

# Festivals, Spatiality and the New Europe

*Kjell Hansen*

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The principal purpose of this article is to pay attention to events that emphasize and give profile to local, everyday life. It also focuses on “the multiplicity of Europe” and the politics of distinction through local markets, national commemoration days and open-air museums. Cultural heritage is presented as an ongoing process of production and re-production of meaning in these events. The article raises questions about how we can conduct fieldwork on matters as elusive as “the presence of Europe”, and the sensory experiences of taking part in ceremonial activities.

*Kjell Hansen, Ph.D. Department of European Ethnology, Lund University, Finngatan 8, SE-223 62 Lund. E-mail: Kjell.Hansen@etn.lu.se*

## European Multiplicity?

During the last ten years “Europe” has grown from being an element in a speech of honour to become a designation full of different and changing contents. These include almost all the spheres of life, from claims for the quality of simple everyday goods to ideas on a political federation and a common currency. In this way the concept of Europe stands out as a special case of “globalisation”. It is at the same time transnational and an expression of a specific cultural heritage directed towards “Americanisation”.<sup>1</sup> The concept of “Europe” is to a high degree created out of a feeling of a shared culture – a distinctive feature pointing both towards the past and towards the future. At the same time the rhetoric about Europe is imprinted, for example, in appearances in official documents from the EU, by a strong underlining of Europe as a varied continent. When one talks of “Europe” reference is made to all the different cultures that go into the continent, from the Greek archipelago to the Arctic area of the Scandinavian countries to the Kola Peninsular, and “Europe” becomes in itself the creation of precisely this mixture. Here I appeal to the ideas of specific – often implicitly national – cultural heritages with deep historical roots.<sup>2</sup> Multiplicity becomes thus a prerequisite for the

existence of specific cultural heritages. Images of “the multiplicity of Europe” appear accordingly in reality as being opposite to the notions of the USA as a melting pot where multiplicity has a completely different meaning.

One problem is of course that no one actually knows where this “Europe” really is or more precisely how it is composed. The concept has been used and misused in so many different ways that its meaning threatens to be completely dissolved (cf. Goddard *et al.* 1994:26). In recent years there has, nevertheless, been a distinct shift in how “Europe” has come to be understood. Every now and then the continent’s name seems synonymous to all the activities that are undertaken by the agencies of the EU. In that way “Europe” has had a tangible presence in everyday life. But at the same time that the EU has become increasingly present processes that signify a striving for cultural differentiation have also appeared. There can be a number of different reasons for this, but without a doubt the EU’s supranational challenges towards the national States and the establishment of a type of matrix for broader comparisons between regions in the whole of Europe has played an important role. Not least is this distinct in regions that are defined as peripheries. There a large part of regional politics *de facto* has been taken over by the EU. This has created a situation

where a region has to compare itself not only with other national areas, but just as much with other marginalized regions within the boundaries of other nation states. Regional policy has become a field where the *Jämtland* countryside, the Scottish Highlands and the Greek Islands immediately and directly are compared with each other. Obviously these types of real and possible comparisons in competition for limited resources become a driving force for a policy that depicts distinctions.

The principal purpose of this article is to pay attention to events that emphasise and give profile to local, everyday life. Thus it deals with actions that are experienced as profiling those that carry them out and that are often used to indicate individual character. It can, for example, be about berry picking in the thinly populated areas and elk hunting (cf. Ekman 1983). In this way I will try to make “the multiplicity of Europe” and the politics of distinction clearer. In order to look for the constantly escaping “Europe”, I have therefore not tried to contact the Brussels bureaucracy (cf. Shore 2000), but rather to attend to the phenomena that can be considered as its contradiction, namely local fairs, national commemoration days and open-air museums. With this I have also stated the article’s second purpose, to concern myself outside the really commonplace so as to throw light on ceremonial acts and events.

My methodical starting point has been an aim to capture the experiences of being a visitor and participator in these events. Consequently, my intention is not to present any detailed ethnography on the phenomena. Rather I have aimed to use them as pointers in the discussion of more general questions about how affiliation can be articulated in a world that increasingly is characterised by transnational influences and activities. Festivals<sup>3</sup> and museums are phenomena in which local life stands out as a clear performance. They separate themselves from the everyday run-of-the-mill but at the same time form part of this framework of routine existence. One has sometimes described these phenomena as “symbolic statements on local social order”. But they can just as well be seen as an occasion when this order is examined. Regarded in that way they become parts of an

extra-parliamentary political field, phenomena such as those the British social anthropologist, Abner Cohen, named politics disguised in everyday life (Cohen 1993), even if national holidays and fairs must be said to belong to the Sundays of everyday life. They appear as political expressions without some “case” to put forward. In an article on the distinction of cultural policy the human geographer, Susan J. Smith, has summarised the political function of the fair; “festive forms are spectacular, yet routinized events whose political content expresses and shapes the character of the society in which the political is articulated through the cultural to inform the sameness and differences that make up local life” (Smith 1999: 135).

Fairs are consequently, in their celebration of some form of community, also political expressions for a desire to be different. This obviously doesn’t mean that they are necessarily carried out in a striving for change; then they would of course have conveyed a “case” to fight for and turned into something other than quite simply fairs. Rather it is reasonable to interpret them as expressions of a striving to keep an imagined status quo or to re-establish a stability that is experienced as threatened. Naturally, we shall not let ourselves be deceived by formulations like these either. Neither is the preservation any “case” for the fair. Most of those that visit a fair do that either to sell something, or to buy something or quite simply to have a nice time.

Europe’s constant presence, in both the obvious and the not so obvious, signifies among other things that every local phenomenon and occurrence potentially can be compared with “the European”. In contrast every local occurrence may then also become a possible comment to the supranational context. Naturally this doesn’t mean that local occurrences, such as fairs or national holidays, should *aim* to make comments on the world situation.

However, here is an essential difference between local fairs and the celebration of national commemoration days. The latter are ceremonial expressions for the nation state’s “imagined community” (Anderson 1983), and as such exponents for a policy of separation. On the contrary, the local fairs have a completely different articulated purpose – or rather they

are characterised by a lack of expressed purpose. Even so they can be seen as expressions of political commentaries, by virtue of being examples of policy distinction that isn't characterised by some "case", except that which emerges in the celebration of localised community and by that an indication of a localised distinctive character.

In such connections it can be said that the presence of something outside the locality, within Europe, also makes the local context more actual, transforming it from something obvious to a project (cf. Bringslid n.d.). The fair can accordingly be seen both as an identity producing discursive field (cf. Bauman 1993), and as a lifeworld (cf. Schutz 1970). Festivals and museums stand on one hand in relation to an existing agenda for discussion about what a European social structure can express and imply. On the other hand they are also parts of the total experiences a person has when one meets things, people and events in their pragmatic striving to survive (cf. Wagner 1970). To visit a fair or share in a national celebration day for the purpose of research is accordingly the same as trying to capture their meaning as areas of action in real life. Thus the fieldwork doesn't deal so much with making ethnographical observations as with experiences, and with empathy as the tool tries to capture the ceremony's policy that speaks more to the senses than to reason. As occurrences that stand out from the daily routines, festivals can be seen as a type of drama. In that sense they present a possible narrative structure (cf. Ricoeur 1991:99), which we can take in, not through reading, but through participation and action. It is through participation rather than through the expressed message – the words – that one understands "the story" in the event.

## Hungarian Seriousness

Festivals seldom function as unambiguous statements. Rather they are events that can be seen as occasions when the consequences of affiliation become manifest in all their ambiguity. But as much as festivals stand out from the routinely everyday life, they are strongly limited in idiom. Every festival utilises a limited

repertoire of possible collective forms (cf. Tilly 1995). This makes it naturally possible to physically understand what takes place, even if one cannot understand everything with the intellect. That was my experience on a beautiful spring day in 1998, in Budapest, when I was present – participated is too strong a word – at the celebration of one of Hungary's national days in March. In the morning of the beautiful, sunny early summer's day, the streets crawled with people in their best Sunday clothes. To my eyes they seemed to walk around without any clear direction and didn't seem to be waiting for anything special. My prior information was vague. My knowledge of the Hungarian language was non-existent. However, I had, being Norwegian, a clear idea of a national day's celebrations from the schoolchildren's parade in Oslo, a strong icon as to how a celebration "ought to" be. In one part of my brain I accordingly walked around the streets of Budapest and tried to construct the celebration of the Hungarian national day with the 17<sup>th</sup> of May as a model. In my striving to find an intelligible meaning in the celebration, recollections of parts of my past became emphasised and focused. At the same time my bodily presence in the crowd was a source of mental difficulty. Being a participant in another nation's celebration of itself made me feel like a phoney – a kind of 'peeping Tom' – close to being an impostor. The feeling that at any time I might be unmasked and thrown out of the celebration pressed on me. A feeling of inability to be able to read the surroundings, both linguistically and with regard to its general cultural meaning grew strong. It didn't diminish when I too bought a green, white and red cockade and attached it to my lapel, even if it was an attempt to disguise the 'foreign' body – or at least to indicate it as friendly.

After a while people began to gather in the park, at the foot of the National museum's magnificent steps. The flags fluttered. Some men high up on the steps played the kettledrums. Women in some kind of national dress, that directed the thoughts to one of Wagner's operas, stepped forward and began to sing something serious. Speakers in suits succeeded them.

Because I wasn't in command of the language other impressions became much more important

and forced me to navigate the atmosphere with a kind of sensitivity. At the foot of the National museum's steps the atmosphere was rather listless. The speeches were many and long. The applause more dutiful than enthusiastic. Actually, nothing much happened.

Why the National museum? The place itself is really what the name indicates: A kind of essence of the nation where Hungary distinctly stands out as the final outcome of a historic development. In the museum's exhibitions the nation begins with the arrival of the Magyars to the high tableland and concludes with the fall of Communism. Throughout difficulties and distress the nation has been brought forward to the light. The place itself, the vague yet determined meaning that has materialised in the buildings with columnar facades, the wide, long and imposing steps and the little park between the building and the busy main street is in no way an accidentally chosen arena. Without the monumental illusions in front of one's eyes, the story wouldn't be other than a mere abstraction, remarks the French social anthropologist, Marc Augé (1995:60), and he could have made that remark specifically about the event I was attending.

I later came to know that the celebration at the National museum was the government's official arrangement. In that lies also a political charge that didn't reach out to me during the event, but which I started to suspect when, at the end of the speeches, I accompanied the stream of people through the streets. In what for an outsider stands out clearly as a commercial centre, we encountered a demonstration. Neither here could I really understand what was actually going on; whom it was that demonstrated, against what and how it was related to the national day's celebration. In contrast to the activity by the steps of the National museum the atmosphere around the demonstration was loaded. The demonstrators expressed their anger and their dissatisfaction in choruses, placards and banners, and it spread out to the body language of the marchers and the bystanders. I imagined that someone had tried to (politically) "steal" the nation. Whether this someone came from the left or the right I couldn't judge. In contrast to the government's celebration – and,

as we will see, that of the mayor – the demonstration wasn't tied to a specific place. It moved through the centre in order to, precisely through the movement, ritually seize the town. But at the same time it became much more transient. As soon as the demonstration had passed, it was as though it had never taken place. Only the sound still echoed when the marchers had disappeared out of sight.

The third scene was a small place, half way under one of the new traffic system's bridges but centred round a statue of some hero. Also this place emitted a marked historicity. It carried a story, materialised in the monument. Again, it got the outsider to tax his power of association. People began to gather and I took my place amongst them. The preliminaries went on for a long time. Here were the military and dignitaries as well as soldiers, a TV team on the fringes of the event interviewed those who were prominent, and security guards ran around and spoke keenly into their wristwatches. Perhaps my preconceived ideas played a part, but the total gave me a definite "Eastern European feeling". I expected to be questioned by a KGB agent at any time. But on the roads round about, the traffic raced forward as if nothing was going on. And not much happened either. After a couple of hours there was a speech. Cameras hummed and clicked. People applauded politely. Then it was over. The mayor had spoken.

Peeled of the significant elements – the content of the speech and the slogans on the banners – the celebration of the national day stood out precisely as a ceremonial community celebration.

The spring day in Budapest was something other than an emotional show. This concerned the items on the programme as well as those of us who were participants on the streets. What was shown up was, in general terms, a connection to the place. This way to turn the research to approach the expression of affiliation towards focusing on the experience means that we move ourselves from a concentration on identity that is shaping expressions towards an interest in experience, participation and feelings. But what happens then when the visitor's experience of participation isn't realised?

## Scanian Triviality

It is a quite warm, sunny day in April. Far away in the Scanian countryside, amongst verdant fields and bursting leaves lies Lövestad, a former railway village. The railway station building has been turned into a pizzeria, the centre is composed of a supermarket, a parking area, a bus stop and a green open space as big as a football field situated behind the Farmers' Co-operative. There, in this area is a fair. There are carousels and tombolas and three small "streets" lined with market stalls. People move to and fro at a leisurely pace, look, talk, buy, halt, say hello, chat. Everyone seems to already know each other, at least by sight. Unexpected meetings scarcely happen here. The selection of goods is what we have come to recognise as a typical market assortment: kitchen gadgets, clothes, ornaments, cassette tapes of dance band music, flowers, toffees and sweets. In reality nothing much happens. But many are here and seemingly enjoy sauntering around. Here, there are only small features of that specific cultural heritage that we later will meet in Östersund. One stall sells pyramid cakes (made of eggs and baked on a spit), another smoked eels, a third homemade jam. The field worker's problem is above all that everything is so well known. There is nothing to challenge the imagination.

This experience, which at first seemed to me to be empty, can in itself be used to illustrate the boundaries between what it is to be inside and to find oneself outside the adherence that the

event creates. To adhere can be said to be about being recognised. In Lövestad greetings were absolutely showered on people. Here there was an immediate confirmation of belonging. We, who no one said hello to, found ourselves on the outside. That's why the fair also clearly stood out as being rooted in all the daily trivialities. The routine and ceremonial *celebrating* of the everyday presupposed the presence of the actual everyday to be able to form the basis for the creation of a feeling of participation. It was through the daily meetings and the awareness that one found oneself in the same place that lifted the fair to a place of ritual recognition.

Festivals of this kind are striking but yet ordinary events. They attract us because they offer a break from everyday routines, yet of course we know very well what goes on at a fair: They have their own routines whereby they create affiliation and a sense of being rooted. As a celebration of community it is perhaps not their exoticism that creates interest, but rather the ritual emphasis of the commonplace?

However, one can ask why I experienced a greater presence during the celebration of Hungary's national day than I did at Lövestad's fair. As a Scandinavian it should be likely that I feel myself more at home in a Scanian village than in a big Central European city. The answer to the question lies above all in the scale of the events and thus in how participation is defined. In a town with more than a million inhabitants no one can expect to say hello to everyone. Not to be greeted is not stigmatising. A cockade



The small fair in Lövestad takes place in the open space behind the Farmers' Co-operative. It is marked by rural tranquillity and slowness.



attached to a lapel can serve as camouflage, and in a nation's imagined community, everyone can indulge in fancies that they belong.

There are few metaphors in our times that are charged with meaning like "roots" (cf. Malkki 1997). Roots become a useful metaphor for affiliation precisely because they are invisible. Roots lie below the surface, hidden from our eyes and are acknowledged only through our actions. This way, roots become flexible. If the challenges don't become too great – e.g. if one avoids being addressed – the cockade on the lapel can make it possible to feign common roots with all the others that move about in the crowd. Only the imagination puts boundaries as to what we can picture ourselves to be in such situations. At the same time I was of course very conscious that I was only posing. The feigned roots, as distinct from those that I experience as more genuine and true, gave no secure affiliation either in time or place. They didn't bind me to the place.

My presence on the streets of Budapest was, in itself, an expression of the globalised world, above all of the increased mobility that is one of its distinctive features. On the other hand, though, I was definitely there – it was the question why, that was problematic. The general, historical process that globalisation expresses, appeared as problematic in relation to my specific, genealogical history: Mobility and the cockade made it possible to fake an affiliation that, after all, in an insistent way stood out as being false for me.

The desire to establish a genealogical order – roots – is closely associated with the feeling for the local, that is to say, the capacity to be able to create and re-create locality under changing conditions (cf. Appadurai 1997). At the basic level the feeling for the local can be said to deal with creating localised affiliation in the globalised world around us, even if this world around us – as in Lövestad – can seem to be at safe distance. But this production of affiliation doesn't happen as a compensating and ordering intellectual activity, but rather as a practical dealing in everyday business. At the same time the genealogical story – the establishment of roots – gains special authenticity by emphasising the unique and by having its origins in feelings that are

perceived to be expressions for what is personally experienced.

This became evident to me when, rather half-heartedly, I went out as a participant to observe the Norwegian colony's celebration of the 17<sup>th</sup> May in Lund.<sup>4</sup>

## Norwegian Conviction

The reason for my half-hearted attitude was due to my preconceived idea that the celebration of Norway's national day in the Scanian university town Lund hardly could be anything other than a pale shadow, bordering on the corny. My idea was to join the procession and make observations.

At Lundagård, the park by the university, about a hundred people are gathered; children, the middle-aged and above all students. Norwegian flags of different sizes are here, there and everywhere. Many people are dressed in *bunad* – national costume – and nearly everyone is dressed much smarter than usual. The exception is the Swedish student orchestra that has been hired to play the music, an indispensable element in the parade. The atmosphere is relaxed. Many people seem to be acquainted. They greet and exchange a few words with each other, or stop and talk a bit longer. Most of them speak Norwegian. I walk around on the fringes and take photographs. A man in shirtsleeves, with a megaphone over one shoulder and a little Norwegian flag in his hand tries to arrange us into something that can be said to resemble an organised procession. The musicians begin to play and take the lead, followed by six girls in national costumes that between them carry a large, horizontal Norwegian flag. Occasionally, as we walk, they lift the flag in a wave-like motion at the same time as they cry "Hip, hip, heigh-ho HURRAH!!!" Many of us join in with the shout.

Slowly, almost strolling, the parade moves out through Lundagård into the shopping streets of Lund. My own feelings are still dominated by a somewhat distanced isolation. On my lapel I have again attached a cockade, but this time in the Norwegian colours and as expression for an affiliation I experience as genuine. I end up beside a man in his fifties and we begin to chat



Slowly, almost strolling, the parade moves out through the shopping streets of Lund. It ritually creates an island of national pride by flag waving and the shouting of Hurrahs.

a bit. He in Norwegian and I in Swedish. Suddenly I feel a need to justify my right to participate in the celebration and to wear the Norwegian colours – despite my language. To prove to him that I have the right to participate. That my claim to affiliation isn't feigned. I quickly try to depict my background.

As we turn into one of the narrow, central shopping streets the conversation dies out. The street itself, together with all the inhabitants of Lund that go about their ordinary, daily business, jostle us that parade together. We are a group that is seen as the sort that wanders about. We make our affiliation visible and establish it as something obviously present in the centre of Lund. Suddenly I am a part of something. I intensively experience that I am Norwegian.<sup>5</sup> An experience of joy and pride. To belong to something that is bigger than I am. I join in with the cheers and wish that I had had a flag so that I, like many others, could have waved it in time to the music and the shouting. Affiliation is not

something that I seek, but rather something that takes hold of me, that sucks me into the whole. In the constantly cheering group, which moves through Lund, a bit of "Norway" is recreated, constructed from nostalgia and memory. Obviously it is an idealised picture and it is hardly one that can bring about directed actions. But it represents a transformation from a vague and undefined affiliation, which I carry with me daily, to a condensed, almost physically tangible experience. One of the silent spaces of the life-world has suddenly been induced to speak (cf. Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1998).

After a while we come to the city park where we stop by the flagpole. We sing the national anthem, listen to the speech of honour – that pays tribute to the constitution and democracy – and movingly watch the Norwegian flag being hoisted. Afterwards there are games, picnics, and the sale of (Danish) beer and hot dogs.

On my way from the park the experience of participation disappears. In its place, a vague and nostalgic emptiness comes that I long to fill. Ten minutes later all is normal again. The cockade has vanished into the inside pocket, my Swedish has ceased to be stigmatising and reverted to being an asset. The experience of participation is replaced by the everyday and the Norwegian Diaspora was only make-believe.

## Playing with Time

The immediately experienced roots of an abandoned background can be seen as an expression for the production of cultural intimacy, the longing for proximity and primordiality at a national and regional level that the anthropologist, Michael Herzfeld observed (Herzfeld 1997). However, it is doubtful whether it is accurate to claim that the experiencing of roots primarily is used to create a fixed point of authenticity in an uncertain world, which many modernity theorists seem to claim (see e.g. Giddens 1991; Ziehe 1989). Roots ought not to be understood as a safeguard in an age when many feel suspicious of globalisation and multinational forces and movements. This is the interpretation of the historical project, focusing on time as flow, on variability and on changing social and cultural relationships. The experience

can just as well be interpreted as a genealogical play of time and history. One can argue that, in its extreme consequence, the genealogical project aims to create a fixed point in the constant flow of time, in some sense to halt time halfway between before and after. The articulation of roots is telling us a story of stillness. The roots are there, spatially fixed in childhood or the family realm, on the steps of the National museum or on a small field in Lövestad. In this way, national days and fairs are indications that make ordinary, local life clear.

The play becomes clearer if we focus on fairs that, more than buying and selling, deal with playing with time. As events, fairs as well as national celebration days are parts of an immediate “now”. This “now” takes place between the event’s opening and closing rituals respectively and have their expression in the strong feeling of immediate presence that characterises participation: in a literal sense it can be too late tomorrow. But on closer inspection much of this focusing on the now is seen to be pointing beyond itself. Here is a strong element of repetition; both fairs and national days are regularly recurring events. By this, they create a crossing from within the course of time to historicity (cf. Ricoeur 1991:107–115).

By way of us both remembering and being reminded of how the event at hand repeated itself earlier, it becomes a confirmation that history is there. This type of event is often also expressly directed towards the past through allusions to cultural heritage, materialised in goods as well as rituals, even if it is also incorporated in the immediate of the now. Ultimately, both fairs and national days allude to the future. We are enticed to buy things to be able to satisfy future needs, national days are celebrated to safeguard and confirm the nation’s continued existence. This play with time is illustrated in several of the features that Paul Ricoeur (1991) has discussed on how the narrative becomes both a model of our experience of time and a model for how we can learn about it. In Walter Benjamin’s view, festivals can be said to have partially the same function as “narratives”, i.e. they have their strength and legitimacy in the allusion to, but not the explanation of, a past community (cf. Lash 1999:312–321). The

experience of a shared Norwegian community affiliation in Lund is for example dependent on the fact that it cannot be explained in detail. Because then everything that separates us out would appear with a clarity that would repress the experienced fellowship. Festivals are expressions of affiliation as an experience, not as shared knowledge. At the same time, they tend to suffer from the present society’s focusing on immediate experiences – which we recognise as “gimmickry”.

## Yearnings in Jämtland

Thursday the 9<sup>th</sup> March was cold and windy but there were still quite a lot of people at the Gregorius Fair in Östersund, a centre of Jämtland, a region in inland northern Sweden. In my first stroll through the market area it becomes obvious that there is a type of zoning in the marketplace. In the main square there is a children’s funfair with carousels and a lottery stall. There is also a mixture of various stalls: ordinary market goods (toffees, CD’s, postcards, cosmetics), foodstuffs (with quite a large assortment of “regional specialities”: smoked sausages, flat unleavened bread, goat cheese), handicrafts (mainly made from wood but also with a good selection of leather and textiles). The stalls continue along one of the main streets with a similar selection as those in the main square. The street ends in a park by the big lake, and there the fair takes on a more distinct profile: Jämtland’s yeomen, grill-huts, Lapp cots, the Norwegian neighbouring district’s big tourist drive. It is possible to ride a dog-sleigh on the ice. Not many make use of it during the course of Thursday. Also on the ice are “traditional” games for children: swings, a snow-castle, and a snow-sculpture of the lake monster. Even a little hockey field has been ploughed out. One can hire curling bowls. There are more children here than at the fun fair.

The fair stands out as being clearly defined and with that, a restricted event. It appears in a clearly defined place, with a “start ” and a “finish ”. Outside the fair’s own area it is as if it doesn’t exist. For visitors, the fair is first of all an *event*. One meets friends and acquaintances here. From the various greetings exchanged, I



understand that there are people that one doesn't meet very often. People stop and talk a bit. Move on. Putting plugs in the movement. They belong. It is important that the fairground is cramped. One glance rests on the stall's selection of goods and at the same time another is hunting for a familiar face. Slow movements. At random – in addition one must peek at everything. The fair stands out principally as a frame around the visitor's own projects. Saunter. Look. Feel. Be jostled. Buy. Compare. Meet acquaintances. It is common to come across someone that one hasn't seen for a while. This is what the fair really is about. But the frame isn't empty and isn't casual. It isn't replaceable. The market's constitution can be described with cue words such as stall, crowd, sound and contact. They indicate that we, at least partially, are somewhere other than in everyday life.

The fair was covered by the TV Channel 4 local news. It showed pictures of the market visitors as we usually recognise them. Besides, the news feature informed that this year's Gregorius prize had been distributed. About half of the 2–3 minute long excerpt was taken up with this. Pictures of the dog skin clad trio that received the diploma out on the ice. They represented the mountain-museum of a small town in a neighbouring district some 200 kilometres to the southwest, which is a combination of both museum and tourist information centre. The museum was inaugurated by the King Carl XVI Gustaf a year ago and has since had about a hundred thousand visitors (that was roughly what was said – besides that it was an injection for the district). The three who took the prize were very happy (they said) and thought partly that it was fantastic in itself, partly that it was nice that someone from another region was allowed to come to Jämtland and win a prize. The feature emphasises culture. Certainly it is also symptomatic that the prize giving took place on the ice and definitely not a coincidence that they were dressed as they were. Suddenly – in this arrangement that didn't seem to be anything – something became visible: "the culture" seems to have an obvious place. And it deals with activities that are aimed towards the cultural heritage! It was not an innovative artist who got the prize. But some people who

had succeeded in combining the cultural heritage with place and with that had created a site for visitors. In their visions the prizewinners underlined exactly the nature of cultural heritage. Almost hidden as they were in their fur coats.

The icy lake develops into a distinct symbol. Important and significant events took place on or in close proximity to the ice. The fair's "ideological pointers" were there in the park, by the lakeside. Yeomen came across the ice with their horses and sleighs. The horses and yeomen were a significant element. Like the prize giving they justified the fair through representing the past here and now. Of that which was on the ice, only the sleigh rides with horses (to come up during the Saturday) and the dogsleds were specifically connected to the fair. Everything else – the snow castle, swings, warming cot, and fireside stool – is always there, throughout the winter. The ice expands the town. In this way the town's winter character is underlined. When one comes from a grey and rainy but above all freezing Scania, the contrast becomes very distinct: the very presence of the ice-covered lake becomes a statement of the otherwise: Here we walk on the water! – And so do our horses.

I suddenly heard "*That they may keep up such tommyrot!!*" when I walked round the area on the Friday morning. Some peddlers – standing around one of the carts that sold doughnuts – discussed Thursday's accident, when a bolting horse ran loose in the market area and injured a woman. They thought that it was bad in general terms, but yet lucky that it happened early in the day when there weren't too many people around. Above all they thought that the presence of yeomen was unnecessary. The final remark – "*That they may keep up such tommyrot!!*" was followed by a concurring mumble. The fair rests heavily on tradition. As well for someone who associates it with the historical market that goes way back in time and that ceased some years after the railway came to Östersund. As for the market that was revived in the middle of the 1980's, where history itself became an actor, a living presence.<sup>6</sup> That the fair rests in the tradition does not imply, however, that the different actors necessarily

do so. For some, like Jämtland's yeomen, it is probably the main point as such. For others, like the doughnut sellers, it is the rifferaff. Others make more or less clear connections to their cultural heritage, e.g. those that sell Indian gadgets. Or the key ring seller. But also the sellers of knitted sweaters, leather caps etc. A further group connects to the activity that characterises those people from sparsely populated areas – sellers of fishing tackle and sports socks. An assessment is that a good half – perhaps 2/3 of all the peddlers operate in a sphere without, or with very vague, connections to “the cultural heritage” (toys, kitchen gadgets, CD's, clothes etc.).

One might say that in market sales there are a few dominating themes or criteria: Cheapness, authenticity, and to quickly be able to yield to impulses from the stomach, the eye, imagination ... The fair is clearly not there to deal with cultural heritage. But it makes itself felt in different ways. The thin rounds of unleavened bread become genuineness wrapped in a bag. And by “the stud-farm”<sup>7</sup> stand two women who contemplate whether they will eat or not. Talking about it they establish their own private and personal cultural heritage: “Last year I ate such a salmon-stud as that.” The sale of sausages with different foreign heritages fits into this: If it isn't one's own cultural heritage it is in any case someone's cultural heritage.

In the crowds one can see people dressed up. A dog skin fur coat. A 19<sup>th</sup> century uniform. A folk costume. But those who wear the clothes make nothing of it – they do nothing in particular. They only stroll about like all the other fair visitors. But there are also some young women, dressed up and advertising something – I don't know what. They meet so many acquaintances that are more interesting than giving out information. The talk is a very typical, almost theatrical, local dialect. My thoughts go to the creative anachronists, people that actively and deliberately play with time by enacting some past.

Acquaintances meet and greet each other: “Have you been to the fair?” “I have had a stroll around and looked.” The Gregorius Fair isn't a big event, but rather something that one pops into – and just as quickly pops out of. But for a few days Östersund is a kind of centre. Some-

thing happens in the town that makes it something more than it is on ordinary weekdays.

Festivals are events that produce an excess of significance. They do this by being collections of staged and moulded signs, that give the visitors possibilities to choose not only between obvious phenomena like market toffee or unleavened bread, between demonstrating or listening to a speech. They also create options as to which interpretations one will allow to appear. But all these choices have, as a basis, a reservoir of shared implications. Those who produce the symbols as well as those who read them have to recognise the symbols that can have importance. The symbols have to capture recognisable experiences and at the same time be interpretable, i.e. understandable. That which is conveyed is thus not the symbol producer's – the speaker's or the peddler's – experiences, but what these experiences signify in a certain context. But for this to be understandable it has to appeal and connect to the readers', or listeners', experiences. These experiences are, in turn, the result of how we act in the everyday. It is exactly in this moment that fairs as well as national days can relate to the elusive Europe. They are opportunities when everyday experiences are condensed and elucidated, when fairs and national days stand out as discourses that make experiences public. My argument here places festivals as political expressions within the framework of a triangle of relationships. A localised lifeworld, a public event and a global or European shade. By that every festival becomes a potential comment to the political situation in Europe as seen from a fixed point and characterised by its own power constellations.

Accordingly, places are at the same time elastic – they release and accept influences from outside – and coherent enough to be recognisable. They have permeable borders, i.e. it is possible for both objects and people to move between places, but they also have a diachronic dimension written into past events. To know the local, to have local knowledge can, therefore, as the American philosopher, Edward Casey, pointed out, be said to be about understanding what is generally true and valid in that which is locally obvious. To have a feeling for the place has to do with what is true for places in general, as it is

expressed exactly at *this* place (Casey 1996:45). Places materialise in 'now-time' the past as well as the conceivable future, and festivals emphasise this. But even if the boundaries are elastic and penetrable they are in any case demarcations against what is outside and different. The place's peculiarity is precisely that it is separated from all other places (cf. Hall 1991). In the case of the nation there are more devices available to make uniqueness credible: education, museums, politics, monuments, armies etc. But in the small place, which can be confusingly like other small places, the authenticity of uniqueness rests rather with intimate relations than in big gestures.

One of the most important characteristics of every fair is its aim to accentuate the unique. And in most cases this is done through creating a definite local connection. The simplest way to do that is through the name, by designations that refer the event to a determined place and through that associate the place to the event. It becomes a bit more advanced; i.e. offers several associations, with a name that alludes to history. Through the name continuity is first alluded to, but also, at a deeper level of resemblance, to the local and the distinctions to everything that doesn't belong to the local.

One might wonder why festivals seems to be such an important element in the indication of spatial affiliation. Perhaps it can be said that it is exactly the increasing similarity between places in terms of architecture, road design, trade, education and employment – such things that allow us to say that we can no longer separate one place from another – that make us more attentive to *other* ways in which places are separated from each another.

Perhaps it is simply so that festivals give us an opportunity to appropriate the place? The appropriation that is present in the establishment of direct, immediate, sensory relations to the world that makes up the place. Or rather that the appropriation implies creating a feeling for the place in which our recognition is made up of the sensory impressions that festivals offer? It is through relating to the world around us, materialised not only in other people and social/cultural institutions, but also in physical objects, that we are constituted as social beings.

The main issue is about how we take in the world – and about how it appropriates us. It is about the significance of the events when we are absorbed as a mobile, surging mass of people, with sounds, sights, smells and feelings. The issue is about the immediate appropriation that is part of feeling, of buying, of eating.

In ways that seem trivial, but yet obvious, every fair may take a position in an international, regional and local place. It is positioned – more or less distinctly – in proportion to the other symbolic and practical activities that constitute local life, which more than ever today is characterised by the interplay between mobility and coming to a halt. The local places are not only spots to find oneself in, they are as much places that one can leave or return to (Olwig 1997). Places are no longer given points of affiliation – a topic that not least is present in all those places that are marginalized as thinly populated areas. They are constantly the subjects of comparison with every other real and depicted place. This comparison makes the place itself visible as a particular unit for its inhabitants. The place becomes the object for reflections on the distinctive character and gives rise to ideas on local distinctive character. It is the insistent presence of other places that gives grounds for celebrating that we, after all, find ourselves right here (cf. Ardener 1987). Local narratives, as festivals, localise these connections between the local and the global through placing them in a distinct historical context, materialised as cultural heritage (Sørensen 1997).

## The Legacy of Museums

Like festivals, museums are opportunities when residence can be celebrated, when the roots can be put into focus and celebrated. They are each in their own way displays in what could be called nostalgic representations of a vanished past. But while the fair is regarded as being trivial and solely for enjoyment, many have maintained that museums are places where identities are substantiated. They have, as the ethnologist Birgitta Svensson (1998) has pointed out been turned into places where we are supposed to come to terms with ourselves through understanding that we have been. This becomes

clear in a visit to e.g. Jämtland's county museum's multi-slide presentation, which introduces the county's history. One had to ask at the reception desk to see the slide presentation and the friendly staff set it in motion for my colleague and me when we visited the museum one afternoon during the fair. Two people were already sitting in the auditorium. Not to see the slides, but because they had found an out-of-the-way place for their own private conversation. Apart from them we were the only ones there.

In the dark, sitting in comfortable armchairs and far away from the fair's overabundant crowd, and sensory impressions, we let ourselves be captured by cultural heritage as seduction: The beautiful opening pictures and mystifying music pulls us into something different. Here Indians and settlers are alluded to and compared. Landscape views. Roving hunters. Here were (are) free men. Strong. Self-sufficient. A little talk about the mythological first settler. The slide presentation calls forth a feeling through its extremely beautiful pictures. Jämtland is described as an island in the wilderness; a barren climate in which a settled district was created. Here the mantra was launched: "INVENT! PULL IN! BITE HARD!" The voice tells how life is set back (plague and unrest) but "we" constantly rise up. Cling to the district. "INVENT! PULL IN! BITE HARD!" Prosperity grows. Freedom grows. Norwegian – Swedish – Danish. The land is ravaged. Hunger, destitution and poverty for 200 years. Surviving all the same. "Free people can't be suppressed". The cartloads draw towards the western sea, towards the eastern sea. The yeomen draw wealth back to the land. New times are emerging. The forest gave freedom, protection, pasture and timber. But then the private companies came. Farmers who sell their forests. Freedom is lost. The railway comes. The city. The forests are sold and the waterpower. The furniture vans hauled. Prosperity was to be found somewhere else. The old age and the longings were left behind. "We want to go home to the free country" "INVENT! PULL IN! BITE HARD!" Sure we can. "It is what we have longed for. Here we want to be." A Jämtland song is quoted at the end. The last text dies away while pictures of happy, hopeful children zoom up.

In relation to this the fairs stand out as the

cultural heritage's disordered fringes: Places that have a broad set of props at their disposal but hardly any guiding manuscript. Everybody can create their own variant of the heritage – with or without Indian elements. The museum contrasts with this. The slide show's well-produced speech moralises on the reasons and consequences of the decrease in population. The migration from the countryside appears as a movement that arises without being created. Through its connection to the progress of society, what drives people "on the run" remains secret and unknown. Migration becomes an expression for society's development and with that linked to an abstract "time walk" that transforms movements in space to movements in time. Migration from the countryside can be considered as a movement in time, from the traditional to the modern (cf. Hansen 1998:46–52).

Another image is displayed at the open-air museum. Here the houses are neatly restored to almost their original state. Here is an antiquarian authenticity, but also an arrangement. Small information signs explain what we see. Careful geographical and temporal attributes meta-communicates with a world of knowledge rather than experience. But the museum does not really stand out as a pedagogic way into a time-embracing experience of history. Rather the open-air museum stands out – at least a winter's day when the visitors are conspicuous by their absence – as a park of monuments. A place that brims with the panegyric, with no other function than to give individuals a feeling that it was there before they came and will still be there when they have gone away. The houses in the open-air museum are outside the actually present world. It is this that emphasises and gives them characteristics of being monuments, unlike the commonplace nature that characterised them in the reality they were brought from. The open-air museum's recontextualisation signifies that continuity and the commonplace are replaced by ceremonial marking of the discontinuities of history. Accordingly time becomes distinct and the object of reflection. The narrative that *is* the open-air museum will make us pay attention to the differences between "then" and "now". Through this narrative the museum separates itself from the fair's moulding

together of “then-now-later”, from its mixture of high and low, new and old, into an immediately experienced “now”. This difference becomes clear in the differing places that are used, for the various scenes for the celebration of one’s own community (cf. Augé 1995: 60).

Those houses and environments that are in the museum are representations – something that will give a picture of something else and more than they are. The buildings become symbols that replace what they once were. The crucial moment here is that the symbolic *representation* of the past at the same time is a part of the museum’s *presentation*. It can be said that it is when the museum does something with the houses, when the museum presents them to its visitors, that they also can act as a representing symbol. The open-air museum’s houses are made to stand out *as* something, not by virtue of some inherent symbolic power, but by what the museum staff *has done* with them (cf. Thrift 1996:7). The authenticity that is associated with the houses is safeguarded by the museum as an institution. The genuineness of the representation is warranted through the whole context that the museum provides, as an institution of society. In this sense the houses become what they are, not by representing what they were earlier, but by representing them as museum pieces. What we have is thus a situation of “double representation”. First of all, the buildings as representatives for a clearly marked off past, in a realistic sense. Secondly, the representation of the houses as exhibits and thus as something marked off from the past as a kind of general representation of history. The experienced genuineness is warranted through the second representation but is legitimised through the first. The problem can be said to be that the historical purport is, to a high degree, dependent on its context – i.e. the surrounding landscape, houses and people – as by its own contemporaneity.<sup>8</sup> In a completely different connection, the American anthropologist, Sidney Mintz (1985 (1995)), has in a striking way, underlined the context’s meaning: “I don’t think meanings inhere in substances naturally or inevitably. Rather, I believe that meanings arise out of use, as people use substances in social relationships” (cf. Thrift 1996: 29).

## Cultural Mobilisation

In the cultural mobilisation that festivals represent, experiences of the local, national and international surroundings are dealt with. But it is not articulated. The surroundings represent no “case”. Rather the festival practice confirms a spatial affiliation. Local cultural identities are chiselled out by actions, by emphasising and making the folklore that is presented as a characteristic, local cultural heritage. It can be seen in different forms of handicrafts, in food, or commemorative sites of local heroes and historic events. The past is mobilised genealogically to create purpose and belonging. A longing for roots, for spatial affiliation, leads to a redefinition of places and of material culture, a vitalisation that expresses the politics of distinction.

It is striking that marginality is brought out in these activities. In Jämtland, one’s own life on the fringe, low technology, the proximity to nature, “rusticity” is brought out. In Hungary, a picture of the small, but proud and indomitable nation on Europe’s fringe is conjured up. And in Lövestad the most indistinct picture is created, since the event’s scale is such that those that take part in an obvious way, form part of the place. In this way the countryside also stands out as more genuine than the world around (cf. Ardener 1987, Shields 1992).

To many local actors the overall aim is, through one’s own actions, to counteract marginality and depopulation, or to bring about incorporation and modernisation. The concrete aim of the place markings is thus not evident, but the work on the cultural heritage is making up some part of the project irrespective of what purpose it has. In this context the cultural heritage becomes a kind of “mobile monument”, which makes up a reservoir of the past that can bring political power to the fore (cf. Augé 1995: 60–65) But this is not an invention that has its origin in consciousness, but rather in the material world around. One might claim that the celebration’s participants become what they are through being observed in their social and material context (cf. Heidegger 1977:131). It isn’t man that creates his world around him; rather man is the image of his context. The rules and routines of fairs and national days have a





The icy lake develops into a distinct symbol. The ice expands the town. In this way the town's winter character is underlined.

power that lies outside the control of those involved. The same goes for the place as a whole: We find ourselves not only in place – we are of place (Casey 1996:19).

There is a strange duplicity in events of folklore. On the one hand handicrafts, the cultural landscape and historic buildings are “genuine”, i.e. representations of cultural heritage, an experience of belonging to some (fixed) where. Our native district is part of us in the sense that it is through that that we have got to know our world. On the other hand, festivals are clear exponents for the commodifying side of globalisation. The two sides mutually legitimise each other. Fairs as well as national days are easily recognisable irrespective of where one faces them. They are played out according to what could be called a transnational matrix. At the same time they are representing opportunities that strongly focus on the experiencing of genuine spatial affiliation. In this a part of the interplay between Europeanised and localised processes is also implied. A good European ought to have a local affiliation, but it ought to be shaped in a recognisable way, even when it is a tool for distancing him/herself from centralising processes.

## To Become European

The increased interest for regions in Europe

can be seen as an expression for how places now, as perhaps never before, serve as a reference point to people that seek affiliation. This can seem to be a paradoxical statement in a time said to be characterised by mobility as well as time and spatial compression. But regions are not unambiguously localised. Instead they appear in situations and exist in between as a possibility and potential (cf. Boissevain 1992). The new feature today is that there is a strongly increased possibility to change place affiliation. From the perspective of the individual possibilities have been opened up to maintain conflicting and competing spatial identities. The hierarchical order of places has become a field where people, to increase their influence, quarrel about definitions (Feld & Basso 1996, Lovell 1998) and no longer represent some finished “readable text”.

Spatial affiliation instead becomes a way to take an attitude to the wider context from an idea of local conditions (cf. Stewart 1996: 40). “Culture”, in this connection, becomes an expectation, a way to question or accept the world, a continuous searching for something that constantly escapes. In such processes the conceptions of affiliation represent important reference points and “Europe” represents such a possible reference point for people’s actions, what they do in different situations. “Action” also includes the use of language, as fairs and national days

Local fairs strive to accentuate the unique, but are simultaneously easily recognizable, no matter where they are held.



very well also can be regarded as activities of speech. Every argumentative move is designed as an answer to earlier moves and an attempt to control the future. Activities are always carried out in relation to other actions, which gives the activity a persuading character or function, a potential ability to be materialised as the influence on somebody else's actions. Actions and activities are understood not only through their visible and material consequences, but also through the immediate categorising that they become subject to. Words arrange and structure the actions, by which they also get a social and cultural content. Festivals may be regarded as part of a continuous argumentative context, where actions and activities are the targets for criticism and justification. What is shared in a society becomes, in this perspective, not so much agreements about meaning and content as access to a set of argumentative positions. "Europe" and "the local" can be seen as two such complementary positions (cf. Shotter 1993).

At the same time as the meaning of, and interest for Europe increases, there exists a series of different opinions associated with this Europe. In Jämtland it implies bureaucratic control while in Budapest it can be seen as the free world's Garden of Eden. At a local level we can observe how regions, municipalities, cities and the countryside are deeply involved in celebrating their own distinctive characters.

Here we can understand how cultural heritage is used to mark distinction and establish new cultural borders inside Europe. These processes of becoming European and becoming local respectively are more than only parallels, they are also directly related to each other. We understand, approach and act in relation to the world from cultural categories. But it is participation in the world that not only gives us knowledge about it, but also the cultural categories (cf. Schutz 1970).

A Europeanised connection is shaped in linguistic and other everyday activities at definite places. The rhetoric over Europe provides the situated activity with a frame of interpretation, which give starting points as to how we reshape our own sense of our own everyday. In such contexts it can be said that the presence of that outside the local, of Europe, also makes the local connection more present, converting it from something obvious to a project. Unlike globalisation in general, to become European implies however, through the influence of the EU, also that new common rules for a number of different daily activities have been introduced. Such rules transform people's daily scope for activity but also make relative that which is understood as being an obvious way to do things. New sets of rules and regulations do not only change the possibilities for activities, they also create a discursive background for comparisons. By this

“Europe” becomes both something that structures daily connections and an expression for determined local everyday interpretations. The emphasis of local or national contexts problematises the preferential rights of the men in power and the media’s obvious preferential right of interpreting Europe. The rhetoric over Europe provides the situated activity with a framework of interpretation that can be said to form a starting point for how one reshapes one’s own commonplace. The political charges that can be tied to “Europe” will then be seen not as lying beyond or behind everyday activities, but within them, as structured conditions and as the actors’ own ambitions. With “Europe’s” increased presence we can also suppose that awareness about spatial multiplicity has increased, as a result of a compound process between all the positions where a group’s identity is defined (cf. Hansen 1998:184–191).

With that a feel for place is created that integrates it into daily practise but that also establishes it as a separate space (cf. Stewart 1996). In a world that, among other things, is characterised by the globalised media, images of the genuine and the immediate are associated with the feeling of local affiliation (Peters 1997). Despite an increased element of intersecting communications between different environments, awareness about and expression of the differences have become more and more obvious (cf. Paasi 1996).

## The Regions of Europe?

In the tension between local and global one plays with dichotomies between traditional and modern, the remote and the immediate, slow and fast, peripheral and central in ways that makes the place both a tangible and a uniting entity. But the new regional identities break up previous local boundaries. They are of places but at the same time they exceed the boundaries of place. The regional rhetoric supplies the local activity with a frame of interpretation, while the local supplies the regional order of communication with the legitimacy of the commonplace (Hansen 1999a). Regions are created in many different arenas, locally but also in Brussels, in the lifeworld but also through the mass media,

in actions but also in speech. Regions find themselves in a field of tension between local cultural mobilisation, the national defensiveness and the European offensiveness. Less today than ever before, they can be understood without consideration to activities outside the region; political, social, economical, cultural. At the same time the region can, since it is so concentrated in itself, neither be understood outside its own limitation. The region sets its own agenda and emphasises its own uniqueness in the world. These processes are naturally parts of a movement that has become public in Europe, but this parallel can only be understood if we understand that its driving force is the idea of being unique.

In fact most regions are not one but many, fighting with themselves for a reasonable identity. Here you find the imaginations about the unique cultural heritage that captures the region in time and space. Here are transnational openings and niches, and there are claims in relation to the national state, which is the unit that the region measures itself against. In a wider European perspective we can see that regions relate in several different ways to the nation states. There is disassociation and autonomy of language, conflict avoidance and coexistence, presentation of alternatives and a search for authenticity. To take the essentialising discourse seriously – to look at it as reality – is to take the regions’ cultural mobilisation out of context. Instead, the existing orders of discussion becomes more important to the extent that they constitute materialised social relations and through that conditions for action. By being understood relationally regionalisation takes a clear political dimension (cf. Brubaker 1995). Regions may indeed, at one level, be said to constitute a politically discursive field, where qualities are culturally constructed in a continuing argumentation (cf. Shotter 1993). But every cultural construction has to have a credibility in order to convey meaning. This credibility is achieved in the moment the discourse expresses experiences. In this way the experience is established as primary in relation to the discussion about it.

Accordingly, regionalism doesn’t mean that the national vanishes – but neither that it

unambiguously becomes something to dissociate from. On the contrary, in many cases we can see how the national is made regional, and how the regional is nationalised. Naturally people do not become defined by the surrounding space. We constantly try to take control over our own identity and the transnational, national, regional and local streams that are constantly met by active efforts to create one's own affiliations (Sørensen 1997:161). Festivals become a set of spatial, time bound and material opportunities to try out one's own experiences. "So every fair, festival, spectacle or masquerade is positioned; it has a location within international, regional and community space; it has a setting relative to the other symbolic and practical activities that make up local life" (Smith 1999:136).

Fairs and national days can be seen as materialised expressions as to how experiences are tested. But they do this in very different ways. National days are almost exclusively symbolical displays where cultural heritage turns into a monument. Contrary to this, the things that are sold as "genuine" products on the fair often lack an explicit symbolic force. Here the handicraft rather appears as an event in focus, irrespective of whether it concerns traditionalistic, modernistic or local handicraft (Hansen 1999b). The museums' presentation is something in between these extremes in its strive to create monuments of a popular, activity based, cultural heritage. To go to the museum, be jostled at the fair or to celebrate the national day accordingly becomes a kind of ceremonial activity. In a time of high mobility and strong ideas about "Europe" these events become expressions about how we seek an anchorage – even if only for a short while – in a fixed and determined place.

*Translation: Sue Glover*

## Notes

- \* This paper has earlier been published in *Fönster mot Europa*, Studentlitteratur, Lund 2001.
1. Here there is naturally also an opposition to "Islam", anchored in national xenophobia as well as in right-wing populist politics but without officially being accepted as politically correct.
  2. Throughout this article I use "cultural heritage" in a general and deliberate imprecise sense that above all aims to designate what in everyday speech is often referred to as cultural heritage. The

term accordingly reflects a general use.

3. I use the terms like market, fair and festival without distinction both for fairs and national commemoration days. Where it doesn't disturb the logic too much I'm also allowing museums to be included in these sweeping terms. In the cases where I refer to the phenomena in general, the terms are used as synonyms.
4. The celebration was organised by ANSA, Association of Norwegian Students Abroad.
5. A similar experience is discussed by the ethnologist, Barbro Blehr, in connection with the 17<sup>th</sup> May celebration at Skansen in Stockholm (Blehr 1995).
6. It is a regular recurring feature before every fair that the local newspaper publishes culture historical articles about how the market used to be "in the past".
7. This is a pun. The Swedish word for stud ("stut") is also used as a name for a sandwich made out of unleavened bread with a filling. Thus, the little stall selling such sandwiches has named itself "stud-farm" ("stuteri").
8. This refers to the lack of knowledge about the future that people in the past had, but that today's museum visitors cannot liberate themselves from because this future is our present, or sometimes actually our past.

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