Lipartito 2007: 620). There is a further growing demand for corporate history. According to Ponzoni and Boersma (2011: 123), corporate history is a "specific branch of business history, that is, in a way, a more narrowed, focused 'genre' of business history".[3]

Until quite recently, commissioned company histories were not regarded as proper history but rather as applied history. Commissioned historians were certainly not the most respected ones among professional historians. Coleman remarks, sarcastically, that academic historians used to undertake this kind of "journalistic hack-work" in order "to supplement income otherwise come from more reputable writings" (Coleman 1992: 208). Ponzoni and Boersma have, during this current decade, noted a change in the social position of the commissioned business historian. An important reason for this change lies in the new mentality of history departments, primarily centred on knowledge transfer.[4] Commissioned histories are, at the end of the day, financed histories. The new modes of university governance and the new economic goals and motives in the political discourse on science and education have reinforced commissioned historians as a new group of professionals within the community of European universities (Ponzoni & Boersma 2011: 131). Additionally, in 2013, many business historians are interested in company case studies, whether they are commissioned or not.[5]

In the year 2000, Finnish historians Petri Karonen, Juha-Antti Lamberg and Jari Ojala released in *Historiallinen aikakauskirja* (Historical Journal) a discussion of the role of business historians and Finnish business histories (Karonen & Lamberg & Ojala 2000a), with the aim of promoting a new kind of business history (Karonen & Lamberg & Ojala 2000b: 263). They argued that Finnish historians had not yet noticed the growing importance of businesses and entrepreneurship in society. The business histories were then studied separately, each researcher working in his own ivory tower, without any common denominator to link their work. Karonen, Lamberg and Ojala were aiming to link Finnish business historians to the international framework of academic business history and thereby promote a new type of business historical approach, with an emphasis on the economic history of private enterprises (Karonen & Lamberg & Ojala 2000a).

Nonetheless, they received a very spiteful answer from Jyrki Vesikansa, a professional company historian and journalist, who defended the traditional narrative form of company history. According to Vesikansa, narrative company histories were, at their best, critical, analytical, interesting and reliable, and useful for both scholars and the commissioners (Vesikansa 2000a: 161–162). Karonen, Lamberg and Ojala replied to Vesikansa that they were not trying to devalue company histories, but instead promote an international concept of business history (Karonen & Lamberg & Ojala 2000b: 263). In 2001, Ojala continued with reports of a round table discussion about the possibility of setting up a Finnish business history unit with international standards. One of the main themes of the discussion was the role, reliability and quality of

Finnish commissioned company histories (Ojala 2001: 220–223). It seems to me that the role and status of commissioned company histories was important for the future of academic business history in Finland. The undertone of this discussion about the nature of Finnish company histories was not very up-to-date, and it was surprisingly similar to the European discussions from the early 1900s, about whether history is an art or a science.[6] In the mental map of Finnish economic historians, in 2000, the practice of writing commissioned company histories was, and perhaps still is, situated outside of the academic business history approach.

The status of company histories varies according to national business history traditions. In the USA, company histories are included in business history.[7] In Great Britain, however, the relationship between commissioned company histories and business history has already been discussed. When in the late 70s British academic business historians were gathering financial support from their business life stakeholders, they argued: "Company history is to business history as personal biography and individual monographs are to political history" (Coleman 1992: 203). And yet, when in the early 1980s the new unit was funded and functioning, an orthodox historian looked upon commissioned histories with disapproval, stating that they were "largely devoid of any scholarly value", and they consisted "primarily of reminiscences and anecdotes" (ibid.: 205).[8]

IS CORPORATE HISTORY CULTURE ALWAYS A FIELD OF *RETRO* AND *NOSTALGIA*?

The current discussions on history culture have recently been dominated by two concepts: one of being about *retro* and the other about *nostalgia*. These concepts might help to open some new aspects about corporate history culture. If the commissioned histories consist merely of reminiscences and anecdotes, are they to be understood in terms other than those of an economy oriented business historian?

In 2011, Simon Reynolds introduced the idea of "retromania". According to Reynolds, the first ten years of the 21st century turned out to be the "Re"-Decade. The popular culture of the early 2000s was dominated by the re- prefix: revivals, reissues, remakes, recycling and re-enactments. For Reynolds it was also a decade of retrospection. Every year brought a fresh spate of anniversaries, celebrated with biographies, memoirs, histories, and other commemorative publications (Reynolds 2011: xi; Suominen 2008). In my case, the corporate history culture of Porin Puuvilla Oy vanished before the era of retromania had even begun.

And what about nostalgia? Robert Robertson has traced how the sentiment of nostalgia in the late 1800s took the form of "wilful nostalgia", and how it, in the 1960s, was reborn into a new kind of "consumerist-simulational nostalgia", a yearning for escape from the hectic modern world of new consumer goods and other novelties (Robertson 1992: 46–55). This kind of nostalgia might have played a certain role in corporate history culture from the 1960s onwards. In the late 1970s, sociologist Fred Davis approached nostalgia from the point of view of concept, identity, life cycle, art, and society. He made a distinction between first-order nostalgia, which is nostalgia as a simple experience, second-order or reflexive nostalgia, which is a more reflected form of thought and feelings, and, finally, third-order or interpreted nostalgia, which includes an effort to objectify feeling with some analytically oriented questions concerning its sources (Davis 1979: 17–24) These applications might be worth of a closer look, when researching corporate history culture.

Arjun Appadurai, for his part, introduced a new kind of nostalgia in the mid-1990s. He named it "ersatz nostalgia" or armchair nostalgia, "a nostalgia without lived experience or collective historical memory" (Appadurai 1996: 78). This armchair nostalgia is most often considered to be a symptom of the cultural crisis caused by western consumer culture. Svetlana Boym in her works drew a distinction between the concepts of restorative and reflective nostalgia. According to Boym, restorative nostalgia is based on a transhistorical reconstruction of a lost home, while reflective nostalgia, on the contrary, delays the homecoming "wistfully, ironically, desperately". Restorative nostalgia "protects the absolute truth, reflective nostalgia calls it into doubt" (Boym 2001: XVIII). According to Boym, restorative nostalgia "manifests itself in total reconstructions of monuments of the past, while reflective nostalgia lingers on ruins, the patina of time and history, in the dreams of another place and another time" (ibid.: 41). "Restorative nostalgia knows two main narrative plots – the restoration of origins and the conspiracy theory" (ibid.: 43). "Restorative nostalgia has no use for the signs of historical time – patina, ruins, cracks, imperfections" (ibid.: 45). "Reflective nostalgia, on the other hand, can be ironic and humorous. It reveals that longing and critical thinking are opposed to one another, as affective memories do not absolve one from compassion, judgement or critical reflection" (ibid.: 49–50).

Anna Sivula

WHY ARE COMMISSIONED COMPANY HISTORIES WRITTEN AND WHO WRITES THEM?

I have named the practical aspect of corporate history culture *history management*.[9] Management research, after the Second World War, turned away from history; however, historical thinking is slowly making a comeback. Business historians have continued research into a few fields of *management studies*, and, primarily, into the field of *international business* or that of *management history*, which is the history of the development of production systems, such as Taylorism and Fordism (Kipping & Üsdiken 2007: 97, 99). *History management* is neither one of these. History management refers to the use of histories for managerial purposes.

Histories are produced in order to explain conduct in an unpredictable future. What I am attempting to do here is to clarify the *who*, *how* and *why* in business life, when one selects one past to be historicised, and leaves another past to be obsolete.

The subject of how and what kind of history is used for management purposes demands a case study. History management seems to be rooted in a particular view of assumed future developments, and corporate history culture is therefore dynamic.

History management includes all the intentional corporate activities in the everyday use of history in business environment. In this article, I mostly consider one specimen group of corporate history culture: commissioned company history books and other published historiographical representations of a company's past. In addition, other forms of oral and written histories were used for management purposes in Porin Puuvilla Oy.

In Finland the golden era of commissioned company histories began in the 1920s. This is best understood within the context of Finnish industrial and economic history. The era of industrial capitalism in Finland can be regarded as lasting from the mid-19th up to the mid-20th century, which started with a major institutional change in the 1860s. It was also an era of industrialisation and liberalisation, in which the most important industries were forestry and textile industry (Ojala & Karonen 2006: 106, 124). Many Finnish industrial corporations reached the golden age of fifty in the 1920s and 1930s. The attainment of this temporal milestone thus evoked a demand for commissioned company histories.

Between the years 1920 and 1949, more than 900 Finnish company histories and other company studies were published (Karonen & Lamberg & Ojala 2000a: 50). Another highpoint in the commissioning of business histories was the 1980s and 1990s.

From the early 1920s onwards, many Finnish companies hired a professional historian to write a commissioned company history. Some of the writers were professors at Finnish universities, and a few of the early Finnish company histories were of relatively high quality. However, neither commissioned company histories, nor the other genres of business history, were initiated from inside of the universities. An academic discipline of analytical economic history of business was not previously known anywhere in the world before the late 1920s, and it is still rare in Finland in the current decade. Most company histories, commissioned or otherwise, are written under the supervision of the commissioner, in order to tell the story of one single enterprise. In Finland the writers of these early commissioned company histories came from various fields of research and education.[10]

For example, there were six cotton companies in Finland in the 1930s. All of them had their histories written at least once or twice before the 1970s. The commissioned company histories of Finnish cotton companies were written by historians with relatively high education. The most venerable cotton company in Finland, Finlayson Oy in Tampere, founded in 1820, was the first to commission a company history. When the company celebrated its centennial in 1920, an 18-page chronological presentation of the company's past was published anonymously, as the era of complete commissioned company histories had not yet begun.

In the university town of Turku, in the early 1930s, John Barker's Cotton Factory commissioned professor Einar Juvelius to write a history of the company covering the years 1847–1933 (Juvelius 1933). Kyösti Valfrid Kaukovalta, a trained economist and journalist, for his part, wrote the history of the Forssa Cotton Factory for the period of 1847–1934 (Kaukovalta 1934). Matti Sadeniemi, a specialist and researcher of Finnish linguistics, wrote the history of Tampereen Puuvillateollisuus Osakeyhtiö (Tampere Cotton Industry Company) for the period of 1897–1934[11] (Sadeniemi 1937). In 1938, Finlayson published a new commissioned company history (Lindfors 1938). The book covered the first 87 years of the Finlayson Company. The second part of this work was intended to cover the period from 1908 to 1938, but it was never completed.

Porin Puuvilla Oy, the object of my case study, ordered a commissioned company history of its first 50 years in 1947 (Stjernchantz 1949a; 1949b). Vaasan Puuvilla Oy (Vaasa Cotton Company) received a commissioned history of its first (and last) 100 years in 1957 (Nikula 1957). The histories of the Tampere Cotton Industry Company and the Vaasa Cotton Company were commissioned just before the companies were merged into Finlayson Oy.

HISTORICISING THE PAST OF PORIN PUUVILLA OY

As in many other Finnish companies, the first commissioned company history of Porin Puuvilla Oy was intended to mark a temporal milestone of 50 years.
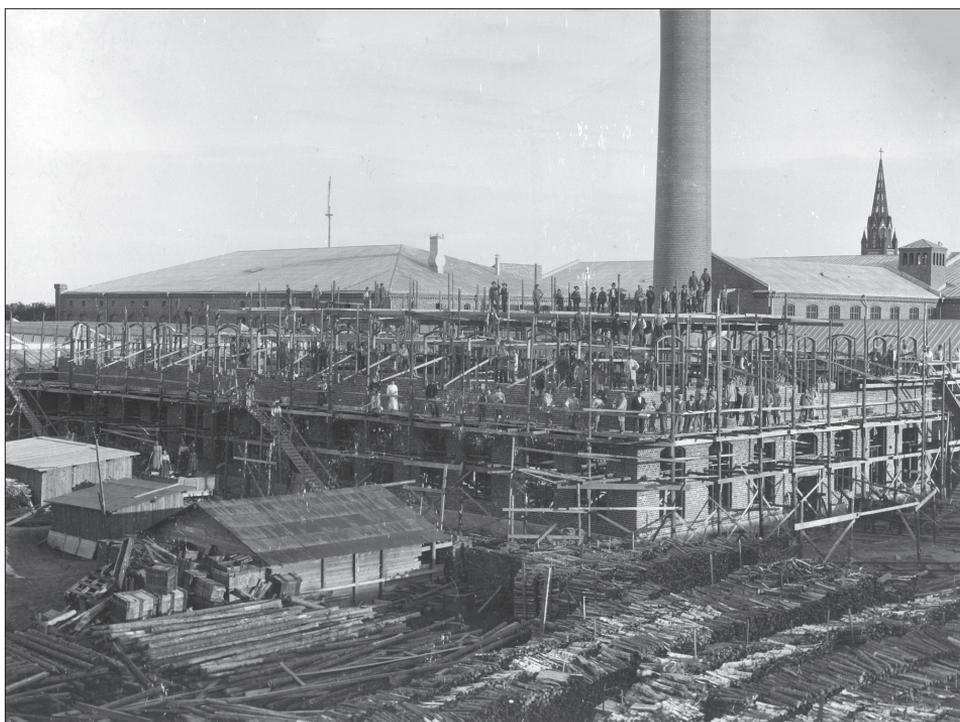
Figure 1. The building site of the Pori Cotton Factory in 1899. Photograph by SMA.

The history of Porin Puuvilla Oy was ordered from a trained historian and journalist Göran Stjernschantz in 1947. The writer had studied political sciences and history, held a master's degree, and was chief editor of *Mercator: Tidskrift för Finlands näringsliv* (Mercator: Journal for Finnish Business Life) (Stjernschantz 1993: 42–44). In his memoirs Stjernschantz describes his career, but does not refer to his incidental occupation as a commissioned historian of the said cotton company. Perhaps he did not consider it worth mentioning. He nevertheless points out some of his other commissioned books in his memoirs (ibid.: 111, 250–255).

The one-volume company history *Aktiebolaget Björneborgs bomull 1898–1948* (Pori Cotton Company in 1898–1948) was written in Swedish and it was ready to be published in 1948. The translated Finnish version of same book followed in 1949 (Stjernschantz 1949b). The work had 318 pages, but contained no list of references. A company history of the 1940s was written in order to meet the needs of the company. It was produced mostly of the materials from the company archive and the process was conducted under the observation and control of a company representative. The book is primarily a story of how the company managed to survive in the struggle in the Finnish cotton market. However, it contains many reliable details about how the factory was developed, mechanised and directed.

The work did not pass any kind of academic review process and Stjernschantz, for his part, was not a free academic historian in the modern sense. Two members of the company board of Porin Puuvillatehdas Oy, directors Rafael von Frenckell[12] and Åke Gartz, supervised the research and writing process of the commissioned history, and also commented on the manuscript. Rafael von Frenckell was merely correcting some facts, but Åke Gartz was aiming at conducting the whole process of writing.[13] Gartz himself wrote: "I think we must remove from this manuscript all such notions that enable malicious actions or the provoking of scandals".[14]

In Finnish business life archives, ELKA, I found a folder labelled "Av magister Göran Stjernschantz sammanbragt material för historiken: Ab Björneborgs Bomull 1898–1948" (Material collected by M.A. Göran Stjernschantz for a history of Pori Cotton Ltd. 1898–1948). The folder contained the writer's original notes and an original manuscript of the company history. On top of the files there were several sheets with statistical data about textile industry in general, and, particularly, about Porin Puuvilla Oy. Under the statistical data there were several sources concerning the shortages of raw materials in Finland during the First World War: telegrams, letters and hand-written notes on some Finnish newspaper articles published in 1916 and 1917. Under these sources was a collection of statistics and copies of different official data collection forms concerning the cartelisation of the cotton industry and cotton trading.

Gartz removed some parts of the manuscript. One of the removed parts contained a description of the bonus system applied in the company between the years 1918 and 1919. In 1919, the bonus system had been found to be illegal. This controversial incident had been reported in the Finnish newspaper *Suomen Sosiaalidemokraatti* (Finnish Social Democrat) on June 11, 1920, and also in other newspapers later on. In 1927, the Supreme Court of Finland rendered their final decision in the case. The company board members Jusélius, Ramberg, Sundell, Lindqvist and Petrell were fined and they had to reimburse
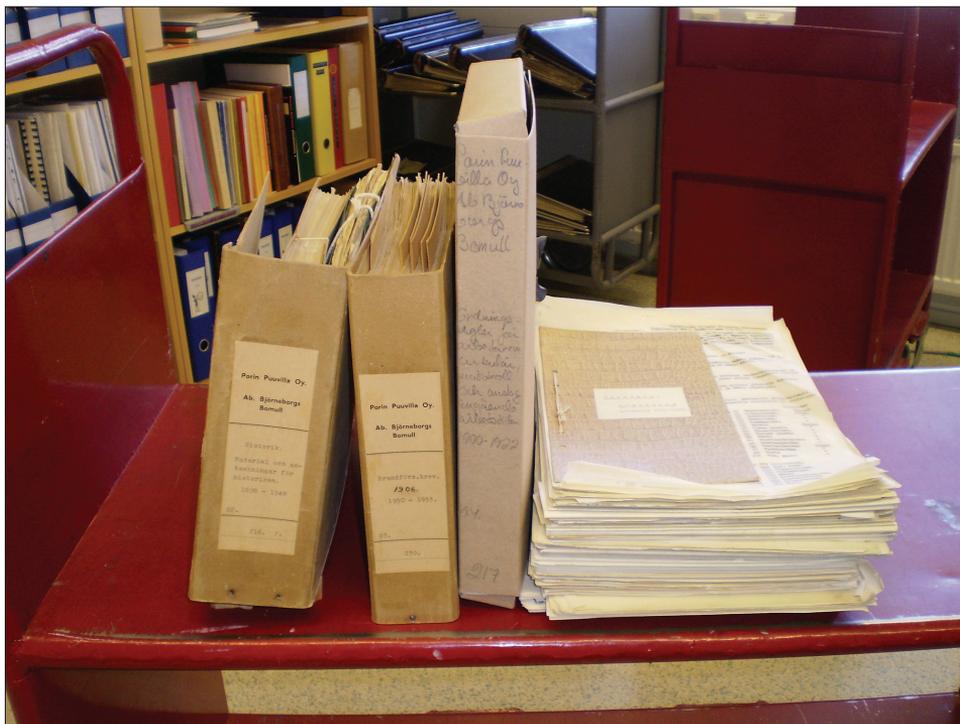
Figure 2. *The raw drafts of a commissioned company history: notes and sources from 1947 to 1948 of historian Göran Stjernschantz for the corporate history of Porin Puuvillatehdas Oy, photographed in the Central Archives for Finnish Business Records. Photograph by Anna Sivula 2010.*

the state a considerable amount of money for the taxes they had left unpaid during the illegal bonus system. Åke Gartz had carefully crossed out the names of the convicted directors in the manuscript copy. I could only see the removed names with the aid of a light box. I regard this small incident as a reminder of the history management strategy of the company.

Göran Stjernschantz's *Porin Puuvilla Oy 1898–1948* was a company history in its own time. The society surrounding the company was only considered to the extent that was necessary to understand the developments within the company. The sources of interpretation were primarily based on company records. Furthermore, some of the early records were lost. The writer had also interviewed the managing director of the company. In the foreword and conclusion of his book, the author praised the two first managing directors of the Porin Puuvilla Oy for their supreme managerial abilities. He thanked the managing director Johan Ek (among some others) for his help. In the conclusion,

the writer reiterated that the company had been able to pay a good amount of dividends to its owners. On the final page, he emphasised that it was a good policy to invest a considerable amount of the profits in the company in order to continue its successful development. The writer also hoped that the lessons of history learnt by Porin Puuvilla Oy would be instructive for future industrial entrepreneurs and business investors (Stjernschantz 1949b: 9–10, 287–290). *Historia magistra vitae est*.

The vocabulary and plot of Stjernschantz's book are interesting: according to the author, during the era of the cartelisation of the Finnish cotton industry, the company was "fighting" and "resisting the strong enemy", it "made attacks and counterattacks" and finally "survived, but lost its independence" (Stjernschantz 1949b: 206, 208, 213, 225–226). In the Finland of 1948, these expressions had a specific undertone.

The plot of the story was built so as to tell about a small but resilient company, struggling for its life against the cartelisation process.[15] After the Second World War, the historical self-understanding of a company was built on the same narrative structure as the Finnish self-identification of the late 1940s: having lost the war, but having won the parry. The supposed Finnish stakeholder was able to read the code. In Finland the defeat of the Finns against the Soviet Union in the Second World War was largely considered a victory, and Finns have a specific expression for this defeat: "*torjuntavoitto*", a "repelling victory", or a "preventative victory".

After the first history of Porin Puuvilla Oy, the company commissioned two more histories before the story of the company ended. These were published in 1958 and 1973, respectively. Like the first one, they were supervised by the commissioner.[16] At the time, no independent historical consultant was used in the production process of a commissioned company history, although the *Tilaushistoriakeskus* (The Finnish Centre of Commissioned Histories) had been founded in 1933. The centre functioned under the name of *Paikallishistoriallinen toimisto* (The Agency of Local History). Today the Finnish *Tilaushistoriakeskus* assists both writers and commissioners of company histories, but from the 1940s to 1970s this agency was only involved in consulting the writers of local and municipal histories.[17] The three writers of the commissioned company histories of Porin Puuvilla Oy, Stjernschantz, Zilliacus and Metsä, received the assignment via their personal networks.

The three history books are different from each other, as concerns their communicative functions. Stjernschantz's book (1949a) was written to mark the temporal milestone of 50 years. It was mostly directed at the external stakeholders of the company. One of the chapters was, however, targeted at the internal communication of the company: it was concerned with the human

resources policy, listed all the benefits of the employees, and emphasised the progressive nature of this policy (Stjernschantz 1949b: 271–286).

The second corporate history of the Pori Cotton Factory, published in 1958, was completely aimed at external communication. It was a manifestation of a typical use of a corporation's own history to strengthen the brand and polish the corporate image; however, the employees were completely absent from the pages. Instead, there were machines and manufactured products along with only a few pages of text. The remainder of the book was filled with colourful and, at the time, expensive pictures.

The final representation of the company's past was published in 1973 (Metsä 1973) and was directed at an internal audience. It was published 25 years after the completion of Stjernschantz's work, and 10 years after the visual story of the modern Porin Puuvilla Oy. It was written by a local journalist Tapio Metsä and completed for the 75th anniversary of the company. More a leaflet than a book, this history was presented in one issue of the company staff magazine *Paali ja pakka* (Pile and Pack). The presentation recapped the main points of Stjernschantz's work from 1949. The years from 1948 to 1973 were added to the former story, and the narrative proceeded mechanically through the decades, while the book was comprised of more pictures than text.

The illustration of the leaflet dealt mostly with the company's workers, the plant machinery and equipment and buildings: on 77 pages of the book, there were 64 pictures of workers, 48 of which were portraits. 17 pictures were of the machines at the plant, and 11 were pictures of the exteriors of the factory buildings. However, in this historical study the workers were brought to the fore. The owners, directors, managers and products, on the contrary, were almost absent from both the text and pictures.

It seems that in the 1970s the corporate history culture was very different from that of the late 1940s. This leaflet had no intention of teaching any managerial skills to the reader, nor was it made to impress the company's customers or other external stakeholders. It was written to improve the staff morale, as well as the image of the employer in the eyes of the employees. The plot of this company history followed the story formula of a saga. The success story progressed with the war- and battle-related metaphors, which had already been introduced by Stjernschantz in 1948. The plot was leading inexorably towards the company merger into the Finlayson Oy in 1973. This company history culminated in a conclusion that the merger was a "historically inevitable step". A solemn declaration followed: The history continues. The company will go on as it is now[18] (Metsä 1973: 63). These hopes and dreams were not shared by the employees, who at the time were participating in illegal strikes (Sivula 2010: 36–39).

COUNTER-CORPORATE ORAL HISTORIES IN THE TIMES OF CRISIS

The employment of textile workers in Pori started to decrease in the late 1960s, and already before the mid-1970s the staff of Porin Puuvilla Oy had become aware of the risk (Sivula 2010: 34). International depression and oil crisis were setting in, although the economic growth in Finland did not slow down until 1974 (Hjerppe 1988: 47–48). By the time that the new kind of oral history emerged, the staff of Porin Puuvilla Oy had for years been afraid of losing their jobs.

In Western Europe, textile industrial production already had, in the early 1970s, begun to move to countries that offered cheaper labour costs. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Finland was a country with relatively cheap labour. The growth of Finnish textile industry continued until 1976, when the crisis of the European textile industry reached Finland. The risk of unemployment was very real. The crisis struck rapidly in Pori. In 1978, Finlayson Oy already reduced the number of employers in the Pori Cotton Factory. In 1979, there were 500 unemployed textile workers in Pori (Rahikainen 2008: 22; Sivula 2010: 33–38). The number of workers in the textile industry had been declining for some years when the total number of manufacturing industry workers started to decrease in 1981, and unemployment rates in industrial towns like Pori began to rise (Hjerppe 1988: 88–89). Then a local disaster occurred at the Pori Cotton Factory in 1981: the weaving mill, one of the few recently modernised sections of the Pori Cotton Factory, was destroyed by fire. It was the most devastating factory fire in the history of the Nordic countries. The accident accelerated the deindustrialisation of the Pori Cotton Factory, which was now part of the Finlayson Company. The spinning mill was then shut down in 1985. After this, there were only some minor textile industrial activities left; the last enterprise worked for some years within the walls of an old factory building under the name of "Nonstoppers". This too was shut down in 1994, and the last textile worker left the factory that once had been a workplace for 3,000 textile industrial workers (Sivula 2010: 34–36).

The employees of the company often have their own interpretations of the company's past. In Pori, parts of this *alternative corporate historiography* have survived to the present day. These oral histories were published in newspapers, and some of them were written down by three students of folklore and ethnography, in 1968, the mid-70s and in 1985.[19] These students did not use tape recorders. A subplot of this alternative corporate historiography grabbed my attention. It was a nostalgic story of a better past under a good manager, Johan Ek. This story exemplifies how the contents of a commissioned company history and different public and popular histories interact within corporate

history culture. Further on, I trace the origins of the interpretative activities behind the story and clarify how the history (as a representation of the past, taking the place of what actually happened) was constructed in this case.

Back in 1919, the Pori Cotton Factory received a new manager, engineer Johan Henrik Ek (1876–1950), who led the factory during the time of the rapid growth of Finnish textile industry, from 1919 to 1950, until his death. Stjernschantz paid attention to engineer Ek's management skills. Ek was mentioned in Stjernschantz's work from 1949, but introduced merely as an acting factory manager, rather than the managing director. There was a conventional portrait of him, and a description of two pages about his career in the service of the company. Ek was mentioned here and there in the history book, in connection with his participation in several negotiations and technical decisions made by him. He was said to have been an ambitious man, skilled engineer and business negotiator, who strictly obeyed the orders of the owners, and helped the relatively small factory through the difficult time of competition. During this era, three other Finnish cotton corporations, smaller than the one in Pori, were merged into Finlayson Oy (Stjernschantz 1949b: 141, 153–217). In the company history created in 1958, Ek was not mentioned at all.

In the years 1968–1969 and 1971–1972, Timo Puustinen and Anneli Lotvomaa, two students of ethnology and folklore from the University of Turku, interviewed a total of fourteen workers from the Pori Cotton Factory for a research project on Finnish workers, financed by the Finnish Wihuri Foundation. The workers were asked about the relations between the management and the staff. A total of twelve of the fourteen respondents did not mention factory managers, but spoke of how the foremen and machine maintenance men treated common workers. There were, however, two mentions of the late manager Ek in two of the fourteen interviews. One of them stated that "Ek owned the factory and fed the workers", and the other reported that "the managers Ek and Sundell were good, but strict men".[20] These notes of "the good manager Ek" were written down in 1969 and 1972.

In Metsä's history from 1973, Ek was mentioned three times. There was no photograph of him, and the earlier development of the company, including the increase of profit and production and the extensions made to buildings under Ek's management, were historicised in terms of the process, without mentioning the name of the manager. The history of the company before the year 1950 was also written with very few personal notations.

In 1976, after the merger of the company into Finlayson Oy, a local journalist Leena Teinilä-Huittinen interviewed Finlayson's local factory manager Claes Zetter for an article, published in the local newspaper *Satakunnan kansa* (Satakunta People) on July 30, 1976. The rubric of the article declared: "Ek laid the basis to the success of Porin Puuvilla Oy". The article was later reprinted in a

popular local history collection. [21] Zetter used Stjernschantz's work from 1949 as a source, and told the story of the manager Ek. He emphasised that Ek had been the prime mover behind the success of the factory. According to Zetter, the company had fallen into decline after Ek's time. Zetter's last comment, cited in the article, was: "Ek did take care of workers".[22] Teinilä-Huittinen wrote:

> During Ek's time, the Pori Cotton Factory was developing considerably. In the 1930s, when other Finnish cotton factory workers were working short weeks, manager Ek took his suitcase and went abroad to sell Pori Cotton Factory products. Due to expanded exports, the women in the factory could keep their full-time jobs. In the 1930s, Finland's largest cotton weaving mill was in Pori. Even today, Ek's era is remembered. (Teinilä-Huittinen 1978: 17)

After the publication of this article, which happened twice, more and more of the former employees of the Pori Cotton Factory began to recall that during Ek's time things had been better.

In the counter-corporative oral history, constructed during the late 1970s and early 1980s by the staff of the Pori Cotton Factory, this particular late manager became a symbol of the better past. In 1985, ethnologist Liisa Nummelin conducted five half-structured interviews for her inventory project of Pori industrial heritage. Although she did not specifically ask about managers, she was, however, deliberately told about the good manager Ek. In 1985, Ek was remembered much better than he had been in 1968–1969 or in 1971–1972: the fact that he was a "good manager who took care of the employees" was mentioned with exactly these words in four out of five interviews, and "a good but strict manager" in three out of five interviews.[23]

In 1994, the last textile workers left the Pori Cotton Factory building, and the era of textile industry in the town of Pori was over. Factory manager Claes Zetter, who was no longer in the service of the company, was interviewed again. The retired manager expressed his sympathy for those who had lost their jobs. Then he told a comforting story of the good manager Ek:

> When Ek died in Tampere on the PMK (The National Cotton Industries Sales Association) Houses staircase after difficult negotiations in 1950, he went to heaven. The factory staff knew he had founded a brand-new factory up there. His protective spirit was, after his death, still living in the factory halls, and when a worker died, they said that he went to Ek's factory.

This quote was published in a local newspaper *Satakunnan Kansa* (Satakunta People) on July 1, 1994. I and my students heard this story in the early 2000s. One might ask whether the story of the good manager Ek would have ever

emerged among the old workers of the Porin Puuvillatehdas Oy without the original source written by Göran Stjernschantz, and the transmission of the story by manager Zetter and the local newspaper.

HOW DID CORPORATE HISTORY CULTURE CHANGE?

It seems to me, in the light of my case study, that corporate history culture changed between the 1940s and 1973. The focus on representing the past of a cotton company moved from the external to the internal history management. The target group of the commissioned company history was no more the external stakeholders, but the internal personnel.

The practice of history management can be divided into two layers in terms of two questions. The first question is: Does the company use history for internal or external communication purposes? The corporate use of histories and traditions has been previously researched from the point of view of both external and internal communication (see, e.g., Rakob & Burkhardt 2006: 399–407). The second question is: Does a company use external (e.g., general, national, local or other non-corporate) histories or internal, commissioned company histories, or other histories closely related to its own past? The four possible dimensions of history management are an outcome of the two questions above. They can be observed in the four-field below.

	External histories	**Internal histories**
External communication	A general or other type of history is represented and **used in products, corporate imageries (e.g., brands and commissioned company histories)** and **marketing**.	Company uses its own history **in products, corporate imageries (e.g., brands and representations of the company past) and marketing**.
Internal communication	General or other types of history, e.g., case studies of business history, are used **for internal management and leadership purposes**.	Company uses its own history **for internal management and leadership purposes**.

In this case study I primarily focus on the corporate use of internal histories. The external histories were used in order to explain the economic success and failures of the company. The explanations based on external histories were used for both internal and external communication purposes. The company explained in its external history from 1973 the coming merger in 1974.

The use of internal histories is observed here from the point of view of both external and internal communication. The corporate history from 1948 was similar to an extended version of an annual report. It was written primarily in order to convince the external stakeholders that the company was growing and making a profit.[24] The writer offered his book to other companies for internal management and leadership purposes.

The internal history of a company was used for internal communication by Stjernschantz (1949b) in the chapter that introduced the company's human resources politics, and in Metsä's book from 1973, which left the management and the owners in the shadow of the merited workers. External history was used in the same work for external communication, explaining the selling of the whole business due to the development of the world market economy and the historical long-term trend of industrial mergers. According to Metsä (1973), the selling of what was practically a family-business-based factory to the large business group of Finlayson Oy, was business as usual.

Claes Zetter used the company's internal history for external communication in the good manager Ek's case, but it is difficult to ascertain how *corporate* this *history cultural act* in the final analysis was. Some other than corporate motives can surely be pointed out. This no-mans-land of telling unauthorised company histories needs further research from the point of view of history management. What is an acting manager of a factory actually doing, when he, in local newspapers, refers to the better times of the factory under the management of one of his predecessors? From the point of view of history management, the use of public media refers to external communication. A manager who was going to retire soon used internal history in suggesting some kind of return to the past management practices.

Eighteen years later, when the already retired manager relayed his comforting story, the action itself was different from that of 1976, as the factory was already gone. There was no corporate context left for managing history. The other members of the heritage community had begun to share the constructed Ek as a symbol of the better past. It was perhaps an act of reminiscence, or even an apology, but not an act of history management.

The interviewed workers, the interviewing ethnologist, and the journalist, who in the late 1960s, the 1970s and the mid-1980s, consolidated the story of the good manager Ek, constructed together, more or less deliberately, a *counter-*

corporate history of the Finlayson Oy's cotton factory in Pori. This history was motivated with a touch of nostalgia. The story was filled with longing for the patronising, authoritarian, almost patriarchal[25] practices of the management culture of the imagined past. This kind of *inclusive and exclusive actions of a post-corporate heritage community*, motivated perhaps with a shared nostalgia, demand further research.

DISCUSSING THE CORPORATE HISTORY CULTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF RETRO AND NOSTALGIA

How does the corporate history culture of my case look in the context of some key concepts of the current retro- and nostalgia-related discussions in cultural studies? Were there any early signals of these trends?

The story of Porin Puuvillatehdas Oy ended before the era of retromania began. The University Consortium in Pori has, since the late 1990s, reused the buildings, and there might be some retro aspects in the reuse process. These retro aspects are currently emerging, but they do not belong to the corporate history culture of Porin Puuvilla Oy, but instead to the corporate history culture of the University Consortium in Pori (Suominen & Sivula 2012).

Most of the academic discussions about the *retro turn* have been carried out in terms of the pervasive cultural explanation of *nostalgia*. The emphasis on nostalgia has almost silenced the other possible explanations for the increasing historical interest in the 21st century. Nostalgia is one of the important factors behind present-day historic-cultural activity. It nurtures the growing demand for histories, but does it really cause or explain the demand for new histories? When it comes to the main stream of corporate history culture, the answer seems to be negative.

In my case study some traces of nostalgia were found in the context of the almost or entirely lost corporation. I did not find any traces of the "consumerist-simulational nostalgia". The emergence of an inclusive narrative about the good manager Ek consolidated the post-corporate heritage community of Porin Puuvilla Oy. This process can be understood in terms of the first-order nostalgia of Davis. I did not find traces of the second- or third-order nostalgia. The emergence of a counter-corporate history can, to some extent, be understood in terms of Boym's restorative nostalgia. Another question is how useful an element of explanation that nostalgia is when it comes to the whole context of corporate history culture? According to cultural historian Anu Koivunen, the discourse of nostalgia is "saturated with the idea of the crisis", and nostalgia is often presented as both the diagnosis and remedy for the crisis. Koivunen

asks: "If the phenomenon of nostalgia is so overwhelming, what then happens to the analytic power of the concept?" (Koivunen 2001: 325)

The main stream of corporate history management, in a functioning company, had only little to do with nostalgia. When active, the company was not longing for the lost home. It was ordering histories from professional historians for some other reason. In their annual or quarterly reports, companies are not yearning for yesterday either. History was not used to escape from the present to the past. In corporate history culture one must be careful with the use of explanatory nostalgia. Nostalgia is rooted in corporate history culture like in any other history culture, but if it is cut off, the historic-cultural stage is not emptied of actors, aims or ambiences. The researcher of history management should pay attention to how the historical *facts*, presented in company histories, are constructed and selected. This fact does not solely fill the whole historic-cultural stage either, but with a sentiment of reliability, it plays an important role in both the structure and actions of history management.

ABBREVIATIONS

ELKA – *Suomen Elinkeinoelämän Keskusarkisto* (Central Archives of Finnish Business Records)
SMA – *Satakunnan Museon Arkisto* (Satakunta Museum Archives)
SK – *Satakunnan Kansa* (a leading newspaper in the Finnish province of Satakunta)
TYKL – *Turun yliopiston kulttuurien tutkimuksen laitos* (Institute of Cultural Studies, Turku University)

NOTES

[1] "History culture" is a translation of the Finnish "historakulttuuri" or Swedish word "historibruk". On the concept, see Salmi 2001 and Aronsson 2004.

[2] On the development of academic business history: Fridensen 2008. Fridensen emphasises the importance of the three scales of business history: the microhistorical, the mesohistorical and the macrohistorical. See also Coleman 1992, pp. 203–207, on the emergence of business history in Great Britain, where the Business History Unit was established between 1977 and 1979.

[3] See also Delahaye et al. 2009: 9.

[4] Ponzoni and Boersma deal with a Dutch case. It is uncertain whether their results can be generalised.

[5] In Business History Review there seems to be a growing interest in family firms and other kinds of company historical cases. Business History Review http://journals. cambridge.org/action/displayIssue?jid=BHR&tab=currentissue; no longer available.

[6] This kind of "art or science" discussion was going on in the 1970s and 1980s, when historians tried to identify their profession among the other social scientists. See, for example, Marwick 1970, Iggers 1975, Hexter 1979, Stanford 1987.

[7] On the excluding of company histories from the academic tradition Finnish business history in 2006, see, for example, *University of Helsinki: Yhteiskuntahistorian johdantokurssi. Taloushistoriaosio. Luento IV, 2.* (Introduction to Social History. Economic History. Lecture IV, slide 2). http://www.slideserve.com/chalice/ yhteiskuntahistorian-johdantokurssi-taloushistoriaosio-luento-iv, last accessed on December 17, 2013.

On the other hand, according to Walter Friedman and Jeffrey Jones, "traditional, managerial, firm-centered approaches" and courses organised around issues such as the evolution of a single firm, are one of the four common methodological approaches to business history. See *Guide to Business History Courses Worldwide* 2012: 4–6.

The other three common methodological approaches are the history of capitalism as a social, cultural and political phenomenon; history of the traditional sectors of financing and banking; and an approach structured around the words "technology" and "innovation".

[8] Coleman cites the correspondence related to the founding of the British Business History Unit in the 1970s and 1980s.

[9] On previous interpretations of "history management" or "management of history" see, e.g., Heinemann 2006 and Suominen & Sivula 2012.

[10] For example, Hjalmar Tallqvist, who wrote the history of *Vakuutus-osakeyhtiö Fennia* 1882–1932 (1932), was a professor of physics. Eric Bahne, who in the late 1940s wrote a cultural-historically oriented 100-year history of P.C. Rettig & Co, was a high school principal in Turku.

[11] The iron and linen company Tampella (Tammerfors Linne- & Jern-Manufaktur Aktie-Bolag) bought the cotton factory in Lapinniemi in1934 and *Tampereen Puuvillateollisuus Osakeyhtiö* was merged into Tampella. The company history was commissioned on the eve of the merger.

[12] Stjernschantz mentions Rafael von Enckel in his memoirs, and describes him as a "mighty man behind the scene" (Stjernschantz 1993: 155). Gartz is not mentioned. Neither of the supervisors is introduced in the foreword of the commissioned history, but there are pictures of them, presented as board members, on pages 254 and 255 of Stjernschantz 1949b.

[13] The commented manuscript: Porin Puuvilla Oy. Ab Björneborgs Bomull. A.B. Björneborgs Bomulls korrektur-exemplar av historiken (…) jämte förslag om diverse korrigeringar. Porin Puuvilla (ELKA).

[14] The original Swedish citation: "Jag anser att detta också bör göras, ty om man låter redogörelsen inflyta i så utförligt skick som nu i manuskriptet, så ger man åt illvilliga element direkt material som kan utnyttjas i skandaliseringssyfte." Porin Puuvilla

Oy. Ab Björneborgs Bomull. Historik. Material och anteckningar för historiken. Åke Gartz till Direktör J. H. Ek (ELKA).

[15] On the cartelisation of Finnish cotton industry see Kallioinen 2006.

[16] See Zilliacus & Aho 1958, and Metsä 1973.

[17] According to Marja Pohjola's e-mail reply (08.10.2013) to my inquiry, *Paikallishistoriallinen toimisto* was not at the time offering any academic review services to commissioned company histories. Marja Pohjola has been a secretary of the organisation since the year 1979.

[18] Original citation: "Porin Puuvillan viimeaikaisten voimakkaiden ja syvällisten kehitystoimien, joista edellä on kerrottu, jatkoksi yhtyminen Finlaysoniin on täysin johdonmukainen askel. Porin puuvillan vahvojen tuotantoyksiköiden historia ei pääty tehtaan 75-vuotisjuhliin, vaan jatkuu nykyisinä, omaleimaisesti toimivina kokonaisuuksina – osana suomalaista ja satakuntalaista teollisuustoimintaa" (Metsä 1973: 63).

[19] Original notes of the interviews made by Timo Puustinen (1969) and Anneli Lotvomaa (1972) are preserved in the Turku University TYKL-archive. Puustinen 1969 (KTL 656); Lotvomaa 1972 (KTL 777), copies of these and the original notes of Liisa Nummelin (1985) are preserved in the Satakunta Museum Archives (SMA).

[20] Porin Puuvilla. Teollisuustyöväen haastattelut 1969 (Puustinen), 1972 (Lotvomaa) and 1985 (Nummelin). SMA.

[21] Teinilä-Huittinen, Leena 1978. *Porin Puuvillan menestyksen perusta J. H. Ekin aikana.* The article was first published anonymously in the newspaper *Satakunnan Kansa* on July 30, 1976, and reproduced in *Vanha Pori* (1978), edited by Leena Teinilä-Huittinen and Raimo Huittinen, Keuruu: Otava.

[22] In the late 1970s Finnish newspaper articles were mainly published without the name of the writer. News about the redundancies, lay-offs and losses at the Porin Puuvillatehdas, now owned by Finlayson Oy, in *Satakunnan Kansa*, SK 17.1.1976, SK 30.7.1976, SK 10.2.1977, SK 4.4.1977 and SK 17.3.1978.

[23] Porin Puuvilla. Teollisuustyöväen haastattelut 1985 (Nummelin). SMA.

[24] Good examples of a convincing serial or comparative presentations in: Stjernschantz 1949a, pp. 196, 220 and 267, and tables (303–311) concerning the machinery, staff, production, assets and liabilities, depreciation and profit, dividends and salaries, and finally a table of the distribution of the company gross income to salaries, taxes, profit and dividends between 1920 and 1947.

[25] *Industrial paternalism* refers to the practice of industrial enterprises, instead of their owners, providing welfare services to their employees. Within this new, 19th-century managerial setting, the older authoritarian practices remained in everyday management. The transformation from patriarchal order to industrial paternalism was slow. See, for example, Karonen 2002: 259.

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THE USE OF HISTORY IN DRACULA TOURISM IN ROMANIA

Tuomas Hovi

Abstract: Dracula tourism in Romania combines fiction with history. It is centred on either the fictional Western vampire Count Dracula or the historical Dracula, the fifteenth-century Romanian ruler Vlad the Impaler. These two characters are also often conflated, or sometimes even forged together, into one Dracula figure in Dracula tourism. Besides the history concerning the ruler, Vlad the Impaler, through Dracula tourism the guides and travel agencies also tend to offer much more history and tradition of Romania in their tours. In this article I will examine what kind of history is told and what is left out. I am especially interested in the history and tradition (as it is manipulated) that is not connected to Vlad or Dracula. I look at the types and eras of history used and emphasised in Dracula tourism in Romania, and the reasons for the choices. I am also interested in the idea of how the seemingly superficial and fictitious Dracula tourism can be used as a gateway into Romanian history and culture.

Keywords: Dracula tourism, local heritage, Romania, the use of history, tour narrations, tradition

Dracula tourism in Romania is an interesting combination of history, tradition and fiction. In Dracula tourism tourists visit locations connected to the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, the ones described in Bram Stoker's novel *Dracula*, and some other locations in Romania that the different tourist agencies want to show to the tourists. There are many foreign and domestic tourist agencies that offer different kinds of Dracula-themed tours around Romania. Although the reaction from the Romanian government towards Dracula tourism has been ambivalent or even hostile towards the fictional side of tourism, the official website of Romanian tourism does have information about both Vlad the Impaler and the fictitious Count Dracula.[1] There is, however, no section about Dracula tourism on the main page or even on the page for the main attractions in Romania. There are some pieces of information about Dracula that can be found under the pages about specific locations, but the information there is fragmental. The information about Dracula tourism is found on a page titled "Special interest", so although there is information about Dracula on the official website of Romanian tourism, it is not considered a main attraction in

Romania by the Romanian National Tourist Office.[2] There are several tourist agencies that concentrate on Dracula tourism, but they are private companies and are not affiliated with the official tourist agency of Romania. This makes the research about the connection between the fictional Dracula and Romanian history, heritage and culture, even more interesting. In this article, I explore how this somewhat controversial history culture has been developed, negotiated and represented by various agents in Romania. Although there are similar types of tourism in which historical and mythical figures have been used, I find Dracula tourism quite unique because unlike many other cases it combines a certain historical figure with a fictional character that comes completely from outside of the history and culture of the original historical figure.[3]

In this article I will examine what kinds of history and tradition are used and told in Dracula tourism in Romania, and which eras of history are highlighted and why. I am also interested in the negotiations between fiction, tradition and history, and how seemingly superficial and fictitious Dracula tourism can be used as a gateway into Romanian history and culture. History, and especially the use of history, is an important element in tourism. Many tourists want to find out about the history of the country they are visiting. Similarly, many local actors are eager to present their destination in a certain way and give as favourable a history or story of the locations visited as possible. History is definitely never objective; nor is the use of history in tourism. What I mean by history is the shared and widely acknowledged interpretations of the past, within given groups. These interpretations may also differ within the community and between academia and laymen. The main point is to understand that history is not the same as the past, but consists of interpretations of the past. In tourism the use of history is always a subjective decision. What eras of history are highlighted in different tourist sites and what are left out? These decisions are made by different actors that include national tourist boards, ministries of tourism, travel agencies (both foreign and domestic), the owners of locations and various tour guides. This is also the case with Dracula tourism in Romania.

What I mean by fiction in this case is everything that is connected with the fictitious vampire Count Dracula and with the image of Romania and Transylvania in popular culture in general. Although fiction can be described as something feigned or invented by imagination and specifically as an invented story, the line between history and fiction is not always very clear. Therefore it would be difficult and maybe even pointless for me as a researcher to differentiate between fiction, history and tradition used in Dracula tourism in Romania. For example, the history of Vlad the Impaler, which is used in the tour-guide narrations, is partly based on the legend tradition about Vlad, which, although to an extent based on historical events, is also more or less fiction. In this case,

what I mean by fiction is what the tour guides themselves call fiction. So the definition and distinction between fiction, tradition and history is based on the tour guide narrations and the websites of various travel agencies[4] and not on my own interpretations. Hopefully, my article will contribute to the research fields of tourism, history and folklore, and especially to the use of history and tradition in tourism. Although there are many similar cases in which the local tourism industry has to negotiate between outside expectations and local cultural values, some aspects of Dracula tourism are unique in my opinion. Because Dracula tourism combines tradition, history, culture and fiction in an interesting whole, I find it an intriguing subject for cultural research.

I have carried out fieldwork in Romania and participated in three Dracula tours organised by two different Romanian travel companies. Two of these tours were in 2010 with the Company of Mysterious Journeys, and the third was in 2011 with the company Transylvania Live.[5] I selected these two travel companies because they are Romanian, because they have both been active since the early 1990s and because they both organise various kinds of Dracula tours as well as other tours that are not linked with Dracula. These tour operators are not the only ones in Romania, but they are two of the oldest, most popular and recognised ones in Romania. There are dozens of Romanian tour operators that offer some kind of Dracula tourism, but many of their tours are copied from the main tourist agencies that offer Dracula tourism.

During my fieldwork I conducted several interviews with tour guides and other tourists during and after the tours. In addition, I undertook participant observation and kept a field diary. These tours and my fieldwork within them form the basis for this article. I have also used the websites of the aforementioned travel agencies as references.

DEFINING DRACULA TOURISM

Dracula tourism is a kind of tourism in which tourists visit sites and places that are associated with both the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, and the fictional vampire, Count Dracula (Light 2012: 3). Dracula tourism is mainly connected with Romania, although there is some Dracula tourism also in Great Britain. The latter is associated solely with the fictional Dracula and the locations visited are in Whitby and London, whereas Dracula tourism in Romania is associated with both the fictional and the historical Dracula. Tourists may visit the Dracula locations on their own, but most Dracula tourists usually go on Dracula tours organised by different travel agencies. These tours differ in their length and choice of visited locations associated with either of the

Draculas. Although the emphasis on these tours is obviously on history and traditions about Vlad the Impaler as well as the fiction connected with Bram Stoker's book and vampires in general, much more gets related on the tours. The reactions to Dracula tourism in Romania have always been mixed. Some people are against it, some are in favour and some are indifferent towards it. Those who oppose Dracula tourism see it as something that could be harmful to Romanian culture and history. (Light 2012: 135–136). One could say that there is and has always been a conflict between Romanian heritage and Western stereotypes and fiction within Dracula tourism in Romania.

Dracula tourism can be hard to categorise as a particular type of tourism. It can be seen as cultural tourism, literary tourism, movie-induced tourism or dark tourism. In addition, it also includes elements of heritage tourism. Cultural tourism can be explained as incorporating all movements of people to specific cultural attractions, such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal venues, or all the movement of people to cultural attractions away from their normal places of residence, with the intention of gathering new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs (Richards 2010: 15). Heritage tourism is a special form of cultural tourism. One way to make a distinction (if needed) between cultural tourism and heritage tourism is their relationship to the past. It can be argued that in heritage tourism the focus is, or at least has been, more on the past, whereas in cultural tourism the focus is on the present (Poria & Butler & Airey 2003: 240). Heritage is also a much narrower concept than culture, because heritage is selective. Heritage is always just a selected part of history and culture, one that is deemed especially important and desirable to be kept. Heritage is also a cultural process and a present-centred cultural practice, and even an instrument of cultural power (Harvey 2007: 37; Timothy & Boyd 2003: 2–5). There is also a clear distinction between heritage and history. Unlike history, heritage does not necessarily need to be scientifically proved to be real. According to David Lowenthal, while history seeks to convince by truth and succumbs to falsehood, heritage exaggerates, omits, invents, forgets and thrives on ignorance and error (Lowenthal 2007: 111). Dracula tourism has many things in common with cultural and heritage tourism, because as well as visiting the sites connected with Vlad or the fictional Dracula, tourists also visit many culturally and historically important sites.

While Dracula tourism has elements of both cultural tourism and heritage tourism, it can also be defined as literary or movie-induced tourism. Literary tourism is the kind of tourism in which tourists visit the locations that either have connections to certain writers, or that form settings for novels (Herbert 2001: 314). Movie-induced tourism, which nowadays cannot really be separated

from literary tourism, is the kind of tourism in which tourists visit destinations or attractions that they have seen on television, on video or on the cinema screen (Busby & Klug 2001: 317). In some cases, tourists also visit literary or movie-induced landscapes to engage with broader meanings, values and myths than just the location itself. This is quite evident in Dracula tourism, in which tourists visiting Transylvania can engage with the ideas of otherness and superstitions beyond Stoker's original Dracula (Light 2012: 16–18). The term *media tourism* has also been suggested to combine both literary and movie-induced tourism, and it is, in my opinion, a very good one, because the two are often hard to separate from each other, and this term can also incorporate the Internet, which also affects and influences tourism (Reijnders 2011: 3–4). Popular culture tourism is also an appropriate term used to portray this kind of tourism (Larson & Lundberg & Lexhagen 2013).

The premise for Dracula tourism is obviously Bram Stoker's novel published in 1897, but, in my opinion, it is the subsequent movies that have had an even stronger influence on Dracula tourism. Although Dracula tourism could be defined as literary, movie-induced or media tourism, the elements of horror and death that are attached to Dracula tourism link it also to dark tourism. Dark tourism is seen as travel to places associated with death, disaster and destruction. It has been called thanatourism, morbid tourism, Black Spot tourism, grief tourism and even "milking the macabre" (Sharpley 2009: 9–10). Dark tourism can be divided into places that have a direct link to terrible happenings and are therefore darker in nature, and those that also present real or fictional death and macabre events, but in more family-friendly settings or in a socially more acceptable environment in which to gaze upon simulated death and associated suffering, and which are therefore lighter in nature (Stone 2006: 152–157). A form of dark tourism, in which the tourist seeks a scary opportunity at a destination that may have a sinister history or may be promoted to have one, has been called fright tourism, or alternatively ghost tourism, spook tourism or haunting tourism (Bristow & Newman 2005: 215; Light 2012: 62). The way I see it, Dracula tourism can definitely also be defined as dark tourism. It actually combines elements of fictional fright tourism with real atrocities of history that are part of dark tourism in general. It is clear that Dracula tourism is hard to define definitely. It has elements of literary tourism, movie-induced tourism, media tourism, dark tourism, cultural tourism and heritage tourism. The definition of Dracula tourism seems to depend on the reasons that the tourist has for taking the tour, whether for the landscapes of literature or movies, for stimulated fear and danger, or out of interest in historical and cultural sites. Sometimes the division is not so straightforward and all of the above can be seen as motivations for the trip.

THE TWO DRACULAS

As I mentioned earlier, there are actually two Draculas in Dracula tourism. Undoubtedly, the more famous is the fictitious vampire, Count Dracula, who first appeared in Bram Stoker's seminal work *Dracula*, first published in 1897. Count Dracula is a vampire from Transylvania, who in the original novel moves to Great Britain and terrorises people before he is hunted down and forced back to Transylvania, and eventually killed. The novel was a moderate success during Bram Stoker's lifetime, but it got widespread recognition only about ten years after Stoker's death, first via successful stage adaptations and later through films. The first real Dracula movie was *Dracula* made by Universal Studios in 1931 (Miller 2003: 15). Since the 1931 film, the character of the vampire Count Dracula has appeared in countless movies, TV-series, games, plays and books. According to David J. Skal, Count Dracula has been depicted in films more times than almost any other fictional being, and is actually the second most portrayed fictional character on screen, with only the character of Sherlock Holmes appearing in more films (Skal 2004: 5, 299). Although there are countless films that feature Dracula, the one that has mostly influenced Dracula tourism, at least in terms of imagery, is *Bram Stoker's Dracula* from 1992. The film was directed by Francis Ford Coppola and starred Gary Oldman as both Vlad the Impaler and Count Dracula (which indeed were one and the same character in the movie).

The other Dracula is the so-called historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler, who was a Wallachian prince, a voivode who reigned on three different occasions in the mid-fifteenth century, in 1448, 1456–1462 and 1476 (Treptow 2000: 33). Vlad the Impaler was also known as Vlad III or Vlad Dracula. In Romania, Vlad is mostly known by his cognomen *Ţepeş*, which means 'impaler'. This name was attached to him in the fifteenth to sixteenth century (Stoicescu 1978: 184). This cognomen came from the old and painful execution method of impaling, which was by no means an invention of Vlad. There are several stories and documents in which Vlad is said to have used this method quite often, and it is therefore ascribed to him (Rezachevici 2006; Stoicescu 1978: 187). The other name, *Dracula*, derives from the name of Vlad's father Vlad Dracul (Vlad II), who was the voivode of Wallachia in 1436–1442 and then again in 1443–1447 (Treptow 2000: 33). In 1431, Vlad Dracul was invested with the Order of the Dragon, an organisation founded by the German Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg and dedicated to defending western Catholicism against heretics and infidels. Vlad Dracul most probably wore the golden chain of the order with a dragon insignia all the time, which is why he was associated with the dragon. The cognomen Dracul or Draculea comes from this association, and Vlad the

Impaler simply inherited the name (Andreescu 1999: 183). In fact, the name was also ascribed to Vlad Dracul and to his other sons and not just to Vlad the Impaler (Stoicescu 1978: 181–183). The reputation of Vlad the Impaler has been twofold ever since the fifteenth century. The fact that he was and still is known so widely is because of the story tradition with folk narratives about him that started during Vlad's lifetime, already in the fifteenth century. The most famous and widespread stories can be divided into German, Russian (or Slavic) and Romanian stories.

The German and Russian stories were circulated in print and in manuscript form around Europe and Russia from the fifteenth century onwards. The German stories were printed around (modern) Germany between 1488 and 1559–1568 (Harmening 1983: 81–87). The Russian stories are in manuscript form and they were copied many times in different parts of Russia in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but not printed until the nineteenth century. Of these about twenty manuscripts are extant to this day (Florescu & McNally 1989: 208; McNally 1982: 127; Striedter 1961: 421). The Romanian stories were used as the basis for many of the German and Russian versions and have, for the most part, remained in oral form, although some Romanian stories were collected and written down as early as the sixteenth or seventeenth century (Andreescu 1999: 207–208; Stăvăruş 1978: 51). Many of these stories were collected from the village of Arefu in 1969 by Georgeta Ene (1976). Although there are many similarities between them, these three story collections differ from each other in tone and especially in the way that they portray Vlad the Impaler. The German stories portray Vlad as a bloodthirsty madman, the Russian stories as a very cruel but just ruler, and the Romanian stories as a just ruler. In Romania, Vlad the Impaler has almost always been seen as a good ruler, harsh but just. Vlad has been seen as a national hero who defended his country and people against foreign and domestic threats. Outside Romania, his image has been a lot darker, that of a bloodthirsty tyrant responsible for the lives of tens of thousands of people. At least since the 1970s, Vlad the Impaler has also been linked with the fictitious vampire, Count Dracula, especially in Western popular fiction and the media (Light 2012: 46–47).

Vlad the Impaler is often presented as a basis or inspiration for Stoker's vampire. Most of the links that have been created between the two Draculas are more or less artificial. However, sometimes this linkage is so strong or is seen as so obvious that the names Count Dracula and Vlad the Impaler have even become synonymous. This somewhat erroneous connection has been made in the media, in guidebooks and in academic books and articles, and has been used in literature, movies, TV-shows and comics. One of the major contributors to this connection was the book, *In Search of Dracula: A True History of Dracula and*

Vampires, authored by Raymond T. McNally and Radu Florescu and originally published in 1972. While it was not the first scholarly work to suggest that Vlad was the inspiration for Stoker's novel, it did bring both the connection and Vlad the Impaler to public attention. McNally and Florescu's book was a bestseller and has continued to influence many writers and scholars even to this day (Light 2012: 47; Miller 2000: 181). Even though *In Search of Dracula* has been hugely influential, it has its shortcomings especially in dealing with the supposed connections between Vlad the Impaler and Stoker's Dracula. In these parts of the book, the writers rely quite heavily on assumptions and suppositions and also make some mistakes or misleading statements (Miller 2000: 181). Elizabeth Miller has quite convincingly challenged many of the facts in the connection, both in McNally and Florescu's book and in other publications, especially in *Dracula: Sense and Nonsense* (Light 2012: 48; Miller 2000). Vlad the Impaler is not the same figure or character as Count Dracula, nor is Vlad the inspiration or model for Count Dracula. The two share the name 'Dracula' and a few obscure historical references that Bram Stoker found in a book about the history of Wallachia and Moldavia (Miller 2000: 180–189). Despite this, the idea of these two characters as being one and the same can still be found in the media, literature, and even in some academic articles and books. The idea is also well used in Dracula tourism.

HISTORY OF ROMANIAN DRACULA TOURISM

After the early years of state socialism, during which Romania was all but closed to foreign tourists, the country began to turn attention to the development and promotion of international tourism in the late 1950s. During the 1960s, Romania became one of the most accessible socialist countries for Western tourists, and in the 1970s tourism was promoted towards the West primarily for political and propaganda motives. The majority of the international tourists were to be found where their holidays were concentrated, along the Black Sea coast, but by the mid-1970s other forms of tourism around the country were developed as well. This was also the time when some Dracula enthusiasts from the West, who were eager to see for themselves the locations found in Bram Stoker's book and in the Dracula films, started to visit Romania. For many tourists Transylvania was a particularly interesting destination to visit. Transylvania had and still has a special meaning in Western popular culture as a mysterious land of vampires and other supernatural things. The connection is so strong that the fact that Transylvania is a real place comes as a surprise to many Westerners (Hupchick 1995: 49; Light 2012: 28, 57–63). This type of tourism was a minority

interest in Romania since most of the foreign tourists were from other socialist countries and knew very little about the vampire Dracula. To most Romanians the only link to the name Dracula was from Romanian history and from Vlad Dracul. Also, most of the Western tourists visited beach or mountain resorts and Dracula was not an important part of their holidays. According to Duncan Light, Dracula tourists were not a homogeneous group, and Dracula tourism was (and still is) a diverse phenomenon embracing a broad range of interests and motives. Some of them could be identified as literary tourists, some as film tourists, some were looking for the supernatural roots of the Dracula myth, and some were interested in the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler. The later interest in Vlad has also been partly the result of the success of the movie *Bram Stoker's Dracula* from 1992.

Dracula tourism was tolerated by the Romanian government, but it was not encouraged. Romania wanted to use international tourism to celebrate the agenda and achievements of state socialism and to raise the country's international profile, and, as such, Dracula tourism based around a belief in the supernatural and vampires was fundamentally discordant with Romania's identity as a socialist state (Light 2012: 69). Nevertheless, the Romanian government realised that the Dracula connection would offer considerable economic benefits, so the government sought ways to manage the phenomenon and even developed its own version of Dracula tours, which concentrated solely on the historical Dracula, Vlad the Impaler. Romanian tourism, and especially the numbers of tourists from the West, grew throughout the 1970s. In consequence, more and more people who were interested in Dracula came to Romania. Many tourists who participated in the Dracula tours offered by the state were disappointed because the experience did not match their expectations. They were expecting an experience based on Bram Stoker's novel and the vampire fiction in general, but, instead, they got a historical overview of a largely unknown Romanian ruler from the fifteenth century. And although the tour organised by the state was aimed at a clear differentiation between the fictitious Count Dracula and Vlad the Impaler, it actually ended up furthering the confusion between the two (ibid.: 71–72).

During the 1980s, conditions in Romania deteriorated as a result of President Nicolae Ceaușescu's policies. Ceaușescu wanted to reduce Romania's dependence upon Western Europe and introduced severe austerity measures in order to pay off the country's foreign debt. This involved, for example, reducing of domestic consumption and investment and rationing of energy supplies. The result was a decline in living standards for Romanians with rationing of food, electricity and fuel, which also affected tourism. Although there were still some tourists visiting Romania because of Dracula, the attitudes towards Dracula tourism

and the whole Dracula phenomenon hardened. The label "Dracula" was also applied to Ceauşescu in the Western press in a negative way, which reduced the government's eagerness to associate itself with the Western Dracula even further. The Romanian government also began to view Western tourists with suspicion, and foreigners became the subject of careful surveillance by the regime. The number of tourists visiting Romania declined significantly, and by the end of the 1980s it was no longer a very attractive destination for Western tourists (Ionescu 1986: 25; Light & Dumbrăveanu 1999: 901; Light 2012: 82).

After the 1989 revolution, tourism in Romania started to grow, but at first this growth was erratic. By the mid-1990s, tourism was actually in a state of stagnation and decline (Light & Dumbrăveanu 1999: 903–905). The decline reached its bottom in 2002, when Romania received fewer foreign visitors than in 1989. However, after 2003, the number of foreign tourists started to grow again, and in 2008 visitor arrivals reached 8.9 million, which was the highest figure ever recorded, although the economic crisis caused a small decline in arrivals soon after that (Light 2012: 120). After 1989, Dracula tourism also started to grow. In the early 1990s, Dracula tourists continued to visit Romania, but their numbers were far lower than before the 1980s. After 1993, their number started to increase, partly because of the success of the film *Bram Stoker's Dracula*. Many of the tourist agencies that offered Dracula tours were foreign, and the ones in Romania were still offering tours themed around the life of Vlad the Impaler. The Transylvanian Society of Dracula, originally a Romanian non-political, non-profit, cultural-historical non-government organisation founded in 1991, started to organise Dracula tours in the early 1990s. Initially they worked in partnership with a private travel agency in 1992, and from 1994 onwards through their own travel agency, the Company of Mysterious Journeys. The company added new elements to its tours, particularly evening performances in the village of Aref, which included traditional dancing and telling of local folktales about Vlad the Impaler, as well as witch-trial performances and various tests of knighthood; it also added locations, stories and features about the fictitious Dracula, as well as other traits derived from the vampire myth in general (ibid.: 124–125). Several other Romanian travel agencies copied many of these activities for their own tour itineraries. Today Dracula tourism in Romania is operated by a number of different travel companies, both foreign and domestic.

THE HISTORY OF VLAD THE IMPALER IN TOUR NARRATIONS

Although tourists can visit Dracula sites on their own, most of the Dracula tourism is based on tours that visit different sites connected with either the fictional Count Dracula or Vlad the Impaler. The majority of these tours start

in the capital city, Bucharest. After Bucharest the tours visit sites that may or may not include the monastery island of Snagov, where Vlad is thought to have been buried, the princely ruins in Târgovişte, Sighişoara, the alleged birthplace of Vlad the Impaler, the medieval city of Braşov, which Vlad famously attacked, and the castle of Bran, which is marketed as Dracula's castle, the ruins of the Poenari citadel and the village of Aref, where people still tell stories about Vlad the Impaler, the monastery in Curtea de Argeş, the Transylvanian cities of Sibiu, Cluj-Napoca and Mediaş, which all have some connections to Vlad the Impaler, and Hunyad castle in Hunedoara, where Vlad was held prisoner. All of these sites are more or less connected with Vlad and not with the vampire Count Dracula. Actually there are only two sites clearly connected with the fictional Dracula, which are visited on Dracula tours, namely the city of Bistriţa with its famous hotel, Coroana de Aur, and the Hotel Castel Dracula near the Borgo (Tihuţa) Pass. These two hotels were built in the 1970s and 1980s clearly to cater for Dracula enthusiasts who were looking to see more Dracula-themed sites in Romania (Light 2012: 76–78). Some sites that are visited on Dracula tours seem to have no connections to either Vlad the Impaler or to the Dracula of fiction (Hovi 2011: 82). These sites include Peleş Castle, the fortified church in Biertan, the city of Turda, the Danube delta, and the painted churches of Moldavia. I find these sites especially interesting because of lack of connection between them and either of the two Draculas.

At the sites that are connected with Vlad the Impaler, the tour guides usually focus on the history and tradition of the voivode. This can be traced to both history books about Vlad and to the German, Russian and Romanian fifteenth-century legend tradition. In Bucharest, where most Dracula tours start, the travel agencies usually organise a sightseeing tour around the city centre. Although Vlad has strong historical connections with Bucharest, the emphasis in the tour narrations on these sightseeing tours is actually much more on the history of Bucharest and Romania in general and especially the revolution of 1989 than it is on Vlad. All that is told about Vlad in connection with Bucharest is the fact that the city was first mentioned in a document signed by him (Treptow 2000: 182), and that Vlad either built or reinforced the fortress there. Other than these two points, Bucharest in Dracula tourism seems to function more as an orientation towards Romanian history, culture, and the whole Dracula tour than an actual Dracula site as such. The reasons for the emphasis on the 1989 revolution might lie in the fact that this is still fresh in the memory, there are many places in Bucharest with direct links to the events of the revolution, and it is seen as a very important moment in Romanian history. The fact that there are no locations connected with Vlad other than the palace ruins might also be of consequence.

Close to Bucharest is the island monastery of Snagov, which is visited on most tours. Snagov is the supposed burial place of Vlad the Impaler, and most of the tour guide narrations concentrate on the stories connected with Snagov and Vlad's alleged tomb, and around the history of Vlad's death. Before 2011 there was no bridge to the island and the only way to get there was by boat, which added to the mysterious feel of the visit. Since the bridge was built, it is much easier for tourists to visit the island. Tourists visit the monastery church and are shown Vlad's presumed burial place, and then walk around the church and the small island before heading back. In Târgoviște, in the ruins of the Poenari fortress and in the village of Aref, the focus is clearly on the legends of Vlad the Impaler as well as the history of fifteenth-century Wallachia. Many of the story variants from German, Russian or Romanian traditions are connected with either Târgoviște or Poenari. For example, the famous Romanian story about the construction of the fortress by noblemen from Târgoviște connects these two sites together and is also told on several tours. In Târgoviște the tourists visit the ruins of the princely court and especially the sunset tower, which has a small exhibition about Vlad the Impaler. The tour guides tell stories about Vlad and Târgoviște as the tourists walk around the ruins or visit the exhibition (which is only in Romanian). The stories told in Târgoviște are known in all three traditions – German, Russian and Romanian. In Poenari the tourists climb the stairs (about 1480 steps) up to the ruins of the citadel. During the climb and while visiting the ruins, the tour guides usually tell stories about Vlad that are connected to Poenari, like the one about the construction of the citadel. Another famous Romanian story is about the suicide of Vlad's wife and his escape from the Poenari fortress (Ene 1976: 583). This story is also told in Poenari, even to the extent that the actual place where Vlad's wife must have killed herself is shown to tourists. Most of them deal with the punishments inflicted by Vlad the Impaler or about Vlad's strict sense of justice.

> Yes, because when they arrived in the citadel of Poenari, they were surrounded by the Turkish army. And his wife was a very pretty woman, this is the story, and I suppose she *was* a very pretty woman; she preferred to die instead of remaining a prisoner of the Turks. And she jumped straight down from the wall of the citadel. And this was a cruel moment in the life of Țepeș.[6]

The Transylvanian cities of Brașov, Sighișoara, Cluj-Napoca, Mediaș and Sibiu all have various connections with the history of Vlad the Impaler. Visits to these cities usually involve a sightseeing walk around the city centre, during which the tour guide talks about the site. Surprisingly, the actual emphasis in tour guide narrations in these cities is not on Vlad but on the medieval histories of

these cities in general; while the cities share some history related to Vlad, it seems that it is not enough to build the whole tour around it. This is notable, for example, in the cases of Cluj-Napoca and Mediaş, which both have only a weak link with Vlad.[7] Sibiu's main connections with Vlad the Impaler are that his son Mihnea the Bad was buried there and that he attacked the outskirts of the city in the fifteenth century; the tour narrations here are also about the culture and history of the town in general. Sighişoara is the alleged birthplace of Vlad the Impaler, where his father lived before he became the voivode of Wallachia, but other than that the city does not have much of a connection with Vlad. Sighişoara is one of the Romania's seven UNESCO World Heritage Sites and is often branded as the "best preserved fifteenth-century walled town of Europe" or "one of Europe's most beautiful and still inhabited fortified cities".[8] In Sighişoara, the tour narrations often focus on the history of the town as well as the cultural meaning of the town as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, and also emphasise the town's medieval history. Besides, Sighişoara is the place where most of the Halloween parties are organised if the tour takes place during that time.

Of all the Transylvanian cities Braşov may have the most pertinent and famous history relating to Vlad the Impaler. It was an important and rich medieval city close to the border with Wallachia. The wealthy Saxon merchants of Braşov exercised a great deal of influence in Wallachian politics, which caused tension between the Wallachian rulers and the Saxon merchants and councillors of Braşov. This was also the case during Vlad's time and, after several incidents with the merchants and councillors of Braşov, he attacked the city and punished them. This attack is depicted in one of the most famous German stories about Vlad, in which he is said to have had his breakfast in the midst of several impaled victims from the city (Treptow 2000: 100–101, 217). Despite this history and the obvious connections, the tour narratives again emphasise the city as a medieval Transylvanian town and its later history, and not the connections with Vlad the Impaler. Vlad is mentioned as having attacked Braşov and impaled many people from the city on Tâmpa Mountain, which looms over the city, but other than that there really does not seem to be anything else to tell about Vlad in the tour narrations in Braşov. Braşov and Sighişoara, although important places in the history of Vlad the Impaler, seem to be marketed more as medieval Transylvanian cities that are important to Romanian culture and history, and not as actual Dracula sites. The Middle Ages are emphasised because at some of the locations the connections with Vlad the Impaler may be too thin and, on the other hand, because there are a number of stereotypical impressions of the Middle Ages, which also fall in line with the stereotypical images of Vlad. Most of these impressions come from

popular culture and are expected to be known to tourists. Most of the tourism in the abovementioned places focuses on history and could be categorised mainly as cultural or heritage tourism rather than literary tourism, movie-induced tourism or dark tourism, with may be minor exceptions in the cases of Sighişoara (especially during Halloween), Târgovişte and partly also Braşov, where parts of the tours might also be considered as dark tourism. One of the highlights on the Dracula tours during Halloween is a Halloween party, which is usually, although not always, organised in Sighişoara. During the parties the tour guides as well as the tourists dress up in different Halloween costumes and partake in various activities suited to the theme, such as, for example, the ritual killing of the living dead, Dracula's wedding, or a tournament. Here the tourists partake in the lighter side of dark tourism. In Târgovişte and Braşov the tour narrations partly focus on the alleged atrocities committed by Vlad the Impaler, and can therefore be seen as dark tourism.

FICTION IN TOUR NARRATIONS

Fiction plays a major role in Dracula tourism for obvious reasons, and it is also used on the tours. Tour guides make use of fiction in their narrations in two ways. Sometimes it is stated or brought up explicitly, and sometimes only hinted at. On the two Dracula tours by the Company of Mysterious Journeys that I participated in, the distinction was made clearly in the tourist guide narrations by stating explicitly that the group was leaving behind history and reality and crossing into the domain of the fictitious Count Dracula, as, for example, on the itinerary from the company's Classic Dracula Tour:

> Proceed to the buffer-zone separating Count Dracula's domain (the county of Bistrita-Nasaud) from the rest of Transylvania. Prince Vlad dims out into history; Count Dracula emerges from nightmares, terror and fright.[9]

Fiction is mostly used on the route from Sighişoara or from Braşov to Bistriţa and to the Borgo Pass, or, in other words, from the sites that are associated with Vlad the Impaler to the sites that are associated with Bram Stoker's book. So the tour guides tend to make a clear distinction between what they perceive as real Romanian history and fiction and Western popular culture. In the Castel Dracula Hotel in the Borgo Pass, the focus on fiction is also quite obvious. Here the tour narrations revolve around the idea of the hotel as the home of the fictional vampire, Count Dracula.

> Some of them prefer to sleep there instead of sleeping in the castle. Some of them are afraid of what can happen in the castle after midnight. And for this, nobody can condemn them.[10]

Even when Count Dracula is not explicitly mentioned, the tour narrations usually play with the idea of the myth of Transylvania as a place. According to Duncan Light, a place myth is a culturally constructed idea about the nature of a certain place, regardless of its character in reality. Place myths are formed from sometimes exaggerated or incomplete images of the place, often based on stereotypes or even prejudices, and are maintained by different forms of popular culture (Light 2012: 20). Bram Stoker created or at least consolidated a powerful and enduring place myth of Transylvania as a marginal, backward, sinister and supernatural location (ibid.: 30). The place myth of Transylvania is used in tour narrations quite clearly to constantly emphasise the fact. The tourists are told that the many crosses that can be found alongside the roads are there to protect them and that one should not wander beyond them. Similar things are told in the Castel Dracula Hotel, where the tourists are warned not to wander around the hotel.[11] It is clear that the tour guides assume that the tourists share this idea of the place myth of Transylvania as being something dangerous and superstitious. On the tours, Bistriţa and the Borgo Pass are also often referred to as Dracula County, or the Count's domain.

The Coroana de Aur (Golden Crown) hotel in Bistriţa was built in the 1970s and it shares its name with the hotel in which Jonathan Harker slept over-night and ate in Bistriţa on his way to Dracula's castle in Bram Stoker's book (ibid.: 76). In addition to the name, the hotel has one special dining room called 'Salon Jonathan Harker', which is decorated accordingly. The hotel is usually visited only briefly on the way to the Castel Dracula Hotel, but some tours stop there for a longer visit, and tourists can eat the 'same meal' as Jonathan Harker did in the novel, called the Jonathan Harker menu. Other than the name, the dining room and the special menu, the hotel has little to do with Dracula tour-ism in terms of decorations or activities. The Castel Dracula Hotel was built in the 1980s near the top of the Bârgau (Borgo) Pass, more or less where the castle of Count Dracula was situated in Stoker's novel (ibid.: 101–104). Although it has a tower and an inner courtyard, the hotel itself is not a real castle as such, but a hotel made to look like one. It is actually an interesting mix between the socialist architecture of the 1980s and a medieval castle.

The hotel is decorated with a Dracula theme up to a certain point, but to many tourists it is actually a bit of a disappointment. Many of the tourists that I interviewed were disappointed with the hotel and felt that it did not live up to their expectations and that it could also have had much more potential as a tourist site. One tourist mentioned that the tourist industry would need to re-work the interior and "goth" or "Disneyfy" the castle up, meaning to make it more acceptable or marketable to its core target group. There is a cellar in the hotel where tourists can go and visit Dracula's coffin. Usually, while the

tourists are down in the cellar, the lights suddenly go out and "Dracula" escapes from the coffin, frightening the tourists. After this the tourists usually go outside where they are greeted by Dracula (a hotel worker in a Dracula costume), and led to a fireplace where they can partake in activities and listen to ghost stories around the fire. There is also a small (real) cemetery near the hotel, which is sometimes visited. Occasionally, Halloween parties are also organised in the hotel. After the tour leaves the Castel Dracula Hotel and Bistriţa, the emphasis of the tour narrations turns back to the historical and cultural aspects of Romania. The tours that are held during Halloween also tend, however, to emphasise the fictional side at other locations than just Bistriţa and the Castel Dracula Hotel. Tourism in Bistriţa and in the Borgo Pass is a mix of dark tourism and media tourism. Tourists are clearly told that this is the setting for Bram Stoker's novel and that they are actually following Jonathan Harker's footsteps. So tourists can, in a way, re-enact or perform parts of the novel or the movies in 'actual' settings (Light 2009: 193–194; Reijnders 2011: 13). The dark tourism part comes with the scare elements and spooking of the tourists. In addition to Bistriţa and the Borgo Pass, the fictional element on the tours can sometimes also be found when visiting Sighişoara and Castle Bran. Because Vlad the Impaler is thought to have been born in Sighişoara, the idea that it is the birthplace of Dracula is sometimes played upon. This is especially the case during the time of the Halloween parties that are organised there. Castle Bran is also a place where the lines between history and fiction are sometimes blurred. It was dubbed "Dracula's castle" for American tourists in the 1970s and the name has stuck ever since, even though the castle has nothing to do with Count Dracula and has only a minor historical link to Vlad the Impaler. Yet Bran is sometimes mentioned as being Dracula's castle, or as being the inspiration for Dracula's castle in Stoker's book, or as the location where many Dracula movies have been filmed.

ADDITIONAL HISTORY USED IN TOUR NARRATIONS

Despite their name, Dracula tours do not focus solely on the two Draculas. As mentioned earlier, there are several sites that are visited on the tours, which have nothing to do with either Vlad the Impaler or Count Dracula. These sites include the castle of Peleş, the fortified church in Biertan, the city of Turda, the Danube delta and the painted churches of Moldavia.[12] The reasons for sites like these to be included in the Dracula tours vary, but one of the main justifications is that the organisers want to show them to foreign tourists. This is the case especially with Peleş Castle, which is visited on tours organised by both the Company of Mysterious Journeys and Transylvania Live.

Yes, because like I've said, we want to present also what is good in our history, and Peleş Castle is one of the most beautiful 19th-century castles in Europe. And because it's very beautiful, we try to present it also to our tourists, to show also the other face of Romania, the romantic face of Romania.[13]

Well, yeah. Well, I would say yes, yes, because you're still in Romania, and from my point of view you should, you should learn a few things about Romania, too. And plus we are passing next to the place, we know that it's a unique… it's like, like you said like Peleş Castle, it's a unique place in Romania and there won't be too many like that around Europe, so from my point of view it's a very good thing.[14]

Peleş Castle, which is a castle built for the Romanian royal family at the turn of the twentieth century, is shown to tourists because it is considered as something important for Romanian culture (Hovi 2011: 83). The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are also seen as a kind of a golden age in Romania and Peleş Castle is a reminder of that era. As the tour guide from Transylvania Live told me, it is important for him that tourists learn something about Romania while they are there, even if they are in Romania just because of Dracula. The addition of these sites and tour narrations may also function as a way to connect Romania, through its history, to Western Europe, and emphasise the fact that before the communist times Romania had stronger connections with the West. After all, the Romanian royal family came from Germany and therefore shares a link with other European royal families. The fortified church in Biertan and the painted monasteries in Moldavia are UNESCO World Heritage Sites, so it is easy to see why the travel agencies also want to show them on Dracula tours. Important sites for Romanian culture, both past and present, like Peleş, Biertan, and the monasteries in Moldavia, are willingly brought into conjunction with western and foreign vampire and horror thematics. According to Pekka Hakamies, it is not unusual that in some cases people have been clinging to old traditions as a form of silent protest against a dominant ideology and government, which have been regarded unfamiliar or foreign. At the same time, this kind of protest has worked as a unifying force that has strengthened local identity (Hakamies 1998: 11). Similarly, the addition and marketing of these kinds of sites can be seen as a local cultural protest against a foreign and unfamiliar image of Romania. And, at the same time, this can be seen as a way to strengthen local identity and culture against a foreign (and in this case a cultural) threat (Hovi 2011: 83).

Bucharest is interesting as a Dracula site, because, as I stated earlier, it does not actually function as such. It seems to operate more as an orientation

towards Romanian history, culture and the whole Dracula tour than an actual Dracula site as such. In fact, the emphasis of the tour narrations in Bucharest seems to be on the events of the 1989 revolution. This is not entirely surprising since the effects of the revolution can still be clearly seen in the street scenes in Bucharest. In addition to the history of the city and the events of the revolution, the tour narrations also relate the development of Romania since the revolution up to the present day. The tour narrations associated with the revolution focus on various buildings and events that took place at different sites in the city, such as the Palace of Parliament, the Memorial of Rebirth in Revolution Square, which commemorates the struggles and victims of the revolution of 1989, and University Square. One reason for the emphasis on the 1989 revolution might also be the fact that in the aftermath, Romania fell more in line and became connected with Western Europe and the Western world. Maybe the tour guides want to emphasise this change as well.

This part of the tours and visits to the abovementioned locations is more cultural and heritage tourism than media or dark tourism. The city of Turda is visited on some Dracula tours, and it also has no connections to either of the Draculas. It is, however, a mix of cultural or heritage tourism and dark tourism. The main location to visit in Turda is the old salt mines, which is an important historical as well as a heritage site. However, the place where tourists stay is a hotel called Hunter Prince Castle and Dracula Hotel, which is often marketed as "a medieval fantasy with beds". The hotel has hunting-themed, as well as Dracula-themed, decorations, with a special dining room called Dracula's Castle, which is filled with Dracula- and horror-themed decorations. In there, tourists can eat a special themed menu and have their photos taken beside a life-sized figure of Vlad the Impaler, or by an "executioner's block".

Besides Bucharest and the sites that are not connected to either of the Draculas, there are also tour narrations that are told between sites. Because the distances between some of the Dracula sites are long, plenty of time is spent sitting on a bus. These moments are usually spent listening to the tour guides, sleeping, watching movies or talking to other tourists. Depending on the tour guides, most of the tour narrations between the sites are stories about various Dracula sites, about Romanian history and culture in general, personal views and experiences in Romania on the part of the guides, and modern Romania in general, so the tour narrations may consist of more or less anything about Romanian history, culture and modern everyday life. Whether or not they are interested in hearing about other matters than those related to Dracula, Vlad, vampires and Transylvania depends on the tourists: some are not interested at all, whereas others are very interested in the overall history and culture of Romania.[15] Because the usual tour itineraries go from Wallachia to Transylva-

nia and back, tourists also get to see geographically varied parts of Romania; according to one tour guide that I interviewed, this is seen as important for the guides that tourists gain a better image and understanding of the country.

CONCLUSION

What kind of history is used and what eras of history are related in the tour narrations in Dracula tourism in Romania? The answer can roughly be divided according to four historical eras. The first is the time of Vlad the Impaler and the Middle Ages in general. These tour narrations are used at the sites connected to Vlad and at those that may have a looser connection to him but anyway have medieval history attached to them. The reasons for focusing on this era of history are quite self-evident and self-explanatory. The second era is the turn of the twentieth century; this era is used in the tour narration in Peleş Castle and also in Bucharest. This tour narration functions as a reminder of Romania's shared past with Western Europe. The reason for this focus seems to be a desire to recount this period as one of importance for the history of Romania, and to establish a connection between Romania and Western Europe through history. The third era is socialism and especially its demise with the 1989 revolution. The tour narrations about this era are usually told in Bucharest as well as on the road, in between the different tour sites. In Bucharest the narrations are linked with different buildings and events that took place around the city. The reasons for including this era are probably that the socialist era is still relatively fresh in the memory, and the fact that such a different system intrigues tourists, especially Western tourists, to whom the socialist system is unfamiliar. The fourth era is the present day. These tour narrations are more unofficial by nature and therefore also more difficult to conceptualise. They are usually told in between the different sites and their content depends on the tour guides. Usually they are about the personal experiences and opinions of the guides. This era is included because it gives information about the current state and culture of Romania, which is both interesting to the tourists and felt as important for the guides to tell. The history that is left out on the Dracula tours seems to cover the period in Romanian history before the Middle Ages, as well as most of the time between the sixteenth and the late nineteenth centuries. Also, the early twentieth century, with the far-right movement in Romania, as well as the first decades of the Communist rule, seems to be missing in the tour narrations. Romanian history before the Middle Ages is probably not seen as that interesting in this context, and the same applies to some other time periods. So the eras that are seen as important enough to be told to the tourists are Vlad's

era, the era in which Romania first grew closer to the West, the socialist era, which is seen as something strange and negative, and the present day, which is seen as more modern, free and western, especially after the era of socialism.

It is by no means a revelation that tourists are told about the history and culture of their destination in general, not even when they are participating in a themed tour, such as a Dracula tour. It is, however, interesting to see how and why this is done. In the case of Dracula tourism in Romania, it actually answers the second question raised in my article: How can the seemingly superficial and fictitious Dracula tourism be used as a gateway into Romanian history and culture? Dracula tourism, although indeed seemingly superficial, can be used as such a gateway by adding sites that have nothing to do with Vlad the Impaler or the fictitious Count Dracula, by recounting the history and culture of Romania in general and not just focusing on the Middle Ages, and by trying to separate the fictional side of Dracula tourism from the history side. Dracula tourism may be used, and actually is used, as a marketing tool for Romania. So we might even say that through Dracula tourism one can find the "real" Romania, which of course is much more than just the "land of Dracula". The reason for adding places like the castle of Peleş, Biertan, or the salt mines in Turda, is to give the tourists an image of Romania that is as extensive and positive as possible. By telling Romanian history and culture in general and by showing different historical, cultural and geographical sides of the country, travel agencies want to offer their version of Romania alongside the fictional Dracula's country.

Although the Dracula theme is constantly present on the tours, most of the locations visited do not actually have any connections with the fictional Dracula. This is interesting, considering that most of the tourists are interested mainly in the figure from popular culture, and hence this can cause friction by not coincide with the tourists' expectations. One strategy for the travel agencies to negotiate this friction between history and fiction is in the way that the tours are organised. For the most part, the tours visit places that are of historical value and are mainly connected with Vlad the Impaler but not with the vampire, Count Dracula. The only locations directly associated with the fictitious Dracula are Bistriţa and the Borgo Pass, which are quite far from the rest of the locations visited on the tours. This gives the tour operators an opportunity to concentrate all, or at least most, of the fictional side of Dracula tourism within this part of the tour. This approach is also quite clearly stated in many tour itineraries in terms of crossing the border to Dracula's county or to the domains of the count. And when the tours proceed onwards, the tour itineraries mention that it is time to leave fiction and return to history. So, one way that the agencies manage the balance between history and fiction

is to clearly focus the fictional part of the tour on these two locations. This is certainly not always so black and white and not every tourist agency operates like this. Especially many foreign tourist agencies seem to deliberately confuse the two characters throughout the entire tour. It seems, however, that most of the Romanian tourist agencies do separate the two characters, particularly by focusing the fictional part of the tour only on Bistriţa and the Borgo Pass, with the small exceptions of Bran and Sighişoara.

Dracula tourism has been opposed because it has been seen as something foreign and even as a threat to Romanian culture and history. The argument has been that Dracula tourism could give rise to a wrong image of Romania. The results of my fieldwork with the two Romanian travel agencies that offer Dracula tourism, the Company of Mysterious Journeys and Transylvania Live, show that this concern is at least partly unfounded. Although both of these agencies use fiction and play with the idea of the place myth of Transylvania, they tend to offer plentiful information about the history and culture of Romania. So, to my mind, Dracula tourism is not necessarily a threat to Romanian culture and history, but can actually help to promote both. Romanian Dracula tourism is an example of how a local agent can negotiate with a form of tourism and culture that is foreign, without having to compromise or lose one's own culture.

NOTES

[1] Romanian National Tourist Office, http://www.romaniatourism.com/history.html, last accessed on January 15, 2014.

[2] Romanian National Tourist Office, Special Interest, http://www.romaniatourism.com/special-interest.html, last accessed on January 15, 2014.

[3] Although many historical and mythical figures, such as Robin Hood, William Wallace (Braveheart), King Arthur or many characters of the Wild West have been absorbed into Western popular culture, this all has been done more or less within the same Anglo-American culture and on the culture's own terms. And often the historical and popular culture characters have been combined with the interest and understanding of the culture from which they originate. In the case of Dracula tourism, the character of Vlad the Impaler has been "forcefully" attached to the western vampire Dracula without any input from Romanian culture.

[4] Like, for example, the Company of Mysterious Journeys, http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/dracula_tours/castle_dracula/travel/, and Transylvania Live, http://www.dracula-tour.com/halloween-dracula-tour-in-transylvania.html, both last accessed on January 15, 2014.

[5] These tours are The Classic Dracula Tour (April 2012) and The Classic Dracula & Halloween 2010 in Transylvania (October 2010) by the Company of Mysterious Journeys, and Vampire in Transylvania – Halloween Departure Tour (October 2011) by

the company Transylvania Live. I have decided to leave the tour guides anonymous in this article. All of the interviews are in the possession of the author, both in transcribed versions and as audio files.

[6] An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010 (English slightly corrected, as also in other interviews).

[7] The links with Vlad in these cities are quite vague. Cluj-Napoca is the birthplace of Mathias Corvinus, who impacted Vlad's life in many ways, and Vlad was held prisoner in Mediaş for a short while, but that is about as far as the connection goes.

[8] Company of Mysterious Journeys, http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/halloween-2012-transilvania/ (page not available any more) and Transylvania Live, http://www.dracula-tour.com/europe-sightseeing-tours-romania/dracula-tour-transylvania-travel.html, last accessed on January 15, 2014.

[9] The Classic Dracula Tour, http://www.mysteriousjourneys.com/dracula_tours/classic_dracula_level_1/, last accessed on January 15, 2014.

[10] An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010.

[11] These are based on the author's fieldwork notes.

[12] The company of Mysterious Journeys organises Dracula tours that also visit Biertan, the Danube delta, and the painted monasteries of Moldavia. Transylvania Live organises tours that visit Turda, and both travel agencies visit the castle of Peleş on their tours.

[13] An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010.

[14] An interview conducted by the author with a tour guide from the Transylvania Live in 2011.

[15] Personal communication with a tour guide from the Company of Mysterious Journeys in 2010.

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TRADITIONALISATION FOR REVITALISATION: *TRADITION* AS A CONCEPT AND PRACTICE IN CONTEMPORARY SÁMI CONTEXTS

Coppélie Cocq

Abstract: This article investigates the use of 'tradition' as a concept in indigenous discourses and as a label of practices within revitalisation processes, using the case of the Sámi in Sweden as an example. By approaching emic applications of the concept, the article aims at emphasising processual and consequential aspects of 'tradition'.

This study illustrates how traditionalisation takes place through the processes of negotiation of identities, globalisation and authority, as well as through the institutionalisation of vernacular practices. It is a double-edged process, including and excluding, which is balanced with creative initiatives striving for keeping traditions alive rather than frozen in time.

Keywords: digital environments, emic discourses, indigenous communities, self-representation, tradition, traditionalisation, vernacular practices

This article investigates the use of 'tradition' as a concept in indigenous discourses and as a label of practices, by examining the case of the Sámi in Sweden. The recurrent and abundant use of the term 'tradition' on Sámi websites and in documents from Sámi cultural agencies and officials has motivated this investigation along with encouragement from the strong theoretical attachment of this concept in folkloristics.

It is not my wish to contribute to the "tradition of talking about tradition" (Noyes 2009: 234). Instead, my aim is to critically analyse the implications and consequences of the use of the term and of the process of traditionalisation in the particular context of Sámi linguistic and cultural revitalisation. Through an overview of the occurrence of the word in online Sámi discourses and in published documents, I examine the labelling of certain practices as 'traditions' in order to problematise the implications of this process. Before addressing these issues, I contextualise contemporary Sámi initiatives in the first section of the manuscript. This is followed by a discussion of the concept in relation to folkloristics, and a discussion of methodological considerations.

As I show in this article, globalisation, institutionalisation of vernacular practices, negotiation of a contemporary Sámi identity, and related issues of authorisation play major roles in traditionalisation. It is a double-edged process, both including and excluding.

SÁMI REVITALISATION

The Sápmi area includes the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Russia. The Sámi population, estimated to be about 80,000 to 95,000 individuals, is spread across the four countries, in urban areas as well as in the traditional Sápmi area. National legislations define who a Sámi is, and this definition is based on language[1] and self-ascription. This geographical dispersion implies disparities in minority politics. Until the Second World War, the Sámi populations in the four countries were subjected to the politics of cultural assimilation (Elenius 2006: 149–249; Lundmark 2008: 141–184). The degree and consequences of this political period for the Sámi in the four countries differed, but the stigmatisation of the Sámi identity has been a threat to the Sámi language and culture. Today the Sámi languages are endangered; some of them even close to extinction. From the mid-1900s, a more favourable ideological climate for the minorities in Europe has allowed for practical measures toward political organisation and cultural revitalisation by the Sámi.

The emergence of national symbols, such as the flag and the national song, took place in the late 1980s, and the Sámi Parliament was inaugurated in Sweden in 1993. This followed the establishment of a Sámi Parliament in Norway in 1989 and preceded the one in Finland in 1996. Although active participation in politics began long before that, the 1970s are referred to as a turning point in Sámi organisational history. The ČSV movement, named after slogans such as *Čájehehkot Sámi Vuoiŋŋa!* ("Show the Sámi spirit!") or *Čohkkejehket Sámiid Vuitui* ("Unite the Sámi for victory") was a new awakening and "became a rallying call for the Sámi people who had a confrontational attitude toward Norwegian society" (Bjørklund 2000: 29). Many other Sámi initiatives followed the ČSV movement as signs of efforts to define Saminess based on the group's own premises and self-representation. There was, for instance, a "renaissance in *duodji* (handicrafts)"; the *gákti* (Sámi costume) was 'rediscovered' and became "a way of expressing Sámi national unity", and place names came to "constitute the clearest expression of Saminess" (ibid.: 31–32). Such traditional aspects of the culture are essential markers of the Sámi identity (Ruong 1981).

In the contemporary context, initiatives to strengthen and promote the Sámi languages are encouraged and supported by the political climate that is signifi-

cantly more favourable than in the 1970s. This improvement has been concretised during the last decades, for example, by the ratification of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages as well as by the introduction of local legislation in regard to minority languages in the Nordic countries.

The current state of cultural and linguistic revitalisation (Pietikäinen 2008; Scheller & Vinka forthcoming) is central in these processes and in the analysis of the uses of the concepts of tradition and traditionalisation. As Scheller & Vinka (forthcoming) point out: "Benevolent legislation is often a prerequisite [to language revitalization], but matters of implementation are as vital." Further, revitalisation requires changing community attitudes (Grenoble & Whaley 2006: 13), and the articulation of traditions and the definition of 'the traditional' are parts of these efforts for the implementation of legislation and change.

This article investigates these aspects of cultural production by examining the occurrence and use of the concept of tradition on the Sámi websites administrated by educational and cultural agencies, museums, and the Sámi media. This includes online data and documents such as cultural programmes, and official reports from Sámi organisations.

The topic of this article is one that is often covered in folklore studies, but here it specifically concerns the Sámi case. Therefore, an overview of the theoretical approaches within the field is necessary before discussing contemporary examples of traditionalisation.

THEORETICAL APPROACHES AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

For folklorists, a main interest in studying the concept of tradition lies in its potential for the study of the "process of cultural construction" (Glassie 1995: 398). The "'traditional' is not an objective property of phenomena but an assigned meaning" (Handler & Linnekin 1984: 286). Investigation into the processes and performative aspects of assigning meaning to specific traditions give us insight into the factors and forces that interact behind cultural expressions and within cultural contexts. Taking into account social aspects when approaching Sámi traditions is, indeed, a prerequisite for understanding the manifold processes of cultural production (compare Hymes 1975: 353).

Traditions are often discussed in terms of continuity and discontinuity, but it is also important to scrutinise the stability of traditions (Noyes 2009: 239), i.e., the reason why certain practices are maintained and/or reactualised. The nature of the role that these traditions play in a culture, and the meanings assigned to them, deserve investigation.

Tradition is a powerful concept that has the ability to influence political processes. In the specific context of revitalisation of the Sámi languages and culture, the goals in minority politics and the recurrent use of references to Sámi traditions motivate further inquiry. Such inquiry must bear in mind the consequences that the labelling of practices as 'traditional' has had in the past. The concept of tradition is loaded with connotations because of its uses and abuses in nationalistic discourses (Christophe & Boëll & Meyran 2009; Korhonen 2008; Kvist 1992). Academic research was also influenced by the political and ideological attitude toward indigenous peoples and minorities at that time (Cocq 2013a; Deloria 1998; Smith 1999).

In addition to examining the emic uses of 'tradition', this article investigates the process of traditionalisation. In line with Mould (2005: 261), I approach traditionalisation as "the act of explicitly referencing some element of the past considered traditional within the community". Traditionalisation is a self-conscious process (cf. Handler & Linnekin 1984: 287) that takes place in the community at different levels.

This view of tradition as an analytical concept stresses its power and what it can achieve in terms of defining a culture, categorising communities, or establishing common grounds and boundaries. Based on these theoretical considerations, this article seeks insight into the processes of cultural constructions in a Sámi context and into how these processes strive to generate continuity, discontinuity, and stability.

This study is the offspring of a project investigating the role of the Internet in Sámi revitalisation, which focuses on self-representation and place-making in digital environments (Cocq 2013b) and on the continuity of storytelling (Cocq 2013c). In addition to the study of Sámi websites, empirical data were collected through surveys and interviews in order to include the website users' perspectives.[2] The results of the survey give us an indication as to the importance placed by the users on the political aims that focus on the significance of passing on Sámi traditions to future generations. The topic of tradition came up during discussions with several consultants.[3]

In line with recommendations in indigenous methodologies, research should focus on the interests, experiences, and goals of indigenous people themselves (Porsanger 2004: 109; Smith 1999: 39). Therefore, the importance given to the topic and how it was problematised by the consultants[4] in this project has motivated this particular study. More specifically, several consultants identified the constraining effects of normalising discourses about what is right and correct when talking about what is traditional. For instance, a Sámi cultural worker (Consultant 3) was critical of the use of the term:

> 'Tradition' is often used in the sense of 'the old days' and applies to something static. For instance, the *gákti* (Sámi costume) can only look one single way to some people. You can't add something to your *gákti* that is not 'traditional'.[5]

Another consultant (Consultant 1) commented on the constant quest for tradition that one can experience: "We are bound by tradition…". The same interviewee wished for more innovations in terms of incorporating new elements and practices into an otherwise traditional framework.

Another use of the concept of tradition is as a criterion of authenticity, and this was mentioned by several consultants. The concept is sometimes used in a similar sense with regard to language: as a way to define an 'authentic' language. One consultant (Consultant 3) expressed concern about the ways in which such a view of tradition could "suffocate all that is Sámi", i.e., that such a view could have a negative impact on the dialectal variations of the Sámi languages. The wording and the framing of the concept reflect a perception of 'tradition' as something tangible: traditional practices are described as something that we follow – or choose not to follow – and as something that "we can lose" (Consultants 3, 4, 5).

In order to further investigate the occurrence and use of the concept of tradition in contemporary Sámi discourses, this article examines a range of examples and utterances. The main focus is on Sámi websites from Sámi media, project homepages, information centres, community museums, and initiatives that promote language acquisition. The selection of material was based on the results from the survey of the users of Sámi websites and on observations of the most cited, linked, and mentioned websites. The study of the web pages was conducted through navigation and documentation (video recording) of the websites, with specific attention paid to paths, aesthetics, and intertextuality (how the text of the website relates to other texts or websites). The source of information, the targeted audience, and the coexistence of different voices (for instance, vernacular and official), discourses (public or political), and genres (textbooks, exhibitions, performances, and discussion forums) are other aspects that have been included in the online observation conducted for this study (cf. Hine 2000; Kozinets 2011).

Examples of the emic use of the concept of tradition on Sámi-produced websites, in cultural programmes, and reports from Sámi cultural agencies and officials are discussed in the following section.

'TRADITIONAL' PRACTICES

The first part of this study discussed the use of the term 'tradition' and other terms associated with it. The co-occurrence of terms was mapped by reading the texts that had been selected by reason of the frequent use of the terms 'tradition' or 'traditional'[6] on the web pages included in the online observation described above. The locating of the occurrences of words associated with the concept of tradition in web environments gives us an indication of the settings in which the term is given specific meaning. The terms 'language', 'knowledge', and 'identity' are frequently used in connection with 'tradition' or 'traditional'. 'Cultural heritage' is another concept that commonly occurs in relation to 'tradition'. The concept of 'tradition' is also often used in association with livelihoods in general, but also more specifically with reindeer herding[7].

The information site developed by the Sámi Parliament establishes an explicit connection between reindeer herding and tradition:

> Reindeer herding is not only a way of achieving an income – it is also the bearer of a long cultural tradition and a Sámi identity. [It] is intimately connected with Sámi culture, and is a tradition that extends a very long way into the past.[8]

Here, reference to the past, continuity, and contemporary identity signifies the traditionalisation of the practice of reindeer herding.

Tradition is frequently used in relation to abstract terms, such as traditional knowledge, values, society, culture, ways of life, customs, etc.[9] Some more tangible topics are associated with the concept, including buildings[10] (with reference to constructions used in nomadic times), the *gákti*, and *duodji* (handicrafts constructed according to traditional methods and patterns)[11].

Duodji is based on the use of traditional methods, materials, and techniques. It is an interesting field of elaboration of Saminess, in which negotiation between tradition and innovation takes place. It is also a strong symbol of Sámi identity. There is an official label (see Figure 1) that functions as a certificate of authenticity for artefacts created in line with Sámi traditional methods. *Duodji* today illustrates how items of everyday use have become pieces of art. The *náhppi*, a bowl used to collect milk, is an example of how traditional knowledge and cultural affiliation are incorporated into an object. The milking of reindeer is no longer practiced; nowadays, reindeer herding is solely concerned with the production of meat. But the artefact itself is associated with knowledge specific to the community. The visualisation and presentations of artefacts online show how certain objects are highlighted. This is true not only for the *náhppi*, but also for items like the Sámi knife or the shamanic drum.

Figure 1. *Screenshot of http://www.sameslojdstiftelsen.com, the website of the Sámi Handicraft Foundation in Sweden. The logo Sámi Duodji certifies the authenticity of artefacts produced in accordance with Sámi traditions.*

In many instances, storytelling is referred to as traditional and in Swedish this is often marked by the compound word *berättartradition* (storytelling tradition). One example can be found on the *Gulahalan* website (http://ww4. ur.se/gulahalan/), a site for language acquisition for the beginners of North Sámi. *Gulahalan* (i.e., "I make myself understood") is produced by the Sámi Educational Centre in Jokkmokk and the Swedish Broadcasting Company, and designed as a textbook, but includes ten recorded narratives that can be used to practice listening comprehension.

The authors of the website are teachers at the Sámi Educational Centre, a community-driven school with educational programmes in language, handicrafts, and reindeer herding. The site is produced in collaboration with the Swedish National Educational Broadcasting Company that has a mandate to produce and broadcast educational programmes and bears national responsibility for providing media in minority languages. Website

Figure 2. *Screenshot of the Gulahalan website (http://www4.ur.se/gulahalan/). The text in Swedish begins, "Traditional Sámi stories. The Sámi oral tradition has its roots way back in time", and this is followed by a recording of the story that the web visitor can listen to, information about its source, and a publication from 1928 by lappologist Just Knud Qvigstad (Qvigstad 1928). Two of the other stories are readings from Sámi Deavsttat (Turi 1931), one of the books by the storyteller and Sámi writer Johan Turi.*

visitors are primarily beginners of the Sámi language and the majority are very probably Sámi[12].

Another website, visitsapmi.com, mentions storytelling as something "in our genes", suggesting that it is a natural way to convey traditional knowledge.[13] This is a website of a tourism organisation operating in Sweden, Norway, Finland, and Russia, which is created and owned by the Swedish Reindeer Herders Association (SSR) in order to develop tourism based on ethical criteria that counter commercial exploitation. Owners of the organisation are reindeer herding communities and Sámi NGOs operating together with the South Sápmi Information Centre, *Gaaltije*. The SSR and *Gaaltije* are also the institutions that run the website. It addresses tourists and prospective tourists as well as other tourist organisations.

Figure 3. Screenshot of the site www.visitsapmi.com, saying: "Telling stories by the fireplace is in our genes. It is also a natural way to convey traditional knowledge. Come and acquaint yourself with our knowledge and our fun stories."[14]

Food is another example of a notion that co-occurs with 'tradition' and 'traditional', i.e., it is another practice that is labelled as a tradition. There are an increasing number of projects related to cultural culinary practices, and a cooking trend can be observed in numerous television programmes. In an

international context, this can be illustrated by projects such as *Slow food*, a non-profit member-supported organisation[15]. In a Swedish context, *Renlycka* ("reindeer luck", i.e., success in reindeer herding) is a project that encourages and promotes the production of Sámi primary products (such as reindeer meat) and emphasises the deep traditions of processing reindeer meat. All of this is described in detail on the website.

The *Renlycka* project is owned by the SSR. According to the website, the quality seal *Renlycka* "signifies that exceptional quality can only be gained through a deep-rooted knowledge of reindeer herding and a unique understanding of nature, human and culture".[16] The website is currently run by the project owner, the SSR. It addresses not only consumers interested in reindeer meat and other food products, but also food-processing companies and people interested in slow food movements.

Figure 4. Screenshot of Renlycka.se, saying: "Reindeer meat from freely grazing animals, produced with a feeling for taste, quality and cultural heritage, is Renlycka. Renlycka stands for: Sami origin; credibility; care for animals and nature; pure taste experience." Reference to tradition is stated at the beginning of the text below the picture: "The issue of quality in the reindeer meat industry is extremely important considering the nature of the product as artisanal with deep traditions and its ethnical relation to the Sámi." [17]

Traditional cuisine is also one of the categories in a recent competition – *Sápmi awards* – initiated by the municipality of Jokkmokk as "an investment to praise the Sámi culture and traditions that enrich the region".[18] The competition contributes to the traditionalisation of practices in the categories of culinary art, music, reindeer herding, and handicrafts (art and design).

Due to the lack of a specific definition for its use, the concept of tradition functions as an umbrella term for different categories of practices or artefacts. Handicraft is a practice associated with local traditions, and its status is emphasised and confirmed by the official label *Sámi duodji* by the Sámi Handicraft Foundation (*Sameslöjdstiftelsen*), which certifies the authenticity of artefacts created in line with Sámi traditional methods. As for storytelling, we know about its variations and can estimate how much it has changed over time (e.g., Cocq 2008; Toelken 1996). Legends and tales, as well as the art of storytelling itself as an oral practice, are inherently associated with Sámi traditions. The labelling of specific cuisine as a traditional practice is based on assumptions, and the reindeer is often associated with Sámi ethnic identity. The animal and its herding establish a link to culinary practices. However, not all Sámi are herders; actually only a minority of all the Sámi are engaged in reindeer herding today, and many Sámi communities do not live on herding. It might, therefore, be easy to associate reindeer meat with Sámi ethnicity, but this association is often more symbolic than an indication of current practice.

The ways that the concept of tradition is employed in cultural programmes, documents, and reports from Sámi cultural agencies and officials provide additional information about contemporary uses of the term in cultural and political contexts. This reading allows us to understand "the broader contexts that reveal what a particular group considers 'traditional'" (Mould 2005: 290).

One example of such documents is the programme of activities for the winter market in Jokkmokk, a major annual event in Sápmi. Twenty to forty thousand people, both from Sápmi and from far away, gather in the small town of Jokkmokk in the north of Sweden on the first weekend of every February. The outdoor market is not only an opportunity for buying supplies and handicrafts, but also a meeting place. Cultural as well as social events take place during the week.[19] The selection of activities that were presented in the programme for the 2012 market indicated an interest in food, storytelling, music, and handicraft, all of which were labelled as 'traditional'. These topics appeared during each day of the seven-day calendar of activities.

In the report for its plan of activities for the year 2011, the Sámi Parliament of Sweden identified the promotion of traditional knowledge as one area of concern in the work of the parliament (Sametinget 2011: 2). "Traditional knowledge" was employed in the singular, and the report did not state what it included. In

the report on cultural policy, the parliament defined traditional knowledge in relation to a way of life "close to nature" as a marker of identity. Other markers were *duodji*, language, and kinship (Sametinget n.d.: 5). The definition of culture is based on UNESCO's universal declaration on cultural diversity – a definition that includes traditions (Sametinget 2010; UNESCO 2001).

In a specific report about traditional knowledge, the parliament chose to call this form of knowledge by the North Sámi term *árbediehtu* (heritage knowledge). The word *árbi* (heritage) stresses the relation to the past and the continuity of the specific form of knowledge that is being discussed, as well as to the mode of transmission of the knowledge from generation to generation (Nordin-Jonsson 2010; Utsi 2007).

Several other projects financed by national institutions and officials are concerned with Sámi tradition(s), for instance, traditional knowledge about dancing that aims to reveal the "proof of a Sámi dancing tradition" (Stålnert 2011). The Swedish Sámi museum *Ájtte* has undertaken projects concerning traditional knowledge in Laponia (financed by NAPTEK[20] and the Sámi Parliament) and the protection of Sámi cultural heritage and cultural traditions (Ájtte 2008). Another example of a project concerned with traditional knowledge was undertaken in 2008 by the SSR called "Mapping the Sámi Cultural Landscape" (SSR n.d.).

These examples illustrate in what ways the term 'tradition' is employed in specific Sámi contexts and what is associated with the concept. It is, to a great extent, used in correlation to cultural aspects for the purpose of emphasising continuity. Reindeer herding, *duodji*, storytelling, and knowledge are all such aspects of the concept of tradition and have emerged as essential parts of the Sámi culture that has remained stable over time.

As Mould (2005: 257) emphasises, researchers need to distinguish these "conscious and explicit efforts of traditionalisation from inherent or implicit factors that feed or reinforce a tradition". The following sections focus on these implicit factors and processes and their consequences.

TRADITIONALISATION OF PRACTICES: NEGOTIATION OF IDENTITIES AND GLOBALISATION

The urge to refer to and define traditions and traditional practices is not a new phenomenon. References to traditions can be traced in legends when explaining the origin of some practices. For instance, medical and *noaidi* (shamanic) knowledge, *yoik* (narrative Sámi singing), and skills in reindeer herding are said to have been passed on to the Sámi by the invisible beings called *ulddat* (e.g., Turi 2010 [1910]). This explicit linking of indigenous knowledge to ancestral

practices of supernatural origin validates current practices. The uses of, and references to, ancient practices in new settings have been studied in previous research, for example, in discussing performative arenas such as food (e.g., Pico Larsen 2011; Schram 2010), sports (e.g., Hafstein 2009), handicrafts (e.g., Hyltén-Cavallius 2007), and songs (e.g., Kuutma 2006).

In a similar vein to Bronner's (1998, 2011) research about the rationalisation of traditions "into a coherent identity" (Bronner 1998: 1), I here attempt to scrutinise how heterogeneous Sámi traditions are organised "into a coherent identity".

It should not be surprising to see such a use of the concept of tradition in Sámi revitalisation initiatives. In this specific context, efforts for building a sustainable future legitimate the references to something that has always existed, or that might have been erased or forgotten, but used to be part of a genuine culture. An emphasis on the stability of traditions underscored by Noyes (2009) contributes to the strengthening of Sámi culture and identity. Traditionalisation has implications for identity management, and engaging in traditional Sámi practices means engaging with core cultural values (cf. Jackson 2008). Beyond ethnicity, knowledge of 'traditions' and skills in traditional practices are essential to the recognition of community membership. In addition, the official status of tradition (e.g., by UNESCO[21]) entails the protection of practices on both national and international levels. Moreover, issues of ownership associated with a specific group are brought up when discussing the origin and genuineness of traditional practices. In other words, traditionalisation ensures the future of these practices and gives them stability.

The results presented here indicate that the process of identity management currently occurring in Sápmi follows certain tendencies and movements that can be observed elsewhere. For example, storytelling and food have been emphasised in previous research as cultural and/or regional traditions in various contexts (cf., for instance, Sobol 1999; Cruikshank 1998; Leitch 2003). Globalisation is another force that contributes to a global discourse that is not about homogenisation but is rather "a way of organizing heterogeneity" (Eriksen 2007: 10). Globalisation contributes to the processes of traditionalisation through the emphasis of uniqueness, and is a global discourse "that entails a great number of formal commonalities between ethnic groups struggling for recognition" (Eriksen 2007: 65). This emerges, for example, with the issues of "cultural heritage" and "shared customs" (ibid.). At the international level, globalisation is illustrated by UNESCO's Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage. At the community level, the same efforts are enacted in the articulation of "the traditional".

The context in which traditions are (re)defined is another essential element for understanding the underlying processes and forces of traditionalisation (cf. Anttonen 2005). An international discourse of cultural heritage provides authenticating strategies that can be applied on the local level. What today are considered valuable traditions in need of protection, or whose ownership is in debate, were perceived barely as forms of expressive culture or valuable traditions in Sápmi 100 years ago. The Sámi *yoik*, for instance, was a form of singing that was stigmatised and forbidden. Food is another tradition, the value of which has been acknowledged only recently. Through the framework of the UNESCO convention, cultural heritage has grown in importance and has become a strong argument for the revitalisation process. It legitimises a claim of authenticity and argues for the power of a cultural past.

TRADITIONALISATION THROUGH INSTITUTIONALISATION: AUTHORITY AND AUTHORISATION

The (re)definition of tradition(s) is significant for every cultural or ethnic group, but it might be even more essential for minority and indigenous people who have had to struggle to maintain their cultural traits through processes of assimilation by majority groups and governments. The meaning of the concept of tradition in indigenous contexts has been approached in previous research:

> Tradition has a liberating valence in many decolonizing, indigenous, and post-Soviet societies subjected to disruptive modernizing regimes and the stigma of backwardness. In reaction to a perceived detraditionalization, new regimes will institute 'oral literature' in the curriculum, undertake active revivals that bring about a charismatic and sometimes traumatic return of presumably repressed tradition, restructure legal systems according to 'custom', reconstruct epics as the basis of national unity, and once again set out to purify traditions of foreign influences, as if romantic nationalism had never been challenged. (Noyes 2009: 242)

Similarities with what Noyes observes here can be found in the contemporary Sámi context. Among the 'new regimes' are Sámi officials whose efforts to articulate the continuity of 'traditional' practices might endanger variations and heterogeneity. Traditionalisation is enacted through the institutionalisation of 'traditional' practices.

Through the process of institutionalisation, practices can be turned into objects; this process materialises aspects of culture and behaviour into commodities that can be protected and owned. As Noyes emphasises, tradition

can become "an object of veneration in its own right, a monument of cultural identity; its form, 'protected' from decay and corruption, becomes frozen in time" (Noyes 2009: 246–247).

The quest for tradition in indigenous contexts on the one hand, and the objectification of practices on the other hand, reveals a tension and a paradox between the vernacular and the institutional. The phenomenon identified by Noyes appears to be something that contemporary Sámi initiatives strive to challenge and counteract. Symbols of identities are articulated as practices based on specific enacted knowledge such as herding, sewing a *gákti*, or creating a piece of *duodji*.

While folk practices are empirically and practically based, they can evolve into symbols of identity within and outside a group, just as the *gákti* is more than just a piece of clothing today. On an institutional level, practices become the criteria for defining ethnic identity and issues of ownership (cf. Comaroff & Comaroff 2009; Kuutma 2006; Mathisen & Pertti 2000). As Consultant 3 observed, these criteria can also be heard in public discourses through statements about the way that a *gákti* is "supposed to be". In practice, a strong attachment to tradition is a requirement for possible negotiations for renewal.

The political claims behind the use and labelling of traditions and traditional practices cannot be ignored. As mentioned above, contemporary Swedish minority politics emphasises the traditional in a broad sense. Expressive culture is a form of 'otherness' that is easy to tolerate in comparison to other differences, such as different religious beliefs and practices (Blommaert & Verschueren 1998). This is an aspect that minority groups have been eager to take advantage of, and in the Sámi case this has focused on culinary practices and handicrafts. Moreover, defining traditions and traditional practices is a way for a group to take control over the production of knowledge about their own history. Community-based traditionalisation can, therefore, constitute an empowerment strategy (cf. Servaes 1999; White 2004: 20).

The issue of empowerment needs to be understood in light of the identification of the agents and forces behind revitalisation. As Bronner (2011) points out, the examples of practices that are identified as "traditional" need to be understood in terms of authority and control:

> These examples remind us of the negotiation inherent when traditions are enacted, including the questions of who dictates which traditions will be followed, how they will be followed, how traditions may be discouraged or even proscribed by external forces (i.e., authority), and how traditions are adapted by their participants (i.e., control). (Bronner 2011: 136)

The network of driving forces behind the process of redefinition of the meaning of tradition is intricate. Although this study is based on websites produced by, or in collaboration with, Sámi officials and institutions, the dynamics of production are complex. Representatives of officials, the media, and private initiatives are interwoven in the articulation of the traditional that results in a coherent and concordant discourse (cf. Howard 2008).

The issue of authority stands in relation to the issue of responsibility and entitlement when we study the articulation of traditional practices. Noyes underscores the importance of responsibility in the transfer of tradition: "[R]esponsibility is assumed toward both past and future as personified in particular individuals. The receiver must respect, but the giver must let go" (Noyes 2009: 248). Previous research also reminds us of the distribution of responsibility. The question of who is entitled to tell a story, perform traditional practices, or convey traditional knowledge (cf. Briggs 1988; Shuman 2010) still needs to be further investigated in a Sámi context. The role of the media and politicians appears central, for instance, for the implementation of the North Sámi term *árbediehtu* (traditional knowledge), a term that has recently been actualised by the Sámi Parliament (Sametinget 2010).

A DOUBLE-EDGED PROCESS

The approach to the concept of 'tradition' in Sámi contemporary discourse that has been described in this work allows us to identify some of the processes and forces involved in deciding which practices are labelled as traditions. This study indicates that a quest for tradition is in negotiation with the heterogeneity of Sámi identities and that this is reinforced and enacted by globalisation processes.

The selected data in this study were produced by Sámi institutions and officials, but the 'traditional' practices that these discourses refer to are vernacular in their origin. The emergence of such expressions through official conduits contributes to traditionalisation by reinforcing the authoritative quality of 'tradition'.

In the examples discussed in this article, Sámi self-representation delivers a one-sided picture, whereas the variation in *duodji* and traditional knowledge is infinite. My call for cautiousness when approaching representations of traditions does not question the importance of these elements for Sámi culture through time, nor does it question their significance today. Instead, such an approach encourages reflection upon changes to the nature of their importance

in relation to contemporary social and political contexts and bears in mind the possibilities for exclusion in the processes discussed above.

Based on these contemporary Sámi examples and on a discussion of the explicit goals and implicit consequences of traditionalisation, this study shows how the labelling of practices as 'tradition' acts on two levels. First, it acts by including, i.e., it creates a sense of belonging to a community. However, the second way of acting is exclusionary, i.e., the process dictates the normative aspect of 'tradition'. It creates not only an insider/outsider dichotomy, but also a boundary between those in the community who possess knowledge of the practices and those who do not. Thus, traditionalisation is a double-edged process. Due to the normative implications of the concept of tradition, attempts to contribute to cultural production and revitalisation might, in fact, counteract the same efforts.

By examining the emic applications of the concept, this study emphasises the processual and consequential aspects of 'tradition'. It problematises explicit practices and discusses implicit factors behind traditionalisation within the specific case of the Sámi in Sweden in a contemporary context. Similar issues are under debate in other minority and indigenous communities, and my hope is to contribute with this study to a critical understanding of the applications and effects of traditionalisation.

NOTES

[1] In the Swedish Sámi Parliament act, "Sámi" refers to an individual who has or has had Sámi as the language at home, or who has or has had a parent, grandparent, or great-grandparent who had Sámi as the language at home (Sámi Parliament Act 1992: 1433). Equivalent definitions have been enacted in Norwegian and Finnish legislations.

[2] The survey, distributed electronically among users of Sámi-produced websites, asked about expectations and experiences in relation to explicit goals expressed in minority politics, such as visibility, identity, representation, and transmission of traditions. Regarding the main expectations that the users of Sámi websites have for sites for children, 39% (the highest percentage) chose the option "to convey culture and traditions" followed by "entertainment" and "language acquisition", both with 26.8% of the respondents. Another question in the survey asked the users to evaluate to what degree the websites succeeded in their explicit goals. To the statement that the Sámi websites succeeded in "conveying Sámi traditions", 69.8% selected the options "to some extent" or "to a lesser extent". The high number of skeptical answers to this question indicates that the Internet's ability to contribute to the continuity of traditions has yet to be proven. The survey was conducted in February and March of 2011.

[3] Interviews were conducted in order to include the perspective of content producers and cultural workers. The main focus was not on "the traditional", but the topic came up in discussion in six of the interviews. Although this sample might be too small for valid conclusions, it provides us with valuable comments from members of the Sámi community.

[4] The term "consultant" (cf. Peoples & Bailey 2011: 102) emphasises the reciprocity of the relationship between the researcher and the interviewee.

[5] Author's translation (from Swedish).

[6] The selected websites are in Swedish, North Sámi, and Lule Sámi.

[7] For instance, http://www.eng.samer.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=1094, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[8] http://www.eng.samer.se/servlet/GetDoc?meta_id=1094, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[9] For instance, http://www.samer.se/1077, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[10] E.g., *Bevarande av det samiska kulturarvet*, Ájtte 2008, Duoddaris 24.

[11] http://www.visitsapmi.com/en/Facts/Way-of-life/Arts--Crafts/Tradition-and-development-at-the-same-time/, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[12] The majority of students at Sámi language courses are of Sámi origin. However, a more precise estimation about the web visitors would require more extensive user data.

[13] http://www.visitsapmi.com/sv/Bild--och-filmgalleri/Bilder/Sapmi-Nation/Manniskorna-i-Sapmi/Har-du-hort-att/, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[14] Author's translation.

[15] http://www.slowfood.com/, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[16] http://www.renlycka.se/renlycka_pres_eng_utskr.pdf , last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[17] Author's translation. For more information about the project in English, see http://www.renlycka.se/renlycka_pres_eng_utskr.pdf, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[18] http://www.sapmiawards.com/en/about-sapmi-awards/, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[19] For further information about the programme, see http://www.jokkmokksmarknad.se/, last accessed on January 27, 2014.

[20] National programme on local and traditional knowledge concerning the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity.

[21] UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

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FROM BASTIONS OF JUSTICE TO SITES OF ADVENTURE

Grete Swensen

Abstract: A continuous discussion of which perspectives to include and which to exclude characterises the definition of cultural heritage. After Norway's new Prison Act had been introduced in 1857, the foremost architects in the country were engaged when the decision was made to build a series of regional prisons. Today some of these former bastions of justice need to be accorded new functions. The discussion here is based on an examination of two former prisons that have been turned into cultural institutions. It is a contemporary study primarily based on observations and photographic documentation, supplemented by information from local historical literature and informal conversations (interviews). The research questions are: What processes are put into effect if buildings erected to ensure punishment are regarded as cultural heritage, and what processes of selection of relevant stories take place? Focus is put on how and why certain aspects of the past are highlighted and others are silenced, and several factors are involved here. Ignoring certain elements can be a way to protect individuals from exposure and recognition on purely ethical grounds, but it can also be a way of excluding historical events that do not correspond very well with the new cultural profile.

Keywords: culture industries, dissonant heritage, heritage tourism, historical monuments, memory sites, prison architecture

INTRODUCTION

A common mantra in present-day heritage management is preservation through adaptive reuse, and a sub-chapter in the latest White Paper on cultural heritage policy is titled 'Protection, Use and Development' (Meld. St. 35: 41). Yet, what happens to buildings when they have to be adjusted to meet today's needs? Not only is there a series of building regulations to be adhered to, but changes and adjustments have to be made to accommodate the new functions. As new features are added, former connotations disappear. Some of the prison buildings erected in the late nineteenth century were based on drawings by some of the leading architects of the period, and as former monuments of justice with high architectural value a number of these buildings are listed. Cultural and recreational activities in various forms are functions well suited for this type

of buildings. Culture is used as a strategy to rejuvenate city centres and is an instrument for economic development (Throsby 2001; Freestone & Gibson 2006; Evans 2009). In these processes heritage is assigned a new role, and old monumental buildings requiring a new use can serve new cultural purposes. This is an international trend, and examples of old prison buildings adapted for new uses can be found in several cities (see, e. g., Taylor 1994; Flynn 2011).

The purpose of this paper is to look more closely into how the prison history is described and mediated in two former prison buildings in Norway. The motivations behind the present use of the buildings are various, ranging from the intention to stimulate new local cultural arenas and increase insight into local cultural history, to serving solely commercial ends. The prisons in focus belong to a group that were erected as a result of the Prison Act of 1857, after which it was decided that 56 regional prisons should be built across the country (Kjus 2010). It was necessary to limit the analysis to a smaller group of buildings and therefore the ones included in the study have a common feature: they went out of active use as prisons when reforms were introduced in the criminal justice system. They were either sold to private owners or taken over by the municipality.

The two former prisons that are examined here are situated in medium-sized towns where they have been converted into cultural centres. The article is a contemporary study based primarily on observations and photographic documentation. I employ a critical visual approach, whereby particular attention is paid to the social conditions and effects of visual objects (Rose 2007 [2001]: 12). These sources are supplemented by information from local historical literature and informal conversations (interviews) with people involved in the present operation of cultural institutions. The following questions are raised: Which processes are put into effect when buildings erected to ensure punishment are regarded as cultural heritage? Which processes of selection (inclusion/exclusion) are taking place in terms of relevant stories? Focus is put on how and why certain aspects of the past are highlighted whereas others are silenced.

RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

Buildings can be studied from a series of angles. Here they will be read in terms of social relations. Their forms provide answers to questions of power, order, classification and function (Foucault 1991 [1977]; Markus 1993). Where prisons are concerned, the purposes of control and discipline are underlined in the choice of architectural form and layout. It is important to stress, however, that this is not a study of the historic buildings as such, but rather a study of the process of turning a particular class of buildings into cultural heritage (see

also Swensen 2012). Cultural heritage is here defined as 'contemporary use of the past' (Graham & Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000: 2). In the process of defining the assets worthy of safeguarding as cultural heritage for the future, a series of conscious or unconscious decisions are made. In the process, certain features can be highlighted and others erased. Rather than relating to history as such, heritage, according to Kirschenblatt-Gimblett, can be viewed as a mode of cultural production that uses the past actively to produce something new, being regarded as 'a mode of cultural production (that) adds value to the outmoded by making it into an exhibition of itself' (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 2012: 199). Choices involving inclusion and exclusion of relevant history cause disagreement in a number of heritage cases, or elements of what Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) have named 'dissonant heritage' – a concept that stresses a lack of agreement and consistency. Some locations have been difficult to recognise as part of a national or local community's heritage because they represent particular painful or shameful episodes. Prisons belong to a type of heritage that has been labelled 'difficult heritage' (Logan & Reeves 2009) or 'contested heritage' (Flynn 2011) and encompasses massacre and genocide sites and prisoner-of-war sites. Civil and political prisons and lunatic asylums are also included (Tomlinson 1984; Edginton 1997; Al-Hosany & Elkadi 2002; Strange & Kempa 2003; Rosenthal 2008; Stone & Sharpley 2008; Flynn 2011). Sharon Macdonald writes about 'unsettling memories', when she refers to the controversy over turning a major Nazi building into a shopping centre (Macdonald 2009). In the interpretation of heritage sites it is important to determine the aspects of the past that are being ignored or poorly represented.

Urry (1990) was among the first researchers to spot the trend towards a market where a combination of tourism and heritage manifested itself. He suggested that a transformation in production and consumption patterns had resulted in a convergence between tourism and heritage activities. The tourism market became more diversified. More tourists turned away from package holidays to more sophisticated breaks, in which exclusivity, differentiation and unique personal experiences became the norms. The Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (the Faro Convention) can be seen as a major step to promote a wider understanding of heritage and its relationship to community, society and nation, and it is a result of efforts laid down during recent years to reach an agreement around a more inclusive heritage notion (Council of Europe 2008: 7). The text presents heritage both as a resource for human development, the enhancement of cultural diversity and the promotion of intercultural dialogue, and as part of an economic development model based on the principles of sustainable resource use. A range of places, sites and institutions are connected to painful periods in history. When Logan and Reeves (2009) raise the question what drives the growing world interest

in places of past pain, shame, humiliation and the macabre, they base it on the observation that 'atrocity tourism' is booming. This point led Ashworth and Hartmann (2005) to revisit and take a closer look at the management of atrocity sites for tourism. The simple fact that the number of tourists who chose to visit sites and memorials of atrocity is increasing, led them to direct attention to the motives that lie behind this trend. The main reasons that they indicate are the curiosity argument, the empathy argument and the horror argument (Ashworth & Hartmann 2005).

A useful concept for a further analysis of the creation of meaning and mediation of history, which takes place when buildings step into new contexts, is 'silence'. Winter describes silence as 'a socially constructed space in which and about which subjects and words normally used in everyday life are not spoken' (Winter 2010: 4). The circle around the silent space is drawn by a group of people that at a given time find it appropriate to distinguish between what can be said and the unmentionable. "Such people codify and enforce norms which reinforce the injunction against breaking into the inner space of the circle of silence" (Winter 2010: 4). Perspectives around 'the silent' have been used in discussions concerning atrocities and ethnic cleansing, to which larger social and ethnic groups have been exposed, chapters of history that fairly recently have given rise to new memorial museums and sites that aim to 'fight the forgetful future', as Paul Williams has put it (2007: 181; see also Deacon 2004). The present article argues whether silencing is relevant as to how the history of prisons is mediated.

The selection of cultural heritage for protection is built on a series of arguments. In the further presentation of processes that take place when institutions built for punishment are redefined to become cultural institutions, special attention will be paid to the visual dimension. Visualisation, aestheticisation and 'the power of the eye' are dimensions that have been widely discussed in connection with modernity, post-modernity and urbanism. It has been pointed out that a marked border has gradually been formed between the visual and its material context, which has resulted in the abstraction of the observable world (Gregory 1994: 404; Lefebvre 1991 [1974]: 361ff.; Mordue 2010: 172ff.; Sturken & Cartwright 2009 [2001]: 460).

> Cultural practices like visual representations both depend on and produce social inclusions and exclusions, and a critical account needs to address both those practices and their cultural meanings and effects. (Rose 2007: 12)

Related topics are discussed by Sarah Pink (2009) when she reflects on what is involved in sensory ethnography. These dimensions are relevant in the present

context and will be discussed in relation to the history of prisons as they are redefined as cultural heritage. An outside observer would weigh different elements of history differently from people with local insight or lived experience.

REUSE AND REDEFINE: THE CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY OF TWO OLD PRISON BUILDINGS

In the following, the history of each prison is briefly presented from the point of view of a cultural biographical approach. This approach was first presented by social anthropologist Kopytoff (1986: 64) and later on elaborated in a study of a group of historic buildings (Swensen 1997). The biographical approach constitutes a description of the different phases through which a building passes (see also Brand 1994). The first phase of a building's biography is when it is newly built and fulfils its function adequately. Gradually it becomes outdated and needs to be adjusted and modernised to be able to serve its intended purpose (phase 2). Some buildings are subsequently considered unsuitable for their intended purpose and gradually become empty (phase 3). Many buildings are taken down in this phase, but some are left unattended and derelict. As time passes, a few of these old buildings change character. Although they are still generally


Figure 1. *The 56 regional prisons established in Norway after 1857. The map, which is based on historical information provided by Kjus (2010), illustrates where the 56 regional prisons were established. The two prisons examined in the study are highlighted. Map production: NIKU.*
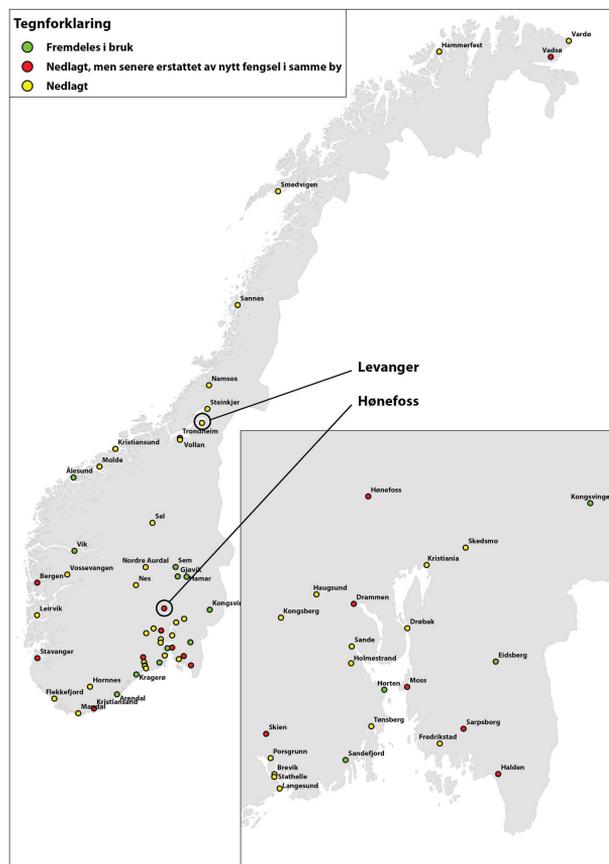
considered useless by the majority, experts and idealists might assess the cultural historic value of such buildings by means of the criteria used by antiquarians, such as representativity, uniqueness, outstanding architecture, symbolic or social value, etc. Buildings enter a stage where they are considered to possess a long-lasting value as cultural heritage (phase 4). The biographical approach will now be used to describe two former prisons currently in use as cultural institutions.

The old Hønefoss prison (Stiftelsen Fengselet) is situated in the centre of Hønefoss, a small town approximately 60 km north of Oslo. It was built in 1862 and was one of the three prisons established in Buskerud County (phase 1). All three were based on the design of the same architect, Henrik Thrap-Meyer. When the Hønefoss prison opened in 1864, it held 14 cells, including two at the police disposal. It was a complex built entirely of wood and consisted of several buildings, exercise yards, and a large yard and garden enclosed by a wooden fence. The front building occupied one and a half storeys and the main prison building, in which the cells were situated, consisted of two full storeys. The southern part of the front building housed the courtroom and the rest of the space comprised a large flat for the caretaker. An outhouse in the northern part of the complex also held a cell for drunkards (Drange 2001) (phase 2). In 1999, the building was closed down as a prison and sold off cheaply to the municipality. For a while, the prison complex was supposed to be sold and new buildings erected in the garden (phase 3). The gradual decay of the impressive building complex, however, worried people with an interest in local history and the cultural heritage management at the regional level. They received unexpected help from the regional bank manager, who shared their concern that one of the town's remarkable buildings could be lost unless drastic action was taken. He managed to convince the regional bank to step in. At this stage cultural heritage management designated the complex for preservation through the Norwegian Cultural Heritage Act, and the restoration work started (phase 4). When Hønefoss celebrated its 150th jubilee in 2002, the regional bank decided to gift the building to the people for use as a cultural institution.

The old Levanger prison (Galleri Fenka) was built in brick in 1897, from a technical drawing by recognised architects Schirmer and von Hanno (phase 1) (Schirmer & von Hanno 1859; Hamran 1962). It was erected on the site of an old prison that was burnt down in one of the fires that struck the town of Levanger. A few years later (1900), a fire station was built on a neighbouring site. The prison had four cells on the ground floor, a caretaker's flat and a drunkards' cell in the basement. The courtroom was on the first floor, which also functioned as a municipal council hall until 1956 (phase 2). The building closed as a prison that same year, after which it was used as the town library. When the library

Figure 2. *Stiftelsen Fengselet, Hønefoss. The photos show clockwise an overview of the former prison complex including the yards, which are now surrounded by the town park, a specially designed notice board, a restaurant, and a restored prison cell. Photos: NIKU.*

moved out in 1987, the building was used as a youth club for a while, but when all the activities terminated in 1999, it fell in disuse (phase 3). The building was mentioned in the county cultural heritage preservation plan in 1988. It was included in the town regulation plan from 1993 and gained status as a listed building according to the Norwegian Plan and Building Act. The planners in the municipality were worried about the increasing decay of the building and

estimated in 2003 that it would cost more than 2.1 million Norwegian kroner (262,500 Euros) to rehabilitate it. Limited municipal resources mean, however, that this sort of need is not given priority. When two glass artists showed interest in turning the old prison into an art gallery, they were offered the prison for a reasonable sum (phase 4). Apart from a minor grant, the rehabilitation, which lasted for two years, has been financed by the artists. The new gallery opened in 2008 (Fenka 2008; Levanger Historielag 2011). As pointed out by other researchers, it is not unusual for artists to make use of such sites for their exhibitions (DeSilvey 2010).

Figure 3. Galleri Fenka, Levanger. The photos show clockwise the exterior of Galleri Fenka in Levanger, the former court room on the first floor, the stairway on the first floor and the former cell for drunkards in the basement. Photos: NIKU.

DISCUSSION: VARIOUS WAYS OF MEDIATING DIFFICULT HISTORY

In the light of the cultural biography of the two former prisons, I will now proceed to discuss the processes of selection that are taking place when buildings enter into phase 4. What happens when former prison buildings are being transformed to cultural heritage is exemplified by processes of inclusion and exclusion of relevant stories. Independent of the degree of formalised protection, the future use is based on some other criteria as well, such as 'finding an argument for further life', that is, finding alternative uses that do not conflict with restrictions imposed by protection orders.

A building's history can be used in various ways as a platform to create new images. Following Schudson (1995; cited in Benton & Cecil 2010) and his four elements of memory production (distancing, instrumentality, narration, cognition), I will show how the two cultural institutions apply distancing, instrumentality and narration to build a profile. Similarities occur in the way that fragments from the old buildings are lifted out, aestheticised and redefined as symbols.

Distancing is a way of creating forms of adventure and it contrasts the original form and function with those of today. It can be achieved both through playing with forms in the exterior and interior and by making use of the way in which the functions have changed. Stiftelsen Fengslet in Hønefoss offers several relevant examples. The information board outside the main entrance conjures up associations as a functional sculpture constructed of iron bars like those used in front of the windows of the prison cells. Another example is the restaurant. The former caretaker's flat has been turned into an attractive restaurant, *Brasseriet*. The name signifies that this is a modern, urban place in which to eat out with friends. The door to the restaurant functions in the same way. Immediately after entering the original main door to Fengselet, one's attention is drawn to the right, where *Brasseriet* can be seen behind a double glass door. Here the guests sit inside the restaurant in an attractive and modern interior. There are no direct references to the original function of the building at this stage. But what is gained is a contrasting effect achieved through simplification and aestheticisation: a comparison of *the delicious and tasteful* (aromatic, atmospheric, clean) with a past that can be perceived as *nasty and revolting* (dirty, smelly, immoral). How cultural remembrance might be practised and performed in a place confronted with its own threatening cessation has also interested others (see, e.g., DeSilvey 2010: 496). The factor with the most distancing effect in Galleri Fenka in Levanger is the distinctive, bright colours, such as white and red on the windows, doors, and staircases, which contrast with the solid brick walls and the heavy iron gate leading to the

former prison yard. It succeeds in creating a happy and inviting atmosphere. The simple and attractive furniture on the second floor enhances the appearance of the large hall, which is now used as a gallery as well as a conference venue and concert-hall.

Instrumentalisation is used in a positive sense here, to describe how these buildings can be used to provide new cultural meeting places or to house different commercial businesses like hotels and restaurants. In both Hønefoss and Levanger there are examples showing the use of original building elements as key symbols. The heavy cell doors with their locks and hatches have a particularly strong mediating effect. In Galleri Fenka only some of the original cell doors have survived, and some of the locks are missing. The doors have been rejuvenated, however, and stand out in contrast to the whitewashed and newly chalked walls, black-tiled floors and red mouldings. Some windows still have the iron bars intact. The former cells are today filled with art. Stiftelsen Fengselet occupies a full block in the town centre, and the area functions as a busy park that people pass through on their way through town. After the property changed ownership, the building complex was designated for preservation through the Norwegian Cultural Heritage Act and now any maintenance or rehabilitation work has to be done in consultation with the Norwegian Cultural Heritage Directorate (Riksantikvaren). As it is a listed building, originality and authenticity play a central role. The tendencies towards aestheticisation described earlier represent a pitfall in this respect. Since authenticity as practised in restoration work is restricted to issues concerning the material structure, images of darkness, overcrowding, and smell are not – for obvious reasons – included. Museums, however, can work with a broader scale of instruments to mediate a message. The building's exterior was repainted in white and grey as early as 1913, but at present restoration work is being done to recover the original shade of the yellow exterior. Restoration work inside has ensured that the cell corridors have retained their original stark and hostile character intact. Recently a cell has been reconstructed after the original pattern, the bed and the desk locked to the wall to retain authenticity. A culture director manages Fengselet today, and its various cultural activities, such as art exhibitions and concerts, as well as the restaurant, suggest that it represents an important institution. The courtroom with its fixed decorative banister gives special character to its use as an intimate concert hall and for larger concerts in the summer one of the outside exercise yards is used. Former cells function as exhibition halls and workshops for various artists.

Narrative styling describes activities that in more or less eclectic ways make use of a selection of facts to create new stories. History functions to attract attention and create excitement. Name-giving to the new functions and activities

exemplifies ways of using history for various forms of profit. The names are emptied of their original content and supplied with new and positive associations, including humour. In Hønefoss an annual concert named Jailhouse Rock draws at least 400 visitors at each performance. The park called the Prison Garden is kept in excellent condition by the local Garden Society, and a fund named Celledeling (Cell Sharing) has been established to encourage young musical talents in the district. Elements of the prison's history are presented in a brochure available via the Internet, and there is a chapter about the prison in the town history published for the town's jubilee. The slogan used by the owners of Galleri Fenka in their information brochures also plays on the word *fengslende*, which refers to imprisonment as well as to something striking or catching.

A fourth dimension, *recognition and empathy*, has not been discussed in relation to this presentation, because it is not present to any real degree in the two cases under discussion. It is, however, known elsewhere, where artists have cooperated with cultural institutions to consciously mediate the sense of alienation that imprisonment confers (see Swensen 2013). One should ask, however, whether recognition and empathy *should* be present. None of the sites tell the story of any of the many former prisoners or their guards. Are the new custodians obliged to tell their stories, the consequences of their crimes and their punishment? Prisons would seem to be prime settings for local and public history. It is open for discussion whether our two case studies, which prioritise 'set pieces' and 'digestible' narratives, are wilfully complicit in 'memory distortion' (Schacter 1995).

Pragmatism no doubt strongly affects the way in which the buildings are presented: thorough discussions about what meanings and values to protect have to step aside for considerations regarding the functions that the buildings have potential to fill. They share this potential with a number of other buildings, such as railway stations, industrial halls, etc. However, the visual aspects – form and architecture – play an important role as concerns prisons built in the late nineteenth century, in which well-known architects have been involved. They partly reflect an improved procedure in terms of heritage management, whereby much weight is put on architectural history, but are also a symptom of the self-evident role that aesthetics has gained in post-modernity. An urgent question is whether this is a case of a conscious or unconscious imposition of silence around the problematic parts of prison history if it is the building's form and architecture that set the terms. The first three mediating techniques that signify the cultural institutions' place in the urban setting – distancing, instrumentalisation, and narrative styling – are all used to strengthen certain messages. When Jay Winter (2010: 4) emphasised that silence is about 'a socially

constructed silence', he underlined that it can be a result of a conscious strategy, in which several considerations have played a role. It can be used to hide and protect actors and individuals who have played a part in this history, as well as their relatives, from exposure and recognition; such ethical considerations have to be weighed against the gains that the new historical knowledge provides. Yet, we may also wonder if it is a result of a conscious exclusion of elements of history that do not sell very well if a building is used in branding efforts to revitalise towns. The technique of distancing presented earlier prescribes the exact amount of 'spice' and 'taste' to stimulate the senses, but that is where it stops. Nobody enjoys a meal, however tasty, if it is accompanied by the smell of sweat, fear, dirt and defecation that permeated nineteenth-century prisons. We are, in other words, in danger of 'domesticising' history (White 2003). Selection can be a result of a clearly controlled and conscious direction motivated by the possibility of selling cultural heritage as an attractive product on a competitive and exposed market. This was well illustrated by Lowenthal's work on nostalgia (1985) and Hewison's critical approaches to the consequences of the boom in the 'heritage industry' (1987). It can be interpreted as a strategy that succeeds in making 'difficult heritage' (Logan & Reeves 2009) more digestible by wrapping it up nicely. Then only certain aspects of a building's history are relevant, aspects that share characteristics with memory, as Assmann (2010: 43) describes it: "A memory that is intentionally and symbolically constructed is based on acts of selection and exclusion, neatly separating useful from not useful, relevant from irrelevant memories". The authorities in urban municipalities often regard culture as a relevant means to promote their profile and image, and share the opinion that various monumental buildings – for instance old prisons – have potential in terms of urban regeneration projects. Consequently, cultural heritage is constructed, "show-cased and turned into commercial products that are integrated into the fabric of central public spaces" (Mordue 2010: 172ff.).

CONCLUSION

The study of prisons as heritage has political implications. This is the case regardless of whether they are interpreted as memorials to crimes against the nation or minority groups (see, for instance, Deacon 2004), or as penal institutions, such as the two cases in this study. There is a difference between the histories that we as a nation are proud to portray and those of which we are ashamed. As the article has shown, this is also reflected in the particular material structures we want to classify as heritage. Examination of the messages derived from the studied prisons has revealed that, although their social

history and the painful memories in which they are steeped are not necessarily consciously under-communicated, they play only a minor role. What the visitors see is a too sanitised, commercially driven presentation of the inside of old prisons. These re-imagined sites occlude the voices of the people that once constituted the living element of the biographies of these buildings.

The prisons described in the article portray some of the most symbolic elements of prison architecture. The architecture is used as 'set pieces' for new performances; for example, an exciting backdrop to a restaurant or a setting for concerts or art exhibitions. There are several other former prisons in the country that serve the same purposes (Stavanger, Halden, Drøbak, Molde, Smedvigen i Kabelvåg). Even if they do not necessarily stress the building's original function to any considerable degree, they have succeeded in keeping their original architectural form intact, and the naming of new functions or activities in accordance with the building's former use as a penal institution means that parts of the history – and primarily architectural history – are kept alive. The considerable potential of such buildings to write new chapters of social and cultural history is still waiting to be tapped, however. At present, the stark social reality of imprisonment is more digestible when wrapped up and disguised.

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ABBREVIATIONS

NIKU - Norsk institutt for kulturminneforskning (Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research)

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'ON ELECTION DAY THE HUSBAND TIED HIS WIFE TO A TABLE LEG TO STOP HER FROM VOTING'[1]
POLITICAL NARRATIVES, GENDER AND ARCHIVED HERITAGE IN FINLAND

Pauliina Latvala

Abstract: This paper seeks to explore the relationship between gender and political narratives by drawing on autobiographical memoirs generated by way of a collection project called *Politics and Power Games*, which was organised by the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society in 2006–2007. The materials stored in the memory institution with a long history of collecting cultural heritage open up a terrain for experiences of political culture and traces of gendered political heritage as occurring in ordinary people's minds and narratives. By highlighting experiences of gender-based political culture, the article aims to show the importance of collecting and archiving political narratives as part of history culture and heritage. When writing to an archive, narrators participate in a dialogue not only between the present and the past but also between the personal and the public sphere.

Keywords: archive collections, autobiographical memoirs, cultural heritage, gender, history culture, oral history, political culture, political narratives

INTRODUCTION

Although masculine voices have traditionally predominated in the political arena, perceptions may nonetheless start to change upon closer examination of ordinary citizens' political memories. In Marianne Liljeström's terms (2004a; 2004b), politically hued life experiences can be situated in the contexts of gendered experiences. In this article, I aim to describe the narrativisation – understood as the way memories are turned into written stories – of day-to-day political culture, by examining gender representations in political narratives (for more on the concept of narrativisation, see Benton & Cecil 2010: 18; Schudson 1995: 348). The narrativisation of politics as part of the act of memorising is always bound to various contexts: the context of recollected time and its political culture, the context of the dialogue and the imagined receiver of the text, and

in this particular case the Folklore Archives as a national memory institution, researchers even in the future, and the context of the writer's personal life history. Furthermore, the context of political and cultural history with the myth of strong and politically active Finnish woman must be taken into consideration.

Finland was the third nation-state to grant women full political citizenship. Women from different social classes were also elected to the first parliament in 1907. Unlike in England and the United States, there was no widespread suffragette movement in Finland; instead, the rural populations and members of the recently urbanised working class simply made their right to vote more vocal (Sulkunen & Markkola 2009: 9; see also Sulkunen 1991: 70–73).

The abovementioned circumstances have all been combined in the creation of the enduring myth of the strong-willed Finnish woman. This is a notion that harks back not only to women's participation in hard toil alongside men, but also to their early right to vote in state elections and their active role in politics (Markkola 2002: 75). These circumstances have often been positively narrativised in our culture and viewed as proof of gender equality.

It is possible, however, to examine the background to women's early political rights from a slightly different angle. For example, Jaana Kuusipalo's dissertation (2011) on gendered political representation shows that the political rights accorded to women were not based on a belief in equality but rather in difference; in other words, women as citizens or even as politicians were seen as fundamentally different from their male counterparts. Modern citizenship with its social and political dimensions was seen as gendered, which therefore justified women's place in politics as 'mother citizens', those who would champion the causes of other women, children and the disadvantaged. This mindset brought relief to the men who needed to focus their attention on matters of state. Since the 1960s, these perceptions have been questioned thanks to the women's movement, but the path of women to higher offices within the political system did not take place overnight (Kuusipalo 2011).

Although women achieved equal status to men even in the highest echelons of political power already in the year 2000, with the election of a female president, I have not come across any research on how citizens from different political backgrounds feel about women's equality. My own research data does not provide an adequate answer to this question either. Nonetheless, the material allows a voice to those who still question gender equality.

The source materials of my research consist of the responses sent to one of the archive's national collection campaigns *Politics and Power Games*: *Oral History on Social Activity in Finland*. In the international context, as Ronald J. Grele (2007) stresses, oral history has been seen as a "conversational narrative created by the interaction of the interviewer and interviewee". Researchers in

Finland, however, often use the same term to refer to written archived collection material dedicated to a general theme.[2]

Gender-based memorising can be seen as a dynamic counterforce to historiography, which is often one-sided and biased (see also Heimo 2010: 18). Putting personal experiences into words enriches the image of the past and highlights how individuals structure the significance of memory and narration, and how the past is positioned vis-à-vis the mirror of the present.[3] Before examining the gender representations and narrativisation, I will first outline some more general arguments about the research material and contextualise the collection of political narratives as archived heritage.

COLLECTING PERSONAL EXPERIENCES ON POLITICAL PAST

The Politics and Power Games collection campaign aimed to gather memories, narratives and experiences of political culture at the grassroots level. The campaign was launched by the Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives in 2006–2007, as part of the national celebrations of the 90th anniversary of Finland's independence. The year 2006 also marked the centenary of women's full political rights in Finland. The co-organisers of the collection project were the Union for Rural Culture and Education, Finland 90 Years, the Coalition of Finnish Women's Associations, the Women's Working Group for Rural Development and the Finnish Social Science Data Archive.[4] The ideological background of one of the co-organisers, the Union for Rural Culture and Education, can be traced to the Centre Party. There were 203 respondents, who provided a total of 2,333 pages of written text for the collection project. Women submitted 128 responses, whereas men submitted 75. The youngest respondent was born in 1986, the oldest in 1914. Most of the writers were born between the 1920s and 1940s. The political orientations of the respondents can be discerned, though at varying intensities; yet it must be mentioned that not all respondents overtly spell out their present political loyalties.[5] As they describe their own experiences of political socialisation, the narrators underline the shifts that have taken place in their political thought.

Within the questionnaire framework, Finns were able to write freely about the following seven themes: *Politics in the family and home region*, *Possibilities for social or political action during different periods*, *Voting and candidates*, *Gender and power*, *Youth and politics*, *Political parties, Power and challenges to politics*, and *Politics, regionalism and civil society*. The samples from the archive materials open up perspectives onto gendered views and experiences, especially in the rural communities in the 1900s, right up to the 1960s. For

example, the Martha Organisation and their local associations, which have sought to improve the welfare of homes and families especially in rural areas for over one hundred years in Finland, figured prominently in the responses. The Marthas are often regarded as centre-right on the political spectrum, though the organisation presents itself as neutral.

We can then ask how the role of the Finnish Literature Society as the organiser of the campaign has shaped the contents of the collection? There is no clear-cut answer to this question. Nonetheless, Ulla-Maija Peltonen, when researching the memories of the Civil War of 1918, noted that narrative materials on the same theme differed to some extent, depending on the archive to which they were sent. For instance, one respondent who had neglected to send any accounts of negative deeds or violence perpetrated by the Reds to the Labour Archives, did choose to share such information with the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society (see Peltonen 1996: 133). We could thus assume that the writer felt a greater sense of freedom when responding to the politically neutral Folklore Archive's collection campaign. Nonetheless, there is no information as to whether the archive respondents consider the institution established in 1831 politically hued and if indeed they do, then to what degree. Many of the respondents who took part in this particular collection campaign had already participated in collection campaigns in the past. These respondents may have also had some familiarity with the Society's history, which is clearly bound up with nationalist ideology, and would have thus already had an inkling of the reception of their writings on the past. It must be noted, however, that no attempts have been made to survey perceptions about the archives, even among the networks of regular respondents.

Although the archives provide writers with instructions for each collection campaign, the respondents can ignore them if they like. They always have the freedom to write exactly what they find meaningful to pass on. For example, personal stories about the political atmosphere make up a part of the textual expressions of the past, present and future political culture, although the future was not included in the list of themes in the brochure. Each person involved in the act of recollection has to feel that the perspectives and memories that he or she has picked up and incorporated into his or her own stories are worth telling, saving and sharing. Despite their gaps and inaccuracies, their occasionally fabricated utterances, and their kinship closer to fiction than to historical documents, these texts have a unique value. Voluntary recollection does not need to follow any rules; there is no obligation to remember everything *as it was* (if such a reality ever existed in the first place). The act of creating images of the past and ascribing meanings to them involves assuming power

and defending one's viewpoints, and thus controlling the images of the past. The writers know that their memories enter the public realm once they have sent the texts to the researcher or the archive. Although the writing process itself may be private and the writer may set restrictions to use, many writers no doubt choose to leave certain opinions, events or things unwritten because of the public nature of the archive text (cf. Miettunen 2009).

NARRATION OF POLITICAL PRACTICES AND EMOTIONS AS *HERITAGE FROM BELOW*

Each writer highlights the local individuals and events that they find important for their memories. The narratives generated through the campaign elucidate the dynamics within the families and local communities as part of the wider political culture. One of the most compelling questions in the narrativisation of politics concerns the kind of politically oriented memories that Finns value as their own political heritage.[6] Before we can address this question, we must first establish the concept of 'political narrative'.

It may be understood and used in many ways, depending on the researcher and field of study. Molly Andrews, a sociologist who has conducted research projects in Britain, the United States, East Germany and South Africa, highlights the aspects of political change and power in political narratives (Andrews 2007). She notes that "those stories may not necessarily be overtly about politics: these stories often reveal *how individuals position themselves within the communities that they live…*" (Andrews 2012). In political narratives written by Finns, the political practices of the community, such as excluding/including, or attitudes regarding women's political activities, are also essential. In addition, the narratives consist of *emotions* about everyday political atmosphere (even without political change) and many genres of folklore representing conflicting values – past and present – in the community. This is why I have chosen to examine the traces of emotional memory in political narratives.

Laurajane Smith (2006: 44–45) has explored new ways of understanding the nature of heritage as experience and a cultural process. Here she follows David Lowenthal (1985), who has stressed that heritage is *a way of engaging with a sense of history*. In her book, *Uses of Heritage*, Smith explains how she came to understand this while conducting fieldwork among indigenous women in Australia: instead of simply focusing on the places that were important to the women as heritage sites, oral history emerged as a central feature of the project. Smith (2006: 46) writes:

> What was interesting for us was that for the Waanyi women these oral
> histories were perceived to be as much their heritage as the sites we had
> intended to record. [---] *passing on the oral histories and traditions was,*
> *for the women, an act of heritage management, as this heritage was being*
> *recorded and preserved as recordings*.

The act of heritage management resonates with the concept of *vernacular*
authority, which operates outside formal discourses and institutions (Howard
2013: 81; see Heimo 2014). If we look more closely at political narratives on the
private level, we notice that transmitting the interpretations and notions of the
local and family pasts usually makes history more relevant, and *that* version of
the past is the one that people find most compelling (e.g., Kalela 2012; 2013).
The relationship to history, to the reality of the former generations and to the
magnitude of experiences is transmitted on a daily basis through language and
narrative genres. In this process, the archive respondents enlarge the image of
the past by making space for the forgotten parts of the past.

   As researchers in critical heritage studies have pointed out, the division
between tangible and intangible is not relevant after all. They are not opposites
(Smith & Waterton 2009: 291–292). If we took this idea even further, we could
say that heritage does not exist but is rather created alongside the choices that
people and institutions make when they present the valuable aspects of their
culture (see Bendix 2009: 255; Olsson forthcoming). This is true in the case of
archived heritage (see Edmonson 2002; cf. Olsson forthcoming): tangible col-
lections saved for future generations include descriptions of intangible culture
and everyday practices, the use and meaning of vernacular language, folklore
genres, etc.[7] Most important are the kinds of processes that heritage generates
in different contexts by different agents; in this particular case, the context
of archive collection campaigns by those willing to share their memories and
experiences.

MASCULINE AND FEMININE VOICES

The centenary of women's full political rights may have encouraged the writers
to focus on the theme of *Politics and Gender*, or, at the very least, views and in-
terpretations associated with it. Nonetheless, all respondents – men and women
alike – touched upon the theme at least on a general level. Although there was
no particular emphasis on political pressure in the brochure explaining the aims
of the collection, it did feature questions about ideas and expectations related

to gender and politics. Here are a few examples: What is the significance of a female president in Finland?; In your opinion how well has equality been realised in Finnish politics? Nonetheless, the last question on the theme – How have politically active women been viewed in your home region in previous decades? – did serve to elicit both collective stories and personal experiences.

Since the 1980s, the study of women's oral history has spurred international discussion, thus giving voice to female narrators, women's culture and history. Although there is no archive dedicated solely to women's history in Finland, the Finnish Literature Society is known for having a predominantly female network of respondents. Women from rural areas, especially in previous decades, have also actively contributed their recollections of the past to the National Archives. By examining gender conflicts surfacing amidst other themes recollected thanks to the National Archive's questionnaire *The Status of Women* (Naisen asema), ethnologist Pia Olsson (2011; forthcoming) challenges the myth of the strong Finnish woman. The collection campaign in question was extremely popular among women; in fact, there were about 1,000 responses in total. According to Olsson, the older generations represent the most active proportion of the respondents.[8] It must be said, however, that analogous collection projects specifically aimed at male respondents have yet to be organised. Nonetheless, Olsson reminds us that the gender distribution of respondents has to be examined in relation to the questionnaires. For example, many of the questionnaires sent out by the National Board of Antiquities, especially in the early years, have been dedicated to questions particularly related to 'masculine' themes. Needless to say, politics can be counted among them.

The more visible role of men in political life in the past may partly explain why female contributors to unofficial history have often chosen to send their written recollections to archives that are openly aligned with a given political ideology – indeed, the Labour Archives serves as one example. Interestingly, however, *The Politics and Power Games* collection campaign succeeded in reaching more female than male respondents. Female interest in the project may have been stirred thanks to the way that political discussions had begun to permeate the (political) culture of daily life. Furthermore, the hush that had fallen on families regarding political matters since the aftermath of the Civil War of 1918 has gradually given way to openness and curiosity; indeed, the silence was gradually broken thanks to the opening up of war archives and increased public discussion. After decades of silence, not only have the traces of politics in family histories emerged with greater clarity, but also those who have now spoken out are able to discuss events and experiences in relation to the present moment; namely, the moment of reflection and recollection.

The writers who responded to the *Politics and Power Games* collection campaign defined their own relationship to the female perspective also by considering how well gender equality had been realised in Finland so far. The respondents considered the female agents who had operated on the grassroots level as embodiments of socially active womanhood. The written recollections also underscored the importance of historical female figures from the home region (e.g., writers who had had taken stands on social and political matters). In women's texts, the collective level tends to have more links to women's suffrage and social activism.

WHO DETERMINES THE VALUE OF THE PAST?

The authorised heritage discourse (hereinafter: AHD) legitimises *what heritage or the past is*, as discussed by Laurajane Smith (2006). The memorising aspects of political culture unpack the national political narrative of gender equality as an AHD (see also Heimo 2014 on digital memories). As unofficial heritage, political narratives thus perform political gender identities by revealing negative, dissonant political culture(s), as well as methods of survival in instances of sexual and political discrimination. By sharing their experiences, the respondents to the archive collection campaign illustrate the gap between micro and macro political narratives of equality (see Andrews 2012) and allow readers to understand how also difficult past experiences are given significance in the present (Smith 2008: 166; Harrison 2013; Logan & Reeves 2009; Smith & Akagawa 2009; Meskell 2002; Macdonald 2006; 2009; 2013).

Smith argues that one of the consequences of the AHD is that it defines *who has the ability to speak for and about the nature and meaning of heritage* (or 'the past', which is often used as an alternative to 'heritage'). On the one hand, as a memory institution, the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society represents an AHD insofar as it establishes the criteria for the kind of heritage deemed valuable, the renderings of the past most relevant for the future, or the kind of heritage most deserving of preservation. While it is true that the Folklore Archives also has its own regular writers' network, a group of people who act as 'spokespersons for the past', the collection campaigns are open to all who are interested in writing down their contribution (cf. Smith 2006: 29). On the other hand, respondents are authoritative narrators, as regards their own local and family histories, for they have the freedom to select the elements that are most important to them. The act of writing gives them greater authority over their stories on heritage discourses in their creation of personal narratives and meanings of the past.

The stories function as a means of working through the past, reflecting an unofficial heritage from below (cf. Robertson 2012) and working as the 'empowerment narrative' for the contributors, especially when dealing with traumatic experiences (see Andrews 2007).

It is obvious that some find standard historical writings unproblematic, but for many it is actually a marginal representation of the past. The cultural heritage of children has recently been examined by researchers of memory/heritage studies and oral history; for example, the commemoration of child survivors of the Holocaust (see, e.g., Darian-Smith & Pascoe 2012) or in Finland children's recollections of the return to peace after the Second World War (Korkiakangas 2009; in film see Kuusisto-Arponen 2011). My research material shows that in Finland, children and especially girls tend to pay attention to the local political atmosphere. Children participated in political activities either intentionally or unintentionally, both at home and during leisure time activities. When people recollect their wartime childhood, there is often a thin line between the concepts of experienced history and experienced politics as well as history narration and political narratives, because the narrators may see no difference between them. Silvia Salvatici (2008: 265), who has conducted an interview project in Kosovo in cooperation with the Archives of Memory, stresses that the interpretation of testimonials from a gender perspective has made a significant contribution to documenting multiple individual stories and war memories as part of and beyond nationalistic public discourse. In addition to war memories, reflecting invisible gendered reality and its narrativisation heritage from below should be taken into consideration more actively in oral history and heritage research on an international level.

In my research data, for instance, elections emerged as an interesting narrative theme concerning gendered reality. The stories that women told about elections not only generated a wealth of interpretations about gender and political culture; they also served to empower the women who did the telling. Below I examine how voting experiences create a dissonant heritage from below.

RECOLLECTIONS OF VOTING AND ELECTIONS

In the light of political history, it is understandable that voters' reminiscences of elections – starting with the early practice of voting, 'drawing a line' in 1907, and including more recent elections – make up one of the concrete themes in the *Politics and Power Games* collection campaign. Drawing a line refers to the practice of submitting a vote in Finnish parliamentary elections from 1907 to 1935. The expression is also familiar from Finnish literature (Kianto 1909) and

film (1959).[9] Nonetheless, reminiscences did not merely applaud Finnish women for their political independence; the texts also served as a reminder that gender equality had been achieved as a legal principle, but not always in everyday practice. Recollections of voting and elections are concretised by descriptions of the voting atmosphere, tensions between family members, unjust situations, etc. Though pressured by their husbands and male relatives, women had the fortitude to stand up for themselves. Yet, there is more to these memories than those concerning women gaining the right to vote. The year 1929, for example, marked the passing of the marriage act, a law which made both spouses equal before the law. This historical moment also coloured the recollections about women vis-à-vis politics. Nonetheless, even long after the law had come into force, many husbands continued to rule over their wives and families just as they had done before. In fact, some men even sought to control the hobbies and leisure activities of family members and relatives to uphold a certain political reputation. The following passage describes the experiences of a woman born in 1938. Her memories are situated in the agrarian culture of the 1970s. As we can observe, recollections bring up the contentious issues concerning both gender and political divisions:

> My husband's brother gave me a talking-to on many an evening. He told me who to vote for. As the children grew up, he even expected us to choose their sports clubs according to the party. My husband's buddies made fun of the people whose children they considered to be on the wrong side; considerations of distance or schedules didn't make a difference. My husband was extremely timid under this pressure, but *I kept my head for the children's sake: our children's hobbies are not to be determined by a political party* or active local men. The boys can decide for themselves. They can go where their best friends go. I think many youngsters gave up athletics because of this… (SKS: KRA POL 1037. 2006)

The previous narrator made a stand against the political domination of the male community by placing her children outside of the day-to-day dictates of politics. The text reveals that men did not seek to link up their children's hobbies with any given political organisation for the sake of their political socialisation, but instead they selected their children's hobbies in order to maintain an image of the family's political position and reputation in the eyes of the male community. The memories are tinged with masculine power, a force that victimised not only the wives but also the husbands who feared the ridicule of their friends.

As we observed above with the case of being aligned with the 'wrong party', the writer, looking back to the 1960s and 1970s, puts a *divided Finland* under scrutiny. The division does not refer to a gender divide but rather to the political

polarisation caused by the aftermath of the Civil War, which took place over ten years after universal suffrage had already been granted. The polarisation of the society was concretised in day-to-day life for those on both sides of the war, through the organisations, companies and clubs headed by the Leftist Reds and the Rightist Whites. Evidence of the societal split was present on a day-to-day level, as people did their shopping and banking, or even in their leisure time, when practising sports or enjoying other kinds of hobbies. As recently as this year, the Finnish media asked the country's citizens how the Civil War had affected their families (see also Heimo 2014). The question quickly spurred a lively discussion on the Internet: while some presented evidence of how traces of the political past continued to haunt even the younger generations, others dismissed history's influence on the present generations.[10] This discussion underscores the results of a study on historical awareness by Pilvi Torsti (2012). The author suggests that there is no shared idea of a cornerstone of historical knowledge. The same can also be said about political history.

In the oral history texts, both men and women wrote down stories of men restricting and defining women's political rights. In this respect, these recollections undermine the myth of the politically independent Finnish woman. My research material shows that women were not always free to decide upon which candidate or party to vote for in elections, because their husbands and the latter's relatives dictated their decisions. This explains the abundance of memories concerning the role of mothers in supporting their daughters' political participation by encouraging them to vote and keep their own political mind, even if married.

Public shame serves as one explanation for the political quarrels within families in the small parishes: everybody looked forward to a certain election result because of the idea that each household unit should have been politically united. Locals knew exactly how farmers, merchants, workers, etc., voted; in other words, political supporters could easily be identified in a minor residential area, especially in politically homogeneous neighbourhoods. For example, if, during elections, a country parish known to have a majority of Agrarian Party supporters and only a few for the communists suddenly showed a radical growth in support of the Communist Party, the men began to suspect that their wives had gone ahead and voted for the wrong party. Although the next examples are typical narratives, atypical cases also feature in the context of the Finnish material, which, depending on the reader's background and experiences, might seem rather incomprehensible. The parents' political views are in opposition to each other in the first paragraph: the father's political stance, an active supporter of the Agrarian Party, stands in contrast to that of the mother, who appears to be politically wishy-washy and uninformed. By simultaneously

supporting the co-operative shop and communistic E-movement and –shop,[11] she is clearly out of step with the local political culture.

> By then father had become an ardent supporter of the Agrarian Party. He also brought mother along to vote, even though she did not really have an opinion on politics. *Mother knew so little about politics that she was a member of both the E-movement and the co-operative shop, a combination which back then was almost unheard of.* [---] In the 1970s, political colours mattered and family members and relatives sometimes monitored the political views of their kin in a ludicrous manner. As a voter, I too have experienced moderate political pressure, which I nonetheless chose to ignore. (SKS: KRA. POL 1608. 2007)

Through her text, this female narrator (born in 1949) produces a gendered depiction of political culture by narrating the development of women's political independence. Her mother represents the previous female generation, the women who were deferred to their husbands and more or less lacked political independence and power in their marriages and among their family members. This image reflects the unspoken cultural model of gender inequality in some families; the narrator downplays her own subordinate position by not identifying those who tried to control her voting.

The passage below is one of the many writings in which a female narrator describes her experiences of gender-based political harassment. Writing under the pseudonym *I'm not bitter, but …*, a woman who was born in 1937 writes about the extreme political pressure and control in her marriage:

> As a young adult, I did not vote in elections. But after I got married, my husband made me vote for his favourite candidate. *It was only after 30 years of marriage that I had the right to vote for a female candidate, as long as she represented the right party.* So, my husband had two votes, and I had none. At the beginning of this century, after 40 years of marriage, he died, and that is why I now have the freedom to vote for whichever party I want. (SKS: KRA. POL 1602–1603. 2007)

The woman confesses to having a passive attitude towards elections before she got married. After marriage, however, her opinion of her right to political self-determination changes suddenly. Her husband's domination of her choice of candidate made her feel as though she did not even have the right to vote. Without a doubt, her role as a wife imprisoned her politically, and it took decades and his death for her to gain her political freedom. As an avid supporter of a certain party, the husband had suspected that his wife might not share the same loyalties. The example shows that, for one reason or another, the wife

simply did as she was told. The writer does not try to explain why her husband felt that he had the right to control her during the elections. Interestingly, however, the writer implies that she never gave up: after 30 years of marriage she was finally given permission to vote for a female candidate, as long as she represented the right party. Yet, it was not until her husband's death that she could freely vote for whomever she wished. Her personal experiences tarnish the image of the celebrated history of Finnish suffrage.

TENSION, POWER, AND POLITICAL POSITIONS

Like biographical interviews, written memoirs also grant us a privileged perspective on personal experiences: how the gender system is experienced from within, a system whereby a woman's activities and place in society is organised according to the framework of family life (Patai & Gluck 1991; see also Armitage 2011; Ashton & Kean 2012). The narratives that reflect politics in families convey knowledge about the tensions created among family members due to politics; they are narratives about power, resistance, and women's efforts to break free from their subordinated political positions due to gender. The next somewhat extreme example goes beyond mental domination to physical control, but here, too, party politics is at issue. The narrator was born in a small village near the Russian border, in the Kainuu region of Finland, in 1939:

> During the Second World War, two brothers moved to our home region. Both of them married local girls and had a lot of children. After the war, the brothers were given farms to live on and lots of forestland from the state, which they were proud of. One of them was a candidate for the Communist Party in the municipal elections. The wife of the other brother said that she would not vote for him. *On election day the husband tied his wife to a table leg to stop her from voting*. (SKS: KRA POL 2111–2118. 2007)

What kinds of interpretations can we arrive at from this memory text? How does this particular narrativised memory come across, for instance, to a young woman raised on the master narrative of suffrage about Finnish women, the first in the world to exercise their right to vote? Once again this may say "less about the events than about their meaning", as Alessandro Portelli (2006: 55; originally 1979 in Italian) has phrased it in his classic writings. In contrast to the previous examples, this passage emerges as part of a local narrative instead of a personal or family narrative. It can be read and interpreted in many ways: as a narrative representing the extreme politics of the time, as a story of domestic violence, or one simply reiterated for its comical tone.

The materials kept in the Folklore Archives contain countless examples of women's conscious political resistance to male-dominated political power. Hardly nostalgic, these stories do not paint an idyllic picture of family life. Yet, these stories are fundamental to women's political empowerment. They transmit models of political independence extending over generations. One perspective on them is evident in the following passage, in which a woman born in 1937 reveals her strategy:

> I suppose my marriage resembled that of my parents when it came to voting. *My husband only thought he knew who I voted for.* Though I wouldn't say that I lied to him, and nor did Mom back then. We didn't have to because the men were so sure about our solidarity with them: they didn't even ask us for our opinions! (SKS: KRA. POL 1094–1111. 2007)

The brief passage above juxtaposes the men's image of themselves as leaders of the family in political allegiance and thought with the reality of their wives' quiet dissent. The men's firm belief in their wives' political solidarity meant that such choices were not even a matter of discussion. Somewhat ironically, this allowed both the mother and daughter to cultivate, albeit secretly, their own independent political stance.

Although women are the main protagonists in these narratives, memories of political culture are not confined to merely women's experiences of political pressure. Men, too, had met with political violence, but not at home, for incidents of such political pressure mainly occurred in work communities during the 1960s and 1970s. Political bullying and threatening happened, for example, in the army, where the parish registers were inspected for the family backgrounds of soldiers from the post-war generations. Some respondents said that these issues continue to be hushed up in Finland (SKS: KRA. POL 2009–2013: 960–971, 1212–1217, 1285–1290, 1567–1570. 2006–2007). In addition, men themselves also criticise their own enduring tendencies to keep women on the margins of political power. Born in Karelia in 1932, the man cited below states that "previously no men agreed to vote for a female candidate". He specifies that female candidates were generally more tolerated in the municipal than in the parliamentary elections. He thinks that these attitudes derived from the rural masculine mentality: *In the countryside women were not accepted; they said, 'no hags in politics'!* (SKS: KRA. POL 1365. 2006) In this case, the respondent is not referring to his own opinions, but to the rural male perspective. In fact, through the stories he tells, he affirms the model for the politically active and independent woman. At the beginning of the 1900s, when women's suffrage became a reality in Finland, his grandmother knew how to read but could not

write. However, as he describes it, she felt that women had a reason to celebrate their full political rights:

> Oral history is full of narratives about Finnish women's suffrage in 1906; so my father's mother Anna Sofia said to other women: 'Now we must dress up nicely, put on our Sunday skirts and go to vote!' Women in the countryside didn't feel it was important to vote since not even all the men voted, especially in the municipal elections. Men did give their votes in the parliamentary elections, although the political party programmes were not easy to follow, making it difficult for the illiterate women in the countryside to understand. It is said that the socialists collected grain from those who voted for them, but the farmers got angry about it, changed their political views and joined the Agrarian Party instead. (SKS: KRA. POL 1363. 2006)

This example shows us how a short passage of narration incorporates different elements of knowledge. The mention of dressing up marks the consciousness of a movement from everyday frames to an exceptional event, signalling that something extraordinary was in hand. The protagonist uses the Sunday skirt as a symbol of collective power, but her political enthusiasm fails to catch on when rural reality clashes with political ideals. The interests of the illiterate country women and the protagonist are clearly at odds. The passivity of the illiterate women can be interpreted as a questioned obligation as opposed to a failure to appreciate their newly given right to vote. If the men were reluctant to vote, why would the women even bother? Moreover, the paragraph reflects the way that different elections were ranked: the municipal elections failed to get the same attention from voters as the parliamentary elections. At this point in the narrative, the narrator underlines the incompetence of the illiterate women, whose inability to read is connected to ignorance, which serves to explain their listless voting behaviour. In the end, the memoirs include a more general description about the socialists' unjust method of collecting grain and trying to buy votes by doing so – a practice that ultimately backfired. At the local level, politics appeared to be a game, a novelty that the rural people failed to understand.

Political narratives that touch upon elections and voting show that women feel compelled to demand their political rights and raise their daughters to be politically independent. Women's writings clearly reveal their grasp of the potential to make a difference as a woman: many female respondents described how they had sought to find a woman from among the candidates, because their mothers had always underlined the importance of women exercising their right to vote.

CONCLUSION

So far, there is no archive dedicated solely to women's history in Finland. Nonetheless, the respondents to the *Politics and Power Games* collection campaign contributed to the presentation of the political culture of the past by writing about their everyday gendered experiences. The main purpose of political narratives is to pass down multi-dimensional historical and political knowledge through experienced history, including political and local pasts, and thus serve as a counter-history. Therefore political narratives make up a part of the process of changing past images; these narratives constitute a part of re-naming and transmitting the collective memory to challenge the significance of the master narrative or the AHD about politically equal Finnish women. I sought to find out what kinds of gendered political past(s) and forms of vernacular political culture(s) people have wanted to record and why, in the context of the history collection campaign of the Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society.

Producing a personal, gender-based narrative of Finnish political culture by writing to a collection campaign is a process whereby writers can evaluate their memories of the multifaceted political atmosphere of their childhood environment. Contributing to political history through one's own memories proves that, both as a category and a concept, politics and history are not at a remove from individuals' personal spheres and life cycles.

The political narratives as textual items can be regarded as cultural heritage (cf. documentary heritage in: Edmonson 2002; Olsson forthcoming). Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (2008: 3) make the following statement in *Oral History and Public Memory*:

> Oral history has informed the creation of cultural heritage understood broadly as a socially sanctioned, institutionally supported process of producing memories that make certain versions of the past public and render other versions invisible.

Here the importance of different versions of the past should be noted. Gender has been overlooked in discussions of 'heritage', because an authorised heritage discourse acts to constitute the way we think, talk and write about the past and heritage. These hegemonic discourses are reliant on (masculine) power and memory, which ultimately serve to naturalise the grand narratives of the nation. This means that patriarchal culture becomes the heritage of all members of society (Smith 2006: 11; 2008: 162).

It is true that so far the field of heritage studies has produced only a negligible number of studies that integrate gender perspectives – or, we are often

led to assume that men have no gender (see Smith 2008: 159). It is therefore reasonable to ask how our gendered visions of the past and political narratives are constructed and stored. In spite of the fact that no comparative material is used in my research, I believe that there are narratives of women's politically coloured (childhood) experiences inside many life historical collections, along with memories of trauma, political prisoners, war experiences, ideology, etc. (see especially Kirss & Kõresaar & Lauristin 2004).

Even though my research materials supported and perpetuated the narrative about women's political rights and the myth of the strong political woman, the recollections challenged the narrative of women's active participation in politics. Narrated personal experiences of women and men transmitted within the family showed that negative attitudes towards women's political freedom persisted, especially in the countryside. It is noteworthy that not only women but also men had experienced political pressure and suffered for their political opinions. Although men may have ruled over their wives in the home, some faced political discrimination at the workplace or during their leisure time.

In order to understand the processes underlying women's political socialisation, we need to see how women in their recollections describe and situate their political awakenings and where they have found the strength to overcome political pressure. In recent years, Finnish researchers have actively focused on the impact of nonfiction on the reading public during the early 20th century, a period when the genre – especially autobiographical writing – aided in the creation of a national consciousness (see Jalava & Kinnunen & Sulkunen 2013). My research data has shown that politically or culturally active role models – relatives, local writers, female politicians, novelists or advocates of women's suffrage – have often served as an impetus for women's political awakening. In my research materials, the significance of traditional civic organisations (e.g., the Marthas and Lottas) that represent better family life or patriotic values are also often mentioned. My research thus demonstrates that the creators of written recollections – especially women but occasionally also men – felt that the archive collection campaign offered them an opportunity to tell not only researchers but also future generations about their life experiences and unseen gendered perspectives on politics, both of which have generally been overlooked in accounts of political history. The writers also offered an insight into how children experience political culture as observers and how political legends can aid in dealing with the community's necessary, real and potential political conflicts.

Pauliina Latvala

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NOTES

[1] This article is based on a chapter on politics and gender from my monograph published in Finnish *Kerrottu politiikka (Narrated Politics)* in 2013 (Latvala 2013b). The sentence in the title is taken from my research materials (the *Politics and Power Games* collection) stored in the Folklore Archives at the Finnish Literature Society in Helsinki.

[2] While British archivists have primarily conducted oral history interviews within their own communities through mass-observation (see Sheridan & Street & Bloome 2000), their counterparts in Finland, as well as archivists in Sweden, Norway and Estonia, have organised written collection campaigns (see Bohman 1986; a corresponding term in Estonia is 'oral popular history' ('pärimuslik ajalugu'), see Hinrikus & Kõresaar 2004).

[3] These collections bring forth multiple historical actors and various perspectives on the past, enlarging our understanding of recent history and its social processes. As Kõresaar & Kuutma & Lauk (2009: 17–19) have pointed out, the biographical approach has furthered discussions of gender, individual everyday meanings, positionality and emotions in representations of the past. (See also Summerfield 1998: 2, 9–11, 28; Kõresaar & Kuutma & Lauk 2009: 18; Latvala & Laurén 2013.)

[4] For more information (in English) on the *Politics and Power Games* collection campaign, see the following website: http://www.helsinki.fi/sukupuolentutkimus/aanioikeus/en/index.htm. For information in Finnish, see: http://www.finlit.fi/kra/keruut/politiikka.htm. The co-organisers were (in Finnish): *Yhteiskuntatieteellinen tietoarkisto FSD, Naisjärjestöt yhteistyössä (NYTKIS) ry, Maaseudun Sivistysliitto, Sisäasiainministeriön maaseudun naisteemaryhmä* and *Suomi 90 Finland.* I have not concentrated on entire life histories or extensive units of text as such in this article, but have chosen to highlight the examples that display the theme of gender and politics. In my book I have carefully investigated nine case studies.

[5] See also Latvala 2013a.

[6] In addition to the actual oral history collections stored in archives, the voices of women's heritage are channelled, among others, into informal archives of intangible, digital heritage, as Sheenagh Pietrobruno (2013) demonstrates in her research on YouTube as an archive. Integrating social media and archive studies with actual and

virtual ethnography, Pietrobruno examines UNESCO and user-generated heritage videos of Turkish whirling dervish ceremonies. She reveals that social archiving can capture intangible heritage as an ongoing process and therefore has the potential to problematise and counter official heritage narratives, which are somewhat static and often make hierarchical gender distinctions visible. Pietrobruno underlines that female dervishes have been excluded from the national heritage, but YouTube has aided in safeguarding their heritage (ibid.: 2).

[7] Alongside UNESCO's Memory of the World Programme international register, the focus on archives and preserving *documentary heritage* has been discussed worldwide. It 'reflects the diversity of languages, peoples and cultures. It is the mirror of the world and its memory.' UNESCO's Memory of the World: Guidelines to Safeguarding Documentary Heritage (2002) defines also oral history recordings as a specific area of heritage.

[8] The author would like to thank Docent Pia Olsson for her valuable comments and information concerning the collection projects in the National Archives (e-mail 25.11.2013).

[9] A historical novel by Ilmari Kianto (1909): *Punainen viiva* (The Red Line). The film adaption was directed by Matti Kassila in 1959.

[10] http://yle.fi/uutiset/miten_vuoden_1918_tapahtumat_vaikuttavat_sinun_ suvussasi/6608009.

[11] In the countryside, the E-movement, a progressive co-operative movement that started in 1964, primarily served the interests of petty bourgeois shopkeepers, but in the cities the movement was more extensive and involved working class people.

ARCHIVAL MATERIALS

The Finnish Literature Society Folklore Archives, *Politics and Power Games* collection. Helsinki, Finland.

ABBREVIATIONS

SKS – Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura (Finnish Literature Society)
KRA – Kansanrunousarkisto (Folklore Archives)
POL – Politiikkaa ja valtapeliä -keruu (Politics and Power Games -collection)

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THE 1918 FINNISH CIVIL WAR REVISITED: THE DIGITAL AFTERMATH

Anne Heimo

Abstract: Today heritage sites not only preserve the memory of grandiose moments of history, but also include the darker ones, which were previously either preferably forgotten or went unrecognised. In Finnish history, it is difficult to find a more painful example of these "sites of pain and shame" than the 1918 Civil War. This article examines the different ways that the 1918 Finnish Civil War is commemorated and represented on the Internet today, on both private and institutional websites as well as in social media, from the perspective of participatory history culture and vernacular authority. People have always shared information concerning the past with each other, but the way that this can be observed on the Internet today is novel. Only after the rise of new technology, the Internet and especially Web 2.0, people have had the possibility to share their experiences and interpretations side by side with history professionals to this degree. In relation to memory and heritage politics, this means that we need to re-examine the boundaries between private and public memory and official and unofficial heritage, and recognise new forms of collaboration between audiences and institutions.

Keywords: digital memories, family history, 1918 Finnish Civil War, new heritage, online commemoration, participatory history culture, sites of memory, vernacular authority

INTRODUCTION

Today heritage sites not only flag the positive features of humanity, but also include "sites of pain and shame", heritage sites related to historic episodes, and events that most countries and people would rather forget about, such as wars and other acts of violence, prisons and mental asylums. This shift to preserve also the darker sides of human action is said to have sprung from different, even opposite needs to feel grief, gratitude, comfort, shame, fear, anger and, in the case of "dark tourism", also pleasure (Logan & Reeves 2011: 1–4; see also Ashton & Hamilton & Searby 2012: 3). In Finnish history it is difficult to find a more painful example than the 1918 Civil War, which divided the people of Finland into two sides, the Reds and the Whites, for decades. The war that lasted less than four months led to the death of nearly 37,000 people, of whom the major-

ity belonged to the defeated, the Reds[1], and effected Finnish society on every level and in long-lasting ways, some of which can still be acknowledged today.

Elie Wiesel, a Nobel Prize winner, distinguished author and political activist, has stated: "The executioner always kills twice, the second time with silence" (cited in Logan & Reeves 2011: 2).[2] This was the situation also in Finland, where for decades after the Civil War official and public commemoration of the war dead applied only to the winners, the Whites, whereas the families of the Reds were declined the right to mourn or honour the memory of their dead in public, and were therefore forced to commemorate and process their losses in the private sphere. Over half a century had to pass until the silence was finally broken in the 1960s, and the experiences of the Reds were given public recognition (Heimo & Peltonen 2006 [2003]). Nevertheless it took another twenty years until the political climate in Finland was ready for the state to embark on a project to gather information concerning all the victims of the 1918 Civil War for the first time.[3] Today the situation is very different, and information concerning the Civil War can be accessed easily – especially if you have an Internet connection on hand.

This article is a follow-up of my recent study (Heimo 2010a) on narrated memories of the 1918 Finnish Civil War in one particular vicinity, from the perspective of the social process of history-making. This never-ending process of history-making comprises the interplay of public, popular and scholarly histories (Kalela 2013). History is, as social historian Raphael Samuel points out, a social form of knowledge, in which we all participate, regardless of our education, profession or motivation (Samuel 1994; see also Ashton & Hamilton 2010: 7–8; Kean & Ashton 2009: 1–6). In my study I focused on the relationship between public and local interpretations of the Civil War presented in various forms: academic history, films, novels, museums, school textbooks, memorials, documents, autobiographical materials, narrated family histories, and so forth. In my research I used digital sources, e.g., databases like the *War Victims of Finland 1914–1922* and the *Memorials of the Reds* database of the Finnish Labour Museum Werstas (Työväen museo Werstas, Punaiset muistomerkit), as well as websites like *vapaussota.fi* (The War of Freedom). However, at the time, I regarded them as sources like any other, without giving any thought to their digital form.

After I had finished my study, I tumbled upon a family history published on a blog by a grandchild of a Red executed during the Civil War, and only then did I begin to realise the impact of the Internet in this process and especially what it meant in terms of former perceptions of private and public memories and the social process of history making (Heimo 2010b). In this blog, author and poet Kaija Olin-Arvola tells the story of her grandparents. Her grandfather

Vihtori Lindell belonged to the Red Guard and was shot to death along with eleven other men in Nummi on 6 May 1918. In her story, Olin-Arvola recollects a family narrative about the last time that her grandparents saw each other. Before he was executed, Vihtori was taken to see his wife, Iitu, and the White guard said to her: "Take a good look now, Iitu, this is the last time you have seen Vihtori" (Olin-Arvola 12.4.2010). The story of the capture and execution of these men was well known and mentioned also by many of my interviewees, but this particular incident seems to have been shared mainly in a close family circle, because it was not mentioned by any of my respondents. Only after Olin-Arvola wrote it down, first for a family reunion and then published it on her blog, it entered the public sphere. Being an active debater, she has also later on referred to her grandfather's fate several times elsewhere; for example, on other blogs of hers and on several different discussion forums of Finnish newspapers (e.g., Olin-Arvola 31.3.2012; Olin-Arvola 11.11.2011; Olin-Arvola 15.10.2010; Olin-Arvola 19.12.2009). Even 90 years after the Civil War, her grandfather's tragic death continues to have a meaning for her. Besides the fact that her grandfather's fate is a significant part of her family history, the author uses it to express her political views.

STUDYING PARTICIPATORY HISTORY CULTURE ON THE INTERNET

In their highly influential study, *Presence of the Past*, Roy Rosenzweig and David Thelen (1998) call our everyday engagement in history *participatory history culture*. The ways that we engage in history-making have transformed substantially in the past ten years. Due to Web 2.0 technology, people are no longer passive spectators of historic events, but active participants in history-making. Other significant changes have also followed. Visual sources are replacing written ones and for many history has become a leisure pursuit (Tredinnick 2013).

In this article I explore public and private commemoration and historical representations of the 1918 Finnish Civil War on the Internet. I began my study by conducting a Google search in March 2013, and found to my surprise that the English search words "civil war 1918 finland" gave 2.1 million results, whereas the same search in Finnish, "sisällissota 1918 suomi", provided only 780,000 results. Amongst these hundreds of thousands of results, I investigate some ten Finnish websites most often mentioned on link lists of where to find further information on the Civil War, and additional examples of how the Civil War is commemorated privately and publicly in social media, in particular on Facebook, because out of all social media sites it was clearly the most popular one

used for these purposes at the time of writing this article. Although I examine the peculiarities of online commemoration and history-making, I see no point in juxtaposing the "virtual" and the "real" world. In my view, the virtual is a part of our everyday social world and the Internet has been culturally adopted by the major part of Finnish society (Suominen 2013: 20).

Folklorists have been slow in recognising the impact of the Internet for vernacular communication and cultural expressions even if, as Trevor J. Blank points out in reference to the work of Jonas Larsen, John Urry and Kay Axhausen (2008):

> [---] new media technology has become so ubiquitous and integrated into users' communication practices that it is now a viable instrument and conduit of folkloric transmission; it works reciprocally with oral tradition, offering digital renderings of familiar interactive dynamics that allows users to advantageously communicate across face-to-face and digital settings in equally meaningful ways. [---] One expressive venue is not separate from the other; users employ them cooperatively and interchangeably. (Blank 2012: 4)

Fortunately, the situation is gradually changing and folklorists have begun to show a growing interest in the numerous ways that folklore culture and vernacular expressions are mediated on the Internet (e.g., Blank 2012). Robert Howard (2013: 76, 82) stresses that it is important that folklorists in particular examine the construction and use of power relations, in other words, *vernacular authority*, in participatory media, where the institutional and vernacular often occur side by side. According to Howard, vernacular authority "emerges when an individual makes appeals that rely on trust specifically because they are *not* institutional". The appeal is backed up, for instance, by tradition and not by a formally instituted social formation like church, media company or an academic publication (ibid.: 81). In my article, claims are most often based on family history and postmemories.

However, because so few folklorists have yet touched upon online history-making, memorialisation and commemoration, my article relies, to a large extent, on the work done by scholars of other fields, mainly oral history, memory studies, media studies and cultural heritage, and certainly also online ethnography.

Online ethnography is challenging in many ways. The Internet is dynamic by nature, which means that one's research topic is continuously on the move, websites and online communities are often founded with great enthusiasm and forgotten soon, online phenomena are born spontaneously in one instance and gone in another (see, e.g., Suominen 2009). Another essential issue is the ques-

tion of private and public on the Internet. Many recent studies have shown that although an online forum or website might be open to all, the active users do not necessarily regard as public. Then there is also the question of third parties. Even if you have permission to study a specific site, do all those engaged in posting and commenting realise that they are being studied? (see, e.g., Markham & Buchanan 2012) Many online ethnographers today argue that, as a method, mere non-participant observation (lurking) is not only insufficient, but also unethical (e.g., Miller 2012). However, because I examine memories published on public or semi-public sites clearly aimed at wider audiences that do not require registration, I have, in most cases, applied non-participant observation without announcing my presence as a researcher. Nevertheless, I have asked permission to use the material published on personal Facebook profiles, and also from Kaija Olin-Arvola mentioned above. Although her writings are all on public sites, in my analysis I have created her profile by connecting material published on different forums in a way that she has not anticipated.

ONLINE PARTICIPATORY HISTORY CULTURE

Oral historian Alistair Thomson stated already back in 2007 that we are currently in the middle of a fourth paradigm of oral history[4], which he called the "digital revolution". According to Thomson, new digital technologies will radically transform the ways in which we record, preserve, catalogue, interpret, share and present oral histories, and as we today know, this has happened in more ways than one. While a decade ago oral historians were still quite cautious towards online interaction (e.g., Cohen 2013 [2005]), today many see the benefits of doing oral history online, and have gradually even begun to warm up to all the possibilities that blogs and social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube offer. Now there are websites like *Oral History in the Digital Age* (OHDA), which promotes the use of digital technologies and guides the users how to record, archive and disseminate oral history projects online.

Besides online archives maintained by organisations and institutions, there are an increasing number of alternative attempts to offer the same services. One interesting example is *Memoro: The Bank of Memories*, which describes itself as "a no profit project available as an online archive in which the stories of memories and experiences of people born before 1950 are collected, classified and shared on the web by short videos/audio interviews". The project that began in 2007 has published thousands of interviews by people from over a dozen countries around the world. A similar Finnish example is *Epooq*, an award-winning Internet service founded in 2009 for the storing and sharing

of (written) life stories and memories developed by a Finnish firm.[5] Both of the projects state that they are particularly interested in the memories of the "older generation", "people born before 1950" and "grandparents". Although the potential of both projects is huge, it seems that neither of them has attracted as many users as they have the capacity to handle or as they have hoped for. This seems to be a common phenomenon for the sites designed to draw people to share their memories. Be they official or alternative, they usually do not attract people to collaborate as actively as those that are formed spontaneously by individuals with similar interests (Affleck & Kvan 2008: 275) or shared experiences (Arthur 2009: 72).

One thing that Thomson – or anyone else for that matter – did not at the time predict and the OHDA website does not actually deal with, is the number of people "doing history" *by* themselves and *for* themselves and their peers on the Internet, and especially on social media sites. In less than a decade, social media has proven its multifaceted potential in sharing contents, building and maintaining relationships and generating conversations. Oral history is particularly characterised as "history from below", and the above examples represent quite opposite perceptions. They do not seem to acknowledge the fact that people are no longer mere users of the Internet, but are now *producers*, as Axel Bruns (2008) calls individuals who are engaged in the activity of both production and usage, in other words, *produsage*. Media scholar Henry Jenkins calls this creating and circulating of one's own work *participatory culture*. Participatory culture highlights community involvement, and welcomes all people to contribute, but does not require it. Participatory culture is not only about production and consumption; it is also about affiliation, expression, collaboration, distribution and the disclaiming of former divisions between professionals and amateurs (Jenkins et al. 2006).

Participatory culture and grassroots activities are also characteristics of digitally born *new heritage*. Heritage no longer consists of only museum artefacts, memorials or historic sites, but, as Elisa Giaccardi points out: "It is about making sense of our memories and developing a sense of identity through shared and repeated interactions with the tangible remains and lived traces of a common past" (Giaccardi 2012: 1–2). New technology enables users to participate spontaneously and continuously in curating new heritage (ibid.: 2; see also Kaplan 2013: 126–127).

Not all are pleased with this new development. In his article "Trust, Risk & Public History", James Gardner portrays a somewhat pessimistic view on user-generated material, which, according to him, is mostly a mere opinion and not original or creative work (Gardner 2010: 54–55). Perhaps it is my background

in folklore studies that makes me unwilling to share the same concern as, for example, Gardner, about what happens when people begin to do history on the Internet and in social media. While it is true that most people are content just to passively follow other people's activities or share the contents created by others on the Internet,[6] this does not mean that we should undermine the work of those who do contribute and participate in history-making on the Internet.

Although more people are now involved in the consuming, doing and making of history, it is a matter of debate to what degree this change will democratise history. Will the most significant purveyors of historical interpretations continue to be institutions, schools, museums and academia, as Paul Ashton and Paula Hamilton (2010: 7–8) suspect, or will the walls of institutional heritage organisations dissolve, as Graham Fairclough suggests (2012: xvi), and lead to the loss of all control, as James Gardner (2010) fears?

FAMILY MATTERS

Since the 1990s there has been a notable increase in family history research in many countries, and family history has become one of the most popular reasons for people to engage in participatory history culture (Rosenzweig & Thelen 1998: 21–22, 89–114). This unprecedented turn has been explained in several ways. In addition to the importance for self-making, self-exploration and self-understanding, this emergent interest in one's own roots has been seen to spring from the need to personalise and democratise history (Ashton & Hamilton 2010: 27–28; Kramer 2011). This turn can be well observed on the Internet (see Heimo 2014). It has never been as easy as today to access historical records in archives, both material and digital, or to discuss your mutual heritage with people who you might have met only virtually over the Internet. Because of the Internet, our essential desire "to understand who we are and where we come from is just a click away", as oral historians Katrina Srigley and Stacey Zembrzycki (2009) have put it.

In most Finnish families the Civil War has not been talked about openly. Only in the 1990s, after over 80 years of silence, people began to show an interest in the experiences of their relatives during the Civil War, and to share their family stories in public (Heimo 2010a: 134–136; see also Latvala 2005: 188–192; Torsti 2012: 123–126). The following letter published on the Fellman Field blog (Fellmanin pelto) offers a good example of how attitudes have changed over the years. The letter was written by a nephew to his great-aunt, who was executed in Lahti in 1918, at the age of 22, 95 years before.

> Dear Great-Aunt,
>
> I am writing this letter 94 years after your death. It will not reach you, but I only found out about you a few years ago when I came across your name in the *War Victims in Finland 1914–1922* database.
>
> You have not really been discussed in the family, and later when I asked about you, the matter was avoided, dodged and romanticised. There is no reason for this even if the matter has been covered (and feared?) all these years. The war continued long after you were gone and encapsulated deeply.
>
> 93 years after your death, a study was written of your sisters-in-arms, or actually only about the ones who survived, though they ended up in jails and prison camps. In this book they only tell about the prison camp in Hämeenlinna, though there were others too [---] (Hongisto 6.4.2013).

He continues telling the story of his great-aunt, how he found her picture in the book mentioned above. Throughout his letter he refers to the studies he has read, court records and other sources, and imagines how she would have felt about the accusations directed at the losers of the war, the Reds, and especially women on the Reds' side. The blog-text neatly exemplifies the social process of history-making and how a private family narrative – or family secret – is made public and transformed into a larger narrative concerning the fate of the Reds, and especially the women on the Reds' side. It also displays how digital media has expanded the idea of "giving voice", by giving everyone equal opportunities to participate in history-making.

MEDIATED MEMORIES AND ONLINE REMEMBERING

In her study *Mediated Memories in the Digital Age* (2007) José van Dijck states that in our present culture where analog memory objects (photographs, diaries, etc.) are being substituted by digital objects, it is even more important than before to ask why and how memory matters. By *mediated memories* she means memory objects created by all kinds of media technologies, from pencils to smart phones, which mediate with our past and with all those with whom we have a relationship. Digital technologies do not only transform our notions of privacy and openness, but also demand us to view over again the relation between personal memory and lived experience (van Dijck 2007: xiv–xv, 1).

Digital memories come in numerous forms, but they have one common feature: they can be shared online. Joanne Garde-Hansen, Andrew Hoskins and Anna Reading name, amongst other things, the following as digital memories:

> Online mementos, photographs taken with digital cameras or camera phones, memorial web pages, digital shrines, text messages, digital archives (institutional and personal), online museums, online condolence message boards, virtual candles, souvenirs and memorabilia traded on eBay, social networking and alumni websites, digital television news broadcasts of major events, broadcaster websites of archival material, blogs, digital storytelling, passwords, computer games based on past wars, fan sites and digital scrapbooks.[7] (Garde-Hansen & Hoskins & Reading 2009: 4)

Although the list of examples is infinite, all of these examples fulfil an age-old function, the need to "control time, recollection, grief and trauma" and deal like all memories do with the past's relationship to the present (ibid.).

It has been stated that new technology has created an "archive fever" (see Derrida 1995), a powerful urge to keep track, record, retrieve, archive, back up and save, more intense than ever before. However, this attempt to save "everything" has also been criticised (Garde-Hansen & Hoskins & Reading 2009: 5). Will the saving of "everything" affect the natural processes of forgetting? Will we end up in a situation in which the default of human societies will be remembering rather than forgetting? Would it actually be more merciful for all of us if "everything" was not remembered, but some things were also forgotten? Will only purified versions of the past be saved?

Many cherish as their dearest heirloom their own private archives, photographs, letters, cards, diaries, clippings, drawings, and so forth, of their close family members and ancestors. In addition to feverish archiving, many have been surprised how willingly and how many people actually want to share their private memories in public now that it is technically possible. With our smart phones and tablet computers we can now share our child's first steps, family holidays and other memorable moments the instant they take place. Before the digital age, these shots were rarely shared outside the family circle. While some fear that this affects the level of our privacy and in time will lead to the deprivation of our privacy (Maj & Riha 2009: 1–3), others see that people's attitudes to what is regarded as private in the first place have changed (Hoskins 2009). This change also means that digital memories are open to continuous remediation, reformulation, reformatting, recycling and remixing, to the extent that it has been suggested that there is no longer need to talk about private and public memories (or personal and collective memories) as separate categories (e.g., Garde-Hansen & Hoskins & Reading 2009: 6, 14). It also challenges our conventional perceptions of archived memory as fixed and stored, and has, according to Andrew Hoskins (2009), resulted in the birth of a new memory,

a digital network memory, or living archival memory subject to be added to, altered or erased.

Through the social web we document our life continuously for more or less public audiences. This documenting is performative, because it involves selecting what, in which way and with whom we share our memories. In memory studies this has led to the increase of focusing on the active processes of remembering and commemoration instead of memory or memories as static products (see, e.g., De Bruyn 2011: 82).

ONLINE COMMEMORATION

In the latter half of the 20th century, a *culture of commemoration* emerged in western societies. More and more people want to take part in commemorative acts and in this way connect with the past (Ashton & Hamilton & Searby 2012: 1). Instead of taking part in organisationally or institutionally organised acts of memorialisation, people seem to have a growing need to act individually on the personal level. Spontaneous, grassroots, and vernacular memorials spring up at sites of untimely and unexpected deaths. Private memorials exemplify individualised political participation and social action, and are a sign of the subjective turn of postmodernity (Margry & Sánchez-Carretero 2011: 1–4, 28–29; Ashton & Hamilton & Searby 2012: 7–8). Another feature of this new culture of commemoration is retrospective commemoration, the commemoration of events or deaths, which were, deliberately or non-deliberately, not noted down when they happened (Ashton & Hamilton & Searby 2012: 9).

All of these shifts can also be easily perceived on the Internet, which is full of both large institutional and small-scale private sites of memory and commemoration. The capacity to present various and conflicting stories in one place is one of the assets of online environments, and especially social media offers a means to create multivoicedness and dialogism, which is difficult to achieve in conventional museum exhibitions or at memorials (Arthur 2009; De Bruyn 2010). Online websites draw likeminded people together by offering support and a chance to give testimony and to be heard. In time these commemoration sites have a possibility to transform from initial impressions and testimony into online archives (Arthur 2009). In times of trauma, crisis, grief and mourning, these have been seen to offer a "comfort culture", which allows us, "tourists of history", immediate access to the sites of memory (Sturken 2007: 6–7).

Although most online commemoration is spontaneous and focuses on current tragedies, social media sites are used increasingly to also commemorate painful historic events retrospectively and share postmemories of these with transnational audiences[8] (Arthur 2009; De Bruyn 2010).

Even though most of these sites focus on the commemoration of specific events, there are also websites like the *Information Portal to European Sites of Remembrance*, which brings together and presents memorials and museums dedicated particularly to the memory of the Holocaust, but also other victims of National Socialist crimes and the Second World War around Europe. Another example of a similar project is the *Polynational War Memorial* funded by the Swedish Arts Grants Committee. The project began in 2004 and was planned to gather the names of more than ten million soldiers and civilians, and a database of online and offline war memorials situated around the world. Nearly ten years later it has gathered only 348,000 names on its site and mentions, for instance, only two Finnish war memorials. These types of sites are usually created for pedagogical, ethical or political reasons, but not for therapeutic reasons like the ones that commemorate contemporary tragedies. This also means that, because people do not have an urgent need to use these sites, their effectiveness relies on their distribution, circulation, and performativity within the public; yet, as mentioned earlier, it is not easy to attract users to participate actively.

Since the First World War, war memorials have been a familiar sight all around Europe (Winter 2003: 79) as well as elsewhere (Ashton & Hamilton & Searby 2012: 4). War memorials are common reminders of bygone violent conflicts, lost lives and suffering; yet, they leave personal and individual tragedies untouched. According to Paul Arthur, war memorials are usually so well integrated into the grand narrative of a nation that they have the power to unify, even in the case that they are only general and representative (Arthur 2009: 65–66). However, this does not apply to all cases. After the 1918 Finnish Civil War, only the Whites were allowed to erect memorials to grieve their losses and to honour their heroes, and were publically acknowledged. All in all, there are approximately 330 memorials commemorating the Whites and 150 the Reds, and only three that commemorate both sides. Nearly all of the White memorials were erected during the 1920s, whereas monuments in memory of the Reds became more common only after the Second World War and some have been erected as recently as in the 2000s (Peltonen 2003: 221–236).

To achieve more visibility for the memorials of the Reds, the Finnish Labour Museum Werstas founded a database for them. The *Red Memorials in Finland* database consists of photographs and basic information concerning memorials from all over Finland. An interesting feature is that all the photographs have been digitally manipulated so that all the names engraved on the memorials are unreadable. This is to ensure the privacy of the dead, which in this case the Data Protection Ombudsman has regarded important, because the memorials are considered politically sensitive even today. Yet, similar pictures of the same memorials and graves have been published on other sites with the names in sight.

(WEB-)SITES OF MEMORY

Finland has dozens of museums with exhibitions on war history, but most of these are related to the Second World War, the Winter War or the Continuation War.[9] The first attempt to establish a museum focusing solely on the Civil War is still under consideration.[10] The situation is not much better on the Internet either. In his study on over 100 Finnish online museum exhibitions, Kalle Kallio (2005: 101) noted that the Civil War, like many other difficult historic events, has been overlooked. Since then, the situation has somewhat changed, because in 2008 several museums and archives commemorated the 90th anniversary of the Civil War with new exhibitions (see *Museot.fi* 23.4.2008). Nearly all of these were on-site exhibitions, but some were also partly or solely published on the Internet, where they can still be found. The majority of these online exhibitions are quite simple, and consist primarily of texts (articles) and in some cases also photographs of digitised documents, but do not utilise sound, video or other forms of media.[11]

The winners of the war, the Whites, are honoured and commemorated on numerous websites maintained by organisations committed to the War of Freedom, the White Civil Guard and its equivalent organisation for women, Lotta Svärd[12], and the Commander-in-Chief of the War of Freedom, Carl Gustaf Emil Mannerheim[13]. The chief website commemorating the Whites is *Vapaussota.fi,* which is maintained by the *Vapaussodan Invalidien Muistosäätiö* (Union for the Commemoration of Disabled Veterans of the War of Freedom). On the site one can find, among other things, information and maps of the most significant battles, songs, literature, original footage and the multimedia mentioned below. *Vapaussodan perinneliitto* (The Tradition Union of the War of Freedom) also has a website of its own, *Perinneliitto.fi*, which presents the more than thirty local associations around Finland. In addition to offering information about these associations and current events, these websites present the history of the Civil War from the perspective of the winners, which means that they do not mention the harsh aftermath of the war. This also applies to a multimedia *Vapaussota 1918: Kapina, sisällissota, kansalaissota* (War of Freedom 1918: Rebellion, Civil War, People's War) published in 2008 to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the war. The multimedia mentions that thousands of people died as a result of the war, but does not give any explanations for the casualties, which is in line with the dominant White interpretation of the war (see Heimo & Peltonen 2006 [2003]). Perhaps as a kind of compensation, the title of the multimedia features the different names of the war used by the different sides.[14] It also presents some commanders of the Red Guard and uses archive materials from the People's Archive and other collections of the Red side.

The Red side does not have similar websites to commemorate their legacy. For long the last official organisation for the Reds, *Entisten punaisten jälkeläisten keskusjärjestö ry* (The Descendants of Former Reds) was disbanded in the 1980s. The Communist Party in Finland and numerous local workers' organisations have taken the role of commemorator for the Reds, but do not have specific websites for this. In 2010 a new association was established, the *Suomen Työväen Järjestyskaartin Perinneyhdistys ry* (The Tradition Association of the Finnish Workers' Guard) to commemorate and narrate the history of those who lost their lives on the Red side in the Civil War. The association has only a Facebook page (see below).

The situation is the same on Facebook. The commemoration of the civil war seems to attract more people dedicated to the legacy of the Whites than to that of the Reds. In spring 2013 the Facebook group *Suojeluskunta (Skyddskår) järjestön muistolle* (Legacy of the White Civil Guard) was an open group. It had only some 40 members (as of 5.4.2013), but was quite active. Most of the postings concerned the sharing of the history of the White Civil Guard, links to TV-documents, museum exhibitions, photos, etc. Since then the group has changed from open to closed and the number of members has tripled to 133 (as of 12.12.2013). The two most popular pages, *Baron Carl Gustav Emil von Mannerheim* and *Mannerheim*, are both dedicated to the memory of the leader of the White army, Field Marshal Mannerheim, and resemble, to a certain extent, fan pages. Both of the pages have over two thousand likers from all over the world, but are not very active. The former page is transnational with comments in three languages: English, Swedish and Finnish. The latter is in Finnish, but seems to attract people to participate mainly on the Independence Day of Finland, December 6.

At the moment there are only two Facebook pages commemorating the Reds. The Facebook page of the Tradition Association of the Finnish Workers' Guard has 253 likers. The page was created in 2011 and was quite active until February 2013, but for some reason there have been very few postings after this, though the page has gathered some more new likers since spring (as of 26.3.2013 & 16.12.2013). On *KIITOS 1918* (Thank you 1918) over 440 people have wished to demonstrate their gratitude to the Reds by liking the page, but for some reason have not shown any need to post on the page. A year ago there were several more pages for the Reds, for instance, a group for the descendants of Red prisoners of war (*Punavankien perilliset*) and another for the memory of the Reds (*Punakaartilaisen muistolle*), but, like so many other groups on Facebook, they have withered and then been deactivated. Whereas the *Suomen Työväen Järjestyskaartin Perinneyhdistys ry* page is dedicated mainly to the history of the Civil War, the two latter ones attracted people to share their postmemories.

The most active Facebook page at the time of writing this article is the *Fellmanin pelto – 22 000 ihmisen elävä monumentti* (Fellman Field: A Living Monument to 22,000 People) with 1,866 likers (as of 3.5.2013). On April 28, 2013, artist Kaisa Salmi organised a large-scale participatory performance "Fellman Field: A Living Monument to 22,000 People" in Lahti at the same place where 22,000 Reds waited for six days to be sentenced in April–May 1918. In addition to following the preparation of the event, people were eager to express their thoughts about the performance. Many of the participants were grandchildren of the original prisoners and wished to commemorate them by participating in the living monument and sharing their grandparents' stories on Facebook. Some announced that they were grandchildren of the Whites, and wanted to amend their grandparents' doings. After the performance was announced as part of the *Commemoration of Reds in Lahti 1918* events arranged by several local workers' organisations, some people were offended that, instead of reconciliation, the barrier between the Reds and Whites was once again strengthened, and so they withdrew their participation.

Figure 1. *The Facebook page of the Fellman Field performance. Screenshot 3.5.2013.*
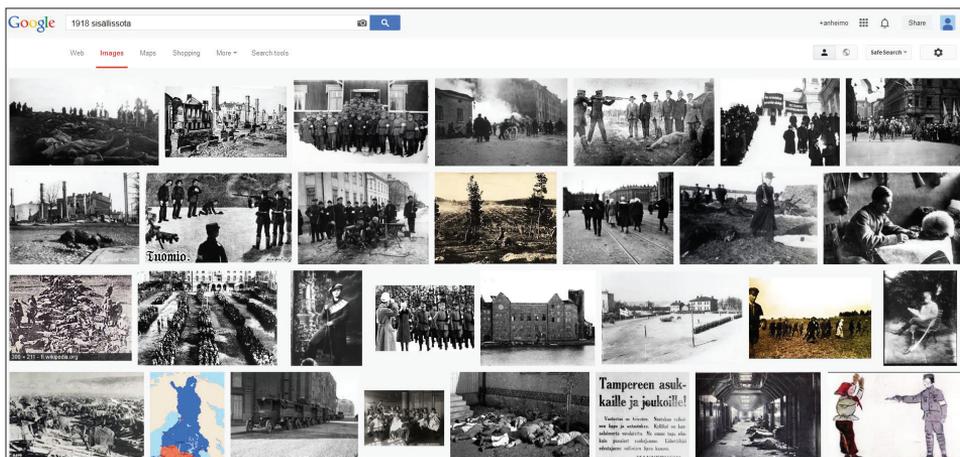
Figure 2. *Images of the 1918 Finnish Civil War. Screenshot 7.1.2014.*

The performance also has its own blog, *Fellmanin pelto* (Fellman Field), on the website of a local newspaper, *Etelä-Suomen Sanomat* (South-West Finland News). In the blog, more or less known figures, who had participated in the performance, reflected on their thoughts about it, as well as about the Civil War and other atrocities. All of the 15 blog texts have been shared (from 4 to 285 shares), but only a few have been commented on.[15]

Visuality is an increasing feature of all social media, and digitised photos and videos uploaded and shared on Facebook, Flickr[16] and YouTube will, in the course of time, challenge the hegemony of written historical records (Tredinnick 2013) and authorised heritage discourse (AHD) (Pietrobruno 2013; see also Latvala in this volume). The visual image of the Civil War has been dominated by pictures of men lined up to be executed, poorly dressed and armed soldiers of the Red side and Mannerheim leading the parade of the winners of the Civil War in Helsinki on May 16, 1918. Although YouTube lacks some features commonly associated with archives, it still gives access to user-generated materials as well as various types of materials originating from archives, television and concert recordings (Brunow 2013: 11–13). Civil War related video clips on YouTube[17] include original footage and photos, movie trailers, oral history interviews, videos of historical re-enactments and visits to battle or memory sites, as well as songs. The most popular ones have been viewed tens of thousands of times. The most popular YouTube video consists of a single photo of an execution site. On the soundtrack a labour-movement singer Heli Keinonen

sings the song "Kuolemaantuomitun hyvästijättö" (Farewell of a Person Condemned to Death). Although the video is very simple, it still has the power of touching people. It has been viewed 148,356 times and has been commented on 174 times since it was uploaded in 2008. Although most of the comments present personal views, some very pronounced, some people have also shared their family stories in the comments.

SPONTANEOUS REACTIONS AND VERNACULAR AUTHORITY

Every now and then the Civil War still provokes discussions or more or less heated debates on discussion forums and social media sites.[18] This year topics like "Tammisunnuntai", the date of the beginning of the Civil War, 27 January, historian Tuomas Hoppu's new book *Vallatkaa Helsinki* (2013) about the conquering of Helsinki by the Whites with the help of German troops in March 1918, the 95th anniversary of the battle of Tampere in March-April, and the vandalising of Mannerheim's statue in Tampere in November stimulated spontaneous discussions on both public and private forums. All of these topics have also prompted spontaneous reactions on Facebook. The following examples from my own news feed present how the Civil War was discussed via social media in ordinary everyday situations.

On 25 January 2013, Marko Korvela, the editor in chief of the online version of the weekly newspaper *Tiedonantaja* (The Informant), the chief organ of the Finnish Communist Party, noted on his personal Facebook profile that while his newspaper uses the terms 'working class revolution' and 'class war', the main newspaper of the Left Alliance, *Kansan Uutiset* (People's News) refers to the war as the Civil War. In just two days 13 people sent 38 comments about the topic. While some of the commenters felt that it was time to use neutral names like the Civil War or the War of 1918, some thought that it was important to use names that illustrate the ideology of the war, and stressed that they could never refer to the war as the War of Freedom like those siding with the winners of the war do even today. One commenter presumed that it might be difficult to use neutral terms if some of your family members were killed in the war, and referred to an online article published in a local parish newspaper about mass graves of the Reds in Hämeenlinna. Alongside the discussion about the name of the war, some of the commenters also linked to different websites to stress their point. For instance, one person referred to an article discussing the different names of the war, which was republished on a website on Tampere history, maintained by the History Department of the University of Tampere (http://www15.uta.fi/koskivoimaa/valta/1918-40/totuudet.htm).[19]

Figure 3. The People's Archive posted an advertisement about the Commemoration Weekend of the Reds in Lahti in 1918 on its Facebook page on 24.4.2013. Screenshot 25.4.2013.

In April another Facebook friend of mine, a colleague born in the late 1950s, wonders how the Civil War seems to come nearer and nearer as time passes by. The post received over 20 likes and several responses, which varied from humorous to serious comments on the commenters' relationships to previous wars. The first response comments on the different names of the war and how these express its different characters. It also mentions the bloodiness of the war. In the last comment the commenter mentions how the war was not talked about and that the study by Finnish historian Heikki Ylikangas, *Tie Tampereelle* (The Road to Tampere), published in 1993, finally ended the silence.

Later, the same month, the same colleague shared a post sent by *Kansan Arkisto* (People's Archive) (Figure 2) about a weekend event that commemorated the Reds in Lahti in 1918, which consisted of a seminar, concert and the Fellman Field performance mentioned above. Her post was liked seven times, shared twice and commented upon five times.[20] The comments are mostly about the need to remember. This time the commenters do not refer to institutional formations, such as studies, newspaper articles or websites. Instead, they express vernacular authority by bringing up their own personal connections to the events in Lahti and the Civil War in general. Several of the commenters mention that they have relatives who were prisoned during the war. The owner of the profile clearly acknowledges the fact that the discussion is happening on

Facebook, and comments on the painful postmemories: "This cannot be liked". Nevertheless, all the other comments are liked by the other participants and no one wants to challenge them. The postmemories are regarded trustworthy and therefore deserve expressions of empathy.

CONCLUSIONS

Today, in the digital age, Raphael Samuel's idea of "everyone a historian" (1994) has materialised in ways that he himself could not have imagined at the time. Although people have always taken part in the social process of history making, only after the rise of new technology, the Internet, and especially Web 2.0, have people had the possibility to share their experiences and interpretations side by side with history professionals to this degree. The Internet, and especially social media, has also altered and transformed former understandings of cultural heritage, and this means that we need to re-examine the boundaries between private and public memories and official and unofficial heritage, and recognise new forms of collaboration between audiences and institutions (Giaccardi 2012: 4–5).

The focus of my article is on online memorialisation and commemoration of the 1918 Finnish Civil War, but I do not suggest that this commemoration is either common or well-known. On the contrary, it is quite scarce and fragmental. Whereas only a decade ago museums, archives and other heritage organisations still hesitated to handle the Civil War altogether, some have dealt with the topic in recent years, but it is still clearly overlooked, especially as compared to the Second World War.

My analysis indicates that people do not easily grasp at the opportunities to collaborate and interact, offered to them by different official and unofficial organisations. Most of the websites related to the Finnish Civil War that I have examined in this article were created to commemorate the 90th anniversary of the Civil War in 2008, and the oldest ones are from the late 1990s. The websites have very few interactive functions and the majority are not actively updated. And even the ones that are, seem to be more dedicated to the official commemoration and maintenance of the heritage of their organisations, than to discussing politics or ideology or collaborating with the public in any way. The most interesting and touching examples that I found were either sponta- neous reactions to ongoing discussions or events, or family memories fuelled by the need to pass on family history and to participate in history-making. All these possess the performative effectiveness required for memories to be

shared and reacted on, and also signify vernacular authority so sound that it is rarely undermined.

The Internet and social media provide opportunities for people to participate in the producing of heritage on their own terms, to the point that the question of where heritage production should take place has to be raised. Does it have to be in a museum or in a similar context controlled by experts and only encountered occasionally on visits? Or could heritage be a part of our everyday life in which we all participate (Fairclough 2012: xvi)? It is easy to predict that in 2018 the Civil War will be commemorated in a plenitude of ways, offline and online. It will be interesting to see what is the situation of online commemoration and heritage production then. Will by then museums and other organisations have found new means to collaborate with the public or will participatory history-making and personal memorialisation have grown even stronger than they are today?

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

NOTES

[1] Over 7,000 Reds were executed and nearly 12,000 died in prison camps. In addition, 70,000 Reds were accused of crimes against the state, condemned to imprisonment and deprived of their civil rights for years to come (see *War Victims in Finland 1914–1922*).

[2] There are several slightly different versions of this citation circulating.

[3] The *War Victims in Finland 1914–1922* project conducted by the Prime Minister's Office (1998–2003) compiled a register of all those killed in the war. In addition to the register, the project has produced a dozen or so studies on the casualties of the civil war (Westerlund 2004). A database based on the register was published on the Internet in 2002, and it has become one of the most popular sources to find information about individual victims. Victims can be searched by name, date of birth, occupation, place of census registration, place of residence, place of death, and cause of death.

[4] The three other paradigmatic revolutions in theory and method that Thomson (2007) mentions are: 1) the postwar renaissance of memory as a source for 'people's history'; 2) the development, from the late 1970s, of 'postpositivist' approaches to memory and subjectivity; 3) a transformation in perceptions about the role of the oral historian as interviewer and analyst from the late 1980s onward.

[5] Epooq.net was awarded the World Summit Award (WSA) in 2011 in the category of e-Inclusion and participation (http://www.wsis-award.org/winner/epooq-80020110609).

[6] "In most online communities, 90% of users are lurkers who never contribute, 9% of users contribute a little, and 1% of users account for almost all the action." (Nielsen 2006)

[7] Memories of the Civil War appear in all these forms. One interesting form that is not mentioned here is geocaching. The bookmark list *Suomen sisällissota 1918* (Finnish Civil War 1918) mentions 19 different geocaching locations all related to the Civil War.

[8] According to De Bruyn (2010: 49), online commemoration flourishes particularly in post-communist countries.

[9] In addition to the military museum of the Finnish Defence Forces, there are 10 museums specialised in military history, and over 80 other museums about wars or with war history collections and exhibitions in Finland (see www.puolustusvoimat. fi; www.veteraaniperinne.fi).

[10] In 2010 the *Suomen sisällissotamuseoyhdistys* (The Finnish Civil War Association) began to plan the establishing of a museum in Mänttä-Vilppula, but it seems that the plans have since been discontinued (http://www.sisallissotamuseo.fi/).

[11] See, e.g., *Tampere 1918* (Vapriikki Museum Centre, city of Tampere), *Varkaus ja vuosi 1918* (Varkaus and the Year 1918, Museum of Varkaus), *Vaiettu vuosi 1918. Näkökulmia sisällissotaan* (The Silenced Year 1918. Perspectives into the Civil War, Nautelankoski Museum, Lieto), *1918 – Kansalaissota asiakirjojen kertomana* (1918 – The Civil War Presented in Documents, National Archives) and *1918 Kansalaissodan kuvia* (1918 Photographs of the Civil War, People's Archive). The database *Arjenhistoria. fi* (Everyday history) consists of the digitised collections of nine different museums and archives. The search word "war 1918" gives over 4000 hits, among them pictures of memorabilia, spoons and pieces of dried bread, brought back from prison camps by survivors after the war.

[12] The Lotta Svärd organisation was founded only after the Civil War and is usually related to WW2. The Lotta Svärd Foundation supports former members of the organisation and is committed to maintaining nationalistic values and Lotta Svärd heritage. It has a current membership of 240,000 (http://www.lottasaatio.fi/).

[13] Mannerheim began his military career as an officer in the Russian army, but later not only became the military leader of the Whites in the Finnish Civil War, but also the Commander-in-Chief of Finland's Defence Forces during WWII, Marshal of Finland, and President of Finland (1944–1946).

[14] 'War of Freedom' is still in use by those who see the war as a war against socialism and for independence. After the war, the Red side referred to the war by different names, such as Rebellion, Class War, War of Brothers or People's War. Since the 1990s, the war has usually been referred to as the Civil War or the War of 1918 (see *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 2/1993).

[15] One of the bloodiest battles of the Civil War was re-enacted in April 2008, 90 years after the war. The *Day in Tampere 1918* project involved numerous organisations, as-

sociations and individuals. Its website serves as a kind of archive and is not updated. In addition to information related to this and other similar events, the website also published a plea to people to write about their postmemories, stories they had heard, or to reflect on their feelings about the Civil War, but only 11 people responded to the plea (http://tampere1918.blogspot.fi/).

[16] On Flickr the search words (in English) "1918 civil war finland" give 292 results, whereas the same words in Finnish receive only 55 hits. This seems to indicate the transnational character of Flickr. Most of the photos are from the re-enactment of *A Day in Tampere 1918*, or from sites and memorials concerning the Civil War and historical photos.

[17] On YouTube the Finnish search words "1918 civil war" gave 174 results, "1918 war of freedom" 189 results, "1918 whites" 304 and "1918 reds" 127. In English the results were higher: "1918 civil war" 390 and "1918 finnish civil war" 501 (last accessed on April 6, 2013).

[17] E.g., since 2004 the Civil War has been dealt with in some 950 discussions (search words "1918 sota suomi") on Finland's most popular discussion forum *Suomi24.fi*.

[19] The original article or actually a series of articles was published in *Historiallinen Aikakauskirja* 2/1993.

[20] The original post on the profile of The People's Archive has been liked 17 times and shared 28 times, but not commented on (as of 12.12.2013). I find it interesting that none of the Facebook pages committed to the legacy of the Reds or the Whites reacted to the commemoration weekend in Lahti, though all the happenings, and especially the Fellman Field performance, were widely covered by the media.

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NEWS IN BRIEF

PROFESSOR KAZYS GRIGAS: 90TH BIRTH ANNIVERSARY

Kazys Grigas was born into a farmers' family in Pagiriai, Kaunas district, on March 1, 1924. He graduated from a gardening and floriculture school in Kaunas, and attended Vilkija Gymnasium. In 1944 he entered Kaunas Theological Seminary to avoid enlisting into the Soviet army. In 1945, after having taken the entrance examinations, he was admitted to the Faculty of History and Philology at Kaunas National Vytautas Magnus University. When ideological cleansing started at the university in 1948, K. Grigas was expelled with an entry in his personal file: "Expelled from Kaunas University for behaviour incompatible with a Soviet student's honour and duties".

Later on, K. Grigas studied at Kaunas Teachers Seminary, took librarianship equivalency examinations, taught at a gymnasium (Lithuanian and Latin languages), and worked at the bookbindery at the library of the History Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Vilnius. In 1951 he took equivalency examinations and graduated from Vilnius University. In 1954 K. Grigas started working at the Lithuanian Institute of Language and Literature (now Lithuanian Literature and Folklore Institute), where he became engaged in the field of folkloristics. K. Grigas spent the years from 1990 to 1998 teaching: he taught a course in paremiology at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, and later on a comparative folkloristics course at Vilnius University. K. Grigas translated various works of fiction, for instance, L. Carroll's *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (1957) and *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland and Through the Looking-Glass* (1991, in collaboration with J. Lapienytė), R. L. Stevenson's *The Master of Ballantrae* (1959), and R. L. Stevenson's *Treasure Island. The Master of Ballantrae* (1986) from English, B. Traven's *The Cotton Pickers* (1961) from German, and M. Selimović's *Death and the Dervish* (1972) from Russian. In 2002 Kazys Grigas was awarded the Order of the Lithuanian Grand Duke Gediminas of the fourth class for his achievements for the good of the Lithuanian nation.

Kazys Grigas's most outstanding achievements in his folkloristic work are in the field of paremiology: thanks to his own ceaseless efforts and under his guidance, over 200,000 proverbs and proverbial phrases were systematised, and the fundamental edition of *Lithuanian Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases* was published (Vol. 1 in 2000; Vol. 2 in 2008). The authors were given a Lithuanian Scholar's award for the first volume of the book. It is worth mentioning that while working on the *Lithuanian Proverbs and Proverbial Phrases*, K. Grigas simultaneously closely studied the scientific publication entitled *Eesti vanasõnad* (Estonian Proverbs) (1980–1988) written by Estonian paremiologists led by Arvo Krikmann, as he thought it to be one of the most exemplary national proverbs digests.

K. Grigas was the author of many significant works in comparative paremiology, including books like *Lithuanian Proverbs: Comparative Study* (1976) and *Parallels of Proverbs. Lithuanian Proverbs with Latvian, Belarussian, Russian, Polish, German, English, Latin, French, Spanish Equivalents* (1987), as well as numerous studies and problem articles in Lithuanian. Many of his writings also appeared in international

From the left: Professor Leonardas Sauka, Minister of Education Algirdas Monkevičius and professor Kazys Grigas at the Department of Folk Narrative, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, on August 5, 2001. Photo from the Archives of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore.

scholarly publications, such as *Proverbium* (1970–1974, 1998, 2002), *Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* (1995), and *Journal of the Baltic Institute of Folklore* (1996). He examined and published about other short forms of folklore as well, including riddles, onomatopoeias, tong-twisters, jokes, etc. K. Grigas significantly contributed to Lithuanian folklore historiography, conducting research into the 19th century, especially the works authored by historian and folklorist Simonas Daukantas. K. Grigas was an active folklore collector, a devoted mentor for young folklorists and researchers, editor of various folklore publications, etc. His merits in Lithuanian folklore research and popularisation are truly magnificent.

K. Grigas's theoretical paremiological works and source publications have not only built a base for the research within the field of Lithuanian proverbs and adages, but have also significantly contributed to the international paremiological research in the late 20th century. It is no surprise that K. Grigas and other famous paremiologists from around the world, such as Arvo Krikmann, Wolfgang Mieder, Gyula Paczolay, Elza Kokare, and Alma Ancelāne, shared not just professional interests but also friendship.

After professor Kazys Grigas had passed in 2002, Wolfgang Mieder wrote: "There is no doubt that Kazys Grigas will be remembered in Lithuania by students, colleagues, friends and family members. But he was also known far beyond Lithuania to folklorists and paremiologists throughout the world. His work has influenced scholars in Northern Europe, in the United States and elsewhere. It is with admiration and appreciation that I see his books stand on my shelves, right next to the volumes of his peers Matti Kuusi, Grigorii Lvovich Permiakov, Archer Tylor, Demetrios Loukatos, Barlett Jere Whiting, Lutz Rörich, Gyula Paczolay, Alan Dundes, and many more. Kazys Grigas was one of the true giants in the field of proverbs, and I am thankful that I have been able to stand on his shoulders to do my work for international paremiology" (Mieder 2003: 439).

<div style="text-align: right">

Leonardas Sauka, Dalia Zaikauskienė
Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore

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SEMINAR *ESTONIAN DIGITAL HUMANITIES ANNO 2013: IT-APPLICATIONS IN HUMANITIES*

On October 25, 2013, the first seminar of digital humanities in Estonia took place at the Estonian Literary Museum. It stemmed from the idea that although the disciplinary developments in Estonian humanities were intertwined with the use of digital resources and research methods, no attempt had been made to bring together the humanities scholars who work with digital technologies. Even the term 'digital humanities', although widely used in North America and Western Europe, had not been used in Estonian. The number of participants and the extent of eager discussions throughout the day showed the need for experience exchange. The one-day seminar was surprisingly popular: it was filled with 20 papers and, additionally, two poster presentations. The framework was interdisciplinary; in this review, I will give a short overview of the main topics with somewhat longer notes on folkloristic presentations.

Linguists have a long tradition of collaboration with computer scientists. The four papers by linguists (Pille Eslon, Grethe Juhkason, Kadri Muischnek, Kadri Vider)

presented different language resources and databases and demonstrated the usage of such technologies for research purposes. Digital methods have long been used in archaeology as well. At the seminar, Mari-Liis Posti introduced the archaeological information systems of Tallinn University, Hembo Pagi's paper was dedicated to the usage of new visualisation technologies, and Allar Haav described the results of his research on settlement pattern analysis with the help of various software. Therefore, very different aspects of the use of digital technologies were covered – from databases and development to actual research. A similar pattern emerged in literary studies: while Marju Mikkel introduced the general possibilities of a literary historical web project *Kreutzwald's Century*, Elle-Mari Talivee had carried out research into Estonian literary classics, using the materials that had been digitised for the same particular project. The various cultural and mental changes that are the side-effect of digitalisation of literature were described and analysed by Vallo Kepp.

However, memory institutions are in the midst of many large-scale digitalisation projects, some of which were introduced at the seminar. The Estonian Pedagogical Archives-Museum had just started creating a web information system and repository for their collections, and Veronika Varik introduced the project. Jaanus Kõuts from the Estonian National Library spoke about the Estonian Web Archive and the plan to archive the whole Estonian (.ee) web domain. There were two presentations about the usage of open data in different institutions. Priit Laanoja had compiled an overview of the changes that had taken place in Estonian school network, and his application had links to photos or Google Maps street views on the locations of the schools. Vahur Puik introduced a webpage on which users can add metadata to historical photos. The photos are from archive collections, and geotagging is done by crowdsourcing.

For an institution in need of displaying a part of its collection, online exhibition web virtuaalmuuseum.ee, introduced by Andres Uueni, could be an opportunity. The current online exhibitions mainly display the collections of different memory institutions. Artists have used digital technologies in different ways. For instance, Hilkka Hiiop and Meelis Pärjasaar introduced technologies for graphical documenting and archiving the information of a visual representation of a piece of art for restoration purposes. One of the highlights of the seminar was the introduction of an interactive database documentary, *The East*, by Raivo Kelomees and Hille Karm, a movie with an audience participation solution. The movie had not been screened yet.

Several Estonian folklorists participated in the seminar. Kaisa Kulasalu and Mari Sarv gave an overview of the digitalisation goals at the Estonian Folklore Archives. The archives, founded in 1927, have a system of different indexes. Already in the early 1990s, the new materials were not described on index cards; instead, there was a set of different files. Only in the past couple of years, all the archival data were gathered into one web-based archival information system *Kivike*. The transcriptions of folklore texts give numerous opportunities for the researcher. Andres Kuperjanov described the advantages of automatised bulk editing of large folk text corpora that are not presented in a database-format. Mare Kõiva gave an overview of sacred texts corpora and the possibilities of combining the collection with other similar folklore collections in Europe. The two poster presentations were also by folklorists. Piret Voolaid introduced a database of paremiological graffiti, which, with its search engines and statistical data processing, is a useful tool for a scholar. Liisi Laineste had participated in the creation

of a MediaWiki-based Eastern European jokelore database that contains jokes of three nations. MediaWiki combines the encyclopaedia format with the opportunities for collaboration, being a good tool for international projects.

The seminar ended with a discussion in which most of the participants expressed their hopes for a further collaboration and a common board for discussion. Most of the digital humanities projects in Estonia have been connected with the digitalisation of materials and creation of infrastructure – this is what most of the papers represented. But already now digital material could be used for answering different kinds of research questions and these were present in the papers as well. There are also projects that use open data and crowdsourcing, and in this vein applications could be created on the basis of very many digital collections. Digital humanities will therefore help to bring the humanities – among others, the usage of folklore materials and research conducted by folklorists – closer to the general public.

Kaisa Kulasalu

PAREMIOLOGISTS AT THE 7TH INTERDISCIPLINARY COLLOQUIUM ON PROVERBS IN TAVIRA, PORTUGAL

The Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs is an annual conference organised by the Associação Internacional de Paremiologia[1] (International Association of Paremiology – AIP–IAP). The conference is an important international event in the field of paremiology both for academics and people interested in proverbs. The home town of the colloquium as well as for the association is Tavira, a small town in southern Portugal. In 2013, the 7th colloquium took place from November 3rd to 10th. Once again Tavira welcomed the conference with various paremiological presentations. The conference does not have any special theme for each year. Yet, every year there is a person to be honoured at the conference; in 2013 it was Finnish paremiologist Outi Lauhakangas.

The programme consisted of plenary sessions, papers, book exhibitions, presentations of some projects and poster presentations. As is usual, the participants come from various academic and non-academic backgrounds, and their papers feature a wide range of perspectives. The motivation of papers might be based on research, practical activities focusing on proverbs, or purely interest in proverbs. The year 2013 was not an exception. The key themes at colloquiums have been and are the teaching of proverbs, educational functions of proverb usage, collections, dictionaries and databases of proverbs, and material from the media, including also novel sources like the Internet. The latter has been of special interest for Estonian and Finnish researchers.

The main speaker at the opening session was the regional director of the Culture of Algarve, Dália Paulo, who spoke about intangible heritage and its importance. The support of the cultural and regional office is important for the work of the association in Portugal. Tavira has named itself "the world capital of proverbs".

Participants of the colloquium on an excursion. Photo by Liisa Granbom-Herranen 2013.

The invited speakers at the 7th colloquium in the order of appearance were the following: Ana Mineiro (Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Portugal) talked about the Portuguese nautical language, Ana Margarida Ramos (University of Aveiro, Portugal) presented publications of proverbs aimed at children, and changes in them from the time of Franco to nowadays, and Sandra Cazelote (Clinica de Fonoaudiologia, Brazil) focused on aphasic people and their ability to understand proverbs. Karel Kucera (Charles University, Czech Republic) talked about Jan Ámos Komenský, better known as John Amos Comenius, and his educational targets containing proverbs. Idalete Dias (University of Minho, Portugal) concentrated on linguistic handling of proverbs as metaphors, metonymy and synecdoche. Luís M Araújo (University of Lisboa, Portugal) presented his ideas of proverbs used in ancient Egypt. Valery Mokienko (St. Petersburg University, Russian

Federation) talked about the problems of constructing a paremiological thesaurus. These papers give quite a substantial overview of the topics handled at this colloquium, both from folkloristic and linguistic points of view: proverbs, teaching of proverbs, use of proverbs for some special tasks, as well as collecting and translating of proverbs. As some of the invited speakers were young researchers, the colloquium was also a possibility to have a glance at the future doctoral theses as well as to learn something about the contemporary interests of researchers. The programme of the colloquium can be found online at http://www.colloquium-proverbs.org/icp/en/program.

The variation of languages in which proverbs were tackled by researchers also tells something about the interest. Even if the official languages used in presentations are Portuguese and English, this year proverbs were heard in Afrikaans, Arabic, Czech, Chinese, Dari, English, Finnish, Italian, Latin, Russian, Polish, Portuguese, Spanish as well as Mozambican Tsonga and Macua-Lomwe languages. Of course in the presentations we heard proverbs mainly as translated into English or Portuguese. During the breaks and free time, conversations in the groups of participants were held in various languages. Once again it was nice to notice that in a positive atmosphere the most important thing is to understand and to be understood. It does not matter what language you use and how good your knowledge of grammar is. Both papers, plenary sessions and breaks are fruitful components of a colloquium, and all of them are needed.

On the last day of the conference we received sad news. Bo Almqvist, a Swedish folklorist who had studied Irish folklore, had left the land of the living. He had participated in some former Tavira colloquiums and is remembered, in addition to his praiseworthy academic work, as a gentleman with a good sense of humour. During the excursion following the colloquium we visited an area with graves from ancient times; there, in the beautiful surroundings, Fionnuala Carson Williams gave a small speech to commemorate him.

The Portuguese organisers, especially Rui and Marinela Soares, as well as the active Tavira citizens had once again done everything for the participants to feel comfortable. The participants were treated to small surprises and given an opportunity to become acquainted with Portuguese history and folklore. This social intercourse is quite important both as a networking and entertaining function. All the cultural events and surprises were organised in concert with the organisers of the colloquium, the town officials, the regional cultural office of Algarve, and the sponsors and residents of Tavira. The next colloquium – the 8th Interdisciplinary Colloquium on Proverbs – will take place in Tavira on November 2–9, 2014.

<div align="right">Liisa Granbom-Herranen</div>

Note

[1] About the International Association of Paremiology see http://www.aip-iap.org/.

SILLE KAPPER DEFENDED HER DOCTORAL THESIS ON TRADITIONAL FOLK DANCE

On December 12, 2013, Sille Kapper defended her doctoral thesis "Muutuv pärimustants: kontseptsioonid ja realisatsioonid Eestis 2008–2013 / Changing Traditional Folk Dance: Concepts and Realizations in Estonia 2008–2013" at the Estonian Institute of Humanities at Tallinn University.

The research discusses the multiple meanings of the concept *rahvatants* (folk dance), which have evolved by the beginning of the 21st century. It becomes obvious that in public discourse the Estonian term *pärimustants* (traditional folk dance), which was coined only five to ten years ago, is understood differently by users with different backgrounds. The dissertation focuses on the meaning of the term *pärimustants* among its users in contemporary Estonia, highlighting the main codes – *historicism*, *community*, *participation* and *variability* – in the text coding schemes of both scientific and everyday discourses.

The author points out that the two approaches that emanated in the first decades of the 20th century – the 'stylised folk dance' and the 'original folk dance' – diverged in Estonia especially significantly during the period of the Soviet occupation. This fact inspired her to treat stage folk dance as a specific form of dance art within the framework related to Epp Annus's concept of *Soviet colonialism*. The influence of the Soviet period in variations of dance texts as well as the modes of action required further investigation.

Sille Kapper in Warsaw in November 2013. Photo by Edite Husare.

The researcher has sought for dance realisations, which, while analysed, would reveal the dancer's knowledge and readiness to apply them, or unconscious yet culturally determined *habitus*es and habits, or both simultaneously. This kind of dance texts were mainly provided by spontaneous participant dancing at festivals and concerts, dance clubs, traditional folk dance workshops, and classes for choreography students and folk dancers.

The qualitative content analysis of the research material mainly focuses on the codes that express the values of the members of different communities: what they think about different variants and ways of variation, to what they pay/do not pay attention, and who, why and in which situations speaks about these topics, for what reasons and in what ways. The author has endeavoured to find reflections that would indicate relationships between actual dance realisations and their interpretations and evaluations. Estonian traditional folk dance has never been explored like that.

The author also makes a mention of the fact that today the topic of nationalism is involved in the concept of traditional folk dance, especially in the texts of folk dancers and folk dance teachers.

While discussing the learning of traditional folk dances at the present time, the author recognises that a dialogue with dance texts becomes evident in the study process, in which the conception of the dance and its realisation are supplemented alternately. She maintains that such a dialogue with dance takes much time and folk dance groups rather learn traditional folk dances briefly and quickly, as a project. Yet, this does not exclude going into details. As an example, she mentions a young people's folk dance group who intently practised a basic dance move, and, as a result, their dance movements became practically void of the impacts of stage folk dance (p. 69).

The author holds that the newest phenomenon that influences the variations of traditional folk dance is the role of dance texts as a medium in the intrapersonal communication of the dancer or the audience. She also presents a widespread opinion that traditional folk dance is boring both for dancing and watching, and therefore it never initiates intrapersonal communication. As the dance teacher's interpretation of the situation is that if the text does not address the audience, it has failed, they add new elements to the traditional folk dance in order for it "to be more interesting". This coincides with the mentality of the modern lifestyle, which constantly requires something new; yet, the aesthetic values of stage folk dance and the dance style rooted in the memory of generations as correct and authentic are also based on the same way of thinking.

This approach is opposed by the subculture of those deeply interested in traditional folk dance. They try to detach themselves from stage folk dance aesthetics and restore economic body use, regarding it as an essential component and valuable asset of the peasant dance. The interpretations of historic and regional communities are characterised by a relatively distinct line between the "right" and the "wrong". Regional peculiarities and identities are emphasised by certain movement variants.

According to the author, traditional folk dance is often distinguished from stage(d) folk dance by the criteria of participant-centeredness and performativity. Different approaches can be distinguished in performing traditional folk dance to the external audiences: the dancers' manner of moving might be similar to the stage style, yet it can also be purposely opposed to. While discussing the intertwining of participant and performative functions today, the author remarks that dance simultaneously involves

both the dancer's personal enjoyment and performance to the audience, whereas the proportion of different factors depends on the group's inner culture, values, acting period or a concrete situation.

The dissertation states that traditional folk dancers and amateurs deeply interested in traditional folk dance have started to look for new alternative methods in order to adapt peasant dances to today's aesthetics and lifestyles, with no diminishing emphasis on the dancer's individuality, the absence of which in stage folk dance they criticise.

In conclusion, the author states that we lack a common conception of the nature of traditional folk dance. Everyone construes the concept of traditional folk dance on the basis of their own knowledge and experience. So, in some cases, the existence of movement elements originating in peasant culture or the sequence of motifs is regarded as a characteristic determinant, while in some other cases the decisive factor is the participant-centeredness of the dance as opposed to performativity, and in still other cases improvisation is emphasised, or, vice versa, local community rules, norms and peculiarities are brought to the fore. Today, the traditional folk dances of the peasantry and their elements have moved from the village community to the communities of different enthusiasts and hobbyists, and are continued as a modern tradition recreated over and over again at each realisation.

As an option to continue the research, the author considers the application of post-colonial approaches in studying, for instance, the relationship between Baltic-German and Estonian peasant dance culture. Another possibility would be the topic of relationships of Estonian traditional folk dances with those of neighbouring peoples, which has not sparked a wider interest until now. As dance has no language restrictions and is therefore international, it would be feasible, in the future, to compile a catalogue of European dances analogous to the international fairy-tale catalogues.

The value of this research cannot be disputed, yet there are a few arguments based on opinions unsubstantiated by facts. Such statements cannot be accepted in scientific literature as they might result in an undesirable snowball effect.

The author claims that Kristjan Torop's collection *Viron vakka* was first published in Finnish in Tampere, Finland, for "economic and political reasons". This argument is not grounded. When Kristjan Torop started work at the Institute of Language and Literature in 1979, he began to compile a collection of Estonian folk dances, which became his lifelong assignment. So, the publication of the folk dance collection was included in the state plan of the institute. Torop continued his work at the collection even when he left the institute and started work at the Folk Culture Training and Development Centre, as he was allowed to take all the materials with him. Nor were there any obstacles for publishing the completed manuscripts as institute publications, and no folkloric source materials remained unpublished "for economic and political reasons".

A *Viron vakka*-format publication was initially not planned at all. Torop received an order for such a book directly from Finland, from a society called Friends of Finnish Folk Dance, and started to execute it in Finnish. As preparatory work had been done in Estonian and he was good at Finnish, it did not take him long to complete the book. *Viron vakka*, a collection of Estonian folk dances, was published in Finland in 1991.

So, there was no Estonian manuscript to be published, and nor were there any political reasons for not publishing it. Books of folk dances were published in Estonia also in more unfavourable times (Toomi 1953, Tampere 1975), and when *Viron vakka*

was translated into Estonian, it did not remain unpublished either. It was great that our Finnish friends, who have always supported Estonian folklorists, had this idea and helped to realise it, but we do not need any groundless arguments in this regard.

Another argument based on ungrounded statements is that waltz and polka as independent dances were generally danced in a circle in Estonia. This postulate is derived from Heino Aassalu's citation. There are relevant data about the island of Kihnu, but Aassalu does not refer to any other concrete regions. Yet, the inhabitants of Kihnu distinguish their manner of dancing from that of mainland Estonians. Hiiemäe's footnote that the author refers to does not mention waltz or polka. Many Estonian peasant dances were danced in a circle, but ordinary waltz and polka as independent dances were usually not. During my fieldwork, I have never encountered people dancing waltz and polka in a circle other than on the island of Kihnu. I would not insist that it never happened anywhere, but the citations referred to do not include any concrete data about it.

The source references on the materials of the Estonian Folklore Archives in the appendix would also need some specification. Incomplete references, which actually would not allow for identifying materials, could rather have been left out; instead, the author could have just noted that she had used older sources at the Estonian Folklore Archives as background materials.

However, the abovementioned minor shortcomings do not diminish the general value of the dissertation. It is methodologically novel and analytically thorough in its approach. The diversity of materials and the researcher's own experience as a dancer and dance teacher further enhance the credibility of the results. In conclusion I can say that Estonian ethnocoreology has been supplemented by a new efficient study.

Ingrid Rüütel

WINTER SCHOOL OF FOLKLORISTICS IN JHARKHAND, INDIA

On January 12–21, 2014, a winter school of folkloristics under the heading "Tradition, Creativity and Indigenous Knowledge: Winter School of International Folkloristics and Indigenous Culture" took place in Jharkhand, India. It was organised by the Centre for Tribal Folklore, Language and Literature at the Central University of Jharkhand, in cooperation with the Department of Estonian and Comparative Folklore at the University of Tartu. The participants included, besides folklorists, also historians, linguists and media researchers from Estonia, India, Denmark, Italy, Ireland, the United States and China. The majority of the presentations were dedicated to folk beliefs, and several researchers focused namely on Indian tribal folklore. Rabindranath Sarma offered an overview of the beliefs, customs and traditions of the Oraon people in Jharkhand, G. Badaiasuklang Nonglait introduced the jokes of the Khasi people in north-east India, and Li Ansiqi's presentation discussed the traditions of the Miao tribe in China. Stefano Beggiora provided an overview of the beliefs about the end of the world and end of a time cycle in the tribal cultures of India, raising a philosophical question about whether the ongoing modernisation and globalisation constitutes not only a mythological but also a real end to tribal worlds. To counterbalance these ideas, Madis Arukask offered, by

Temple of Sarna believers decorated with red-and-white flags at Murma. Photo by Reet Hiiemäe 2014.

way of lectures and films, an overview of the life of some Finno-Ugric minority groups (the Veps and the Votes). Estonian researchers also discussed genre as a conceptual tool in folkloristics (Ülo Valk), the changing ways of collecting folklore (Merili Metsvahi), collection work in a transnational context (Pihla Maria Siim) and personal experience stories (Reet Hiiemäe).

Besides verbal folklore, several researchers tackled the visual and auditory forms of folklore. Uwe Skoda's presentation explained the cultural and regional conditionality of fright phenomena; for instance, in the lore of many European regions with Christian background the dead are described as demonised and dangerous and contact with them is avoided, whereas in India and elsewhere in Asia there are regions that welcome such contacts; the deceased can be kept in the same room with the living for quite a while and they are also part of family photos. In addition to this, Skoda discussed the socio-cultural meaning of cockfight. Carlo A. Cubero spoke about sono-truths as a means to articulate the peculiar effect of using sound recordings as the main research methodology. Marje Ermel discussed, in light of fieldwork conducted in the community of Krishna devotees, sound recordings as social objects, which should be viewed in their immediate context. Nilly Lepcha Karthak introduced the traditional musical instruments and music of the Lepcha tribe. Lidia Guzy described, on the basis of fieldwork carried out in western Orissa, India, a paradox about the role of village musicians, who belong to the lowest caste in social stratification, and how their role changes in sacral contexts,

in which namely their untouchable status enables them to act as mediators between humans and the divine sphere. As the winter school combined both presentations and discussions in seminars, all topics could be debated and therefore different viewpoints were highlighted. For instance, Guzy's presentation sparked a dispute about the possible objectivity of the conclusions made by a researcher from European cultural space about Indian tribal religions. It was argued that belonging to the same cultural space may act as a filter and therefore researchers sometimes fail to notice some nuances that can be obvious to outsiders.

The winter school brought to the fore quite a few novel viewpoints. Claire Scheid's presentation about the depiction of the Yeti in folklore explained that, besides spontaneous mythologisation of fears, an opposite tendency – demythologisation – can also occur. Kishore Bhattacharjee pointed out that although it has found little attention, several widely known Christian saint legends have also parallels in Hindu tradition. Margaret Lyngdoh spoke about violence caused by supernatural factors, referring to the recent acts of violence related to a mysterious creature called Thlen in north-east India. Tollheishel Khaling noted that more often than not, the influence of colonists and missionaries on Indian tribal cultures has been treated as destructive, although in certain cases it could have even favoured the preservation of tribal culture (e.g., by way of increasing the self-awareness of the tribe). William Westerman placed the complicated dilemmas related to the survival of cultures into a global perspective, giving an overview of the causes of coerced migration across the world and pointing out that if there is no well-elaborated programme for helping immigrants, this could result in cultural genocide of the indigenous people in the host country.

Within the framework of the winter school, the participants were able to visit the villages of local Oraon tribes, get acquainted with the manifestations of their identity (e.g., tattoos, rituals), as well as listen to the lore related to their holy places (e.g., the cult of *sal*-trees, magic healings near the most important holy places, but also haunting phenomena). From the point of view of protective magic, it was interesting to see umbrellas with symbolic protective function in family and ancestral graveyards; also umbrella-like roofs could be encountered in tribal shrines (e.g., in Sarna-temple in Murma village), which according to locals symbolically protect tribal integrity. Side by side with the representatives of local religion worshipping goddess Sarna-Ma, Muslims, Hindus and Christians could be met in the villages. It was surprising that the differences between the *own* and the *other* were not very distinct, and hybridisation manifestations could rather be encountered (e.g., the Oraons who had been converted to Christianity or Islam, parallelly continued performing several tribal rituals). Yet, the opposition between the *own* and the *other* as well as the externalisation of dangers could be noted on a geographical basis: the majority of local inhabitants, with whom I conversed, maintained that in India the *other* states and regions were dangerous, rather than their own.

In conclusion I can say that participation in the winter school offered valuable experience, the presenters introduced novel viewpoints, and the perception of differences and similarities in the religion of India and Europe had a widening impact on the researcher's eye, which would definitely be an advantage in future work.

Reet Hiiemäe

3RD ALL-RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF FOLKLORISTS IN MOSCOW

The 3rd All-Russian Congress of Folklorists took place on February 3–7, 2014, in Voronovo, Russia, about 40 kilometres from Moscow. The congress was organised by the State Republican Centre of Russian Folklore (see: http://folkcentr.ru/), founded in 1990 at the Russian Ministry of Culture. The centre mainly focuses on scientific research, folklore-related collection and preservation, teaching, promotion and publication of materials about the traditional cultural phenomena of the peoples of Russia. The centre also issues different publications, including a popular science journal *Zhivaia Starina* (Living Ancienty) and science journal *Traditsionnaia Kultura* (Traditional Culture). Main responsibility for the organisation of the congress was taken by Anatoli Kargin, director of the centre, and Varvara Dobrovolskaya, head of the Department of Folklore and Ethnography.

The congress that takes place every fourth year (the first one in 2006, the second one in 2010) has become a unique event in Russian folkloristics, assembling specialists from Russian academic institutes, research centres, and corresponding chairs of higher educational institutions, as well as, typically of Russia, leaders of creative groups and ensembles, educationalists and specialists in methodology. The number of participants has been increasing over the years, and this year there were 650 delegates from all over Russia, as well as from outside the Russian Federation, e.g., Italy, Poland, Ukraine, Belorussia, Azerbaijan, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The range of topics in this science forum significant in the promotion of Russian folklore studies is extremely extensive. The year 2014 is officially proclaimed the year of culture in the Russian Federation, which adds weight to all cultural events. The congress of folklorists was also culturally weighty, featuring 31 sections and 483 presentations.

The opening speeches from the organisers and representatives of the Ministry of Culture highlighted the main objectives of the folklore forum: to strengthen scientific contacts between the former republics of the Soviet Union, diminish the gap between theoreticians and practicians, introduce work in this sphere of science, and enable exchange of experience and inspiration. The necessity of bringing the world of science and the Ministry of Culture closer to each other was emphasised and concrete priorities were highlighted, such as better financing of expeditions and material collection, facilitation of work in the archives by means of information technology equipment, and focusing on publication activities and youth forums.

Participation in the congress is also important for Estonian folklorists, as it enables us to keep in touch with the newest research trends in Russian folklore, introduce our own work in a big forum, and develop cooperation with colleagues from neighbouring countries. It is well known that after Estonia regained independence, Estonian folklorists have carried out cooperation projects mainly with scientists from the European Union and western researchers, and therefore English has become the main working language. However, it is important to learn about the research topics and viewpoints of our big neighbour, and to find out what the opportunities are for cooperation with the researchers from the countries whose socio-political recent past is quite similar to ours. Also, it is important to keep abreast of recent special literature in Russian.

Academic work at the congress was organised in parallel sections and round table discussions, which dealt with extremely different phenomena, topics and viewpoints.

A round table discussion dedicated to chain letters was held during the congress. In the front row Mare Kõiva (on the left) and Piret Voolaid. Photo by Kalle Voolaid 2014.

As it was nearly impossible to get a detailed overview of this extensive congress, the author participated mainly in the sections dedicated to modern folklore. On the first working day of the congress, Alexander Panchenko (St. Petersburg) and Daria Radchenko (Moscow) moderated round table discussions dedicated to chain letters, a widely spread phenomenon in modern folklore. Alexander Panchenko characterised the tradition of chain letters and their varied forms and ways of circulation by means of modern meme theories. Daniel W. Van Arsdale from the United States spoke about the origin of the "Send-a-Dime" chain letter launched by a mysterious Jane Doe in Denver, US, in 1935, at the time of the Great Depression. Daria Radchenko in her presentation highlighted the collectivity aspect of chain letters. Mare Kõiva and Piret Voolaid, senior researchers of the Estonian Literary Museum, both of whom have formerly been engaged in the topic, also gave presentations at the round table. Mare Kõiva spoke about more than a hundred years old chain letter tradition, its modern forms of manifestation and use of terminology in Estonia; Piret Voolaid highlighted the possibility of analysing, by way of folklore material, early teens' value and identity expressions. As a result of the forum, an international working group dedicated to chain folklore is due to be organised.

Modern folklore section on February 5 and 6 featured fascinating and novel treatments. Bulgarian folklorist Ekaterina Anastasova compared Estonian and Bulgarian identities, by analysing ethnic heritage cultures under UNESCO protection, enquiring about the line between culture studies and folkloric tourism. Tatiana Dianova (Moscow) in her presentation focused on the elements of Russian national symbolism, beginning from the Firebird and the three bogatyrs to those used at Sochi Olympic Games.

Dionizjusz Czubala's (Poland) paper (read by his wife Galina Kutyriova-Czubala) analysed the conspiracy stories that emerged as an aftermath of the plane crash, in which the President of Poland was killed in Smolensk in April 2010. The hearsays that spread in this highly emotional situation introduced highly different theories, including political conspiracies.

Natalia Efimova in her presentation answered questions about how folklore disseminated in the well-known Russian social network VKontakte (vk.com) refers to the main values in youth culture and which of these values stand in the foreground.

Anna Sokolova (Moscow) presented, with excellent examples, memorial sites that emerged spontaneously after the plane crash on September 7, 2011, in which the whole Yaroslavl hockey team was killed, focusing on the phenomenon more generally, and specifically on the texts that the mourners used at the memorial sites. Kalle Voolaid, Research Secretary of the Estonian Sports Museum, spoke about Georg Lurich, a legendary Estonian strongman, as a heroic prototype of folk tales, focusing on the narratives that have been passed on until today.

Natalia Urvantseva (Petrozavodsk) discussed the stereotypical image and influence of Lenin in children's folklore of the 1920s, for instance, in games (after Lenin's death in 1924, children played Lenin's funeral and other games related to him).

Albert Baiburin (St. Petersburg) delivered a paper on the etymology and folkloric developments of the expression "101th kilometre". This term was unofficially widely used in the former Soviet Union and meant that certain groups of people (mainly the politically repressed and criminals) were not allowed to live nearer than 100 kilometres from Moscow, Leningrad (now St. Petersburg), the capitals of union republics and closed towns. Olga Frolova (Moscow) focused, in her paper on humour, on abstract anecdotes, weighing their nature and characters in them.

Konstantin Shumov's (Perm) presentation highlighted the anthropology of death, memorial websites for pets and their naïve and sentimental poetry. He also discussed the naïve-mythological conception related to the death of a pet, and naïve art through which people who mourn their pets express their feelings.

In conclusion it could be said that in the section of modern folklore interdisciplinary and especially sociological approaches contributed to the analysis of many topics. It is understandable as contemporary material, which can be collected together with presentational situations and contextual environments, is much easier for the researcher to interpret in socio-cultural contexts and functions than, for instance, archival texts that are over a hundred years old.

The evenings were filled with a wide range of cultural events to be selected from. A festival of folkloric films took place within the framework of the congress, and several workshops (traditional handicraft, choreography, etc.) were organised. Every evening representatives of different institutions introduced their most recent publications, the majority of which were bulky academic volumes of folklore texts from different regions. A collection of articles dealing with general issues in folklore theory and topical problems of folklore was published specially for the congress.

A detailed programme of the 3rd All-Russian Congress of Folklorists can be found at http://folkcentr.ru/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/3-конгресс.pdf. Unfortunately, the organisers failed to publish the abstracts for the event; yet, articles written on the basis of the presentations are planned to be published in special collections.

Piret Voolaid

BOOK REVIEWS

THE POWER OF THE MASK
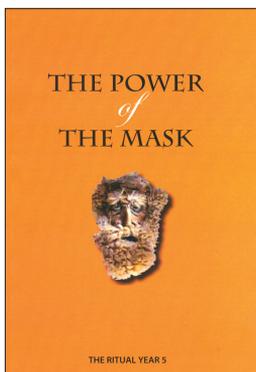
Arūnas Vaicekauskas (ed.). *The Power of the Mask*. **The Ritual Year 5. Kaunas: Vytautas Magnus University, 2013. 150 pp.**

The collections published by the Ritual Year Working Group of the International Society of Ethnology and Folklore (SIEF) provide a unique overview of the key points of the ritual year, not only by means of theory but also through detailed case analysis. The treatments proceed from various methodological bases and specialities (history, anthropology, folkloristics, ethnology, religious studies, ethnomusicology). The collections of the series cover a wide time range: festivals and celebrations from long-gone times, medieval traditions side by side with the festivals from the recent past and modern society, such as granting citizenship, the celebration of national days, etc. The articles also dwell upon institutional new rituals, festivals constructed or re-established by alternative religious movements, as well as customs related to the key events in human life. The articles in the series constitute a peculiar thematically coherent set.

The collection recently published in Kaunas is not an exception either. The majority of the contributions add to the former knowledge of masking and history of masks as well as local interpretations of masks in European traditions. Researches in this collection are related to the former treatments published by the SIEF Ritual Year Working Group, expanding the observations made on masking rituals in several European countries during the past decade (e.g., Fikfak, Gunnel, Raicane), adding also descriptions of new religions.

The researches included in *The Power of the Mask* indicate the unification of rituals and spread of similar tendencies over a vast territory. The whole ritual is undergoing changes: masks and masking also keep changing throughout eras; new masks and costumes are merged into it, ways of celebration are modified and unified, whereas old traditions are also preserved. A good example of it is Arūnas Vaicekauskas's treatment of modern Baltic masking traditions. He refers to masking as a tradition of great variability, which is not connected with former calendar holidays any more, but is currently replaced by public carnivals, private masked parties, or personal masking. Unified characters follow the examples of movies, fiction, fairytales, etc. Also, village masks typical of Lithuanian tradition have been preserved.

John Helsloot's article written in 2008 within the wave of a wide-ranging public discussion dwells upon Black Peter, who accompanies St. Nicholas in the Netherlands. Black Peter is a well-known and beloved character in folk tradition. The mask lacks any negative meanings although it is easily identifiable as a racial stereotype, as has been

emphasised by some Dutch and especially by foreign researchers. J. Helsloot inquires about the position of the ethnologist willing to protect cultural heritage, especially in the case of a missing negative stereotype.

The masking rituals of different regions are discussed from a wider philosophical perspective. Aida Rancane treats masking as a form of symbolic behaviour, enabling transition to the key values. Transformation into mythic heroes and repetition of archetypal activities offer a possibility for the renewal of primeval time. Tatiana Minniyakhmetova introduces traditional masking and zoomorphic and anthropomorphic masks. The author also touches upon rare masking traditions (old women disguise as men and imitate them), as well as their mythological and social background. Božena Gierek presents the Polish *pucheroki* masking tradition on Palm Sunday. This custom involves boys at the age of four to fifteen and is based on 16th-century university students' customs. Modern masking traditions are discussed by Marlene Hugoson in her article about Star Trek fandom, and by Ekaterina Anastasova in her treatment of a Latvian private birthday party with participants disguised as pioneers, as well as its background. Žilvytis Šaknys introduces changes in calendar customs in the south of Lithuania and north-east of Poland during the Soviet period and after that.

However, masks and masking is not the sole topic in the collection. In each volume of the series, Emily Lyle, president of the working group, presents a treatment of the general theoretical problems of the Ritual Year. This time it is dedicated to the summer/winter and decrease/increase transitions in the year and their life-cycle equivalents.

In addition, the collection comprises articles on some celebrations that have recently been introduced into European cultural space, such as baby showers originating in the United States (Carola Ekrem), and same-sex weddings as rites of passage (Emilia Karjula). Irina Sedakova discusses changes in Russian rituals related to love and weddings, and Rasa Račiūnaitė touches upon the westernisation of Lithuanian wedding traditions.

Throughout times, high school graduation has been a festive event at the end of the long educational road. For young people this is a considerable rise in status, an official transition to the adult world, a rite of passage. Lina Gergova writes about Bulgarian high school graduation ball as a phenomenon that has gained much popularity during the past fifty years.

The collections of the Ritual Year have always featured treatments of (Neo)-Paganism. Kamila Velkoborska's contribution introduces the Czech branch of Slavic Paganism.

The scientific approaches of *The Power of the Mask* make the dimensions of our social life comparable and understandable.

Mare Kõiva

CANNIBALS, RITUAL MURDERERS, ORGAN ROBBERS:
THE DARKER SIDE OF FOLKLORE

Christa Agnes Tuczay. *Die Herzesser. Dämonische Verbrechen in der Donaumonarchie*. **Wien: Seifert Verlag, 2007. 160 pp.**

Christa A. Tuczay's book provides a detailed overview of the darker side of folklore: killings with a religious background, on which the author has gained material from court minutes, folktales, hearsays, and the press and fiction of different eras. Traces of thematic folklore can be found already in the Bible and in Ancient Greek myths. The author has paid special attention to the cases concerned with removing and eating of the heart. However, the author has not aimed at finding the final truth or the motives for these crimes, but rather at placing this complex lore in the framework of European cultural history.

Tuczay describes cannibalism as an act usually attributed to the cultural *other* as a powerful symbol, which has been associated with most different peoples and ethnic groups from the times immemorial, and which has sometimes also been successfully applied as a means of propaganda. Among other things, the author also discusses the role of *interpretatio christiana* in the demonisation of fellow citizens (for instance, the questions proceeding from Christian discourse, which were posed at trials to those accused of witchcraft, greatly influenced the evolution of cannibalism lore). While some Early Middle Age sources still argue that "pagan beliefs" about women feeding on human flesh are a complete nonsense, then under the influence of Late Middle Age demonological writings the situation changes and the defendants' testimonies increasingly feature – often supported by torture – descriptions of cannibalism and removal of body parts for ritual purposes.

Tuczay mentions that a modern researcher often fails to differentiate between a legend and reality; yet, it was also difficult for the then narrators and even the perpetrators. For instance, folk tales about a specially processed hand, which, when carried along, was supposed to make the thief invisible, spread widely, and this kinds of accusations were frequent at courts, yet in reality evidence was very scarce. Cases of cannibalism could arouse heated arguments between the religious and court authorities of the time (for example, whether a human being was able to turn into a werewolf and, in this form, kill small children), and more often than not, the defendant's life depended on which opinion got the upper hand.

A separate chapter is dedicated to vampire belief; for instance, changes in the acts and characteristics attributed to vampires throughout time. Also, the author provides an overview of the evolution of the fairytale about the Bluebeard in different literary and folk presentations.

The numerous detailed descriptions and examples test the endurance limits of even folklorists; however, in a certain sense, the presentation of such material also makes sense, as in light of one's own reactions the effectiveness of certain symbols and images (e.g., murdering of children, certain ways of torturing) is especially clearly perceivable

and we might also understand the reasons why some of them can be encountered even today, for instance, as interpreted by the modern mass media.

Reet Hiiemäe

HOMO LUDENS: DESCRIBING VIRTUAL LIVES

Shaping Virtual Lives. Online Identities, Representations and Conducts. **Violetta Krawczyk-Wasilewska, Theo Meder, Andy Ross (eds.). Lodz: Lodz University Press, 2012. 148 pp.**

Real life and virtual reality – these are two categories that, when explored, can reveal quite a bit about contemporary people and the present of the whole human culture. The seven articles in the collection *Shaping Virtual Lives. Online Identities, Representations and Conducts*, authored by researchers with the background of mainly folkloristics or ethnology, are dedicated to the exploration of the Internet. The book is compiled on the basis of papers on Internet studies from a panel session of the SIEF congress in Lisbon in 2011.
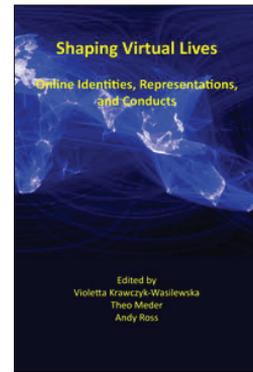
The collection deals with a range of topics related to social media and the Internet: rules, rituals, moralities, self-representations and gaming; stereotypes and rivalry on Russian Internet forums; grief and mourning and commemoration of suicide victims on the Internet; the way that the Internet can be used as a medium by the new religious movements.

Below I dwell upon a few studies in the collection that somehow addressed me more or made me find parallels at home. The dominant key word in this collection could easily be *homo ludens*, as four studies out of the seven focus on play and playfulness and person's self-image in this play. The reality created in cyberspace can be fantastic and mystical, with its human relationships and morality as described by Óli Gneisti Sóleyjarson in his article "Rules and boundaries: The morality of Eve Online". However, several virtual games popular among adults, such as IMVU (*Instant Messaging Virtual Universe*) and *Second Life*, try to imitate human life in its diversity. In these games the participants can create a complete image of themselves, choose for their avatars everything starting from gender and name to clothing, place of residence, job and partner; they can have fun, flirt, have a wedding, engage in cyber sex and give birth to children. For example, online dating, as it is described in Violetta Krawczyk-Wasilewska and Andrew Ross's article "Matchmaking through avatars: Social aspects of online dating", which safely realises people's romantic dreams, is an increasingly popular trend in the cyber world, but actually also business, because the creators of these online environments collect real money from the participants for a romantic date in a virtual Paris or New York café.

Theo Meder in his article "'You have to make up your own story here': Identities in cyberspace from Twitter to Second Life" does not define these environments as games

but rather as chatting in real time, carried on by animated avatars in 3D environment. Theo Meder argues that this image – the avatar – which the player creates to represent him/herself, is an idealised image of him/herself and has to be attractive also for other players. Through this image, the person realises his/her dreams and secret fantasies. So, many players of Afro-American or Asian origin have chosen an avatar with European appearance, or players have created an avatar of an opposite sex, i.e., men have created female avatars and vice versa. However, as Meder argues (p. 32), connection between the player and his/her avatar is quite close and is expressed in avatar's actions and words: "Our lives online are not something separate from our lives offline: both are an inherent part of our existence. In both realms we act, react, play roles and make choices about our representations."

As I come from Tartu, the second largest town in Estonia, I find Maria Yelenevskaya's article "Moscow and St. Petersburg compete: Negotiating city identity on ru.net" very interesting. In general lines, the problem seems to be the rivalry between physical and mental power, as is the case also for Tallinn and Tartu in Estonia. Yelenevskaja in her article discusses the change of internet identities of the two leading Russian cities and the stereotypes related to them, trying to find out what the most conspicuous categories are in their comparison and how Internet users present themselves in terms of these two cities. The author has used for analysis texts from different genres as well as visual material selected by the Yandex search engine: essays, interviews, media coverage, television and radio interviews, poems, jokes, etc. In the case of these two cities, the researcher points out nine opposing categories. While Moscow is central, powerful, rich, dynamic, commercial, Russian, female, cruel and vivacious, then St. Petersburg is peripheral, weak, poor, stagnant, culture-oriented, European, male, friendly and romantic. Maria Yelenevskaya's research reveals that even if several stereotypes related to these two cities have faded away due to post-socialist socio-economic changes, opinions based on the 19th–20th-century folklore and literature have become more fixed in people's minds.

Anders Gustavsson gives an overview of Norwegian and Swedish Internet pages that commemorate suicide victims. Currently, Norwegian and Swedish societies still relate suicide to taboos, dislike and condemnation, but also shame, misunderstanding, attempt to understand and certainly mourning. According to Anders Gustavsson, the memorial websites created on the Internet especially for expressing the last-mentioned feelings and emotions are more popular in Sweden. Norwegian society as a whole is considerably more conservative and sceptical as to attitudes towards suicides and memorial websites. Also, in Norway old traditions and beliefs related to suicides have survived, whereas in Sweden several innovative ideas connected to the death topic, for example, from the field of religion, have been adapted. The author points out that society's attitude towards suicide is influenced by several factors; for instance, a more open press, which, following all the laws of ethics, tries to elicit the causes of the final decision that people make in their utterly private sphere.

To conclude this brief overview, I would like to mention that this is an interesting and necessary book, which should stand side by side with Dutch cultural historian Johan Huizinga's book *Homo ludens: Proeve ener bepaling van het spelelement der cultuur* (Playing Man: A Study of the Play Element in Culture) on the bookshelf of a cultural researcher investigating the Internet, but definitely on that of each folklorist.

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