

DET OMBEJLEDE FOLK

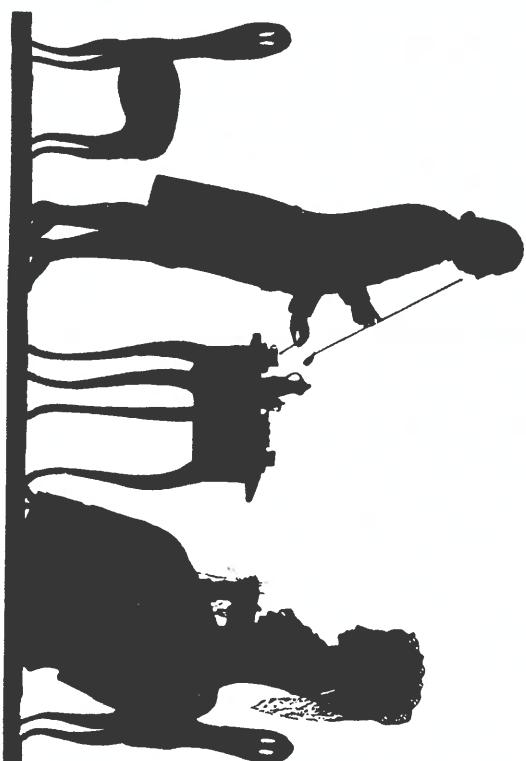
*Nation, følelse og
social bevægelse*

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Folket – både fundet og opfundet

Folkets og folkekulturens rolle i dansk og europæisk nationalitet 1770-1900

Af Palle Ove Christiansen



Silhouetklip af Johann G. Herder og hans kone fra slutningen af 1700-tallet, hvor han i sine visioner om de indbyrdes menneskelige forskelligheder hævdede, at alle individer gennem deres opdragelse og sproglige indlæring var i besiddelse af, hvad vi i dag forstår ved kultur, dvs. retninggivende normer og gruppensæssige karakteristika. Herder var i 1770'erne selv en af de første idsamlede af folkemindes "i marker". (Bildarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin).

forskellige nationskoler

Den seneste års internationale debat om nationalfølelse og nationalism har haft tendens til at glemme udgangspunktet for at tale om nationalitet, nemlig det moderne begreb om **folket**!¹ Sagen drejer sig ikke om mere eller mindre tilfældige befolkningsgrupper. I national sammenhæng betragtes folket enten som et politisk begreb eller som en population med eget sprogligt, historisk og kulturelt særpreg.²

Den politologisk prægede litteratur, som i flere år har været førende i debatten, refererer tit til moderne stater som nationer, men dermed størst forskellen mellem de to betegnelser. Staten må betragtes som en politisk enhed, hvorimod den moderne nation er forankret i 1800-tallets opfattelse af historiske folk. Hvis det ikke skejnes mellem stat og nation, glemmes hyppigt den kulturelle identifikation af folket.³ Dermed forsvinder de levende mennesker, der historisk set skabte de nationale bevægelser gennem strid om holdninger, politik og kulturelle symboler. Det er et sådant skabende perspektiv, der vil blive forsøgt fastholdt i nærværende artikel. Vægten vil blive lagt på, hvordan folket blev dannet af intellektuelle og politikere og desuden selv dannede sig gennem sproglige og historiske elementer.³

Titlen henviser til de to "skoler" eller bevægelser, som særlig har stået over for hinanden i diskussionen om folkets rolle i den moderne nationalism og særlig i 1800-tallets europæiske, politiske forninger. Den ene, som man kan kalde for den **etniske** (primordiale)⁴ skole, har søgt at vise, hvordan folket – dvs. den oprindelige, traditionsbærende befolkning – ofte blev "fundet" eller nærmere genfundet af de intellektuelle i slutningen af 1700-tallet og begyndelsen af 1800-tallet. For denne og lignende forskningsretninger er nationen et gammelt fænomen. Efter ofte lang tids undertrykkelse vågnede folket i 1800-tallet af sin dyale for efterhånden igen at blive frit.

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⁵ hvordan folket blev dannet af intellektuelle og politikere og desuden selv dannede sig gennem sproglige og historiske elementer.

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Den anden skole, som man kan kalde for den politiske (patriotiske eller moderne) mener derimod, at eliten i den politiske kamp med de gamle regimer opfandt et nyt folkebegreb, og at den megen tale om den genfundne folkekultur nærmest er mytologi. Tilhørsforhold drejer sig primært om personligt sindelag. I mine øjne kan begge de nævnte processer samtidigt dokumenteres i samme samfund.

Debatten om nationalism og folkekultur

Debatten om almindelige menneskers følelser og karakteregenskaber, set i forhold til det land eller område på kloden de kommer fra, er gammel. Efter antikken kendes den fra både renæssancen og oplysningstiden. I moderne historie og samfundsforskning har meget forskellige begreber imidlertid været lagt til grund for den form for studier. De vigtigste har været begreber og teorier om:

- Race (biologisk) og klimaets indvirken på mennesket
- Folkpsykologi (ældre tysk *Völkerpsychologie* og amerikansk culture and personality)
- Nationalitetstilhørighed (byggende på enten blod og jord eller "personligt valg") og deraf følgende nationalkarakter/nationalidentitet
- Etnicitet

Forskellige tilgang til studiet af mennesker geopolitisk i forhold til hovedhold

Alle begreberne har haft konsekvenser for, hvordan vi omtaler og kategoriserer os selv og de andre, og alle bruges stadig i den offentlige debat, i det mindste i indirekte betydning. Siden midten af 1900-tallet har det dog blandt fagfolk været politisk ukorrekt at tale om race eller folkepsykologiske træk, der gælder en hel befolkning. I de senere år har det imidlertid været påpeget, at argumenter med baggrund i folks nationalitet eller etnicitet ofte ligner dem, der tidligere blev brugt med reference til race eller fælles psyke. Mange tilsyneladende nye præsentationer af kollektive forskelle mellem mennesker viser sig ofte at være relanceringer af klassiske, men i dag glemte tilgange til fænomenet. Den tværfaglige debat om nationalkarakter i 1980'erne og 90'erne havde træk tiltælles med både ældre tysk folkepsykologi og amerikansk culture and personality-studier omkring 2. verdens-

Den nye debat om folk og nation startede for omkring 25 år siden på det tidspunkt, hvor mange nærmest begyndte at betragte begrebet nationalism i europæiske stater som en reminiscens fra 1800-tallet eller i det mindste fra tiden før den seneste verdenskrig. Siden er faglitteraturen vokset så eksplosivt, at ingen sandsynligvis i dag har overblik over den. På trods af den omfangsrige forskning er der stadig markant uenighed om definitioner af centrale begreber som stat, nation, folk og etnisk identitet.

Dermed har tidligere diskussioner det også med at blive glemt. Fx hvilke elementer 17- og 1800-tallets begyndende moderne nationalfølelse og politiske nationalisme egentlig byggede på. Det vil sige elementer fra den muntlige folkekultur, historiske særtræk og landskabskarakteristika som bjerge eller slætter. Denne viden er af betydning for at kunne forstå nutidige etniske grupperingers skabelse af egen identifikation og brug af kulturelle elementer i politisk øjemed.

Traditionelt har folklorister og ethnologer (nationale etnografer) undersøgt, hvad der gjorde forskellige folkegrupper kulturelt forskellige. Begge discipliner har rod i romantikken, og de har ofte haft vanskeligt ved at få fornøden distance til deres materiale, da de ofte selv har været en del af de nationale bevægelser, specielt i Central- og Øst-europa. Op igennem 1900-tallet blev der stadig mindre opmærksomhed omkring den klassiske folklores resultater og den traditionelle folkekultur. Det akademiske vendepunkt satte ind omkring 1980, hvor to større afhandlinger i 1978 genoplivede emnet i form af Peter Burkes *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* og Robert Muchembleds *Culture Populaire et Culture des Elites dans la France Moderne (1400-1750)*. Få år senere kom Eric Hobsbawms og Terence Ranger's *The Invention of Tradition*, om end med et lidt andet sigte.⁵ Nybruddet kom fra folk uden for de traditionelle fagdiscipliner på området. I dette tilfælde fra historikere, der savnede det kulturelle aspekt og de almindelige menneskers stemmer i deres eget fag. Ret beset sagde Burke og Muchembled i deres enkle dikotomi mellem folke- og elitekultur ikke så meget andet, end hvad ældre folklorister havde sagt tidligere, men de sagde det i en ny sammenhæng, og de forsøgte på ny at historicere den europæiske folkekultur (*popular culture*) før 1800 og de ældre forskeres egen udforskning af den. Studiet af historisk folkekultur er i dag udviklet i flere retninger og under forskellige betegnelser.⁶ Disse studier har givet os megen ny indsigt i

både almindelige menneskers og afdøde forskeres handlinger og daglige tankeverden. I det følgende vil det blive forsøgt at forene denne historiske kulturforskning om det almindelige folk med studiet af tidlig nationalism.

Patriotisme og den sociale kontrakt

I et længere tidsperspektiv kan der i flere europæiske lande spores et forløb i indbyggernes holdning til land og autoritet, der elementært kan karakteriseres som ① patriotisme ② poetisk nationalfølelse og ③ politisk nationalism, om end der tidsmæssigt er overlappninger mellem de tre faser.⁷ Gennem tiden sker der også en begrebsmæssig sammenhængning af patriotisme, stat og nation, som i dag kan gøre det vanskeligt at forstå de historiske forskelle.

Ad ①: Den patriotiske følelse af at tilløre en nation eller et fædreland, går blandt **eliten** langt tilbage. Patriotisme kunne være udtryk for fx officerens eller embedsmænds loyalitet over for konglomeratsstater som Storbritannien, Østrig-Ungarn og Danmark-Norge. Følelsen var gerne rettet mod kongen eller kejseren personligt, men kunne også omfatte glæden ved fædrelandet i dets konkrete fysiske udstrækning og tilfredshed med de politiske vilkår i landet. Og selv første generations indvandrede embedsmænd kunne med den største naturlighed udtrykke deres sympatier for fx Danmark på tysk.

Ad ②: Den poetiske nationalfølelse stammer hovedsagelig fra den tyske Romantik og satte sig igennem i slutningen af 1700-tallet og særligt omkring år 1800 i poesi og litteratur samt i borgerlig frihedsorienteret bevidsthed og selvpromovering.⁸ Denne nationalfølelse blev primært forstået som **historisk og etnisk**. Den tog udgangspunkt i en opfattelse, hvor **mennesker med ens sprog og traditioner tilhørte samme nation**. Selv om mennesker i almindelighed måske ikke var sig det bevidst, havde de en form for personlige "dispositioner" til fælles med folk med samme historiske forudsætninger. Om end egenskaberne ifølge denne opfattelse lå latent i menneskene, var nationalfølelsen dog noget, som skulle vækkes, før den enkelte kærte at opleve sit fødelands særlige landskabelige farver og befolkningstræk som noget dybtliggende i ham selv.

Ad ③: Den politiske og ofte mere aggressive nationalism byggede også på romantikken, men hævdede særligt fra 1830'erne og 40'erne

vigtigheden af, at nations- og statsgrænserne skulle være sammenfaldende, hvad de ikke var nogen steder i Europa. Derfor kaldes denne nationalism også for moderne, idet opfattelsen stadig har stor betydning, både blandt folk og blandt politikere. Den næres både af indre bevidsthed og af ydre fjender. Og ens egen nation betragtes oftest som havende bedre egenskaber end de nærmeste naboer.

I gennem dette historiske forløb skete der gradvis en meningsforskydning i ord som nation, fædreland og folk, som blandt andet betyder, at man ikke kan betragte patriotismen som en tidlig form for nationalism, blot fordi betegnelsen folket spilledede en rolle i begge hovedbegreber.

Den tidlige patriotisme har rod i renæssancens moderne statsopbygninger og i oplysningstiden, hvor Europas stater gradvist nedtruede den direkte forbindelse til kristendommen for i stedet at udlede deres legitime magt gennem et påstået ret- og pligt-forhold mellem herskeren og folket. I overført betydning blev der talt om en social kontrakt mellem parterne. De mest berømte fremstillinger er filosofen Thomas Hobbes *Leyviathan* fra 1651 og J.-J. Rousseaus *Du contrat social* fra 1762. I kontraktænkningen lå der fra de enevældige fyrsters side en forestilling om landsfaderlig legitimitet, og fra de borgerlige teoretikeres side en lige så tydelig idé om forandring bort fra enevæld. Deras mål var et mere egalitært, borgerligt samfund, i det daglige baseret på horisontale bånd mellem medborgere. Lige så vel som "kontrakten" ikke blev indgået på normal vis, byggede den på en slags nødvendig abstraktion om folket, som en form for handlende subjekt. Hvem folket helt præcist omfattede, har dog frem til i dag været et omstridt spørgsmål.

Da kontraktænkningen i Nordamerika og Frankrig begyndte at udmønte sig i nye konstitutioner, blev *folket* mere brugt som et politisk "honnør-ord" end som en egentlig sociologisk kategori. Rousseaus sociale kontrakt hvilede på idealet om det oplyste borgersamfunds almene menneske – hvad det så præcis var – og når den amerikanske forfatning fra 1787 så magtfuldt begyndte med *We the People of the United States ...*, betød folket ikke de oprindelig indianiske indbyggere og ej heller mennesker, der havde opholdt sig kortere end syv år i Amerika.⁹ Til trods for dens tilsymmeladende politiske logik har både den ældre og den senere patriotiske tænkning haft svært ved at acceptere alle indbyggere i staten som fulgyldige borge-

re. Ikke blot eventuelle oprindelige befolkningsskategorier, men også kvinder, minoritetsbefolninger, visse religiøse menigheder, kriminelle og indbyggere under et vist økonomisk niveau har haft indskrænkede borgerrettigheder, uafhængig af deres eventuelle statsborgerskab og personlige patriotiske indstilling.

Inklusivitet:
loyalitet + bidrag til folkes bedste → borgerværdigheder.

↳ "folket"

(ikke den brde landbefolkning)

Set fra borgerens synspunkt har den grundlæggende tankeinden for patriotismen været, at den enkeltes loyalitet mod regenter var det centrale element i samfundsordenen. De borgerlige rettigheder blev udløst gennem alles vilje til at bidrage til det fælles bedste. Den holdningsmæssige loyalitet og deltagelsen i statens praktiske liv gjorde personen til samfundsborger, og ikke vedkommendes sprog, hufarve eller astamning. Det var disse velfungerende borgere, der fra anden halvdel af 1700-tallet ved betydningsfulde lejligheder kunne tale om sig selv som "folket" – fx i Amerika i 1787.

Disse gode borgere blev også det nye folk set fra statens synspunkt. Da hovedparten af Europas befolkning, og her fortinvis den landlige del, imidlertid ikke var i besiddelse af borgerlige egenskaber eller følelse for fædrelandet, blev deres gamle, traditionsbestemte holdning et problem for stater i stadig større indbyrdes konkurrence. Det moderne projekt i Europa blev i høj grad rettet mod at gøre den talmæssigt dominerende del af befolkningerne til folk i borgerlig forstand.

Ud fra en patriotisk tankgang, såvel som ud fra de noget luftige kontraktteoretiske konstruktioner, mente de intellektuelle, at det var enkeltindividets vilje til det fælles, der skabte en enhed af borgere, som man kunne kalde folk. Det tidlige år af den franske revolution efter 1789 er et godt eksempel på en sådan historisk situation, men også Schweiz med dets frie borgere med tre indbvrdes forskellige sprog og to religioner er blevet fremhævet som et ideal.

Igennem 1800-tallet skete det mærkværdige, at den patriotiske tankgang på flere områder indlånte træk fra den blomstrende nationale debat og dermed elementer som nationalt sprog, litteratur, symboler i malerkunst, folkemusik etc. Temaer, som efterhånden blev så populære i mange befolkninger, at den nyere patriotisme og kontraktfilosofi – hvis hovedideal var den borgerlige, retfærdige stat – ikke magtede at stå imod disse stærke symboler af egentlig folkelig, national herkomst. På den måde blev det ofte vanskeligt at kende forskel på begreberne stat og nation, hvad der stadig skaber forvirring.

Dette kommer i dag til udtryk i EU-spørgsmål og ses i FN, som i sit navn alene indeholder nationsbegrebet, men som organisation udelukkende består af selvstændige stater.

Det nye beskrivende kulturbegreb ca. 1770 til i dag

Når mennesker i Europa i dag eventuelt identificerer sig mere med en bestemt nation end med den stat de tilhører, er denne følelse også historic betinget. Forholdet har bl.a. forbindelse med de forsydningshistoriske betegnelser, der i romantikken skete i a) opfattelsen af den gamle betegnelse nation, hvad igen var afhængigt af b) den nye romantiske forståelse af folket, som var noget andet end det egentligt rationalistiske borgerbegreb. Forvirringen blev forstærket af, at den mest folsomme del af borgerskabet var ved at udvikle c) et nyt kulturbegreb, hvorved man kom til at anskue ellers velkendte omgivelser på en anderledes måde.

For en senere tid kan det virke paradoxalt, at mange progressive borgere i oplysningsstiden mente, at hovedparten af den almindelige befolkings holdninger og livsstørelse burde laves om, for at samfundene kunne komme til at blomstre. Indtil den romantiske bøgle langsomt satte sig igennem, havde eliten i Europa i 1600- og 1700-tallet uden større overvejelser anset deres egne synspunkter og skikke som udtryk for civilisationens stade, hvorudfra andre verdensdele og andre mennesker blev vurderet. Størstedelen af aristokratiet og borgerskabet betragtede ikke de lavere befolkningssgruppers normer og tænkemåder som egentlig kultur, og mange negative betegnelser blev taget i brug for at betegne den almindelige befolkningens barbariske skikke og talemåder. Det var denne opfattelse, der i toneangivende kredse i løbet af en generation blev vendt 180 grader.

I 1770'erne hævdede den tyske filosof Johann G. Herder (1744-1803) i Riga, at alle individer var i besiddelse af, hvad vi i dag forstår ved kultur. Han talte imidlertid ikke direkte om hverken civilisationen eller kulturen, men derimod om menneskelige forskelle – kulturer – i flertal.¹⁰ Overalt i Europas landområder eksisterede der tilsyneladende på samme tid indbyrdes forskellige sprog og historiske traditioner, uden at man med rimelighed kunne hævde, at den ene kultur var findere eller bedre end den anden. Al oplevelse og vurdering af sprog,

miljø. Her formuleredes for første gang grundlaget for det brede, beskrivende kulturbegreb i forhold til den universelle, værdiorienterede kulturoppfattelse.¹¹ Med en senere tids udtryk blev et rummeligt etnisk kulturbegreb stillet over for et smalt, såkaldt finkulturelt.

På baggrund af Herder og andre tidlige romantikeres publicering af landalmuens poesi og festtraditioner begyndte en del af de intellektuelle at indse, at alle grupper i samfundet besad opfattelser af rigtigt og forkert, at alle mennesker fx havde ritualer omkring livets og årets højteder samt æstetiske normer. Den afgørende forskel mellem eliten og de mere almindelige menneskers kultur var, at elitens i langt højere grad var skriftlig og underlagt modens skiftende præg, mens by- og landalmuens kultur var båret i sproget og var mere traditionsbundet.

Trods mange diskussioner og justeringer er det dette brede, sammenhængende kultursyn, der i dag ofte omtales som ”det antropologiske kulturbegreb”. Selv om Herder ikke forsøgte at udvikle et kulturbegreb i moderne forstand, er det hans perspektiv på ligeværdige, normmæssige forskelle i samfund – forskelle som altid er udtrykt gennem menneskene – som kulturfagene i dag står i gjeld til.¹² Perspektivet er i de seneste 100 år slæt igennem blandt ikke æstetiske kulturforskere som etnografer og kulturhistorikere, når de har beskrevet menneskers forskellige måde at leve på. Den aktuelle forskning er dog primært påvirket af mere moderne kulturteorier.¹³

I romantikernes optik skulle de nyopdagede almueskikke og ritualer helst tænkes som dele af sammenhængende helheder, som man regnede med tidlige havde eksisteret i en mere fuldendt form end på optegnelsestidspunktet. De forskellige folks kultur skulle ideelt set betragtes som en organisme, der med respekt for alle befolkningens gruppers forskellige erfaringer ikke burde vurderes ”udefra”, men derimod anskues ”indefra”, dvs. fra folks eget perspektiv.

Folket genopdages og dokumenteres i nationale samlinger og på tryk

Den positive interesse for folkelig kultur sås klarest ved, at enkelte borgerlige intellektuelle vandrede ud på landet for at indsamle og nedskrive almindelige anonyme bonders, håndværkers og tjenestepigers sange, historier og sproglige vendinger. Ligesom digteren Goethe



Den skotske digter James Macphersons Ossian-figur – som sandsynligvis aldrig har eksisteret – blev fra 1760’erne en øjenåbner for den romantiske bevægelse i Europa. I Ossian fandt man tilsmulnende resterne af den folkelige oldtid, som man længtes så stærkt efter. Andre lande søgte man lignende episke figurer. I den fiske Kalevala digtaktskift. Kunstnerens gengivelse lader ikke beskueren i tvivl om, at der også er tale om det, man kaldte for naturpoesi. (Tegning fra Carl Engel: An Introduction to the Study of National Music 1861)

the var J.G. Herder selv i 1760'erne blevet inspireret af opdagelsen af den tilsyneladende ældgamle keltiske Ossian-digtning, og i 1770'erne indsamlede han personligt lettisk materiale. I 1773 anvendte Herder som den første på tryk ordet *Volkslied* (folkevisse) om landbefolknings sange¹⁴, og i løbet af få år var adskillige lokalbefolkningers narrative historier blevet til enten folke-eventyr eller folke-sagn. Der efter gled begreberne langsomt ind i den almindelige sprogbrug.

I 1770'erne og langt ind i 1800-tallet forblev det imidlertid en elite af digtere, filologer og filosoffer, der forbundt noget positivt med den jævne befolkningens historier og egentlig blev de første folklore-forskere, selv om dette ord først blev kendt i England fra 1846.¹⁵ Disse folk satte imidlertid hurtigt det spredte og ikke altid lige kvalificerede indsamlede materiale ind i en sammenhæng med vidtrækende konsekvenser.

De viser, eventyr og sagn, som indgik i en befolkningens muntlige tradition, opfattede Herder og hans åndsbeslægtede som den pågældende egnens folke-digtning. Ved siden af den poetiske kunstdigtning eksisterede der tilsyneladende en upåagtet, nærmest kollektiv diktning eller naturpoesi (senere kaldt *national poesi*) blandt almuen, filologerne. Dette blev opfattet, som at folket i en slags anonymt fællesskab i hjerne tider havde skabt deres særegne kultur.

Det var Herders og de senere forskeres opfattelse, at motiverne i viser og sagn indeholdt vejledende normer for livet, som gennem den lange tid, hvor viserne var sunget og sagnene fortalt, havde øvet en moralsk virkning på folk. Denne mangeårige påvirkning måtte være baggrund for, at man i hverdagen – sammen med forskelle i klima og ressourcer – kunne spore en etnografisk forskel i befolkningernes væremåde og egenskaber i forskellige egne. Her fandtes tilsyneladende betonet på nationernes folkelige, historiske forankring. Nationen blev betragtet som en form for selvbærende helhed holdt sammen af en indre kerne, gerne tillagt særlige sjælelige egenskaber. Alle gamle folkeslag dannede på den måde potentielle nationer, fx slovenere, franskmænd, dansker.

Det er tankevækkende, at den begyndende interesse for at omtanke landlig fortælle- og sagntradition til værdifuld national folklore netop viste sig i den sene oplysningstid, hvor meget af staternes politik blev sat ind på at udvikle mere effektive borgere. Selv oplevede de

intellettuelle, at de i sidste øjeblik genopdagede folket, som var ved at miste deres gamle skikke og sædvaner. Nu ikke som en blot ilde-lugtende hob, men som repræsentanter for en oprindelig og mere ægte kultur.

Da adelens og borgerskabets stil og skikkede var internationale og underlagt modens luner, stod det ud fra den nye kulturopfattelse klart, at det var blandt den landlige befolkning, at de virkelig gamle, danske, tyske eller russiske kulturtraditioner skulle søges. Det var bønderne, der på grund af deres traditionsbaserede liv og deres stedbundethed havde været den nationale skat, hvis rester nu måtte indsamles.

Filologerne regnede med, at meget af det stof, der blev optegnet, gik tilbage til den nationale fælleskulturs blomstringstid i middelalderen og oldtiden, hvor alle formodentlig festede på samme måde og sang de samme sange. Denne fantastiske mulighed for at kunne optegne kulturtraditioner mange hundrede år tilbage, beroede på mindet, if. det nordiske ord *folkemindeforskning* (fra 1834). Mindet betød overlevering i en traditionel kultur, som baserede sig på mundtlighed i samfund, hvor menneskene havde fået anseelse ved at gøre, som forfædrene havde gjort, og hvor etiske normer og tro havde været videregivet i rytmisk eller sprogligt fortættet form. På grund af kravet om den faste muntlige form, som kom klarest frem i ordsprogene og viserne, og som var vigtig for, at modtageren opfattede præcis det, som afsenderen sagde, blev indsamlingen i 1800-tallet koncentreret om viser, ordsprog, eventyr, talermaader, sagn og lignende.

Denne form for materiale blev længe betragtet som det stof, der etnisk set bedst kunne adskille det danske fra det tyske eller andre nationers mentale grundtræk. Denne form for historieforskning blev af største vigtighed for nationernes legitimitet. Da man ikke i de officielle eller skriftlige kilder på biblioteker og arkiver kunne finde mening om de ikke skrivende befolkningers kultur, måtte indsamlingen foregå gennem, hvad folklorister og antropologer senere har kaldt for feltarbejdelse eller via nøglemeddelere, fx i form af lokale skolelærere.

Herder var ikke en politisk oprører, men hans virke havde brod mod det gamle regime og mod rationalismens ofte ufølsomme sprog. Han var interesseret i at fremme nationers muligheder for at udtrykke sig på deres egne historisk kulturelle måder, men han kan næppe

kaldes for nationalist i moderne forstand. Den politiske sammenkobling af folketrematerialets geografiske variationer med statsgrænser i Europa hører særligt hans elever til i begyndelsen af 1800-tallet.

Af filosoffer må i den forbindelse nævnes forfatteren til *Reden an die deutsche Nation* fra 1808, den nationale opidner *Johann Fichte* (1762-1814), og af indsamlere og udgivere af folktale, brødrene

Grimm (1786-1859) berømte *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* fra 1812-

15 er frem til i dag blevet kendt af millioner af børn. Bag mange til-

syneladende uskyldige, både populære og videnskabelige udgaver af folkeviser, eventyr og sagn lå dog politiske hensigter. Det var ikke til-

fældigt, at tiden under og efter de sene Napoleonskrige (1803-1815) også blev årene for publicering af flere af århundredets kendte folk-

loreudgivelser. Det skete ikke kun i indflydelsesrige lande som Russ-

land og Preussen, men også i Serbien og Ungarn, der gennem historien var blevet underlagt stærkere stater. Både indsamlingskampanjer og bogudgivelser af folktale blev brugt i nationalitetskampe for enten uafhængighed eller af magtfulde stater som baggrund for at gøre krav på naboområder. Den humanistiske dokumentation af folkelig kultur blev flittigt anvendt som våben i den gryende moderne nationalism, ofte helt uden vidende af de mennesker, som stoffet stammede fra.

Heden eleven dræger politiske konklusioner af hans arbejde mod de enkelte nationer dishinkte historien og kender den.

Ek. Grækenland

Adskillige gange gav militære konflikter eller direkte undertrykkelse anledning til indsamlinger og udgivelse af folkesange. Arnim og Brentanos udgivelse af tyske folkesange i *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*. *Alte deutsche Lieder* fra 1806-08 faldt sammen med Napoleons invasion, og den finske indsamling, der senere skulle resultere i storværket *Kalevala*, havde delvis baggrund i situationen efter den svenske afstælse af Finland til Rusland i 1809. Vuc S. Karadzic's nedskrivning og udgivelse af serbiske sange i 1814 – og senere en serbisk ordbog – var tænkt som en moralisk styrkelse efter Osmannerrigets undertrykelse af den serbiske opstand i 1813, og C. Fauriel's indsamling af græske folkesange var direkte inspireret af den græske frihedskrig mod tyrkerne i 1821. Ideerne var, at befolkningens gamle eller i det mindste populære sange måtte være i stand til at forene et splittet eller mismodigt folk.¹⁶

Det var dog ikke altid lige nemt at definere, hvem folket bestod af, eller at få en population anerkendt som et folk af dets naboer. Under

den græske frihedskrig var det svært at fastslå, hvem grækerne præcis var rent nationalt. Ideallet blandt de intellektuelle støtter i det vestlige Europa var: det gamle Hellas, men på grund af massiv indvandring fra flere lande var det vanskeligt at hævde, at samtidens befolkning var efterkommere af oldtidens grækere. Der havde i hundredvis af år eksisteret først en romersk og senere byzantinsk og osmannisk besættelse, indbyggerne var blevet kristnet, og sprogene i Athen var i 1820'erne i høj grad blandede. Det talte, græske sprog var også meget anderledes end oldgræsk.

I den situation gav de ledende kræfter i befolkelsesbevægelsen sig til at dokumentere sproglig og kulturel kontinuitet gennem indsamling af dialekter, folkeminder og gamle skrifter. I 1800-tallet blev der genforet en storstilet indsamlings- og udgivelsesvirksomhed af folkeore i bred forstand, som indgik i den almene kulturdebat i den unge stat. I dette forløb arbejdede de nye grækere sig efterhånden frem til en opfattelse af deres etniske identitet, som folkloristen Bengt Holbek så rammende har formuleret det.¹⁷ I processen skete der samtidig en ikke ringe omtolkning af fx kvægtyske og terrorister i mundtlige sagn, saaledes at de – i de skriftlige udgaver af sagnene – fremstod som tidlige nationale helte i stil med oldtidens.

Man kan sammenligne det nye Grækenland med den finske situation efter Ruslands annektering i begyndelsen af 1800-tallet. Finland havde i flere hundrede år hørt under Sverige. Efter overgangen til russisk overhøjhed i 1809 havde befolkningen, og særligt den intellektuelle del, vanskeligt ved fortsat at være svenske i orientering, men de ville i hvert fald ikke være russiske. Istedet besluttede store dele af den humanistiske elite og det nye, uddannede borgereskab sig for at blive finner.¹⁸ Ligesom i Grækenland betød det en ny, positiv fo-kusering på det mundtige sprog og på folktalen, idet en egentlig finsk identifikation måtte skabes fra grunden uden skriftlige forlæg. Arbejdet blev en klar national succes, også med tydelig brod mod den gamle svenske afhængighed. Den dag indledningen til den skriftlige udgave af det nationale *Kalevala*-epos i 1835 blev underskrevet, er siden blevet fejret som den moderne finske nations fødsel.

"Opdagelsen" af den nationale folkekultur fandtes i næsten alle europæiske lande, om end senest blandt intellektuelle i Frankrig, England og Italien, der havde en ældre og stærk bevidsthed knyttet til deres særlige litterære sprog, antik og renæssance.

Ek. Grønland



Foto: L. M. Aarø / Riksantikvaren

Digteren N.F.S. Grundtvigs søn, filologen Svend Grundtvig (1824-83) er den centrale organisatoriske skikkelse i den tidlige folkebewegelse i Danmark. Han opbyggede en systematisk indsamling fra han var 18 år, til han døde. Her er han i 1848 tegnet som frivillig i den nationale krig mod opørrene i Slesvig-Holsten. Sv. Grundtvig udførte ikke personligt feltarbejde blandt de danske bønder, hvis vane han ikke altid brød sig om, men indsamlede materiale gennem et korps af flere hundrede medlemmer over hele landet, som sendte de nedskrevne optegnelser til ham. Ved siden af den gravende arkæologi, som var så central for den nationale historiske forståelse i 1800-tallet, kan man sige, at Grundtvig praksiserede en parallel åndelig arkæologi. (P.C. Skovgaard i Dansk Folkerindesamling).

Dansk indsamling af folketets kultur

I Danmark så digteren Adam Oehlenschläger omkring 1800 gerne undervisningen i græsk mytologi erstattet af nordisk, fordi denne bedre måtte være i stand til at vække danskernes sans for fædrelands natur og historie. Oehlenschläger blev senere inspireret af Goethe og Fichte og oplevede selv slaget ved Jena 1806, der i mange kred-

se blev tolket som den franske folkethærts sejr over den disciplinerede preussiske armé. Både sejhererne og taberne mente, at franskmændene primært vandt på grund af soldaternes bevidsthed om, at de kæmpede for et (mere egalitært) fædreland – deres nation. Selv om tolkningen i høj grad kan diskuteres, var denne erfaring medvirken-de til, at stadig flere stater kom til at erstatte deres internationale hær-vede hære med nationalt udskrevne soldater.

Den danske digter og forsker N.F.S. Grundtvig fik også tidligt en moderne national følelse som drivkraft for sin virksomhed. Han blev stærkt berørt af englandskrigene 1807-1814 og af Norges adskillelse fra Det danske Rige, hvorved han ”først rigtigt [følte] sig dansk”. Grundtvig satte sig for at oversætte den islandske sagaskrifter Snorri Sturluson og Saxo's Danmarkskrønikke fra henholdsvis old-nordisk og latin med brug af kermedanske ordsprog. Og mens han fordanskede Saxo, oplevede han, at han også kom til at fordanske sig selv.¹⁹ Formålet var at støtte det danske folks slunkne mod ved at vække fædrenes ånd til live. Grundtvig mente imidlertid, at han mangede originalt sprogligt materiale, og derfor opfordrede han i 1817 folk til at sende ham danske ordsprog og talemåder til hans oversætterarbejde. Her ses tydeligt, at ordsprogene i deres stramme form ansås for at kunne pege tilbage til tidligere tilstande og inde-form national livsviddom.

Litteraturprofessoren Rasmus Nyerup havde ganske vist i 1807 udgivet ordsprog på dansk, men mere ud fra et patriotisk, antikvarisk end et nationalt synspunkt. I 1812-14 publicerede han imidlertid sammen med forfatterne W.H.F. Abrahamson og K.L. Rahbek fem bind danske viser med melodier, som de mente stammede fra mid-delalderen, og litteraten J.M. Thiele udgav i 1817 en præve på danske folkesagn, delvis på baggrund af egne optegnelser i sjællandske land-distrikter. I fortalen skrev Nyerup om værdien i at erkende almue-folks andre liv, som ”har fået sin næring af myter og sagn, fabler og eventyr, viser og ordsprog, og det er kvintessensen heraf der ikke alene, så at sage, spøger i deres hjerter, men også ofte er nøglen til en og anden uforklartig handling.”²⁰ Her sås tydeligt opfattelsen af, at almuens gamle kultur besad retningsgivende kvaliteter, som var krøbet ind under huden på mennesken, uden at de selv vidste af det.

N.F.S. Grundtvigs søn Svend Grundtvig blev i Danmark primus motor i det mere systematiske indsamlingsarbejde af stadig eksiste-

rende folkeminder. I 1843 henvendte han sig gennem *Dansk folkeblad* „... til danske mænd og kvinder“, til ”alle dem, som føler varmt for fædrelandet og dets åndelige ejendom. Der lever nemlig endnu hos folket, og da mest hos de gamle iblandt det, en stor del af den nationalskat, hvorom her er talen, og det er derfor af største vigtighed for os og for sagen,... hvor og hvorledes den har bevaret sig levende på folkets tungte til denne dag.“²¹ Her kunne ingen være i tvivl om, at det var det danske folk, der blev talt til, og at minderne var nationale.

Efter flere års studier kunne Svend Grundtvig gennem ”Samfundet til den danske litteraturs fremme“ i 1853 udsende det første store bind af den videnskabelige udgave af *Danmarks gamle folkeviser*. Sidste del af det i alt 12 svære bind var først færdig 123 år senere. Gennem sammenlignende studier afslørede Svend Grundtvig dog allerede i første bind, at viserne – og senere også eventyrene – ikke fulgte statsgrænserne, selv ikke inden for Skandinavien. Det kom imidlertid aldrig siden til at bekymre hverken politikere eller den almene offentlighed. Da stoffet først bevidsthedsmæssigt var blevet tilteget som noget særligt dansk, syntes det efter den almene nationale måde at op leve på i 1800-tallet umuligt at ændre opfattelse. Det samme gjaldt i andre lande i Europa, og vise-, eventyr- og sagstoffet har siden 1800-tallet indgået i børneopdragelsen og i uddannelsessystemet.

I Danmark blev resultatet af 150 års indsamling omkring to millioner siders optegnelser af folkeminder, et ord som stadig indgår i statsinstitutionen, Dansk Folkemindesamlings navn, om end de fleste mennesker i dag næppe forstår, hvad det betyder.²² Betegnelsen Dansk Folkemindesamling understreger imidlertid netop det danske, folket og mindet. Institutionen blev idemæssigt dannet gennem en kombination af, hvad man kan kalde for *minde*-metoden og den filosofisk-historiske opfattelse af, hvad et folk består af. Parallelle træk kan spores i de fleste af Europas folklorearkiver, som bygger på Herder-traditionen, der ofte holdt sig langt ind i 1900-tallet, selv om bevægelsen var stærkest i det foregående århundrede.

Husmandskone Maren Jensdatter (født 1812) fra Feldborg hedde øst for Holstebro i Nordjylland. Hos Maren nedstrev folkemindesamleren Evald Tang Kristensen tekster og melodier til nogle af de sjeldnere folkeviser, når han på sine ture over heden kom forbi hendes og hendes mands beskedne bolig. Maren og hendes mand ”Grå Erik“ havde i deres liv været syv år under fattigvareret. Maren var én af de tuisindavis af mennesker, der videregav deres viden til folkemindesamlerne, som senere udgav eller arkiverede stoffet. (Foto fra 1895 i Dansk Folkemindesamling)



Hvad er folk og nation?
J.G. Herder mente – sandsynligvis ikke uden inspiration fra filosofen C.-L. Montesquieu og J.-J. Rousseau – at befolkninger ikke blev holdt virkelig sammen på grund af fælles statsgrænser. De dannede

Hedders nationsfontælelse

"Folket = språkligt
følelseskab

mere en samhørighed ud fra, om de havde samme sprog, historie og traditioner. Mennesker, som gennem deres sproglige kommunikation historisk set måtte have dannet fællesskaber, kaldte han som nævnt *et folk*. Selv om sociologen Max Weber i begyndelsen af 1900-tallet påpegede, at national solidaritet i høj grad kunne dannes gennem religiøs eller social samhørighed som gennem fælles sprog,²³ besad Herders argument en voldsom gennemslagskraft og er stadig bredt accepteret.

alle indbyggerne i nationen, og helst også i staten, til fædrelandsfølelse, ville systemet virke efter hensigten.

et nationaleton mod samtidens sæder og skukke, der var og er afgørende for, om man kan indkredse en nation. Denne definition er ofte blevet retfærdiggjort på grund af sine tilsyneladende objekti-

"Nation": A En objektiv
kundgenom

(fælles sprog, historie,
Søder og
skikke)

sass af historiske, folkelige og racemæssige grunde var tyskere, om end de ikke følte et tysk tilhørerforhold. Inden for dette perspektiv opfattedes nationaliteten som en objektiv kendsgerning, hvor nations ånd – folkeånden – satte sig igennem som en national ejendomsmelighed, såfremt de pågældende menneskers levede under rimelige materielle og politiske vilkår.

e
Elite/
A

Det næste skridt for de intellektuelle var, at den indsamlede folklore i ordnet og mere æstetisk form kunne gives tilbage til folket. Når den tid oprandt, ville forhåbentlig alle mennesker i Danmark og andre steder være taknemmelige for en sådan gave, fordi de forhåbentlig havde lært det nationalt værdifulde i det gamle materiale at kende og derfor også fremover personligt ville tage ansvar for kulturen og fædrelandet. Det springende punkt var, om almuen virkelig lærte at sætte tilstrækkelig pris på deres egen historiske arv – som mange intellektuelle mente, folket objektivt besad, lige meget hvad de selv sagde – og at føle solidaritet med alle andre mennesker i Danmark, fordi de tilhørte samme nation.

(B) Et torvskillet
bevidst taler-
skab

Et andet synspunkt i debatten om folk og nation tillagde derimod folks egen opfattelse og aktiviteter vægt, når nationen skulle defineres.²⁴ Gjorde man ikke det, var og er der ingen grund til at operere med både begrebet folk og nation. Selv om fortalerne for dette perspektiv også anerkendte folkesprogets og historiens betydning, skulle folket tilige have udviklet en form for bevidsthed om at høre til det ikke umiddelbart synlige fællesskab for at udgøre en nation. Denne fællesfølelse kan man med politologen Benedict Anderson kalde for et forestillet fællesskab, idet alle i en nation umuligt kan have personligt kendskab til hinanden.²⁵ Var menneskene på baggrund af deres folkelighed imidlertid bundet sammen i aktive,

varige følelesskaber, kunne man sige, at de havde samme nationalitet.²⁶

1864: Nationalfælelse = massøfanomen. (Forståelsen om det tyske modhædre)

rig i 1864 ser det ud til, at nationalbevidstheden efterhånden blev udviklet blandt landbefolkningen. I denne stund, hvor riget var skrummet betragteligt ind, blev det danske kulturforsvar mod syd vigtigere end nogensinde. Der er næppe tvil om, at den ydre fjende i form af Bismarcks samlede Tyskland efter krige 1864, 1866 og 1871 var mindst lige så vigtig for den nationalt danske identifikation som kendskabet til de fælles folkeminder.

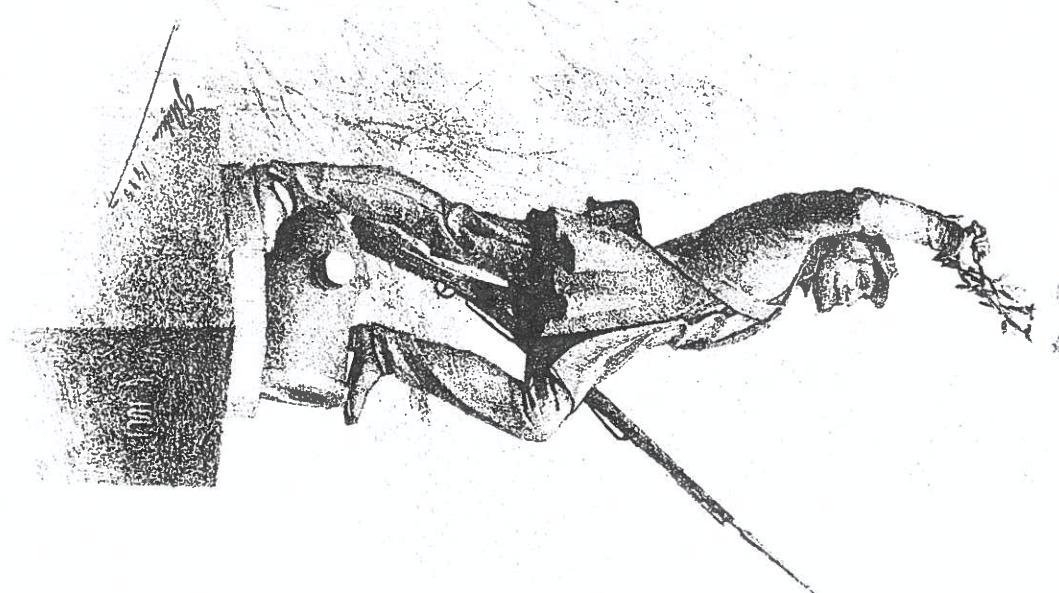
Tidligere havde det officielle fokus været vendt mod riget og staten – og her havde Danmark været mindre heldig. Efter 1864 blev opmærksomheden mere rettet mod den homogene nation. På den danske nation, vel at mærke i forhold til den tyske, den svenske, den franske osv. Samme interesse kunne ses i andre undertrykte eller ikke velaflænsede lande med magtfulde naboer.

Ser vi bort fra de fiernereliggende bilande og kolonier som Island,

Nicolai Habbes beridst danske billede: "Reservesoldater fra 1848 på marchen" fra 1851. Billedet viser et lys og venligt, sådant nationalt landskab med forfædrenes høj og oldtidsdysser i baggrunden. Disse elementer blev i romantikken væsentlige nationale identifikationspunkter i litteratur, billedkunst og museumsudstillinger, og oldtidens stærke stigsterk som markør af danskhed i den offentlige beridstethed. Hvor det nationale i Finland – og senere i de baltiske lande i 1900-tallet – i høj grad blev sanget frem, kan man sige, at det i Danmark nærmest også blev "gravet frem" af arkæologerne. (Det Nationalhistoriske Museum på Frederiksborg).



Efter uafsluttede fra Fredericia i 1849 blev der i befolkningen samlet penge ind for gennem et monument at mindes den lykkelige begivenhed. H.W. Bissens Den danske landsoldat efter sejren (1851) er et meget tidligt eksempel på, at en menig soldat blev symbol for en militær indsats. Soldaten repræsenterer nok sejren, men i høj grad også folket. Hellen er hverken afbildet krigersk eller overmenneskeligt, men kan alligevel svinge øgølet for sine medborgere. Det var denne type af en kongtro, dansk bonde, borger og forsvarer, som N.F.S. Grundtvig gerne idealiserede, og som bl.a. indgik i hans såkaldte firklover af danskhed: Konge, folk, fædreland og modersmål. (Tegning af G. Achen fra M. Galschiøt: Danmark, 1, 1887).



1864 : Den danske nationalstat vandt

frem.

Færøerne, Grønland og De dansk-vestindiske Øer, må man sige, at det, der efter nederlaget i 1864 – og med Nordslesvigs tilbageførelse i 1920 – var tilbage af Danmark, stort set passede som hånd i handske til opfattelsen af en stat indeholdende én nation, bestående af en befolkning med forholdsvis ens sprog og historie. Næsten alle i dets Danmark talte et sprog, som man med lidt god vilje kunne opfatte som det samme sprog, om end flere dialekter i 1800-tallet næppe forstod hinanden. Historisk havde landområdet været under den samme kongemagt siden vikingetiden, og religiøst bekendte næsten alle sig til protestantismen. Det er op til i dag tilsyneladende denne opfattelse af folk og nation, der i Danmark har været anset for noget nærmest naturligt. Det er ikke mange lande, der kan monstrere en sådan homogenitet. Selv om riget flere gange har været nær ved at gå under og kun er blevet reddet gennem stormagternes geopolitiske interesser, er den danske nation i nyere tid indadtil blevet opfattet som en given og ukompliceret størrelse. Og hvad der er lige så vigtigt: Trods sin sårbarhed som stat har Danmark ikke internationalt skuldet slås for at blive anerkendt som selvstændig nation.

Selv om ordet folk i 1800-tallet var blevet en national hædersbetegnelse, varede det i de lærdes øjne lang tid, før den brede befolkning blev individuelt og nationalt reflekterende. Folkehøjskolelæren Anton Nielsen nævner fra 1870'erne, hvordan han ofte havde svært ved at bibringe unge bønder naturoplevelse gennem betragtning af det danske landskab, og hvordan det var nødvendigt at retlede dem, for de kunne begynde at se noget smukt i fx landskabelig kunst.²⁸

Personligt at være refleksiv over for sin nationalitet var en voldsom udfordring, som krævede, at den enkelte lært at betragte sig selv som spejlet i en fælles helhed, der ikke blot som i gamle dage var Guds rige, men nationen. En person, som efterhånden havde lært at se skønheden og det karakteristiske i sit fædrelands landskaber, som kendte til væsentlige træk i nationens historie, og som var i stand til at tage stilling til, hvor han hørte hjemme og ikke hørte hjemme. I sidste ende et individ, som i overensstemmelse med sine egne følelser trådte frem som ansvarlig medborger.

Det var ikke nemt, og der kan rejes tvivl, om udviklingen af et sådant både refleksiv og kollektivt menneske er blevet realiseret. De fleste politikere har måttet slå sig til tåls med, at en god del af befolk-

ningerne har udviklet en national følelse og sandsynligvis har en forestilling om et fællesskab af national karakter. Som i andre kulturelle sammenhænge ser det imidlertid ud til, at indholdet af denne individuelle følelse og kollektive forestilling personligt kan være endog meget forskellig.

Vurdering af de to teorier om folket

Hvis vi betragter de præsenterede træk i lys af den politiske og den etniske skole, ser virkeligheden mere kompliceret ud, end teorierne lader ane.

Den politiske skole, eller modernisterne som tilhængerne også kaldes, har ret i, at det primært var eliten, der i opbruddet med de gamle regimer skabte et nyt begreb om folket, som passede til idealt om et mere egalitært samfund. Dette borgersamfund ville kunne nedbryde skranker mellem gammel elite og de mere jævne befolkninggrupper og binde dem sammen til en ny national enhed. Folket var alene interessant, fordi det skulle udgøres af den nye form for frie borgere, og her blev de væsentlige spørgsmål mere politiske end historiciske. I den amerikanske uafhængighedsdeklarering fra 1776 står forestillingen om frihed lige så centralt som det borgerlige begreb lig med kom til at gøre det under den franske revolution 1789. Det var nødvendige begreber i de nye samfund, der skulle opbygges, efter at de voldelige konflikter var overståede. I de fleste europæiske lande dominerede imidlertid de gamle herskere og de private godsejere, og det skulle tage det meste af 1800-tallet, før begreber som frihed og lighed fik praktisk politisk betydning for almindelige mennesker. Flere områder i Central- og Østeuropa var helt op til efter 1. verdenskrig præget af halvfeudale træk.

Det var sandsynligvis baggrunden for, at denne del af Europa – foruden Tyskland og Skandinavien – primært blev præget af en højlig nationalism byggende på opfattelsen om de historiske folk, hvormod Nordamerika og delvis Frankrig var karakteriseret ved en patriotisk eller civilt præget nationalism, som fra starten byggede på politisk definerede borgere.

Den etniske eller primordiale skole hævder imidlertid, at folket ikke blot var en intellektuel konstruktion. Fortalerne for dette synspunkt lægger vægt på, at de oprindelige (nationale) folk blev genfun-

det i slutningen af 1700-tallet og begyndelsen af 1800-tallet. Disse rurale mennesker havde ofte været undertrykt af stærke herskere, men igennem 1800-tallet kæmpede de sig, sammen med de borgerlige intellektuelle, vej til politisk frihed. Idealtet var den demokratiske nationsstat med vægten lagt på social lighed.

Denne nationsopfattelse var udgået fra romantikken, og derfor blev nationen og folket i 1800-tallet præsenteret som noget organisk, som reelle, territoriale helheder der byggede på en svært håndterbar folkeånd. For den politiske skole har denne tale altid virket uklar og metafysisk, og dens tilhængere har haft tendens til helt at se bort fra den etniske skoles påpegning af historiske folk og deres påståede kulturer.

Det er ikke vanskeligt at se den kulturelle og politiske ønsketænkning i mange af den etniske skoles påstande. Det afgørende punkt er i dag ikke, om den etniske skole har haft ret eller uret i alle dens såkalde objektive påstande, men at idemændene selv, politikerne og folk i almindelighed har troet, at de havde ret og kulturelt og politisk har handlet derefter. Virkningshistorisk har den etniske skole haft enorm indflydelse og har det stadig.

Den etniske skoles bevismateriale i form af indholdet af de mange folkekorearkiver og museer for folkekultur kan også dårligt aviseres som ren romantisk mytologi. Alene gennem sin eksistens kræver stoffet anerkendelse, selv om indsamlingen ikke fulgte vor tids kritiske normer, og der forekom oplagt politisering i flere udgivelser og bejder. Selv om folkekorematerialet ikke afspejler eksistensen af klart definerede nationer, er det vidnesbyrd om, at almindelige menneskers kultur og trosforestillinger reelt eksisterede; forskellige folkelige kulturer som det ville være umuligt at spore mere end konturerne af gennem andre kilder. Der kan næppe herske tvivl om, at romantikerne opdagede ”noget derude”, om end de tillagde stoffet videre betydning, end vi gør i dag. Endvidere har den etniske skole bidraget til at udvikle og fastholde det brede, ikke-elitære antropologiske kulturbegreb.

I dag må de fleste indømme, at den etniske skole ikke i 1800-tallet fandt, hvad de troede, nemlig kulturelt velafgrænsede folk. Til gengæld fandt de befolkninger med hidtil ukendte skilte og tænke-måder, som gennem store indsamlingsarbejder har bereft forskerne en stor arbejdsmark af tidligt indsamlet traditionsstof af tilsynel-

dende unik karakter. Disse tidlige og omfattende optegnelsesprojekter kendes stort set kun fra Europa.

Den politisk succesrige påstand om, at sproggrænser også indikerer folkegrænser har det imidlertid været vanskeligt at bevise fagligt set. Hverken biologisk/geografisk eller nationalt kan påstanden opretholdes. Selv om almindelige mennesker, som har talt folkesprogenes forskellige dialekter, har kunnet forstå de nærmeste naboområder, har de næppe kunnet forstå mennesker fra alle egne i selv et lille land som Danmark. Og folk har næppe i 1700- eller i begyndelsen 1800-tallet følt større kulturel eller sproglig nærværelse med danskere, som de ikke kunne tale med, end med mennesker fra Norge, Sverige eller Nordtyskland.

Det er ikke nent at være ganske enig med den ene skole i forhold til den anden, og ej heller med de forskellige varianter, som optræder i debatten.²⁹ Det er tankevækkende, at socialvidenskabeligt orienterede forskere gerne har en forkærlighed for den politiske skole, hvorimod politikere ofte handler ud fra den etniske skoles kategorier.³⁰ Nogle af den etniske skoles påstande er fagligt set uholdbare, men mange mennesker tror – eller vil tro – på dem og tænker og agerer derefter. Det gør de, fordi de ikke er i stand til at forholde sig reflektivt til deres eget kulturelle miljø – hvad stort set ingen levende kultur reelt er. Så længe dette miljø og dets særlige historie ikke har nogen plads i den politiske skoles verden, vil forskerne næppe kunne forstå, hvad der i det daglige sker mennesker imellem. Hvis ikke allmindelige mennesker blot skal fremtræde som uforståelige eller ulogiske, må den oppefra-synsvinkel, som den politiske skole er udtryk for, suppleres med et såkaldt nedefra-perspektiv.

Et andet paradox består i, at efter at en befolkningsminoritet opnår en form for administrativ selvstændighed ud fra den politiske skoles begreber, begynder den ofte at artikulere sig ud fra mere eller mindre nykonstruerede historiske og etniske tankemønstre. Befolkningsens ledere søger fx at opnå total politisk autonomi gennem en stærk nationalistisk aktivitet ud fra tydelige primordiale kriterier, ofte præsenteret gennem en voldsom retorik med reference til omstændigheder langt tilbage i fortiden. Både i Europas yderområder og andre steder på kloden ser vi i dag, hvordan begge processer er aktive næsten samtidig.

Noter

1. Tak til Peter Henningsen, Jens Henrik Koudal og Uffe Østergård for konstruktiv kommentering af manus om end ansvaret er mit eget.
 2. Jf. diskussionen i Uffe Østergård: "Nationalstatens genkomst?", *Kritik* 176, 2005 og Bjørn Hettne, S. Sölin & U. Østergård: *Den globale nationalismen*, SNS Forlag 1998, spc. kap. 2-3.
 3. Dermed tages delvis afstand fra den *top-down* model, som oftest bruges i nationalismestudier. I stedet prioritieres et *history from below* perspektiv jf. E.P. Thompsons historisk-folkloristiske analyser i "Folklore, Anthropology and Social History", *Indian Historical Review*, 2, Jan. 1977.
 4. Herunder også den såkaldte perennialisme, jf. Anthony Smith: *Nationalism. Theory, ideology, history*, Kbh. 2003, s. 72ff. Smiths forsøg på afklaring gennem opstilling af fire typer hviler i minne øjne stadig på de to primære grundopfattelser, som jeg kalder den etniske og den politiske. Det primordiale begreb stammer mig bekendt fra Edward Shils: "Primordial, personal, sacred and civil ties", *British Journal of Sociology*, 8, 1957.
 5. Peter Burke: *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, London 1978; Robert Muchembled: *Culture Populaire et Culture des Elites dans la France Moderne (1400-1750)*, Flammarion 1978 (engelsk udg. 1985).
 6. Som historisk antropolog, *Alltagsgeschichte* og mikrohistorie, jf. Palle Ove Christiansen: *Kulturhistorie som opposition*, Kbh. 2000, specielt kap. 4 og 5.
 7. Jf. Poul Bagge: "Nationalisme, antinationalisme og nationalfolkelige i Danmark omkring 1900" [1963], i: Ole Feldbæk (red.): *Dansk identitetshistorie*, 3, Kbh. 1992. Flere internationale forskere har forsøgt at inddæle nationalismen i generelle tidsfaser, men for Danmarks vedkommende er Bagges klassiske oversigt stadig mest meningfuld.
 8. Generelt først nærbar i Danmark gennem stemningen i København omkring Slaget på Reden 1801 og digteren Oehlenschlägers "dybe tolkninger" af Danmark og danskerne i årene efter 1803.
 9. *The Constitution of the United States of America* (1787) Genudgivelse u.å., Bedford, Mass.
 10. Jf. Johan G. Herder: *Endnu en historiefilosofi til menneskehedens dannelse* [1774], Kbh. 2002, s. 57f. Delte af Herders tankegods findes tidligere hos G. Vico, C.-L. Montesquieu og J.-J. Rousseau.
 11. Næsten samme opfattelse sås også hos Montaigne, men fra Herder er der en nogensinde – om end snørket – kontinuitet frem til i dag. Se også Henrik Horstbøll: *Menigmands medie*, Kbh. 1999, s. 74f.
 12. Meget taler for, at den britiske etnograf Ed. Tylor (1832-1917), som i *Primitive Culture* fra 1871 lancerede sin berømte kulturdefinition (jf. Christiansen: *Kulturturhistorie* ..., s. 58) – der med moderationer holdt sig i hen ved 100 år – i høj grad byggede på tysk kulturforskning. Senere blev Tylors definition reeksportert til kontinentet.
 13. Problemet med det brede, sammenlignende kultursyn kan være, at forskeren i sin tolerance mistet sin kritiske holdning til fx mennekeselig nedværdigelse eller bestialitet hos en studeret befolkninggruppe. En indbyrdes beskrivende kulturoppfattelelse skal først og fremmest være et redskab til at skærpe opmærksomheden over for kulturelle forskelle og ligheder – og et middel til ikke på forhånd at betragte egne normer som de eneste rigtige.
14. J.G. Herder: *Ossian und die Lieder alter Völker*, 1773, Sc. Inger Boberg: *Folkemindeforskingens historie i Melle�- og Nordeuropa*, Kbh. 1953, s. 15.
 15. Se Alan Dundes (red.): *The Study of Folk*, Englewood Cliffs N.J. 1965, s. 4ff.
 16. Peter Burke: *Popular Culture* ..., s. 11-13.
 17. Dette og følgende eksempel stammer fra Bengt Holbek: "Opfindelse af folket", NORVEG. *Journal of Norwegian Ethnology*, 34, 1991, s. 179f. Se også Michael Herzfeld: *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology, and the Making of Modern Greece*, Austin 1982.
 18. Jf. Max Engman: "Storfurstendømet Finland – nationalstat och imperietdel", i Max Engman & Åke Sandström (red.): *Det nya norden efter Napoleon*, Stockholm 2004, s. 173. Derimod så store dele af det finske officerskorps og de højere embedsmænd ud til hurtigt at tilgægne sig en pragmatisk, positiv holdning til Rusland. De finske bønder var langt mere forbeholdne, og forblev holdningsmæssigt tro mod den svenske konge. Se tillige Pertti J. Anttonen: *Tradition through Modernity: Postmodernism and the Nation-State in Folklore Scholarship*, Helsinki 2005.
 19. Vilhelm Andersen: *Illustreret dansk litteraturhistorie*, 3, Kbh. 1924, s. 163.
 20. Rasmus Nyerup: "Fortale", i J.M. Thiele: *Prøver af danske folkesagn*, Kbh. 1817, s. IV.
 21. Dansk folkeblad 8/12 1843.
 22. For en historisk over Dansk Folkemindesamling se Jens Henrik Koudal: *Folke minder og dagliglivets kultur. Indføring i Dansk Folkemindesamlings arkiv*, Kbh. 2004.
 23. Max Weber: "Nationen", i Heine Andersen m.fl. (red.): *Max Weber: Udvælgte tekster*, 2, Kbh. 2003, s. 21ff.
 24. Dette er ikke det samme som den rent politiske (franske) retning, som alene vægter den valgte loyale holdning.
 25. Benedict Andersson: *Forståttede fællesskaber*, Roskilde Universitetsforlag 2001 [1983]. Andersen trækker imidlertid argumentet kraftigere op, når han gør selve folks forestilling om fællesskabet til det bærende træk i nationstilhør.
 26. Jf. Jøs. Nielsen: "Folkelighed, nationalisme og internationalisme", *Dansk udsyn*, 1, 1993, s. 53. Endvidere Uffe Østergård: *Europas ansigt*. Nationalde stater og politiske kulturer i en ny, gammel verden, kbh. 1992, s. 87f.
 27. Igangværende projekt på Dansk Folkemindesamling ved Søren Frost.
 28. Anton Nielsen: *Den danske bonde. Et kulturhistorisk forsøg*, Odense 1887, s. 89.
 29. For en kort oversigt se Anthony Smith: *Nationalisme*. Smith er en af fortalerne for, at problemet kan løses ved en mere forfinet typologi.
 30. Niels Kayser Nielsen har for nyligt vist, hvordan elementer fra den ene og den anden tankefigur i praktisk politik dog ofte flettes sammen, jf. hans artikel "Demokrati og kulturel nationalism i Norden i mellemkrigstiden – en realpolitisk højredrejning?", [Svensk] *Historisk Tidsskrift* 2004

Materialiseringer

Nye perspektiver på
materialitet og kulturanalyse

Redigeret af Tine Damsholt,
Dorthe Gert Simonsen
og Camilla Mordhorst

Alle bogens kapitler har været igennem åben peer review, hvor hvert enkelt bidrag blev grundigt diskuteret og kritisk endevendt. Vi vil gerne takke de tre medlemmer i vores peer review panel: seniorforsker Kristin Asdal fra Senter for Teknologi, Innovasjon og Kultur ved Oslo Universitet, lektor Randi Markussen fra Medicvidenskab, Aarhus Universitet og lektor Søren Christensen fra Danmarks Pædagogiske Universitets-skole, Aarhus Universitet. De har med deres kritiske indsparks og inspirerende modspil videreudviklet de muligheder, der lå som kim i de første udgaver.

Endelig tak til Saxo-Instituttet ved Københavns Universitet, hvor en del af os har vores daglige arbejdsplads. Instituttet har støttet projektet såvel fagligt som økonomisk. Ligeledes en stor tak til Dan Finks Fond for venlig støtte til udgivelsen.

Tine Damsholt, Camilla Mordhorst og Dorthe Gert Simonsen
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Materialiseringer

Processer, relationer og performativitet

AF TINE DAMSHOLT OG DORTHE GERT SIMONSEN

Voksende akademisk interesse for det materielle og materiel kultur

Tingene er vendt tilbage! Med titler som *Things that Talk* (Daston 2004), *Thinking through Things* (Henare m.fl. 2006), *Materiality* (Miller m.fl. 2005) eller slet og ret *Things* (Brown 2004) sprudler det akademiske bogmarked nu med tværfaglige antologier og temanumre om artefakter og genstande, rum og arkitekture, teknologier, kroppe og andre materialelitter. Denne antologi er et led i denne aktuelle interesse for det materielle og præsenterer nye empiriske studier af materialitet – inspireret af de mange nye teorier om dette felt, der udfoldes inden for såvel humaniora som samfunds-fag. Undersøgelser af 'materiel kultur' er naturligvis ikke et nyt fænomen og har heller ikke været helt forsvundet fra de humanistiske og samfundsvidenskabelige agendaer undervejs. Men det materielle har levet en noget hengemt tilværelse under årtiers fokus på sproglige konstruktioner, diskurser og andre kulturelle repræsentationer af verden 'derude'. Inden for det felt, man kunne kalde kulturstudier, har den sproglige vending, *the linguistic turn*, ellers længe været den mest

markante teoretiske og metodiske inspiration for den faglige **Den sproglige vendlighed** har tegn tog sin begyndelse i 1960'erne, men udfoldede sig især **wending** hav i 1980- og 90'erne i kulturfagene. Det betød, at material-domineret fra tet, rum og genstande typisk blev opfattet som passive og udifferentierede entiteter; det var noget, talen, teksten eller tegnene kunne indskrive deres betydning i eller på. Material-frem alitter fungerede med andre ord som endnu en anledning til at undersøge diskursernes meningsproduktion og kunne i sidste instans ses som **effekter**, produceret af tegnenes spil. Det materielle hverken kunne eller burde studeres for dets egen skyld og synes ikke at have været betragtet som grundeligt for, eller medkonstituerende for, de betydninger, diskurserne blev tilskrevet.

Faktisk synes en ikke-sproglig verden at have haft begrænset råderum. I en introduktion til Michel Foucault fra 1980 kunne man fx læse: "Vi kan da gøre op og konkludere, at afvisningen af den diskurstranscendentale references mulighed ... implicerer at det **non-diskursive fremstår som en effekt af, eller en funktion af, det diskursive**" (Gosvig Olesen 1980:19, kursivering i original). Netop Foucault blev vel nok den mest indflydelsesrige fortæller, når man i kulturfagene ville undersøge begreber, værdier eller videnskaber såvel som byrum, kroppe eller genstande. Selvom Foucaults opfattelse af forholdet mellem det diskursive og det ikke-diskursive næppe indfører sig i en helt så regelret årsag-virknings-relation, som Gosvig Olesen her lægger op til, så lå 80'ernes og 90'ernes akademiske fokus ofte på diskursernes måde at fungere på og deres virkelighedskonstituerende praksis. Titler som *Beyond the Great Story. History as Text and Discourse* fra 1995 af historikeren Robert Berkhofer eller *Writing Culture. The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* fra 1986 redigeret af antropologen James Clifford er symbolatiske for dette fokus.

**Materielt =
effekt af tegnenes
spil**

foucault

Det er ikke vanskeligt at spore en vis akademisk træthed i relation til den sproglige vendings greb og indsigtet samtid en generel følelse af, at socialkonstruktivismen har mistet sin produktivitet. "[T]he lingualism of the philosophy of language, of hermeneutics, of deconstructionism, of tropology, of semiotics, and so on has become by now an obstacle to, rather than a promoter of, useful and fruitful insights", skrev historikeren Frank Ankersmit i 2006 efter selv at have taget del i udviklingen af sproglilosofien inden for historievideneskaben. Han fortæller: "The mantras of this now so oppressive and suffocating lingualism have become a serious threat to the intellectual health of our discipline" (Ankersmit 2006:336). "Understrykende og kvælende" er måske lidt voldsomme udfald, når man tager i betragtning, at motivationen bag socialkonstruktivismen og vendingen mod sproget ofte var emancipatorisk. Diskursanalyserne skulle gøre op med de autoritative 'store fortællinger' om sandhed, fremskridt, rettfærdighed mv. og vise, at de ikke var foranlediget eller forankret i en given virkelighed, men netop var historisk konstruerede fortællinger. I sidste instans skulle diskursanalyserne således frisætte individerne. Foucault formulerede det sådan, at han med sine historiske undersøgelser ikke ville demonstrere, hvem vi i sandhed er eller bør være, men hvad vi ikke længere *behøver* at være (1983). Hvis vores identiteter er konstruktioner, kan de også dekonstrueres, forandres, overskrides, efterlades.

Men de gode intentioner var øjensynlig ikke nok. For skønt humanister har dekonstrueret identiteter og andre sandheder på livet løs, så synes nationalismen, etniciteterne, kønsskatagerne og den heteroseksuelle normativitet at eksistere i bedste **realiseret** s velgående. Den akademiske kritik er præget af forudsigelighed, hævder den franske videnskabsociolog Bruno Latour i sin artikel *Why has Critique Run out of Steam* (2004). En yderligere forklaring på kritikkens virkningsløshed er, at den har været for ensidig i sit fokus. Latour anbefaler for den

**Akademisk træthed a
har ikke realiseret s
manipulatorisk politik**

kritiske akademiker en 'ny realisme', der også omfatter tingene, materialiteterne og de konkrete måder, hvorpå de væver sig sammen med andre fænomener i verden. Akademikere må nu samle snarere end at dekonstruere, sprede, nedbryde. The critic is not the one who debunks, but the one who assembles. ... if something is constructed, then it means it is fragile and thus in great need of care and caution" (Latour 2004:171, jf. også Latour 2005).

Man kan således opkuse to forhold, der er væsentlige for den aktuelle interesse for det materielle. Dels en kritik af konstruktivismens og diskursanalysens ensidige fokus på det sproglige, dels en svækkelse af dekonstruktionens politisk-emancipatoriske potentialer. Det er udmundet i forskellige, men beslægtede forsøg på at gentanke forholdet mellem ting og tale, natur og kultur.

Kultur og tale står således ikke over for eller i modsætning til ting og materialitet. "Without things we would stop talking", bemærker videnskabshistorikeren Lorraine Daston, idet hun sætter sig for at undersøge 'tingenes tale' (Daston 2004:9). Andre har undersøgt 'tingenes sociale liv' eller 'tingenes biografi' (Appadurai 1988). Efter samme devise skriver arkæologen Bjørnar Olsen i sin "Momenter til et forsvaret for tingene", at hvis man tænker det materielle væk fra verden, står kulturen ikke tilbage. Kulturen er også ting, praktikker og materialitet (Olsen 2004). Men hvis Olsen på denne måde vil redde tingene fra kulturvidenskabernes glemsel, må det på den anden side også anerkendes, at tingene ikke ville stå tilbage, hvis man kunne fjerne kulturen fra dem. Det giver ikke mening at forestille sig en kulturløs kogle eller en mobiltelefon forud for enhver kulturel erfaring og signifikans. Diskussionerne om, hvilken side man skal vægte i de slidte modståninger mellem ord og verden, kultur og natur, eller mellem subjekt og objekt, forekommer ofte som to skridt frem, og to tilbage. Det interessante i forhold til studier af mate-

rialitet er måske mindre spørgsmålet om, hvilke materielle effekter ideerne, ideologierne og diskurserne har, og endnu mindre spørgsmålet om, hvorvidt tingene eksisterer uafhængigt af sådanne eller ej (Brown 2004:7). Det gør de ikke, og man behøver ikke at glemme socialkonstruktivismens pointer.

Det væsentlige er at stille skarpt på spørgsmålene om, hvad konkret tidslige og rumlige kontekster.

Verbet at gøre vil blive omdrejningspunkt i de følgende tekster. Det understreger, at der sker noget, og at praksis finder sted. I fænomenologisk forskning er menneskets kropslige 'væren i verden' central (fx Frykman og Gilje 2003). I nærværende bog ligger fokus i stedet på gøren i verden – og denne gøren er i modsætning til fænomenologien, ikke altid centreret omkring et menneskeligt subjekt. Det er således et kardinalpunkt i vores optik, at der ikke nødvendigvis står et menneske – et enkelt og intentionelt subjekt – bag praksis. Tværtimod er det en pointe, at enhver gøren involverer mange elementer og aktører. Når verbalsubstantivet – gøren – er valgt, er det, fordi vi på dansk mangler den engelske 'ing-form', man blandt andet finder i materialitetsstudiernes 'doing', hvor subjektet er vagt. Det er således et bevidst valg, at vi anvender ordet gøren på andre måder og i andre sammenhænge, end man normalt bruger på dansk, idet vi hermed vil understrege, at vi vil noget andet og nyt.

Forfatterne til denne antologi har deres afsæt i fagene etnologi, kulturhistorie og museologi. Discipliner, der på forskellig måde har haft genstandene eller de ting, vi omgiver os med i hverdagsslivet, som deres traditionelle domæne. Alligevel ændrede også disse fag deres fokus i forbindelse med den sproglige vending og de mange Foucaultreceptioner, der blomstrede i 1980'erne og frem. Trangen til og traditionen for at fremvise tingene-i-sig-selv blev revideret, og man overvejede i stedet, hvordan også museets genstande kunne indgå

som konstruerede og kontekstualiserede elementer i narrative forløb (Becker 1990). Det resulterede i en tekstuialisering af genstandene, dvs. de 'læstes' som tekst. Denne tilgang var dog ikke entydig og er løbende blevet problematiseret af flere nordiske etnologer og arkæologer (fx Löfgren 1997, Stoklund 2003, Olsen 2004). Inden for museumsfagenes klassiske genstandsstudier og deres vægt på materiale, form, funktion, brugs- og betydningssammenhænge, er der imidlertid en tendens til at opfatte 'materiel kultur' som en bestemt objektkategori, dvs. fysiske genstande med mere eller mindre veldefinerede karakteristika. Etnologen Bjarne Stoklund definerer således indledningsvis i sin bog *Tingenes kulturhistorie* (2003) materiel kultur som ting eller artefakter, der kan karakteriseres ved tre egenskaber: **form, funktion og betydning** (s. 17).

De aktuelle teorier om materialiteter, der danner baggrund for denne antologi, tager ikke afsæt i en sådan forståelse.

Tværtimod er et fælles anliggende, i de positioner som har inspireret antologien, en bevidst udfordring af de apioriske kategorier eller herskende dikotomier, der har været anvendt til at ordne verdens mangfoldighed. Det drejer sig som nævnt om den grundlæggende opdeling af verden i kultur versus natur, i subjekt versus objekt, eller for så vidt ovennævnte **analytiske opdeling i den diskursive, den sociale eller semiotiske aktivitet på den ene side og på den anden side materialiteten**, som den **passive overflade**, betydning indskrives i eller på. Af den grund har vi travælt begrebet materiel kultur i denne antologi og taler i stedet om **materialiseringer** som noget processuelt, relationelt og performativt.

Ligesom der i øjeblikket tales om en visuel vending (Mitchell 1994, Mirzoeff, 1999) og en **rumlig/topografisk vending** (Hastrup 2005, Warf 2008) til afløsning af den sproglige, taler man om en materiel vending (Knapp og Pence 2003). Her rettes det analytiske blik mod materialitet i bred for-

traditionel materialitets definision

Materialisering skal forstås som et aktivt verbum, hvor der fokuseres på praksis og på, hvordan fænomener gøres og gøres om i altid igangværende processer. Ethvert fænomen gøres i specifikke og entydige, da enhver gøren involverer mange elementer og aktører. Det, vi fokuserer på i denne antologi, er, hvordan elementerne sammenfittes i mere eller mindre stabile materialiseringer af et fænomen. Vi undersøger østeuropæiske 'Stalin's World', kroppene på en akademisk konference, luftrum i det tidlige 20. århundrede, brug af tid i lægepraksisser, rødvinsens geografi og et udstillet pillebord. Vi har ikke forsøgt at homogenisere denne liste, og der er heller ikke nogen grund til at tro, at netop disse fænomener er de bedste eller eneste, der eger sig til at blive studeret som materialisningsprocesser. Listen er genereret af en gruppe forskere, som deler en interesse for teoretiske og empiriske spørgsmål om, hvad

stand – herunder også krop, rum og sociomateriel praksis. En forskydning i retning af materialitet og materialisering fordrer og beforderer andre mader at spørge og svare på, men det indebærer ikke nødvendigvis et skarpt brud med de indsigter, der går forud. Der er ikke tale om en tilbagevenden til en naiv realisme i denne antologi. Ved at sætte det materielle som analyseobjekt, når man ikke frem til en endelig afgrænsset genstand, der kan vejes, måles og beskrives i egen faktuelle ret. Undersøgelserne markerer heller ikke en opfølgning på en marxistisk idé om det materielle som et ontologisk givet grundniveau, der betinger det sociale og det kulturelle – vi har ikke forsøgt blot at vende borten på hovedet og igen lade det materielle forklare samfundets overbygning. Derimod rummer antologien analyser af de processer og relationer, hvor i det materielle indgår og gøres. Denne bog handler kort sagt om **materialitet som noget, der mobiliseres, oversættes, stabiliseres, sammenføjes eller foldes i næværk – uden at der står et suverænt skabende eller handlende subjekt bag**.

Ny maten alitisk stælse

Materialisering skal forstås som et aktivt verbum, hvor der fokuseres på praksis og på, hvordan fænomener gøres og gøres om i altid igangværende processer. Ethvert fænomen gøres i specifikke og entydige, da enhver gøren involverer mange elementer og aktører. Det, vi fokuserer på i denne antologi, er, hvordan elementerne sammenfittes i mere eller mindre stabile materialiseringer af et fænomen. Vi undersøger østeuropæiske 'Stalin's World', kroppene på en akademisk konference, luftrum i det tidlige 20. århundrede, brug af tid i lægepraksisser, rødvinsens geografi og et udstillet pillebord. Vi har ikke forsøgt at homogenisere denne liste, og der er heller ikke nogen grund til at tro, at netop disse fænomener er de bedste eller eneste, der eger sig til at blive studeret som materialisningsprocesser. Listen er genereret af en gruppe forskere, som deler en interesse for teoretiske og empiriske spørgsmål om, hvad

materialitterer gør, og hvordan de gøres. Fra vores forskellige empiriske forskningsfelter har vi hver især valgt det, der bedst illustrerer de valgte teoretiske pointer og deres analytiske implikationer. Det, de studerede fænomener har til fælles, er således deres potentielle til at gøre de teoretiske pointer gennemsigte og omsættelige til en analytisk praksis. Ideen er ikke blot at introducere til teoretiske strømninger, men først og fremmest at inspirere til læserens brug af teorierne i egne empiriske undersøgelser af materialiseringer.

I antologiens etnologiske og kulturhistoriske analyser vil man ikke finde undersøgelser af ét objekt eller én bestemt genstands historie eller funktion. Vi studerer processer, relationer og praksisser, under hvilke vores forskellige fænomener materialiserer sig. Der er ofte mange aktører og elementer involveret, og vi er optragede af såvel kroppe, genstande, som rum (situering), og deres forskellige måder at koble sig sammen på. Vi er ligeledes optragede af, hvordan elementerne sammenfiltres i processer, som vi vil følge i deres konkrete empiriske udtryk. Men også i denne optik er der forskellige vægtninger og udlægninger af, hvad der sker, når noget materialiserer sig. I det følgende vil vi derfor introducere til det teoretiske felt, der danner afsæt for denne antologi, under tre overskrifter. Den første, 'Materialisering som proces og agency', understreger materialitetens tidslige kvaliteter, det materielles interaktion eller sammenfiltrering med andre former for væren, hvor materialitet forstås som noget, der kan handle i eller påvirke verden. Den anden overskrift er 'Materialisering som relation, netværk og rhizom', og her introducerer vi versioner af materialitet som 'relationelle effekter', dvs. sammensatte og sammenfiltrede fænomener frem for essentielle og selvafrænsede enheder. Endelig introducerer vi under overskriften 'Materialisering som performativitet' teorier om materialitet som praksis. Man kan anføre, at disse begreber er sider af samme sag; at der ikke er klare skel mellem dem, og

at de ikke udelukker hinanden. Men der er forskel på, hvilke problemstillinger de hver især kan tackle i materialitetsteoriernes komplekse felt. Dermed også være sagt, at læseren kun vil møde et udvalg af aktuelle materialitetsteorier nedenfor, nemlig de der vinkler materialitet som en aktivitet. Det er således en strategisk snarere end en udtømmende præsentation, der her følger.

1. Materialisering som proces og agency

Udgangspunktet for denne antologi er altså at forstå og analysere materialitet på måder, der fører ud over de klassiske modsætningspar: subjekt og objekt, kultur og natur etc. Det er en udfordring, der kan mødes med forskellige strategier, hvoraf den første, vi skal præsentere, er opfattelsen af materialitet som noget aktivt og processuelt. Denne processuelle strategi kommer i flere versioner.

At opfatte verden som proces er ikke et særkende for materialitetstudier, men er betegnende for det bredere felt af kulturstudier. Man fokuserer på udvikling snarere end helgen, på 'becoming' snarere end 'being'. Også i en socialkonstruktivistisk optik har man beskæftiget sig med, hvordan fænomener konstrueredes i sociale processer, snarere end med afsløringen af, at de var socialt konstruerede (Hackling 1999). Det processuelle perspektiv er således del af en tendens, der inden for materialitetsstudier kunne formuleres som et fokus på 'materielt flow' (Ingold 2007). Men særligt i forhold til undersøgelsen af materialitet har det processuelle perspektiv været anvendt til at reformulere ideen om 'agency', dvs. handling og aktørrollen. I diskussionen om forholdet mellem subjekt og objekt spiller spørgsmålet om agency nemlig en væsentlig rolle. Er handling kun en egenskab, der kan tillægges subjekter med egenvile, intentioner og selvbevidsthed, eller kan også ting have agency? Allerede i 1986 udviklede

socialantropologen Arjun Appadurai teorier om tingenes 'sociale liv' og fremhævede, hvordan objekter cirkulerer og bliver rekonstualiseret i forskellige udformninger som forbrugsgoder (Appadurai 1986). Også i andre sammenhænge har der været fokus på, hvordan objekter virker aktivt ind i verden. Antropologen Alfred Gell har i bogen *Art and Agency* (1998) begrebsliggjort kunstgenstande som aktører i verden. Han tager dermed ikke udgangspunkt i kunstens æstetiske og symboliske kvaliteter, men undersøger, hvordan kunstgenstandene inkorporerer intention, og dermed er i stand til at mediere social handling. Alle kunstgenstande, fremhæver Gell, er produceret med det formål at influere på og påvirke andres handlinger.

Gell var en væsentlig figur i det engelske miljø omkring 'Material Culture Studies'. Her finder man også antropologen Daniel Miller. Med inspiration fra Hegel og dialektikken undersøger Miller forbrugets betydning for identitetsdannelsen, og han peger på de dynamiske relationer mellem forbrugsgodernes materialitet og den kulturelle tilgennelse. Disse relationer kalder han for "objektifikationsprocesser" ("objectification") (Miller 1987). Miller viser, hvordan vi former os i det materielles 'spejlbillede' som en fortløbende dannelsesproces: "We cannot know who we are, or become what we are, except by looking in the material mirror, which is the historical world created by those who lived before us" (Miller 2005:8). Materialiteten og dens dialektiske forhold til identiteten er således tidslig, men mennesker er på den vis også både objekter og subjekter i tilegnelsesprocesser. Ved at lave, udveksle, forbruge og leve med tingene skaber mennesker sig selv i processen, og kun derved er tingene konstituerende for identitet og kultur (jf. også Tilley 2006:61). Den dialektiske proces er Millers greb til at opnå et skellet mellem subjekt og objekt, idet de blot er momenter i objektifikationsprocessen. Imidlertid er denne opnåelse netop på det filosofiske niveau.

Når Miller som antropolog går ind i de konkrete analyser af specifikke materielle kulturer, hvor mennesker opfatter sig selv som subjekter, der anvender og former objekter, er den filosofiske ophævelse underordnet den empatiske forståelse af dem (Miller, 2005). Selvom det processuelle er centralt i Millers analyser af fx shopping og boligindretning, er der således ikke tale om en analytisk overskridelse af dikotomien mellem subjekt og objekt. Proces bliver i stedet en måde at tildele objekter en virkning som en form for agency.

På sin vis er agency også et udgangspunkt for den gren af materialitetsstudier, der kaldes *presence theory*, hvor presence på dansk kan oversættes til nærvær eller tilstedevær. Særligt i museumssammenhæng har presencebegrebet stor relevans, fordi det dels tematiserer, hvordan udstillingssgenstande kan skabe forbindelse til den verden eller den kontekst, genstanden kommer fra. Dels forsøger nærværsteoriene at begrebsliggøre de kvaliteter ved genstande og værker, som ligger ud over den betydning, beskueren skaber i mødet med dem. Den tysk/amerikanske litteraturhistoriker Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht er en markant skikkelse i udviklingen af teorier om nærvær.

Gumbrechts ambition er at vise, at vores oplevelse af omverdenen ikke blot skabes ved, at vi tillægger den betydning og skaber mening. Der findes en anden side af oplevelsen, der er foran os, inden for rækkevidde og håndgræbeligt i relation til vores kroppe. I *The Production of Presence* (2004) kritiserer Gumbrecht den hermeneutiske fortolkningslære, som han anser for grundlaget for kulturvidenskaberne og humaniora generelt. For at afværge det, Gumbrecht kalder 'det hermeneutisk verdenstab', forsøger han at finde et sprog for vores oplevelse af verden, som bevæger sig hinsides fortolkningen. Væren er forbundet med det kropslige og rumlige, skriver

han, idet han privilegerer dette nærvær: "Being, I think, refers to the things of the world before they become part of a culture" (s. 70). I denne kapacitet kan verden opleves i en slags kontakzone mellem materialitet og erkendelse, og det er i den forstand, at materialiteter tillægges en form for agency. De kommer os i møde og trækker sig tilbage og producerer i denne bevægelse et nærvær.

Denne bevægelse skal imidlertid ikke forstås i tidslige, processuelle termer. Tværtimod. Gumbrecht opererer med samtidighed frem for kronologi, sammenstilling af tingene og begivenhederne snarere end kausalitet. Når han arbejder med historien, søger han at 'fremmene' en fraværende fortid gennem ophobende beskrivelser af dens rumlige og kropslige elementer. Målet er at skabe (illusionen om) et taktilt, substantielt nærvær for historielæseren (Gumbrecht 1997:421, 417, Gumbrecht 2004:122). Fortidens nærvær i nutiden er også genstand for historikeren Eelco Runias udlæggninger af *presence theory*, og også han sætter nærvær i modsætning til det hermeneutiske begreb om mening. Men Runia fokuserer på de elementer af fortiden, der er reist med ind i nutiden som en slags blinde passagerer, dvs. på trods af eller uafhængigt af de menneskelige intentioner. Fortidige objekter, former, praksisser eller rum, genfindes eller gentages ubevidst i nutiden, hævder Runia. De er ikke meningsfulde i hermeneutisk forstand, de kan ikke fortælles eller repræsenteres. Men de eksisterer som en slags ufrivillige erindringer, som grundformer eller genstande, der bringer en fortidig verden med sig. De gør sig med andre ord gældende som et tilstedevær i nutiden (Runia 2006a, 2006b). Det, disse nærværsteorier byder ind med, er således nogle måder at beskrive, hvordan materialiteter, rum og kroppe kan være aktive deltagere i vores oplevelser, sansninger, handlinger og erindringer.

Er materialitet noget substansiel, der producerer et nærvær forud for de subjektive fortolkninger, eller er materialitet

noget, der skal forstås i et dialektisk forhold mellem subjekter og deres tilegnelser af det? Den amerikanske biolog og videnskabshistoriker Donna Haraway tager eksplicit afstand fra begge disse versioner. Hun mener, der findes langt mere komplekse forhold mellem natur og kultur, mellem materialitet og betydning. Altting formas gennem det, hun kalder hybride konfigurationer mellem flere instanser, der netop i deres relationer til hinanden også konstituerer hinanden.

Haraway udvikler således en heel 'familie' af hybridfigurer i sine analyser: "a queer family that are neither nature nor culture but an interface" (Markussen, Olesen og Lykke 2000). Hun taler videre om materielt-semiotiske knudepunkter, om sammenfiltrede fænomener, der ikke kan udskilles i separate enheder. Den stærke processuelle understrøm i Haraways analyseer kommer til udtryk på flere måder, der kunne karakterises som en genealogisk og en performativ strategi. Her vil vi fokusere på den genealogiske, idet materialisering som performance behandles særskilt længere fremme i denne introduktion.

Den genealogiske strategi har referencer til Foucault og dennes interesse for kulturelle fænomenernes heterogene og historisk vilkårlige herkomst (Foucault 1983). Et eksempel er hunden, der i des seneste værker et Haraways foretrukne hybridefigur, idet hunden som tamdyr indgår i utallige relationer med mennesker, men altid i historisk specifikke naturkulturrekonfigurationer. I *Companion Species Manifesto* (2003) viser Haraway, hvorledes mennesker og organiske væsner på utsellige måder er sammenfiltret i hinanden helt ind i de celler, vi er bygget af som fx immunsystemsnet. Gennem historien har mennesket formet hunden, men hunden har også formet mennesket – intet væsen eksisterer eller udvikles i isolation. Dette omsætter Haraway i begrebet 'becoming with': "To be one is always to become with many" (2008:4). Denne gensidige konstituering er netop en stadig proces, der ikke blot er en

Point:

Den genealogi

dialektisk forbindelse, men retter sig mod betingelserne for væren på det fundamentale niveau. Haraway taler om “émergent ontologies” (2003:7) som en understregning af, at altting er midlertidigt, undervejs og bliver til i en ‘væren med’, eller indgriben i, noget andet:

Reality is an active verb, and the nouns all seem to be gerunds with more appendages than an octopus. Through their reaching into each other, through their ‘prehensions’ or graspings, beings constitute each other and themselves. Beings do not pre-exist their relations. ‘Prehensions’ have consequences The world is a knot in motion (2003:6).

I dette kompakte citat får vi præsenteret Haraways opfattelse af proces som det, der er foldet ind i hinanden, og det, der er i bevægelse. At alle aktører er medkonstituerende og kulturhistorisk sammenfiltret med hinanden, er centrale temaer hos Haraway, og temaet, som vi vil bringe videre i de konkrete analyser. Med begreber som ‘companion species’ eller ‘naturecultures’, ønsker hun at understrege, at hybriditet er den fremherskende værensform. Eller ‘gørens-form’ skulle man måske hellere sige – for som nævnt kommer det procesuelle hos Haraway også til udtryk i en performativ strategi. Haraway nøjes ikke med at undersøge, hvordan fænomener er foldet ind i hinanden, men undersøger også institutionel og materiel praksis (Asdal og Brenna 1998). ‘Figuration’ er således et af Haraways yndede analytiske begreber, der søger at inkludere figurene som både “sign and flesh” (Haraway 2003:15-16).

2. Materialisering som relation, netværk og rbizom

Fornyet fokus på det materielle og overskridelse af dikotomier har været væsentlige målsætninger for de teorier, der præsenteres her. Vi har allerede været inde på løsningsforslag i form

af dialektik, nærvær og hybriditet. At udkaste problematikken som relation og netværk følger op på ideen om hybriditet og de blandingsformer, Haraway som nævnt er interesseret i. Vinkler man spørgsmålet om materialitet gennem relation og netværk, hænger udgangspunktet på sin vis sammen med den sproglige vendlings (i form af semiotikkens og poststrukturalismens) pointe om, at intet er og hviler i sig selv. “Entities take their form and acquire their attributes as a result of their relation with other entities”, skriver sociologen John Law, når han skal forklare, hvad aktør-netværk teori (ANT) er. ANT er primært udviklet i en videnskabssociologisk kontekst med undersøgelser af (natur)videnskaberne praksis og teknologihistoriske processer som omdrejningspunkt. ANT er således også en del af feltet STS – *Science and Technology Studies*, men har efterhånden også fået stor udbredelse i kulturvidenskaberne. ANT tager den tegn- eller diskursbaserede pointe om relationer og forlænger den til studiet af materialiteter. Således er ‘relationel materialitet’ én grundlæggende udlægning af, hvad ANT er (Law og Hassard 1999:3-4).

At zoome ind på de efterhånden omfangsrige diskussioner af ANT (fx Law og Hassard 1999, Latour 2005) er ikke nogen nem sag. ANT er langtfra et homogenfelt, og der er mange interne forskelligheder og uenigheder. Det, vi i denne antologi bører med fra ANT og vil introducere her, er tre forhold: for det første, som anført, grundtancken om netværk og ‘relationel materialitet’; for det andet ANT’s idé om en ny empirisme og endelig begrebet om non-humane aktører.

At materialiteter eksisterer i kraft af deres relation til andre fænomener, har været en grundantagelse inden for teknologistudier med et socialkonstruktivistisk sigte – gerne konceptualiseret i undersøgelsen af store teknologiske systemer (Hughes 1993, Bijker, Hughes og Pinch 1987). Også ANT undersøger, hvordan teknologiske artefakter konkret har samlet sig i netværk. Men med ‘netværk’ er der ikke tale om systemer,

mønstre eller strukturer, såsom en organisationsstruktur, eller transportvejenes infrastruktur, som kan indtegnes på et kort og give en oversigt over, hvordan man mest effektivt kan bevæge sig ad kommandoveje eller motorveje, uden at det bevægede ændrer sig undervejs (Latour 1999). De relationer og netværk, vi taler om her, er ikke stabile, veltmotiverede strukturer. De er rhizom, dvs. et rod-netværk, med udløbere og sideskud, der frigør sig fra moderplanten og danner nye planter med nye udløbere etc. Forstået som rhizomatiske samlinger, der består af opdelinger, sammenløb, foreløbige knudepunkter og udbrud, er den relationelle materialitet en serie af transformationer, som Gilles Deleuze og Félix Guattari har tematiseret det (1988). Ethvert punkt i rhizomet kan forbinde sig med ethvert andet punkt, og forbindelsen sætter noget i værk. "The world is a knot in motion", som Haraway beskrev det. Hver kobling transformerer. Det rumlige, kropslige og genstandene bliver til og forandrer sig konstant gennem koblinger, der danner nye udløbere, nye 'plateauer' (ibid.).

Det giver god mening at kalde aktør-netværk studierne for en fornyet empirisme, anfører sociologen Bruno Latour. Ikke En ny empirisme forstået som en afdækning af facts, men en 'ny realisme', der fokuserer på baggrunden for, at noget kan fremstå som facts, dvs. produktionen, stabiliseringen, fikseringen af facts (Latour 2004). I denne proces kan man ikke på forhånd afgøre, hvem der kan agere aktører. I stedet foreslår Latour at lade aktørerne udpege hinanden empirisk (jf. slagordet 'follow the actors'). Aktører skal her forstås som de knudepunkter i et netværk, der får virkning, og hvilke knudepunkter, der får virkning, afgøres empirisk. ANT opererer således med en tæt beskrivelse af, hvad der konkret forgår, når der dannes netværk, og når nogle elementer tildeles aktørstatus. Handling bliver således en effekt af relationerne i netværket, og handling er iiden forstand en relationel effekt (Latour 1999).

Rhizomet.

(Latour)
En ny empirisme

Dks

Handling = relationelle effekter.

Det er ud fra dette perspektiv, at man kan tale om non-humane aktører inden for ANT. Som netværkseffekter kan såvel humane som ikke-humane entiteter indtage aktørrolen, som da må forstås mere som en 'akrant' i grammatisk forstand ('grød gør alle mætte'; 'bygningen spærrede for udsigten' etc.) end som en 'aktør' i klassisk filosofisk forstand – dvs. som subjekt. Det er altså ikke meningen at forlænge den traditionelle opfattelse af subjektivitet til også at omfatte objekter, maskiner, geografier. Det vigtige er derimod at undersøge, hvordan mennesker og ikke-mennesker folder sig ind i hinanden (Latour 1999:193-4). At tale om non-humane aktører forudsætter altså, at man ikke sætter det humane og det non-humane over for hinanden som subjekt versus objekt. Det ville være absurd at hævde, at det non-humane, tingene, rummene eller kroppene har egen intention, vilje og handlekraft, sådan som man traditionelt tilskriver subjekter det. Men begrebet om non-humane aktører er heller ikke et spørgsmål om at ville gøre objekter til subjekter. Udgangspunktet er derimod, at hverken objekter eller subjekter er suveræne aktører. Heller ikke humane aktører er suveræne subjekter med fri vilje og intention. Det mennesker vil, og det vi gør, er formidlet af det ting, vi bruger og omgiver os med, af det rum, vi er situeret i. På den måde er materialiteter allerede involveret i enhver form for agency, også den, der tilskrives subjekter. Det er det, vi vil forsøge at vise med studierne i denne antologi: Hvordan materialiteter gøres, men også hvordan det materielle 'gør os', hvordan vi er foldet ind i, koblet sammen med, sammenfiltret i rumlige og materielle relationer.

Fra denne vinkel fremhæver Latour, at det er en fejl, når man i avisoverskrifter kan læse, at 'Mennesket flyver' eller 'Mennesket indtager rummet'. Mennesker flyver ikke. Det gør flyvemaskiner eller raketter isoleret set heller ikke:

↑ non-humane aktører
+ mon-hum
med egen inkonsekvens
men aktør i enhver form for agency

Flying is a property of the whole association of entities that includes airports and planes, launch pads and ticket counters. B-52s do not fly, the U.S. Air Force flies. Action is simply not a property of humans but of an association of actants... Provisional 'actorial' roles may be attributed to actants only because actants are in the process of exchanging competences, offering one another new possibilities, new goals, new functions (Latour 1999:182).

Den relationelle materialitet og nettværket kan således ikke forstås uden også at medtænke begrebet om non-humane aktører – eller aktanter. Som Latour fremhæver, bliver underhånden dersøgelsen af materialiteter en mangeartet førespørgsel med henblik på at afgøre "how many participants are gathered in a thing to make it exist and to maintain its existence" (Latour 2004:170, kursivering i original).

3. Materialisering som performativitet

Den tredje og sidste streng i materialiseringsbegrebet, vi her skal introducere, fokuserer på materialitet som noget, der gøres, dvs. en performativ forståelse. Ovenfor har vi blandt andet præsenteret begreber om agency og non-humane aktører (aktaanter). Med performativitetsbegrebet i tillæg får vi en udlægning af materialiteter som noget, der aflejres, versioneres, materialiseres i *praksis* – en sociomateriel praksis. Den performativte tilgang henter særlig inspiration fra kønsforskningen og opfattelsen af den kønnede krop. Inden for materialitetsstuderne har en bredere forståelse af performativitet fået betydning, især inden for ANT, hvor der ligefrem tales om en performativ vending. Her er den hollandske filosof Annemarie Mol sammen med John Law centrale figurer.

Den performativ strategi udvikles i en kritik af antagelsen i kønsforskningen om, at køn kunne opdeles i et biologisk (substantielt, materielt) køn og et socialt (diskursivt,

konstrueret) køn

dvs. i henholdsvis 'sex' og 'gender'. Mange kønsforskere påpegede, at det naturlige, fysiske eller biologiske køn heller ikke var noget givet, som kunne studeres i sig selv. I sin pågående materialitet forblev kroppen imidlertid en udfordring. Kroppen synes ikke blot at kunne opfases i skiftende diskurser. Den amerikanske filosof Judith Butler har taget denne udfordring op og udvikler i den sammenhæng en performativ forståelse af køn med fokus på praksis.

Butler opløser i *Gender Trouble. Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (1990) kønnet i fire komponenter: ikke blot "sex" og "gender", som vi allerede har set, men også komponenterne "sexual practice" og "desire". Butlers pointe er, at man må fremvise en vis kohærens eller sammenhæng mellem disse komponenter, for at kønnet fremstår kulturelt acceptabelt eller genkendeligt. En bestemt kombination af udtryk er gennem tiden blevet kulturelt hegemonisk og dermed 'forstædlig' som 'kvindeligt/kvindeligt' eller 'mand/mandligt', mens andre kombinationer bliver udgrænset, ekskluderet, sygeliggjort, undersøgt etc. Også i Butlers næste værk, *Bodies that Matter. On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (1993), udvikler hun denne optik. Som det fremgår af titlen, opererer Butler her med et begreb om materialisering af kroppen som en proces, eller rettere, som performativitet. Butlers performancebegreb handler ikke om et subjekt, der bevidst vælger, hvordan det vil optræde eller iscenesætte sig i en given situation. I stedet handler det om, hvordan man må 'citere' og dermed fortsat materialisere de hegemoniske diskurser, dvs. forestillingen om et 'sandt (og kønnet) selv'. Også den biologiske krop er underlagt denne kontinuerlige materialisering af kønsspecifikke normer, hævder Butler. Men at kønnet er noget, der gøres og gøres om, indeholder også et kritisk potentiiale: Det kvindelige og mandlige undergår en konstant forskydning, imens de gentages, citeres. Dette forhold kan udnyttes strategisk.

Materialisering er således den proces, hvorigennem noget

Enheden

stabiliseres til form over tid. I Butlers performative optik er kroppens materialitet noget, der fortsat aflejres. Hun problematiserer og teoreterer dermed en række af de forhold, materialitetsstudierne tager op, men man kan med en vis ret diskutere, i hvor høj grad materialitet faktisk adresseres i hendes konkrete analyser. Det er også den kritik, Annemarie Mol retter mod Butlers performativitetsbegreb i *The body multiple: ontology in medical practice* (2002). Mol kritiserer Butler for, at materialiteten er fordampet fra hendes studier af, hvordan mennesker gør deres selv: "Performing identities is not a question of ideas and imaginations devoid of materiality... A lot of things are involved" (Mol 2002:37-38). Særligt peger Mol på kropen, de fysiske organer, der om ikke er determinerende, så alligevel relevante i de mange måder kønnet kan gøres på, når man fokuserer på den konkrete praksis. Og det er netop, hvad Mol gør.

I forhold til de klassiske ANT-studiers fokus på netværk og sammenfiltrering af heterogene elementer flyttes fokus hos Mol (og hos John Law, som Mol ofte arbejder sammen med) over på, hvorledes fænomenene gøres i en flerhed af praksisser. Den performative optik er flyttet fra Butlers fokus på, hvordan identitet og selv stabiliseres eller aflejres over tid, til hvordan naturvidenskabelige fænomener som sygdomme og kropsdele gøres i forskellige praksisser. Med begrebet 'det sociomaterielle' (Jespersen 2007) har man forsøgt at indfange denne specifikke forståelse af materialitet som noget, der gøres. Pointen hos Mol og Law er, at fænomener (eller objekter) gøres forskelligt i forskellige praksisformer og derfor er multiple. Multiplicitet betyder netop ikke en pluralitet af autonome og fragmenterede versioner, men tværtimod, at de enkelte versioner er gensidigt forbundne. Det betyder også, at fænomener må studeres i praksis, så de anskues i hele deres kompleksitet. Derfor kalder Mol sin etnografisk inspirerede metode 'praksiografi':

If practices are for-grounded there is no longer a single passive object in the middle, waiting to be seen from the point of view of seemingly endless series of perspectives. Instead, objects come into being – and disappear – with the practices in which they are manipulated. And since the object of manipulation tends to differ from one practice to another, reality multiplies. The body, the patient, the disease, the doctor, the technician, the technology: all of these are more than one. More than singular. This begs the question of how they are related. For even if objects differ from one practice to another, there are relations between these practices. Thus, far from necessarily falling into fragments, multiple objects tend to hang together somehow (Mol 2002:5).

Mol undersøger ikke blot multiple objekter, men også multiple subjekter i sin praksiografi, hvor især de medicinske praksisser er i fokus. Subjekter og objekter multipliceres i kraft af den flerhed af praksisser, de indgår i. De forskellige versioner kan både støde sammen og trives side om side bl.a. i kraft af deres rumlige distribution.

Ved at koble materialitet med proces og agency, relation og nettværk, performativitet og praksis har vi søgt at distancere os fra en forståelse af materiel kultur som noget stabilt, faktuelt og velfaggrænsset. Forfatterne til denne antologi afsøger materialiteter som verber, som aktører eller som tilstedevar. Materialiseringer er således vores udgangspunkt. Med oven nævnte teoretiske grundlag har vi kredset om en række fælles spørgsmål, der imidlertid ikke har resulteret i et fælles svar. I de følgende analyser er forfatterne ikke nødvendigvis enige om, hvordan materialiseringer foregår, eller hvordan de kan analyseres. Ikke blot arbejder vi med uensartede empiriske felter, men også med forskellige vinklinger og vægtninger i operationaliseringen af teori til analytisk praksis. Ethvert valg af teoretisk position er naturligvis også et fravælg af en anden position. Analysernes fokus kan ligge på praksis, på nettværk, eller på fortidens nærvær; det kan ligge på tid eller på rum i et strukturelt eller et diakront snit. Aktør- eller aktantrollerne skifter konstant alt efter empiri og positionering. Det har derfor været væsentligt for os at lave analyserne 'gennemsigtige' i den forstand, at læseren får indblik i, hvilke teoretiske overvejelser der er forsøgt operationaliseret i de analytiske greb og i de spørgsmål, vi har stillet til det empiriske materiale.

Flere af antologiens undersøgelser bygger på feltarbejde som empirisk grundlag eller på observationer gjort af forfatteren. Det er ikke ualmindeligt i etnologisk sammenhæng, men i forhold til en bredere kulturanalytisk ramme vil der være flere henvisninger til forfatter-jeget i antologiens kapitler end vanligt. Sporene af egne iagttagelser og refleksioner kunne naturligvis have været sløret efterfølgende – det er et spørgsmål om retorisk fremstilling. En del af analyserne benytter sig imidlertid af et tydeligt forfatterieg, dels for at synliggøre forfatternes situering som aktører, der er med til at strukturere det empiriske felt, og dels som en narrativ strategi, der skal gøre analyserne tilgængelige og gennemskuelige.

Tidens og rummets materialiseringer eller materialiseringer i tid og rum – sådan kan emnerne for de følgende analyser helt overordnet beskrives. I Dorthe Gert Simonsens *LuftRum* følger vi en konkret materialisering af rum, nemlig etableringen af luftrum i begyndelsen af det 20. århundrede. Simonsen undersøger, hvordan luftens flydende og flygtige kvaliteter kunne konverteres til et nationalt rum, efter at flyvemaskiner begyndte at krydse nationale grænser i 1910'erne. De flyvende maskiner koblede luft sammen med den jordnære geografi i nye nettværk, der også resulterede i en re-materialisering af landjorden. Den nye flyveteknologi tildeles en væsentlig aktørrolle i analysen, hvor materialisering af luften opfattes som noget, der fortsat foregår i en kobling af elementer i mobile nettværk.

En lignende proces findes i Jon Frederik Høyrup og Anders Kristian Munks analyse af en anden flydende materialitet, nemlig rødvin og dens relationer til det geografiske rum. Forfatterne følger fransk rødvin's bevægelser på verdensmarkedet for at undersøge, hvordan vinens kvaliteter skabes i tilknytning til geografisk oprindelse eller *terroir*. I vinens bevægelse mellem steder, og på dens forlangende om at blive vurderet og taget stilling til, væves nye allierede imidlertid ind i vinflaskernes historie: producenter, laboranter, smagsdommere, købmænd, køkkenchefer, forbrugere. Det viser sig, at vin er flydende i mere end den åbenlyse forstand, og at proppen nok sættes i flasken hos vinbonden, men at kvalitet dermed ikke er afgjort eller forseglet. Dens flydende kvaliteter bliver en forudsætning for, at *terroir* kan materialisere sig. Sådanne materialiserende bevægelser er også prægnant beskrevet i antologiens sidste kapitel (som vi vender tilbage til nedenfor): Astrid Jespersen og Torben Elgaard Jensens analyse af *Tidens materialisering – alment praktiserende lægers håndtering af tid*. Lægernes konsultationspraksis beskrives her som en form for 'foldemaskine', der kobler en række fortidige og fremtidige

begivenheder både før, under og efter en lægekonsultation og dermed sammenvæver forskellige tidsenheder og tidsperspektiver.

Rum og tid kan således undersøges som noget, der materialiserer sig i mobile netværk i bevægelser mellem forskellige aktører og i konkrete praksisser. De tre ovennævnte artikler (kapitel 1, 2 og 6) har tydelige indslag af ANT i analyserne af materialiseringsprocesserne. Tine Damsholts *I hamam – når det akademiske køn går i opløsning*, har ligeledes fokus på materialisering som proces og trækker med et begreb om multiple objekter også på ANT-retningen. Men Damsholt vægter i højere grad den performative analyse af kroppen og dens materielle situering. Hun undersøger, hvordan den rumlige ‘setting’ har stor betydning for, hvordan kroppen kan og må ‘performes’. Med et muntern eksempel fra Istanbul, hvor en akademisk konference en formiddag henlægges til et tyrkisk bad (*hamam*), vises, hvordan den kønnede krop materialiserer sig og fremvinger særlige måder at gøre køn på, som ellers skulle være neutraliseret i akademia. Den kønsmækkede krop (og dens indpakning) er således ikke blot noget, der diskurativt tilskrives betydning. Køn materialiserer sig gennem et væld af minutiose kropslige praksisser, der altid må gøres i relation til den materielle situering, som også akademiske kroppe befinner sig i.

Rødvinsens *terroir* materialiserede sig gennem sammenvæning med forskellige aktører i vinflaskernes bevægelse. Kroppeens materialisering sker gennem en performance, der væver den sammen med den rumlige situering. I artiklen *Museer, materialitet og tilstedevær* undersøger Camilla Mordhorst en udstilling, hvor livet væves sammen med forbrug af receptpligtig medicin. I galleriet *Living and Dying* på British Museum findes et enormt ‘pillebord’, hvor 28.000 piller er indvævet i en dug rullet ud som et fiktivt biografisk forløb for henholdsvis en mand og en kvinde. Mordhorst undersøger,

hvordan tid, erindring og levet liv samles på pillebordet som et overvældende tilstedevedvær. Her materialiserer livet sig som et nærvær i rum. Det er artiklens ambition at vise, hvordan vante dikotomier som travær og nærvær, udstrakt tid og samtidighed, betydning og væren på paradoxal vis sameksisterer i dette materielle tilstedevedvær.

Pillebordet folder således rum og tid sammen, idet det leverer liv og erindringen om livet materialiserer sig. En sådan materialisering af erindring kan man også finde i Lene Ottos analyse af *Kommunismens materielle kultur*. Hun undersøger, hvordan man omgås, bruger eller destruerer den ubekvemme kulturarv fra kommunismen i det tidlige Østeuropa. Erindringer nedfældet i monumenter, bygninger og konsumprodukter fra den kommunistiske fortid kan og må håndteres på forskellig vis. Som Mordhorst bruger Otto begrebet tilstedevedvær for at undersøge genstandenes effekt på dem, der betragter og håndterer genstanden, men hun søger at kombinere nærvær med et performance-perspektiv. I Litauen har en rig konservesbaron fx indrettet en slags oplevelsespark, Grūtas Park (eller populært *Stalin's World*), hvor man kan genopleve kommunismens materielle verden i form af bygninger, statuer og madkultur. Den parodiske genoplevelse af den materielle kultur både fremkalder og udvisker fortiden. Også på andre måder bliver den materielle kommunistiske kulturarv brugt til erindring, eksistenskamp og kontemplation i en bevægelse mellem materialisering og forsøg på destruering af fortiden. Alle antologiens kapitler beskæftiger sig med materialisering i tid og rum, men med forskellig vægtning. Hvor de tre første kapitler – om luftrum, rødvinsens *terroir* og akademiske kroppe – overvejende fokuserer på *rumlige* materialiseringer, så er det især *tidslige* materialiseringer, som er i fokus i antologiens sidste tre kapitler. Pillebordet på British Museum og håndteringen af den kommunistiske kulturarv i Østlandene peger på former for museal materialisering af det

tidslige. I Jespersen og Elgaard Jensens afsluttende analyse af lægekonsultationer får vi endnu en undersøgelse af tidens materialiseringer. Her er det imidlertid ikke materialisering af erindring og kulturyar, men håndteringen af tid som sådan, der er i fokus. I kapitlet er tidens materialitet bundet op i en række sociomaterielle forhold. Analysen afdækker, hvordan patienter og tidsenheder planlægges og allokeres forud for konsultationen, hvordan lægerne skifter mellem forskellige former for tidspraksis under konsultationen, og endelig hvordan relationen til fremtidige konsultationer håndteres, idet problemer udskydes, 'ses an' eller opdeles i et planlagt forløb. Kapitlet analyserer således tiden som en 'multipel ressource' i lægekonsultationerne.

Gennem bogens empiriske analyser vil læseren komme vidt omkring. Som ovenstående introduktion af analyserne indikerer, vil der imidlertid også være mange tværgående problemstillinger og konkrete analytiske greb, der går igen og diskuteres på kryds og tværs i kapitlene. Disse sammenhænge i mangfoldigheden afspejler, at forfatterne har et fælles anliggende: at udfolde det store analytiske potentiale, som materialiseringsspekvet har. Først og fremmest er de empiriske kapitler derfor tænkt som eksempler på, hvordan *materialiseringer* kan håndteres analytisk, og som sådan vil de forhåbentlig kunne virke som inspiration over et bredt kulturvidenskabeligt felt.

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The Secret World of Doing Nothing

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There are, however, exceptions. The delights of longing hopefully for something that is anticipated to happen may color the here and now rosy, for example when hoping for romance, expecting a baby, or anticipating a journey. There are also inventive strategies for turning a boring wait into a more enjoyable situation, as when people create temporary communities or develop secret games.

The emotions evoked in waiting have above all to do with the experience of time and how it is spent and controlled. When people feel like a hostage to restlessness and worry, waiting time can be experienced as an intense frustration—causing them to feel that they are just vegetating and blocked from real life.

The “doing nothing” variety of waiting shows itself to be a surprisingly paradoxical activity. Inertia hides what is actually a dynamic and morally charged activity. Doing nothing is not only a state of mind but also an ordered and symbolically communicated behavior that people have to learn and develop over a lifetime. It offers unexpected possibilities to counteract the very boredom, anxiety, and powerlessness that it generates. When trapped in waiting, people are often able to be simultaneously occupied with something else; likewise, people can be physically present in a waiting space and yet travel far away in the mind.

Above all it is the liminality of waiting that makes it a special kind of doing nothing. In-between events can make people feel stuck, but such events can also generate new possibilities. Waiting produces a “sleepwalking” mood, in which the asylum seeker or the pregnant woman may feel removed from the world or flow of time.

Waiting also makes some people see their material surroundings, the strangers next to them, and their own lives in a new light. Waiting can be a source of intense boredom but also of surprising insights. As we shall see in the next two chapters, this dual mechanism of opening and closing off works for other kinds of non-events as well, including those of routines and daydreaming.

CHAPTER TWO

Routines

Every weekday Harold Crick brushes his teeth seventy-six times, thirty-eight times back and forth, thirty-eight times up and down. Every weekday for twelve years Harold ties his tie in a single Windsor knot instead of a double, thereby saving forty-three seconds. Every weekday for twelve years Harold regularly runs fifty-seven steps per block for six blocks just in time to catch the 8:17 A.M. bus. At work he reviews 7,134 tax files every day as an IRS auditor. Beyond that Harold lives a life of solitude. And every night at precisely 11:13 P.M. Harold goes to bed, alone.

This was until Wednesday. On Wednesday morning everything changed. While brushing his teeth Harold began to hear a voice commenting on his every move and following him around the apartment where he tried to stick to his morning routine.

Marc Forster’s 2006 movie *Stranger than Fiction* is about that ordinary man, Harold Crick, whose perfunctory life changes completely when he discovers that he has become the main character in a novel. What he hears as he carries out his mundane tasks is the voice of the female writer who has decided to turn his boring life into a book. How can he get rid of the voice that is stalking him? The answer seems to be: by becoming unpredictable. And so we follow Harold trying to break out of his self-made prison of routines.

The movie is an example of that well-established genre with the moral: never get trapped in the monotony of routines, get a life instead. **Routines** are a category of non-event that has often had bad press, as exemplifying a dull and predictable existence, but there is much to be said about this seemingly insignificant activity.¹

**ikke -
beqivenheder
hvivelle)
monotone
gentaaelsev**

Straitjacket or Supportive Corset

After I gave up sleeping, it occurred to me what a simple thing reality is, how easy it is to make it work. It's just reality. Just housework. Just a home. Like running a simple machine. Once you learn to run it, it's just a matter of repetition. You push this button and pull that lever. You adjust a gauge, put on the lid, set the timer. The same thing over and over.

This is "Okusan," the housewife in a short story by Haruki Murakami (1993: 96).² She has stopped sleeping and spends the nights reading Russian novels, enjoying the nightly freedom from her snoozing family. It works fine, because the daily chores are just a flow without friction; she doesn't have to invest much energy or emotion in them. Once one has developed routines, everyday life takes care of itself.

Murakami's short story, like the movie about Harold Crick, catches **Ambivalens**, many interesting dimensions of routines, above all the tension between **støttespande**, their potential to be either a supportive corset of security, helping one along during the day, or a cultural straitjacket, trapping one in monotonous activities and blocking personal growth.
Korsej *Høje*

Murakami's heroine lives in a marriage that has turned into a "boring routine" and therefore caused her to develop a nightly life of her own with new habits and rituals. She longs for pastimes of her own that would allow her to set the pace and construct a personal rhythm. She sees what happens through the day as "mainly going through the same motions over and over" and saves her energy for the innovative new habits of the night.

For most people, routines are linked to **order, predictability, and control**. To imagine a life of momentary impulses and short-term actions, devoid of sustainable routines, a life without habits, is, as Richard Sennett (1998: 44)

At økonomisere tid, krofter dig medtig.

uden innovation og udvikling.

has put it, to imagine a mindless existence indeed. Viewed from that perspective, routines can be seen as helpful tools for organizing the flow of time. They create rhythms and patterns by sequencing and synchronizing time. They also work as manuals for what has to be done in the course of a single day, or as maps of life at home and at work, where many activities are charted in detail. As economizing devices they may help one avoid making a myriad of choices, or having to reflect about various alternatives in recurring situations, something that might drive people crazy. The autopilot mode takes care of daily tasks and sets the body or mind free for parallel activities—as could waiting.

Et spændende/udkultivert Kulturfelt felt.

Cultural Paths

The word *routine* is actually the diminutive of *route*, a small path. This metaphor made us think about how routines are created in a similar way as paths, through a lot of repetitions, but also about how they become overgrown. We would therefore like to focus on the ways in which routines are made, unmade, and remade. Another issue is how their repetitive nature often hides important changes that eventually may transform them into something else.

There are different strategies to make self-evident routines visible, for example by looking at how they are lost or challenged in situations of crisis.

**Suprigørelses -
kontekst**
**Krise/Soviel
kriser**

In extreme situations of war and catastrophe people try to reconstruct whatever they can of normal life, but they also discover how important some of their former trivial habits really were.

Thick definition

Another approach is to develop thick ethnographies, like the stalking author's voice that monitors Harold's every move. By describing routines in detail, it is possible to discover how they are put together and coordinated, how they are synchronized with other tasks and become part of a daily rhythm. This kind of ethnography raises questions about how routines are learned, perfected, or changed. Deeply rooted habits have often sunk into invisibility, naturalized as something given. But they can be made conscious when they are brought up to the surface and discussed as "cultural stuff" (Wilk 2009).

How is a new activity gradually transformed into a familiar habit? Like the path we mentioned earlier, how does one step follow the next, and then the next? Is this a practical solution to a specific problem or a way to order the pace of a day, week, year, life?

When one arrives at a new place, the first thing one usually does is get a sense for how it is organized. Where are all the things one needs and how do they work? How to learn to find one's way around? One winter evening Veronika Bergman, in a novel by Linda Olsson (2005), arrives at a dark and deserted house in the Swedish countryside. She has borrowed the house to start writing her new novel. Snow has fallen and the air is dry and cold. Her life feels as uncertain as the winter light. She has to make herself feel at home in this unfamiliar place.

On the second day the house still keeps its distance. Veronika feels like an orphan tenant in an orphan house. Only slowly does her life find its own organic rhythm. After a week she has established her morning routine.

She got up early, had coffee at the kitchen table and watched the room absorb the growing daylight. It felt as [if] the house had accepted her, as if they had begun their life together. The soles of her feet had become familiar with the wooden steps of the staircase, her nose accustomed to the smells of the walls, and she was gradually adding her own imprint, leaving minute traces. (Olsson 2005: 4)

Veronika takes possession of the house by adjusting her body to it but also "... adding her own imprint." She makes a home and a workplace out of the

unfamiliar space by shifting the sofas in the sitting room, buying a potted geranium for the kitchen windowsill, and finding a place for her laptop. Each day begins with a walk, regardless of the weather. The new routines make Veronika feeling comfortable and secure and leave space for more important tasks.

As Colin Campbell (1996) has pointed out, certain choices of actions may be the starting point for creating habits that will sooner or later turn into something taken for granted. The integration of tasks, skills, and objects into the patterns of everyday affairs is a basic process in individual and social life.

Gentagelsen, mag

By repetition, novelties become effortless activities and gradually descend into the unconscious. Consider the middle-aged smoker. When he tried his first cigarette back in the 1960s and learned to hold the cigarette as nonchalantly as Humphrey Bogart, he had no idea that he was entering a new universe of daily rhythms, rituals, and social exchanges—the world of the habitual smoker. Gradually smoking became one of the routines that organized his day, linked with the morning cup of coffee, motivating work breaks, and adding that extra something to mundane situations. He learned to scan new terrains for ashtrays, matches, and fellow smokers. It is only when he runs out of cigarettes that he realizes their force in his daily life, or in later years when he finds the growing trend toward antismoking policies that put new restraints on his beloved habit.⁴

There are many other examples of how such powerful landscapes of routine are made, including the purchase of one's first car and getting a ^{up} for the kids, but perhaps the most striking case is that of setting up a new household.

CLOCKWORK JUGGLING

Open the door to any home, and what will one stumble over upon entering? Furniture and personal belongings, of course, but also all the domestic routines hiding inside. "What defines a home?" Mary Douglas (1991) once asked. Her answer: not a building with four walls but an internal order with rules, habits, and rhythms. The home is above all a web of routines,

silent agreements, and ingrained reflexes about “the ways we do things here.” The participants learn how to survive a stressful morning, how to store the food in the fridge, how to sort the laundry, and much, much more.

Harold Crick’s regimented domestic life may seem an extreme example,

but this kind of construction work goes on everywhere. The home is a space of repeated actions and experiences in endless varied constellations that include watered plants, messy cupboards, crumbs on the kitchen table, stacked telephone bills, and more or less finished home improvement projects. Amid the chaos of conflicting plans and desires, routines maintain order, which is, however, easily threatened. Secret coded messages and hints fly through the air, sometimes interrupted by outbursts of questions and complaints. Where’s the remote control? How many times have I told you not to leave clothes on the floor? Isn’t it about time someone took out the trash? Who keeps turning down the thermostat?

Many domestic routines are invisible for the inhabitants of the household, but for the visitor they surface in ways that sometimes become problematic.

Routine ev offe usynlige for dens ege udsevere

The Planned Life

In an ethnographic study of the pulse of everyday life, three anthropologists, Charles N. Darrah, James M. Freeman, and J.A. English-Lueck (2007), followed the daily activities of fourteen middle-class California families for a year. They observed the family members trying to manage time, obligations, and the consequences of option overload.

One assumption was that for many Americans, busyness is often so deeply ingrained in daily life that it is taken for granted. Contemporary society is characterized by increasing shortage of time. People talk about being rushed or harried, having to juggle activities, and trying to fit it all in. This is, of course, nothing new; there is a long history of complaints about being “busier than ever,” but each generation faces different forms of overload and develops new coping methods. In the early 2000s personal digital assistants (PDA), cellular phones, e-mail, and pagers became the accessories of modern

Routine = stabilitet og tidsekonomisering

busyness. While these items did indeed help people cope with time shortage, they also created additional tasks and new demands.

A central part of busy family life was the establishment of routines to provide stability. One of the families being studied, the dual-career couple Suzanne and Humberto, devoted much time and effort to making daily plans and building a predictable environment for their two daughters. By planning life in detail they hoped to be able to keep control over situations that threatened to get out of hand (Darrah, Freeman, and English-Lueck 2007: 26ff.).

Suzanne shared a marketing position in a high-tech company with another woman. She remained at home on Mondays and Tuesdays and went to work Wednesdays through Fridays. Humberto, a firefighter, worked three twenty-four-hour shifts, separated by days off and followed by four days off. This schedule was repeated year after year. The children’s daily routines likewise remained unchanged and included leisurely early-morning play followed by drives to their respective day-care providers.

Suzanne and Humberto insisted that the carefully structured day-care routine was an important part of a well-lived life. They kept busy doing many things at home and at work; they scripted their days tightly, and their unscheduled time was scarce. When it did occur, they often considered it “wasted” time. They regarded not being busy as not having a full life. The family routines provided a basis for the focused attention needed to accomplish things, and the sense of security was supposed to reduce stress.

They hoped to achieve the goal that their daughters would learn to cope with the abundance of stimulation found in contemporary society. One of the routines was the ritual of attending mass every Sunday. In church the children learned that there are times to be silent, times to sing, and times to pray. At the dinner table at home they learned the ritual of talking about the reasons for being grateful.

Even if Suzanne and Humberto viewed stable routines as the foundation of their family life, their planning also required the flexibility to know what to do when order was interrupted. When, for example, the car broke down on the way to the children’s day care, they experienced this as an attack on

their organized life. Many of the other families in the study had similar responses to the "logistical nightmare" of broken schedules, when everything needed to be done at once, and nothing was working as planned.

Despite the carefully laid plans and robust routines that people such as these middle-class California families establish to protect themselves from uncertainty, coping with surprises is a part of daily life. When surprises hit, everyday order is disrupted, even when one has done all one can to establish security. At that point routines turn out to be little more than a sort of faith that they have the power to impose order. For that reason, the three ethnographers concluded, **the tacit work of keeping control is important.** But they also noticed that this work is not talked about much.

As far as the families were concerned, the task of coordinating their activities with family members and friends was just the backdrop of the real stuff that filled their lives. That three professors were being paid to study what to them was an unavoidable, humdrum part of life seemed mildly bizarre. Yet life is largely lived in the humdrum minutiae of everyday existence. It is highly significant that individuals talked so little and so inarticulately about their coping but spent so much time doing it. Ubiquitous coordinating was clearly a high-stakes game, for days and weeks could fall apart if an appointment were overlooked or if someone failed to be precisely where and when had been agreed to. (Darrah, Freeman, and English-Lueck 2007: 106f)

Domestic Science

Let us turn to another household, this one in Montclair, New Jersey, where the ordering of everyday tasks is an even more daunting project than in the California home described above. Frank Bunker Gilbreth and Lillian Moller Gilbreth have twelve children, and in their home routines are constantly being monitored and improved to fight the danger of domestic chaos.

Dad installed process and work charts in the bathrooms. Every child old enough to write—and Dad expected his offspring to start writing at a tender age—was required to initial the charts in the morning after he had brushed his teeth, taken a bath, combed his hair, and made his bed.

At night, each child had to weigh himself, plot the figure on a graph, and initial the process charts again after he had done his homework, washed his hands and face, and brushed his teeth. Mother wanted to have a place on the charts for saying prayers, but Dad said as far as he was concerned prayers were voluntary. (Gilbreth and Gilbreth Carey 1949/1973: 2)

Frank and Lillian were hardly an ordinary suburban couple. They were two of America's leading scholars in the development of scientific management, successful pupils of its inventor, Frederick Taylor. Two of their children have written about their childhood during the first decades of the twentieth century, describing their home as "a sort of school for scientific management and the elimination of wasted motions—or 'motion study,' as Dad and Mother named it" (Gilbreth and Gilbreth Carey 1949/1973: 1).

Dad filmed the kids washing dishes to find out how this routine could be speeded up and improved. He found that he could save four seconds by buttoning his vest from the bottom up instead of top to bottom. He used two shaving brushes to speed up shaving, and experimented with double razors, but found that he lost extra time by the frequent instances when he had to bandage cuts. He called the children together to instruct them in the most time- and motion-saving way of handling a bar of soap in the shower.

The Gilbreth family became a household obsessed with the regular scrutiny of routines and doing constant battle against irrational habits. Frank's and Lillian's jobs, both as parents and as work consultants, made invisible practices very visible.

The world of the Gilbreths, as well as that of their mentor, Frederick Taylor, is interesting because they succeeded in creating an anatomy of routines. They documented routines, took them apart, and analyzed their tiniest parts, including the movements of hand and eye. Then they tried to reassemble them into new and more efficient habits. *Betterment rooms* was what Frank called the spaces he organized when he came as a consultant to a factory to rehabilitate the workers. The job was to break a habit and create a new routine that would become an unconscious reflex.⁵

When Frank died, his working partner, Lillian, found that she was no longer welcome in industry. To make a living she had to develop a new

arena for the anatomy of routines; she therefore took scientific management into American homes and the lives of American housewives. Lilian and Frank had regarded unskilled workers as a group who needed to be broken of old work habits and taught new routines. Now housewives were seen as a group that needed to be reeducated to become modern homemakers. In a sense, this second homemaking campaign followed on the Victorian one.

In the transformation of domestic spaces during the nineteenth century the ideal of the nuclear family had come to replace that of the loosely organized household: families were supposed to create their own cultural microcosmos at home—their own world of style, manners, atmosphere, and traditions. The Victorian middle-class housewife was seen as the person responsible for this important task of homemaking. Her often unappreciated job was to provide a reassuring structure of family habits.⁶

By the early twentieth century there was, however, a growing critique of housewives as clinging to traditions instead of embracing modern routines. The Western world saw the emergence of a new movement of home consultants, teachers of domestic science, and state research institutions. The chief task of these professionals was to scrutinize domestic habits and promote modern routines. Lilian Moller Gilbreth was a leading figure in this development. Her betterment room became the kitchen.

The aim of the domestic science movement was benevolent—to make the work of housewives easier and more effective—but there was also a moral power dimension. Did mother really know best? Routines became a battleground, and insecurity developed. What many of the teachers of domestic science did not see was that a form of middle-class morality was often in play. Traditional habits were bad, but why? Reform was not only about efficiency, hygiene, or labor saving but also about new middle-class norms. The message was that there is a time and place for everything; never mix activities and functions; don't eat while walking; food should be served only in the dining room; and the kitchen should not be a space for socializing or children's play.

In the United States the class dimension also became evident in the reaction to all the unsuitable habits that immigrants brought with them, cooking

strange kinds of stews, for example, and mixing all kinds of ingredients instead of organizing a proper American meal of white potatoes, meat, peas, and sauce tidily and separately organized on the plate. The energy invested in debates about bad habits and good modern routines—the correct ways to eat dinner, make a bed, or use the living room—also created resistance. As frustrated reformers complained (see Löfgren 2003), well-meaning campaigns for better housekeeping often fell on deaf ears.

Floating in the Sea of Servs

Harold Crick had a minimalist home and perfect web of rational routines that probably would have impressed Lilian Moller Gilbreth. But with Harold we enter a new era, one in which the reform movement of the Gilbreths a century earlier came under criticism. What had been seen as rational routines now came to be seen as a lack of creativity and flexibility. The film *Stranger than Fiction* is part of a late modern movement to battle rigid habits. It is no coincidence that Harold is given the job of a tax auditor. During the twentieth century, bureaucrats emerged as the new symbols of mindless work, seen to be trapped in enslaving routines and totally lacking inventiveness. Their work was likened to life at the conveyor belt, another favorite metaphor for stereotyped existence that Charlie Chaplin immortalized in his 1936 movie *Modern Times*.

Harold's workplace consists of white work cubicles and corridors of filing cabinets. His well-organized work schedule would have made Frank Gilbreth smile. The open office landscape, which borrowed its structure from factory production, was in Sweden nicknamed "the sea of serfs," to describe a dreary setting where office clerks were chained to their typewriters and the panoptic gaze of the controlling boss. This land of endless routines is depicted in comic strips from Dagobert to Dilbert.

Harold Crick has many colleagues in the armies of mindless bureaucrats. Ragnar Thoursie is a Swedish poet who made his living by working all his life as a state administrator. Like Harold he works for the government as an auditor, treating insurance claims for workplace injuries. He describes his

workplace in great detail in an autobiographical novel where he addresses the question as to what the long office years have done to him:

His work turned into clockwork, something automatized that needed to be neither checked nor wound up to function punctually and precisely. As the years passed it became habit for him to work like that, doing the same tasks, following the same routines. He turned into a habit of himself, so to speak. (Thoursie 2003: 409)

At the Department of Work every day is a blueprint of the preceding one, week after week, year after year. Exactly at nine o'clock the messenger arrives with his trolley and leaves a stack of applications for work injury claims about three feet high. The job as auditor has a conveyor-belt quality. Everyone has to try to finish each day's stack to make room for the new cases being transferred from the trolley to the desk.

Thoursie writes about waiting for clocks to strike and longing for the next coffee break, about files that almost sort themselves in well-thumbed covers, and forms that the ballpoint pen has learned to fill out without needing much involvement from the brain. He notes with an almost ethnographic gaze how the three-foot pile is reduced with signatures—accepted or denied—and how the experienced hand grabs the rubber stamp, next please . . . All the routines stretch out to form a career path that likewise has its prescribed form. As a civil servant he is part of a regulated promotion plan, and he knows how many years and days are left until he will be an executive officer at salary grade twenty-five.

At the same time the standardized work offers possibilities for creating playful routines to undermine the monotony. Once he is an executive officer the poet gets a room of his own with an elegant planner, meant for those higher up on the career ladder, which he has acquired through his contacts with old friends at the service desk.

The new executive officer feels proud when he looks at the inviting blank pages, but what kinds of important appointments and time schedules can he fill them with? Most of what he can think of—when he arrives at work, when it is time for lunch, or when he can clock out—isn't

really suitable. Then he gets the idea to create his own system, using a secret code:

It is CC, CK, CDC, CMC and so on, covert reminders. Call the Children, Call Karin, Call the Day-care Center, Call the Medical Center. It looks pretty good. Secretive. Important. (Thoursie 2003: 409)

Maybe he should create more routines by starting with the most common, for example every incoming phone call. When, who, about what. He fills his planning calendar with new codes.

This is Thoursie's picture of the life in a government agency half a century ago. When we interview auditors nowadays, some of them talked longingly about the old order:

At my workplace structures are becoming more and more diffuse. We never get to finish a job properly; we are supposed to be creative and innovative, move swiftly from project to project. Sometimes I long for change-resistant zones, fixed routines, and predictable workdays.

The first day at a new job describes a situation where tricky choices and possible alternatives pile up. How should one organize the desk drawers and relate to unknown colleagues in the corridors? What are the digits for the door locks and the codes for the computer? What does the boss mean when she tells you to write a PM? Should one open one's mouth at the first big meeting; maybe there is an implicit routine of turn taking? As time goes by and one acquires a set place in the lunchroom and learns all the appropriate lines for coffee break conversations, the memories of ^{the} pioneer days when there were no routines fade.

Disturbing Monotony

Both at home and at work there are tensions between constant repetitions, which serve to maintain order and predictability, and more or less sudden deviations, which serve to provide some sense of freedom. Every social organization includes this balancing act to avoid either destructive chaos or numbing discipline. Even extremely standardized workplaces, such as those

*Spanning
m. orderly/
stabilität/
atmosphäre/
opbind.*

where military recruits work, have some opportunities for individuals to stir up monotony.

Many new recruits have described the shock of being thrown into a life full of inspections, parades, and drills, and a system obsessed with rules and regulations about everything from making the perfect bed to the correct order for dismantling a machine gun. During military training, constant repetition, such as marching in step, is thought to create the right kind of discipline. But even in this world there are free zones and alternative solutions. As the recruits learn to master routines, the possibilities for stretching or escaping them also increase. In an everyday that seems overcontrolled there is a constant search for gaps, getaways, and informal solutions, sometimes even with the officers' tacit consent.⁷

In both private and public enterprises the balancing act between secure efficiency and killing monotony has been a steady theme over the last decades. In the 1990s the idea of the creative office was launched to fight what was seen as the deadening effect of routines. Creative offices were designed everywhere. Futurelab, a part of an energy combine, located in a postmodern office block in southern Sweden, was one of these new office designs.

Futurelab provided an open officescape with panoramic windows facing the sea and was designed for creativity, flow, and flexibility. There were no phones, no filing cabinets, and no stacks of papers—only laptops and cell

Eksemplar
; virksomhedsⁿ phones. An open kitchen area made up the center of the workplace and provided a hub for social interaction. Here people were supposed to drift in and out and exchange ideas. The few enclosed spaces were fenced in by glass walls that offered full visibility. Small labels with names such as “room for decisions,” “the living room,” and “the temp room” were scattered around. The doors to the bathrooms were not made of glass, but they were decorated with such words as “innovation,” “imagination,” “stimulation,” “commitment,” and “inspiration.”

Taken on a tour of the office by one of the executives, we passed a desk cluttered with papers, piled high because of the absence of shelves or filing cabinets. He apologized by saying that some of the staff had not yet adjusted to the idea of the paperless, mobile office concept.

This futuristic studio mirrored a global concept of trying to design and choreograph creativity. The slogans on the bathroom door were printed in a style imitating hasty handwriting, whereas the coffee tables were designed to allow inspiring dialogues with a maximum of five standing participants. Ladders led up to a podium bearing a comfortable chair with a view of the ocean; this space was clearly designed for elevated thoughts and productive daydreams. The atmosphere was one of built-in creativity, playful atmosphere, and constant vigilance against monotony.

Futurelab and places like it, which reproduce the homelike atmosphere of work, far removed from the old sea of serfs, may turn the workplace into a more restful space than the actual home, as Arlie Hochschild (2003: 198ff.) has shown in a study of working life in the United States. At the office it is business as usual, whereas chaos and demands wait at home—a much more unpredictable world, if one does not succeed in planning daily life as meticulously as Suzanne and Humberto or the Gilbreths have done. For some workers, homecoming is a transition they brace themselves for, and they stay at work as long as possible. The polarities between home and work also give routines of leaving and coming back a special charge.

MORNING HABITS AND RITUAL SPEARS

If one asks people about their routines they often begin with their morning habits, and this is not only because morning feels like a natural start—when one is staggering from sleep to awakening, to get busy and mind ready for a new day. Mornings are vulnerable times.

What is so loaded about morning routines? The sociologist Christina Nippert-Eng (1995: 113ff.) asked the question in an interview study of how Americans organize their lives between home and work. When preparing ourselves for a new working day, routines may act as a warm-up activity, she says. They make the shift easier. Mindless activities prepare us for the mindful ones. Some people always find this passage demanding and require small tricks of mental reframing. Before they have left the breakfast table, they are, mentally, already out of the house.

One of the informants, June, needs to vacuum the kitchen floor before leaving; others keep checking their tie knot or shine their shoes in anticipation of the entry into public life. When Nippert-Eng listens to these morning stories she thinks of the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard's classic study of Nuer men who carried ceremonial spears not as weapons but as mental supports. Where do we find such ceremonial spears in American life, she asks, and decides that it is the coffee mug carried in a firm grip on the way to work. There are, however, many other ways of equipping oneself with protective armor.

Like a Song and Dance

Nicholson Baker (2003), a writer who is fascinated with the microscopic routines of everyday life, has written a novel about an academic who gets up an hour before everybody else in the family so that he may have a time of solitude. He turns his universe of morning routines into small adventures with rules he has set up. He follows the same program each morning. First the stove has to be lit without switching the light on. All necessary movements must be so ingrained that he can move silently through the dark rooms, get the firewood, and find the box of matches. He feels a special pleasure to let senses other than sight direct his activities. Making coffee in the dark is an enjoyable challenge; tactility and fingertips guide him, they have learned all the details—the rough surface of the used coffee filter going into the bin, the coolness of the water faucet, the weight of the container when it is full, and the thumb leveling a scoop of coffee.

Ingrained routines become pleasures when they are handled like a song and dance. There are people that enjoy their proficiency in rinsing a mug without wasting water, starting the CD player with an elegant press of the right button, or tying a perfect shoelace knot.

One of Baker's reviewers pointed out that he is an author who can turn the mundane act of putting on a sock into an almost religious experience, and in the novel the morning tasks are in fact described almost as if they were sacred pursuits. Here we meet routines that slowly evolve into rituals.

Routine kan bling fil 6skhike semithigre sphwirler

The same is true of another literary character, portrayed in a short story by Somerset Maugham. Mr. Warburton is a colonial civil servant stationed in the jungles of Borneo. His link to the outside world consists of *The Times*, which arrives in batches, weeks old, with the riverboat. Mr. Warburton would never dream of opening the latest issue in the batch first. Every Monday he starts with the oldest Monday issue, next day the oldest Tuesday issue, and thus works his way forward until the next old batch arrives.

It was Mr. Warburton's especial delight to break the wrapper as he sipped his tea and read the morning paper. It gave him the illusion of living at home. Like his habit of dressing for dinner it was a tie to civilization... And it was his pride that no matter how exciting the news was he had never yielded to the temptation of opening a paper before its allotted time... Mr. Warburton took his *Times* and neatly slit the wrapper. He loved to unfold the heavy, rustling pages. (Maugham 1951: 1369ff.)

As for many others, the morning reading has turned into a routine that activates all senses. The special feeling of opening the day's paper, the rustle of pages untouched by others (and thus keeping the aura of news), the smell of ink, tea, and buttered toast—even the crumbs gathering in the creases—all this makes it a special morning ritual. For some persons the strict adherence to this custom becomes obsessive.

Nicholson Baker and Somerset Maugham describe men for whom habits have become existential. But despite secure routines, every morning can harbor anxiety and moments of alienation. Baker's hero often ponders why the day needs to start in this way. Sometimes he wakes up in a bad mood and worrying thoughts attack him; life suddenly feels fragile. "The first thing you do can influence the rest of the day," he thinks, looking back on all his experiments with reassuring routines.

For Mr. Warburton the daily decision not to give in to the impulse to open the most recent newspaper is a moral victory, the kind of self-control in waiting discussed in the previous chapter. One day his new assistant, who is not a "proper" gentleman, opens the batch of *Times* editions in the wrong

order so as to look for the latest sports results. Mr. Warburton is furious. He thinks the assistant has committed an unforgivable crime against the rules of civilization, and this act poisons their relation forever.

Getting Ready for the World

From this male universe let us turn to a different terrain: the morning routine of putting on makeup. This practice has complex meanings and calls for a great deal of training before it can become a mechanical undertaking. It is also a habit charged with different contents, ranging from daily minutes in front of the mirror to conscious and well-planned rituals while preparing for an exciting date or an important public appearance.⁸ We assumed that this territory is rather well known to women all over the world, whereas many men may consider it exotic. When we asked several hundred female students, aged mostly between twenty and forty, to write down their morning makeup habits and then interviewed others, the answers turned out to be diverse.

One woman said that being asked to describe her morning makeup routine, which she said usually took ten to fifteen minutes, made her realize how little she usually reflects about it and its complexity. There are many details that have to be organized into order and rhythm: cleaning the face, putting on foundation, adding shadow to the eyelids, brushing the eyelashes, using a mascara pen for the eyebrows, and finally applying lipstick and rouge, to name a few of the basic details. The hands move fast and confidently among the heap of tools, containers, and other props in the cosmetic bag, searching for the right ingredients, colors, and mixes. "Even if I have done this a thousand times," she said, "it still calls for concentration and a steady hand." But this does not prevent her mind from wandering. Putting on makeup is for her a moment of daydreaming and planning.

This is a morning situation when both the body and the mind are being prepared for the coming day and public appearance. It also calls for certain

choices—about colors and clothes, improvisation, or perfection. Should one use makeup on days at home or during vacations?

It can happen that I forget to put on makeup, but never if it is a day of work or a party. When I was younger, makeup could feel like a must, something my social environment demanded of me, but as an adult I can feel okay without it.

Many women remember vividly how they first learned to master the skill, starting with experiments on dolls or secret sessions with friends. One woman we interviewed began using makeup as an eleven-year-old and was taught by her older sister. She recalls the excitement that came from its being an act of rebellion against the teachers at school, who had forbidden makeup. The use of makeup has always been surrounded by many unwritten rules, moral judgments, and taboos. And questions abound: What is too much, vulgar, or just right, what is discreet, and who decides? Should women use cosmetics at all? One need only go to the Internet and read the intense discussions about right and wrong in questions relating to makeup to realize that it is a complex moral and ideological universe, a private routine linked to a multinational cosmetics industry, animal experimentation, and gender struggles.

But let's return to our latest informant. When we asked her why she puts on makeup she told us:

It's a way of feeling good, you wake up pale and grey, but afterwards you suddenly look alert and nice, with rouge and all that other stuff. It's also a way of getting a calm and steady start of the day, always the same movements.

Makeup thus serves two purposes of organizing time. It is directed outwards: with the help of more or less expensive tools one can accomplish the goal of looking better and eliciting appreciation from others. But it is also an inward-directed, private, meditative act that allows a woman to daydream or ponder existential questions. One woman described the meditative aspect as follows:

I always daydream for twenty minutes every morning when I put on makeup. I don't really remember what I used to think about, but it has turned into some kind of meditation, that I can't live without, because it makes me feel good about myself. To some people this may seem like vanity, but I don't care. This is the time when I fantasize about positive things that might happen.

In this morning ritual the personal and the cultural encounter each other in the repetition of a number of acquired skills. The ego is meant to be strengthened, and at the same time individual egos are symbolically connected to millions of other egos. Putting on cosmetics is certainly an intensely private and solitary routine, but it is also a collective act and can involve going to makeup parties, visiting a beauty saloon, or getting together with friends. It also provides a popular topic for conversation between women, who enjoy trading tips on new brands or techniques and remarking on the looks of others.

Many of the students in our informal survey told us that putting on makeup is important for their appearance and self-esteem—"the most important ten minutes of the day"—whereas others think it is a waste of time and money, and that it is better to look "natural." For some women it is a cherished moment of stillness and self-absorption, but others said that they hate it as a stressing and demanding time thief. In some cases the stress increases when small children, teenagers, or a partner compete for the bathroom space. Although some women felt that they were painting their face to emphasize their "true self," others said that they paint a mask to hide behind. The mirror (in the bathroom, the car, the gym, the subway window, or the cell phone display) plays an important role in this routine, as either a flattering friend or a ruthless witness.

Ethnographies of makeup teach us much about how routines are made and transformed, depending on context. The continuum of makeup as an activity ranges from being an insignificant, mundane task to being an act with strong symbolic charge. On the one hand a banal pursuit, on the other a cultural practice full of meanings and judgments concerning gender, body, power, and the politics of beauty.

To many men this bathroom activity may seem exotic, but what do they do when facing the morning mirror? Michael John Pinfold (2000), discussing the male rituals of shaving and grooming, has looked at the bathroom as a male terrain

where the potions and the liquids and the foams are on display, where the ritual can be performed, where close attention to details takes precedence, and where narcissism is allowed full rein. These are moments when men are like beauty queens—maybe only fractions of a second, where some point of admiration is found—for the self and others.

But, as he points out, these are moments that men do not discuss freely. It is "a language beyond language, one which men understand but rarely utter."

Bathroom routines also include less striking activities. Again, it is hardly a coincidence that the film about Harold Crick starts with his brushing his teeth, an act that has become *the* routine of routines. The same moves, day after day, year after year. The technology may change; people might experiment with different kinds of brushes and new toothpastes. But at the same time everyone while brushing encounters something different in the mirror each day, a face that some mornings seems very familiar and other days disturbingly strange.

SMALL ROUTINES, BIG CONFLICTS

Harold Crick falls in love with the baker Ana Pascal—a very capricious person, he finds—whom he is auditing for tax fraud. Through her he is confronted with a totally new lifestyle. The coming together of a couple is *Routine* one of those situations where routines all of a sudden become visible arenas *an leading* of social and cultural conflicts. Two individuals, each with an individual set *of konflikt* of ingrained habits, have to negotiate a shared household. *My normal rou-* *for my* *partner* times are confronted with your strange habits.

The First Morning Together

The French sociologist Jean-Claude Kaufmann (2002) has analyzed such encounters in an interview study about “the first morning,” recollections of the start of a new relationship. People remember how it felt to wake up in a new setting in what may be the first morning of a lifelong relationship but might just be a passing love affair. As they start to share their everyday life, two strangers often find themselves maneuvering as in a minefield, where the tiniest routine may become either endearing or provocative. For some of the interviewed couples the magic of romance made everything acceptable, while others look critically at the new partner’s morning routines to consider whether this might be the kind of person they are ready to live with. What Columbine remembered about a first morning was that

in the beginning this was an unknown house, with strange drawers and food you normally wouldn’t eat—it was a journey of discovery, a total discovery.

Eyes wide open, she entered the bathroom, checked the fridge, and surreptitiously glanced at the photos on the counter. As a guest in this new morning universe she was cautious and let her new partner choose the breakfast menu and give the morning its shape and rhythm.

Anna recalls waking up surrounded by her new partner’s family. Despite the friendly atmosphere she tried to make herself as invisible as possible, all the time afraid to lose face. Every gadget or task seemed like a potential trap. Vincent, another interviewee, recalled that it was not until the third day that he realized he had committed a breach of family etiquette by using the left-hand washbasin in the bathroom. This basin was strictly reserved for the father of the house, and the rest of the family used the one to the right. “I thought this was comical, I just couldn’t get it,” he remembers.

A new couple watches each other’s behavior and either adapts or gets annoyed. Many feel perty in their judgments of the other person’s habits; the smallest detail gathers great significance. Is it right to shower after breakfast,

can one blow one’s nose in a piece of toilet paper? What is cute, and what seems awkward, perhaps even revolting?

As morning follows morning, routines are established or changed. What kinds of habits are people ready to compromise about? As the first intense passion fades, tolerance for what is seen as aberrant behavior diminishes. The new partner no longer wants to live as a guest.

When Isa visited Tristan she felt like a different Isa, one who accepted the strangest habits—Tristan’s habit of spaghetti and cheese for breakfast, the slow rhythm of his morning routines. But the day she decided to move in with him she started to see his habits with new eyes: “As I opened my suitcase I felt like changing everything according to my own needs.” Others tell that it was through confrontations like these they realized how obsessed they were with their own routines. Why are these routines so immensely important?

A Cultural Battleground

As new couples build a daily life, accommodating each other’s interests and habits, they create a shared choreography of working together in the kitchen and maintaining a certain order in the bathroom. In the process another aspect of routines comes into the foreground: their potential to be a battlefield. Since routines are most often taken for granted and anchored in the body—“They are just a part of me!”—it is no small thing when they are challenged, but this often happens in new domestic partnerships.

In a study of young Danish couples, Sarah Holst Kjær (2009) follows her subjects from the kitchen sink and bathroom to the sofa in front of the TV. She shows how important it is that the couples synchronize their individual habits into common routines. This is very much a question of finding a shared rhythm, and the process involves much discussion about the kinds of everyday behavior each finds “immensely irritating.” Stereotypes of male and female are reproduced and often used in arguing for what is or is not essential. Who takes on the role of the expert on how things should be done in the kitchen, and what kinds of arguments about right or wrong are used?

Lifelong divisions of labor or hierarchies of routines may be established in the course of such early maneuvering.⁹

Even as households and families develop steady patterns and practices, divergences continue; even the smallest of these can drive people crazy. Most of us can for example hear who is coming or going just by listening to the way the door is closed or left open. One couple in a study of domestic conflicts (Lindvall 1983) waged a constant battle about the door to the kitchen. As surely as the husband kept it open, the wife closed it with an irritated slam. Their different routines turned out to be linked to their different class backgrounds. He had grown up in a working-class family where the kitchen was the center of the home, a place where everybody congregated and all kinds of activities occurred. In her upper-class childhood the kitchen was a territory strictly reserved for cooking; the smell of food seeping through the rest of the apartment was a sign of vulgarity.

Sarah Holst Kjær recounts a visit to an older woman whose husband has just died. The woman is sitting at the kitchen table with bruises on her forehead. She tells Sarah that she has only now realized that her husband silently closed all the kitchen cabinet doors that she used to leave wide open.

Routines may also be used deliberately to create and maintain social order in different contexts; this is particularly true in relation to children and adolescents. Many adults feel that young people are a threat to order and have to be trained to follow rules and practice steady routines. They should, for example, learn to be patient, stand in line, and wait their turn, but they must also learn to cooperate and behave well in social groups. The overall aim is that of creating a certain measure of predictability in social life.

One of many places where this tutoring may be accomplished is in day-care centers for children. One study (Ehn 1983) showed how daily life at a Swedish day-care center was thoroughly planned by the preschool teachers, —who exhibited a similar spirit as that of Frank and Lillian Gilbreth. Every hour was arranged; to-do lists told the children exactly what was expected to happen, not only when they should eat, sleep, take walks, and go for excursions but also when they should play by themselves. There were even regulations for these periods of "free play." In this case the adults bartling

"the anarchy of children" employed many scheduled practices to diminish the risk of chaos. Each day was a long run of repetitions about basic questions of order and discipline. Who shall fetch lunch, who shall set the table, who shall sit over here, whose toys are these, who shall play together?

One of the daily routines at this day-care center was the morning assembly, when the children sat together in a circle on the floor. The staff had a conversation with the children about different subjects, for example about the present season. What is typical of the autumn? Which berries and mush-rooms can you pick? It was also a time for singing, reading aloud from books, and telling stories.

These assemblies were developed into a ritual during which the children collectively were reminded of how things should be at the day-care center. Times and places were brought into play to teach the children when and where things would happen. First we do this; then we do that. You are not allowed to eat in the playroom. Everything has its own place. When the children started to play with something that was not defined as a toy, they were reproached: "This thing is not meant to be thrown about or jumped on!" Gradually the children learned to direct such admonitions at each other.

At Swedish day-care centers one could get the impression that the agendas, rules, and routines were used as magic rites against the potential anarchy of the children. "If we changed the routines, the whole system might break down," one of the preschool teachers anxiously put it.

Mindless or Soulful

Every weekend I go downtown and spend a lot of money, getting drunk, saying silly things, stealing something to wear on my head, trying to pick up the bartender. Vomiting in the neighbor's rose bush. Having a ladder in my nylon tights. Waking up the day after with headache and a map of hell in my eye. You are saying that my life lacks routines. But you better your bloody life that it has nothing else.

In the Norwegian comic strip *Nemi* by Lise Myhre¹⁰ the black-dressed Goth girl Nemi longs desperately for love, family, success, and popularity. But she sabotages her dreams through her own crazy habits, bad timing and

*Samtidig kan nulin
käsa om
ordet
hur
eller.*

excessive expectations. What for others would have seemed like a dramatic Saturday night had for Nemi become a predictable pattern.

In the same way, it may surprise someone experiencing an unusual and dramatic event to encounter a person for whom this is just ordinary routine. Sitting at the undertaker's, full of grief, trying to adjust to the sudden death of a family member, you realize that for the man before you, working his way through the form, this is purely professional routine: choice of flowers, model of coffin, hymns, music—any extras? There are many such situations, especially in the experience market, where event managers sell, package, *Ded-feld = my for program* and perform “a unique event,” again and again.

In a science fiction story by Ursula Le Guin (2003) we are taken to a planet where the Great Joy Corporation has turned festive ritual into mass production. Every day visiting tourists can celebrate Christmas, New Year, or Easter according to a set program. On New Year's Island, New Year's ceremonies take place every evening, complete with champagne, balloons, Auld Lang Syne, New Year's promises, and fireworks. Next day the staff clean up and set the stage for another special New Year's celebration. For them it is a boring routine that they have to hide from the happy participants.

Some people try the same strategy in real life. One Swedish family, for instance, decided to celebrate Christmas every evening. This habit at least brought them media attention.

Studying the transformations of routines into rituals and vice versa teaches us something about the dynamics of these two cultural forms. *Ritual* is supposed to be the opposite of routine, its basic elements—high attention, strong emotional charge, elaborated symbols, and sacred aura—*signaling a break with the mundane*. When ritual turns into “soulless routine” it no longer keeps one's attention and instead feels mechanical, empty, or worn.

We encounter the reverse process in the morning routines of Nicholson Baker's hero, or in those of Mr. Warburton in the jungle. Here seemingly banal practices become ritually charged. When we asked people about making such rituals, we were told about minor events that people have invented to organize everyday life into a series of anticipations—for example arranging for Tuesday lunches with a special friend, coffee breaks with cake,

after-work beer with colleagues, or watching particular TV programs with the family.

But we were also told about more or less secret habits that had developed into cherished or obsessive rituals. Among these habits are phobic movements of assurance such as touching a door handle three times before opening a door, doing a little song and dance in front of the mirror each morning, or checking five times whether the stove is switched off before leaving home by counting one, two, three, four, five (Ehn 2006).

Some people link the obsessive to what is often condescendingly called the pedantic, or excessively meticulous. There are many parallels to Harold Crick's life, lives in which people try to create control in a hectic everyday with repetitive behaviors, or by maintaining perfect order among all the objects threatening to clutter a home. There are rituals of classifying, sorting, and cleaning, and some people allow nothing to disturb the pattern. An interesting aspect of this includes battles about what makes a routine healthy, rather than dysfunctional or obsessive-compulsive. Where to draw the line, and who should draw it?

Pelle Sandstrak has grown up in a small village in northern Norway; he shows a great talent for ice hockey, and he is good at dating girls, but there is something wrong. In his autobiography Sandstrak (2008) describes how he slowly became more and more obsessed with routines. For his everyday to work, certain tasks have to be carried out in perfect order. At first he tries to hide his obsessions behind clowning, but the routines develop into a complex system of rituals. Shoes that have to be washed in disinfectant, door thresholds that can only be crossed in certain ways, colors and letters that he must avoid at all costs in choosing everything from vegetables to coffee blends.

After school he moves to Oslo, tries to get an education and jobs, but now routines and rituals totally take over his life. If the ways in which passing through a door, washing his hands, or making coffee are not carried out perfectly, they have to be done again—ten, sixteen times, if necessary. Now the most mundane routine can take hours to carry out, and he has to hide from the consternated looks of others. He ends up living in an old car in a

derelict part of town, barely surviving on a diet of fruit juice and cold spare-ribs, never using soap or running water.

His life starts to change when he meets an understanding psychotherapist who tells him that he has Tourette's syndrome, a rare but powerful obsessive condition. For weeks he has to practice changing his routines, taking a shower, drinking a blend of coffee with both red colors and a Z on the package. The therapist produces instruction tapes for him to follow, which involve drying himself with a towel for thirty seconds, or reading a morning paper without repeating every word twenty times. It is as if Frank and Lilian Gilbreth had taken all of his habits apart and then constructed a detailed scheme of step-by-step instructions for how to pass through a door or wash his hands.

To change Sandstrak's everyday routines takes months of hard and anxious work, but he finally manages it and can start to live a new life that is "close to normal." He ends up with a successful career as a stand-up comedian, but Mr. Tourette always hovers in the background.

MULTITASKING

In the busy lives of the California families described earlier, one of the main tactics for resisting overload in everyday life was multitasking, the art of using a familiar routine as a platform for the combination with other activities. One such art—daydreaming—will be the focus of the next chapter, but here we want to explore how developing routines is a condition for multitasking. We began by posing a fundamental question that has interested researchers, counselors, marketing people, and many others: How much is a person, a family, or a workplace able to handle at the same time?

Sensual Exercises

In his history of attention, Jonathan Crary (1999) looked at the debates a century ago. Already in 1892 Max Nordau had worried about what kinds of burdens modern consumption and technology would present to human-

kind. Maybe later generations would be better at handling the stress than his contemporaries were.

The end of the twentieth century, therefore, will probably see a generation to whom it will not be injurious to read a dozen square yards of newspapers daily, to be constantly called to the telephone, to be thinking simultaneously of the five continents of the world, to live half their time in a railway carriage or in a flying machine and . . . know how to find its ease in the midst of a city inhabited by millions. (Quoted in Crary 1999: 30)

Multitasking • *Lötvav övrig kompetence*

Multitasking is a skill that must be acquired, and once learned it is often invisible, "it just comes naturally." Drawing on material gathered from different generations of Swedes who have narrated their experiences with mass media, it is possible to see that such abilities emerge gradually.¹¹ For the pioneer generations of radio and TV users, the intense concentration that was initially needed to view a TV program or listen to the radio was striking. No distractions could be allowed; to follow the voices in the loudspeaker or the flickering figures on the screen required full attention. A Swedish ad from the late 1920s recommends bananas as the perfect food for concentrated radio listening, as they are easy to handle and soundless to eat. Step by step people developed the skill of listening with half an ear or merely glancing at the television set.

If we turn to documentations of domestic life in the 1970s, a present-day observer might find the media uses familiar. The documented families spoke of gathering every evening in the TV room, where everyone had a set place: compared with earlier generations, they have acquired some multitasking skills. The radio has already moved out of its once sacred position in the living room; now there is a transistor radio in the kitchen, and the first person down each morning turns it on; for the rest of the day that radio provides a soundscape for other kitchen activities. People have learned to listen to the news, leaf through the morning paper, and have breakfast at the same time. The wife puts the ironing board in the living room so that she can iron and watch television simultaneously. It feels restful. Special tapes are produced for entertainment while driving the car. A common worry at this time was

about teenagers who insisted that they could do their homework while at the same time listening to music: background music was regarded as a serious challenge to intellectual work, and the cassette recorders in the teenagers' rooms a threat.

Next let us compare these 1970s households with the family presented in *Time* magazine (27 March 2006): "They're e-mailing, IMing and download, while writing the history essay. What is this digital juggling doing to kids' brains and their family life?" The reporter had visited an American family of four who "occupy the same three-bedroom home in Southern California, but psychologically each exists in his or her own little universe." The teenage son is chasing images in Google for his Windows Media Player slide show while he carries on several online conversations on MySpace. Music is coming from iTunes, and somewhere on the screen there is a Word file in which he is writing an essay for school. His sister has the same strategy. "You just multitask," she explains to the reporter (Wallis 2006).

In the early 2000s multitasking was a popular theme in public debates and media. Was it efficient, was it good, or had it been carried too far? Psychologists were called in to give their verdicts. In these years multitasking was above all seen in terms of new communication media such as computers, cell phones, and MP3-players.

There are many examples of how a routine can be changed or enriched by adding more sensual dimensions to it. For Murakami's Japanese housewife, Okusan, the secret nightly routines around novel reading became more and more elaborate. She bought a bottle of Rémy Martin and got a new crystal glass and some good chocolate. The hours with Anna Karenina on the sofa were elaborated in ways that followed well-established cultural patterns. Okusan became part of the tradition of reading that involves all the senses.

For a long time people found it hard to master silent reading. Texts were read aloud and called for intense concentration among both readers and listeners. Silent reading turned the consumption of books into a more private ritual.¹² At the same time, as reading became more mobile, the techniques of "a good read" slowly emerged: a great novel, a favorite armchair, a nice

Kvalitet vs. Kvantitet.

The practice of multitasking, doing a number of routines concurrently, has led to heated debates. It has also been condemned as a provocative instance of inattention and shallowness, an escape from the demands of presence and awareness. A good example of this critique is found in Staffan Burenstam-Linder's influential book *The Harried Leisure Class* (1970: 79), where he argues that a new form of stressed consumerism is killing the quality of life. As people cram more and more activities into their everyday, quantity replaces quality. Burenstam-Linder describes a man who

may find himself drinking Brazilian coffee, smoking a Dutch cigar, sipping a French cognac, reading the *New York Times*, listening to a Brandenburg Concerto and entertaining his Swedish wife—all at the same time.

Half a century later, the 1960s as here described by Burenstam-Linder seem peaceful, restrained, and reasonably gadget-free. His examples remind us that ideas and practices of multitasking have changed over time. They exist in all societies and eras but are often naturalized into invisibility. Sometimes the incorporation of new technologies makes people aware of this phenomenon. Burenstam-Linder writes with irritation about the new habit of shaving with electric razors while driving to work, but he does not think about all the other activities he customarily combines with driving. As a learner behind the wheel one's concentration is intense; later one learns to whistle, daydream, turn on the radio, and engage in conversation.

Looking further back in history, campaigns against bad habits during the Victorian era also focused on ideas about what could be combined when and where. Certain mixtures—like eating away from the dinner table—were considered vulgar or wrong. Many people fought a constant battle against what they saw as the excesses of earlier generations and those of the lower

box of chocolates, and some background music. It was a multisensual activity that had to be staged with a certain set of props.

Less Is More

classes. It was during this period that opera audiences learned to be silent. The indulgences of eating, drinking, flirting, and talking during opera performances had to go—the musical experience should be pure. This also meant that music once written as table entertainment for noisy aristocratic banquers now began to be performed in the dead silence of a concert auditorium, preferably with the audience's eyes shut to further enhance the experience. There was a new cult of concentration under the battle cry "less is more."¹³

This picture is complicated by the parallel fight against laziness and inefficiency, the mission that the Gilbreths took part in. Frank Gilbreth surprised his children by bringing home two brand-new victrolas. This elicited great enthusiasm—now there would be music in the home! Then the kids discovered that Frank was planning to install the machines in the bathrooms, and that the music rolls he had brought were in fact boring lessons in French and German. Frank's idea was the children could combine the routines of washing and brushing their teeth with learning a new language. This was an example of modern and efficient multitasking.

Et spägt mi! The Victorian combat against **improper forms of combining different vordir (hömmen)** activities may serve as a reminder that there is always a power aspect in debates about multitasking.¹⁴ Which combinations are culturally acceptable, and which are defined as tasteless? This question may even creep into scholarly texts, as when the anthropologist Sidney Mintz (1996: 203), in a critique of new consumer habits, replaced Burenstam-Linder's villain with a working-class man "watching the Cowboys play the Steelers, while eating Fritos and drinking Coca-Cola, while smoking a joint, while one's girl sits on one's lap."

Relativer fil klarek, hon etc. another; for example when women are defined as better suited for multitasking because of their genetic makeup. Many descriptions of the division of labor in Scandinavian peasant societies, which reflect a polarization between what was called men's *work* and that considered women's *chores*, incorporate the gender explanation. Men were described as task-oriented (plowing the

fields, felling trees, hunting animals), whereas to women is attributed the inborn knack of coordinating a number of smaller activities, one eye on the stove, another on the baby, while keeping the spinning wheel going. This division of labor also brought with it an upgrading of "real" (male) work and downgrading of "insignificant" (female) chores.

In reality, gendered patterns of multitasking in these peasant settings could be rather flexible. In regions where the household economy was based on the ingenuous combination of a wide range of activities, it was necessary constantly to develop new skills of multitasking. In nineteenth-century Swedish villages where producing socks for the army was an important source of income, we find both boys and girls learning the art of knitting while doing other tasks such as herding cattle, walking to the market, sitting and waiting, etc.¹⁵

Some routines, then, have the capacity to blend rather easily with other activities. Today cell phones, iPods, and magazines keep commuters occupied. Other routines are used to create private space, as when stressed parents sit down before the TV and demand not to be disturbed, rather like the nineteenth-century women who resorted to embroidery to relax and withdraw into themselves without being accused of "doing nothing."¹⁶ Out in the countryside the woodshed could serve the same function as a refuge for privacy and rest. In the 1940s a Swedish sociologist traveled through the villages of northern Sweden asking people about their "hobbies." A farmer confronted with this newfangled word hesitated, then answered "chopping wood." For him life was not yet divided into the modern polarities of work and leisure.

No Toothpaste on My Brush Anymore

At brude vaner kan satt en ubendst process. One of the lessons from the history of multitasking is that getting out of a habit may be a rather unnoticed or even unconscious process. But in such transformations the power of the insignificant is revealed. A woman talking about her divorce tried to reconstruct the gradual breakup of the marriage.

Every night for many years I or my husband, whoever was first in the bathroom, used to put toothpaste on the other's brush. It was a habit that signaled love and care in a small detail. Every time I seized my prepared toothbrush I smiled and felt a greeting of love from my husband. One night there was no toothpaste on my brush. Not a long time after that we understood that our love had vanished.

When Murakami's Japanese housewife got back into the habit of reading in the still of the night, she recollected how she had lost this routine. As a child she had been always reading, devouring books. Now she could not remember the last time she had sat down to read. Sometimes she picked up a book during a pause in her domestic chores, but her mind always started to wander. She ought to fix the fridge. What should she wear at the wedding of her cousin? How will Daddy's stomach operation turn out? She had simply lost her strong reading habit and could not figure out how this had come about. She had never made a conscious decision, it just happened; other things got in the way. This can happen to anyone: Waking up one day one suddenly finds old routines gone forever.

This situation is described by people encountering what has been called "the empty nest syndrome." After a life spent building a web of daily family practices, the children move out and people are left with a new order. In an interview study of middle-aged women confronted with this change, the empty nest is described as a sudden cultural vacuum, now that all the tasks of caring and coordinating are gone (Brembeck 2006). This should be a happy time allowing them to start a new life, but many of the women found it hard to give up old routines and daily schemes because, as they belatedly realized, so many of these seemingly trivial tasks had become an important part of themselves. It is sometimes harder to let go of a habit than to create a new one.

Other people feel exhilarated by the new freedom offered by such change, as when the breakup of a long-standing relationship allows someone to start living independently again. Jenny Diski (1999: 213) described how her old habits helped her reclaim the apartment and take over every corner of it:

*Det kan være
svært at give
sig selv
slip i, hvilke
ruter ud af
større og at
start nye op.*

It is almost like a dance, a floating self that breathes its way around the place while you only seem to brush your teeth and make a cup of tea. It is a celebration of solitude that won't be broken by people coming in from the outside world with their own stories and their own internal speed.

Diski writes about the freedom of not having to synchronize her movements with those of someone else. Reverting to old schedules is the signal that one is taking back one's own space. Conversely, maintaining the common habits after a broken marriage or the death of a spouse can keep the memory of that other person alive. The other part of one's self has disappeared, and only the routines are left. Repeating the routines gives the impression that everything is as it was.

Handbooks for caretakers of elderly people often stress the importance of allowing them to stay with what they used to do. It can be frightening to caretakers or family members when elderly relatives drop lifelong habits or they simply fade away. An old man decided one day that he would not listen to the morning and evening news on the radio any longer. "But you always wanted the radio on every morning," his caretaker said. "Don't you want to stay in touch with the world?" No, was the definite answer, and it provoked her. A lifelong habit coming to an end just like that, what a shame! (Pörtner 2005: 50)

CRISES AND CONTROL

In his song "It's all too much" Joe Jackson complains how hard it is to get started on some days: "Wondering which shoe to put on first, or should I brush my teeth before or after I put on my shirt." So many big decisions every morning. "I'm so damned open-minded. Used to think I'm lucky but I'm cursed," he sings.

Routines liberate us from energy-demanding choices such as whether to first put on the left or the right shoe, and whether to boil, fry, or scramble the breakfast egg. But there are situations where routines are of little help, as when you try to work at home while taking care of small children.

Keeping Chaos at Bay

12:10 Tried to write a bit while they're asleep. Needed to turn off their Gnote game on the computer first. Forced to go thru a lot of moves, before I can shut it down, must catch a load of damned red balls before I'm back in their Gnote cave. Fuck, how slow it works. Fuck, fuck, I need to write before Hanna wakes up.

12:25 Yippie! The Gnotes are gone.

12:26 Hanna wakes up.
After that I don't really remember, time just disappeared, I

dried wet noses, wrote lists about stuff to remember. Buy some fish, write a column about luxury shopping in New York, change batteries in the Tinky Winky. Buy one of those tiny screwdrivers needed to change Tinky Winky batteries. Buy new name labels and sew them on the kids' clothes. (Skugge 2006: 188)

Sylvia tries to combine parenting with her job as freelance journalist. It is not easy because her husband, the actor, would rather tour with his theater group than ask for parental leave. The days become a chaotic mix of snatched moments at the computer, searches for runaway Barbie shoes, time spent making oatmeal, and emptying the washing machine.

Sylvia is the heroine in Linda Skugge's novel; the author is herself a freelance journalist with small children and thus an expert on the kinds of multitasking demanded by a working mother in the early 2000s. Sylvia must negotiate with her editor on the cell phone while sorting laundry or trying to separate fighting kids. She must produce her newspaper columns while answering a barrage of questions from her little daughter. She has to learn to keep a number of balls in the air at the same time.

Out of this chaos new routines are born. Sylvia's world is about what happens when children arrive and break down all prior domestic arrangements. The kids take over everything, and as a result the adults develop new multitasking skills, among them getting the children dressed for day care while arguing with the four-year-old that it is a bad idea to wear the pink summer dress on this February morning and thinking about dinner plans. Sylvia laboriously constructs her everyday and, like Okusan, often feels that the daily chores are choking her.

*Routine holds
kao, p. afhand.*

*Routine holds
kao, p. afhand.*

Another contemporary Swedish novel depicts the gradual breakdown of a young mother who cannot cope with her expectations and those of the people around her. Some days it feels as if the home were aggressively observing her and accusations whirling around the rooms like dust.

Pack, clean, make dinner, take care of the flowers, the windows striped by dirt, mercilessly exposed by the spring light. Anders will be late. If only the kids could keep quiet. I need to clean out the fridge, dinner, fish fingers and mash. (Sandberg 2003: 30)

Domestic routines turn against her. The homemade orange cake collapses, and the icing starts dripping onto the table, the fridge door makes itself sticky, and the kitchen smells of burnt fat.

Crises caused when ordinary routines break down may do something surprising to one's senses. People have to find solutions to practical problems; → kao:

sometimes it helps to recall old ways. Then one suddenly notices the importance of small and forgotten details, such as the way the teakettle sings. In Doris Lessing's novel *The Summer Before the Dark* (1973: 6f) a labor strike causes repeated power outages. Kate Brown's daughter and son have gathered fallen wood and built a fire in the garden. They are cooking water in a tripod made of scrap iron.

This fire, the cooking on it, the watching of it, the joking about it, had been the family's point of enjoyment all day. Kate, however, had found it all rather irritating. The kettle had taken twenty minutes to reach even the stage of singing: she could not remember having heard a singing kettle for years. Electricity brought water from stillness to turmoil in a moment, and singing was bypassed altogether.

When Everyday Life Collapses

What happens to routines when life simply becomes "too much," when flow turns into friction, and stress mounts at work or at home? In the late twentieth century, discussions about a new form of stress-related disease was very much in the forefront in Sweden; often called "the burnout syndrome," the illness was defined as a personal collapse caused by overwork or emotional

overload. The reasons for the almost epidemic development of such states (which show strong national, social, and regional variations) will not be discussed here; interpretations vary.¹⁷ What is of interest in this context is how people describe themselves (or are described by others) as cases of burnout.

We interviewed people who had lived through this kind of crisis and ended up having to take extended sick leave while they tried to get back to a normal life (Löfgren and Palm 2005). In the past, overload had not been a problem for them. It had been their pride that "no" was not an answer. They were workaholics, stretching themselves thin, living at an accelerated tempo that in retrospect often had a manic element to it. Lars, who had built up a small electronics factory from scratch, described himself like this:

Haven't been able to say no. I always thought: speed up and it will be OK. I could walk through the factory and make twenty decisions in two minutes. I felt in full control, it was almost compulsive: what the hell, I could make anything work!

People like Lars had either never or hardly ever gone on sick leave before. As the stress mounted they felt irritable; they had problems sleeping and woke up early thinking about everything that needed to be done. Work had invaded most of their life. The road to breakdown was often long, a slow-growing process. Many describe this phase of stress as including a mounting insensitivity. They ignored signals from the body and didn't listen to the warnings of others until they crashed.

Suddenly everyday life both at work and at home was chaotic, just "too much." They found themselves sent home on extended sick leave. After Lars broke down he was unable to go near the factory; even his family became too much for him, and he spent long periods alone in a summer cottage out in the woods, staring at the walls.

The flow of everyday life had turned into friction, order into chaos, and it became obvious how important the autopilot had been in dealing with work and home. Now they were at home, with all the time in the world on their hands, but life did not work in the domestic area as it normally would

have. Many everyday routines had become Herculean tasks. "It could be a full day's work just to take a shower and wash my hair," one woman said. They had to make decisions about even the most trivial acts that had earlier been handled by the autopilot: "I remember staring at a flowerpot for hours, trying to make up my mind if I should water it or not."

In the crash landing of burnout, life gets out of synch. The usual habits are drained of content and become meaningless or mysterious. Nothing works as it should. Lars expressed it as follows:

It's damned hard to be on sick leave, all of a sudden you're without routines and it was the routines that kept life running at work. It feels like the floor is pulled away from under you.

A striking theme in the interviews is how daily life had been transformed into new kinds of stress. The body was constantly in pain or a state of sensory and social overexposure. The TV screen flickered too much, noises were too loud, and smells too strong. The sufferer's wanted to retreat to the bedroom and draw the curtains and just lie in the dark.

Crises such as burnout may call for a drastic rearrangement of the everyday. There are other major life changes that have a similar effect, including the birth of one's first child, divorce, unemployment, and retirement. The sociologist Scott Schaffer (2001: 1) has pointed to yet another life change with potentially grave impact: moving house.

We work quite hard in our lives to attain a sense of the mundane—those droll aspects of our lives that, while we disparage them in our youth, make our adult lives actually work. We develop chore charts for our roommates in college to ensure that mold doesn't grow in our sinks; we buy dividing organizers for our bills so we know when to pay what; we take months to figure out just where that pothos plant is supposed to go; and we set bedtimes and curfews for our children so they come to know the joys of regularity.

And moving disturbs all of this—it forces us to struggle to deconstruct everything in our lives, from the alphabetization of our library to the IKEA shelves we stored the library on, ship it somewhere completely new, and then rebuild it in a completely foreign space. We also

end up having to completely rebuild and remodel our personal and social lives.

Collective Breakdown

There are of course even more dramatic collapses of everyday life that face not only individuals, as in the cases above, but whole communities. In her ethnographic study *War Within: Everyday Life in Sarajevo under Siege* the anthropologist Ivana Macek (2000) charts the collapse of the web of everyday routines during the long siege (1992–96) of the city of Sarajevo during the Balkan wars. Heavy bombardments and the ever-present fear of snipers drastically changed life for everyone. The most basic routines collapsed. Constant improvisation was needed to keep life going. The supplies of water and electricity became erratic, people had to spend a great deal of time searching for water and improvising new techniques for cooking and heating. Preparing a meal could become a very complicated task, calling for both innovation and patience. Would it be possible to make a small fire on the balcony? What would work as a water carrier? “If I have three children I will call them Electricity, Water, and Gas,” a ten-year-old boy said. He lived in one of the beleaguered housing blocks.

If burnout is an example of a personal crisis, when old habitual skills suddenly disappear, the Sarajevo example highlights other aspects of the breaking down of routines. Life under siege illustrates the extent to which ordinary routines create seamless rhythms during the day. Now these normal rhythms were broken up. Is there any water in the tap; when will the electricity come back on? People had to devise new practices, such as sleeping with all the lamps in the bedroom switched on so that they would wake up if electricity came back on in the middle of the night; if so they would hasten into the kitchen to do the laundry or cook some food. By keeping the water tap on they learned to listen for sounds of water returning, often at the oddest hours.

Instead of following familiar habits and rhythms people had to improvise constantly in response to the unexpected situations; there was no opportu-

nity for long-term planning. The new life was based on a constant uncertainty, and this was a deliberate strategy of the attackers. By destroying normal, everyday life they created chaos and could force the civilians to their knees.

The Sarajevo ethnography illuminates the ways in which in times of crisis routines that are usually taken for granted become elevated almost to the level of sacred rituals. In Sarajevo the phrase “to imitate life” became a common figure of speech. It signaled a desire to keep some of the well-known routines and thus create at least a semblance of normality. Even the most trivial practices acquired new symbolic change. People would risk almost anything to bake a loaf of bread or dare the snipers by walking to a bakery. The smell of fresh bread was experienced as “an oasis of normality” (Povrzanović 1997: 155). Taking a hot bath or dressing up for a visit to a neighborhood café could become an important event.

Crises like these, from private burnout to a society collapsing during warfare, illustrate what happens when ordinary routines disappear and the basic task becomes survival. From a cultural perspective a crisis may, however, also generate incentives to search for new solutions that in their turn, after some time, become routines. This means that the breakdown of everyday patterns of behavior need not be entirely paralyzing. Once basic needs are satisfied again, the crisis can provide a chance for people to rethink and reorganize their life. Much that was once seen as a given or as absolutely necessary could turn out to be unimportant or could change into a new practice.

FORCE OF HABIT

At the same time that Murakami's Japanese housewife, Okusan, created routines for an alternative, nightly life, her daily life became more perfunctory and robotlike. It was no longer a secure arrangement, a silent pact uniting the spouses. Her body was still there, but neither her feelings nor her thoughts were present. She could no longer tell the days apart. She felt that the everyday swallowed her completely and noted that “my footprints

→
Kino han
fi minor h1
fi minor h1
at up here
grunning +
Kollektiv

are being blown away before I even have a chance to turn and look at them" (Murakami 1993: 81).

Routine belongs to the basic elements of life. The often voiced feeling about the chaos of contemporary life, about life being in constant change and flux, needs to be contrasted with the insight that most of our activities are in fact constantly repeated and predictable. Repetitive actions create the backbone of people's lives. We only notice them when they break down or are challenged. Then we remember the singing of boiling water.

If waiting can be described as a floating, in-between condition, routines are about being anchored in the everyday. At the same time both phenomena provide stages for daydreaming. Waiting and following routines have a lot in common, as both are attempts to control passing time, find out what is important, and decide to what extent one wants to stay in the present. The question is what is going on when nothing seems to happen.

We started by noting that discussions of routines are often based upon polarities. The first polarity is the juxtaposition of routines as either constraining straitjackets or supportive corsets, a suffocating set of conventions, or a secure and economizing predictability.

A second polarity concerns the degree of conscious reflection. There is a continuum from mechanical, reflexlike routines to emotionally charged customs, collective traditions, and elaborated rituals. Mundane activities can change in both directions: rituals can turn into mindless reflexes, and even the dullest routines may be transformed into more conscious and symbolic acts that people experience as reassuring—until they fade away. Suddenly the lovingly applied toothpaste on your brush is no longer there, and the person realizes that the trivial routine is not the only thing that has disappeared.

The third polarity has to do with the idea that routines are collective patterns, as opposed to being intensely personal manners. Shared practices make society possible—as something we are forced to do to get things done as they should be done. Then there is the kind of recurrent act that may be described as a secret or mystical world, which we create on our own and that becomes a central part of our self-definition.

unmarked mundane frustrating

Polarities such as these hide the constant possibilities of transformation. An unnoticed routine becomes an everyday ritual. A habit that affords feelings of security is transformed into one of constraint. Likewise an unproblematic practice develops into a heatedly contested practice. There is nothing routine about the making of routines.

The force of habit lies in its ability to create continuity and exert some control over time. Boring repetition, through its predictability, has the power to move people ahead of the present. But repetition is also a way of hiding change, and then it has a subversive potential, as Judith Butler (1997) has pointed out. Small, gradual dislocations are hidden by well-known retakes; the same procedure as yesterday, but not quite. Because the gaze is turned away from mundane and seemingly unimportant alterations toward more spectacular changes, a free zone is created.

Tom O'Dell (2006), borrowing a phrase from firefighters, has likened such creeping transformation to a cultural back draft. The fire is hidden in a smoldering, invisible ember in a closed room. Everything seems under control until someone opens the door and lets in the oxygen that causes the fire to explode.

In everyday life small transformations smolder without becoming conscious until some later stage when they become obvious in a dramatic way that overshadows the slow, preceding change. It can be gnawing irritation about the bad habits of someone at home or at work that leads to the sudden explosion: "We can't go on like this!" Business as usual stops, and new patterns emerge.

Tension between recurring repetition and the more or less surprising deviations from the rehearsed program creates confrontation between routine and change. Moreover, there seems to be a constant balancing act in the hundrum of everyday life—not too many replays, but not too few.

Invisibility possesses another kind of force. The degree of conspicuousness creates a power dimension. When routines come to be taken for granted they are often defined as insignificant. The labeling of habits as trivial is also a way of devaluing certain activities.

Maint- diation

The experiences of young mothers we have met illustrate this. Minor routines are often linked to domestic work and the female sphere, an ideological labeling that helps to cement female subordination. Women's work becomes insignificant and also invisible. "So how has your day gone?" the returning husband may ask, full of news of all the important tasks he has been carrying out, while the wife at home with the small children may feel she has nothing of importance to tell. In this process of making some activities invisible, moral evaluations develop. Some activities are defined as less intellectually challenging than others. As we have shown, the reverse is often true; life with small children calls for constant multitasking and creative flexibility.

But what happened to Harold Crick? The movie depicts his struggle to break out of the prison of his unimaginative routines. He is helped by his new love, the unconventional Ana Pascal. She becomes his savior, helping him to let go of his obsessive habits and become a liberated man. Is that indeed what happens?

At the end we meet the couple in their new happy life, slouching on the sofa watching old movies, Ana feeding Harold his favorite cookies. It looks like a life full of warmth and creative rituals—or are we watching the birth of firm new routines?

CHAPTER THREE

Daydreaming

In the summer of 1826 nine-year-old Branwell Brontë receives a gift of twelve toy soldiers, which he shares with his three sisters, Charlotte, Emily, and Anne. The four children live in the vicarage of Haworth, overlooking the Yorkshire moors, where their father is a clergyman. A couple of years earlier their mother had died, and in the preceding year their two older sisters had succumbed to tuberculosis. With the help of the toys the children create a dreamworld for themselves—a magic African kingdom, the Glass Town, founded by a band of adventurers, the twelve soldiers.

The children call themselves "The Four Genii," and the fantasies of life in their new country draw on their reading of romantic stories and adventures of explorers, as well as on famous heroes and stories from the newspapers. The world they create mirrors their own dreams, aspirations, and worries.

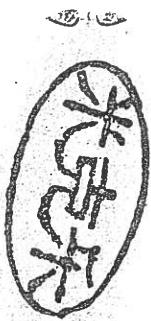
Slowly the daydreaming and the shared fantasies developed into the writing of plays and texts in miniature books, kept as a shared secret. These texts give insight into how a world of daydreaming can evolve and slowly grow into something else.

The outsiders who came across the miniature books later did not immediately know what to make of them. What an early biographer described as the children's "wild, weird writing, a curious phenomenon of childhood,

Raymond Williams

Keywords

*A vocabulary
of culture and society*



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variously specified, originally as *learning* or scholarship, later as *cultivation* and *taste*, later still as *sensibility* (q.v.). At various stages, forms of this confidence have broken down, and especially in C20 attempts have been made to replace it by *objective* (cf. SUBJECTIVE) methodologies, providing another kind of basis for judgment. What has not been questioned is the assumption of 'authoritative judgment'. In its claims to authority it has of course been repeatedly challenged, and critic in the most common form of this specialized sense — as a reviewer of plays, films, books and so on — has acquired an understandably ambiguous sense. But this cannot be resolved by distinctions of status between critic and reviewer. What is at issue is not only the association between criticism and fault-finding but the more basic association between criticism and 'authoritative' judgment as apparently general and natural processes. As a term for the social or professional generalization of the processes of reception of any but especially the more formal kinds of COMMUNICATION (q.v.), criticism becomes ideological not only when it assumes the position of the consumer but also when it masks this position by a succession of abstractions of its real terms of response (as *judgement*, *taste*, *cultivation*, *discrimination*, *sensibility*; *disinterested*, *qualified*, *rigorous* and so on). The continuing sense of criticism as fault-finding is the most useful linguistic influence against the confidence of this habit, but there are also signs, in the occasional rejection of criticism as a definition of conscious response, of a more significant rejection of the habit itself. The point would then be, not to find some other term to replace it, while continuing the same kind of activity, but to get rid of the habit, which depends, fundamentally, on the abstraction of response from its real situation and circumstances: the elevation to 'judgment', and to an apparently general process, when what always needs to be understood is the specificity of the response, which is not an abstract 'judgment' but even where including, as often necessarily, positive or negative responses, a definite practice, in active and complex relations with its whole situation and context.

See AESTHETIC, CONSUMER, SENSIBILITY, TASTE

CULTURE

Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language. This is so partly because of its intricate historical development, in several European languages, but mainly because it has now come to be used for important concepts in several distinct intellectual disciplines and in several distinct and incompatible systems of thought.

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The few meanings: inhabit, cultivate, protect, honour with worship. Some of these meanings eventually separated, though still with occasional overlapping, in the derived nouns. Thus 'inhabit' developed through *colonus*, L. to *cult*. *Cultura* took on the main meaning of cultivation or tending, including, as in Cicero, *cultura animi*, though with subsidiary medieval meanings of honour and worship (cf. in English culture as 'worship' in Caxton (1483)). The French forms of *cultura* were *couture*, oF, which has since developed its own specialized meaning, and later *culture*, which, by eC15 had passed into English. The primary meaning was then in *husbandry*, the tending of natural growth.

Culture in all its early uses was a noun of process: the tending of something, basically crops or animals. The subsidiary *coulter* — ploughshare, had travelled by a different linguistic route, from *cultor*, L — ploughshare, *cultor*, oE, to the variant English spellings *cultor*, *coulter*, *coulter*, and as late as eC17 *culture* (Webster, *Duchess of Malfi*, III, ii: 'hot burning cultures'). This provided a further basis for the important next stage of meaning, by metaphor. From eC16 the tending of natural growth was extended to a process of human development, and this, alongside the original meaning in husbandry, was the main sense until IC18 and eC19. Thus More: 'to the culture and profit of their minds'; Bacon: 'the culture and manurance of minds' (1605); Hobbes: 'a culture of their minds' (1651); Johnson: 'she neglected the culture of her understanding' (1759). At various points in this development two crucial changes occurred: first, a

Milton at 1800
fallet.

degree of habituation to the metaphor, which made the sense of human tending direct; second, an extension of particular processes to a general process, which the word could abstractly carry. It is of course from the latter development that the independent noun culture began its complicated modern history, but the process of change is so intricate, and the latencies of meaning are at times so close, that it is not possible to give any definite date. Culture as an independent noun, an abstract process or the product of such a process, is not important before 1C18 and is not common before mC19. But the early stages of this development were not sudden. There is an interesting use in Milton, in the second (revised) edition of *The Readie and Easie Way to Establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660): 'spread much more Knowledg and Civility, yea, Religion, through all parts of the Land, by communicating the natural heat of Government and Culture more distributively to all extreme parts, which now lie num and neglected'. Here the metaphorical sense ('natural heat') still appears to be present, and civility (cf. CIVILIZATION) is still written where in C19 we would normally expect culture. Yet we can also read 'government and culture' in a quite modern sense. Milton, from the tenor of his whole argument, is writing about a general social process, and this is a definite stage of development. In C18 England this general process acquired definite class associations though cultivation and cultivated were more commonly used for this. But there is a letter of 1730 (Bishop of Killala, to Mrs Clayton; cit Plumb, *England in the Eighteenth Century*) which has this clear sense: 'it has not been customary for persons of either birth or culture to breed up their children to the Church'. Akenside (*Pleasures of Imagination*, 1744) wrote: '... nor purple state nor culture can bestow'. Wordsworth wrote 'where grace of culture hath been utterly unknown' (1805), and Jane Austen (*Emma*, 1816) 'every advantage of discipline and culture'.

It is thus clear that culture was developing in English towards some of its modern senses before the decisive effects of a new social and intellectual movement. But to follow the development through this movement, in 1C18 and eC19, we have to look also at developments in other languages and especially in German.

In French, until C18, culture was always accompanied by a grammatical form indicating the matter being cultivated, as in the English usage already noted. Its occasional use as an independent noun dates

Hegel *1770-1831*

Cultur: 'nothing is more indeterminate than this word, and nothing more deceptive than its application to all nations and periods'. He attacked the assumption of the universal histories that 'civilization' or 'culture' – the historical self-development of humanity – was what we would now call a unilinear process, leading to the high, and he called European subjugation and domination of the four quarters of the globe, and wrote:

Men of all the quarters of the globe, who have perished over the ages, you have not lived solely to manure the earth with your ashes, so that at the end of time your posterity should be made happy by European culture. The very thought of a superior European culture is a blatant insult to the majesty of Nature.

It is then necessary, he argued, in a decisive innovation, to speak of 'cultures' in the plural: the specific and variable cultures of different nations and periods, but also the specific and variable cultures of social and economic groups within a nation. This sense was widely developed, in the Romantic movement, as an alternative to the orthodox and dominant 'civilization'. It was first used to emphasize national and traditional cultures, including the new concept of folk-culture (cf. FOLK). It was later used to attack what was seen as the 'MECHANICAL' (q.v.) character of the new civilization then emerging: both for its abstract rationalism and for the 'inhumanity' of current industrial development. It was used to distinguish between 'human' and 'material' development. Politically, as so often in this period, it

veried between radicalism and reaction and very often, in the confusion of major social change, fused elements of both. (It should also be noted, though it adds to the real complication, that the same kind of distinction, especially between 'material' and 'spiritual' development, was made by von Humboldt and others, until as late as 1900, with a reversal of the terms, culture being material and civilization spiritual. In general, however, the opposite distinction was dominant.)

On the other hand, from the 1840s in Germany, *Kultur* was being used in very much the sense in which *civilization* had been used in C18 universal histories. The decisive innovation is G. F. Klemm's *Allgemeine Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit* – 'General Cultural History of Mankind' (1843–52) – which traced human development from savagery through domestication to freedom. Although the American anthropologist Morgan, tracing comparable stages, used 'civilization' Ancient Society', with a culmination in Civilization, Klemm's sense was sustained, and was directly followed in English by Tylor in *Primitive Culture* (1870). It is along this line of reference that the dominant sense in modern social sciences has to be traced.

The complexity of the modern development of the word and of its modern usage, can then be appreciated. We can easily distinguish the sense which depends on a literal continuity of physical process as now *kompleks* in 'sugar-beet culture', or, in the specialized physical application in *Prozess* of usage. The sources of two of these we have already discussed (i) the independent and abstract noun which describes a 'physiologisch' general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development, from C18; (ii) the independent noun, whether used generally or specifically, which indicates a particular way of life, whether of a people, a period, a group, or humanity in general, from Herder and Klemm. But we have also to recognize (iii) the independent and abstract noun which describes the works and practices of intellectual and especially artistic activity. This seems often now the most widespread use: culture is music, literature, painting and sculpture, theatre and film. A Ministry of Culture refers to these specific activities, sometimes with the addition of philosophy, scholarship, history. This use, (iii), is in fact relatively late. It is difficult to date precisely because it is in origin an applied form of sense (i): the idea

of a general process of intellectual, spiritual and aesthetic development was applied and effectively transferred to the works and practices which represent and sustain it. But it also developed from the earlier sense of process; cf. 'progressive culture of fine arts', Millar, *Historical View of the English Government*, IV, 314 (1812). In English (i) and (iii) are still close; at times, for internal reasons, they are indistinguishable as in Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy* (1867); while sense (ii) was decisively introduced into English by Tylor, *Primitive Culture* (1870), following Klemm. The decisive development of sense (iii) in English was in 1C19 and eC20.

Faced by this complex and still active history of the word, it is easy to react by selecting one 'true' or 'proper' or 'scientific' sense and dismissing other senses as loose or confused. There is evidence of this reaction even in the excellent study by Kroeber and Kluckhohn, *Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, where usage in North American anthropology is in effect taken as a norm. It is clear that, within a discipline, conceptual usage has to be clarified. But in general it is the range and overlap of meanings that is significant. The complex of senses indicates a complex argument about the relations between general human development and a particular way of life, and between both and the works and practices of art and intelligence. It is especially interesting that in archaeology and in cultural anthropology the reference to culture or a culture is primarily to *material* production, while in history and cultural studies the reference is primarily to *signifying* or *symbolic* systems. This often confuses but even more often conceals the central question of the relations between 'material' and 'symbolic' production, which in some recent argument – cf. my own *Culture* – have always to be related rather than contrasted. Within this complex argument there are fundamentally opposed as well as effectively overlapping positions; there are also, understandably, many unresolved questions and confused answers. But these arguments and questions cannot be resolved by reducing the complexity of actual usage. This point is relevant also to uses of forms of the word in languages other than English, where there is considerable variation. The anthropological use is common in the German, Scandinavian and Slavonic language groups, but it is distinctly subordinate to the senses of art and learning, or of a general process of human development, in Italian and French. Between languages as within a

language, the range and complexity of sense and reference indicate both difference of intellectual position and some blurring or overlapping. These variations, of whatever kind, necessarily involve alternative views of the activities, relationships and processes which this complex word indicates. The complexity, that is to say, is not finally in the word but in the problems which its variations of use significantly indicate.

It is necessary to look also at some associated and derived words.

Cultivation and **cultivated** went through the same metaphorical extension from a physical to a social or educational sense in C17, and were especially significant words in C18. Coleridge, making a classical eC19 distinction between civilization and culture, wrote (1830): 'the permanent distinction, and occasional contrast, between cultivation and civilization'. The noun in this sense has effectively disappeared but the adjective is still quite common, especially in relation to manners and tastes. The important adjective cultural appears to date from the 1870s; it became common by the 1890s. The word is only available, in its modern sense, when the independent noun, in the artistic and intellectual or anthropological senses, has become familiar. Hostility to the word **culture** in English appears to date from the controversy around Arnold's views. It gathered force in IC19 and eC20, in association with a comparable hostility to *aesthete* and *aesthetic* (q.v.). Its association with class distinction produced the mine-word *cultchah*. There was also an area of hostility associated with anti-German feeling, during and after the 1914–18 War, in relation to propaganda about *Kultur*. The central area of hostility has lasted, and one element of it has been emphasized by the recent American phrase **culture-vulture**. It is significant that virtually all the hostility (with the sole exception of the temporary anti-German association) has been connected with uses involving claims to superior knowledge (cf. the noun INTELLECTUAL), refinement (*culchah*) and distinctions between 'high' art (**culture**) and popular art and entertainment. It thus records a real social history and a very difficult and confused phase of social and cultural development. It is interesting that the steadily extending social and anthropological use of culture and cultural and such formations as sub-culture (the culture of a distinguishable smaller group) has, except in certain areas (notably popular entertainment), either bypassed or effectively diminished the hostility and its associated unease and embarrass-

ment. The recent use of **culturalism**, to indicate a methodological contrast with *structuralism* in social analysis, retains many of the earlier difficulties, and does not always bypass the hostility.

See AESTHETIC, ANTHROPOLOGY, ART, CIVILIZATION, FOLK, DEVELOPMENT, HUMANITY, SCIENCE, WESTERN

D

DEMOCRACY

Democracy is a very old word but its meanings have always been complex. It came into English in C16, from fw *démocratie*, F, *democratie*, mL – a translation of *demokratia*, Gk, from rw *demos* – people, *kratos* – rule. It was defined by Eliot, with specific reference to the Greek instance, in 1531: 'an other publicke weal was amonge the Atheniensis, where equalitie was of astate amonge the people ... This manner of governaunce was called in greke *Democracia*, in latine, *Populis potentia*, in englishe the rule of the comminaltie.' It is at once evident from Greek uses that everything depends on the senses given to *people* and to *rule*. Ascribed and doubtful early examples range from obeying 'no master but the law' (? Solon) to 'of the people, by the people, for the people' (? Cleon). More certain examples compare 'the insolence of a despot' with 'the insolence of the unbridled commonalty' (cit. Herodotus) or define a government as democracy because its administration is in the hands, not of the few, but of the many'; also, 'all that is opposed to despotic power, has the name of democracy' (cit. Thucydides). Aristotle (*Politics*, IV, 4) wrote: 'a democracy is a state where the freemen and the poor, being in the majority, are invested with the power of the state'. Yet much depends here on what is meant by 'invested with power': whether it is