



Peripheral Communities

Crisis, Continuity and Long-term Survival

Editors: Marie Emanuelsson, Ella Johansson & Ann-Kristin Ekman

Reports Department of Urban and Rural Development · no 6/2008

Rural **Development** Landscape **Architecture** Environmental **Communication** Swedish **EIA** Centre

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An introduction to a study of peripheries

Ella Johansson

In discussions about resources, prosperity, work and rights, Sweden is usually described in contradictory terms as both centre and periphery, both as a ‘model’ of a successful industrial and welfare state and as an exceptional extreme – an almost non-European country, thinly populated with ‘unspoiled nature’. Sweden has long traditions as an organised and strong state, as well as of local self-governance. During the 20th century, there were powerful tendencies towards centralization, economies of scale, and concentration of resources. The strength of the centre was regarded as a support for the periphery. In today’s Sweden, as in the European Union, there are peripheral areas suffering serious depopulation and recession, while other rural areas manage very well by their own efforts. Recent research has shed constructive light on the conditions of the periphery, and pointed at the strength of networks, beyond the concentration on centres.

In today’s negotiations about resources and political strategies, in confrontations between perceptions of rights and welfare system, between different civil traditions and local political systems, there is cause to believe that these differences to some extent are encounters between different long lines and traditions. Bygone societies in peripheral areas have had an economic, social, and cultural structure that differed in crucial respects from e.g. the rural centres in Western Europe, with their focus on tillage. People were unable to make a living from one single livelihood, instead exploiting many different niches. A nuanced scholarly articulation of the cultural character and distinctiveness of peripheries and forest districts, in a comparative European and global perspective, can be of great significance for sustainable development.

This publication is the outcome of the multidisciplinary conference *Peripheral Communities: Crisis, Continuity and Long-Term Survival*, which took place in the small Swedish village Ängersjö in August 14–17, 2003. Scholars studying social, ecological, cultural and economic aspects of peripheral communities from pre-historic to modern times gathered in order to create a comparative perspective

on life in peripheries from a wide range of research perspectives. Some of the contributions focuses on forest communities in northern Sweden, but studies of various kinds of peripheral communities from different parts of the world as well as for various times form a substantial part of the book.

The economies of local communities in peripheries are in many cases characterised by complexity, with multiple uses of resources and territories. This is often matched by a flexibility and variety in human skills and abilities, in terms of technology and the organisation of co-operation. Many peripheral communities have developed particular skills in managing relations with the centres, with the market and with the state. Economic and social organisation, cultural identities and value systems of such communities seem connected to a certain readiness to adapt to changing conditions, changes that may originate from internal relations of these communities as well as from external factors. The ability to adapt, however, can be combined with quite strong traditional strains within local culture and lifestyle.

The conference hosts: a village and a research project

Host of the conference was the interdisciplinary research project *Flexibility as Tradition: Culture and Subsistence in the Boreal Forests of Northern Sweden*, funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation 1998–2002. The project has studied the flexible, composite, and changeable character of economic activities and resource utilization in the forest districts over a long temporal perspective.

The inhabitants of the village of Ängersjö in Northern Sweden were the original initiators of the project. In Ängersjö, a revitalized village association has built and is running an impressive open-air museum of the logging era. They have also gathered a local history archive. An archaeological research project has worked for several years excavating medieval blast furnaces and – an up till then unknown type of – ‘old foundations’, as well as surveying remains of forestry and forest culture from historical times. One result of contacts with the academic world was that the village association in 1994 initiated and organized a multidisciplinary research conference, which was the impetus for the project *Flexibility as tradition*¹. The village provided a field station and seminar premises for the project meetings.

1 The scholars in the project represent the areas of Forest Vegetation Ecology, Archaeology, Medieval Archaeology, History, Economic History, Human Geography, European Ethnology and Social Anthropology. In all, 15 researchers including Ph.D. students are involved in the research that comprises 11 specified sub-projects. The members represent the universities of Stockholm, Lund, Uppsala, and Umeå, the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences at Uppsala and Umeå, Högskolan Dalarna and the National Heritage Board. Head of the project is Ella Johansson.

Members of the project have met in Ängersjö two or three times a year in the form of seminars lasting several days. With an emphasis on micro-historical methodology and a comparative ambition, one focus was on Ängersjö. Studies were also conducted in surrounding districts, with comparative glances at other peripheries and forest regions, via scholarly contacts in Sweden, Scandinavia, and other European countries. Researchers from vegetation ecology, archaeology and anthropology did fieldwork and carried out research there for longer periods. During the working seminars in Ängersjö, there was experimental development of the interdisciplinary method. The results of the project have been presented in ca 200 publications including monographs, collections of articles or separate articles in scholarly journals. Seven doctoral dissertations are among the results of the project.

The parish of Ängersjö is a small community with ca 80 inhabitants in two villages. The border parish between the districts of Hälsingland and Härjedalen was formerly the border between Sweden and Norway. Through time, the inhabitants have had to handle numerous structural and economic crises. Alongside animal husbandry, there was large-scale, low technology iron production in the region, even after 1645 when Sweden's annexation of Härjedalen officially stopped this industry. In practice it remained an important contribution to the household economy until the start of the 19th century. The peasant community was versatile and mobile, with pursuits such as stockbreeding and long-distance trade. From the mid-19th century, the timber industry led to thoroughgoing changes with a vigorous economic upturn, but also with pauperisation and heavy population growth.

One part of the project has focused on the understanding of the prehistoric, medieval and pre-industrial eras up to the 18th century. The main emphasis, however, has been on how the forest communities handled two periods with a powerful pressure for change. The first is the expansive boom time when the forest industry was built up from the mid-19th century. The second period of focus is during the years of crisis and stagnation in the latter half of the 20th century. This era began with the rationalization of agriculture and the mechanization of the forest industry, and is today a part of post-industrial society. What was the meaning, e.g., of the forest districts' supposedly egalitarian social structure when it encountered technological, economic and social transformation during the 19th century? Have any of these patterns survived in post-industrial society?

In forest districts, the crucial economic resource tends to be the human capital, the work of men and women and not e.g. arable land. The *outlands* and the various forms for their use are key factors in the flexible economy and are also important in social and cultural practices. The need for labour favours the development of horizontal and integrative relations. The so-called equality or egalitarianism ascri-

bed to Northern Sweden must be qualified, however. Social attitudes seem to have contained both peaceful conflict-avoiding coexistence and a large measure of competition and rivalry. From the Medieval period up to the 17th and 18th centuries, one can see a great many conflicts, both within and between local communities, based on people's perception that their own environment was threatened and their resources limited. This seems to continue in new ways into the logging period, with its complex dynamics between, on the one hand, social stratification and conflict and, on the other hand, local cohesion. *The local dynamics*, the local political culture and organizational system, the formal and informal relations between households, and the potential for sustainable adaptation and change within this dynamic are central themes to consider in peripheral communities.

For most of the 20th century, the district suffered depopulation and unemployment because of the rationalization of agriculture and the mechanization of forestry. People have tried with various strategies to adapt to post-industrial society, yet many continue to find it difficult to earn a living. Tourism and computer technology are important breakthroughs for some of the communities in Härjedalen, while more isolationist strategies can be detected in other places.

Ways of life in peripheries, perspectives from 'the Ängersjö project'

The aim of the project *Flexibility as Tradition* was to investigate links between economic success and locally developed traditions or patterns of culture, and to study how these links were maintained or changed over time, up to the present. Some of the ideas, assumptions and results of the hosting project is presented in the following. The aim is to give a background to the conference's themes. Thus, the specific empirical findings and result of 'the Ängersjö project' shall not be elaborated here.

The distance from and avoidance of the exercise of central power and the focus on a local, informal economy may be said to be a lasting feature of the life in peripheries. The attempts by the state to collect taxes and pursue its economic policy in Northern Sweden led to reorganization and institutional changes, which tested the local economic strategies. The distance and avoidance that characterized relations with the state however, did not mean isolation or sluggishness in an economic sense. On the contrary, the traditions of versatility, mobility and trading led to a heavy involvement in markets at different levels. The relation between *internal and external*, that is, how the interaction with the state and the market influenced local resource utilization, social organization and cultural values could be an important theme in the study of peripheral communities.

A dichotomy is often made between, on the one hand, a static peasant culture with a world-view in which there was no room for growth, change, and individual initiative, and on the other hand, a modern capitalist culture. This model does not simply apply to the way of life in the forests. In historical times, many economic pursuits and various forms of 'entrepreneurship' characterized the forest districts of the Norrland interior. This developed relatively informal and egalitarian internal reciprocal systems as well as external contact networks over large distances. In relation to arable land and population, the forests and other outlands may be said to have been almost inexhaustible resources, with a 'buffer' function in the local economic and social system. Ultimately, peripheries gives us an opportunity for critical testing of established ideas and theories about differences between peasant communities and those based on a market economy and between what is usually described as traditional and modern mentality.

The study of versatility and adaptation – economic, social, and cultural – should also concern the limits to flexibility. Questions about continuity, the significance of long lines and traditions, and the stable features of the local community (for better or worse) make it crucial to focus also on historical failures, setbacks, and misjudgements. The *flexibility* of resource utilization and patterns of supply seems to be associated with traits of strong *continuity* in ways of life.

When viewed from their best sides, peripheries have developed cultures based on all-round knowledge and open systems. Knowledge of the distinctive features of the forest districts and the peripheries is also relevant today, since cultural features can be productive resources for regional vitality and development. Knowledge of the latter presupposes a deep temporal perspective, including surveying and understanding the situations before the agrarian and industrial transformations.

The conference

The conference was multidisciplinary with contributions ranging from environmental sciences to humanities and social sciences. Historical as well as contemporary studies presented were carried out in the form of micro-level methods of specific peripheral communities while other contributions carried out comparisons in time or in space or submitted theoretical reflections on the nature of peripheral communities. Through historic and geographic comparisons, we hope that the conference papers will shed light on common characteristics as well as on significant differences.

Central themes of the conference, as lined out in the call for papers, were:

- Resource management in peripheries
- Ecology – technology – local knowledge
- Social organisation – property relations, inheritance patterns and gender
- Socio-economic strategies in internal and external relations
- Motives to live/stay in peripheral communities
- History and culture – an asset and/or a drawback
- Local political culture and the public sphere
- Conflict resolution – the use of legal and local systems
- Value systems and traditions
- Relations to state and market
- Diaspora, collaborative communities and networks

Of ca 65 participants at the conference, three fourths were from Sweden; the rest of the participants were equally from Scandinavia and other countries. Scholars were presenting 25 papers during seven workshop sessions, of which almost all papers are printed in this volume. The papers are edited according to four themes: Traditions, value systems and modernity in local communities; Changing markets and the space of authority; Social relations, identity and lifecycles; Resource management, settlement and ownership. However, this volume opens with the papers of the three keynote speakers: Sandra Wallman, Stig Welinder and Ulf Jansson.

The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and the Municipality of Härjedalen were sponsors of the conference. The Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation has also funded this publication.

Keynote lectures at the conference

Boundaries and continuity: Reflections on some muddles in the models

Sandra Wallman

The Early Medieval aristocracy and market, outlying land and deserted farms
in Jämtland

Stig Welinder

Flexibility in peripheral communities: An asset or a brake?

Ulf Jonsson

Boundaries and continuity: Reflections on some muddles in the models

Sandra Wallman

The puzzle of Ängersjö is its continuity. Most places like it – superficially like it – have been swept away by industrialisation, out-migration, globalisation... But this tiny rural settlement, miles from anywhere and with no special natural resources has remained vital, identifiable, autonomous over centuries. How come Ängersjö has not died off? Any one of the massive changes of the last century might have seen the end of it, but did not. What is the key to its persistence?

Of course I have no simple answer to the question. My contribution to the discussion of it is some ideas based on fieldwork I have done in other places. Two of the cases are rural, relatively poor communities – one, in Lesotho, a small mountain enclave surrounded by the Republic of South Africa; the other in Bellino, a remote, again mountainous settlement on the border that divides Italy from France. The third case is an urban composite, built on a sequence of studies carried out in London and Turin¹.

This paper provides only a small taste of each of these places; making one argument out of several bodies of work means losing surface detail. To compensate, it puts more than usual emphasis on the thinking behind the observations.

First thing to note: the Lesotho and Alpine studies were called ‘development studies’. They happened many years ago, when our expectations were blindly optimistic. Any poor enclave, we then thought, could and would ‘develop’ along a predictable route to ‘progress’, specifically defined in those days in terms of material advance. The challenge for me in both cases was their *non-development*: my job was to account for *non-change*, – and non-change, given a positive instead of a negative gloss, is none other than *continuity*...

1 Fieldwork in Kampala, Uganda, formed an intermediate stage of the sequence, but lacking space here I have left it out. For further direct reference to the issues raised in this paper, see Wallman 1996.

Second thing to note: the London/Turin studies can be lumped together as ‘urban’, based on their common city-ness, or distinguished by research questions which pair them to the rural examples in different ways. The Lesotho and Turin projects have in common a focus on migration; Bellino has the pattern of overlaid boundaries which distinguishes the Bow half of the London project from its Battersea counterpart. Cut one way, there is one set of comparative insights to be gained, cut the other way, another. I am not shy of using city-based insight to explore village issues. The rural-urban divide that once was used to classify what anthropologists did, and how the world was, has had its time – eclipsed by notions of global-local, centre-periphery, and the like.

It is common, healthy even, for perspectives to change like this, and the very normality of the shift is crucial to what I want to say. Each perspective shows the same reality, but through a different lens; each lens puts the focus on some elements and blurs others. In this sense, one perspective is not more right or more wrong than another, only more or less useful in clarifying what the observer-analyst is trying to understand. The trick is to be clear what that is from the start. Once I know what it is I want to know, I can begin to polish the available lenses, to try them stacked up in different ways and, if necessary, to grind a few new ones so that the chaos of detail in the picture can be made intelligible.

The lens analogy is handy because opticians act it out in real sequence every time they fit a pair of glasses. The equivalent abstract outcome is an analytic model which lets you see through the mist of surface detail to the logic underneath. I have made a model of local systems which may help to make the conundrum of Ångersjö intelligible, but – and this is the third thing to note – it is only to think with, for seeing some things *better*, not for seeing everything perfectly.

A social science version of perfect vision cannot be feasible: it is simply not possible to hold the whole optical chart of a complex reality in one mind’s eye. But we have some general assumptions to lean on. In this work I lean heavily on the idea that each local setting provides a framework of options which put at least an outer limit on how people living in it can get by. They may ‘choose’, in some sense, among the options offered, but they cannot take up options which are not there. One starting assumption therefore, is that the possibilities for livelihood are enhanced and limited by the ‘capability’ of the place itself (Wallman 1997).

Another crucial assumption here is that social settings are also social *systems*, made up of arenas of interaction and opportunity which operate as sub-systems of the whole. These interconnections explain why actions rarely achieve exactly the results the actor intended. The meaning of an action, a relationship or a resource is dependent on other-things-happening and will change when they change. Anthropologists describe these transformations in terms of context shift.

The essential thing about a system is not the number of variables it contains, but the connections or ‘feedback loops’ between them. The trick is to uncover the dynamic behind a mass of surface detail; anthropologists look for patterns and connections that will make sense out of people behaving all over the place. So do the best of planners. In a classic essay, Jane Jacobs (1961) describes the problems of a local setting as *problems of organised complexity*. Key to them, she says, is not that the number of variables is moderate – ‘more than two, less than a million’ – but that they are *interrelated*. The problems of the system, like the system itself, are decided by the nature of relationships holding it together (Wallman 1985, 2001).

I became consciously aware of this truth only after I started working in cities – on cities. Looking back on the Lesotho and Bellino studies from this standpoint, it is blindingly obvious to me that their non-development was ‘about’ relations within and between complex systems. If I knew it also then, the knowledge was implicit, masked by the lens of assumptions about structure. The new lens is an equilibrium model; changing the lens necessarily changes the picture. My aim here is to convey both changes and to relate them to the conundrum of Ångersjö.

So: the first two cases are rural isolates, economically limited, surviving but not ‘successful’ – at least not where betterment is an objective. Each has changed in small ways since ‘traditional’ times, but neither has abandoned its apparently stubborn backwardness². Different explanations apply in the two cases.

Lesotho

Lesotho is 12,000 square miles of mountainous land enclosed by the Republic of South Africa. Less than a third of it can be cultivated; 70% of its 800,000 people live in the lowland third of the country. At any one time, nearly half the men and increasing numbers of women are away working over the border. Poor farming practices are made worse by soil erosion, population pressure and labour shortage; parts of the country are both over-populated and under-peopled... *Too many mouths to feed; too few hands to work* (Wallman 1969, 1977a).

The national economy is only half the story of Lesotho’s ‘non-development’. Just as importantly it is the effect of a package of factors which discourage a person from improving conditions in his home village, or co-operating with any development agent who sets out to plan or implement change on his behalf.

2 The ethnographic present in Lesotho is mid-1960s; in Bellino 1972–1974. The actual present is not addressed here, but I have seen that change occurring since fieldwork has not altered the essential character of either.

I call this a *non-development syndrome*. The preconditions of it are –

- a poor and entirely rural domestic economy;
- a geographic position next to or near to a thriving industrial complex;
- an established pattern of temporary migration to the city.

Given these conditions, the non-development syndrome creates a vicious circle in which *Poverty*, *Migration* and *Ideology* feed on and sustain each other (Figure 1).

Each of the factors impeding change can be grouped under one or other heading. *Poverty* results from the absence of any necessary economic resource; and each shortage compounds the next. There is not space to review them in detail here, but even a straight list is suggestive. Land, strength, seed, food, money, employment, time... The last is crucial: at subsistence level the business of survival so fills the day that innovation can be ruled out for lack of time alone. A woman spends half the day grinding maize for the evening meal; for each bucket of water she walks maybe thirty minutes to a spring and another thirty back. Multiply this by the number of bucketsful her household needs and much of the day is gone.

Migration follows the poverty and exacerbates it. Certainly the peasant injects cash into the village when he works away, but he takes his strength over the border with him and makes *that* shortage worse. The absence of so many men makes family life impossible, and disrupts gender divisions of labour and social organisation.

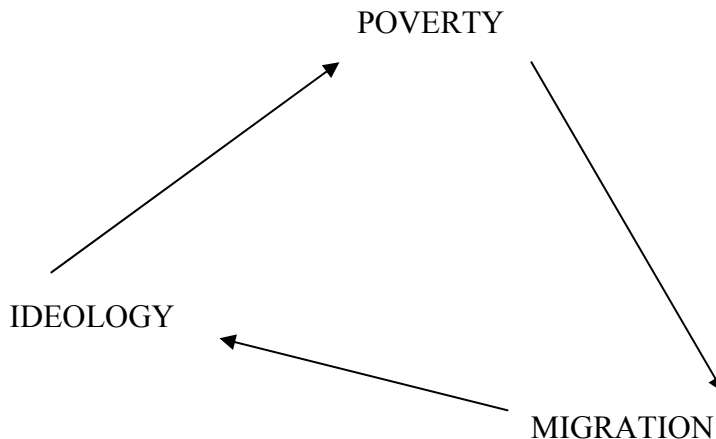


Figure 1. Non-development in Lesotho

Individual migration also impinges on village life by its effect on the dominant *ideology*. This shows up in consumer preferences. Repeated exposure to the city experience – bright lights, industrial efficiency, consumer goods and diversions – gives the migrant the tastes of a fulltime urbanite. *Semate* [smart] is the term of praise for anyone conforming to urban style or anything bought in South Africa. A good part of the most meagre household budget is spent on this value. It is not unusual for even large pieces of furniture to be carted hundreds of miles home by bus, train or pony when the equivalent can be bought more easily and for less money at the local store.

Semate is the aspirational ideal. But if the occasional outfit or household item makes the grade, the village world and the country fall a long way short. There is no objective measure of the tensions generated by this gap, but as a stranger to Sesotho and to Basuto village life, I was struck by the number of times certain words came up in conversation. On that evidence, it seems villagers spend their time visiting, feeling ill, resting or looking for work [*ke chaketse, kea kula, ke phomotse, ke batla mosebetsi*].

What they say is in striking contradiction to what they do about the practical realities of survival, but small illnesses and aches and pains are endlessly discussed, and precious cash is squandered on patent medicines and visits to healers of every sort. Aimless visiting is also common. A woman spends four shillings on a return bus ticket to town, a further two shillings when she gets there, and then speaks of the bus ride itself as the visit. A man walks miles to visit a village-in-general, only to wander about when he gets there – ‘in case something is happening’. Women may visit each other ‘only to gossip’; for men a supply of beer [*joala*] is decisive. Some spike it with spirit recipes invented in Johannesburg and pass their lives in a perpetual drunken lethargy. This can be hard to distinguish from mental illness or the vague depression that allows one to sit doing nothing, staring at the horizon. Similarly it can look like ‘resting’ [*ho phomola*] which simply means that, for some reason outside myself, I have no work – exactly as actors talk or ‘resting’ between contracts. Fundamentally, the lack of paid work and the nagging need for it [*ho batla mosebetsi*] are the overriding preoccupations of lowland villagers and they absorb the energy of many. Listen to one man’s view:

...The ruling here is not like other countries; here there are no jobs. Here, to buy a blanket only, I must go to Johannesburg.” This desperate dependence was felt more sharply when the South Africans closed the border (July 1963). “We used to go to the Whites when we needed anything. Now they have closed the gate. They say we must go to our own country. But there are no jobs in this country, I see no work between here and the grave...

It is risky to tread psychological ground, but I am sure that non-development is as much about the way people *feel* – about themselves and about their home – as it is about the facts of material shortage. The Basuto are not refusing change because they like the way things are, but because they do not believe it can happen in the form they want. Hence the continuity of non-development, Lesotho style.

Bellino

The non-development and the continuity of Bellino have a different logic, but maybe only because I looked at it through a different lens. In this case the focus was on the way Bellinesi deal with their resources, boundary among them. In Bellino non-development happens because the preservation of boundary is given priority over material improvement. This is not the expected trend: similar places, including the neighbouring Chianale, opt instead for change. Bellino's non-development, as I see it, springs from the peculiar character of the boundary itself (Wallman 1977b, 2002).

The setting is relevant. The River Varaita rises on the Italian side of the western Alps. It has two sources which join at a fork some few miles from the top of the valley. The two streams form two short valleys, Bellino Valley and Chianale Valley. They are separated by a ridge of mountains, and mutually accessible through a modernised small town, Casteldelfino, at the apex of the 'V'. Differences between this lower *commune* and the upper two make sense; but on the face of it, the contrast between Bellino and Chianale does not.

Chianale is a typical alpine resort. The traditional stone houses are swamped by rectangular holiday villas, concrete-block apartment buildings, bars, restaurants, *pensioni*; neon signs. Commercial ski lifts run up either side of the valley for those who wish to enjoy the view from the tavern at the top or a smooth ski run to the bottom. There is a regular stream of visitors, winter and summer, and a public parking lot for their cars.

But little of this touristic enterprise pertains to native Chianale people. The majority have moved to the lowlands. Only a handful of its active residents are fulltime mountain-dwellers. There is no resident priest and no school; the three children remaining must go to school in Casteldelfino.

By contrast, Bellino's energy is quite traditional. It has two two-room primary schools and a full-time priest. There is one small local-family hotel and a sizable accretion of people in the summer vacations, but most are kin or affines of Bellinesi. The condition of many houses is original; in winter their residents

depend for warmth on keeping cows in the basement stalls. The sale of calves is the locally most important source of cash income.

In more abstract boundary terms, six things define Bellino: territory; language; a dual family naming system; a dispersed population that still belongs; unchanged patterns of economy and lifestyle. Units based on them are not congruent, but they work as single system which is almost impervious to change. The overlapping but not coextensive shapes of Figure 2 make a model which demonstrates its logic.³

In all, the notion of redundancy is suggestive. In the idiom of communication, so many criteria of inclusion within a system constitute as many 'messages'. If one message goes astray or is distorted, an alternative version gets 'transmitted'; if one boundary is threatened or breached, the system compensates on another level.

Hence Bellinesi use territoriality *and* ethnicity *and* economic and symbolic identifications as criteria of Bellinese-ness, varying them to fit particular contexts, but consistently to the end of maintaining the boundary. Bellino is a clear case in which the redundancy of boundary 'messages' accounts for the stubborn durability of the system being bounded. This non-development is continuity – Bellino style.

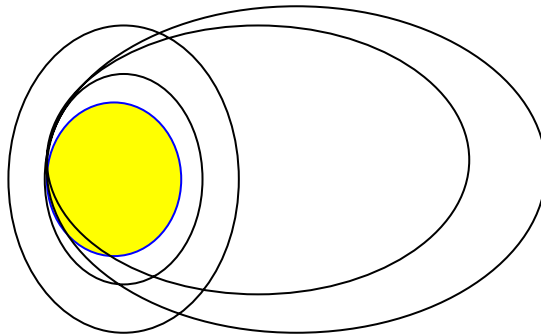


Figure 2. Bellino's boundaries

3 Details of its parts are given in Wallman 1997.

The London project

The London project involved comparison of two urban neighbourhoods, one in Battersea, in south London, one in Bow, in the East End. By categorical measures on the ground, the areas were similar – both (then)⁴ low income working class with a sprinkling of gentry and a visible ethnic mix. But on the basis of historic and economic review of the two boroughs, and the ethnographic study of one neighbourhood in each, we found them to have very different economic patterns and very different ways of defining outsiders.

The comparison unrolled in phases over a handful of years. In the first phase, ten dimensions of city-ness were mapped and analysed in Battersea; in the second, we did exactly the same in Bow. Phase three produced the first explicit version of my model – an ideal type opposition between open and closed systems. It is built on assumptions about a dynamic logic behind the surface differences between Battersea and Bow.

Research found ten points of consistent sharp contrast between the two areas: industrial structure; industrial type; employment opportunities; travel to work patterns; travel facilities; labour movement; housing; gatekeepers; criteria for membership; and political traditions (Wallman 1985, 1996). Again in this case, for modelling purposes, the details of each measure are less important than their outcome, which is to give the two areas exactly opposite styles. Battersea as a system is heterogeneous and open, Bow is homogeneous and closed. This shows up when the two areas are visualised as different kinds of boundary system.

In Figure 3, Type A is open, heterogeneous, and adaptable; Type B (relative to it) is closed, homogeneous, and inflexible. The Battersea (Type A) structure is open because there is no neat overlap of the rings or the domains they represent, and incomers (represented in the figure by the two arrows) need cross only one boundary to enter the local system. In practical terms, Type A systems are (relatively) easier for incomers to make a home in; access to (say) housing confers the right to local status – and largely without reference to their ethnic etc. characteristics.

By contrast, in the Bow (Type B) structure, the domains overlap more tightly and entry is much more difficult. Local residents tend to work locally in closely bounded groups, and the control of information about jobs, housing etc. will tend also to control access to other resources. In this case, *all* the boundaries will have to be breached by an incomer aspiring to get ‘in’.

4 The ethnographic present refers here to the period 1975–1985.

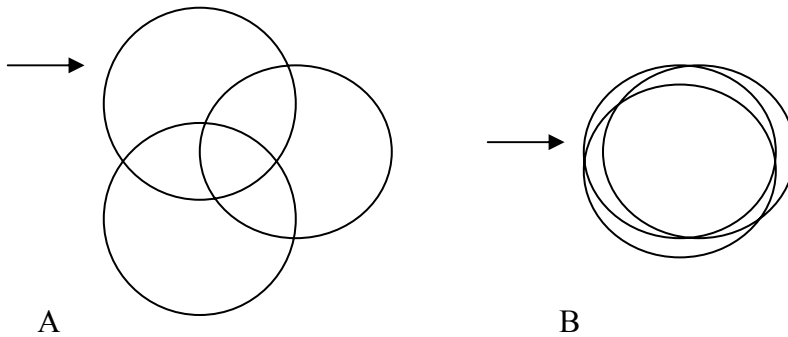


Figure 3. Open versus closed boundary systems

This Type B recalls Bellino, where the boundaries of territory, kinship, work etc. are almost as neatly overlaid. Suddenly Bellino looks very Bow-like: and it too makes more sense in comparison with a Type A Battersea example than by itself.

The same is true for the network effect of these boundary patterns (Figure 4), where the contrast shows up two further essentials of Type A. One is the core of overlap at the heart of the local system; open-ness notwithstanding, it has a strong *localist* identity. The other is that most people have connections (also) outside that core. Because their ties spread wider, they are better able to pull in outside resources when the need arises (Granovetter 1974). Type A has greater resilience and flexibility as a result.

Type B in contrast shows a tightly bounded community and also the constraints of cosiness. When local resource domains overlap, the likelihood of connection with the wider outside and of adaptability within are more limited. By the same token, social relationships tend to be more multiplex and focused in discrete groups; the person you work with is also your neighbour and very likely also a kinsman. Rural isolates, dockyards and mining communities are all stereotypical Type B; they have in common a rather *ethnic* flavour – even when not ethnically based – and less flexibility than the Type A counterpart.

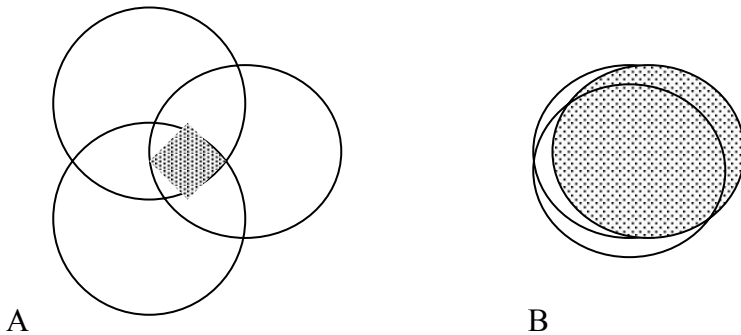


Figure 4. Open versus closed network effect

The difference is to do with patterns of relationships which account for local style without themselves being visible. This means that two settings with similar population mix and similar resources may react to change or intervention in very different ways. Whether the conditions giving rise to them are based in history, topography, industrial structure and/or policy, the logic of social boundaries will be consistent. On that evidence, I predict that A- and B-type systems deal with the shock of change (Toffler 1970) and the problem of continuity in different ways.

But this is only a model. The serious question remains: does it have *general* value? Can the model be transposed? There is a caveat from Edmund Leach: “The (models) which the anthropologist describes... exist only as logical constructions in his own mind. (It is) difficult to relate such abstractions to the data of empirical fieldwork” (Leach 1954: 5).

Sure enough: I carried the model in my head to Turin, expecting the evidence would let me classify *that* local system as open or closed, at an A or B extreme, or at some point in between – but it fit nowhere on the open/closed scale. Nothing for it, but back to the drawing board and a new lens, a revised model to do a better job.

The Turin project

The Turin study was conducted in Porta Palazzo area in the historic centre. One of the largest open market spaces in Europe, it is the locus of Turin’s vibrant informal economy and has ‘always’ been the reception area for in-migrants to the city – in the 1950s for southern Italians, lately for *extra-communitari* from Africa and Eastern Europe.

Italian residents are mostly of long-standing, but a good proportion of them are migrants or the children of migrants from the south. Important new migrant groups, by *categorical* measures of race and number, are Albanian, Chinese, Moroccan and Nigerian. Each gets by and connects with others in its own way. Their variable irritant value is an effect of *relational* differences. These stem from demography as well as culture. Each group has a typical age profile and household form: the Italians are remnant elderly; the Chinese whole families; Moroccans and Nigerians live in groups of young single people, with more women among the latter. Sex ratios have stayed consistent for a decade: data for two small census units show increases in total numbers, but little change in the group profiles (Provincia di Torino 1999). Housing is shabby and scarce; intra-ethnic exploitation is common local practice.

Against these continuities, there has been drastic economic and social change. The downsizing of FIAT's Turin operation has reduced local options for formal employment. The consequent growth of the informal economy has changed patterns of exchange and competition among the various groups.

Another source of disruption is a massive regeneration scheme. Following years of neglect, city and EU money has been made available for restoring or replacing buildings in the Porta Palazzo area and for digging a large underpass to carry city traffic under rather than through the square. The amenity value of this is obvious: the area is more open, its magnificent architecture has come back into focus, and property values have risen.

But the social aims and effects of the regeneration are more complex. Like economic restructuring, regeneration changes the balance between groups. Cultural diversity features in Turin's bid to host the winter Olympics in 2006, but 'the immigrant presence' is to be made cleaner, safer; in all respects 'sanitised'. Demolishing buildings begins to get rid of 'secret' spaces and the criminal activities once hidden in them; the authorities' presence is more marked; market space is more heavily regulated. Equally, these changes eat away at the *desirable* diversity of the area. Higher rents price out ethnic shops and push low income migrant families to move somewhere cheaper with their children.

So: how is *this* local system to be classified?

Classification

In any classification process, hunches about which differences make a difference between one type of system and another must be made explicit; then the typology can be spelt out, tested and generalised. This sounds simpler than it is. Leach again: "Although the ideal types are distinct, the practical types overlap" (Leach 1954: 286).

At first thought, the description of Porta Palazzo implies open-ness and heterogeneity – an A-type (Battersea) system. But what about all those separate and homogeneous ethnic groups? On second thought, Porta Palazzo is both A *and* not-A; there is no either/or about it. The ideal type boundaries have gone fuzzy. Fuzziness, however, has its own logic and is closer to the real world (Kosko 1994). Ambiguity can be visualised, even if the picture must be more chaotic than systematic. In Figure 5, Porta Palazzo is imaged as a cluster of disaggregated B-type circles.

Note that not all the miniature B-type subsystems are free-standing. Some just touch, colliding but not relating others overlap. There is no regularity. Without it, how to uncover order behind the mess? What *is* going on here?

Perhaps the system and its sub-systems have, and will maintain, opposite styles – i.e. homogeneous Type B circles inside a heterogeneous Type A whole. Or maybe it is a nascent form of Type A, made chaotic by the disruptions of regeneration, but now moving *systematically* away from entropy towards organisation.

It is in the interest of all parties that Porta Palazzo should avoid the extremes of pre-A chaos or multiple-B-type inertia. But the outcome of anybody's planning depends on the logical-but-invisible dynamic driving what happens next – on the system's emergent properties. How can we know this? Can it be made plain?

As a start, my model needs to make space for a third type. On the London based A:B continuum, Porta Palazzo is frankly off-scale – beyond A and yet not B. Extending the scale to include it makes the 'chaos' intelligible; now it has a position at the open extreme of the continuum (Figure 6). Bow still represents the closed end ideal type, but Battersea now sits at the equilibrium mid-point of the scale (the vertical line on Figure 6). With this change the significance of openness held together by a localist central core comes into focus.

This version sustains the idea that it is relations among component parts, not simply the nature of the parts themselves, which make a local system and can be used to distinguish one type from another. More important, it suggests hypotheses about the complexity of continuity.

First, there are two kinds of continuity. One, on the right hand closed extreme looks unchanging and is achieved through inertia – 'non-development' in the Lesotho and Bellino examples, tightly bounded homogeneity in Bow.⁵ The other, in the centre of the figure, combines closed and open in manner of the old type-A. Its boundaries overlap to form a core of inter-relatedness at the heart of

5 Jacobs does not recognise this as continuity at all. For her, homogeneity makes for apathy, and apathy 'kills' the vitality of the system (Jacobs 1961).

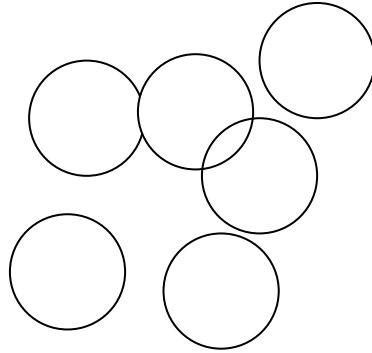


Figure 5. Porta Palazzo system?

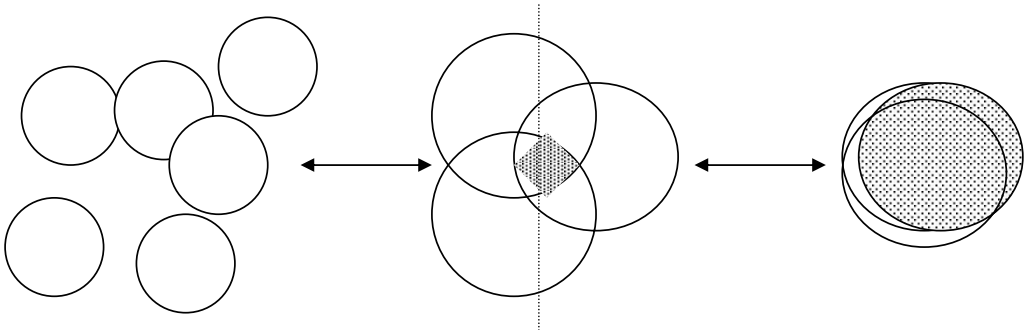


Figure 6. The model revised

the open system and give it a Battersea-style continuity that is both steady and progressive. Open-ness without this core is unstable and discontinuous – Porta Palazzo in effect.

Second, the local system is a dynamic process with its own logic. It tends always towards equilibrium – a balance between stasis and chaos. Thus even ‘chaotically’ complex open systems tend towards organisation, not outwards towards entropy: change for them is a move towards the centre and continuous equilibrium.

But third, given the fluidity of systems, equilibrium is only a *moment*, not a fixed position. It happens when all the necessary elements are in balance, but is always delicate. Leach says the delicacy of the equilibrium moment is essential to it (Leach 1954: 6, 291).

Conclusion

So much for the models. Reality, of course, is not that neat; not *really* a coherent whole. On the contrary (here is Leach again), “the reality situation is in most cases full of inconsistencies...” No surprise there. But you may not expect his claim that they are – quote: “grounds for analytic optimism:... It is precisely these inconsistencies which can provide understanding of the processes of social change” (Leach 1954: 6). Because I continue to trust that he is right, I will venture a small conclusion about the continuity of Ängersjö.

My argument has been that continuity can be the effect of stasis or of balance. The *stasis version* is characteristic of closed systems which are conservative, tightly-bounded, exclusionary, and inflexible. Their inflexibility makes them extra vulnerable to economic, demographic or social shock: *A bough that cannot bend must break*.

The *balance version* of continuity is constantly in process – the system combines open and closed elements to keep it hovering around equilibrium. This version is characteristic of open systems with a strong localist core. The core sustains the identity of the system, even as the flexibility of its boundaries allows people to come and go, ideas to enter from outside and be integrated within.

My guess is that this describes the boundary system of Ängersjö. I do not know what special combination of personalities, policies and resources account for its traditional flexibility, but I do know it to be an effect of connections within the system. Continuity – or the lack of it – is not a simple accident of surface facts. In this perspective the rural-urban divide is not material: one setting can be compared to any other once both have been converted into model systems. Even more important, this tiny settlement can rank beside the big boys in a comparative typology project. In the matter of local systems, size too is beside the point.

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The Early Medieval aristocracy and market, outlying land and deserted farms in Jämtland

Stig Welinder

The idea

The latest decades have seen a change in the discussion of the Medieval and Early Modern rural landscape in Sweden within the disciplines of history and historical geography (Berg 1993, Bååth 1983, Widgren 1998). The focus, as concerns the numerous deserted farms, has turned towards the relation between the land-owning élite and its tenants. The presence of aristocratic landlords, and the emerging kingdoms and the expanding Catholic Church as landholders, are stressed in the discussion of structure and change in the landscape.

The Swedish discussion is part of an international one. Tina L. Thurston has outlined how the old villages in Denmark were restructured and how new hamlets were founded around AD 1000 (Thurston 1999). The background was new taxes and laws by the king and the tithes by the Church. In addition, there was a need for surplus-production within reasonable distances from towns and manor-seats. Dagfinn Skre has outlined how the aristocracy in south Norway ordered its unfree and half-free men to colonise and cultivate new crofts and farms, also in marginal areas (Skre 2001). A class of free, but dependant, tenants was created in contrast to continental serfdom.

Thus, climate and soil-processes are little seen in the Scandinavian debate on landscape history today. Paleoecology is of less interest than politics. I will try to apply the above ideas to the Jemtlandic landscape in the period c. 800-1500, especially to the understanding of the deserted farms. My discussion partly parallels Welinder 2002a with more extensive references.

The starting-point is the suggestion that there was an expansion of arable land in Jämtland in the period c. 1000-1200. The increase is indicated by the

number of radiocarbon datings of clearance incidents, that is, datings of charcoal underneath clearance-cairns and lynchets (Table 1). The inference is that the number of farms increased around 1000–1200.

Table 1. The number of radiocarbon datings of charcoal from clearance of arable land in Jämtlands län. Data from Jämtlands läns museum, Östersund.

Radiocarbon age AD	Number of datings
1200–1400	3
1000–1200	14
800–1000	1
600–800	3
400–600	1
200–400	
1–200	1

The presence of an élite

There is close to no historical documentation of the presence of an élite in Jämtland prior to the Late Middle Ages. The most well-known family of landlords is the Skånke family known from the 15th century, and possibly from the early 14th century (Brink 1996). However, it was a family with many members, some of whom were seated at traditional wealthy farms like Hov in Hackås parish and Västerhus at Frösön. It is reasonable that the family had its background at some of the conspicuous farms around Lake Storsjön in central Jämtland (Brink 1996). Other members of the aristocracy known from the 14th century seem to belong to Norwegian families that had established themselves as landlords in Jämtland after the inclusion of the province in the Norwegian kingdom in the 12th century (Hemmendorff 1991).

On the other hand, there is no obvious reason to believe that there was not an élite present in Jämtland during the Early Middle Ages. It is possibly seen as the power behind the building of the first wooden churches in the early 12th century and the first stone-churches in the very late 12th century (Hemmendorff 1996, Welinder 2003). One male member of the élite, Östman Gudfastson, boasted to have christianised Jämtland and had a bridge built, when he ordered the erection of a rune-stone to memorise the event in the late 11th century.

The élite is easily seen in the female and male display graves from the 10th and early 11th centuries over-viewing Lake Storsjön. These persons, for example, the family buried at Röstahammar in Ås parish, may have owned the *hov*-farms and the farms with names referring to the pagan gods that during the Late Iron Age formed a network around Lake Storsjön (Enberg & Welinder 2003, Vikstrand

1996, Welinder 2003). At these farms, the halls of the pagan cult and feasts were situated. At most of them, churches were built during the Early Medieval Period.

Thus, it is reasonable that aristocratic landowners were present, and were the backbone of the society, in Jämtland during the Late Iron Age and the Early Medieval Period.

State formation and the Catholic Church

During the decades around AD 1000 both the Norwegian and Swedish king tried to extract taxes from Jämtland, whatever that meant, according to the Icelandic saga on Olav den hellige. During the course of the 12th century, Jämtland turned a part of the Norwegian kingdom, finally in the wake of the battle at Sunne in 1178, when Sverre, the king to be, defeated the Jemtlandic aristocracy (Ahnlund 1948).

At about the same time as Jämtland turned part of a Christian kingdom, the province was integrated into the European Catholic Church as a part of the Swedish archiepiscopal see at Uppsala. The province, however, was in effect christianised no later than during the 11th century, when the last pagan burials were built around Lake Storsjön about 1030-1050. The above-mentioned rune-stone was erected around 1050-1080, thus perhaps signifying the organising activity of the aristocracy towards the end of the process (Welinder 2003).

Archaeologically, the Iron Age chieftains in Jämtland are seen in the display graves and in the hillfort at Frösön in use during the period 300-700 (Hemmen-dorff 1991). The Norwegian king and the Uppsala archbishop had stone churches and stone towers built around 1150-1250 to consolidate their power (Ekroll 1995, Welinder 2003).

Thus, one essential feature in Jemtlandic history during the period in question here is the relation between the Jemtlandic aristocracy and the surrounding expanding kingdoms, and the position of Jämtland in relation to the growing North-European market, which at the turn from the Iron Age to the Middle Ages increasingly turned from display goods to bulk goods.

Production in outlying land

The products that Jämtland could offer the international market, and that are archaeologically visible, were iron, elk antler and elk hide. After a first boom in the Bronze Age, the number of pit-falls in use was at its maximum in the period AD 600-1200 (Figure 1). New kinds of iron-furnaces were introduced around 1000. The production increased, especially after 1400, and it reached its maximum in the

period 1300-1600 (Figure 2, Welinder 2003).

Thus, the production in the outlying areas increased during the time of christianisation and state formation. The idea is that these processes are not only parallel in time, but also interdependent.

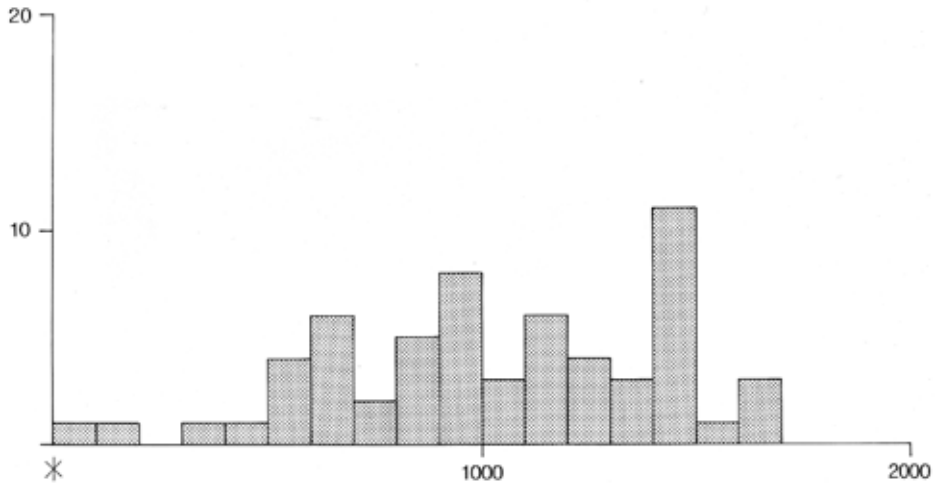


Figure 1. The number of radiocarbon dated pit-falls in Jämtlands län (radiocarbon age AD on the horizontal axis; modified from Welinder 2003)

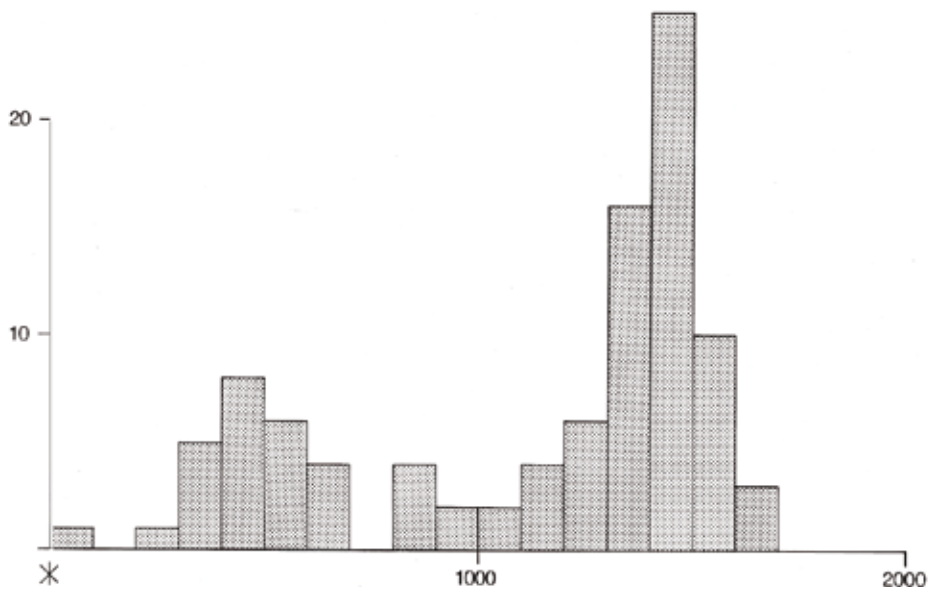


Figure 2. The number of radiocarbon dated iron-furnaces in Jämtlands län (radiocarbon age AD on the horizontal axis; modified from Welinder 2003)

Eisåsen and Svedäng

There are only two deserted farms that have been excavated and documented with fairly modern methods, Eisåsen (Welinder 2002a, 2002b) and Svedäng (Gauffin 1981). Thus, it is unknown if their history is the typical one, probably they are not (Figure 3).

Both Eisåsen and Svedäng were cleared around AD 1000–1100 according to the radiocarbon datings of a number of samples of clearance charcoal under the lynchets. At Eisåsen that meant a change from an extensive use of the area, possibly for grazing, to an intensive use, for manured barley-fields and hay-meadows. For Svedäng matters are less known.

Both farms were abandoned around 1400–1450. At Eisåsen that is suggested by a series of radiocarbon datings of bones from the household-garbage. As concerns Svedäng, it is suggested by a historical document on the ownership of the farm, and by a radiocarbon dating of the fireplace of the living-house. It is, of course, tempting to link the desertation of the farms to the Black Death and the subsequent pandemics of plague, c. 1350–1450.



Figure 3. Jämtlands län and the two most recently excavated deserted farms (from Welinder 2002a)

After the desertation both farms turned into outlying land, used for pasture and hay-production. That is, however, not unambiguously documented until the 17th or 18th centuries. Eisåsen was the *fåbod* (Eng. shieling, transhumance site) of the village Bingsta until about 1870.

The refuse-fauna at Eisåsen, radiocarbon dated to about 1250-1400, indicates the presence of a small stock of cattle and sheep, where young animals were regularly slaughtered in the autumn to regulate the number of creatures to be kept and fed during the winter. In addition, the hunting of elks, small fur-animals and a number of birds is documented, and fishing in nearby fresh-water lakes. A spear-head from Eisåsen is of the type used in pit-falls for elk. At Eisåsen elk bones are an obvious part of the refuse-fauna, 12 % (weight) of the mammal bones, while elk bones are absent at Svedäng.

The excavated living-houses and their contents of artefacts indicate the presence of one self-supporting household, reasonably a family, at each farm prior to the desertation. There are no evident indications of surplus-production or of activities that might have produced an obvious surplus to have left the farms. On the other hand, there is little to suggest the opposite. The households at the farms were involved in a broad-range subsistence-economy including the exploitation of resources of the outlying land, but there is little to indicate that these two farms were parts of a bulk-goods market.

The élite and the outlying farms

Few artefacts excavated at Eisåsen and Svedäng indicate that the farms interacted with other farms and were parts of networks linked to markets outside Jämtland. Or maybe, given the fact that there are only one and a half excavated living-house and a handful of artefacts of lost property all in all, the number is impressive. At Eisåsen there is a bronze finger-ring and some melted fragments of a copper-kettle; at Svedäng there is a potsherd of 14th or 15th century stoneware.

Consequently, the households bought or acquired things from outside the farms. There is, however, no indication that tenants lived at the farms or that the Jemtlandic élite was involved in the change from extensive to intensive use, and vice versa, of the land of the farms. It remains as an idea. Another test of the idea may be tried from the overview of the Eisåsen area and its total record of medieval sites (Figure 4).

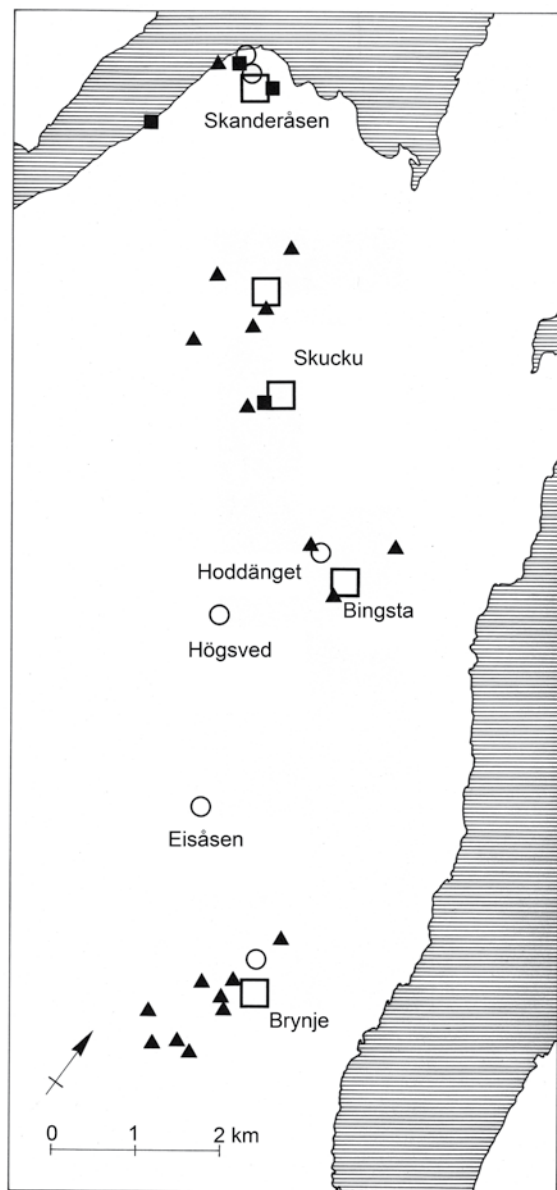


Figure 4. The area between the Lake Storsjön and the Lake Näkten in southern Jämtland. Open squares = medieval villages; open circles = deserted farms; black squares = Iron Age sites; black triangles = iron-production sites. Data from Jämtlands läns museum, Östersund

Between the Lake Storsjön and the Lake Näkten there are five medieval villages, some of them with a few deserted medieval fields. There are also two deserted farms, one of them being Eisåsen. The northern half of the area has an Iron Age burial-ground and some other Iron Age findings, and a presumably early *sta*-name; in the southern half, there are only sites from the Medieval Period. The difference is evident between the area cleared for farms during the Iron Age, generally AD 400-1000, and the area cleared during the Early Medieval expansion period, c. 1000-1200 (Table 1). Around all of the medieval villages, still in existence, there are iron-production sites. Around the two deserted farms there are not.

The majority of the iron-production sites in the southern part of Jämtland belongs to the period 1400-1600. The suggestion is that medieval households that did not start to produce iron around 1400 had to leave their farms. Possibly, they were ordered to do so by landlords, who wanted a decreasing population, due to the plague pandemics, to concentrate in a smaller number of farms, where they were engaged in surplus-production of iron for the market.

Certainly, there are no indications that the Jemtlandic élite was governing the above process. It may have been strategic planning by free farmers. Actually, there were few tenants in Jämtland during the 17th and 18th centuries, when matters are illuminated by informative historical documents.

Retrospect

An overview of about a third of all the recorded deserted farms in Jämtland shows that Eisåsen and Svedäng are not typical of the main number. A majority of the deserted farms were once situated very close to their nearest neighbour – actually with fences in common or less than 1.5 km away (Figure 5). The process of desertation during the 14th and 15th centuries was not hitting farms in marginal positions in the landscape. In contrast, most of the deserted farms were once situated in the same kind of positions as the farms that survived the medieval crisis.

The process of desertation was a process of restructuring all of the agricultural landscape in Jämtland. The suggestion is that in a period of population decrease and economic crisis the farms and households were reorganised according to new demands. According to the idea presented in the introduction, the suggestion is that this was done by the Jemtlandic élite: the aristocracy, possibly landlords, the Church, and – in the background – the Danish kingdom that was a new actor at the scene since the late 14th century.

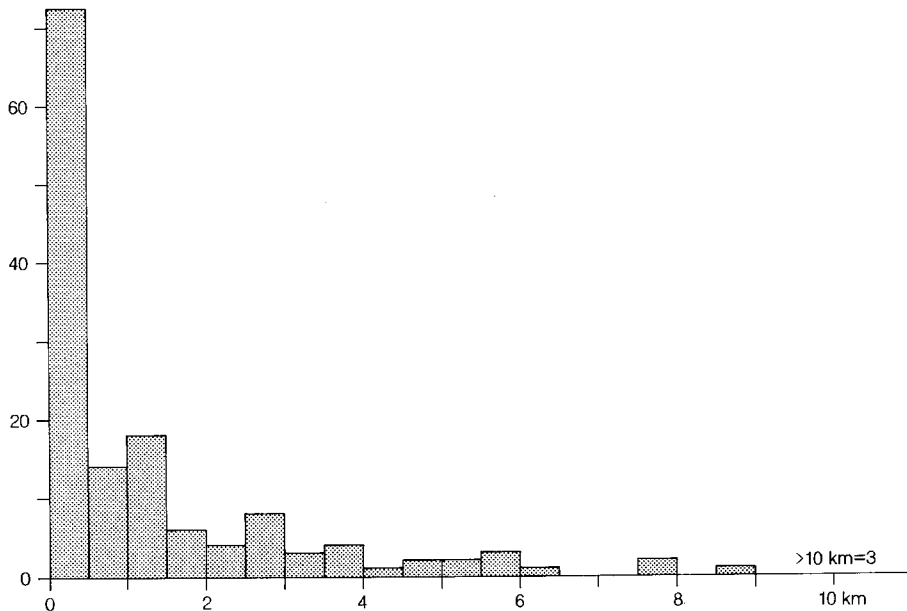


Figure 5. The distance from Jemtlandic deserted farms to farms that survived the medieval crisis (the number of deserted farms on the vertical axis; from Jonsson 1998)

The inference is a question: was the process of expansion and the organisation of surplus-production for the market during the Early Middle Ages, also, governed by the élite?

Power and flexibility

During a few centuries, around about AD 1000–1400, Eisåsen and Svedång were small farms with self-supporting households, situated in woodland. Their subsistence economy was based on a variety of resources in a way typical of households in outlying land. Other similar farms from the same time were more obviously involved in surplus-production of iron, elk-antlers and elk-hide, which can be archaeologically demonstrated.

In relation to the idea put forward in the introduction – and in relation to the conference topic – the question is, if these households in a flexible way changed the use of the outlying land from extensive to intensive use, and vice versa, in accordance with the overall economic situation and demands of the market. Further,

was this process dependent on knowledge and foresight by the households or was it governed by the power of the local élite in interaction with the élite of adjacent areas? Phrased in another way: were the households independent, flexible actors or were they dependent subjects?

There is little informative data from Jämtland for an in depth discussion of the questions, but there is an overall pattern. The number of farms and area of arable land increased during the Early Medieval Period, as did the iron-production and the number of pit-falls for elk. The number of farms decreased and there was a restructuring of the settlement pattern, possibly in relation to iron-production, around 1400–1500. In other parts of Scandinavia, similar patterns and processes were the results of the actions of the élite within the newly formed kingdoms and the growing Church (e.g. Berg 1993, Skre 2001, Thurston 1999, Widgren 1998).

My suggestion is that the broad-range economy and flexibility of the use of the outlying areas in Mid-Scandinavia, including Jämtland, were part of an overall market economy and dependent on the activities of regional and local élites. The flexibility of the households and the overall dynamic change were not anarchic structure and chaotic process. They were the power of the élite and the demands of the market.

A comment on Ängersjö

The pattern of radiocarbon datings of the clearance of arable land and iron-production furnaces at Ängersjö is in some respects similar to that of Eisåsen, in others it is not. My interpretation of the pattern at Ängersjö is the following one (Table 2).

Table 2. The number of radiocarbon datings of clearance of arable land and iron-production furnaces in Ängersjö, Hälsingland (Mogren 1996: Table 2; Stenqvist Millde 2002: Figur 7; cf. Johansson 2002: 13; Wennersten 2002: 69)

Radiocarbon age (calibrated AD/BC)	Clearance of arable land	Iron-production furnaces
1600–1700	3	
1500–1600	1	
1400–1500	3	4
1300–1400	1	1
1200–1300	3	
500–400 BC	1	

One dating is, like at Eisåsen, considerably older than the other ones. It is tempting and reasonable, like at Eisåsen, to relate that dating to the first faint indications of grazing and clearance of pasture within the inland of the village Ängersjö long before something village-like was in existence (cf. Karlsson & Emanuelsson 2002: 127–129). Mats Mogren has speculated in the area being a ‘proto-shieling’ during the Late Iron Age (Mogren 1996: 104).

It is close at hand to presume that arable land was cleared for stones and started to be intensively cultivated in the 13th century. Since then, a group of farms, or a village (Sw. *by*) ought to have existed. Otherwise, the village is to be noted for the first time in a written document in a taxation list from 1542, which includes four tax-paying farmers (Mogren 1996: 88). Two of the three radiocarbon datings derive from arable land peripherally situated in relation to the inland according to later maps. One idea is that long-term continuous use, for about 700–800 years, of the central parts of the village has destroyed the most easily detected traces of the first fire-clearance of the area. Another idea is that the village was hit by the agrarian crisis in the 14th century and was cleared once again in the 15th century, although this is early compared to many other areas. The datings from the 16th and 17th centuries indicate continuous clearance, when the village expanded like most other villages after the crisis.

Thus, the second clearance, in accordance with my second thought, of the village Ängersjö in the 15th century was contemporary with the establishing of iron-production in the outlying land around the village. Possibly the village survived the agrarian crisis and expanded during the 15th century just because of the iron-production like some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Eisåsen.

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Flexibility in peripheral communities: An asset or a brake?

Ulf Jonsson

Introduction

In the discussion on regional dynamics the last decades, flexibility and a tradition of flexibility have been heavily upgraded. The rediscovery of the vitality of small-scale industrial regions and communities has stimulated historically oriented research to gain a deeper understanding of this phenomenon.¹ A long tradition of flexibility in labour and resource use has been evoked as an important prerequisite for the success of the alternative modernization – the route from peasant to entrepreneur to use the title of Ana Cento Bull's and Paul Corner's study of the Como region in north-eastern Italy.² Many of the rediscovered industrial district type of communities in different countries in Europe have in common a relatively weak agrarian resource base. To maintain their livelihood people have been forced to employ a variety of different strategies. Pluriactivity combining subsistence agriculture and non-agricultural production for sale have been a common feature. Seasonal and temporary migration was also very common. In fact, this type of migration is increasingly interpreted as a part of pluriactivity rather than something apart from the local community.³

There is, of course much more to be said about the huge discussion on the *Third Italy* and other regions of diffused industrialization. The point I want to stress in this context is the astonishing contrast that this new view of pluriactivity constitutes compared to earlier research. In the older conventional wisdom

1 For an important and influential study in this field, see Sabel & Zeitlin 1985.

2 Bull & Corner 1993.

3 Holmes & Quataert 1986.

pluriactivity was regarded primarily as a defensive and temporary measure.

In the 1980s and onwards there was also a discussion on pluriactivity independent of the specific discourse of diffused industrialization. This discussion covered pluriactivity in rural societies in general. Its concern was people with insufficient agricultural resources. One of the leading participants in the 1980s discussion on pluriactivity, Ronald Hubscher, identified four different main strategies of pluriactivity: 1) pluriactivity of necessity, 2) pluriactivity to gain independence, 3) pluriactivity to achieve social mobility, 4) pluriactivity to maintain or reconstitute a landed heritage.⁴ A pluriactivity of necessity can, if it is successful, contribute to a reconstitution of landed wealth and sometimes lay the foundation for an upward social mobility. To a large extent we can detect a similar pattern for migration that can and has served the same variety of ends. We can speak of a migration of necessity, of independence, migration of social mobility and migration to maintain or reconstitute landed wealth. In the same way these migratory strategies are not mutually exclusive. Money gained by migrants has not only served to preserve a meagre livelihood for those left behind but has also frequently been poured into investment in land and/or in small-scale industrial or commercial enterprises. Furthermore, flexible use of land, labour and other resources cannot be limited to migration and/or the pursuit of non-agricultural occupations. It also includes a more or less intense use of auxiliary resources such as commons.

The intriguing question is to understand how and under what conditions these essentially individual choices and strategies add up to a positive dynamic on the community or regional level. There are also cases where successful individual cases of pluriactivity and/or migration have not produced profound economic change. I will discuss an example from late 19th century and contemporary Europe. Primarily I will confine my discussion to communities that had a number of important characteristics in common with regions of diffused industrialization without producing an identical outcome. *Massif Central* will receive a special attention. This region has in the French historiography been the very symbol of a stagnant rural backwater. Until very recently the nomination to a high official post in the region was regarded as a deportation and a sure sign that you were out of grace. In recent decades there are clear signs of an economic rejuvenation in the region based on quality agro-food production.

4 Hubscher 1988: 89.

From migration of necessity to export of labour intensive goods and services: *Massif Central* in the post-modern service economy

In French historiography the *Massif Central* has been the very archetype of a rural backwater saved from implosion only by a heavy out migration. André Fel, in his classic study of the region published in the early 1960s, worried for the long-term prospects of the region and with good reasons. At that time many rural communities in the region were approaching a situation where the economic, social and demographic vitality were threatened. The region seemed to lack the prerequisites for an agricultural modernization along the productivity lines that was the dominant paradigm at this time.⁵ The sons and daughters of *Massif Central* were often quite successful outside their rural communities of origin. Migrants from the region and in particular those from *Rouergue*, an area more or less coinciding with the present department of *Aveyron*, came to exercise a considerable influence over the café sector in Paris. The money made in the Parisian café trade remained in the hands of individuals and was rarely put into a common family pool. The community of origin profited primarily in the form of investments in housing of retired migrants.

André Fel concluded his study by asking for a strong economic and social policy for mountain areas.⁶ Thus, at the outset less favoured by nature, less flexible and even more of a rural backwater than many other rural communities. To a certain extent a tradition of labour export has been transformed into a pattern of export of labour intensive products.

How was this change accomplished and what role did a tradition of flexibility and migration has in the process? My tentative answer is that initially this tradition had relatively little influence, but in the later stages it probably had more of an impact. Did a successful regional policy contribute to the change in a determinate way? Certainly, *Aveyron* has, as many other peripheral regions, been the target of regional policies on the national as well as the European level. Nevertheless, I am not convinced that it was specific regional policy initiatives that changed the balance. Instead, I would like to emphasize other policy measures that unintentionally played a more significant role. I will try to develop these points in detail below. In particular, it is necessary to discuss the rules governing the agro-food niche production.

In the post-war period the economic revival of many rural communities in

5 Fel 1962:327-329.

6 Fel 1962: 334

Aveyron was and still is very much tied to the production of ewe's milk for *Roquefort* cheese. *Roquefort* was the first cheese to obtain a protected designation of origin, in French an *appellation d'origine contrôlée* (AOC). Due to improvements in the transportation in handling of these fragile good, growing real incomes in France and abroad and commercially successful campaigns of the leading firms, there was a considerable increase in demand for this cheese.⁷ In the last decades the production has stagnated around 19 000 tons.⁸ This stagnation is less of a threat for the well being of ewe milk producers in the region than in the first instance it might appear. In the revised regulation from 1979 governing the *Roquefort* AOC-label the zone of milk collection has been reduced to the department of *Aveyron* and parts of the neighbouring departments of *Lozère*, *Gard*, *Tarn*, *Tarn-et-Garonne*, and *Hérault*.⁹ Before milk collection covered a much larger area in southern France including Corsica. As long as consumers are prepared to pay a relatively high price for the cheese, ewe milk prices remain relatively favourable, although increasing milk yields have contributed to a stagnation of milk prices. Nevertheless, the AOC-regulations demand a fairly labour intensive production. Farmers are not allowed to use imported animal feed. They have to rely on grazing, complemented by secondary cereals such as barley, oats or rye. Permanent stabulation is forbidden. Only the local race, the lacunae sheep, is permitted. That *Roquefort* has to be produced from raw milk puts a certain limit to large-scale farming. The milk cannot be stored for extended periods but have to be treated in close connection to milking.¹⁰

At first ewe milk farmers became less pluriactive than before. Agricultural pursuits occupied most of their time. A larger work force could be gainfully employed, which entailed a reduction of emigration. However, as agriculturalists they tended to be more diversified than in the traditional subsistence system. Most of the fodder was still produced on the farms. Cereals formerly consumed by humans were now devoted to sheep. Baby lamb, a particularly lucrative gourmet product, developed as a sideline significantly adding to the income stream. Clearly and intensively involved in production for national and international markets, *aveyronais* farmers continued to produce a lot of items for home consumption. Most farms bred hogs and kept some cattle.¹¹ The family was used to pool labour. In the community Susan

7 For an overview of the role of the expansion of *Roquefort* in local community, see Rogers 1999: 60–64.

8 www.maison-du.lait.com 2002–06–10.

9 The complete revised regulation was published in *Journal officiel*, 22.10 1979. All the AOC-regulations are, after being approved of by the national guardians, *Institute National des Appellations d'Origine*, published in the *Journal officiel*. For a brief presentation of the *Roquefort* regulation, see www.aveyronnet.com 2000–01–26.

10 www.aveyronnet.com 2000–01–06.

11 Rogers 1999: 65–66.

Carol Rogers investigated this mobilization of family labour was often realized within the framework of an extended family. Extended families, which only could be realized on a tiny minority of large farms in the 19th century, became more common in mid-20th century.¹² The formation of extended families was facilitated by innovations regarding land tenure legislation such as the *Groupement d'exploitation en commun* (GAEC). This institution was originally formed to establish viable production units by pooling the landed and labour resources of several farms together irrespective of any family relations.¹³

The combination of market and subsistence production within the framework of a highly labour intensive family farming was the dominant pattern in large parts of West European agriculture until the early 1950s. In the post-war economic boom a much higher degree of specialization approaching monoculture characterized the modernization of farming. Farms of the type found in *Aveyron* tended to be written off as reminders of the past. Add to this a high frequency of extended families and you get the superficial picture of an extremely archaic community. Thus, the first phase of the post-war economic boom in the region produced a somewhat ambiguous result, puzzling contemporary outside observers.

There were, of course, a number of farmers even in the *Roquefort* zone who followed another development path. Certainly this was also the case for farmers in communities not included in the approved area for *Roquefort* milk. Many of these farmers tended to follow a more conventional productivist line of modernization as either dairy farmers or specializing in a modern type of large-scale meat production. For example, dairy farmers substituted local cow races with high yield *Holstein* cows not very well adapted to the rough conditions of the *Massif Central* environment.¹⁴ However, the mainstream 'modernist' triumph was not total. Networks around an alternative agro-industry, AOC-cheeses primarily, constituted a partly different development path. I will elaborate these points in some detail further below.

Still, the first phase of relative economic prosperity in the region was in my view not particularly dependent upon on an older heritage of flexible resource use, pluriactivity and migration. Funds generated by migrants do not seem to have had any importance in the financing of the modernization of the ewe milk sector. It is more difficult to assess the importance of a tradition of flexible resource use. Nothing really important happened in that respect. Ewe milk production for

12 Rogers 1999: 127-156.

13 From 1973 when the formation of father/son GAEC was permitted their number exploded from almost nothing in the 1960s. In 1991 over a thousand GAEC:s existed among which 64 % were of the father/son type, 28 % of these associations concerned brothers, see Wampfler 1997: 130-131.

14 Wampfler 1997: 35-54.

Roquefort implied a continuation of a flexible resource use. The heritage was neither a significant asset in the process of changes nor a brake. The process was fuelled by outside demand. Ewe milk farmers responded to these new possibilities and made use of older social forms to serve new ends in an imaginative way. Thus, the profound economic and social change the region experienced was heavily coloured by past memories. The region changed, and yet in many respects remained different from the mainstream.

From the late 1970s we can delineate a second phase of change in *Aveyron* and the neighbouring departments in the *Roquefort* zone. The *Roquefort* economy lost steam. The demand for ewe milk showed signs of saturation. Supply tended to outdistance demand. Farmers outside the ewe milk sector, primarily bovine meat and milk producers were subject to production quotas within the Common Agricultural Policy of the European Union. In this period of renewed duress local actors increasingly looked for solutions outside the modernist productivist paradigm, a paradigm that also came under pressure from consumers. The food products of modern large-scale farming and food industry met resistance from consumers worrying about the health consequences of modern production methods. A process which lately have gained considerable momentum by affairs like the mad cow disease and dioxin scandals as well as, and in the French context perhaps more important, the low gastronomic quality of mass-produced food. In the French context gastronomic niche production is very much tied to a conception emphasizing the strategic role of territory, where a good is produced. This primordial role ascribed the territory in combination with methods of production, which has developed over a long period of time, is the very foundation of the system of *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée*.¹⁵ The system was originally designed for wine production. Today almost any food product can receive an *appellation*. Wine is still the most important good but dairy products, primarily cheese, come in as a strong second.¹⁶ More than 16 percent of the ripened cheese produced in France has an AOC-label. Thus, economically it is not a totally marginal phenomenon. Furthermore, AOC-production is relatively most important in peripheral and mountainous regions. For example, the larger *Massif Central* region is the largest supplier of AOC-cheese in France answering in 2001 for slightly more than 35 percent of the national production.¹⁷

15 For an overview of the system in the cheese production, see Letablier & Delfosse 1995. For a discussion of the consequences of the AOC-system for the dairy industry in France, see Jonsson 2004. The homepage of the ministry of agriculture gives a similar figure for 1998.

16 Since 1992 a system similar to the French one has been adapted by the European Union and forms an important part of the quality policy of the union.

17 The figures are calculated from the statistics *Maison-du-lait*. www.maison-du-lait.com 2002-02-20.

However, in this context it is not my intention to present a full account of the AOC-system in the dairy sector. In stead, firstly I will discuss a number of examples of how different these conceptions of local quality niches are constructed and appropriated by regional actors and very briefly discuss its economic importance. Secondly, in a very preliminary and tentative way discuss to what extent a tradition of flexibility has any importance for this development.

The small-scale dairy cooperative *Jeune Montagne* provides an illustrative example. The cooperative is situated in the high plateau of *Aubrac* a rural backwater at the edge of the departments of *Aveyron*, *Lozère* and *Cantal*. The area did not belong to the approved *Roquefort* zone. When discussing the prospects of the area in the early 1960s André Fel was extremely pessimistic. Fel saw a traditional pastoral economy based on transhumance and diversified animal production combining dairy and meat production that could not compete with modern producers. For example he did not see the traditional *Laguiole* cheese as a particularly valuable asset. It was just a variant of the *Cantal* cheese produced in neighbouring region with modern competitive methods. The chalets where the cheese had been produced as well as the low yielding *Aubrac* cow were doomed and so were the prospects of a vital rural economy.¹⁸

Nevertheless, in early 1960s a number of young farmers issued from *Jeunesse Agricole Catholique* formed the cooperative *Jeune Montagne*. Their goal was to recreate the *Laguiole* cheese. In 1961 they obtained an AOC-label for this cheese. The approved zone of milk deliveries covered an area of some kilometres around the small town of *Laguiole*. Some 400 farmers delivered milk and around 30 persons were employed in the dairy.¹⁹

The experience of *Jeune Montagne* is close to the first two stages of the model of culture economy developed by the British sociologist Christopher Ray. Ray identifies four different operation modes in his conceptualisation of a culture economy as an instrument of territorially based rural development. The first mode Ray calls commodisation of local/regional culture. The local cultural heritage becomes embodied in a specific good. The second mode emphasizes the construction and projection of the territorial ideas to the outside. The third mode focuses on selling the idea internally to communities, business groups and official bodies in the local arena. The fourth mode concentrates on the normative capacity of the culture economy. Ray regards the cultural economy as an effort to compete more efficiently on the global market through a kind of soft local protectionism to control economic, social, cultural and environmental impacts on the locality.²⁰

18 Fel 1962: 236–238.

19 Wampfler 1997: 262–264.

20 Ray 1998.

In particular, the search for and the successful conquest of the AOC-label for the *Laguiole* cheese was a conscious effort to get outside recognition of the cultural content in the product. The national institution, INAO, constituted a convenient instrument. Local and national agencies were also mobilized for the same purpose, but the most important piece in the strategy was the AOC recognition granted by the INAO. However, initially the strategy of the *Jeune Montagne* leadership did not imply a complete break with the productivist paradigm. In the 1980s the high yielding *Holstein* cow substituted the old rustic *Aubrac* breed with a subsequent degradation of the cheese quality as a result. In order to defend the quality and AOC-label a more rustic breed, the *Simmental* was introduced. This breed was better adapted to the rough conditions of the *Aubrac* plateau. The milk was better suited to high quality cheese production and permitted the farmers to rely on home produced fodder and grazing which the revised AOC-regulation demanded. Compared to the original *Aubrac* cow the newcomer had somewhat higher milk yields.

The exigencies of the culture economy, thus, demanded a retreat from the modernist paradigm of searching maximum yields at any price. Even if the idea of authenticity tied to specific territory implied in the concept of *Appellation d'Origine Contrôlée* to a large extent is a social and cultural construction, it cannot be constructed in a totally hazardous way. You have to prove some documentation of its historical roots of the product in the region. You have to follow a fairly specified method of production. The gastronomic quality cannot be permitted to deteriorate. There must be a clear enough line of demarcation towards mass production.²¹ The immediate economic importance of the rejuvenated *Laguiole* cheese and the dairy cooperative may seem relatively modest. Today the yearly production has stagnated around 700 ton. There are around 300 farmers delivering their milk to the cooperative, which employs 30 persons.²²

However, *Jeune Montagne* has served as source of inspiration for other local actors aiming at exploiting the potential of the cultural economy of the territory. In the last two decades a flourishing service economy valorising the gastronomic heritage has developed. A group of young farmers started to reintroduce the local *Aubrac*

21 In the French agro-food sector there is a long tradition of quality niche production. The French food market was already in the 19th century much more differentiated than in most European countries. I have found examples of how 19th and early 20th century farmers and food producers could, for example, chose more expensive inputs to demanding customers, see Jonsson 1997. But we can most certainly be a bit sceptical of the accurate age of the historical roots expressed in promotion of certain AOC-cheeses. For example, when the cooperative *Jeune Montagne* boasts that they faithfully follow a tradition handed down from the twelfth century *Aubrac* monks, we are allowed to express some doubts. However, it is impossible to obtain the label, if you cannot document any historical legacy, see Bessi re 1998.

22 Wampfler 1997: 284.

breed, a strong local identity marker. This time it is mostly destined for high quality meat production. The re-created 'traditional' quality production was and often is associated with farmer-based transformation of the products. A kind of small-scale farmer agro-food industry is developing. To a large extent these enterprises use short circuit distribution channels, direct sale at the farm, mail ordering, and increasingly the Internet. Frequently contracts with high-class restaurants and gourmet butchers shops are established.²³ An updated version of the traditional *Aubrac* dish *aligot* made of mashed potatoes, fresh farm cheese and garlic has developed as another strong identity marker of the region. It is promoted by the star chef Michel Bras, the proud holder of a *Michelin* two star restaurant. The effort of Michel Bras and other somewhat less known local chefs contributes to the complex process of re-creating the local gastronomic knowledge and exploiting this heritage in the development of rural gastronomic tourism.²⁴ A complex network of small-scale firms contributes to exploit the re-created gastronomic heritage. Local identity becomes a significant asset on the national market and to a certain extent also on the global market. Far from the economic and social extinction feared by André Fel, *Aubrac* today has reversed the trend of economic decline.

The *aligot* also has as a ready-made dish entered the quality segment, *Reflets de France*, promoted by the large supermarket chain *Carrefour*. The cooperative *Jeune Montagne* is also very active in producing and promoting *aligot*, at the same time highly conscious of the need to defend the product as a genuine regional dish, even when cooperating with large-scale agro-food firms.²⁵ This dish gives authenticity-seeking consumers easy access to a plate that is extremely time consuming to prepare. Obviously, there is no sharp line of demarcation between the scale capitalist sector and the cultural economy. Capitalists are, of course, eager to exploit the commercial potential of regional quality production. However, there are certain limits to the extent to which capitalist large-scale methods of production can penetrate this sector, *Carrefour*, for example, use small-scale regional suppliers for the *Reflets de France* segment. A prestigious gastronomic personality, Joël Robuchon, is mobilized to guarantee quality and authenticity. A kind of long term co-existence between

23 Wampfler 1997: 285-312. The producers made frequent use of another quality label, *Le label rouge*, created in the 1960s. Today this label cover more than 250 products most of them different kinds meat, poultry, red meat, smoked and cured meat. More than 30 000 farmers and over 2000 firms are involved. There is a heavy bias towards peripheral regions among the adherents of *Le label rouge*. For an overview of the role of quality labels, see Sylvander 1995. For a discussion on the use of the Internet to sell quality products originating from small-scale agro-food firms, see Johansson 2003.

24 One of these chefs is Michel Bessi re at the restaurant *Le Buron de Ch *, presented in the leading Swedish gourmet magazine *Allt om Mat*, see Jamais, 1996. See also Bessi re 1998, p 32.

25 www.carrefour.fr 2003-07-27, www.aveyron.com 2003-07-27.

national and multinational capital and small-scale local firms seems so far to constitute a specific feature of quality agro-food production.²⁶

National policies and the cultural economy

Initiatives of the kind discussed above exist all over the *Massif Central* region. A common trait is the use of nationally certified quality labels, AOC, *Le Label Rouge*, *Le label regional*.²⁷ In fact, the region has an exceptionally strong position in the quality niche agro-food market. Close to 40 percent of the national production of AOC-cheeses are produced in the region. For farmhouse produced AOC-cheeses the dominance is even more pronounced: 52 percent. In 1997 *Massif Central* answered for about 7 percent of the final value of the national agricultural production, but its share of products profiting for an official sign of quality, wine excepted, was almost the double 12 percent.²⁸ Furthermore while on the national scene, it is the sign closest to mass production, *Certification de conformité*, that takes the lion's share, in the *Massif Central* region, it is by far AOC, see Table 1.

Table 1. Turn over before taxes of food products profiting for an official sign of quality 1997. Billions of francs (Lagrange & Trougnon 1999: 409)

Official sign of quality	France	%	Massif Central	%
<i>Certification de conformité</i>	24.8	47.4	0.1	1.6
<i>Label Rouge</i>	12.6	24.1	1.7	27.0
AOC	11.4	11.4	3.5	55.6
<i>Agriculture Bio</i>	3.5	6.7	1.0	15.8
Total	52.3	100.0	6.3	100.0

In the process of constructing and selling the idea of products with a strong territorial marking certifying bodies like INAO, is in my view of greater importance than the ordinary bodies promoting regional development. The formation and growth of small-scale quality agro-food production is, at least in the French context, heavily dependent on recognition from actors and institutions outside the

26 In the AOC-sector the dynamics behind the co-existence of large capitalist firms and small-scale producers are explored in Jonsson & Pettersson 2004.

27 For example, farmers and small dairy entrepreneurs in the *Roquefort* zone have applied for an AOC-label for another sheep's cheese, *Perail*. This was a local speciality produced for local and household consumption. The yearly production of around 1500 ton is divided between 16 firms of which eight has a clearly artisan character. www.lozere.fr 1999-05-31.

28 Lagrange & Trougnon, 1999: 407-410.

local community and so it is perceived by the local actors. A quality label adds to the gastronomic legitimacy of the product. The cultural heritage of the goods is communicated in a cost efficient way to the larger public. The development of a cultural economy in marginal regions has also been boosted by a strongly renewed interest in the gastronomic heritage on the national level. In 1996 the National Council for Culinary Art (*Conseil National des Arts Culinaires*) was founded. The council is constituted by representatives of five ministries – agriculture, culture, education, tourism and health – together with people from the agro-food sector and gastronomic personalities. The explicit goal of the Council is to promote and preserve the culinary heritage of France. To realize that goal an inventory of the culinary heritage of French provinces has been undertaken. Thirteen volumes have so far been published.²⁹ The Council also designates and promotes sites of outstanding taste (*Sites Remarquable du Goût*). Local actors trying to valorise their territorial identity increasingly use all these different kinds of national certifications. Furthermore, it is as demonstrated above regions classified as marginal or disfavoured that have profited mostly in this process. In the regions of modern high-tech farming and agro-industry territorial specificity is difficult to maintain.

Thus, the construction of a local cultural economy has and is still taking place in constant interaction with actors on the national level. Of course, the local level, in the case of the AOC-label, the local defence committee for the *appellation* plays a strategic role. However, the different local defence committees are also united in a national organization, *L'Association Nationale des Appellations d'Origine Laitières Françaises* (ANAOF) founded in 1974. The national organization serves as centre of coordination and reflection as well the guardian of a common corporative interest. Increasingly the national organization is involved in 'foreign policy' at the European as well as the global level.³⁰ Exporting the very idea embodied in the AOC-system is a way of creating future 'allies', which can turn out to be an asset in international negotiations within the framework of WTO or in other transnational contexts.

The policies of the national actors and institutions did not involve a heavy transfer of funds to disfavoured areas. It merely contributes to create a favourable framework for local initiatives. An institutional framework where different agencies at different levels work in the same direction seems to be an important prerequisite for reasonable success. The importance of a kind of more or less formalised but broad based development coalition has been emphasized by the geographers Ash Amin and Nigel Thrift when trying to identify the dynamics of success in regions of diffused industrialization. Amin and Thrift use the concept

29 See for example Senderens & Weil 1995.

30 Interview with Mme Yvonne Amram, *délegué général* at ANAOF, 2003-09-15.

institutional thickness.³¹ This is a multifaceted concept. Among the factors discerned we find a strong institutional presence. Institutions of different kinds offer a wide range of services and provide knowledge, local chambers of commerce, training agencies, trade associations, unions, government agencies, development boards, etc. A high degree of interaction amongst the institutions in a regional and local area is created. An intense pattern of contacts between different institutional actors favours the emergence of shared rules, conventions and knowledge. There is also a strong mutual awareness among institutional actors that they are involved in a common enterprise. A successful agro-food niche production needs the same kind of institutional thickness as has been identified in regions of dynamic diffused industrialization. Institutional thickness also provides an adequate framework to realize the third mode of cultural economy in Ray's model, i.e. to anchor the idea internally in local community.

However, I will not go so far as to say that national and European funding was negligible; the agro-food entrepreneurs have indeed made an ample use of the European Union's Leader program.³² Nonetheless, without a prior formation of a market for quality products constructed in a complex set of interactions between entrepreneurs including 'cultural entrepreneurs' at different levels, the monetary support would probably have been significantly less successful. Consequently, direct copying of models formed in a specific context is more or less doomed to fail. Markets and the networks formed around them are historical, social and cultural constructions and not likely to be reproduced in exactly the same way irrespective of context.³³

Conclusion – The entrepreneur in the cultural economy and the value of flexibility

What about the local entrepreneurs who have been active in the creation of small-scale agro-food quality production and the development of a service economy around the concept of authenticity routed in a specific territory? Has the long historical tradition of flexible land and resource use had any part in the story?

31 Amin & Thrift 1995: 13–16.

32 For an example of a successful Leader support of local small-scale dairy production, see Pujol 1997.

33 This is an important lesson we can draw from progress in economic sociology over the last decades. We reread and reflect upon the insight in Harrison White's seminal work on the social constructions and the social foundations of different markets. For an introduction to Harrison White, see Azarian 2003. For a specific analysis, the contributions of the French economic sociological school, *Economie des conventions*, are particularly valuable. For a good English introduction, see Wilkinson 1997.

There are no definite answers to the questions. Nonetheless, there are a number of observations that are worth exploring. Wampfler has noted that a considerable number of the successful entrepreneurs in the small-scale agro-food sector in *Aveyron* are returning migrants with roots in the region.³⁴ They are returning with skills and capital acquired in European metropolises, in this case primarily Paris. At the same time they have a first hand knowledge of local conditions including the local culture. Compared to the first wave of urban migrants coming into the region in the 1970s with strong ideological convictions, but insignificant capital and practical knowledge, they are economically quite successful. These new neo-rural have learned from their childhood as well as from their adulthood experience that a flexible use of land and labour is necessary in order to survive in a rough environment. The skills acquired in a metropolitan environment, say for example the Parisian restaurant business, make them more aware of how to approach a demanding urban clientele. In an indirect way one could say that there is a link between a historically formed flexible resource and labour use and present day niche production.

However, in order to be reasonably successful it cannot be the flexibility of yesterday. A successful cultural economy is the one that can make a selective use of the past and produce a trustworthy perception of the cultural heritage embodied in the goods and services offered to a wider market. The maintenance of a trustworthy line of demarcation towards mass production constitutes a constant struggle. The cultural economy is dancing on a very thin and subtle line. It needs the resources provided by the larger society, but there is a constant risk of usurpation. The French system of protected designation of origin and other quality labels have so far served quite well, although not without difficulties and tensions, as a wall of defence. The high degree of exclusiveness, the fact that the time lap between the first application and the final consecration is around ten years, constitutes in this context a significant asset. It is not a pure coincidence that ANOAF actively tries to promote a sharper line of demarcation between the more demanding and AOC-like European label, *Protected designation of origin*, POD, and the less exclusive *Protected Geographical Indication*, which is easier to obtain and putting less demands on the producers.³⁵

An institutional framework of the kind the protected designation of origin constitutes serves as a resource endowment that knowledgeable actors can use to claim market positions regionally, nationally and globally.³⁶ A higher degree of competitive flexibility and choice of strategies than was the case less than half a century ago characterizes significant parts of the *Massif Central* region. There are also other disadvantaged regions that reasonably successfully have captured the

34 Wampfler 1997: 285-297.

35 Interview with Mme Yvonne Amram 2003-09-15.

36 For an interesting elaboration of these ideas, see Clark, Tracey & Lawton Smith 2002: 275-276.

possibilities of agro-food niche production. When enabling institutions were not at hand the more resourceful actors in such an environment tend to leave rather than become caught in a situation of low or no prospects of advancement. The long run effects of out migration can seriously threaten survival of the local community. In the early 1960s Andre Fel did seriously fear that this was the fate of *Massif Central*. Although niche production has not solved all the problems, Fel's horror scenario has not come true. Certainly, niche production cannot save every village in a peripheral region, but it can contribute to a regional dynamic that significantly improves the rate of survival.

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Traditions, value systems and modernity in local communities

"It's a place I want to go": Forest, forestry and gender in Finland

Tiina Suopajarvi

The call of the wilderness: Forestry professionals' motives for staying in the countryside

Katri Kaunisto

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När-democracy: Equality and leadership in marginalized Gotlandic community

Carl von Rosen

"It's a place I want to go": Forest, forestry and gender in Finland

Tiina Suopajarvi

Finns are often seen as a people of forest because of their close relationship to it. Some even claim that Finnish identity can be described with one single word: forest. Finns' livelihood has for centuries been based almost entirely on forest as a resource and some think that this labels the whole culture. As a resource forest has not only had a financial meaning but also a very strong mental meaning: folk beliefs and customs reflect the position of the forest as an important place for livelihood and as a centre of spiritual life. The relationship to forest has though been complex: it has been highly respected, but people have also tried to conquer and tame forest because they have been afraid of it. At the same time forest has given shelter against enemies and refreshment in everyday life.¹

In this paper I am going to introduce some ecofeminist views and discuss their relation to my empirical research material: 30 interviews of Finnish female forestry officials² made in the Oral History Project called *Forestry Professions in the Changing Society* 1999–2002. The project was organised by the Finnish Forest History Society and funded by the Metsämiesten Säätiö foundation, and it resulted in over 1000 interviews of forestry professionals.³ First I will contemplate some theoretical questions, then have a look at forest conflicts in Finland and the groups involved in them, and then get on to forestry professionals' roles in and attitudes to these conflicts through both literature and interviews. Finally I will discuss my informants' subjective relationships to the forest, which will be

1 Reunala 1998: 237, Roiko-Jokela 2000: 18.

2 Forestry officials are educated in forestry schools and are forestry technicians or forestry engineers. They work with forestry planning, buying and harvesting, as executive directors, advisers, teachers, experts etc.

3 The material is filed in the Forest Museum Lusto.

the focus of my doctoral thesis including both male and female forestry officials' attitudes to forest.

(Eco)feminist anthropology

Female forestry officials are still a marginal group in the branch and while making the interviews I got extremely interested in them and their situation. One of the main theoretical frames of references in my doctoral thesis will be feminist anthropology and using gender as a tool for analysing whether it has a meaning in relation to informants' attitudes to forest. Henrietta Moore sees feminist anthropology as a study of both genders, the relationships between them, their communal and structural effects, and the historical, ideological, economical and political systems of the societies. The concept of gender can not be discarded in the social sciences. The important goal of the feminist theories is to transgress the prevailing dichotomies like man/woman, culture/nature, public/private which all have certain negative/positive pre-existing values. The essential part of feminist anthropology is the study of genders and the relationship between them as a basic principle of social life.⁴

The ecofeminist views are also interesting to my research material. Ecofeminism as a term refers to several different kinds of relationships between woman and nature, and how both are subjugated. This double domination includes the subordination of coloured people, children and other ruled groups as well. Feminism in this case means recognising male-gender bias in the science and taking the category of gender part of the analysis. Ecology for its part means the consideration of the importance of the ecosystem and of a human being as an ecological creature. Warren thinks that the environmental dimension has to be acknowledged in all feminist philosophy. For example, trees and animals are feminist issues, because understanding them helps to understand women's status cross-culturally. It must be kept in mind that there are several ecofeminist philosophies, but in all of them naturism is one essential question.⁵ Victoria Davion for instance has criticised ecofeminist views especially because they seem to be based on an idea that all women live in the same reality which is separated from men's reality and that all women feel a special connection to nature.⁶

It is true that Warren mostly writes about women's relation to nature in the Third World, where trees and forests are still to some point part of the rural

4 Moore 1988: 6, 187-188.

5 Warren 1994; 1-2, 1997: 4-5.

6 Davion 1994: 25-26.

and household economies ruled by women. And it is women who have to face customs and taboos related to forest ownership and the effects of the forest depredation, like walking longer distances to collect fuel and fodder. The connection between Warren's thoughts and my empirical material is more on the conceptual level: Warren sees the key-assumptions of forestry being male-biased. The assumptions are: 1) outsider knows the best, 2) commercial products of forest are the most important ones and 3) large-scale production based on only a few wood species is better than small-scale based on several species.⁷

Another ecofeminist, Vandana Shiva, has studied women's relationship to forest in India. Forest has been a basic principle to Indian civilisation: it has given the organisational models to the whole society by its nature of diversity, harmony and self-sustenance. Forest has also been an important source for intellectual, emotional and spiritual life. In these areas the forests are traditionally seen as equal parts of life with people and an intimate harmony has reigned between them. One thing explaining women's special connection to the forest in India is the fact that "in both forest and agriculture based economies, it is primarily women who use and manage the produce of forests and trees, like food gathering and fodder collection."⁸ This means that women have played an important role in managing and renewing the forest diversity. When the British arrived in India with their own economic interests they started to treat woods more one-dimensional, in a more masculine way. Shiva writes: "When the British colonised India, they first colonised her forests."⁹ In feminine forestry science, on the contrary, the productivity of forest is due to the natural tropical forest as a highly productive ecosystem and the value of forest is due to the fact that woods are an essential part of food production. The goal of this science is to maintain every aspect of life in the forest.¹⁰

As a comparison to Shiva's studies Finnish ethnologist Lotte Tarkka writes that in Finnish folklore forest has been an essential part of enchantments and rituals. In hunting rituals prey has been labelled by modifier based on sex, usually female sex, so that it has been easier to understand as an object of acting. She sees this as a way of making nature part of culture, making game to be prey in human rituals and therefore controlled. The relationship between man and nature became ambivalent: man needed to understand nature and the spirit of forest to be able to gain prey, but at the same time man wanted to separate oneself from it. In addition, the relationship between woman and nature can be seen ambivalent: the ability to give birth and the role of nurture connected them closely to each other, but

7 Warren 1997: 5-7.

8 Shiva 1997: 60.

9 Shiva 1997: 61.

10 Shiva 1997: 64.

the woman's place at home or in the village and the role in cattle breeding made the forest her enemy.¹¹

Battles of Finnish forests

The forest has been exploited in Finland in many ways for centuries but effective forest trade started in the Middle Ages. In the beginning it was quite general: some sort of contract was made without measuring or stamping woods. The owner agreed that the buyers could cut down the trees they wanted. This means that the forest had been a possession in the Middle Ages like other immovable property.¹² The awareness of the economical value of forest grew eventually and some researchers think this was the reason for the growing appreciation of the forest as well.¹³

Until the end of the 19th century the use of forests related to forestry management was low. The changes people made in the woods were primarily due to the farming: burn-beaten areas especially in Eastern Finland have been so intense that already in the 16th century injunctions and restrictions were given to protect nature. In addition the forest pasturing, the culture of wooden buildings and especially tar burning destroyed the forests. Finally in the year 1886 the forest law was enacted to guarantee restocking of the cut down areas.¹⁴

According to the Finnish researcher Mika Pekurinen the first so-called forest conflicts took place already in the 18th century, when local people protested against the disadvantages caused by the water-driven saws. At that point the battles were about the wellbeing of humans, and this tendency was prevailing until the middle of the 20th century. In the beginning of the 20th century the increase of chemical wood processing caused concern for the health risks and pollution of the living environment.¹⁵ Other researchers, Reunala and Heikinheimo, see the issue of the conflicts being about the possession of forests during this era, and not until the 1950s did the conflicts take place between forestry and nature conservationists. The change took place when the industry started to use more expansive cutting and other methods. In the 1960s the professionalism of forestry experts was being questioned for the first time by the nature conservationists and soon after by a larger public.¹⁶ At this

11 Tarkka 1994: 74.

12 Lamberg 2000: 59.

13 Virtanen 1994: 136.

14 Reunala & Heikinheimo 1987: 18-21, 25.

15 Pekurinen 1997: 45-46.

16 Reunala & Heikinheimo 1987: 9-12.

point 'the actual' forest conflict with the radical environmental movement on the one side started to take place. The reasons for these conflicts were foremost the polarity of the values of forest, which Pekurinen calls the economical values on the one side and immaterial, mental, and even mythical values on the other.¹⁷

Reunala and Heikinheimo have studied forest conflicts from the 1950s and the reasons behind them. In the beginning of this era the cuttings were too expansive meaning that the forest was cut down more rapidly than it grew. This meant that new intensive silvicultural methods had to be put to use: ditching, fertilising, poisoning and constructing forest roads. With these methods both the amount of wood and the growth of forest started to increase. These kinds of improvements did not lead to appreciation of forestry professionals; on the contrary, forests were considered ugly, raped and unnatural after the clear-cuttings.¹⁸

New interests towards the forest started to show up when the environmental movement radicalised in the 1960s: people wanted to use forest as a source of refreshment and inspiration, which was partly due to the sudden and intensive urbanisation in Finland. In addition, the expansive clear-cuttings, which have symbolised the efficient forestry, have been seen as one of the main reasons for the countryside to die. The issue of the damages done by forestry was raised to the national level by the actions of environmental activists, especially due to the clear-cuttings in Lapland in the 1960-70s and to the usage of pesticides in Finnish forests. In those days a large part of the citizens supported the activists. The conflicts weakened in the 1980s and the disagreements were mostly resolved in negotiations rather than on the field. At this point a new kind of resistance appeared, when the critics of forestry mainly were ordinary people, mostly forest owners who felt powerless in deciding of the usage of their own property or their own living environment.¹⁹

The forest conflicts in 1990s were Finnish phenomena; in other West-European countries these kinds of conflicts hardly occurred anymore. Some researchers see the era of conflicts being over in Finland as well, since the industry nowadays must consider the environmental issues in the production to maintain their competitiveness. The tendency is towards 'softer' methods.²⁰ However, even last year we have heard from the news of the difficult battles in the Finnish forests. Nowadays the environmental movements are powerful and strong, and supranational organisations like Greenpeace and WWF have replaced former active civil movements²¹.

17 Pekurinen 1997: 45-46.

18 Reunala & Heikinheimo 1987: 28-31.

19 Reunala & Heikinheimo 1987: 33-36, 44-64, 68-75.

20 Rannikko 1994: 20-21.

21 See Rannikko 1995: 75.

There are many different actors in forest conflicts: nature conservationists, the representatives of the industry and local people who all may be divided into different sub-groups with people acting with different motivations. The media has also a great impact on the conflicts. In the conservationists' 'camp' there has been so-called common people, local people, student radicals, Members of Parliament and representatives of culture and art branch besides the actual members of the nature associations. The character of the object of conservation affects who will stand up for it, for example, cultural researchers have been involved in conservational activism when the object has been culturally important scenery. Often the nature conservationists seek for the eminence by recruiting university researchers to their side, and at local conflicts there have even been people from church at their camp. Students represent well how different motives people can have for participating in conservation actions; the students of biology are motivated by the claim of biodiversity, the students of art studies by the cultural meaning of the object and students whose homes are in the area by the quality of life and the pleasantness of the environment.²²

The attitude to forest conflicts is complex, even contradictory among the local people. Usually the locals are on the one hand concerned of the continuity of the living conditions in the area, and on the other hand they want to protect their living environment including the animals that live and the plants that grow there. However, the locals often see a difference between acceptable and improper conservation: when the possibilities for making their living are threatened by forest conservation, the conservation is considered improper. The counterparts in the conflicts are mostly conservationists who come from the southern part of Finland and local people and/or forestry professionals of northern or eastern part of the country. There have also been conflicts where locals took the side of the conservationists, for example, in the fight about defoliant in 1980s in Hattuvaara, where people wanted to protect their berry and mushroom grounds.²³

Forestry officials in forest conflicts

The representatives of forestry include many different kinds of forestry professionals like the executives of the forestry companies, policymakers of the Finnish Forest and Park Service, forestry officials, lumberjacks etc. They have different

22 Pekurinen 1997: 63-66, 68-70.

23 Pekurinen 1997: 48-50.

motives for acting, but they all consider the forest to be a livelihood, meaning that they mainly have a functional and practical relationship to it. This is a reason why forestry professionals may have a difficulty in understanding the claims made by the 'outsiders', because they make themselves a living by cutting down and processing trees. Forestry professionals usually see the economical usage of the forest at the same time as being conservational, because conservation makes the forests stay healthy and growing. They think conservation is important, but instead of limiting the amount of cuttings, people should focus on limiting, for example, the air pollution, which harms especially the old forests. Most importantly people should be able to move around and work in the forests.²⁴

Reunala and Heikinheimo see a change in the status of forestry professionals from 1960s onwards due to the way they have been criticised. First the negative critics confused them, because earlier forestry professionals were highly respected by most of the Finns. Soon after the forestry professionals attacked the critics by emphasising their own role as real nature conservationists and the actual founders of the protections of Finnish forests. They thought that their profession made them naturally nature conservationists and cutting down the forests and growing new woods was considered taking care of the forest and therefore part of the protection of forests as well. Their relation to the media also changed quite quickly, and the Finnish Forest and Park Service soon hired people to take care of its public relations. Reporters have been seen as a central group in forest conflicts, and both conservationists and professionals of forestry have always tried to make an impact on them.²⁵

Sociologist Ari Jokinen has studied the attitudes forestry professionals have to nature conservation. In his opinion the professionals did not become the actors of environmental politics until the 1990s, when the forest legislation changed to include the principles of ecological durability. This meant a change in their work when key biotopes, seed trees and the location of protected areas had to be taken into consideration. Carrying out these principles can be difficult: the constructions of the forestry limit the conservational actions, because the ways things have 'always been done' are difficult to let go. Jokinen thinks that in forestry "the constructions, actor ship and politics are integrated".²⁶ The professional identity of people working in forestry is constructed on the strong collective identity. Often this professional group represents itself in the public as a group of all citizens, which probably is based on the importance of the branch for national economy. Forestry professionals are foremost the experts: they are

24 Pekurinen 1997: 20-21, 74-78, 84.

25 Reunala & Heikinheimo 1987: 80-85.

26 Jokinen 2001: 169.

defining the key biotopes; they have the knowledge needed to certificate woods; and they have the right to control the forests of private owners by making the forest plans. In practice the work of forestry professionals does concern only a small part of the Finns, which in Jokinen's opinion means that the status of the civic society is actually weak in the forestry. This in part can ease the raise of contradictions between forestry professionals and the citizens.²⁷

In my empirical research material female forestry officials had very complicated views on nature conservation, but they did not feel that there was a real contradiction between their own work and the conservation. Many of them consider cutting down the trees as a part of conservation and that their work is more as taking care of the forest. When the informant was asked about conservation, the answer usually was that conservation is a good and important thing, but there is a line between proper and incorrect conservation, which is often referred by stating that chaining oneself to the multi-functional machine used for felling trees is improper.

And I get very angry, I mean very angry when these nature conservationists barge into the cutting site and chain themselves. (...) In my opinion just cut down the trees and they can go on the other side of the border to see what is done for the conservation there for example.²⁸

Some female forestry officials see problems in the fact that nature conservationists often come from the southern part of Finland and do not have a realistic idea what it means to live outside the Helsinki area. Some of the interviewees are concerned with the countryside and especially northern Finland becoming a plain natural reserve in the future when people do not have jobs and therefore cannot live there. There are also informants who think that a real improvement to the disagreements between forestry professionals and nature conservationists can be reached only by breaking down the dichotomy between these groups. Problems should be solved in negotiations and not on the field. Some officials regard conservationists as smart and being able to state real reasons for their point of views, making the nature conservation in Finland quite constructive. Media is one of the most powerful actors in forest conflicts, and many the female forestry officials say that they have learned the right kind of information politics and the importance of it today. The work in forestry is seen partly as a work of building certain imago.

27 Jokinen 2001: 168-182.

28 Lusto A2001: 435. The translations are mine and of free form.

She/he explained matter-of-factly the issue. So that it wasn't just that yes we have to conserve point and point and point. That you are the exploiters. But she/he tried in a very constructive way to... Like I think that the Finnish nature conservation has tried to do. Timo Helle for example from Finnish Nature Conservation Association, like his actions towards this issue is constructive and conversational and directive.²⁹

As a summary it can be said that female forestry officials think it is possible to combine powerful forestry and nature conservation and that they believe this will happen in the future. The ecological claims that the forestry has recently received have had an enormous effect on the whole branch. Nothing else has affected it so completely, today it is out of the question to leave ecological values without consideration – and this includes making financial profit as well.

(...) In our planning work at this moment this has become so complicated because of these environmental issues, so that you have to educate yourself a lot to be able to do the plans matter-of-factly and without mistakes. The consideration of environmental issues in forest planning and -realisation is an enormous change in our job.³⁰

Female forestry officials' attitudes to forest

Finnish environmental researcher Leena Vilkka regards instrumental attitude towards nature as a main factor behind modern environmental problems. For humans nature is only a resource and an instrument in gaining productive, economical and technological goals. Nature does not have any intrinsic value. She refers to four attitudes towards nature, which all or some of them occur at the same time: anthropocentric ('anthropos' = human being), zoocentric ('zoon' = animal), biocentric ('bios' = life) and physiocentric ('fysis' = nature). Anthropocentrism means that nature is always seen and measured from the human point-of-view and nature does not have a value of its own. The zoocentric view is based on the fact that the most important thing for animals is their desire to live. This view is close to the biocentric view, which holds that each organism is a unique individual, and therefore the goal of its own life. From a physiocentric point-of-view the action which improves the wholeness, the balance and the beauty of nature is rightful.³¹

29 Lusto A2001: 482.

30 Lusto A2001: 289.

31 Vilkka 1996: 29, 40-41.

A large part of my informants seems to have different kinds of attitudes to forest so that forest have a value of its own at the same time as its value is based on the economical profit gained from it. Or put in Vilkkä's categories female forestry official's attitude towards forest is at the same time both physiocentric and anthropocentric. The first example of the below represents the purely anthropocentric attitude referring to forest as a source of livelihood; the second one is not purely a representative of the physiocentric attitude with an intrinsic value of the forest, but there is a certain emphasis to it; and in the last example these two attitudes occur in the same answer.

The meaning of forest. Well I think that it's anyway like, if I consider the point-of-view of countryside, so it has been like a lifeblood for the countryside along with the EU and so, so many farm has collected the lost of income caused by the EU from the forest, so it has been like vital. So that if in Finland the situation wasn't that the privates own forests I don't know what would have happened. (...) In my opinion it could be even more, it could be a source of energy and like that, forests are like under-utilised. Young forests are not taken care of, household timber isn't used and things like that.³²

(...) And so it's like for the children, so that they will have their own, own thing. It is so different to own Nokia than to own forest, I mean you can go there, you can't go to quiet down in Nokia, so that it's quite (laughs) hard to go into this kind of option briefcase to relax, but forest is different. Not necessarily the best investment in the world and it isn't, but it has its own values that you can't measure with money. They have become more important, important to me.³³

I appreciate both the use of forest as a livelihood and I appreciate forest as it is, as self-value and as part of the nature a lot. And forest became a familiar place, that I will never feel a stranger when moving around in there, even in an unfamiliar forest, and I am not afraid of the forest, I am not scared in a dark forest. And maybe I enjoy some things in there. And when I was studying in the 80s people talked about the green gold and that forest was the wooden foot of Finland and these kinds of thesis were then. And in that sense thoughts have changed and also the people working in the branch have been forced to change their thoughts.(...)³⁴

As a conclusion of this small empirical material it can be said that the Finnish female forestry officials have a complex relationship to forest. On the one hand it is a source of their livelihood having an economical value, and on the other hand forest is seen as an almost holy place in which one can relax, calm down and 'load

32 Lusto A2001: 463.

33 Lusto A2001: 531.

34 Lusto A2001: 456.

the batteries'. Here lies a connection to Vandana Shiva's and Lotte Tarkka's ecofeminist views of forest as a source of material and spiritual life. This is an idea that I will go on analysing in my doctoral thesis using both female and male forestry officials' interviews as an empirical material, which will give me an opportunity for comparisons.

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Interview

Forestry Professions in the Changing Society, Oral History Project 1999-2002, Forest Museum Lusto, Punkaharju.

The call of the wilderness: Forestry professionals' motives for staying in the countryside

Katri Kaunisto

Agrarian lifestyle and modernity

According to theories of modernisation, life in the countryside represents a traditional, non-modern culture with limited space for individual modernity.¹ The word traditional is useful for describing the everyday habits of farmers that have continued for generations. However, it is difficult to show whether or not their life course is a consequence of conscious choices, of free will within traditional scripts. Agrarian traditions are also part of forest workers' lives and it is equally unclear which decisions satisfy traditions and which reflect modern expressions of oneself.² Therefore, according to studies on modernity, modern life proper with all its freedom and individuality is attained only when a man leaves his traditional agrarian culture.

When modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation led to migration from the countryside to urban areas in Finland during the 1960s and 1970s, sociologists started to study how migrants adapted to their new urban lifestyle. Being a modern town dweller was seen as a goal and the desire for a country life and a continuing agrarian lifestyle in urban areas were marks of unsuccessful modernisation. The fact that agrarian culture had become modernised along with the changed lifestyle was ignored in the studies. Re-migration to the countryside has not been an interesting area of research either.

This article, tells the stories of forestry professionals who stayed in peripheral communities, and contrast them with the stories of those who migrated to urban

1 Inkeles & Smith 1974.

2 Kumpulainen 2001: 238-239, 241.

areas and re-migrated. My focus is on their experiences of migration, on forestry professionals' life values and motives for living in rural areas, and on how their experiences fit in the discourse of modernity.³

Living conditions in the countryside

Migration from the Finnish countryside to urban areas has usually been explained as a consequence of technical development and economic depression, whereupon unemployment in the countryside increases. Unemployment and the housing shortage after the Second World War lead to the countryside resettlement project, under which Carelian refugees and Finnish war veterans were given support to establish small farms. Agriculture and forest work as a secondary occupation ensured reasonable incomes for farmers and their family members. Simultaneously, this arrangement safeguarded food and wood production. However, technical innovations and rationalisation in agriculture and forestry gradually reduced the need for labour, and thus somewhat increased unemployment in the countryside, especially during periods of economic depression.⁴

Economic instability and unemployment forced rural people to look for other work and education opportunities in urban areas. Migration from the countryside started to increase as early as in the 1950s, and meanwhile the concern grew about the future labour shortage in forestry. This led to rationalisation of labour-intensive forest work and technological development. However, high-cost machinery needs all year around usage and effective work needs an educated permanent labour force. Therefore forestry employers needed to be sure of the availability of a capable labour force, and they gradually created new, permanent jobs for forest workers. The vacancies that arose were for full-time jobs and it was impossible to do farming work as well. However, even in 1966, about two thirds of forest workers were estate owners, who still worked in agriculture.⁵ Farming in

3 This research is based on interviews carried out as part of a joint project with the Finnish Forest History Society, The Finnish Forest Museum Lusto and the Ethnology Department of Helsinki University, called *Forestry Professions in the Changing Society – Oral History Project* 1999–2002. Over one thousand forestry professionals from around Finland were interviewed in order to find out how changes in forestry have changed their work and lifestyle. About 60 of the 200 forest workers interviewed migrated from rural to urban areas and back to the country.

4 Pulkkinen 1956. See also Ranniko 1989. Sociologist Pertti Rannikko has studied northern Carelian village life after the Second World War. In these studies he has strongly criticised Finnish regional and forestry policy, which has made smallholders life in the peripheral areas difficult.

5 Heikinheimo et al. 1972: 10.

peripheral areas was seldom profitable, and therefore a combination of agriculture and forestry work was a general source of livelihood. Nevertheless, in the end the farmers had to make the decision whether they wanted to continue in agriculture or to have a career in forest work.

Once I thought I'd stay a farmer, but then I thought no, I have too small a farm. Then, there were the crises, when other farmers gave up farming, so I thought it wasn't profitable to do it any more. So then my employer suggested a permanent contract and I agreed. There were already some with full-time jobs, so-called itinerants, who came and stayed, those first ones, because they [employers] trusted that they were more likely to stay in one place. (Man, born in 1932)

According to the interviewees, the owners of small farms were not ready to change their peasant identity even if the farming was unprofitable.⁶ In the 1970s, the state gradually started to favour big farms and give support to smallholders who voluntarily gave up unprofitable farming.⁷ Some of these farmers were old enough to retire, but for the younger ones afforestation was an investment for the future. Thus, forest work also enabled them to stay in the countryside.

We've got more land here and in those days when I was without work and during the summer holidays I hoed more land. Then I cleared away the stones and made plans for subsurface drainage. When it became clear that smallholders no longer had a future, then I turned my fields over to trees. It was the right decision. My neighbours said, "How can you, you have hoed and tended these fields yourself, how can you make them into forest?" So I said, "I can't live on sentiment." (Man, born in 1928)

However, the financial support given to farmers did not hold back the migration from the countryside. Consequently, the average age of forest workers rose when the younger generation turned away from forest work as a profession. Forestry competed for labour with industry and the service professions that tempted young people to move to the towns where the incomes were higher than in agriculture and forest work. Despite attempts to create permanent vacancies, forest work was uncertain and occasional in comparison with urban professions. It therefore needed to be made more tempting. For the first time, attention was given to forest-work implements, workers' salaries, and living conditions: Employers

6 See also Kumpulainen 2001: 236.

7 The main reason for the support was to restrain over-production of agricultural product. Sauli 1987:157.

started to educate the forest workers systematically to increase their effectiveness. Meanwhile, education opportunities in other professions also increased.

Work and education

Although vocational education for forest workers started systematically in 1964, even today there are those whose theoretical knowledge and technical skills are based on short professional courses arranged by their employers. According to the interviewees, a planned career following vocational education became widespread at the end of the 1970s.

It was at the beginning of the 1980s and the end of the 1970s when there were strong rumours that there were a lot of job opportunities in forestry. Several teachers from forestry schools visited elementary schools and recruited pupils, promising them work. There was a great response to it, and some of us decided to go there after school. Of course, it's always been the sort of place that took those who couldn't get in anywhere else, but of course there have been very smart people too. I didn't take it so seriously, I was more like a worker. Work has always been my top priority, I haven't given education much respect and that isn't necessarily a good thing. But at the time, anyway, it was a boom period. We went there, to forestry school, this group of lads went there. (Man, born in 1964)

Forest workers have not shown an interest in education, not even in vocational education. They placed a higher value on the practical skills they acquired at work. They had often grown up in the profession. When they were young, they worked with their fathers or other older relatives, who taught them the skills needed in forest work.⁸ Those who followed a forestry profession often saw it as an easy option and they took it for granted. They seemed to have drifted into their profession.

Well, it was at that time, in 1973, when we wanted to start working straight after school, and school was like an obligatory thing. In the countryside, they stressed work. And I was interested in forest work. You have to start work as young as possible. In this area, there were no other possibilities except forest work. It was the most familiar job. My father was a forest worker too, and I was already working with him when I was a small kid. Therefore, it stayed in my veins. (Man, born in 1958)

8 Snellman 1996: 120-129.

There is a long tradition of professions being handed down from parents to children in the Finnish countryside. The ideal of family-farm continuity dominated peasant tradition, but the idea was also familiar to other smallholders.⁹ According to the tradition, one of the family members had to stay on the home farm to keep it going and to support their parents when they became old. Meanwhile, other sisters and brothers look for work and education, often away from the home district. According to interviewees, the reasons why forest workers remained on the home farm were not only emotional, but also economic. Gravitation towards education increased the economic risk in the small farm, where the input of all family members was needed. Therefore the possibility to choose a career independently and to get an education was often limited.

I was a seventeen years old in 1935, at elementary school, and then in 1941 it ended and I joined my farther in regular at forest work and I've also done different kind of jobs whatever was available. Three of my brothers were five years in the war, and my father became seriously ill. He died in 1954, of lung cancer. Then I was the only man in work. So I needed to take care of things. I was eighteen years old when I went permanently into forest work, and I did it for almost 50 years. (...) And usually forest workers were also smallholders. They had small farms and those who didn't, they went away, they got better jobs, they moved to the towns and factory work and so on. We were sitting tight up here, it was difficult to leave. (Man, born 1928)

Finnish education policy in the 1950s encouraged people to stay in their home districts, and rural compulsory schools offered occupationally-oriented education aimed at the agricultural professions.¹⁰ Meanwhile, vocational education in general was under development: in 1952, education for agriculture was given in 350 schools, and other vocational training in 300 schools.¹¹ Vocational education spread gradually, but learning professional skills by working was still a strong tradition. Moreover, self-made men and their knowledge were still highly respected among forest workers.¹² In fact, young men were not keen on education in the first place, and it was more important for young people to find a well-paid job. Paid work made young men free to make individual decisions.¹³

9 Flygare 1999: 383-387, Silvasti 2001: 293.

10 Iisalo 1989: 245-246.

11 Leskinen 2001: 198.

12 Ahponen & Järvelä 1983: 153.

13 See also Kumpulainen 2001: 241.

Leaving and returning a countryside

Employment and economic circumstances were the main reasons why people migrated from the periphery to urban areas. Young men often found work in factories and on reconstruction sites. Some trained for other professions, such as carpentry, electrical engineering or metalwork. However, the urban professions did not always lived up to expectations and living in the city was often a disappointment.

Then there was this advertisement for a furniture shop. I thought I'd ask for work there, and then I was there one winter. By spring I was already thinking that I would rather be in the forest. There's more freedom and I can go when I want to do my own work. At that time, I was planning to work more on my farm. Then I left the job. (Man, born in 1957)

When I came from Sweden, I worked for six months in Helsinki, at the Nokias cable factory. I wanted to leave, because if you've lived in the country, you can't be happy in town. There's nothing. What do you do in the evenings if you don't go to the pub? Well, of course there is, if you stay longer, there are other possibilities, of course more than here, but they're different. I don't want them, I want to enjoy nature. (Man, born in 1944)

Forest workers, like others who moved into town from the countryside, longed for their lost way of life. In comparison with life in the country, the urban lifestyle was controlled and the working hours were restrictive. They also suffered in leisure time. They were used to functional leisure time with outdoor activities, and missed the nature, where they found refreshment and relaxation.¹⁴

Some forest workers chose to move back to the countryside – back to the forest, and back to their roots – after only a few years in a urban milieu. According to the interviewees, an indoor job and a regular income were not everything. The main reasons for the re-migration were unhappiness with the residential environment and frustration at work. Even their wages were a disappointment.

When I left home, I went on a car mechanics course and they promised wages that I couldn't imagine working half a day for. Eighteen [Finnish] marks an hour! I said I didn't want to be a slave and that I'd go somewhere else. I couldn't live on a wage of that size. (Man, born 1946)

14 Ahponen & Järvelä 1983: 194–206.

In the end, forestry offered full-time work to former forest-work professionals. The possibility of obtaining permanent work in forestry make decision-making about re-migration easier.

A good life in the countryside

Forest workers opinions about life in Finnish country and urban areas reflect the ideas that are familiar from Finnish films. The earliest films from the 1950s depicted an urban and rural dichotomy, with the towns described as places of sin and destruction. Rural areas with pure nature and real people were the best places to live. These films have also been seen as political reaction against migration. When the modernisation process went further and migration from rural areas increased in the 1960s, the countryside was depicted as oppressive. As in real life, happiness was sought in towns where the urban culture could offer freedom. During the 1970s, anti-urbanisation sentiment was expressed more and more in films, in which the countryside was depicted as place of wilderness and freedom.¹⁵ Resembling romantic and nostalgic scenes of old agrarian lifestyles became popular in Finnish films again during the 1990s, when migration from countryside started to increase.

Modern life in towns did not give countrymen the opportunities and free choice that they expected. It is typical to all modern individuals, forest workers included, appreciate freedom.¹⁶ Some have found freedom from paid work, but forest workers often needed other kinds of freedom. On the contrary, the urban milieu was more like a prison environment and the countryside offered better opportunities to express individuality. Therefore, leaving the urban milieu could also be seen as an individual expression of modernity, not only as a mark of unsuccessful modernisation.

According to the interviewees, forest workers' decisions were often based on issues to do with income, the standard of living, and the working environment. Smallholding forest workers could be seen in the modernisation process as belonging to the peasant tradition. Although they have economic difficulties some of them did not want to leave their home district or to give up their peasant lifestyle even if they had the opportunity. They enjoyed outside work and the freedom it entailed, even though forest work is hard and the wages are low.

Nowadays, living in the countryside is not always sustainable. Forest workers complain about their low wages and they are worried about unemployment. However, unemployment is not the only reason to change from forest work to

15 Tani 1995: 41-42, 47.

16 Kaunisto 2001: 5-14.

another profession. There has always been a high amount of seasonal unemployment in forest work, and in the absence of stress, it means freedom to do other things, such as hobbies or work on the farm. Regardless of the hard work, unemployment and economic instability may be reasons why forest workers encourage their children to choose other professions and to educate themselves. Therefore, sons are not continuing in their fathers' profession, as in peasant traditions. They move in to the towns which mean that rural depopulation will increase and forestry will still struggle in the face of labour shortage.

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Interview

Finnish Forest Museum Lusto, Punkaharju. Forestry Professions in the Changing Society – Oral History Project 1999-2002. Interviews.

Traditional art from the world's forests: Split-wood fan tower carving

Margaret R. Yocom

Introduction

In northern forest communities throughout Europe and North America, people have long expressed their creativity – and more – through carving what was both treasured and close at hand: wood. For almost 20 years, I have been working in Rangeley, Maine, with three generations of men in the Richard family – loggers and wood carvers of French Acadian Canadian descent, whose repertoire including a dizzying array of traditional art forms.¹

William, Rodney, and Rodney, Jr., have made traditional chains with ball-in-cages in many sizes and lengths, and with many different variations. From their chain saws have tumbled wooden loggers and bears, as well as fishermen, patriotic figures, Native American figures, life-sized portraits of people, rabbits, squirrels, beaver, dogs, eagles, deer, and moose. In size, their large carvings are limited only by the size of wood they can find. Rodney especially likes to challenge himself to see just how small a chain saw carving he can make; remarkably, he has been able to bring two-inch rabbits out of a piece of pine. When Rodney turns to his jackknife, he also fashions 4.5-inch high 'Little Old-time Woodsmen' holding logging hand tools, and 3/8 inch rabbits that he loves to give away to girls and women of all ages. To date, about 21,000 of these small rabbits are running loose around the globe.

¹ Some of the following material on William Richard and his fan towers can be found on my earlier publication (Yocom 2000).

Split-wood fan towers in the United States and Europe

The men's most striking creation, though, is certainly William Richard's white cedar fan towers,² a rare form of split-wood carving, and cousin to the wooden birds with fanned-out wings and tails.³ The fan towers are mind-tricking sculptures with two fans perched on an obelisk-like shaft that supports balls in cages. A traditional form associated with logger artists and their families in the United States, American fan towers seem to take one of three forms, all of which can be traced to European antecedents. I have found split-wood carvings in the shape of birds with fanned wings and tails in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Russia, Lithuania, Romania, Hungary, Lithuania, the Czech Republic, the former Yugoslavia, France, Switzerland, and the Philippines. In several of these countries – Finland, Russia, Romania, and Switzerland – I have also located the more scarce fan and fan-tower form. Archives in the National Board of Antiquities Library in Helsinki, Finland, for example, show a fan tower used for Christmas celebrations that is very similar to the second type of fan tower found in the United States, used for Christmas, as well. And, a shingle maker outside Luzern, Switzerland makes a fan tower very much like the third type of fan tower with its cross form and individual fans. Although it is difficult to talk about origins with any degree of certainty, my work indicates that eastern Finland and the Carpathian mountain region are two very important source areas for these traditional wood carvings.

In the 19th century and before, split-wood carvings were associated with Christian religious celebrations. In Finland at Christmas, the wooden bird symbolized the Holy Ghost, and farm families suspended the *joululintu* from the ceiling, over a festive table filled with food (Dewhurst & MacDowell 1987: 50). In the Czech Republic, the bird served as a similar symbol, though it was used more at Easter time. There, the bird was also connected with good luck.

Carved birds and rosettes, but not fan towers, can be found in use today. During World War II in Norway, Russian soldiers imprisoned there by the Nazis stuck

2 For photographs of the Richard family and their wood carvings, including the fan tower, please see my website: <http://mason.gmu.edu/~myocom/yocomroad/maine/Mainefolklore.htm#richard>.

3 Space does not allow for a full treatment of the history of the fan and fan tower form and its link to other split-wood carvings. For information on fan carving in Michigan and its links to Scandinavia, on split-wood carving, on additional fans and fan towers made in the United States, and on fan towers made of slate, see Yocom 2000. See also Klein & Widbom 1994 and Nye & Nye 2003. Additional sources of information have come from my fieldwork in Scandinavia, Switzerland, and the Czech Republic, as well as my consultations with international scholars and museum professionals such as Dr. Janne Vilkkuna, University of Jyväskylä (Finland) and Dr. Johan Knutsson, Nordiska Museet, Stockholm. My special thanks to them. More information on fan towers will be included in the book I am writing on the Richard family's traditional arts, *Generations in Wood*.

wooden split-wood birds through the fences in exchange for food or clothing when the guards were not looking; many Norwegians speak of the birds they have kept as mementos of their acts of resistance during a most difficult era. In the Czech Republic, some handicraft stores selling Czech-only traditional handmade wares offer small birds all year round. And, visitors to Christmas markets in the German-speaking countryside just west of Luzern, Switzerland will find split-wood carved rosettes for sale.

Certainly the birds and fans made with the split-wood technique have thrived in areas where people depend on the forest for their living. Seeking to understand the many dimensions of this split-wood practice, I also see a connection between these carvings and the everyday practice of making split-wood fire starters in both Europe and the northeastern United States. The Ballenberg Freiheitsmuseum in the Berneroblerland of Switzerland, for example, displays such fire starters; and when I showed my photographs of these items to Rodney, he said he had seen his father William make similar ones many times. Slicing into a slender, soft piece of cedar, spruce, or fir and making several long, thin curls in multiple places along the stick bound for the fire certainly would train people in the rudiments of split-wood traditions.

As of 2004, the Richards are the only family in the United States still creating this complex tower form. Carved with jackknives and razor-sharp kitchen knives from the pliable yet strong layer right under the bark of the Maine white cedar, most of William's fan towers stand ten inches high and spread out for four inches on either side. All have two balls of two different sizes carved within the tower, all have two fans, and all rest on a pyramid-shaped base. The design on the tower's summit, though, might be anything from a cross or a heart to a miniature Washington Monument.

The younger Richards' desire to keep alive this carving once practiced by their now-deceased father/grandfather provides clues as to why wood carvers find working with wood something that sustains them far beyond any money they may earn from their art. Their family members, their French American identity and history, their forest home, their logging heritage, the challenge of creativity, and their attitude toward tradition and modernity are all embodied in the white cedar fan tower.

Fan towers, family, and Acadian identity

For William Richard, the fan towers put into material form his memories of growing up among skilled woodworkers, many of them family, in Village-Ste-Pierre, part of Acadian New Brunswick. Descended from Michel Richard, born in France

in 1630 and most likely a peasant from the Loudun area of Poitou,⁴ William told me, “[W]hen I was little, I had a jackknife in my hand *all the time*” (Richard, W. 1986). “I *didn’t* have *enough money* to buy me a *knife*, but I used my *father’s*,” he laughed, remembering. “Make little *guns*, you know.... Little wooden guns. *Whittle*. Everything I needed, I *make it*.” William also made arrows for bows and wooden shoes for the tops of homemade ice skates. All around him men worked in wood: he watched his brother Martin fashion shingles, windmills, and violins. The houses he and his friends grew up in were built by the Village-Ste-Pierre men during communal work parties.

In 1921, when he was 21 years old, William Richard – Guillaume Jean Richard – left his Acadian home of Village-Ste-Pierre, near Rogersville, New Brunswick, for the logging camps of northwestern Maine with one small black cardboard suitcase, no English, and just enough money to get him to the border line at Vanceboro. However, as he travelled by train toward his brother’s place in Maine with his cousin Steve, William carried with him an array of skills and traditions in wood. He had worked on his father’s farm until he hired out to Joe Bunvey and his portable sawmill in McGivney, New Brunswick, during the winter of 1917-1918. After that, William kept at woods work, cutting long logs, peeling the bark off of hemlock near Blackville, and building a driving dam on a branch of the Miramichi.

But it was not until William had been in Maine for twelve years that he began to make the fan tower carvings that would become his trademark. It was 1933. William spits out this part of his story with a vengeance: “The *hardest time I ever had*, by gee whiz, since I was *married* was when *Hoover* was in, Herbert Hoover that old son-of-a-bitch, somebody ought to have *shot* him.” (Richard, W. 1984)

“We were *cutting pulp*. We had to *peel* the bark off from the trees, *saw* four feet and *pile* it up for a *dollar a cord*. I’ll never *forget* it. *Dollar a cord*. And we used to cut about two *cords* a day.”

“But my family – there was *four of them* [kids, then] – I brought them up on *fish* and *deer meat*. I shot all the deer meat we *wanted*. I shot seven *deer* one summer. My wife *canned* them, and in the *wintertime* if I didn’t have any *work*, we *ate* just the same. ’Twas good, she knew how to can.... We didn’t starve when *Hoover* was in.”

“But I worked *enough*, by gee whiz. I worked like hell.”

What William did to work ‘enough’ was to make and sell beer and choke cherry wine that reputedly had a kick like whiskey until Sheriff Bill Leavitt,

4 My thanks to Anne Marie Chiasson (New Brunswick), David Gallant (Prince Edward Island), and Marie Therese Clement-Vedrunes (Belle-Isle-en-Mer, France) for help with the Richard Family genealogy. Some information comes from Robichaud (1981), photocopied pages of which were provided to me by Mrs. Chiasson.

Deputies Butterfield and Sedgeley, and State Officers Greene and Corey – an unusually large contingent of lawmen – found William’s secret cellar, reachable only through a trap door hidden under a rug, and slapped him in the Franklin County Jail. It was in jail from fellow French woodsman Raymond Bolduc⁵ that William learned to make the fans.

The fan tower’s form embodied his experience of being French in a British American community and suffering the consequences. William’s time in jail forms a major section of his life story as he told it to me and, with anger very much alive into his 80s, he returned to the topic in interview after interview. Many men in western Maine during the Depression made liquor to supplement their slim earnings, but many more French than British Americans were jailed. And William worried a great deal about his pregnant wife, Abbie, and their four children. His confinement sat heavy on him, and he turned to the fan tower. This sculpture is, itself, a dialogue of freedom and confinement: its swirling fan, reminiscent of birds frozen in a moment of flight, continuously contends with the tower’s caged ball.

Fan towers and work’s precision

For all of the Richards, the fan towers also make material the precision and skill of good woodsmen who know wood and who know how to use their tools. In jail, William could let his mind escape to the woods where he was a master hard worker. As he would tell me years later: “I learned [my four sons] how to do *work* and do it DECENT... and every one of them is a *damn* good woodsman. They all know everything there is... I used to cut three cords a *day* with a *bucksaw* and *pile* it in the winter, and *snow*, deep snow.... There’s a lot *to* it. If you don’t know *how*, you’ll be working your head off and [won’t] get *nothing*.” (Richard, W. 1984)

William spoke of making the fans with the same precision. Raymond Bolduc would steam the columns of the white cedar towers, spread the columns, and then squeeze between them balls of white birch that came from a local wood turning mill. William refused to make his towers that way; he carved his balls out of the fan tower’s wood block, itself: “If I couldn’t make them *right*, I wouldn’t *make* them.... There’s *quite* a lot *to* it, you’ve got to *think* what you’re *doing* when you’re *making* it, that’s *all*. Least little *mistake*, you might as well *throw* it away and make a new one. I don’t spoil *many*.” (Richard, W. 1984)

5 Born in Gorham, New Hampshire, Raymond had most likely learned to make the fans in the northern Maine logging camps where he had worked.



Figure 1. William Richard carves a white cedar fan tower at the Maine Festival in Brunswick, Maine, July 1986. Photo copyright by Margaret R. Yocom

Fan towers and forest homes

The Richards' forest home is also embodied in the white cedar fan tower. "I couldn't live in a place without trees," Rodney told me once. And, he's never had to. His mountains of western Maine are the most heavily forested region of the state, with about 94 % of its land in trees. Rangeley's Franklin County is especially noted for the diversity of trees in its timber stands (Barringer et al. 1987: 9). Large stands of spruce – especially white, red, and some black spruce – and fir, along with several hardwoods, grace Rangeley's mountains. Tamarack, a deciduous pine known locally as 'hackmatack', also makes Rangeley its home. Rangeley's red ('swamp') maples, silver ('white') maples, and sugar ('rock') maples turn autumn into a blaze of colour. Yellow and gray ('white') birch, with their luminescent bark, stand out against the forest's dark green softwoods. The

beech hold onto their translucent copper leaves long into the silence of winter. Poplar also fills the forests, since areas that have been clear-cut for timber come up to 'popple'.

Rodney's love for the forest and for Maine shines through his work. 99 % of his carvings come from local wood and make him an important part of the local forest economy. When loggers bring Rodney wood or allow him to search for a tree on their property, he gives them a carving; the exchange benefits all. The wood he uses is often woodland blow-downs, trees shot through by lightning, or logs that would be left to rot on the forest floor; his use of it enables loggers and landowners to practice better forestry. His carvings, coming as they do from a retired logger, also represent an occupation that is often misunderstood by many. Because he uses a chain saw for his large sculptures instead of carving them primarily with small hand tools, Rodney can sell his sculptures at prices local, year-round people can afford.

For Rodney Richard, Jr., as well, the forest is home. As he walks through the Maine woods looking for good cedar with Lenita, now his wife, and me, his talk about carving, trees, and other living things dapples our adventure, like the sunlight through the leafy green canopy.

"What kind of cedar tree are we looking for?" I ask. (Richard, R. Jr. 2001)

"Well, from what Father says, it has to be perfectly straight-grained, can't be twisted at all.... Father usually just needs 18 inches or so to get enough to get a fan out of." He walks to a tree whose grain twists as it climbs. "I can show you an example of a twisted one. See how that goes up and then crooks around the grain? See how the grain comes up and twists around? ... It's got to be perfectly straight grain.... We're looking for one that's nice and straight with no knots." We keep searching; the loudest sound is the crunching of our shoes as we tramp on fallen trees, leaves, and twigs on green moss.

He pauses by another cedar: "See this one's got limbs all the way down, [and] it can't have any limbs.... These places here where limbs were? There'll be knots there." ...

Rodney Jr. kneels to survey one last cedar: "HmMMM. I don't know, maybe. Twists a little bit there, not too bad." He points to the base of the tree: "Father says you can't [use the wood] down in here [where the swelling of the roots is]. You got to wait till [the swelling stops, in] like 16, 18 inches." He rises from the forest floor, and we continue our walk.

Fan towers: Artistic challenge and responsibility

The fan towers embody the Richards' desire to be challenged by their artistic work. When William passed away in 1993, neither Rodney nor Rodney, Jr., rushed to make the fan towers. The fan had, after all, been William's signature piece; and out of a respect often shown in communities of traditional artists, the two men were long used to deferring to William as the sole fan-carver in the family. But as the years passed, Rodney, Jr., began to wonder whether he or his father could make the fans. In 2001, they both decided to try.

As Rodney, Jr., sat carving a fan in July of 2001, I asked him how it felt to be making the fans. "Oh, it feels nice to actually be able to do one," he admitted, blowing sawdust off a piece of cedar. "I didn't think I was going to be able to. To actually accomplish it is quite a feeling... When I got that first one that come out, this morning, I dashed right out to show my father, just like a little kid. Yeah, it was pretty exciting." ...

It was "family tradition," he said, that made him interested in pursuing his grandfather's fans. "[And] they're pretty," Rodney Jr., continued, as the sounds of carving accompanied his words. "... The fans were really neat, and to be able to do that ... – there aren't that many people that do that type of carving – and to try to figure out how to do it, to answer questions, and – teach someone else to do it. Ohhh, I would have been disappointed [if I wouldn't have been able to make a fan]... I think [Grandfather]'d be proud that we kept it going, that it was important enough to us, for someone to continue to do it." (Richard, R. Jr. 2001)

Similarly, Rodney Richard, Sr., also feels challenged by and responsible for this rare art form of his father's. Rodney went through 12 attempts before he completed a fan he was willing to keep. His choice of knives makes his feeling of responsibility to both the fan and his father clear. "[See] that brown handled knife there?," Rodney asked my friends and me one July night in 2001 as he showed us his first two fans. "It's nothing but a thin old steak knife or something. And that's what [Father] used. I went over to the [Logging] Museum and got that out of the case, and used the same knife to split [the fans] with, [to] see if I couldn't make them – ." Rodney laughed a bit, stopping himself from ending his sentence, as if remembering. "Maybe he'd help me, but – " Rodney's voice trailed off. (Richard, R. Sr. 2001)

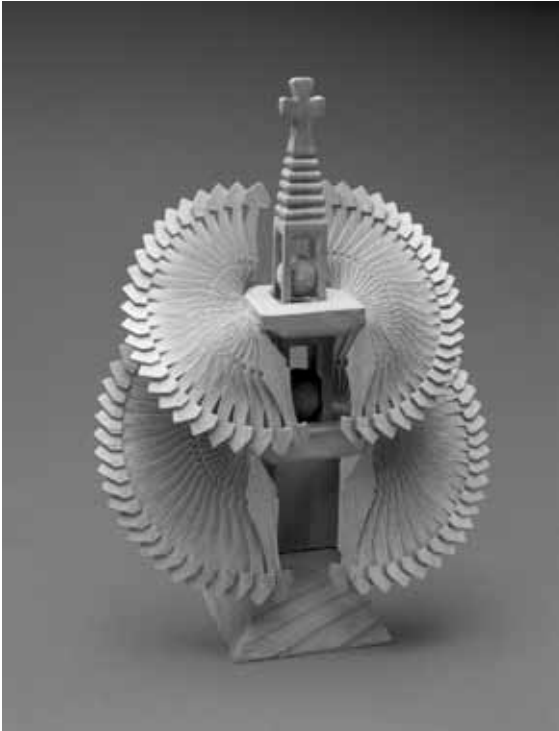


Figure 2. White cedar fan tower by William Richard, c. 1986. 10 × 6 inches (smaller fan) × 7 inches (larger fan) by 2½ inches. Photo copyright 1995 by Melville D. McLean

Conclusion: Fan towers, tradition, and modernity

Memories of family, awareness of French American status in Maine, honoring the skills of a logger, love for forest homes, and the challenge of creativity and responsibility: for William, Rodney Sr., and Rodney Jr., all these shine through the fan towers they carve. Certainly the fan tower glorifies hand work and hand tools. Yet it would be overstating the case to say that the Richards treasure the jackknife and earlier carving practices above all else, for they are also in love with the power saw, its roar and its speed. Rodney Sr., believing that wood processors and other mechanized woods equipment have made chain saw operators almost obsolete, carved himself an seven-foot-tall 'Chain Saw Man' from a Maine white pine. The Richards' full repertoire represents, rather, a constant dialogue between traditional practices and modernity.

“Traditional practices,” as folklorist Tad Tuleja suggests, “enable us to present ourselves, in a fluctuating present, to ourselves, at precisely the moment when universal culture – the culture of ‘Cocacolonization’ – seeks to palliate, and thus obliterate, stylistic distinctions.” They help us “recover from amnesia, [and]... create a ‘counter-memory’” (Tuleja 1997: 14-15). But traditional wood carvers like the Richards do more. They seek for balance, for blend. Neither stuck rigidly on older forms nor flying forgetful into modernity’s arms, they aim for the wide embrace of the multiple, living instead in that less certain, more restless in-between space. As art historian E. Paolozzi writes, “There is a special sort of cognitive experience where a person can look at, and associate, disparate things at the same time. At once, each with each. It becomes almost a description of the creative act – to juggle with these things” (quoted in Herr 1996: 7). Jugglers of tradition and modernity, lovers of wood, jackknives, and chain saws, the Richards carry their bears, logger-figures, and fan towers into the 21st century.

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Extracting companies and the local communities: Building the relationship

Ksenia Ryabinkina

Introduction

This paper focuses on extracting and mining industries of Finland and Komi Republic (Russia). The purpose is to understand and compare the development of Finnish and Russian extracting companies in the context of social responsibility. The results in both countries show the distinct tendency among mining and extracting companies towards community involvement. The choice to undertake the study in these two regions is determined by several factors:

- The extracting sector plays an important role in the economic development in both countries.
- The two regions are cooperating with each other in all spheres of life: business, culture and education.
- Finland represents one of the most socially stable and secure states in the world and acts as an example of successful social development.
- The recent historical backgrounds of the countries are different: Finland has been a capitalistic state, while Russia is still under the great influence of the post-soviet conditions.

The cooperation with the Scandinavian countries and especially with Finland is very important for the regions in the European North of Russia and for Komi Republic. Finland is geographically the closest foreign country, and shares a railway line with Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Cooperation with Finland is supported at the level of local governments of Russian European North and the governors of the northern Russian provinces regard Finland as the most valuable partner.

The increasing role of social responsibility among extracting companies gives many topics for discussion, argument and strategic planning in both Finland and Russia. The ambition for a company to be involved in a modern industrial economy, performing stable operations, has a strong connection with how responsible the company acts for its internal and external stakeholders.

The world leading oil extractors British Petroleum and Shell/Royal Dutch, and the leading mining company Rio Tinto provides models of implementing the agenda of social responsibility. These companies operating in different parts of the world are destined to face very different societies, overcoming barriers in culture, language, fears and mistrust (www.bsr.org).

However, not only transnational companies face the importance of community involvement. Firms operating inside one state (especially if it is as big and diverse as Russia) have to cooperate with very different social communities. In Finland and in Russia companies rarely have entered an already existing community. Instead new communities were built around the mine sites. Such communities are very often closely connected to the company, and in most cases, families of the employees constitute the community. Such ties make the role of social responsibility even bigger. The companies have to consider the people who constitute the community, and they must provide a safe environment for people in the area and have to find ways of cooperation. In Russia the companies increasingly have to demonstrate that they are willing to meet strategic needs of the local community in an environmentally sensitive way. Society influences such behaviour in their expectations on extracting companies to be environmentally and socially responsible, as well as financially successful. The companies regard positive environmental and social performance as essential conditions for sustainable business.

My interest to compare social performance in such countries as Finland and Russia is due to certain differences in social and economic development of the countries. Finland, being a very secure and most reliable uncorrupted state, is covering the needs of the citizens, with a quite different understanding of social responsibility than the one in Russia. The times are gone when *community involvement* meant for companies to construct hospitals, schools, sport complexes and fire stations, take care of the elderly and disabled people. The Finnish society does not expect such support, and does not demand this from the company. In Finland, people regard tax payments as a part of the social performance of the industry, and social responsibility is more associated with sponsorships, or philanthropy.

The companies in both countries perform their social responsibility in quite the same areas: education, sport, culture and religion. These spheres receive the

investment, or sponsorship from the industrial enterprises, in both Finland and Russia. The difference between the two countries is that in Russia, social expectations are much higher.

To regulate social expectations in the process of business–society cooperation, companies and communities agree upon key identifications, which regulate the social investment. The identification of what group will represent the community is a very important step. The general public is a very diverse stakeholder, and therefore it is not clear who represents the community. Companies, in the both countries, mention that they have to decide what parts of society they are willing to support, otherwise the line of interested negotiators will be endless. Thus, identification is necessary for both the community and for the company. Only after being identified, the community can have stable position in business–society partnership.

Another important target of identification is that of areas, which need support from the company. Since the company does not have to take responsibility for everything, it is crucial to agree upon the areas, which require additional support, and which will be under the responsibility of company. Both companies and communities are to find an optimal direction of the social investment into the local communities. Therefore it is necessary to investigate the social needs of the community, either by addressing the question to the local authorities, or by performing social audit campaigns. The companies welcome cooperation with the local government and its assistance in identifying the needs of people, since it shortens the process. However, in some areas, where the social distrust to the local authorities is very high, audit campaign is essential to ensure the investor that money spent for the community needs is worth it, and has a potential of covering actual needs.

Social development in Russian extracting companies

There is a widespread opinion about the unique extracting potential of the Russian European North; since only a few deposits have been extracted, many deposits should still be unknown due to the difficult access to the lands. Intensive extraction of the mineral resources in the Russian European North proceeds at the most 50–60 years. An average life cycle of a large mineral deposit is from 30 to 40 years and smaller deposits are usually abandoned after 5–15 years of exploitation. Significant deposits of oil in the European North are concentrated in the Timan–Pechora Fuel Industrial Complex (Komi Republic). The deposits contain 11.6 million tons of oil, which is the third largest of the Russian oil reserves, after Western Siberia and the Volga region (Dmitrieva 2001).

From the beginning of the 1990s, the Fuel Energy Complex, which is a part of the Fuel Industrial Complex, has been subjected to a crisis phenomenon. The oil and coal recovery has decreased, and the growth rates of extraction of natural gas have been reduced as well. This reduction has led to crisis also in the social development of the regions. In certain areas deficiency of the electric power has been observed, as former (soviet) share distribution of resources from the centre is replaced with free trade through direct contracts between consumers and suppliers or with sale-and-purchase on commodity-raw stock exchanges. Modernisation and reconstruction of the equipment buildings have to be performed by private enterprises and associations, financed by the companies' own reserves or by bank credits (Ryabinkina 2001). The situation within the Fuel Energy Complex is very complicated, and the social pressure is still growing, demanding reconstruction of social objects (hospitals, kindergartens, sport halls, or schools), and additional financial support of elderly people, young talents, disabled, etc.

The analysis will focus on the social development within oil extracting business, the leading industry among 30 sectors of the Komi Republic (Figure 1).

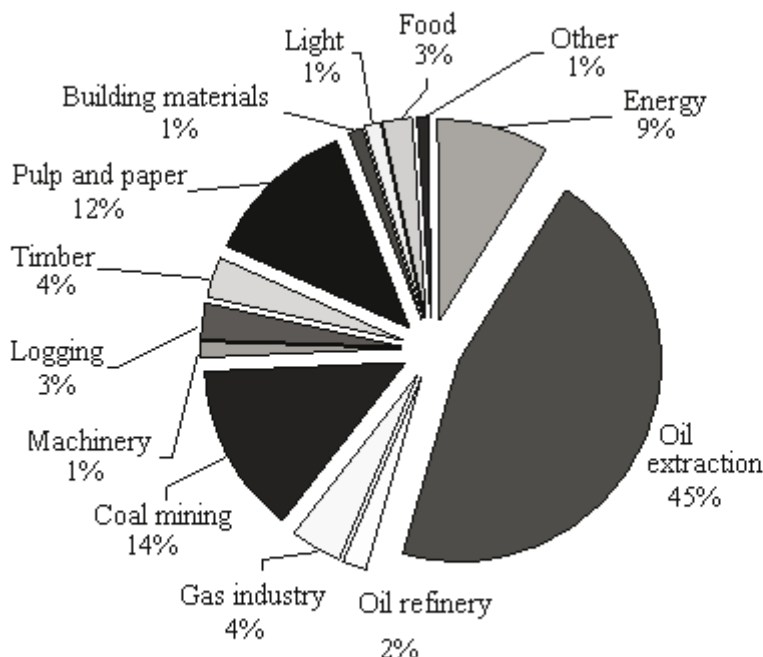


Figure 1. The roles of the industrial sectors in the economy of the Komi Republic

The Komi Republic is one of the richest regions of the Russian Federation in mineral and natural resources. Leading industries of the Komi Republic are mining and other heavy industries, and forest industry.

In the Republic of Komi there are about 30 oil enterprises. The major enterprise is Lukoil Komi Ltd., a subsidiary of JSC Lukoil. Lukoil Komi Ltd. extracts more than half of the oil deposits in the Republic. The potential prospects of oil extraction are connected with exploration of petroleum deposits in Usinsk area and oil-titanium deposits of Yarega (Dmitrieva 2001).

The industrial development in the region has had an extensive escalation since the beginning of the 20th century. In the areas adjacent to the oil extraction operations there were developed infrastructures and municipalities, which supported long-term settlements for thousands of people. One of the key components of the economic and industrial complexes born at the mine sites is the workforce and the labour potential, which was built up during many decades. To keep this workforce, social institutions like schools, hospitals, and sport halls were constructed in towns, villages, or settlements of the industrial areas. Nowadays, support from the federal and local budgets is not enough for such social objects, and municipalities expect some investment from the oil extracting businesses.

If we look at the agenda of social performance in the peripheral communities of the Komi Republic that are severely influenced by the oil extraction, we should keep in mind, that the basic needs of the community are connected, firstly, with the historical development during the soviet times, and, secondly, with the climatic conditions of the region.

The two factors are interconnected. In permafrost regions of the Komi Republic, the settlements at the mine sites were to some extent founded by exiles, i.e. imprisoned people during the Stalin regime. In permafrost regions, basic food reserves could not be provided in the same way as in the southern regions. People came here to work in prosperous oil extracting industry; they were from different regions and, unlike local population, were not adjusted to live in such severe winters. Goods (certain food products, clothes) were delivered to the largest river ports at the Pechora River, and then carried to the most remote parts by smaller rivers. To transport cargoes by river is simple and rather cheap. In some parts of the Arctic North of Komi, the rivers are open 20–25 days during the summer for transportation by boat, before they freeze again. At other seasons, which is almost 11 months of the year, the only way to deliver essential goods to certain areas is by helicopters (there are no roads, or railway), which nowadays is too burdensome for the local economies. Due to these severe conditions, the European North is a very vulnerable economic region. The production efficiency here is low, the prime reason being

climate since the region is highly energy-consuming. There are also social problems (unemployment, health conditions and demography, which demand stable and large financing to keep a workforce and lower the strikes. Having rich natural resources and playing an important role in the national economy, the area of Arctic North of Komi most sharply feels budgetary deficiency and its consequences. The state is not capable to allocate the means, necessary for maintaining the level of living achieved during the decades of a high raw mineral extraction (Ryabinkina 2001).

As mentioned above, most of the oil extracting territories in the Komi Republic are found far north of the Arctic Circle. This circumstance determines several community life aspects, which constitute primary needs of people living in Arctic North – the most important is the need of the year-round heating. The preparedness for the so-called ‘heating season’ is the key concern for the municipalities, which can be resolved (and is done in some municipalities) partly by stable financing from the companies. The severe climate of the Arctic North region influences greatly the health of people, who need good health rehabilitation in southern resorts during the vacation. It is important for the companies to ensure sufficient medical treatment of the personnel and their children (Ryabinkina 2001).

Internal stakeholders of the oil companies get medical treatment and health restoration in resorts to cover for basic needs. They can also be active in sport life to support health in the severe climate. Such needs are obvious to any employer in this region, and therefore the personnel of the oil extracting company is securely ensured in medical treatment. The companies also sponsor summer vacations of the employees’ children in southern resorts of Russia or other countries to restore the health of the young generation and their parents. Among the internal stakeholders a specific place is devoted to retired employees and participants of the World War II and local conflicts. The support includes additional financing to add to the pension, and special gifts for the Day of the Old People and other holidays (Figure 2).

For external stakeholders the extracting companies prepare special programmes in various spheres of life. The companies support the construction of sport complexes, sport courts, schools, kindergartens, and healthcare centres in order to help local municipalities. Organising sport competitions in basketball, mini-football, lawn tennis and hockey has become one of the traditional forms of investment in the community as well. Another concern of the social performance is charity and donations to various non-profit organisations, especially schools and clubs for children. This is an attempt to support the young generation and help the state schools to encourage children to education, sports and artistic achievements. The old tradition of Russian merchants to sponsor the construction of the sacred places – churches and cathedrals – is nowadays renewed in the Komi Republic (see Figure 2).

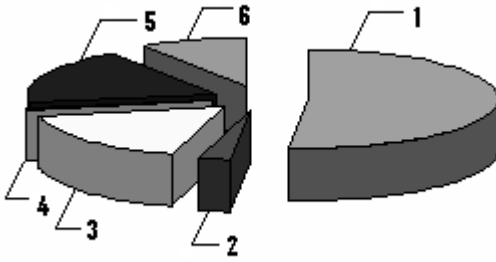


Figure 2. Distribution of investments for different external and internal stakeholders of the Lukoil Komi company in 2000. 1: financial support to more than 5000 retired personnel of the company, 2: musical equipment for the school N1 of the Usinsk town. 3: charity donation to the Russian Orthodox religious community of Usinsk. 4: charity donation to the Muslim religious community of Usinsk. 5: financial support to the former employees of the company, who face difficulties. 6: financial support to the families of 7 members of the nuclear submarine “Kursk”

Social development in Finnish extracting companies

Before the 20th century, Finland was thought to contain only limited mineral deposits, being a modest producer of minerals. The country’s most important deposits were located at Outokumpu in eastern Finland. Discovered in 1910, the Outokumpu area contained commercially exploitable deposits of copper, iron, sulphur, zinc, cobalt, nickel, gold, and silver. In 1953 prospectors discovered a major source of iron ore at Otanmaki in central Finland. Other sites yield non-metallic minerals, including pyrites and apatite, which is a low-grade phosphoric ore used for fertiliser production, and stone for building. During 1950–1970s, the mineral industry employed more than 60 000 people. Only 500 of them were in mining and quarrying; the others worked in mineral processing (Burtsev et al. 2001).

Before the 1980s the government intervened directly in the mineral sector. Under the Finnish law, the Ministry of Trade and Industry controlled prospecting and mining rights. The ministry’s Geological Survey dominated prospecting, and it made most of the major mineral discoveries. The industry comprised two large, state controlled companies – the Outokumpu Group and Rautaruukki – and a number of smaller, mainly private companies. The Outokumpu Group, by far the largest producer, operated the Outokumpu mines as well as others mines, producing cadmium, chromite, ferrochrome, mercury, pyrite, and zinc. The company also

invested in foreign mines and produced mining equipment. Rautaruukki controlled the Otanmaki iron mine, other mines producing cobalt, quartz and vanadium, and Finland's largest steel plant (Burtsev et al. 2001).

By the mid-1980s, Finland had exploited most of its limited mineral deposits, and thus the country had to work hard to supply its processing industries. The Geological Survey had undertaken an extensive exploration program to find new resources. Finnish firms have purchased interests in mineral operations in other Scandinavian countries – the Outokumpu Group, for example, was one of the few firms in the world that controlled all aspects of the production of stainless steel (Burtsev et al. 2001).

Finland lacks petroleum, gas, and coal reserves, but it has other significant mineral deposits. Nowadays Finland has an industrialised market economy, with the metal industry being one of the key sectors of the economy (Figure 3).

The analysis of the Finnish mining industry will focus on enterprises involved in quite intense mining operations. In the interviews, internal stakeholders have been put forward as the most valuable and important assets of the company. Social responsibility for the employees is regarded essentially important to keep people at their jobs, to improve their skills, and to inspire them for the best work output, thus securing development and progress of the company. The social support of

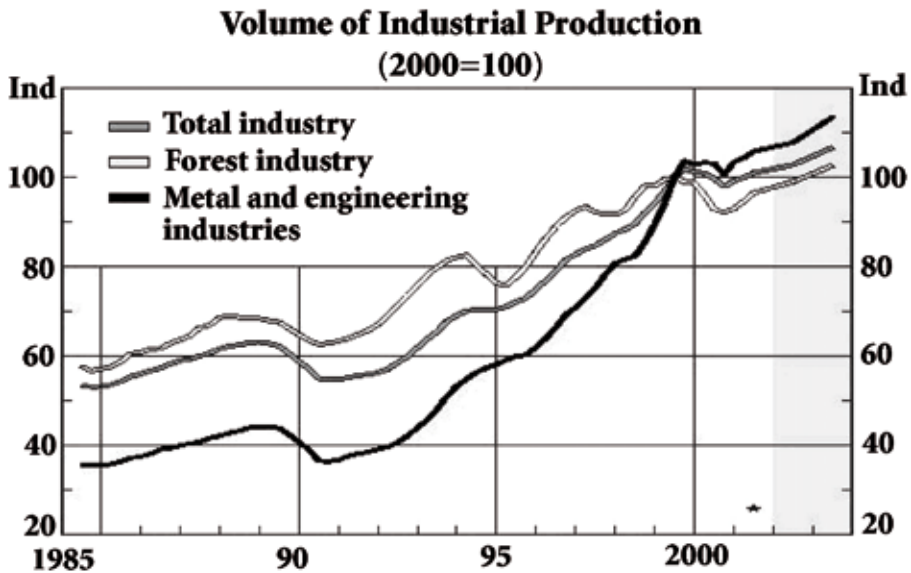


Figure 3. Metal and engineering industries in the economy of Finland

the internal stakeholders includes financing of sport competitions, feasts, improved healthcare, and educational programmes. At some enterprises, there exists a bonus salary; if any employee at any level of the company, for example, manages to improve his/her skills and achieve more than the standard requirements, he/she will receive a bonus salary.

External stakeholders are respected 'neighbours' for industrial mining companies. In an interview, the company's attitude is presented as following:

Mainly what we have to do is to be a good corporate citizen, if you like. Of course, we have to take care of the environment, because it is important for all of us, whether you are inside, or outside. But on top of that, acting in small communities, like mining open sites, we have to do certain other things being one of the bigger companies in the neighbourhood. What I mean is that we have to support sports, young teams, some other events. Cultural things, schools may be a part of it. But it's a very delicate thing. We do not want anybody to become too dependent on our ability to do something for them. We would be quite happy to give them a bit of support. But it must not be their main source of money. Those days are over. I can remember in the old days when a mine has been built, and then a school, then there was a fire station, and this was built by the mine. These days we do not built anything. We provide the jobs and we intend on top of that to provide some extra every now and then to the purely social areas. A lot of things of course go towards the youth: sport, schools.

Companies in Finland cooperate with the local municipalities in order to establish contact with the community via a reliable mediator. If people wish to address any questions to the company, they first go to the municipality and explain, or write down their views. After this contact, the municipality summarises the results, which are discussed with the company's representatives. This process is working very effectively, because the company can do the same when it wants to know people's opinion on any activity. People trust the authorities, and they feel very involved and secure. Some decades ago, local municipality authorities were among company's employees, i.e. the same people in two different positions. "Nowadays it is impossible, double standards ideology is not in business any more – there are companies and there are municipalities, different and independent", said one of the respondents.

The attitude to social reporting is uncertain among mining companies of Finland. Social reporting is considered as something unnecessary and even negative, since it may attract too many people, who will seek the financial support of the company. However, environmental reporting is regarded as mandatory. The companies feel proud for their efforts to minimise the damage of the environment. The negative attitude to social reporting clearly shows the problem of identifying

the external stakeholders, who would be interested in this report. One of the respondents commented:

The company is not such a big mining company. The major reason is that there is not much to report about. Occasional events organised for the internal and external parties are important, but still now it is not common for our company to perform social reporting. Environmental reporting is mainly volunteered in our company, social reporting is not common, but there are discussions about this issue.

The same attitude is observed in the other company: social reporting cannot be mandatory, and companies do not want to publish their expenses for social performance.

Conclusion

Communities in extracting territories generally depend on a single sector of business. Extracting companies represent the biggest influential actor, especially if the territories are in the extreme North, where agriculture is next to impossible. Social development requires a great supply of energy, as in the case of Arctic North areas of Komi Republic. By bringing modern standards, companies inevitably change the life of the native population. Communities being dependent on a single producer are fragile to the consequences, which follow after the mine is abandoned or when the sector market decreases.

Nowadays businesses are collaborating with other businesses and with organisations of other sectors, such as government, educational institutions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). To encourage the sustainable future, the company may agree on cooperation with local governments or local NGOs. Cooperating with the authorities, the enterprise may strengthen its position in the area and gain a better understanding of the interests and concerns of the local communities. In this way, companies avoid the risk of conflict, making this kind of relationship desirable for the business.

The necessity for the community to be active in cooperation with business is clearly shown in the concept of 'social power' (Olsen 1972), which depends on three sources: 1) numbers of people, 2) social organisation, 3) resources. Clearly, the local community has a larger number of people than the personnel of the mine site, but it has weaker social organisation and control over resources. The *community*, representing a majority compared to the minority of the company, cannot always dominate and influence the development of the region. Majorities

may suffer oppression for long periods, may be powerless or may possess only the residual power of inertia (Olsen 1972). Thus, a minority having better social organisation and stronger control over resources can control the development of a powerless majority. However, an organised majority represents the greatest social force, and can reverse the control, which is highly dependent on the resources of any kind: money, property, prestige, knowledge, competence, and all natural resources, that constitute the primary living conditions for humans. The problems in the Arctic North are not only due to the failures of the governments, or of enterprises, but are also due to the weakness of the social power and organisation of the community. Therefore, the local community, as an organised and active participant in the process of industrial exploitation of its lands, may gain better social development.

The evolution of any process implies changes. Gradually, the opinion towards social responsibility will be changing, and it is important while assessing the company's activities at present to keep in mind that the future will bring new standards and new perspectives in social responsibility and community involvement, achieving beneficial cooperation between industrial enterprises and local communities.

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British Columbia's Community Forest Pilot Project: Can a localized trend survive in an increasingly globalized forest sector?

Kirsten McIlveen

This research examines the Community Forest Pilot Project (CFPP) situated in the province of British Columbia. In 1998, legislation was passed in the province to implement and test community forest agreements for five years. Under this program, the government has allocated land to ten communities, which have assumed responsibility for managing local forests. This community forest tenure is a new public forest licensing arrangement, and represents a symbolic and significant shift within the forest industry. Through the new legislation governing the CFPP, the prominent players within British Columbia's forest industry – the government and large industrial timber firms – have been extended to include communities. While there are models of local community involvement in forest management within Canada, British Columbia's CFPP represents a comprehensive network of community-managed forests on public land that is unique in the Canadian context.

Context for the rise of the Community Forest Pilot Project

British Columbia's economy has largely developed based upon high rates of natural resource exploitation, especially within the forest sector. The forest industry, which is dominated by high volume timber extraction and clear-cut logging, has provided significant returns to the province (Marchak et al. 1999). The industry, through the forest tenure system, has also provided wealth to many British Columbians, and employment and stability for many workers, at least from the 1940s to the 1970s (Hayter 2000, Marchak et al. 1999). Despite the immense wealth

generated by the forest sector, its mass export-oriented production has made it and forest-dependent communities vulnerable to the fluctuations of commodity markets (Hayter 2000, Robson 1996, Stiven 2000). Of late, British Columbia's forest sector has been characterized by plant closures, layoffs and corporate losses, leading many to declare a state of crisis in the industry (e.g. Beckley 1998, Hayter 2000, Marchak et al. 1999).

In British Columbia, a push for greater public involvement in forest planning has developed, as it has become clear that traditional models of forestry cannot address community interests. Rural communities, especially single-industry towns, have come to realize the value of diversifying their economies and are thereby seeking more input into how the forests are managed. Community forestry is increasingly seen as one of several ways in which this desire can be met (Beckley 1998, Duinker et al. 1991, 1994, Gunter 2000, Inglis 1999). Hence, the development of the CFPP can be viewed as a direct response to the uncertainties facing many forest-dependent communities and their demands for increased control of the resource base.

For many, British Columbia's community forestry licenses represent the beginning of tenure reform in the forest sector and offer local communities a chance to influence or shape their future; expectations of the project are high. However, as with much of the academic literature on community forestry, which tends to focus almost exclusively on the necessary community level conditions for achieving 'success', this government initiative has not adequately considered the external pressures within the increasingly globalized forest industry that may limit the 'success' of individual community forestry initiatives. Therefore, the research considers if and how British Columbia's CFPP, as a localized trend, will survive in an increasingly globalized forest sector.

Approach to the research

This question is addressed in two stages. First, a conceptual model of the key factors affecting the viability of community forestry is developed. This model draws upon multiple bodies of scholarship that reflect the multiple scales in which community forests exist and is based on the literatures on community forestry and community economic development, property rights and resource control, and globalization (localization). The rationale for drawing on this broad range of scholarship derives from the simple but underappreciated fact, as argued in Taylor (2000) based on the case of Community Forestry in Mexico, that community forest initiatives are influenced and can be constrained by factors beyond the community. Moreover, the viability of community forest initiatives is not solely

a function of community characteristics. This suggests a need to conceptualize the factors that affect the viability of community forestry at scales above that of a community and its forest alone.

The first body of scholarship that is reviewed is *community forestry and community economic development*. Given the considerable overlap of the community forestry and the community economic development literature, they are reviewed as one body of scholarship. As the phenomenon of community forestry has developed, a growing portion of the scholarship on community forestry and community economic development has sought to identify the factors that determine the success of individual ventures. The result of these efforts has been a number of normative models of community forestry. While these models are instructive, they tend to be based on a rather static view of the larger industry in which community forests exist. As a result, they tend to focus almost exclusively on the internal community factors that determine success, without paying adequate attention to key factors beyond the confines of the community.

The second body of scholarship that is reviewed pertains to *property rights and resource control*. Issues of tenure, security, and ownership are central to the discussion of the constraints and enablers to the implementation and functioning of community forestry. Increasingly in British Columbia, the use, control, and management of the forest resource base is being contested as private firms, environmental groups, Aboriginal groups, and even foreign governments challenge traditional provincial government regulation of the industry (Hayter 2000). The pilot adds to this challenge as it represents a significant shift within the forest industry to include communities as key players. The scholarship on property rights and resource control provides insights on how communities can influence the management of resources and the degree to which levels of ownership may affect a community's decision-making power.

Lastly, the scholarship on globalization (and localization) is reviewed. This scholarship recognizes many supra-community factors and conditions that affect communities, but also compels us to recognize that these external factors are sometimes reproduced or minimized by local actions. Through globalization, forest-dependent communities are rapidly being drawn into a competitive international economy. Globalization, as manifest in neoliberal policy reforms, is reshaping the forest sector and current forest policy in British Columbia. In particular, community forestry in British Columbia is influenced and shaped by the global forest industry. That being said, local actors are not helpless in this process; indeed, as Taylor (2000: 3) claims, local actors (e.g. forest-dependent communities) are "transforming their social and economic institutions unpredictably, appropriating and acting on new external structures".

The second part of this research is to 'test' and refine the conceptual model based on the observed initial experiences of British Columbia's ten community forestry pilots. In 1998, British Columbia's government established the community forest tenure. By 2002, five of the pilots had made no progress beyond their initial selection as pilot sites, one had been awarded the community forest tenure, one had signed a forest licence, and three had progressed to the stage of harvesting and selling logs. In other words, progress of each community forest has significantly varied. The research seeks to identify the reasons for this variation through the 'testing' of the conceptual model.

The field research suggested an alternative framework for conceptualizing the key factors that appeared to constrain or enable the progress of the pilots, then was originally developed. The field research suggests that the pilots must complete a series of successive stages in order to ultimately achieve success, and while the stages largely conform to factors at each scale, the stage-metaphor more accurately prioritizes these factors. First, a community forest must *secure an 'adequate' forest land base*, then *draw on community support and expertise*, then *comply with the regulatory environment*, and finally, *secure necessary markets and exist within a complex global environment*. These stages are not insignificant, which may explain the highly variable progress of the ten pilots over the first five years of the project.

The refined conceptual model

In the second part of the research, the conceptual model was 'tested' and refined based on the observed initial experiences of British Columbia's ten pilots. Intensive investigation of the pilot largely supported prior conceptualizations. This field research, however, also identified a number of additional enabling and constraining factors. Furthermore, it suggested an alternative model for organizing these many factors; one based on stages rather than scales. In order to survive and ultimately succeed, British Columbia's pilots must first *secure a forest land base*, then *draw on community attributes*, then *comply with the regulatory system*, and finally, *secure markets and exist within a complex global environment*. Final minimal refinements to this model were made in order to reflect the diverse experiences of the remaining pilots and account for their varied progress. In general, the investigations of the remaining nine pilots confirmed the importance of prior identified key constraints and enablers to the implementation and functioning of British Columbia's CFPP. What conclusions, then, can be drawn about these key constraints and enablers? Additionally, what can be said about the likely success of British Columbia's ten initial pilots?

Securing a forest land base is a necessary first stage for a pilot and those that

have not been able to secure a forest land base have not progressed beyond being chosen as a pilot site. This first stage was more difficult in areas where there was competition for the land from multiple user groups such as ranchers, First Nations, larger forest licensees and the Ministry of Forests' Small Business Forest Program. Competition occurs where there are divergent interests and the feeling that a benefit to one group will entail a loss to another. Securing a forest land base is facilitated by a lack of competition for an area, which occurs when an area is considered difficult to manage and/or politically contentious.

While some of the pilots have generated revenue despite their small size and low Annual Allowable Cut (AAC), their size limits their capacity to generate more revenue, to achieve economies of scale, and to become self-sufficient within the global forest industry. However, as some of the objectives and actual experiences indicate, the potential constraints over the quantity of the forest land base may be mitigated by innovation on the part of the community. For example, several pilots expressed a desire to produce eco-certified products and that the 'environmental community' was a promising market. To date, however, none of the pilots have accessed this market.

The quality and the location of the forest land base varies between the pilots, as some must contend with steeper terrain, severe forest health concerns, and/or visual quality concerns and longer distances to mills and markets, which may affect their costs of forest management. However, a more diverse forest land base may compel communities to seek out alternative sources of revenue through education, recreation and non-timber forest products, as exemplified by the some of the proposed objectives and actual experiences.

Securing a forest land base may be a function of political efficacy especially with respect to the relations with the district and regional Ministry of Forests. Drawing on community attributes can influence the success of a pilot and also contribute to gaining the support of the Ministry of Forests. While community support is initially important as it can contribute to the likelihood of securing a forest land base and gaining the support of the Ministry of Forests, it may not be necessary for the ongoing success of a pilot. For example, community support may be fickle as inactivity or delays in the community forest can result in waning community support and interest and even a lack of confidence in the process.

Appropriate forestry expertise, business experience and leadership are vital in order to gain the support of the Ministry of Forests and for the ongoing success of a pilot. A lack of formal and/or informal forestry experience and business expertise makes securing initial revenue for a community forest difficult and contributes to 'volunteer burnout', which indicates that some communities may be unprepared to take on the management of a community forest. With appropriate

experience and expertise, some of the pilots were able to secure a bank loan, hire a manager and become productive.

While previous experience with community involvement in resource planning is not vital, it can allow a community to work through painful conflicts and gain forestry knowledge prior to engaging in the community forest process. Some of the pilots that have not progressed beyond being chosen as a pilot site may have benefited from conflict resolution prior to being 'thrown into' the pilot process.

The pilots that have secured a forest land base and drawn on community attributes must also be able to comply with the provincial regulatory system. Those pilots that exhibited a cohesive community and/or demonstrated appropriate experience, expertise and leadership were more likely to gain the support of the Ministry of Forests, which is vital in order to comply with the regulatory system. Once awarded the community forest tenure, communities are given more control of, and responsibility for, the adjacent forest. Ironically, given the aims of community forestry, this system tends to facilitate an industrial approach to forestry as it limits the management of products other than timber and inhibits alternative harvesting. Despite the community forest tenure, the pilots have limited rights, as access rights do not extend beyond the timber resource to non-timber forest products. While the community forest agreement prescribes the botanical and other non-timber products that a community forest agreement holder may harvest, manage or charge fees for, the pilots are still constrained by the lack of rights that go beyond timber products. Those pilots that have been successful at harvesting and selling logs to the local mills also experience the limits of the provincial revenue appraisal system. This system is applied to large forest licenses and is geared toward larger-scale production. While there is some reduced stumpage rates for smaller pilots, in general, it does not reflect the operating costs of smaller-scale forestry, nor does it account for the small size and low AAC of the pilots. This indicates that those pilots that have progressed further and are best equipped to contend with the requirements of the first two stages are currently experiencing the constraints of the regulatory system. Moreover, it raises concerns over whether the pilots, given their small size and limited authority, can manage their resources on this scale and compete within the global forest industry. This task is made doubly hard by potential problems such as waning community interest and support, diminishing timber resources, unforeseen severe forest health concerns and volatile markets.

That being said, through innovation, product development and increased specialization, some of the pilots may continue to be successful given the right circumstances. Indeed, some of the pilots are interested in accessing niche markets and providing specialty products (e.g. eco-certified wood products) that may mitigate the constraints of the provincial revenue appraisal system and current market prices.

While some pilots may be better suited to niche markets, given their location and the quality of their forest land base, none of the pilots have, to date, taken steps to implement these initiatives. In general, they are constrained by the costs of its implementation and limited market demand for specialty products.

This research has identified the different stages that are necessary for the pilots to be successful. Their experiences indicate that, despite being able to progress through many of the initial stages deemed necessary for community forestry, the pilots are constrained by latter stages. Ultimately, the question remains as to whether communities, through the pilots, can and will succeed in the management of the forest resource. Of the four stages required for successful community forestry, the evidence suggests that some of the pilots are better equipped to contend with stage one, stage two and some steps of stage three; however, it is at the fourth stage that the pilots become particularly vulnerable as they must contend with factors that are largely beyond their control. Issues such as forest health, stakeholder conflict, forestry and business knowledge, the regulatory system, volatile economic markets and trade sanctions represent significant hurdles. The pilots are embedded within the global forest economy and are affected by external forces such as fluctuating prices for forest products and trade policies with more powerful countries. Further, given the current political climate and global tendencies of the forest industry, there is a need to entrench community control, and the value of communities through community initiatives like the British Columbia's CFPP. However, the notion of community-driven goods and the idea of sustaining forest dependent communities through this initiative may be constrained by the market-driven environment of the global forest industry.

That being said, the pilots also have some agency to pursue their local interests despite their limited economies of scale. The pilots are not static but may take creative advantage of, and adapt to, external conditions. They may maintain successes at the local or regional scale and can respond creatively to the political economy of forestry in British Columbia. Through innovation, product development and increased specialization, the pilots may continue to be successful on a larger scale.

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När-democracy: Equality and leadership in a marginalised Gotlandic community

Carl von Rosen

Introduction

Democracy as a concept is founded on ideas of collective decision-making. In a strictly egalitarian society, like När *socken* on the Baltic Island of Gotland, such structures may be complicated by an absence of formalised representation. The folk model of När-democracy here delineated is concerned with the ways in which many, if not all of the 550 people living on När people come together to decide whether they want to reject or devote themselves to endorse a suggestion.¹

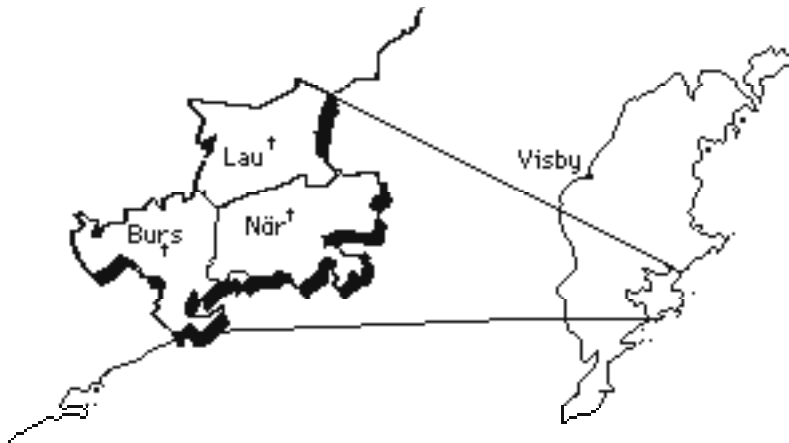


Figure 1. Map depicting the three socken of South East Gotland, Sweden

1 The ethnographic material stems from a 24-month fieldwork (1986–1995), see von Rosen 2003.

När is said to be special as the locals epitomise the old Gutnic ways where language, habits and music, stand to the fore. But it is also said to be the most dynamic and innovative, replete with a multitude of socially and business oriented projects and other classic entrepreneurial activities. När is thus considered unusual among countryside communities of this marginalised island.

The popularly held and presented image of När *socken* and southeast Gotland is that of a harmonious community, which co-operates in every way and stick together against all outsiders. Such a presentation conforms to local sentiments and is easily 'sold' to outsiders (Borger-Bendegard 1990, Mattsson 1970, Roselius 1991). This imagery is contrasted by everyday life. Conflicts do exist, all do not participate on equal terms or at all, participation goes across borders and is conducted in close cooperation with the traditional 'enemy' at that. I propose that an analysis of the symbolic construction of community, understood as a dual analysis of rhetoric and practice will shed light. Empirically these two modes of analysis can thus be seen as parallel, coinciding, contradictory as well as conjoined. Consequently an analysis of what is said on official occasions, is presented in media, etc. can be productively set in contrast to a longitudinal study of everyday communal practices.

I take my theoretical point of departure in the classic controversy between Robert Redfield (1960) and Oscar Lewis (1951) concerning the study of community. I find that their respective focus on peaceful cooperation and conflict are illuminating on what is presented and what is actually being done. However, I take it that an analysis of the communication between the modes of understanding community identity provides us with interesting results – one eye at a time as it were.

Another pertinent and linked point of departure regarding communities stems from a concern that A. P. Cohen (1985) raised in 1984–1985. His development of community as symbolically and not unusually consciously constructed leans heavily on F. Barth's (1960) discussion of ethnic boundaries. Again I maintain that a division between what is symbolically presented and enacted practice is a fruitful approach.

On När and Gotland practices of close collaboration date back some 1000 years to the earliest historical evidence of popular participation in community and societal life.² There is evidence that the autonomous *ensamgård* (farm cluster or group of 1–6 farms or parts) sent their heads of household to take equal part in councils concerning common economic, jural and religious matters.³ It might be that the building of a common church was the first joint decision where all participated on equal terms.

2 Locally, one refers to När as "on När" as if it were an island by itself and I will follow suite in this text.

3 The *ensamgård* emerged in the 6th century (Carlsson 1979). The *ensamgård* or farm cluster is, in modern western terms, constituted through a fusion of notions of kinship and neighbourliness.

The word *socken* stems from the English *ciric* and *ciric socne* (Brink 1990: 70) and means to get together.⁴ The background of these *socken* or communities is something of an enigma, but most researchers agree that they were not the result of a religious or state dictate. Rather they were an innovation establishing themselves between the existing social structures of the *blot* – Norse sacrificial communities of the farm cluster – and the *tingslag* – the judicial organisation covering the island (see Steffen 1943, Yrwing 1978).⁵

C. J. Gardell (1986: 109) writes that: “The Gutnic countryside was politically autonomous, run by local judges.” Consequently this island society may be labelled as a self-governing farming republic or *landsmenighet* (Ganse 1990, Gardell 1986). This administrative organisation was more or less maintained until the affairs of the island became regulated in the 17th and 18th centuries, constituting a part of the building of the nation state. The changes thereby brought about were not finalised until the 19th and 20th centuries. In fact, the municipality based on the *socken* was not dissolved until 1970 and thus *socken* lost its formal import (Jonsson 1970).

The individual farm units as well as the neighbourhood still uphold an important role as the basis for identity building and solidarity. It is important to note that the changed structures regarding the farm clusters and the *socken* have not affected the decision-making process.

In short, the representatives of the individual parts of a neighbourhood cluster/*grannlag* came together for joint decisions, work and festivities. These neighbourhoods in turn constituted the community gathering around the church for joint efforts. They met to take decision in unison and with respect for the integrity of the others. Consequently only through consensus was it possible starts any communal work (Berg 1945: 394–400).

As the farmer did not have manpower for large undertakings such as harvest, building etc. he employed the help of others ... but as there were few poor to enrol external support had to be provided by fellow farmers and as it was impossible to remunerate proud equals ... it was necessary to repay such support by letting them work under their own guidance and with a good ating (meal/festivity) ... thus the evening ended with dancing, enjoyment and games as well as a debt to be repaid in kind as neighbours and friends needed support. (Säve 1981: 56,⁶ translation by the author)

4 In the absence of villages the church became the social and cognitive focus.

5 On the average the 94 countryside churches have a distance of 5 km between them (Lindqvist 1981). Thus the Gutnic *socken* is smaller than its counterpart in Sweden (Steffen 1943, Yrwing 1978).

6 P.A. Säve, teacher and important folklorist of the 19th century (see Palmenfelt 1994).

Meeting grounds: Associations and farms

Nearly two decades ago A. P. Cohen (1985) suggested that the idea of belonging, rather than physical borders, could be used as a base for discussing community. This was formed through symbolic construction of collective identity. His method is applicable also on När *socken* where rhetorics about revitalised values and ideas have come to fill the gap of physical borders. Historically speaking belonging to När is spelt *ensamgård*, i.e. the farm cluster. The link to a farm is evidenced by a combination of naming⁷ and knowledge of local language, social relations as well as correct instrumental behaviour⁸ which provides identity, i.e. connectedness to a specific context.

Since a century and a half the *socken* has come to play an ever-expanding role as foundation for local identity and has emerged as the administrative outer shell. However, during the past 30 years, with the dismantling of small municipalities, the *socken* has transformed into a symbolically constructed focal point. This has been accomplished by stressing the old-fashioned ways of När, as well as the dynamics of its many projects. The most important setting for this revitalisation of a När identity is the performances of the local cabaret of *Närrevyn*.⁹

The eloquent spokespersons of När have succeeded in presenting their community as a unique arena and have persuaded media to pay attention to a number of socially oriented projects.¹⁰ This construction of community is at its most efficient when it comes to the divisions between När and bordering Lau. Examples of tales depicting youngsters of the two *socken* coming together in riot like brawls abound. This truth is so well established on Gotland that it can hardly be refuted or discussed.

Rhetorics about life on När are complemented by practices that are focused on the community rather than borders and exclusions.¹¹ Irrespective of background people from outside När have been freely invited to join for instance *Närheten* – a social club for elderly – and the golf course project. Similarly larger associations that are linked through name and membership to När, are open and harbour quite a few members from neighbouring *socken* like Lau and Burs.

7 Naming practices show that one is named after the farm. For example, Arne Larson is known as ‘Smis Arne’ or ‘Smis’ n’- (the farmer of Smis). Other Smis-parts are named after some historic person or event.

8 The last is important but often unappreciated as knowledge of the right way to dress, to know about where to enter and sit makes social life seem seamless and smooth.

9 The group played between the end of the 1950s until the beginning of the 1980s. Its texts are still performed (see also Ericson 1992, Nilsson 1988).

10 See for instance Borger-Bendegard 1990, Mattsson 1990, Olsson 1987, Sollerman 1982.

11 However, local language and mores may inadvertently serve as lines of demarcation.

In practice these symbolically constructed borders appear fluid and changeable, depending on the situation or project at hand. Rather than constituting a problem, the clear cut, and in reality uncomplicated, gap between rhetoric and practice points to the importance of belonging for individuals as well as formation of collective identity. The importance of presenting a unified easily identifiable community to the outside world, and also the meaning brought to the individual belonging to a social 'here', can be linked to two distinct marginalisation processes in Sweden.¹² These enhance the importance of messages which are simplified, persistent and, if possible, entice by exotising.

The social practice departs radically from this focus on depicting a separate När identity. Here the focus is to follow up on and vitalise age-old ways that emphasise cooperation and neighbourhood lines with the individual farm as point of departure. In this, the *socken* does not play the important role it does rhetorically.

Although the community of När no longer has any formal relevance it continues to play a key role for the formation of the local identity. Yet – in contrast to many other communities in the same situation – the people of När have refrained from constituting a formal community organisation. Nevertheless När *socken* and other Gotland communities are probably the most thoroughly organised in Sweden, with every farm or household taking part of some 40 formal and informal organisations.

The reasons for the existence of numerous groupings and the wide membership figures with a specific local linkage are manifold. Local chauvinism is often cited to be the main driving force as the local chapters of national ideational associations have refused to be amalgamated with neighbouring ones. Secondly, solidarity ranks as the prime reason to become a member in most associations as recruiting high membership numbers have boosted the public economic support. Solidarity in another form is shown through work in any project when the association asks for help. Thus, in a few cases 'membership' is a loose term.

Thirdly, many of the farms co-operate either as kin, friends or neighbours – a reminder of the old farm-cluster. A special feature of the Gutnic and Nordic scene is the inherited membership in working and festivity organisations like *bidlag* – invitational group – and *dugnad* – working group (see Lithberg 1915, Norddølum 1980). The borrowing, exchange, cooperation and joint purchase of equipment (and land) is widespread and developing further as farmers start to co-operate in new fields like keeping livestock in groups of four to five farms.

12 One is the marginalisation of the countryside in general that accompanied urbanisation and others are processes linked to the formation of the nation state. Together they have resulted in an economic/administrative as well as cultural impoverishment of the countryside (Lyttkens 1991).

These networks crisscross the community and most farmers are members of 5–10 such groupings. Even non-farmers participate in order to help their neighbours and/or friends as they get help in return.

Farms have become successively and relatively less important as the *socken* grew in importance during the centuries. Legally, ritually, politically and socially, if not economically, the *socken* took on most of the responsibilities of the disappearing farm cluster. Later, with the advent of the larger Gotland municipality, the associations linked to När *socken* did take on a new role as community networks complementing those between the farms.

A few associations, like the co-op store, the Red Cross, the farmers' association and the athletic association have virtually every individual and/or household in the community as a member. However, the idea that these are equal to community organisations does belie the fact that these associations also constitute part of a national set-up and that at least some core members are genuinely interested in party politics, chess, Red Cross activities etc. Thus, it seems as if the organisations of När fill both slots.

The community stands out as the main reason for both membership and solidarity with these organisations. Put otherwise, the community feels a distinct need for them.¹³ To give but one example, when the golf players were 'ousted' from the nature reserve, where they started playing informally during the first half of the 1980s, the community agreed to support them. The athletic association provided an organisational platform and many a hand helped to establish the first 6–9 holes and clubhouse. As the Swedish Golf association demanded a separate organisation to accept the court, the people from När accommodated the association and in support locals boosted membership figures even though many had no intention of ever playing golf.

On När the many projects effectively complement the networking role of farms, kin, neighbourhoods and associations. As distinct projects implemented, people from all walks of life come together to work side by side. It is interesting to note that the projects are less linked to the *socken* at large when compared to most associations. Hence, the projects carry a significant load as mobilisers par excellence of the community and the surrounding area – and in this sense they are definitely socially innovative.

Thereby the associations play a secondary role in the process of När democracy. The reason is that information tends to flow through informal networks of interconnected boards of the local associations. This sets organisations on a par

13 There are one or two large associations like the LRF (Federation of Swedish Farmers) that have a core of dedicated members. The co-op stores also draw an interested crowd at yearly assemblies.

with other and more informal networks linking neighbourhoods, kin, friends and co-owning as well as co-operating partners. It is in this perspective that we can appreciate how projects can go ‘cross-border’ while associations and cooperation tend not to.

Thus, associations on När do not have the key role as bridge builders that for instance Putnam (1996) and his associates report in their thorough study on the role of associations for the democratic processes in Italy. Rather, associations complement kin, neighbour and friendships. They form part of a larger, public, and more complex network of social links that connect individuals, farms/households, neighbourhoods and the community of När. Further, the innovative power of each project and the authority of the rhetorics of togetherness has the strength to overcome and cut across social ties and conflicts.

Spokespersons – Entrepreneurs and naysayers

The natural scientist Carl von Linné (1741) made a remark concerning not only eloquent and knowledgeable parson but also a naturalistically interested Gotlandic farmer. This farmer seems to be a part of legacy on Gotland among a host of autonomous and authoritative farmers (see Gardell 1986). These traditions of *Bildung* and self esteem has been kept alive on När and have, not the least through contacts with the media, resulted in rhetorically established truths like the traditionalism and dynamism of När complemented with a record for ‘standing by a project to the last hand’. This has enabled the collective to conclude contracts with authorities without having a formal organisation or structure of any kind (von Rosen 1993).

This is remarkable as most of the bureaucracy of Sweden, in regard to marginalised areas, presupposes the existence of a negotiating partner in the form of a *bygdegrupp* (community group) as well as defined entrepreneurs where a community is represented.¹⁴ It is as intriguing that the entrepreneurs of När *socken* refuse to form such a group. The informal discussion group called *Näringen* (nourishment, industrious) refers any such suggestions to the ad hoc groups that form the nucleus of projects to be.¹⁵

The reason for the conscious and consistent resistance to become a formal group and officially represent the community may be sought in a local under-

14 In Sweden there are some 3 500 of these *bygdegrupper* (Berglund 1998, Boëthius 1997, Folkkrörelserådet 1992).

15 *Näringen* has been suggested as leaders and entrepreneurs on När (de los Reyes & Essemyr 1993).

standing spelling out that there are no leaders or leadership on När. Most agree that everything which is accomplished should be done as part of a cooperation between equal and autonomous farmers and, in later days, interested persons in general.¹⁶ At the same time, there are in fact very few individuals who are displayed in media. Those who do tend to represent the community regarding the inauguration of this or that project, presenting the collective opinions of the community etc. Further representatives of media and various researchers are encouraged to put their enquiries to ‘spokespersons’, referred to as ‘firebrands’, ‘knowledgeable’ or ‘good’ and ‘worthy’.

The classic dilemma of needing representation and not acknowledging any leadership is not unique for När. Rather the problem of representation in egalitarian societies is a widespread and well-known phenomenon in the annals of anthropology.¹⁷ The basic problem for these societies is how to organise their representation without placing one person above any other. The solution that the people of När have resorted to is to develop a semantic field of ‘spokespersons’. Analytically these spokespersons may be conceived as leaders and entrepreneurs as they have the trust of the community. A prerequisite for this is their ability to put common values in words and that they have proven to prioritise the community rather than themselves. The base for their authority does not stem from any power source, like a political, economic or other position, but rather out of the respect for their technical ability, linked to the fact that they consistently represent the community rather than themselves.

Foremost a spokesperson is a social person with the ability to speak, i.e. have a way with words and thus sum up common sentiments or views as well as sway an audience. Or, which marks the true master according to local standards, he or she can tell a story so ingeniously that the listener can never be sure if the speaker is pulling his or her leg or tells the truth however fantastic the tale.

Another important prerequisite is that they – like all the rest – must *duga* (be good enough; useful, knowledgeable). This is a key to personhood in general on När and rather complex as it is something that is continuously achieved. In order to be regarded as a social person one must live in a way that earn him or her respect of his or her fellows, as farmers, housewives, teachers, fishermen, neighbours, friends, co-operating partners etc.

However, in order to be acknowledged as a spokesperson this is not enough, as one also has to excel. At the same time När has a tradition where praise and criticism are presented in a very low key. Thus it is common on När that any

16 M. Gullestad (1986, 1991) has shown that equality in the Nordic context spells sameness.

17 The following references provide something of an overview: Flanagan 1989, Kracke 1978, Lévi-Strauss 1967, Middleton & Tait 1970, Overing 2000, Rivière 1984.

kind of acknowledgment can either damn or be a sign of reference and highest praise.

The risks involved with visibility are the key aspects in delineating the spokesperson as part of a semantic field rather than as the classic rendition of a leader. Many of these spokespersons, like the classical entrepreneurs, are not only at risk but can be accepted precisely because they succeed with the unusual. One example is awe inspired by the farmer who tries something new like using brackish water for his sugar beets and gets larger yields than the rest. However, like anyone who leaves the common path, they will run the same risk of local characters, i.e. praise and/or measures of social control.¹⁸

The folk model of När subdivides spokespersons into various categories that correspond to but are not limited to processes of information spreading and decision making. Consequently there are firebrands that propose project and there are naysayers who caution the community against all possible problems. There are also the 'knowledgeable' who have detailed information of kin relations, the nature of old written and unwritten contracts, where borders between farms and neighbourhoods are situated etc. Lastly there are the 'good', 'valuable' and 'trust-worthy' who act as mediators.

Informal decision making process, När style

Local decision-making is basically a process where the entire population is involved as they are reached by information regarding a project. The process is initiated by a firebrand and negated by a naysayer. Strands of these discussions then ideally flow through the network of associations and neighbourhoods so that all can ponder over the idea before a popular decision can be arrived at and appropriate action taken.¹⁹

There are two main ways in which information flows around När before decisions are made and action taken. As already noted the classic way is to follow the routes of kinship, friendship, neighbourhood and links in associations, i.e. the boards. As an idea is presented, say, for a social club for the elderly like *Närheten*, a small group is assembled to prepare a proposal. This is presented to members of associa-

18 Interestingly enough local characters, entrepreneurs and firebrands tend to be structurally equivalent from a local perspective. The difference being the local characters are highly regarded for one or another individual trait like upholding the knowledge of older music or what is considered a genuine, old-fashioned life style. The entrepreneur is (quietly) praised for their ability to go ahead in spite of massive resistance.

19 Decision-making is perhaps overstating the matter, as there is no voting. The voices of the naysayers diminish in strength if no important disagreements emerge.

tions where elderly tend to congregate like the PRO and RPG (organisations for pensioners), the Red Cross, and the congregation of the Swedish Church. As the idea gains further acceptance boards of the larger associations On När are encouraged to spread the word around to all the neighbourhoods of När and, in this case, to Lau and later also Burs, as well as to the authorities of the municipality.

A more informal variety of spreading the word is based on the intimate links between various boards and friendship networks of the community. During the early 1990s, När IF (an athletic association) was approached and asked, on short notice, if it could organise the National Championships in *varpa*.²⁰ The chairperson contacted his board and they in turn called friends in the other boards, who on their part vouched for their neighbourhoods and associations. As a result the positive answer and a plan could be sent to the national association within 48 hours.²¹

It is interesting to note that this flow of information depend on both links of the farms/households and the associations, especially the boards. To ensure this process these are elected in a way that gives preference to geographical representation. Thus, local associations differ from what could be expected from an ideationally grounded association. It is also noteworthy that the boards, of especially, the larger associations are consciously composed with a carefully selected mixture of 'firebrands', 'naysayers' and 'mediators'.²² The explicit reasoning behind such a blend is that a mixed board will work properly and balanced, that is producing initiatives while assuring the locals influence.

There are political games in any society that subverts the ideal model and this is true also for När. First of all, one has to note the somewhat contradictive role of entrepreneurs. They are seen as key actors and therefore regarded with suspicion. The main reason is that many times firebrands stand to gain from proposals made while presenting the ideas as not their own but those of the community. It is unusual for anyone to openly air any misgivings but between friends such suspicions regarding the true intentions are mulled over during coffee breaks and meetings of sewing-clubs etc. This 'night-talk' forms part of the information where pros and cons as well as loyalties are weighed before acceptance or rejection.

Further, politics is made in other ways. The delineation between 'firebrand' and 'naysayer' is not as clear-cut as the folk model would have it. Occasionally a dominant group of spokespersons will apply rhetorical techniques in an attempt to marginalise others by defining them as 'naysayers'. On När and southeast Gotland the classic dividing line in this regard goes between 'developers' and 'envi-

20 *Varpa* means to throw and it is a very old Nordic game (Dahlgren 1945).

21 Informal acts – like tricks played and acts of social control – tend to follow the second mode described here.

22 It is unusual to include 'knowledgeable' on boards.

ronmentalists'. The former indicates the dangers of the marginal position of the community and the need to uphold central values like solidarity and togetherness. The latter points to possible detrimental effects of uninhibited exploitation.

According to R. Putnam (1996: 221–222) "...it takes a very long time to build popular institutions, that is mutual trust evidenced by not only direct but also generalised reciprocity". This holds true also for southeast Gotland. Apparently it is also true that it is not the formal organisations – these tend to come and go – that carry the key to understanding of processes of local decision-making. Rather it is clear that this task is performed by the informal decision making practices, as summarised in the folk model of När democracy. One might also put it another way. To a large degree associations have had to leave their national ideational identity behind in order to be moulded to fit the needs of the community and their practices.

Wrapping up and looking forward

It is time-consuming, arduous and emotionally complex to build a community feeling through a variety of cooperative networks based on millennia old principles. The construction of a symbolic community is, however, often done for a variety of reasons. These include a felt need for common identification but also a yearning for external political and media recognition.

The understanding of the conjunction of *practice* and a rhetorically *continuously re-created identity* is crucial if we are to grip community as a concept. It is at these crossroads one may find a solution to some of the key problems that have haunted the study of communities ever since the Redfield and Lewis controversy in the 1950s.²³

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23 Starting with the Redfield and Lewis controversy the problems surrounding the concept of community has plagued the subject ever since; see Anderson 1983, Blehr 1994, Castañeda 1995, Knight 1993, Mitchell 1998.

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Changing markets and the space of authority

The periphery and the market

Eva Svensson, Marie Emanuelsson, Annie Johansson, Stefan Nilsson & Susanne Pettersson

Speculative peasants on the pre-industrial timber market

Sven Olofsson

From share-cropping to room service: Transformation of local labour with emerging tourism industry

Aslihan Aykac

Periphery today and yesterday: A macro-level identification of archaeological peripheries in Sweden

Leif Häggström

Migration, frontiers and boundaries during the early modern period: Land use, rights to land and the Forest-Finns

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The periphery and the market

Eva Svensson, Marie Emanuelsson, Annie Johansson, Stefan Nilsson & Susanne Pettersson

Why do we study peripheries or marginal areas? Does it not render the actual scholar a status of being peripheral in the academic world, especially as universities are situated in central areas? Of course this depends on how important peripheries are considered to be. In Sweden, marginal areas have low status. They are primarily regarded as suppliers of raw materials, reacting only to the demands of central areas. Marginal areas are also seen as receivers of economical contribution and of EU-funded projects. In these EU-projects the areas are turned into tourist paradises, offering exhilarating experiences. To balance the picture of marginal areas we will here present a periphery where people in older times were part in a dialogue with events of the outside world, and decisively acted in order to obtain a socially desired position.

In this article the concepts ‘marginality’ and ‘periphery’ refer primarily to a geographical position. Sometimes the concepts are used to imply social and political situations, and most often the geographical marginality also implies social marginality of some kind. The comprehension of marginality varies from negative to positive aspects. From a negative point of view, people in marginal areas are dirty, conservative concerning politics and religion, poor, show little economic initiative and tend to live outside the law. The opposite conception of marginality depicts the people as industrious entrepreneurs and innovators, free from political and economical oppression, and healthier due to a cleaner environment. There are also more moderate views on marginality as something neither positive nor negative, and as something complementary to centrality (Pollard 1997). We will put forward that the people living in ‘our’ periphery during the studied period had their own strategies and market relations, but these were embedded in the social and cultural structures of the general Scandinavian society as well as the local society.

Dalby

The investigated area is the medieval parish of Dalby, northern Värmland in the west part of Sweden (Figure 1). It is a forested and mountainous area, cut in two halves by the narrow, predominantly north-south orientated river valley of Klarälven. Only little more than 1 % is agricultural land. In the fertile river valley the earliest permanent settlements were established in prehistoric and medieval times. The emphasis of this study is on a single hamlet, Backa, with its outland. 'Outland' is here referring to the area situated outside the settlement and infields. The investigated outland area consists of hilly forest, including mires, lakes and rivers. Human activities in the outland are labelled 'outland use', and the people conducting outland use are forest farmers. During the period of investigation, c. AD 500-1700, freeholding farmers were the dominating, probably an almost exclusive, social group within the local society of Dalby.

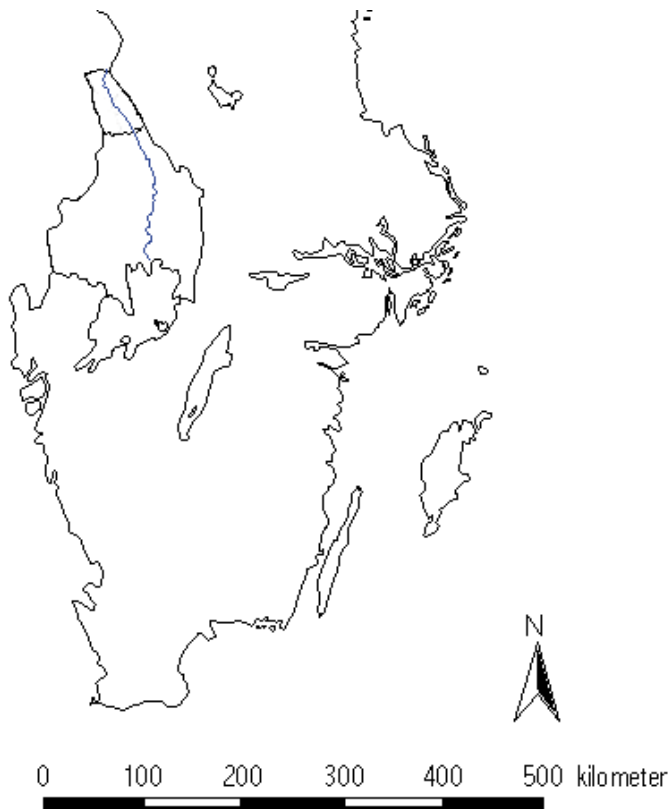


Figure 1. Southern Sweden, the county of Värmland and the medieval parish of Dalby. After Emanuelsson et al. 2003, inside front cover

The Dalby parish is today among the richest areas with ancient monuments in Sweden, but this fact is often overlooked as the sites are of a non-manifest character. The ancient monuments are mostly located in the outland and connected with outland use. By 1997 about 80 bloomery furnace sites, 1300 charcoal pits, 150 shielings and 700 pitfalls for elk were documented (Figure 2).

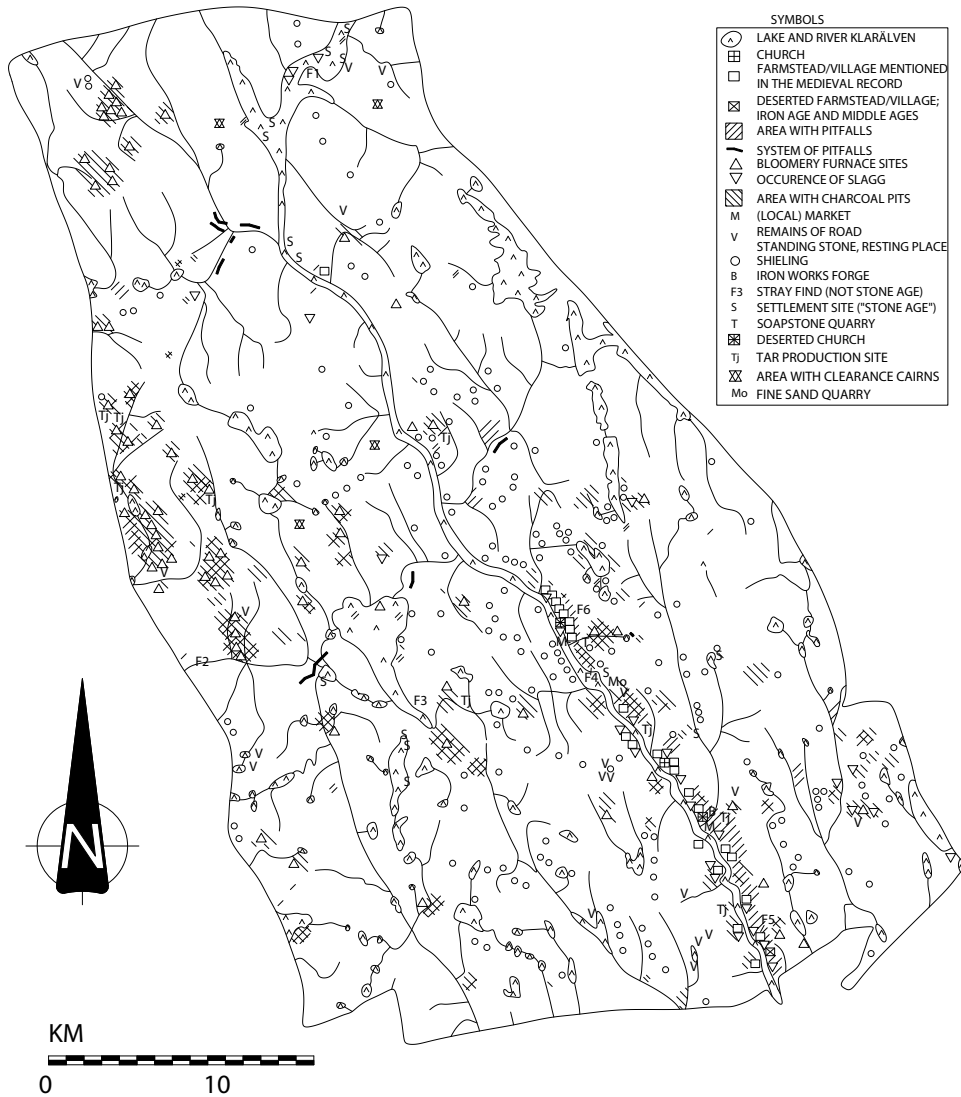


Figure 2. Remains of outland use in Dalby parish. Based on Svensson 1998, Figure 68

Investigations, including excavations, initial pollen analyses etc., showed that bloomery iron was produced in the area from AD 400 to early modern times, pitfalls were constructed from c. 3000 BC to early modern times and shielings, with forest grazing, hay-making and cereal cultivation, were used from AD 700-900 to modern times. However, datings from pitfalls and bloomery sites are strongly concentrated to the period AD 900-1200, indicating this to be a period of intensified non-agrarian outland use. The use of shielings was intensified in early modern times (Figure 3, Olsson 1998, Svensson 1998). Excavations of bloomery sites in a neighbouring area have also been dated to the period AD 900-1200 (Myrdal-Runebjerg 1998).

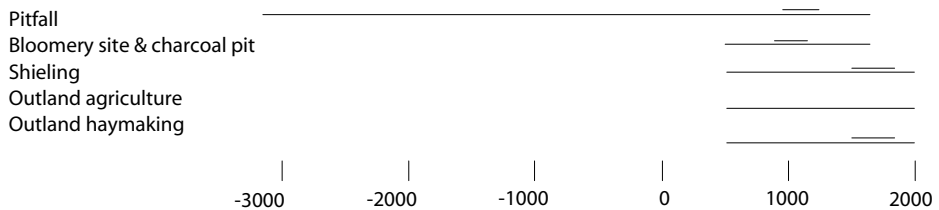


Figure 3. Occurrence through time of different outland activities in Dalby. More intense production phases are indicated with double lines. After Svensson et al. 2001, Figure 2

Backa and the interdisciplinary practice

In 1997 an interdisciplinary project called *Settlement, shieling and landscape* started (Emanuelsson et al. 2003 with references). The project consisted of three archaeologists (Annie Johansson, Susanne Pettersson and Eva Svensson), a human geographer (Stefan Nilsson) and a palaeoecologist (Marie Emanuelsson). It focused on a single hamlet, Backa, in south-eastern Dalby, in order to obtain a more detailed picture of settlement and outland use and the relation between them. Especially the agrarian outland use, i.e. the use of shielings, forest grazing, cultivation and hay-making, was examined, and a deserted farmstead was excavated.

It is presumed, mostly due to the place name 'Backa', that permanent settlement with permanent fields and meadows were established at the latest AD 500 at the location of the present hamlet. Stray finds, and the location of a hearth, indicate the presence of an agrarian settlement in the area during Neolithic times and the Bronze Age. The change from mobile to stationary agrarian settlements with fields was a general phenomenon in most parts of Scandinavia in the Early Iron Age.

Unfortunately it was not possible to study the older history of the hamlet of Backa in detail, neither through pollen analyses nor through archaeological excavations.

The deserted farmstead, Skinnerud, was a secondary unit of the Backa hamlet, occupying a piece of land suitable for cultivation and hay-making in the present-day infields of Backa. Four house structures were excavated at Skinnerud (Figure 4); a hall (SHI), a cooking house (SHII), and two outhouses, which probably were a store house (SHIII) and a cow-shed (SHIV). Approximately 300 artefacts were registered, mainly everyday items of iron or stone, but some artefacts were of a more prestigious character. The hall appears to have been the daily meeting place and used for various activities, including leather-working in the southern part. It was even used for habitation during warmer periods of the year. Smithery has also taken place on the farmstead.

Skinnerud was inhabited during the AD 900–1250/1300 by a well-to-do household, consisting of a nuclear family, with one to two farmhands or maids, and maybe with the addition of some unmarried siblings and elderly relatives. From the finds material it is clear that the forest farmers of Skinnerud were producing goods of iron and skin, i.e. products based on outland resources. The finds also indicate that the inhabitants were involved in trade as there are ‘imported’ items such as beads.

Based on the character and the contents of the cultural layers at the site some of the buildings were interpreted to have been left standing in decay to be overgrown with forest at the desertion AD 1250/1300. The area was later cleared with fire to be taken into use as fields or meadows. It is unclear if Skinnerud was resettled in later times, but so far no traces of such a settlement have been located.

Based on the information in historical maps some mires situated along the shieling path between the hamlet of Backa and its shieling Backasättern were presumed to have been used for hay-making in older times. Four of the mires, Multmyrarna, Blötmyren, Stakällsmyren and Tittbäcksmýren, and the shieling of Backasättern were studied with pollen analysis.

From the pollen analysis of the mires it is possible to conclude that agrarian outland use, i.e. forest grazing, cultivation and hay-making, was established at several sites at the Backa outland about AD 400–700 (Figure 5), although hay-making was performed only to a minor extent prior to early modern and modern times. It appears to have been the areas lying nearest to the settlement of Backa and the large river Femtan, by the mire Stakällsmyren, that were taken into agrarian outland use first. About AD 800 forest grazing and cultivation occurred by the mire of Blötmyren, and by then it seems that the whole forest area along the path between the Backa hamlet and Backasättern was used for forest grazing. The agrarian outland use grew in importance from about AD 1200 and during the Late Middle Ages. From about AD 1600 and onwards the agrarian outland use expanded decisively.

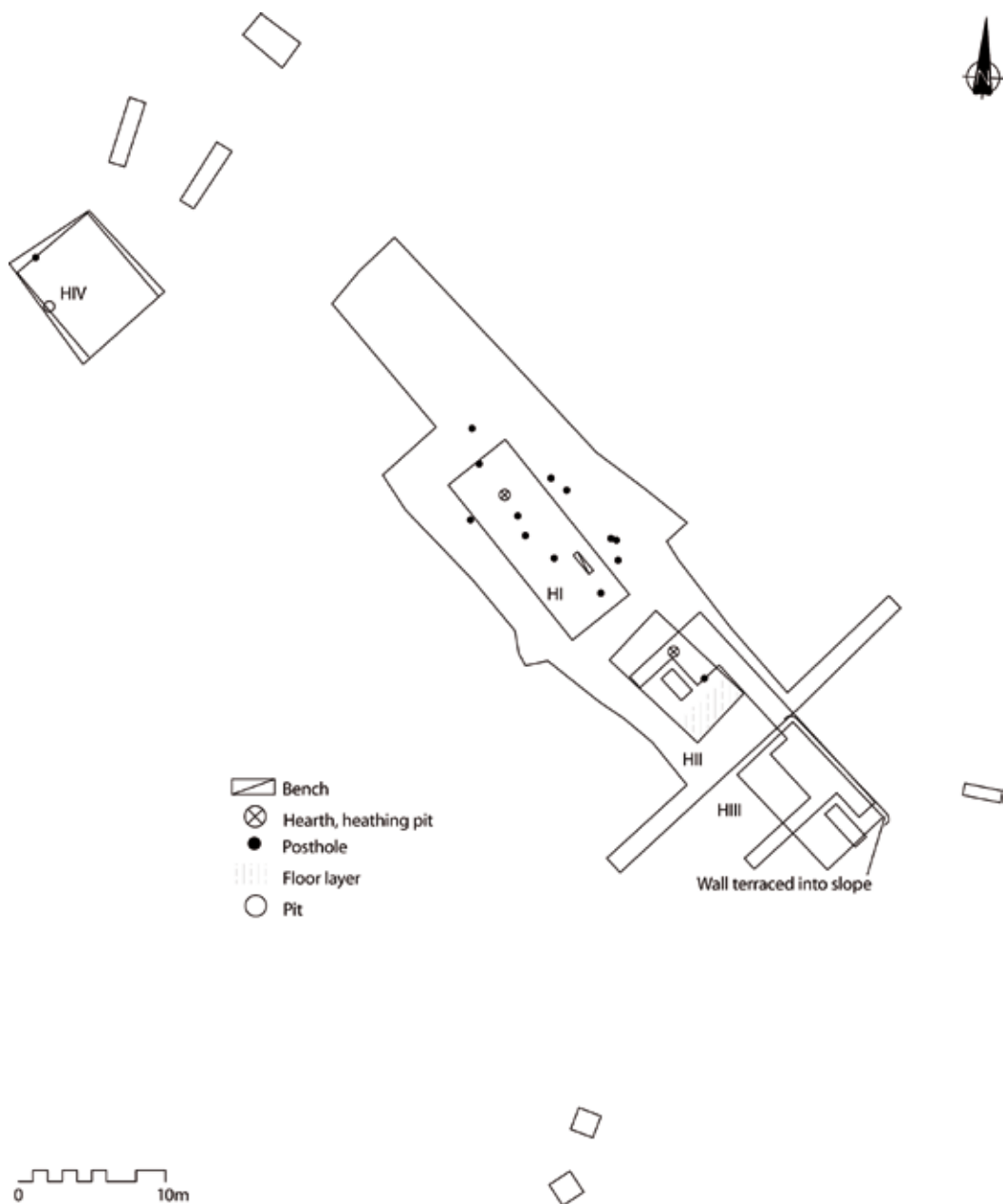


Figure 4. The houses and excavation-areas at Skinnerud

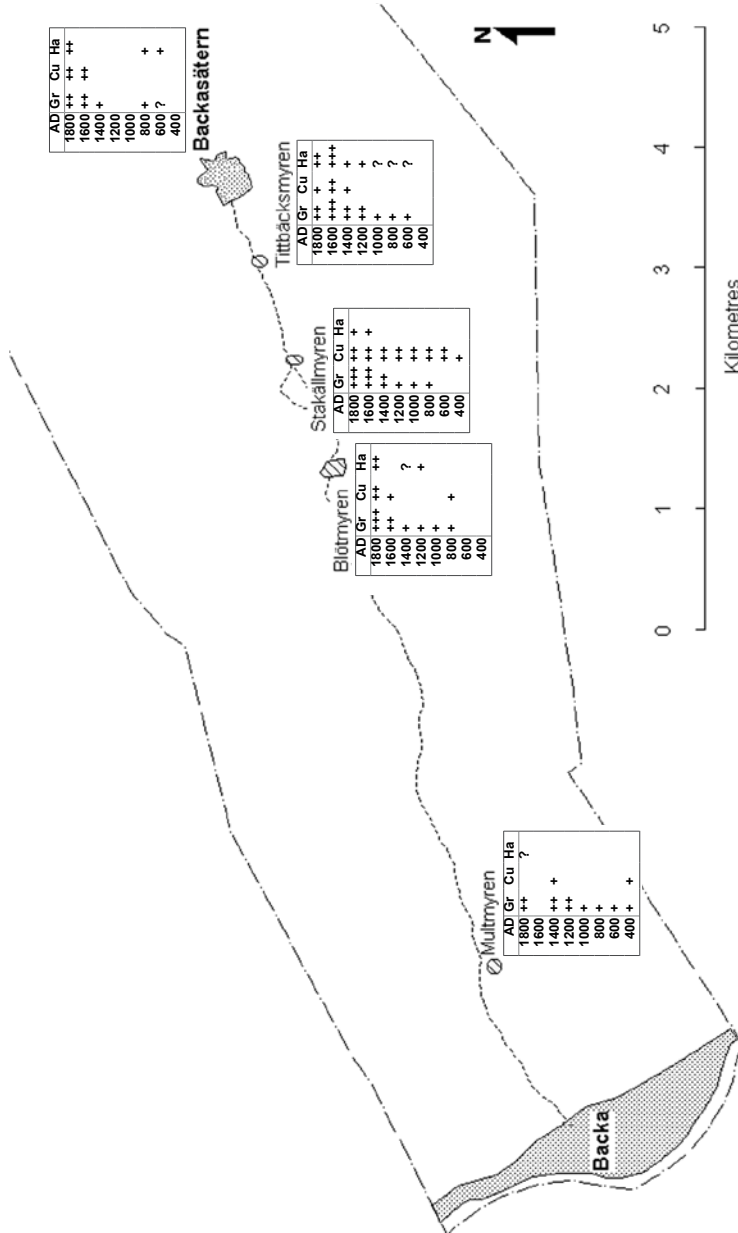


Figure 5. Interpretation of the results of the pollen analysis at the sampled mires and Backasättern. The agrarian land use of each site is summarised in the tables. Gr = grazing. Cu = cereal cultivation. Ha = hay-making. Observe that the impact of land use (+ = minor, ++ = medium, +++ = major, ? = ambiguous or indistinct) is related to changes at each site and that the chronologies are simplified. After Emanuelsson et al. 2003, Figure 38

The chronology of human impact in the landscape of Backa

The chronology of settlement, land use and outland use at Backa can thus be summed up (Figure 6). In the transition between Early and Late Iron Age about AD 500 permanent settlement with permanent fields and meadows were presumably established in Backa. During the same period bloomery iron production and various forms of agrarian outland use were initiated in the outland. Pitfalls for elk had then been in use for a long period of time.

In the Late Viking Age and Early Medieval period the settlement expanded as Skinnerud was founded. The establishment of Skinnerud had probably been preceded by a settlement expansion within the Backa hamlet. This settlement expansion meant that most of the land for cultivation, grazing and hay-making in the infields was occupied. In spite of this, and the increasing population, the agrarian outland use was not intensified. On the contrary, the shieling of Backasättern appears to have been deserted during this period.

Contemporary with the settlement expansion bloomery iron production and use of pitfalls were greatly intensified. This non-agrarian outland production was aimed for sale at an external market. Around AD 1200 the bloomery iron production declined dramatically, and somewhat later also the construction of pitfalls for elk. The non-agrarian outland production continued; in fact the technique and organisation used for bloomery iron production was even improved, but probably the production was intended only for the local society.

Shortly after the decline in the non-agrarian outland use, the agrarian outland use increased. The shieling of Backasättern seems to have been re-established c. AD 1400. As Skinnerud was deserted then, there were also possibilities of using the former settlement area for cultivation or as meadows. This means that there was an increase in the agrarian production at Backa during the period otherwise known as the 'late medieval agrarian crisis' (see Myrdal 1999). Around AD 1600 the agrarian outland use was greatly intensified. From now on hay-making was important also in the outland.

The forest farmers and the market

The results from the project *Settlement, shieling and landscape* indicate that the local society of Dalby experienced local cycles of expansion and recession apart from a more general economic cycle. The most noteworthy difference was the local expansion of agrarian outland use during the late medieval agrarian crisis. However, the late medieval recession also affected Dalby, but the effects were different from what might have been expected. In fact, the expansion in agrarian outland use should partly be considered an integrated part of this crisis.

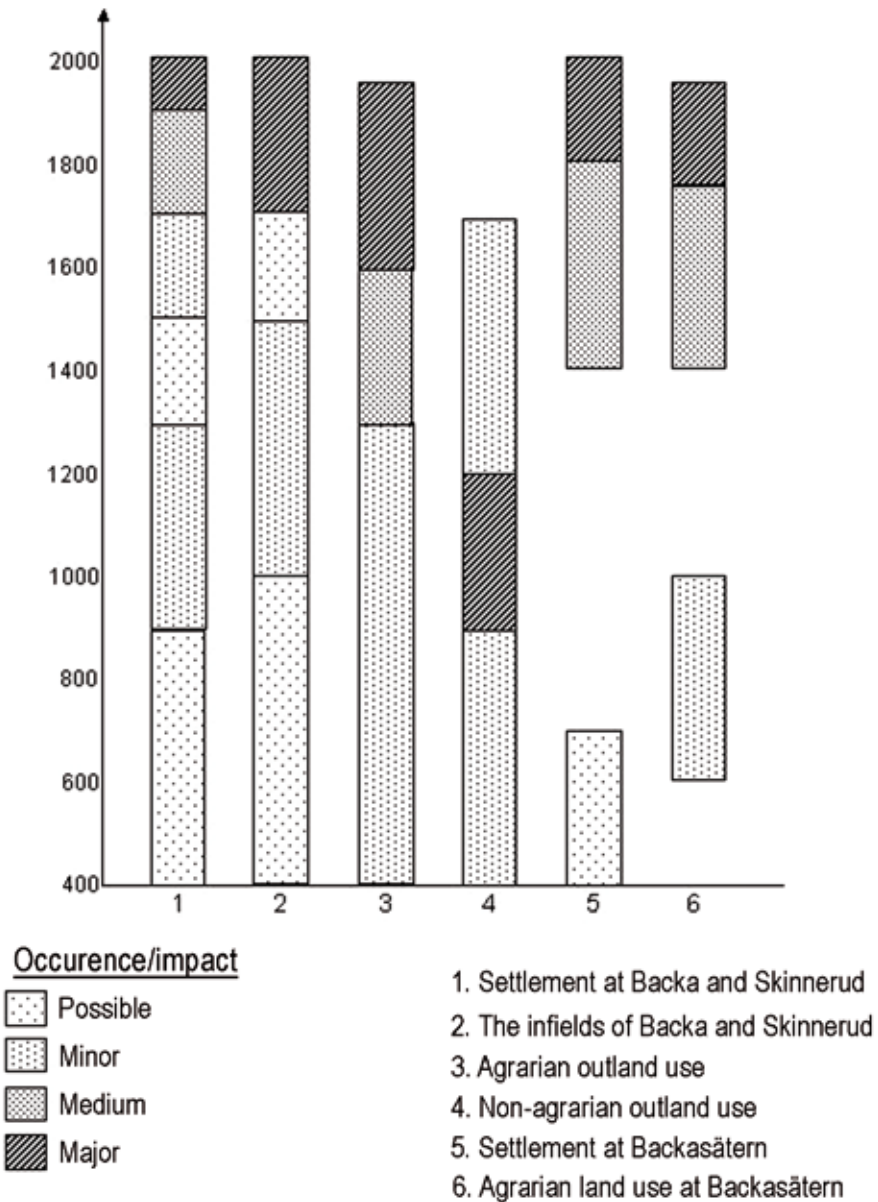


Figure 6. Occurrence of settlement and impact of different land use activities over time at the Backa estate. After Emanuelsson et al. 2003, Figure 50

Prior to the expansion of the agrarian outland use there had been a considerable non-agrarian outland use, mainly production of bloomery iron. This production was aimed at an external market, and it appears to have been of such an importance that the forest farmers of Backa gave up some agrarian outland use, e.g. the shieling of Backasättern, in order to concentrate on the iron production. When the market failed the forest farmers focused on the agrarian production for their own consumption (cf. Arneborg 2002 and Makarov et al. 2001 for a similar process on Greenland and in Russia respectively). Although the recession of the production of non-agrarian outland goods for retail started before the late medieval agrarian crisis, the late medieval economic recession must have made the lack of demand for the products in question a permanent fact.

The forest farmers of Backa had not been acting on a market simply to gain wealth. Rather they produced goods for sale in order to keep up a socially desired consumption. It was important to share the general material culture of the landed Scandinavian farmer, and display the membership of the local society at the same time (e.g. Martens 1992: 5, Svensson 1998, Svensson 2003). This attitude is reflected in the Skinnerud finds material related to personal adornment (Figure 7), including objects of a general Scandinavian character such as beads and a striking steel, whereas hooks and eyes are believed to have been part of the local costume.

The decline of the market around AD 1200 was a drawback for the forest farmers of Backa and Dalby, and it is likely that they did not give up their position as retail producers without a fight. Most probably the improved technology and organisation of the bloomery iron production in the 13th and 14th centuries were an attempt to renew the production for sale. It was not successful, and the bloomery iron production remained a local interest until the 17th century when the production ceased. By then the forest farmers of Dalby had entered the market with other products based on outland resources, namely cattle. The expansion of agrarian outland use in early modern times was probably linked, at least partly, to an increase in cattle breeding for sale to the Swedish mining districts (Myrdal & Söderberg 1991, Svensson 1998).

In this article we have modified the picture of the marginal areas as passive suppliers of raw material, by showing how the forest farmers of Backa used the outland resources to act on a market and to obtain socially desired status. By showing that the people in marginal areas had their own strategies and market relations in older times, we hope that the meaning of marginality will be questioned. Marginality is not an eternal, but rather a changeable phenomenon, characterised by the cultural context of both the scholars and the studied societies.



Figure 7. Striking steel, beads, eye and bronze mount from Skinnerud. Photo by Per-Arne Olsson, Svenskt utmarksmuseum, Ransby

Acknowledgement

Most of this text is based on the results of the project *Settlement, shieling and landscape* (Emanuelsson et al. 2003). This text was written and presented at the Ångersjö conference *Peripheral Communities – Crisis, Continuity and Long-Term Survival* by Eva Svensson. Her part in this project was financed by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation and the foundation of Einar Hansen.

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Speculative peasants on the pre-industrial timber market

Sven Olofsson

Introduction

The history of the forest industry in Sweden is to a certain extent focused on the development of the Sundsvall district and the period after 1849 – the year when the first steam driven saw mills were erected. An earlier view of this development has distinguished factors such as external technical innovations, e.g. the steam engine, external entrepreneurs, capital and rising foreign demand, mainly from Great Britain. In opposition to this model it can be established that entrepreneurs from the county of Jämtland founded half of the saw mill companies in Sundsvall district with internally generated capital. We can trace the career of the most successful of them in the agrarian context.¹

In this paper I will discuss the appearance of speculative peasants in Jämtland and their links to the forest industry. The main objective is to establish a connection between the development in pre-industrial Jämtland and the period after 1849 in The Sundsvall district. This paper is a first attempt to deal with this issue. With a speculative peasant I mean a rural entrepreneur and peasant merchant, a person who was an innovative risk-taker, living in a rural society and acting on the market with a commercial awareness. My definition of a speculative peasant is derived from the specific historical context of pre-industrial Jämtland, in this paper generalised to two different paths of socio-economic development. The first path leads from the central part of Jämtland, mainly the court district of Rödön, and the widespread habit of business travels among peasants during the winter-time. The second path leads us from the eastern part of Jämtland, mainly the court

1 Flodén 1949, Höglund 1957, Nyström 2002.

district of Ragunda, where timber business traditionally played an important role for the farmers. From these two parts of Jämtland speculative peasants ended up as actors in the early forest industry.²

To emphasise the peasants as individual entrepreneurs during the first half of the 19th century is to study the outcome of the social differentiation process within the agrarian revolution in Sweden. Empiric studies in different geographical areas of southern Sweden have shown that the total number of peasants decreased during the first half of the 19th century in a process where a small group of peasants became wealthier than the rest. The social differentiation process in Jämtland has not been studied before.³ The next part of this paper will contain a closer look at who the speculative peasants were, in relation to the regional context of central and eastern Jämtland. This part will be a background to the final case study of two speculative peasants, who became a link between rural Jämtland and the forest industry in the Sundsvall district.

The appearance of speculative peasants in Jämtland: A background

During the 19th century the county of Jämtland was a rural society. However, except from the fertile soil around the big lake of Storsjön, the peasants hardly relied for their subsistence on the production of barley. Instead, the average farmer was more dependant upon cattle holding and dairy production, which gave a surplus of butter and leather. Farming was the dominant business, but for generations the prosperous winter-time trips between several public inter-regional markets in Norway and Sweden were more important, as well as the growing timber business along the rivers of Indalsälven and Ljungan.⁴

The market trips mainly attracted the peasants in the central part of Jämtland. At least 300–400 peasants from Jämtland were annually engaged in this kind of business. It has been established that the most successful peasant merchants in Jämtland were found in the fertile parishes north of the Lake Storsjön, especially in the parishes of Rödön, Näskott, Ås, Alsen and Lit. A number of sources underpin a picture of a specialised group of peasant merchants with strong connection to the fertile parishes of Jämtland, but to explain the business success solely in terms of successful husbandry is too simple when other sources are taken into account.⁵

2 Müller 1998, Olofsson 1995, Svensson 2001.

3 Halberg 2000, Isacson 1979, Ågren 1992.

4 Olofsson 1995, Östlund 1993.

5 Hedlund 1946: 67–101, Bull 1998.

A survey based on records from the passport journals⁶, comparing the applicants every fifth year between 1829 and 1846, indicates that a decreasing group of peasant merchants became more and more specialised in doing this kind of business. The average peasant applied for passports valid for less than six months, for making the market trips on their own or with one farm-hand. The speculative peasants, on the other hand, applied for passports valid for twelve months, together with two farm-hands or more. Comparisons with parish registers indicate that the household of the speculative peasant seemed to keep more farm-hands than was needed in the everyday work on the farm. The strength of this business structure shows that even the merchants in Östersund, the only town in Jämtland, had to do business in the same way as the peasants. Not until the 1880s, when the railway finally established a cheaper and more efficient way of providing goods, did the salesmen in Östersund fulfil the government's intention and become urban merchants. The peasants finally stayed behind the plough, at least the majority, who were not able to gain from the prosperous and fast growing timber market.⁷

In Ragunda, the other region, the contribution to the forest industry was stronger, dealing with timber from parishes close to the rivers of Indalsälven and Ljungån. Many history and geography scholars have studied the remarkable industrialisation process along the coast of northern Sweden. In general, the peasants have been looked upon as the victims of the saw mill companies' expansion. On the contrary, the historian Mats Rolén has discovered a few local entrepreneurs who bought felling rights and timber in the same manner as the big companies.⁸ Rolén assumes that the peasants began to be aware of the timber market when the companies entered the stage. The market for forest products began to develop in the beginning of the 18th century when the water-driven saw mills with fine blades started to appear in the region.⁹ The economic historian Ernst Söderlund presumed that the natural start for a new inexperienced timber dealer with little capital was to begin with square cut timber production.¹⁰ The peasants earned five to ten times more from delivering beams rather than saw timber to the companies. Not until the 1860s did the prices for planks and battens pass the level of beams, which made the latter less interesting for the companies to export. At that moment a large number of speculative peasants seemed to be ready to enter the

6 Before 1860, everyone who wanted to travel outside the home parish had to apply for passports. Most travellers got their passports from the county administration in Östersund. ÖLA, Jämtlands läns landskontor C IX:1.

7 Olofsson 1993a, 1993b, Rolén 1990.

8 Rolén 1979.

9 Nyström 1982, Rolén 1979, 1990.

10 Söderlund 1951.

more capital-calling business of saw mill industry.¹¹

During most of first half of the 19th century, Wifstavarf was the dominant actor on the timber market along the River Indalsälven. The company was established in 1798 by the lecturer Per Hellzén, supported by shareholding burghers in the town of Härnösand. In the beginning, the business idea was to build vessels and at the same time help the peasants in eastern Jämtland to sell their timber. This first aid-like programme had a background in the catastrophic event of 1796 when a floating canal project along Storforsen (the Great Rapid) of the River Indalsälven in the parish of Fors in eastern Jämtland failed, and a tremendous overflow destroyed all private estates, fishing facilities and saw mills between the rapid and the sea coast 70 kilometres away. Hellzén was born in a small village in eastern Jämtland and might have felt empathy for the habitants. Nevertheless, he also owned a couple of water-driven saw mills in the region, some of them demolished in the catastrophe, and he truly carried a deep interest in developing the business of forest products, saw mills and ship building. A group of peasants that supported the canal project was living further up along Indalsälven in the parish of Stugun. Three members of the local elite, the Member of Parliament Anders Nilsson, the district judge Erik Eriksson and the juryman Anders Eriksson, were 1810 offered shares in the company. The likely reason behind this strategy was that Wifstavarf wanted to enlist strategic people of the local elite in the forest region. It is, however, unclear how much they really contributed to the company. Nevertheless, the catastrophe made the untouched forests accessible in the parish of Stugun and in the beginning of the 1830s, Erik Eriksson's son-in-law, Jonas Matsson, was the one who provided most logs to the company.¹²

In the beginning of the 19th century Wifstavarf relied on log deliveries from a large group of individual peasants. They were contracted annually to supply shipbuilding material, saw timber and beams, as well as to contribute with their work force, for logging, transportation, timber floating and clearing of the rivers for floating. Usually the peasants were partially paid in advance by the company. Most peasants seemed to fulfil their obligations, but each year some were drawn to court unable to pay their debts. On the other hand, the speculative peasants were able to create financial space to develop their business, especially when the demand gradually increased from the end of the 1840s.¹³

When the managers of Wifstavarf developed their business in the 1830s they strived to make the organisation more efficient. Such changes affected the rela-

11 Wichman 1962, Östlund 1993.

12 Ericson 1990: 66-97, Nyström 1982, WVAB D I:1.

13 Söderlund 1951, WVAB G I:a.

tions to the peasants in the interior. One step to secure the annual need of log deliveries was to divide the area along Indalsälven into a number of forest districts, and leave the control of the production and supply to local commission agents, who were recruited mainly from the local elite. Initially, the possibilities to control the business differed between the forest districts. In the Lit district, the company was represented by strong commission agents: the peasant and churchwarden Anders Månsson in Korsta village and his son and successor Magnus Andersson. They seem to have been able to force the peasants to supply on demand. In the company accounts the log deliverance from the Lit district was also noted as one single delivery, under the name of Anders Månsson. However, Månsson's own log journal shows more than fifty small-scale providers, occasionally delivering from the Wifstavarf forests.¹⁴

In other districts, such as Ragunda, Stugun and Fors, no strong commission agents appeared at first. Instead, the peasants continued to act as free agents towards Wifstavarf. Most peasants preferred to deliver square-cut balks, against company wishes. To close the contracts, the company regularly had to send inspectors from the shipyard or saw mills to the villages. In the end of November 1833 inspector Orstadius suspended the negotiations with a stubborn group of peasants headed by Jonas Matsson in Stugun, because they refused to accept the compensation offered for floating facilities. Such setbacks made the company encourage local key persons with secret agreements to deliver timber, and force their neighbours to emphasise production of ship building material and saw timber rather than beams. A few years later this strategy seems to have become successful.¹⁵

To grasp the general trend I will briefly show the level of timber market contacts between the peasants in Jämtland and Wifstavarf in the years 1833, 1843 and 1853, when Wifstavarf erected their first steam-driven saw mill. In Table 1, evidence indicates a significant change of relations between the peasants and the company. 1833 and 1843 show quite a large group of deliverers who together played an important role for the company. In 1833, the elite play a minor role as suppliers according to the total value of all sorts of delivered logs that year. Almost all peasants were making individual deliveries, except Anders Månsson in Korsta at the top of the list, and Jonas Matsson in Stugun, second at the list (Table 1). He delivered on his own, and he also organised his deliveries through other peasants to a value of Rd¹⁶ 1392.

14 WVAB B (outgoing correspondence), G I:a and Lits skogsdistrikt F:1.

15 WVAB E I:1, B:2.

16 Rd = the Swedish currency Riksdaler Banco.

Table 1. The log deliveries from Jämtland to Wifstavarf 1833, 1843 and 1853 (WVAB G I:a: 5, 14 and 25)

Value of supplied saw timber and square cut timber (Riksdaler Banco, Rd)	1833		1843		1853	
	Number of suppliers	Percent of annual deliveries*	Number of suppliers	Percent of annual deliveries*	Number of suppliers	Percent of annual deliveries*
>20 000					1	27
9 000–19 999					1	17.4
5 000–8 999	1	21.3	1	16.8	3	27.2
1000–4 999	1	4.5	4	12.5	4	5.9
301–999	11	13.8	25	21.7	16	8.7
201–300	15	11.7	18		13	
101–200	53		61		24	
51–100	52		79		21	
11–50	109		95		23	
1–10	74		30		5	
Total number of suppliers (N)/ total value of deliveries (Riksdaler Banco, Rd)	N=316	30 336 Rd	N=318	45 523 Rd	N=115	94 061 Rd

* Percent of annual deliveries means the total value delivered by the suppliers in each category, divided by the total value of timber supplied that year

In 1843 a new group of five peasants from Ragunda appeared as major suppliers, but their contribution to the total value of deliveries is still less important compared with the group of peasants who delivered logs to a value between Rd 300–999. Important to note is the fact that some of the peasants who finally appear in the peak 1853 are already acting on the market in 1843, delivering for Rd 300–999. In 1853 the scene has changed dramatically. Compared with 1843, the company begun to succeed in gaining more efficient control in terms of reducing the number of counterparts. Magnus Andersson in Korsta, the commission agent in Lit, is still the major supplier, and together with the next four largest suppliers he delivered as much as 70% of the total value that year. This exceptional change raises questions about how the most speculative peasants developed their business and finally adapted to an apparently new situation on the timber market.

Two speculative peasants on the pre-industrial timber market

The background description above has outlined two different paths for speculative peasants to appear in Jämtland. One path leads from the central farming district and the other path leads to the forest districts in the east. In the beginning of the 1850s a group of peasants from the central area of Jämtland were transforming capital from the traditional merchant business to the forest industry in the Sundsvall district. The first and most striking example was Nils Wikström. He was born in 1813 on the Odensala farm, one of the largest estates in the county, close to Östersund. During the 1840s Nils Wikström was the outstanding merchant in Jämtland, but timber business seemed to have had little importance for his business. The big turn came in the beginning of the 1850s when Nils Wikström found that the timber market in Sundsvall was more prosperous than his business in Östersund. A couple of letters from 1853–1855 to his companion Lars Lithander on Klöstanäs farm in the parish of Lit, who was another one of the leading peasant merchants in the county, show that they have begun to buy felling rights in the central area around the River Indalsälven. The agreements resulting from their discussion were highly confidential since they were made up in competition with Wifstavarf, as primary competitor.

Nils Wikström and Lars Lithander are equal partners, but in the beginning of the 1850s Nils Wikström seems to leave Lars Lithander behind and the latter remains a local timber entrepreneur in Jämtland. In 1854 Nils Wikström buys an estate outside Sundsvall where he establishes a ‘balk-pit’ (bjälkgrop). A year later he is entering the interim meeting of the Indalsälven floating association, insisting upon becoming a full-bodied member beside the other saw mill companies in Sundsvall. In 1856 Nils Wikström moves to Sundsvall and in 1858 he subsequently resigns as a burgher of Östersund. In 1861 Nils Wikström buys the Mon steam-driven saw mill from Fredrik Bünsow. The first speculative peasant from Jämtland had become a saw mill entrepreneur – ‘träpatron’ – in Sundsvall. During the following decades a number of followers would appear.¹⁷

Most of Nils Wikström’s followers came from the eastern area of Jämtland, which is less surprising considering the traditions of timber business between the speculative peasants and Wifstavarf. If a small group of well-established speculative peasants in the region initially dominated, a new group of speculative peasants were entering the stage after 1850. One of them was Paulus Wikström from the Mårdsjön village in the Stugun parish, born in 1827. His father Jöns Ersson was a small-scale timber provider, but Paulus Wikström became one of the leading providers to Wifstavarf, delivering for Rd 8139 in 1853. Together with several other speculative peasants, Paulus Wikström combined his own timber business with tim-

17 Flodén 1949, 1962: 478–524, ÖLA, Lars Lithander m fl arkiv E:1 and WVAB D I:1.

ber provision for other companies. In the end of the 1850s he was asked to support a couple of former employees of Wifstavarf who had established Sund, a new saw mill company in Sundsvall. Another person enlisted for this project was Magnus Andersson in Korsta. At the end of the 1860s Paulus Wikström seemed to be ready to challenge the saw mill companies in Sundsvall, and together with a group of peasants in Stugun he established the Östrand steam-driven saw mill in the Timrå parish. In 1880 they sold the saw mill to their neighbour Fredrik Bünsow, and in 1881 Paulus Wikström finally built his own saw mill at Fagervik, next to the mouth of the River Indalsälven.¹⁸

In this paper I have paid attention to the speculative peasants as an important link between the rural Jämtland context and the development of the forest industry in the Sundsvall district. Although, research on speculative peasants acting on the timber market is still at a relatively early stage, this paper has illustrated some general evidence of their appearance. The traditions of small-scale deliveries to the saw mill companies and traditional merchant business gave the peasants in Jämtland experience of business as well as the economic capital necessary for pre-industrial investments. It is plausible that the peasants' interest in timber business started with the demand from the market and gradually adapted to the changes on the market. Initially, it was possible for a large group of peasants to make money as long as the most valuable products from the forest industry were refined by the peasants themselves. A small group of speculative peasants responded to the increasing demands on the market for saw timber and beams. The final case study displayed Nils Wikström and Paulus Wikström as two key actors, who entered the stage from different regional contexts in Jämtland. They gained amazing possessions of economic capital from merchandise and timber dealing in the beginning of the 1850s and were finally able to compete with the companies in Sundsvall. Since this research is in progress, future investigations will explain why certain peasants became more successful than others on the pre-industrial timber market.

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From share-cropping to room service: Transformation of local labour with emerging tourism industry

Aslihan Aykac

This research will explore the transformation of local labour force with expansion of global tourism in Turkey. This transformation is seen in the form of an abrupt social change imposed by supra-local forces in some cases, or as a gradual adaptation, adjustment or transition to a new socio-economic setting in others. In either case, the transformation will be analyzed in the light of global dynamics that affect the operation of the nation-state, the corporate and individual practice of tourism and labour in general. Variables that will be used to understand the different forms and the processes of labour transformation primarily include the type and nature of the preceding economic system – a highly commercialized rural economy or subsistence farming based on household economy – the role of the government, the extent of integration with the global economy and the social structure prevalent in these locales, the social composition of the labour force and complementary division of labour.

The key position of labour in tourism comes from the fact that its replacement by technology or by capital is very much limited due to the aesthetic value of the service provided. Labour is involved not only in the production of the service but also in its consumption, because labour is responsible for the delivery of the service to the consumer (Urry 2002). Labour is much more central in international tourism. For international travellers it is a primary form of confrontation with the host culture. In addition to the meeting of host and guest cultures, labour is significant in terms of its social composition, since the social composition of the producers becomes a part of the product in service economies. The age, gender, race or educational level of labour in services affects the sign value and the image of the product (Urry 2002: 61). First, labour has to enmesh the local culture with

international standards, and then to present that hybrid persona in the service product.

The fact that tourism as a labour-intensive service industry requires mostly low skilled low paid jobs in a seasonal manner is a firsthand limitation for tourism labour, in which case the workers need to supplement the seasonal tourism work with some other off-season employment. In cases where tourism is dominated by small and medium sized enterprises, there may be greater entrepreneurial opportunities for locals, hence for self-employment and use of family labour. However, this form of employment cannot overcome the seasonality factor either (Shaw & Williams 2002).

Labour transformation in this research refers to the sum of systemic changes emerging from tourism development and their social repercussions in the local community. The systemic changes are disentangled with the help of certain conceptual tools, such as division of labour, labour market, labour force, and employment pattern. The social repercussions of labour transformation are contextualized in relation to more macro scale settings, in order to achieve the intended analytical abstraction. For example, the widespread adoption of tourism as the economic activity, as the source of living in a specific locale transforms not only the individual lives but also the social relations they engage in. The making of a tourism destination, the employment of greater portion of the population in this tourism destination results in a new division of labour, new employment patterns and a new composition of the labour force, demographically as well as socially. In addition the coexistence of different economic sectors or the replacement of one dominant economic sector by another further explains the new dynamics determining the nature of labour transformation.

The labour transformation at the local level in this context is influenced by a number of factors at different levels of operation. At the global level the increasing mobility of global capital enables the conversion of prospective locales into attractive tourism destinations, to be consumed by the increasingly mobile global population. At the national level, tourism is instrumental for governments to open up to and benefit from the global economy, first in terms of attracting global capital to invest and second in terms of inviting globally mobile people to consume, both of which generate revenue, foreign currency, and economic activity.

The making of a tourism destination, the expansion of the tourism industry in a specific locale does not necessarily entail a smooth transition of the local labour force from the preceding economic activity to tourism, especially when considering the unique nature of the tourism employment vis-à-vis employment in other sectors such as agriculture or industrial employment. The nature and extent of commercial activity, the proletarianization of the labour force and the

integration of the local economy to the capitalist structure are some indicators of labour transformation. Labour transformation at the local level is exclusively important for it embeds in itself the social, economic and cultural repercussions of global tourism. Not only does it include a change in the social structure, social division of labour or commoditisation of culture, but it also means migration, informalization and diversification of the labour force, traits pertaining not only to tourism labour but issues of global labour in general (Munck 2002).

When looking at the tourism industry in one specific locale, it is important to know whether tourism industry is dominated by global capital such as international hotel and/or restaurant chains, e.g. the Sheraton or Pizza Hut, or by domestic capital with smaller businesses enabling greater involvement of the local people in the industry. The operation of enterprises of global capital and those of local investment have radically different repercussions for the local people. In the former the locals may have limited access to the industry due to the global standards in production and consumption of tourism services. In the latter the locals may determine the standards themselves, hence the conditions of entrance in the industry (Brown 1998: 57).

The research is conducted in three coastal tourism destinations in Turkey, employing surveys, interviews and observations as research instruments. Academic literature, archival documents, as well as international sources and other secondary data supports the research data obtained from the fieldwork. Government documents and official statistics are of little help for the research due to the fact that existing research on labour issues in tourism is very much limited. Since the theoretical objective of the research is to understand the local context in the light of macro-level determinants, the central data comes from the fieldwork, where I try to collect data directly from the sources.

Paths of tourism development

The three locations chosen for the field research provide ample amount of opportunity for comparative analysis. On the one hand, all three locations, Fethiye, Belek and Kemer share similar features in terms of geographic location, proximity to urban areas and socio-economic structure prior to tourism development and potential resources for tourism development. All three are located on the Mediterranean coast of Turkey and therefore have a mild climate suitable for an extended tourism season as well as for year-round agricultural production. Prior to tourism development, all three locations depended on agrarian economies in which a variety of crops provided means of living for the local population. In addition, proximity to urban areas provide some access to market economy,

however, the distance also prevents a full integration. These similarities create a common ground on which a comparative analysis can be established.

On the other hand, despite the numerous similarities, each location represents a different path of tourism development, which makes the comparison much more interesting. The differences in paths of tourism development depend on many factors. The role of the government in allocating state land for construction and providing financial incentives is a primary factor that determines the type of investment and nature of tourism development. Similarly, the involvement of the local population in tourism development, whether through investment or employment, or the exclusion of the local population from tourism development due to domination of the industry by large scale capital is another determinant. Last but not the least, the historical background of tourism in an area, whether there is an abrupt tourism explosion or a gradual development, will explain the social change that accompanies tourism development.

Tourism in Fethiye, particularly domestic tourism, goes back as far as 50 years; however, emergence of Fethiye as a global tourism destination is a fairly recent phenomenon. Until the 1980s, locals in Fethiye depended primarily on agriculture, mostly growing tomatoes as well as other vegetables. The same thing went for fishing as well; the fish caught was also taken to the cities. It was with the changing macroeconomic policy of Turkey that tourism started to develop in the region. The liberalization of the economy in general, and the opening up of coastal land for construction the promotion of tourism investment in particular, are some of the background developments that made the growth of tourism industry in this region possible. The locals, previously earning their living from vegetables, fruits – mostly varieties of citrus – cotton, tobacco, olives and sometimes a small number of farm animals, began to turn their houses into pensions or small motels. The accumulation of capital from tourism was good enough for these people to improve their facilities, add rooms, restaurants, bars and swimming pools to their establishments. Fethiye is characterized by small to medium sized enterprises that are mostly run by locals. However, there are also large scale enterprises representative of global capital. The operation of the large scale businesses is entirely different from the rest, in terms of labour, employment patterns, their integration with the local economy, and the services they provide. Even in terms of their location, they are mostly located away from the town or village centres, they are very much detached from the ‘local’.

Although tourism is fast becoming the dominant economic activity and attracts a greater portion of the local population – and the migrant labour coming in – agriculture in the region still prevails. One important reason for this is the seasonal nature of the tourism industry. The season for the tourism industry in this region is six months, from May to October. Most of the tourism workers are

employed during the season on a full-time basis, with social security coverage and benefits. During the other half of the year they are mostly engaged in agricultural production, either as subsistence farming or small scale production to be taken to the market. At the very centre of Fethiye and in all the surrounding settlements one can see numerous greenhouses for growing tomatoes and other vegetables in winter. In this sense it is possible to say that the agricultural economy in the region works complementary to the tourism industry. The incomplete transition from the agricultural economy to the tourism industry or the permanent transitory structure of the local economy presents a very complex picture of the social structure. On the one hand, the traditional agricultural economy entails a household production system mostly dependent on family labour. Labour relations are mostly informal, supported by the values of the local culture. On the other hand, tourism industry requires a capitalist mode of production, entrepreneurial involvement, and formal labour relations framed by a legal rational value system. The coexistence of these two very different economic systems and the participation of the local labour force in both economies further complicate the issue, as a result of which one can observe shared notions of labour, work and business in both. Former farmers who now run small hotels want to run their business with family labour and use wage workers only when necessary. Verbal contracts and personal relations determine the terms of employment instead of a formal application procedure and a written contract.

The complexity of the social structure can be observed in the cultural context as well. This is much more explicit in Ovacik and Hisaronu areas in Fethiye, where you see the village life with small one storey village houses with small front yards, a couple of trees, and chickens that stand side by side with Chinese, Indian, Italian and Mexican restaurants, and Irish bars in the same area. The reach of the global culture with all its colours forms a great challenge for the locals.

Tourism in Belek is a very recent phenomenon. In fact the emergence of Belek as a province with its own municipality is a very recent phenomenon as well. Tourism in Belek started in the first half of 1980s, through the allocation of state land for suitable tourism projects. State owned land was rented first for 49 years and then for 99 years for well-developed tourism projects. The allocation of state land was also supported by financial assistance from the government for the development of tourism in the region. The result is the emergence of Belek as a tourism destination, consisting of about 30 large scale first class holiday villages and five-star hotels, each with an average carrying capacity of 1000 to 1300 customers, and almost all of them providing 'all inclusive' service, including cinemas, shops, medical centres and more. The fact that the National Golf Club is located in Belek makes golf an important niche market for Belek. Congress tourism is another important specialty for Belek. Overall, Belek is a holiday destination of

perfect construction for the total satisfaction of the customers.

Tourism development in Belek from the locals' point-of-view presents an entirely different picture. None of the large scale tourism conglomerates are built through local initiatives, they are mostly owned by investors from Istanbul, Antalya and other urban centres. The only access the locals have to Belek is through the employment of the younger generations in these hotels and villages, in low skill low income positions. The other alternative is through opening a gift shop or a restaurant or café in the shopping district in Belek, however this is also a very limited opportunity due to the capital requirement of starting these businesses and the 'all inclusive' operation of the big business. Also, the seasonal operation of tourism business is another handicap for locals, since investing in a gift shop or a coffee house that will only operate for five or six months is very costly for small entrepreneurs.

In order to understand the impact of tourism development in Belek on the local population, one needs to look at Serik, since the closest residential settlement to Belek is Serik. Walking around in Serik and talking to the locals and even a distant observation shows that the aforementioned tourism development did not change much in the lives of the locals. Tourism development, although initiated and supported by the government and with large sums of capital investment, has not moved out of the top down approach and penetrated into the local economic structure and socio-cultural setting.

There is a well developed and very much planned tourism infrastructure in Kemer, with the particular contribution of South Antalya Project – a government initiated tourism development project. Kemer is a tourism centre mostly characterized by large scale holiday villages and hotels built on allocated state land with financial support from the government, and Kemer is very similar to Belek in this sense. However, due to the fact that there was also a rural settlement in Kemer prior to tourism has meant that the local population in Kemer has slowly integrated with the tourism industry through small scale entrepreneurship and employment. First of all, the privately owned land in Kemer is also converted from agricultural land to construction sites, in which shops and small plazas are built to make up a shopping centre with gift shops, car rentals etc. that mostly cater tourists rather than the locals themselves. Second, restaurants, guest houses, small hotels and motels are established through more modest investments by the locals and those who settle in Kemer during their retirement period, such as returning guest-workers from Germany, and people moving from big cities like Antalya. In addition, the local population became employed in transportation and sanitation services, which were also necessary for the maintenance of areas outside the holiday villages and hotels. Apart from these small scale entrepreneurial or employment type of integration with tourism, a different group of beneficiaries

of tourism industry introduces a new dimension to this research. According to the representatives of Tourism Information Centre of Kemer – local branch of Ministry of Tourism – and KETAV – Kemer Promotion Foundation – the local population's connection to the tourism industry is more through construction of shops and plazas on previously cultivated land, in order not to engage in commercial activity but to rent their property and earn their living from this rent. This renter group, whether due to lack of need or lack of knowledge, does not get directly involved in tourism and related business. The fact that this group is not in the labour force may be an important aspect of labour transformation for analytical purposes.

Similar to Fethiye, agriculture in Kemer is the second main economic activity for the locals. However, different from Fethiye, there are not so many greenhouses in Kemer that are used for year-round production of fruits and vegetables. Instead the dominant crop here is various kinds of citrus, including tangerines and oranges. Although both tourism centres operate on a seasonal scale, the complementary relationship of agriculture and tourism in Fethiye cannot be seen in Kemer, due to the different entrepreneurial composition of the tourism industry and different concentration of crops resulting in different rural employment patterns and timetables.

To summarize, it is possible to conclude that the three cases chosen for this study all represent different dynamics and patterns of tourism development. In all three cases, the relationship of the locals with the tourism industry is shaped by a number of variables, from the type of crop dominant in the region to the entrepreneurial composition of the tourism industry, or from the demographic composition of the local population to the geographic proximity of the tourism centre.

Types of tourism employment

Development of tourism industry in an area entails several employment opportunities within the tourism industry as well as in related industries that support tourism. This section will discuss different types of labour transformation occurring as a result of tourism development, which introduces a new labour market for the already existing labour force in the area. Other than the labour market, tourism development initiates new investment opportunities for locals with some capital, which also contribute to self-employment areas previously limited to agricultural production and small scale trade necessary for the rural community. Some external factors such as labour migration and the emergence of high skilled managerial elite also change the composition of the labour force in the region. As a result, a more complicated, less homogeneous labour environment emerges

with radical social, demographic and economic implications.

One way the local population enters the tourism industry is through small scale entrepreneurship, one way of self-employment. The local entrepreneur is a resident of the tourism area who invests his and his family's savings from his rural occupation into tourism or a related business. This is usually a middle aged male who is the head of the household, with limited education and experience in market economy. In most cases, parallel to the development of the tourism industry, the local entrepreneur goes through a gradual transition from the agro-business to tourism. In some cases, tourism and agro-business coexist in a complementary manner, in order to overcome the seasonality factor of tourism. Opportunities for local entrepreneurship depend on whether the industry is dominated by small businesses or large conglomerates.

Another way for local to participate in the tourism industry is by being employed in the existing businesses. The fact that tourism industry requires ample amount of low skilled low paid jobs and that greater part of the local population lacks the means of small scale entrepreneurship results in employment of locals in these low skill low paid jobs. In most cases, it is the younger generation of locals that has access to tourism employment, and women in particular are preferred for catering and cleaning services. These workers usually have limited education and lack formal training in tourism, they mostly work on a seasonal basis, usually hold flexible working hours, and they acquire minimal benefits only for the duration of their seasonal employment. Although they can find some sort of tourism employment during the season, they also need to find complementary employment during the off-season period.

With tourism development, migration becomes another mode of intervention in the composition of the local labour force. The way the migrant labourers access the tourism industry is very much similar to the aforementioned two types. Either we observe the migrant entrepreneur, who comes from metropolitan areas and who already has some know-how about the market economy, and invests in a small enterprise with the limited capital he holds, or we observe the migrant worker, who comes from a rural background usually from eastern regions of Turkey, seeks to be employed in a large enterprise through the network of other migrant workers with similar backgrounds.

Finally, tourism development entails the emergence of a professional and managerial elite that is highly educated, skilled, and distinguished and detached from the rest of the labourers in tourism industry. This detachment is not only seen in the working environment but also in the social environment outside; as migrant workers and local workers are relatively enmeshed socially, due to similarity of backgrounds, the high skilled elite is distant from these groups, and in most cases

they choose to live in nearby metropolitan areas rather than the tourism site.

Conclusion

When evaluating the three case studies from a comparative perspective, it is possible to come up with some general conclusions. One such conclusion is the necessity of a multi-level, multi-variable analysis for a coherent understanding of labour transformation. Looking at the labour transformation in an isolated manner we will only reveal the role of inherent dynamics within the labour force or the labour relations. Although these inherent dynamics are of paramount value, they cannot explain the large scale, structural transformations initiated by forces beyond the local level and beyond the labour force at hand.

Demographic factors determine the extent of integration of the local labour force to the newly emerging labour market of tourism. Younger generations have greater access to this labour market. Older generations, whether due to limited access or to more conservative mode of thinking, are more attached to land and tend to resist the tourism development. The level of education determines the vertical mobility of the labourer; however, the labour force being fairly homogeneous in terms of education restricts such possibilities of moving up the ladder. Gender differences do not show much about access to the labour market, however, it is an important indicator of the division of labour prevalent in the industry and how it is gender specific.

A comparative review of the aforementioned types of tourism employment shows that a diverse set of labour force is active in tourism businesses. In smaller businesses the tendency is towards the use of family labour and the use of outside labour only when needed. Large scale businesses require a larger supply of labour, and therefore can absorb migrant labour as well. The backstage of tourism services requires a huge number of unskilled cheap labour in cleaning, catering, transportation and sanitation jobs. However, high level business relations, sometimes on a global scale requires the use of high skill managers and professionals, who, when seen as part of the labour force, contribute to the diversity of this labour force. The diversity is not only in terms of skill level or employment areas but also in terms of demographics, social and cultural background.

The composition of the labour force in one locale, whether mainly local labour or migrant labour, whether mostly unskilled labour employed in big business, self employed or family labour, depends on the composition of the tourism industry in that locale. On the one hand, a high concentration of large scale tourism enterprises will require an abundant set of unskilled cheap labour, which may not be readily available in the region and can be supplemented by migrant labour. On

the other hand, a high concentration of small to mid scale tourism businesses mostly operated by local entrepreneurs would require less labour, which could be supplied by family members and relatives, in most cases that is readily available, and very little outside labour. Under these circumstances the need for migrant labour is almost non-existent.

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Periphery today and yesterday: A macro-level identification of archaeological peripheries in Sweden

Leif Häggström

Introduction

In the explanation of a map Lars Lundquist states that open areas of today are enhanced. These areas, as well as the coastal zone and the central part of the county of Västra Götaland, were the central areas of western Sweden during the Iron Age. Between these areas narrow agricultural pockets can be found along rivers and lakes (Lundquist 1998: 194). This example is representative of how many archaeologists treat the prehistory. The archaeologist too often falls into the trap of projecting agricultural regions of today into prehistory. But is it really a trap? Can not the situation be such that the open regions of today also represent central regions of past time?

In this paper I will try to explore some aspects of archaeological centrality. I will try to find explanations to why some areas are considered peripheral and others considered central in the archaeological perception. The discussion will primarily be on a macro level.

Identifying archaeological centres

Centre-periphery discussions have been a keen point of interest for archaeology since the late 1980s. The discussions have vitalised Iron Age studies ever since. There is one great flaw in the studies – they focus almost single-handedly on the centres. A paper by Charlotte Fabech and Jytte Ringtved published in 1995 might be viewed as the methodological basis for how archaeologists identify centres in comparison to other



Figure 1. Maps showing the counties and provinces of Sweden. Map made by Samuel Björklund, Jönköpings läns museum

sites and regions. It is argued that production is divided into three parts: production for daily consumption, production connected to iron, and the production of luxury items. The production of luxury items is connected to upper-class milieus. Therefore traces of luxury items and the production of them should represent the elite environments, which are considered as centres. A hierarchical model of what

criteria different sites should contain in order to qualify as over-regional centre, regional centre or ordinary settlement are presented (Fabech & Rigtved 1995, see also discussion in Skou Hansen 2003 where it is shown how disparate the treatment of the subject actually is). The problem is that too many archaeologists use the model as a checklist to verify the presence of a centre. The political or daily implication of a centre is seldom dealt with. If no centre can be identified the subject of centrality is often dropped or interest lost. The model is very different from the discussion of marginal and central areas in the 1970s. The definition of a central area in those days was that of an area with subsistence based upon agriculture (Weiler 1984).

In an article published some years ago I argue that three critical questions have to be answered before the presence of a centre can be even assumed (Häggström 2001: 33-36):

1. Before using the term centrality the meaning of the term in this specific context must be explained. What makes a centre specific in contrast to an ordinary settlement?
2. Do we know anything about the vegetation in the studied area? Do we know anything about the early use of the area or are we just projecting the appearance of today into prehistory? What influence does the use of land in the area in modern time have on the apprehension of past times?
3. It is understood that the presence of specific objects and artefacts indicate a centre. This might be true if the objects and artefacts are found in a certain quantity. The objects must also be of the same age and not too spread in time.

If these questions are answered positively in a satisfactory way the presence of a centre may be discussed.

Identifying the archaeological centres of today

In this study I assume that the situation today determines how we interpret the prehistory. I assume that regions with more known prehistoric monuments and more archaeological activity should be better represented in literature, than regions with dense woodlands or regions considered remote when compared to the location of universities. Half a dozen different factors, which in combination might represent archaeological centres of today, have been listed in Table 1 and Table 2. The tables are discussed below and archaeological centres of today are proposed. The under-laying question is of course whether the absence of an interpretation of a supposed centre should be interpreted as a peripheral indicator.

Table 1. Data by province. The five highest numbers in each category is in bold type

Province	Artefact posts/km2 ¹	Papers in Fornvännen 1956-1995 ²	LIBRIS ³
Blekinge	0.37	1	15
Bohuslän	0.6	7	333
Dalarna	0.014	4	6
Dalsland	0.45	0	5
Gotland	2.67	49	77
Gästrikland	0.05	3	5
Halland	0.5	3	51
Hälsingland	0.028	4	9
Härjedalen	0.008	1	51
Jämtland	0.03	2	42
Lappland	0.012	11	121
Medelpad	0.0375	0	8
Norrbottnen	-	10	95
Närke	0.25	2	5
Skåne	0.438	27	106
Småland	0.1	3	45
Södermanland	0.53	29	49
Uppland	0.4	45	147
Värmland	0.028	3	19
Västerbotten	0.041	4	61
Västergötland	0.26	5	73
Västmanland	0.11	10	20
Ångermanland	0.06	2	26
Öland	1.48	20	23
Östergötland	0.27	13	100

1 The data is from the database covering the collection of The Museum of National Antiquities (SHMs översiktdatabas, www.historiska.se/collections/tillvaxt/till_search.asp). The number of artefact posts per km2 is slightly misleading, because each post might include more than one artefact. The province of Norrbotten is not included in the database.

2 Information about Fornvännen is taken from a paper written by Martin Rundkvist (1996: 179).

3 The number of appearances in LIBRIS (www.libris.kb.se) is based upon a search carried out in February 2003 when the name of the province was stated as keyword and archaeology as subject. The number of appearances of Norrbotten and Västerbotten is slightly misleading as the name of the province is similar to that of the county.

Artefacts, archaeological sites and rescue archaeology

There is a theory that agricultural activity produce prehistoric finds. If this is the case then there should be more artefacts recovered in agriculturally expansive areas, especially in times when artefacts are considered collectable. During extensive agricultural expansion in Sweden in the 19th century, a great number of new artefacts were found and reported to the authorities. Areas with prehistoric graves placed in previous pastures or outfields were put under the plough during this period. When the graves were destroyed artefacts were forced to the surface and thus revealed (Carlsson & Windelhed 1973). Another aspect to take into consideration is whether there have been any individuals or institutions interested in collecting or buying artefacts close to where they were found. Peter Johansson has shown that there are direct relations between regions with a high number of known sites and artefacts to regions covered by early transportation routes like railways and highways. The obvious explanation is that these regions have been the easiest to cover by the artefact collectors, distributors and buyers (Johansson 1999: 61). By combining these aspects we can suppose that regions with good infrastructure and connections to collecting institutions and persons, should have a better representation in the public collections today than remote regions without institutional interests. The provinces of Gotland, Skåne, Södermanland, Uppland and Öland all have a significantly higher number of artefacts registered per km² than other provinces. None of them are currently covered by more than 57% forest.

It is my impression that the woodlands have been neglected in the nation wide survey of ancient monument carried out twice during the last 60 years. It is not easy to get information about the time spent on ancient monument surveying in different parts of Sweden. However, a tendency can be traced on basis of data found in the different issues of *Arkeologi i Sverige* (Eng: Archaeology in Sweden, published annually) and *Arkeologi i Sverige. Ny följd* (Eng: Archaeology in Sweden. New series, published annually). The yearly reports from the surveys present phrases like:

- Remote woodlands were not surveyed (Riksantikvarieämbetet 1985: 30).
- The high survey pace did not allow an unprejudiced covering of the woodlands (Riksantikvarieämbetet 1987: 129).
- The remains in the woodlands were hard to distinguish for the settlement-oriented archaeologists surveying the area (Riksantikvarieämbetet 1990: 151).
- The coastal region had higher priority than the woodlands (Riksantikvarieämbetet 1991: 215).

This is the general tendency from the survey reports. There is however one exception. In the eastern part of the province of Västergötland the woodland

received higher priority than the already well-known farming district (Riksantikvarieämbetet 1987: 149). This illuminates that woodland regions were viewed as less interesting than regions where agriculture plays an important role today. Therefore the area covered by woodland today is of relevance when distinguishing centres and peripheries of modern archaeology. The counties of Gotland and Stockholm both distinguish themselves by having an extraordinary amount of known archaeological sites per km² as well as a very low proportion of forest land area compared to other counties.

The Swedish legislation concerning prehistoric monuments postulates that archaeological excavations have to be carried out before major land exploitations (SFS 1988:950). On the basis of this, expansive regions are subject to more numerous archaeological excavations than regressive ones. As the goal of archaeological excavations are accumulation of knowledge, it is statistically obvious that expansive regions contain more archaeological data that can be interpreted as representing archaeological centres or central areas. In the season 2000–2001 seven different counties distinguished themselves by having archaeological costs exceeding 20 000 000 SEK. The counties are: Skåne län, Stockholms län, Södermanlands län, Västernorrlands län, Västmanlands län, Västra Götalands län and Östergötlands län. This can be supported with a line of argument made by Ian Hodder and Clive Orton in 1976. They argue that the archaeological knowledge of a region is in direct correspondence with the amount of archaeological activity in the same region (Hodder & Orton 1976).

Publications and the location of universities

There have been studies on the subjects in archaeological BA and MA papers. By studying the geographical regions and subjects covered by the papers the interests of different universities can be identified. In an analysis covering 1768 papers written in the period 1960–1995. Iron Age can be identified as the single most popular time period. The study also show that most papers cover areas near the location of the university where the paper was produced. For example, this means that the number of papers from Umeå covering Skåne are indeed very few, and likewise are the number of papers from Lund covering northern Sweden scarce. The location of the universities must thereby be an important factor (Bäckström et al. 1998). In Table 2 universities with post-graduate education in archaeology are listed.

Table 2. Data by county. The five highest numbers in each category is in bold type

County	Proportion of forest land area (%) ¹	Archaeological sites/km ² ²	Cost of rescue excavations 2000-2001 (SEK) ³	Post-graduate education in archaeology
Blekinge län – K	69	1.1		
Dalarnas län – W	69	0.19		
Gotlands län – I	40	14.08		
Gävleborgs län – X	79	0.46		
Hallands län – N	54	1.8		
Jämtlands län – Z	51	0.39		
Jönköpings län – F	68	2.15		
Kalmar län – H	64	2.65		
Kronobergs län – G	78	1.96		
Norrbottnens län – BD	36	0.12		
Skåne län – M	32	2.23	>20 000 000	Lund University
Stockholms län – AB	42	15.63	>20 000 000	Stockholm University
Södermanlands län – D	57	12.4	>20 000 000	
Uppsala län – C	56	11.1		Uppsala University
Värmlands län – S	75	0.55		
Västerbottens län – AC	57	0.22		Umeå University
Västernorrlands län – Y	78	0.63	>20 000 000	
Västmanlands län – U	60	3.63	>20 000 000	
Västra Götalands län – O	54	3.19	>20 000 000	Göteborg University
Örebro län – T	69	0.91		
Östergötlands län – E	58	4.71	>20 000 000	

- 1 The proportion of forest land is based upon data from Skogsstyrelsen 2002. Some data is misleading, both Norrbottens län and Jämtlands län have quite large areas consisting of mountains and bogs.
- 2 The number of archaeological sites per km² is taken from Jensen 1997. Some data has changed since then; the surveys in northern Sweden have changed the data quite severely.
- 3 The data for the costs of rescue archaeological activities is valid for 2000-2001, and the cost can change over the years depending on infrastructural exploitation. The data is taken from Riksdagens Revisorer 2002.

The periodical *Fornvännen* (Journal of Swedish Antiquarian Research) presents itself as the oldest, biggest and most widespread periodical in Sweden covering antiquarian research (www.raa.se/kvhaab/fornvann). By studying the regions covered in articles in the periodical, the geographical interest of antiquarian research in Sweden can be identified. In 1996 Martin Rundkvist published a study of the articles in *Fornvännen* for the period 1956-1995. Rundkvist's geographical data are incorporated into Table 1. Five different provinces distinguish themselves by occurring in 61 % of the total number of articles. The provinces in question are Gotland, Skåne, Södermanland, Uppland and Öland. Of these provinces only Gotland and Öland lack a nearby university during the time period of Rundkvist's study.

By doing a search in the national library database LIBRIS (www.libris.kb.se), provinces that have drawn more archaeological research interest than others can be identified. The picture that appears differs slightly from that in *Fornvännen*. The five most frequently appearing provinces in LIBRIS are Bohuslän, Lappland, Skåne, Uppland and Östergötland (Table 1).

Archaeological central areas in Sweden

By studying different data geographically some regions appear to be much more archaeologically known than others. It is fairly obvious that the location of universities plays a crucial part in the archaeological geographical knowledge of Sweden. It is also obvious that there is a direct relation between the extension of forests and the knowledge of prehistoric sites. The more forest the lesser the knowledge of prehistoric remains; the more agricultural land the more known sites. A larger number of artefacts is taken care of in open regions than in woodlands. The amount of known sites correspond to the number of artefacts. On the basis of this line of argument the following regions can be viewed as central to the archaeological community of today.

The Mälars-Uppland region: This region is vast and consists of some counties and provinces which distinguish themselves in Table 1 and Table 2. The county of Stockholm has little forest, many known sites per km², intensive rescue archaeology and a university. The province and county of Södermanland has a high density of artefacts registered per km², many papers in *Fornvännen*, many known sites per km² and intensive rescue archaeology. Uppland and the county of Uppsala appear in many papers in *Fornvännen* and frequently in LIBRIS, and have many known sites per km² and a university. The Mälars-Uppland region must with these factors taken into account be viewed as an influential central region of the archaeological community of today.

Skåne: This region is covered in many papers in Fornvännen, and it has a low proportion of forest land area, intensive rescue archaeology and a university.

The islands of the Baltic Sea: Gotland distinguishes itself by having many artefacts and known sites per km², appearing in many papers in Fornvännen and having little forest. The province of Öland, which is part of the county of Kalmar (cf. Table 1 and Table 2), has many artefacts per km² and Öland appears in many papers in Fornvännen.

Bohuslän: The province of Bohuslän is now part of the county of Västra Götaland. Bohuslän has many known artefacts per km² and many appearances in LIBRIS. Västra Götaland has a university and intensive rescue archaeology is carried out in the area.

Östergötland: The province and county of Östergötland has a high frequency of appearances in LIBRIS, many known sites per km² and intensive rescue archaeology.

These five regions can be divided into three categories with different characteristics. The first category consists of the Mälardalen region, Skåne and Bohuslän. These are regions with close connection to major cities with universities. The second category consists of the islands of the Baltic Sea where there are no universities with post-graduate opportunities in archaeology and no rescue archaeology. The third category consists of Östergötland. The region has intensive rescue archaeology but no university education in archaeology nearby.

If these are the central regions of Swedish archaeology, what should the other parts of Sweden be defined as?

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Migration, frontiers and boundaries during the early modern period: Land use, rights to land and the Forest-Finns

Gabriel Bladh

During the 16th and the early 17th century there was a rapid population expansion in all directions from the Savo area in Finland, which at that time was part of the Kingdom of Sweden. As a result of the colonisation process, large parts of inner Finland were settled, together with Ingria and Tverkarelia, and previously uninhabited forest areas in central Scandinavia. In Scandinavia the settlers, mainly belonging to the Savo-Karelian cultural sphere, became known as Forest-Finns (*metsäsuomalaiset*). The reasons for the migration are multiple, including war, worsening climate and state intervention. It is clear, however, that the inner dynamics in the population and innovations in slash-and-burn cultivation were important factors behind the expansion. One vital aspect in this context is how the rights to land changed through the establishment of new settlements. The aim of this paper is to examine some aspects of the settlement process and its effects on land use and land rights as an interface between local communities, central government and the Forest-Finns. Here mainly the Finnish context is focused.

The historical background of Savo

The first time Savo is mentioned in a written source is in the treaty of Nöteborg (Pähkinäsaari) in 1323. Savo was one of three westernmost Karelian pogosts that was ceded from the Novgorodian administration to the Swedish Crown (Gallén & Lind 1991). The name Savolahti means the ‘clay cove’ and it is connected with the surroundings of Mikkeli in the south of Savo. During the end of the Merovingian period and the Viking Age people from Western Finland colonised areas around

Mikkeli as well as in Karelia. In Savo it is suggested to be mainly arrivals of settlers from Häme (Taavitsainen 1990). This small-scaled colonisation is associated with the economic rise of the region following from the growth of the market in furs. This was probably done through establishing trading-stations, but those could include permanent settlement with cereal cultivation and cattle husbandry. The newcomers then mixed with existing autochthonous populations.

During the Crusade period Savo became part of a Karelian dominated network of contacts and influences. Favourable economic conditions led to a period of prosperity in Karelia centred in the area of the western shores of Lake Ladoga (Uino 1997). Some researchers suggest that Savo could be seen as an *erämark* wilderness territory of Karelia, while others regard the Mikkeli region to be an important innovation centre equal to Karelia already during this period. In the latter case Savo is seen as the wilderness territory of the Mikkeli region. Anyhow, many distinct elements of an eastern Finnish, Savo-Karelian culture developed through the contacts and mixing of different population groups. Many important differences between western Finnish and eastern Finnish cultural elements can be connected with this historical context.

During the 13th century eastern Finland and Karelia became influenced by the expansion of interests related to the evolving states of Novgorod and Sweden and the effort at getting an influence over trade as well as an establishment of Christianity in the region. Since missionary activities begun in Karelia in the 13th century the eastern part of Finland gradually became established as an administrative area of Novgorod. The Swedish expansion in Finland is usually distinguished through three periods of crusades: 1157 to proper Finland, Häme in the 1230s, and to Viborg 1293. In practice the inclusion into Christianity was much more gradual. From the 14th century Savo became incorporated in the Swedish sphere. Probably there had been an orthodox parish in Savo around Mikkeli, and after the treaty in Nöteborg a catholic parish was established in 1327 (Pirinen 1988).

Wilderness resources utilisation and cultivation

The Finnish system of the use of wilderness resources (*eränkäynti*) was of fundamental importance for the means of livelihood and economy up through the Middle Ages. Provinces like Satakunta, Häme, Savo and Karelia had their own wilderness areas (*erämarks*), i.e. private hunting forests and fishing waters. Due to the richness of lakes and transport routes such wilderness areas could be situated on very long distances from the settlement area. These wilderness areas tended to be favoured when the colonisation of the forest regions started during the late Middle Ages (Soininen 1961).

The main activities in the *erämarks* were connected to hunting and trade of fur as well as fishing. During the Middle Ages the use of slash-and-burn cultivation also became an important part of the long distance wilderness resource use. Paleo-environmental studies on early land-use from eastern Finland show a clear time lag between the first evidences of cereal cultivation during the early metal period and the later expansion during the Middle Ages (Taavitsainen et al. 1998). The early cultivation is connected with sediment soils with predominantly deciduous forest cleared according to the oldest slash-and-burn method of the *kaski*-type (Orrman 1991). Innovations in slash-and-burn cultivation which made it possible to use podzol soils with coniferous or mixed forests have then probably reached Eastern Finland in the 12th century. The type known as *huuhtha* was especially well adapted to agricultural colonisation in the virgin coniferous forests of the Finnish interior. A three-to-four-year process from felling to sowing liberated the nutritional capital of these podzol lands, making the production of food possible, especially a form of adapted rye was sown in the ashes. Possibly ecological adaptation processes were an important factor for the time lag that can be seen from the paleoecological studies.

The livelihood of the evolving medieval Savo society was based on different use of wilderness resources mixed with development of agrarian settlement. In the southern part of Savo there was permanent settlements with cereal cultivation and cattle husbandry. At least after 1327 northern, and parts of eastern, Savo formed an *erämark* for the Mikkeli region. In the eastern part of Savo there was a border-zone to Novgorodian Karelia. This part was also utilised by people from Ladoga Karelia and Jääski as an *erämark*. It is possible to think of the *erämark* as originally being some kind of open common, which soon became private hunting and fishing grounds. This meant that land-use and land ownership from the beginning was founded on a system of scattered plots, where the land from different landowners was territorially mixed (Pirinen 1982). Another aspect of this system was that property rights was gained through taking possession of land, that is, usage of the common. This was possible during the time when new land was abundant, population pressure low and the tax system was flexible.

Micro toponymic place names as old swiddening, mires, meadows, farms and fields give us important knowledge about the landscape and land-use. Finnish personal names, especially family names, have an important place in the east Finnish society and in name giving. Place names were important in practising customary law connected to slash-and-burn cultivation. The eastern Finnish family names came into existence as early as the 12th or 13th century, and it was based on the East Finnish societies own legal principles (Paikkala 1988). The reason for the establishment of this name-system is not fully known, but it was probably founded on right of lands and rights of inheritance. Savo family

names, like Liukkoinen, Tossavainen or Marttinen, were a distinctive feature of this kinship unit, and for example, gave rights to use the clans hunting grounds or slash-and-burn areas. The family name also often was used for the naming of the farm.

Different types of working associations were important, since the most profitable result from slash-and-burn cultivation can be achieved through teamwork. Examples from Northern Savo in the 16th century show that such associations could be swiddening corporations formed by the inhabitants from a number of farms (Soininen 1961). Other forms of co-operation were teams of several families or more rarely working associations based on a comprehensive family. Sometimes such arrangements could lead to joint ownership but mostly they were dissolved once the harvest had been divided.

In the end of the Middle Ages a decline of commercial hunting occurred. It is possible that this would have spurred the agricultural colonisation and use of slash-and-burn cultivation. A direct link between hunting and swiddening can be seen in the taxation units that were used in eastern Finland. The old unit *skatt-skin* (tax-skin) was used for the taxation of land (Pirinen 1982).

Mobility was an important part of everyday life in Savo connected to the use of wilderness resources. From the end of the 15th century a colonisation process started to the outlying lands in the north of Savo. Using the slash-and-burn method of *huuhhta* was the basis of the colonisation process. The colonisation was also caused by increase in population in Southern Savo and an effect of the Crown's taxation policy.

Boundaries and territories – Examples from Savo

In the 16th century, the Swedish legal principles stressing property rights and the rights of the Crown had spread also to eastern Finland and this gave rise to conflicts. In Savo the lands belonging to the farms were scattered over a large area, and often there were 5–6 different plots. Especially in the older settlement areas there were also a complete intermingling of outlying lands with those of neighbouring farms. It was not until the modern enclosure in the 19th century, that distinct boundaries were formed around the territory of one assembled farm in Savo. This specific situation made different problems for the boundary-making efforts that were part of the activities of the Crown in the 16th and the 17th century. Two examples will be discussed here.

The problem with the location of the border between Sweden and Novgorod in the treaty of Nöteborg has been a recurrent theme in Finnish historical research

during the 20th century. According to the older interpretation the boundary should be seen as unambiguous borderline in modern meaning which divided Swedish and Novgorodian territory. A newer interpretation (Gallén & Lind 1991) has instead focused on how the treaty can be interpreted as implementing a border-zone between different spheres of interest belonging to Sweden or Novgorod. More in detail according to Gallén and Lind three different views was applied in the formation of the border. In the south over the Karelian Isthmus up to Ladoga Karelia the boundary line probably has been clearly defined, but through Savo it can be characterised as a border-zone. In the north the border was laid down as a double course: One western border for the Novgorodians at the Gulf of Botnia and an eastern border for the Swedes at the White Sea. This meant that Northern Finland and Lappland was jointly belonging to Sweden and Novgorod. The border-zone passed through eastern Savo, where some important passages situated at the waterways were explicit mentioned in the treaty. This should according to the interpretation by Gallén and Lind (1991) secure the access for the passage to Karelian interests in the north.

Eastern Savo was an *erämark* to Ladoga Karelia during the Middle Ages, but people from the Jääski area around Vouksen as well as Southern Savo also used the area as an *erämark*. As a consequence of the use of slash-and burn cultivation the territorial borders were difficult to define exactly, and plots were mixed up in the border zone. During the Middle Ages this was not an important issue. Border-zones called *marker* were the usual way of defining such a boundary before the territorial state became established. When Moscow took over the rule in Novgorod in 1478 the border question got into a new context. The construction of Olofsborg in Savonlinna 1475-1490 has to be understood in this relation. The unclear border conditions were one of the reasons behind the Twenty-five Years' War between Sweden and Russia that started in 1570. Through the treaty of Teussina 1595 a clearly defined boundary-line between Sweden and Russia was established. This can be seen as part of an ongoing process during the early modern period in Europe, which had the implicit aim to get clearly defined territorial states (Agnew 2000).

The intermingling of lands in Savo was also a problem for the control and taxation of land. From the perspective of the Crown clearly defined taxation units were desirable. Normally a minimum level of reliable tax payment conditions was demanded for a farm. The intermingled and scattered system of plots in Savo meant that control was difficult. This was solved through a very specified tax assessment roll made in 1561, where the enumeration of each farm's exact property was made. In the beginning of the 17th century claims of ancient usage were denied in favour of the tax assessment roll. The Crown also prohibited division of farms already in the 1550s.

From court records in the 1560s it is possible to follow many disputes and conflicts over boundaries or smaller plots of land (SVTK 1954). This was regularly solved by an inspection of locals (6 or 12 persons), where different persons were appointed every time. Normally ancient usage was looked upon with great respect. In this way members of the local communities influenced the outcome of land disputes to a considerable extent.

The expansion of the settlement in Finland

King Gustav Vasa's declaration in 1542 that "lands that are not cultivated belong to God, Us and the Crown of Sweden" was implemented in practice in Savo. Already in the 1540s use of wilderness land seen as 'the Crown's common' was prohibited, and heavy fines had to be paid for infringements. The idea was to control settlement and taxation. In order to promote colonisation specific application of ownership (*anekki*) were issued by the bailiff. Soininen (1961) has shown that the colonisation in the case of northern Savo had been in progress before the Crown made any move towards starting it. The system with application, though, was practised later on, both during the colonisation of Häme and Satakunta as well as in Sweden. The migration movement had received the support of the Swedish Crown in line with the previous policy that cultivating new land and establish new farms was a way of increasing tax income.

Savo people encroached upon the *erämarks* in the provinces of Häme, Satakunta and Ostrobothnia and came in conflict with the local owners. The Häme and Satakunta farmers were urged to colonise the *erämarks*, now applied as Crown land, but very few did so. Hence, the royal edict left the field open to the Savo people. They began to settle in northern Häme in the 1540s and in northern Satakunta from around 1550. The eastern part of Ostrobothnia were colonised spontaneously during the same period, but the Crown also recruited colonisers to the Kajaani district which were strategically situated in the contested border-zone to Russia.

Using a terminology coined by the French thinkers Deleuze and Guattari (1988), it can be claimed that the Forest-Finns became actors taking part in a deterritorialisation process. The legal imposition of sovereignty by the Crown effected an instantaneous deterritorialisation of the previous local Häme wilderness territories and their reterritorialisation as a uniform space of Crown land. The colonisation process can also be seen as a transformation process where previous 'frontier' areas became transformed to territories within demarcated boundaries.

In the new settlement areas in Rautalampi (Häme) and Ruovesi (Satakunta) the taxation was mainly carried out in accordance with western Finnish standards. The colonisation of the old divided *erämarks* here meant that no mixing of outlying

lands existed. The farms were located on great distances from each other, but sometimes two farms were established together. The people from Savo in most cases rapidly became settled as farmers with their livelihood based on swiddening, cattle husbandry, fishing, hunting and arable farming.

The Savo expansion finally did extend across the Gulf of Bothnia to Central Sweden in the 1570s. The first migration to the domains of Duke Charles seems to be linked to a colonisation process planned by the authorities. The migration to Scandinavia in the 17th century was on the contrary a spontaneous process (Bladh 1995, 1998). This was above all formed by a generation bound migration pattern, where slash-and-burn cultivation gave the possibilities to establish new farms in the northern boreal forest region.

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Social relations, identity and lifecycles

“No city, no sex”: On the impossibility of being single in the back of beyond

Lissa Nordin

Free zones and pockets of resistance: Dance among the youth in the agrarian society during the expanding period of the timber industry

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"No city, no sex": On the impossibility of being 'single' in the back of beyond

Lissa Nordin

If I was to count how many times I've had sex during a regular year, I really don't know with how many hundred percent it has multiplied since I moved to the city. Because here, if I'm not too fussy, I could theoretically speaking, get laid every Saturday night. But up there, back home... for one thing, you always have to be careful, you just can't do it with whoever you want since you know practically everything about everyone... and then you just don't want there to be a lot of rumours and gossip. But if I was to meet a woman here... I could wake up the following morning next to her and wonder, hey what's your name again? You know, this really can happen here. (Interview with Kent 35 years old)

What kind of meanings does the image of 'the city' and urban life invoke amongst the people who live in a place that is commonly understood as being its opposite; namely, the sparsely populated area of the inland region of northern Sweden? For one thing, as the quote above suggests, life in the city could mean exciting sexual and romantic opportunities that are unavailable 'back home', especially when it comes to unmarried men. In this paper, I will examine what it means to be a heterosexual, unmarried, middle-aged man in the inland of Västerbotten. More specifically, I want to discuss gender and sexuality as organising principles behind the divide between the urban and the rural, the centre and the periphery, and the notion of the modern and the pre-modern.

The field

My fieldwork was conducted in the inland region of Västerbotten in northern Sweden and in Saint Petersburg during the period 2000-2002. I met and interviewed 20 men between the age of 35 and 70 years living in this area; all men

were unmarried and seeking contact with women and some of them had turned their attention to Russia and Russian women. Most men had been married once or at least had a girlfriend, but I also met men who, even though they were late middle-aged, had never never had a sexual relationship with a woman. I spent considerable time visiting men in the places they lived throughout the inland, joining them on fishing and hunting trips and also accompanied them on their trips to Saint Petersburg. I chose to spend periods of time in one small community to learn more about the social organisation of life there, socialising with both men and women of different ages. The province of Västerbotten comprises more than one eighth of Sweden's total land area, but has only about 256 000 inhabitants or 2.8 % of Sweden's population. The province is divided into a coastal area and an inland region bordering Norway. The majority of the people live by the coast where the two major cities in the region are situated. The inland, parts of it included in what is called southern Lapland, is even more sparsely populated and marked by a declining economy and an ongoing population decline. Many young people leave the area to look for better opportunities in the country's southern cities. The population in some communities has more than halved during the last 50 years and local councils are desperately trying to attract people to settle there. This is where I conducted my fieldwork, amongst the people who have stayed behind and in particular middle-aged, unmarried men.

A masculine region

There are certain attributes historically connected with northern Sweden and its inhabitants. This is the wild, wild north, an almost mythological place outside civilisation (and the 'real' Sweden) and close to nature (Sörlin 1988) Above all, it is envisaged as a very masculine region, for better or for worse. 'The Northerner' is a well-known and cherished stereotype in Sweden, pictured either as a strong and silent man of the wilderness, or as a somewhat naive but good-hearted 'authentic' man of the village. But other less flattering masculine images also exist of uncultured, drunken men, capable of all sorts of violence. Life in the inland region of Västerbotten has fostered traditionally male tasks including forestry work and mining, as well as activities such as fishing and hunting. The ideal of the practical man rules, a man who knows how to swing an axe, build a house or mend his car. Although he is only an ideal, many local men treasure this kind of masculine image. They often boasted about how they hated school and taunted the 'useless men' in the south of the country and in the cities. Being from the inland means being a 'real northerner' and a 'real' man. In the eyes of the rest of Sweden the

northern inland constitutes the backwoods of the country. This was something mentioned by my informants, a typical remark was “So you want to know how I can live in a place like this?”. Although the ideal of the practical (but uneducated and uncultured man) is still valued, it is also something that could be turned against men. As their skills no longer are needed in the new economy, men can as easily be accused of being traditional and ‘backward’.

“There are no women in northern Sweden”

In this very particular masculine representation of northern Sweden there is hardly any room for women. The lack of women is a recurrent theme in the popular image of the area. Women, it is believed, flee the area as soon as they possibly can. In the case of the inland region of Västerbotten this is a rather exaggerated notion. Still, ‘the not-enough-women’ argument is the prevalent explanation preferred by men themselves and also by other local people for why they have not married. On the other hand, it is also believed to be the men’s own fault since their supposed backwardness, i.e. wanting to do nothing but drink, fish and hunt, are seen as one reason why women choose to abandon the area. This exodus is believed to pose a serious threat to the future development of the region as a whole. If women leave for the cities in search of a brighter future, and perhaps to meet men, rather than staying and marrying local men, it will mean an increasing economic and population decline. What the inland needs is more families. During recent years, local communities throughout the inland region of northern Sweden have been implementing a variety of measures, all intended to encourage the establishment of new families. For instance by paying extra benefits to the villages that increase their population either through childbirth, by attracting new settlers, or even, as in one example, through offering childless couples free fertilisation.

In short, one solution to saving the future of the northern inland region before it is too late is to make women want to stay or even move back and build families. But this also means that the local men have to change. As one local politician puts it:

It all really comes down to making women want to stay here. There really should be courses in the art of charming the opposite sex for men in our region. But at the end of the day, what woman would find such men attractive anyway?

A women's market

Many of the women I met during my fieldwork shared the opinion of the local politician. Although perhaps together with local men, women still mocked the men in their surroundings, complaining that on the whole they were all non-attractive and dull. Or as one unmarried woman told me: "There just isn't one of them I would consider going out with. They are all hopeless, just look how they dress! If I want some romance, I just have to go somewhere else". Although both men and women threatened to leave, it was still believed to be much easier for women to find a partner without having to leave the region. Because women were in short supply, they were believed to be able to pick and choose who ever they wanted. The inland, I was told, was a 'women's market'. As one man explained:

In the city it's usually the good looking blokes who get the good looking women. But here, you know, it more like this... well, the not so great looking women going around with men who I... believe are considered good-looking. It's really the women's market. A bloke perhaps gets into a crisis being on his own too long and then thinks; "Well maybe she isn't so bad after all". It all comes down to the lack of women.

In spite of all the complaints about the impossibility of finding a partner, old relationships did end and new ones start. What is noticeable was the age difference between partners. Unlike what is usually the case in heterosexual relationships, it was often the woman who was older than the man. When asked if they had even noticed this, people told me that it all came down to the lack of women and the fact that the inland was a women's market. It was the women, and not the men, who could pick and choose so why not pick somebody younger, and leave the middle-aged men behind?

Middle-aged unmarried men in search of a partner were well aware of this and often complained that local women were stuck-up, did not like talking to them and left them just sitting and waiting for their luck to change. The men felt forced to go somewhere else for a weekend of drinking and flirting, preferably to the cities by the coast, in the south, or even to Russia. The women they met there were so much nicer, men told me. The women did not ignore them but wanted to chat and perhaps have a sexual adventure or even a romantic relationship. In these circumstances men found proof that their status as northerners from the inland was considered to be something positive and even exotic. I was told that city women in the south found them attractive – 'real men' from the wilderness who speak with a charming dialect – unlike the stuck-up women back home who did not even notice them.

A romantic dilemma?

Apart from these narratives about backward, non-attractive men and stuck-up women there are other explanations for the difficulties involved in finding a partner in small communities; namely, the problem of being all too familiar. One man after another confessed that although local women were not really that stuck-up and ignorant as they were supposed to be, women still did not find them interesting as they knew them too well. The logic worked the other way, too. It was difficult, men told me, to desire a woman who they saw everyday, come rain or shine, and perhaps went to school with. There were no surprises left, nothing new to discover and explore. "Some settle for in-breeding, I don't", as one man laconically remarked. And even if tender feelings might arise, there was still the problem that he or she was involved with or married to a friend or even a relative, something that could cause big problems in small places. To make things worse there were many, albeit rather exaggerated, stories going around about how jealous ex-husbands or boyfriends made life a living hell for the infatuated couple.

One solution to the above problem was to try one's luck with someone in another generation, which provides some explanation for the age differences mentioned earlier. An unmarried man in his early 40s described it thus:

(...) If I was to be together with anyone here, she would either be five to ten years younger or five to ten years older because I don't know so much about women in those ages. It really isn't any fun to go out with an old schoolmate because you know practically everything about her, the boyfriends she had that I might be friend with, and all. Instead it's a divorced woman in her fifties with children, who has lived her married life, not been out and about so much and has other kinds of acquaintances. And you know I gather that women think just the same. They would rather not go out with a man of their age who may have seen them drunk and throwing up and all that... it could be one of those things that would ruin it all. They prefer an older, divorced man – or someone younger (...)

In the same vein, another man explained the impossibility of even the rudimentary rituals of a flirting with someone all too familiar: "Well then your supposed to try to flirt... hello, my name is... that they already know. I live... they know that too. I work with... of course they know. So it usually ends with me talking about fishing."

Taken as a whole, the situation presented by men could be described as something of a dilemma. On the one hand they complained that there were not enough women, but were also convinced that women did not want them. On the other hand they did not themselves want women who were too familiar and

if they did, a relationship could cause problems. "There is no way I'd find a partner here" was a mantra repeated by everyone. There were only two alternatives, someone new moving in, or leaving to look elsewhere.

All alone

A common complaint from especially middle-aged, unmarried men was the difficulty of living alone. It was not regarded as something unusual for a man – or a woman – to be alone for a period in life, although it usually was considered to be a temporary condition. But if men confessed they were longing for affection and intimacy – and that surely was a powerful drive behind their search for a partner – they also lamented the social consequences of not being married. Social life, men explained, circled around couples socialising with other couples and families and if you happened to have no partner you were usually left on the sidelines. The men who complained the most were those who used to be married and therefore had a kind of 'before' and 'after' situation to compare, such as Jonny, a man in his mid-40s who had been divorced for 8 years. He still was not used to live on his own, he said. His social life had become so different. The couples he and his ex-wife used to see never invited him home now when he was alone. He did not bother to keep in contact with them either, but that was just something "a man doesn't do while being on his own. It's only as a couple you meet and see other couples". Although I knew that Jonny did meet one couple, albeit not regularly, the idea that being unmarried meant limitations on one's social life was a powerful one, shared by everyone I met. It was something men found regrettable but a natural fact of life. They either, like Jonny, referred to some kind of unwritten law, or mentioned their reasons for not calling on couples or families: "One could be disturbing them you know." Ingvar, a man in his 70s, did, however, offer another kind of explanation. In his view, the lonely man could actually pose a threat: "Families see families that are just how it is, it's natural. But then I know of men who think you're out to seduce their old woman, and then you won't get invited."

All men spoke of the days and nights they spent alone, whereas the couples and the families enjoyed both the love and the social life that they perhaps themselves once had or dreamt of having. Not that they really were that lonely. Most unmarried middle-aged men I met spent a considerable amount of time seeing other unmarried men, enjoying a dinner together, perhaps a fishing trip, or an evening watching the television. But it just did not count as 'real' social life compared to married and was scarcely worth mentioning. Some even chose to impose

solitude on themselves, as in the case of 45-year-old Björn. The sight of couples together was too painful he told me so he kept to himself:

It makes me so envious, I feel so left out (...) If I'm out dancing they (the couple) might ask me to join them for a cup of coffee. They sit there chatting and laughing, but I just walk out of there. I feel so extremely alone in those situations.

City singles and 'Old Boys'

Other complaints concerned the problem with trying to show many sides of one's personality in a small community. It was all too easy to get a label and more or less impossible to get rid of it. This was also the main reason, together with employment or studies, given by young people for why they felt they had to move to a city. It was so much easier to be 'one's self' in a city compared to home, I was told. It is perhaps not surprising that people are ascribed a label in a small community. But what I found striking was the feeling of timelessness and social 'flatness' in the small communities I visited and among the people who lived there. This was especially true of men who had lived alone for a long time and perhaps never been married. Johan 55, for instance, bitterly complained about people viewing him as "always the same". He felt that others saw him as unchangeable and was offended by old friends who, while married, never contacted him, but after their divorce came to see him confident that he was the same old Johan and who would be grateful for their company.

Why is marriage understood to encourage change, while being single and outside the safe haven of marriage is understood to promote changelessness? During my fieldwork I came to notice that when describing their own status, unmarried men (and women), always presented themselves as "I live by myself" or "I'm on my own". Terms like 'bachelor' or 'unmarried' were seldom if ever used. On some occasions I suggested 'single' but was told by one man that being 'single' is for 'city people'. The category of 'single', which, I initially thought to be 'neutral', is not.. To exaggerate slightly there were plenty of people living, 'on their own', but in fact no 'single people' in the sparsely populated rural regions where I conducted my fieldwork. 'Single' is a fairly new word in Swedish – the English word is never translated – and, at least in Sweden, is profoundly associated with urban life and middle-class people of a certain age. To be 'single' and to enjoy a 'single life' also implies an environment in which we can be 'single' in. What would the city's restaurants, nightclubs, pubs, bars, and, to an increasing extent, travel agencies

and clubs be without 'the single people'? What seems to be happening is that singles more generally are seen as both an interest group and a specific target group for consumption. This emerging model and idea for what it means to be living alone – independent, middle-class, cultured, sexually expressive – is pictured as being urban, a rich and many-sided existence unobtainable in small peripheral places where there are no arenas in which to be single. It is symptomatic that the newly separated or the unmarried men (and women) I met found it necessary to go somewhere else, preferably to a city, for a weekend to be able to enjoy being single. In part this involves a search for partners without having to risk gossip and rumours. However, this kind of life requires a lot of money. Jonny, for instance, made countless weekend-trips together with other 'lonely boys' to cities, spending money on drinks at bars and clubs and staying at hotels. To finance it all, he sold his car and spent the whole sum of 85 000 SEK in less than a year, stating that it really was worth it, but that all he wanted now was to find a woman with whom to settle down.

As noted by Gordon (2002: 49), the prevalent media representation in the USA and now in Europe of a 30-something, white, single, middle-class woman renders invisible other women, elderly single women, lesbians, and women of colour, but also I want to add middle-aged and older single men living in peripheral places. As Gordon also notes, the popularity of certain glamorous representations of single women in Europe suggest that being single is an experience the meanings of which are in flux and for which new representations are being sought (Gordon 2002). It is also true for the meanings of marriage and 'the family'. But this does not mean old ideals and stereotypes vanish over night. People find themselves caught between two different heterosexual ideals, as either the happy husband/wife and father/mother or the emerging stereotype of the glamorous, sexually dissipated middle-class, city single. Neither of these alternatives was obtainable for the men I met during my fieldwork. Failing to live up to these models, middle-aged and older men are on the verge of becoming a 'gammpojke', literally 'old boy'. This is a particularly northern Swedish key symbol and stereotype. It refers to a permanently single man unable to get a woman and therefore not considered to be socially adult, who lives his life in the 'periphery of heterosexuality'.¹

1 Nilsson 1999: 131 for further discussions of the stereotype of 'gammpojke', and more generally men and masculinities in the northern Sweden, see Johansson 1994 and Nilsson 1999.

Being that kind of man

In search of love and intimate relationships and refusing to give in to the possibility of becoming a pitied or ridiculed unchanging stereotype, the men I met did everything they could to find a partner. Either they spent weekend after weekend out at different dances scattered all around the county, sometimes hundred of kilometres from where they lived, or they tried their luck on the Internet or in private ads in newspapers and magazines. Men also involved other people in their search by asking to be introduced to women or perhaps be given a telephone number. Some men decided to search as far off as Russia, placing ads or answering ads from Russian women and travelling to Saint Petersburg in the hope of finding a partner to bring home. Bengt-Åke is one of these men. He lived together with his mother until her death in the same house where he was born and worked in the timber industry all his life. Nearing 60 he had never had an intimate relationship with a woman. Neither had he been abroad when he was invited by two friends to follow them on a journey to Saint Petersburg. During the trip he came into contact with a man who initiated him into the world of private advertisements and marriage agencies. This was the first of countless trips to Saint Petersburg and other places in Russia, each time to meet a woman he had contacted through private ads in newspapers. After spending at least two years searching for a woman willing to settle down with him in his home village, he finally met the woman he is now married to, a 47-year-old schoolteacher from Saint Petersburg.

I came to spend a lot of time with Bengt-Åke. He confessed that he had always been looked upon as somewhat odd. He agreed that it was unnatural for a grown man never to have had an intimate relationship with a woman. It was 'not normal' and 'a house is not a home without a woman in it'. But the fact that he was now married did not make him into a 'normal' heterosexual man amongst his fellow villagers. He was still regarded as an 'old boy', although now a married one. The reason was that he had married the wrong woman; a Russian woman whom he had met through a private advertisement and then brought back home with him.

People I met in Bengt-Åke's surrounding were all convinced that he had been fooled into marriage; an opinion that Bengt-Åke himself also was aware of as some villagers congratulated the newlyweds, by adding a scornful "as long it lasts". Bengt-Åke, it was said, had rushed into marriage without thinking. The hidden theme behind this and other such comments relate to a general and widespread idea about male sexuality as a profoundly deep and untamed instinct that is very hard to keep under control. It also tells the story of how female sexuality, here in the shape of a Russian woman, is able completely to turn a poor man's head. It

was believed that Bengt-Åke had been forced to restrain his (natural) sexuality for so long that he easily fell victim to a woman's tricks. Moreover, he had met her in a Russian bar. He had been utterly defenceless when confronted by the accumulated forces of his own sexuality and the dangerous sexual power of a prostitute woman.

The consequences of having to restrain his sexuality meant that Bengt-Åke, and others like him, were seen as dupes who had been fooled by Russian women, since all these women really wanted was a ticket to a better life. Why would a cultivated, city woman choose an uneducated bachelor from the inland? Many men searching for Russian women found themselves facing the dilemma of 'damned if you do, damned if you don't'. If not seen as sexually starving dupes, they could easily run the risk of being portrayed in other, far more sexually aggressive ways, not just by the people in their surroundings but also in other parts of Sweden; 'northern men' intent on sexually exploiting women from the Baltic states and Russia. Rolf, another man I met during my fieldwork, is in his 50s and makes at least three trips a year to Saint Petersburg, in search of a female partner. His 'Russian affairs' have occasioned a lot of talk amongst the villagers. "And you know", says Rolf, "they think that all I'm after is sex. So, of course, whatever I say or do, there is only one thing I want a Russian woman for". Olga, a woman he once used to live with, was even approached one day by a village woman who encouraged her to leave Rolf as he surely just wanted to misuse her. His already limited social relations are now even more reduced and Rolf is bitter. "Whatever I do is wrong", he says. To try and date a local woman now is bound to fail, he explains, "I've been together with a Russian woman so they all think they know what kind of a man I am".

Men searching for Russian women risk being classed as 'that kind of a man'. That is to say, a man who is only out to exploit women sexually or just wants an unpaid housekeeper. During my fieldwork men repeatedly tried to assure me that their own needs were not important. In fact, all they really wanted was to have a woman in the house to take care of. They avoided indicating sexual interest or desire and described themselves as much more sensitive, caring and romantic than other men and even than the Swedish women they (might) have encountered. They were not like 'typical' men in search of Russian women, a category from which they distanced themselves. Alongside the risk of being accused of sexually exploiting Russian women is the fear that they will be seen as men who are unable to have an equal relationship with a woman, as not being 'modern' Swedish men. The fact that they seek Russian women is further proof of their inability and unwillingness to meet the demands for equality made by Swedish women.

Conclusion

Many scholars have questioned the divisions between the urban and the rural, centre and periphery, modern and traditional, and instead discussed how they overlap and how the borders and differences tend to dissolve in practice. Although I readily agree with the importance of acknowledging 'the difference within' rather than between (cf. Moore 1993) it is still important to discuss how these divisions are kept alive and reproduce in ways that affect people, dealing as they do with values, ideas and deeply felt experiences that are very hard to defend oneself against since they concern the 'proper' way to live your life. These divisions, I would like to argue, are organised by the principles of gender and sexuality.

The gendering of northern Sweden, and particularly the inland as a masculine region, associated with a certain celebrated kind of masculinity that renders other existing kinds of masculinity but also femininity invisible, is the product of a long historical, economic and social process. What now seems to be happening is that this kind of masculinity is under attack. We witness this in the sparsely populated areas with the introduction of an illusory reversed gender hierarchy that constructs men as 'traditional' losers and the women who leave as 'progressive', saviours of the dying inland.² It also paints a picture of small communities desperately trying to be part of 'modern urban Sweden' as it is imagined to be. Moreover, it firmly positions the image of a *problematic* masculinity in the periphery. It is the uncultured, backward, northern men who have no alternative other than to search for women elsewhere as no 'modern' woman would want to have them. The solution seems simple; just change the men and get rid of the 'problem'. But this simplified explanation and solution hide the fact that the men in question must live up to one of the central demands of male heterosexuality, namely to acquire a female partner. Not least given the impact of the modern heteronormative ideology of love, which governs how romance should be interpreted, experienced and enacted. Love and desire, so it seems, can only blossom when confronted with someone unfamiliar, as is believed to happen in the city. One wonders what happened to "Living next door to Alice". Moreover, true love is something that 'happens' to people, and cannot thrive in the all too familiar and carefully 'planned' private ad or a trip to Russia in search of a spouse. In places where men supposedly had few resources at their disposal, and where few or no established alternative models were available, this only illustrates the difficulties involved for men to do heterosexuality the proper way in order to be counted as a 'real' man.

2 I owe the expression of 'traditional men and progressive women' to my colleague anthropologist Ulrika Dahl, this being the title of her PhD-thesis (Dahl 2004).

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Free zones and pockets of resistance: Dance among the youth in the agrarian society during the expanding period of the timber industry

Håkan Berglund-Lake

At the end of the 1970s I carried out a fieldwork in the inland of the province of *Hälsingland* with the purpose to record ear-transmitted music from the period around the turn of the 19th century. It was a repertoire of tunes and songs that my informants had acquired during their youth. For that reason the conversations on the context of the tunes and the songs turned to be a question of the social intercourse among young people, during a period in their lives which was distinctly bounded between the first communion and marriage. After the first communion, which usually happened at the age of 14–15, they were allowed to participate in the activities of the youth.

To reach the status as a youth implied for everybody to be in a new setting, with new conditions; they were placed in a social context with new relations to persons of the opposite sex, to persons in different social positions, to persons in separate phases of their lifecycle, etc. It was a matter of activity fields and patterns of interactions, already there, already given and at hand, or as the French philosopher Merleau-Ponty puts it: "The social is already there when we come to know or judge it" (1962: 362). To these pre-existing circumstances conventions were attached, that pointed out how people 'always' had done, how things ought to be, what to presuppose. They were cultural forms that encompassed and ordered the world, but never enclosed it; instead, they opened to different possibilities. "The world is constituted, but also never completely constituted; in the first case we are acted upon, in the second we are open to an infinite number of possibilities", Merleau-Ponty writes (1962: 453).

From the point of departure in the social intercourse of the youth, my purpose

is to discuss how people in the woodland and in the agrarian areas of *Hälsingland*, experienced their youth when the expansion of the timber industry was most intensive, from the 1860s to the turn of the century, and in that period created space for their activities and, by that, also for their lives. During this period dance was so strongly associated with the youth that it was considered forbidden for children and misbehaving for married couples to participate at dances. Despite the fact that dance in this historical setting deals with couple dancing, it is not the interplay between male and female that is in focus for my concern here, but dance as an activity among the youth and dance as a social event. That brings me to stress that this is not a gender study; it is not the relation between male and female, neither in the dance nor in the group of youth that will be problematized, even though the boys and the girls were acting from different positions and conditions. Instead, the focus is on youth as a group or as a generation, a set of people born at approximately the same period and as a consequence experienced their youth at the same time, and on their relation to the adult world, the married people, who had established their own households. Opening up with a description of the social organization of dance in the agrarian society and the conditions for the age cohort that experienced their youth at the beginning of the investigated period, I go on and conclude with a discussion how the next generation of youth, during the last two decades of the 19th century, used these preconditioned cultural forms, how they defended them, nuanced them, and surpassed them.

The sources, which this study is mainly based on, are life story interviews with people in the area (born in the years 1880–1900) that I conducted at the end of the 1970s, and also on written memories, records and questionnaires kept in different archives.¹

To get in touch

In the agrarian society, both among the peasants and the landless people, marriage mainly coincided with the founding of new economic entities in the shape of self-supporting and autonomous households, where the modes of provision were based on a division of labour arising from the married couple (Löfgren 1974).² The different tasks were strongly attached to the sexes as a result of daily practice

1 Nordiska museet (Nordic Museum), Stockholm (EU); Språk- och folkminnesinstitutet (Institute for Dialectology, Onomastics and Folklore Research), Uppsala (ULMA); Svenskt Visarkiv (Centre for Swedish Folk Music and Jazz Research), Stockholm (SVA).

2 We know this family type and household organization among peasants from what demographers outline as the 'European marriage pattern' (Hajnal 1965) or the 'Western family' (Laslett 1977).

that for a long time had summed up and defined them as male or female, which implied that the prospect to subsist was dependent on knowledge and skills that not a man or a woman did possess individually, but together. For that reason the household organization was much a question of how the different competences of man and woman would co-ordinate to guarantee the survival. However, marriage had not merely to do with how the household was organized; it also had a social dimension. Despite the fact that marriage corresponded to legislation and cultural conventions, that provided a male superior position and a female inferior position, both a married man and a married woman possessed social respectability and social legitimacy, but from different standings. Not to get married in this historical setting entailed, besides the supply problem that would occur, exposing oneself to social reduction and to a life unfulfilled – one became a loser (Bringéus 1978, Erixon 1921: 99). Consequently, to find someone to marry *did* concern everybody. This vital project in the life cycle was realized during the period of youth, and in the local settings of northern Sweden this important choice was made over to the young themselves to accomplish, without to any greater extent of parental influences.

Compared to the south of Sweden the young people in northern Sweden had an autonomous position in relation to the adults, owing to the fact that the villages were weakly stratified from a socio-economic point of view and had, for a long time, been dominated by yeoman peasants (Löfgren 1974: 30–34). Farmers had had farmers as neighbours, and there was no manorial estate in the parishes. That is to say, most of the villages occupied the same social position and dealt with the same economic and social world. Neither did the impact of the youth lose strength, in this respect, when the landless started to outnumber the landed peasants. This process affected all peasant families. The increasing number of the landless was the outcome of a downward social mobility as a consequence of an inheritance practice, and not because of a higher excess of births among the landless population (Söderberg 1981: 35–42). Hence, there were close ties of kinship and also strong personal ties in all villages between farmers and landless people. Those who were subjected to this process of proletarianization probably did not experience any social degradation or marginalization. From a cultural viewpoint and in the interaction with others, people still were peasants, which promoted a strong social integration, also henceforth.

The parents and the masters had to accept and be indulgent toward the doings of the young people. This tolerance was based on a view of youth as tied to a preconceived end, serving preconceived purposes, and having preconceived consequences. They knew from their own experiences what young people were doing and that the period of being a youth would come to an end; it was a period the young had to pass through, a transition in the lifecycle between childhood and

adulthood, an intensive and extended period in life, but yet delimited, a period that preceded the status as respectable social member by marriage. It was a time in-between, a state separated from the ‘normal’ life as adult; it was a state of ‘abnormal condition’, to use a term from the anthropologist Edmund Leach (1976).³ Here, other rules existed, or expressed in another way: people accepted, or closed their eyes to, other behaviours than those which existed for married persons.

Nevertheless, to bring boys and girls together for mutual activities, there was a need for situations where they could meet each other, without any practical or moral obstructions. Young people of both sexes met each other at work, when work called for efforts of both men and women, at church, where young people were placed in same rows, on *fredagsvaker* (handiwork evenings) during the winter, when the boys paid a visit to the working girls, and at weddings, where all (including the servants) belonging to the households in the neighbourhood were invited. However, the contact between the sexes at these occasions turned to be superficial and at a distance: a glimpse, a smile, and some words – often it was nothing more. The norm was to keep a distance. Consequently, to show tender affection towards a person of the opposite sex by touching his or her body was inconceivable, if he or she desired to keep his or her honour and not to run the risk to be ridiculed and derided by the group (Löfgren 1969).

To attain contact privately with a person of the opposite sex, to get opportunities to close talk and physical touch, and by that to gain prerequisites of personal acquaintance and emotional connections, there were socially sanctioned modalities for intimacy between boys and girls that ruled the social intercourse among the youth. To this category dance, playing and *utpågång* (night courting) belonged. In *Hälsingland*, but also in northern Sweden as a whole, night courting or ‘bundling’ held an exceptional position in the social life of the youth, and the night courting often had a relation to dance: every time when dances were organized they were always followed by bundling. Unfortunately, the space here does not allow me to make a detailed description of and a discussion on the night courting practice, or on the social life of the youth as a whole and their exchange over time, which would be desirable.⁴ Instead, I will merely focus on the dance

3 This approach is common among anthropologists in their discussion on rites of passage, customs associated with the transition from one place or stage of life to another. When, for example, an individual moves from childhood to adulthood, he or she will be in a position ‘in-between’, in a *liminal* phase, a state of structural dissolution, outside society, that gives the individual sanctions to act in a deviant manner compared to current conventions and norms. See e.g. Turner 1969.

4 For a detailed description of the night courting custom in Sweden, with a lot of examples from the province of *Hälsingland*, see Wikman 1937; see also ULMA 9272, *passim* (Hassela, Bjuråker, Delsbo, Ljusdal, Färila, Ytterhogdal).

and take my starting point from the question: On what occasions – times and localities – was it possible for young people to meet each other for dance? They had to create forms which gave them the opportunities for intimacy between the sexes that were never offered any space in other settings – at other points of time and in other sites. To understand the position of the youth in society, their possibilities and their limits, I think it is important to study when and where people met each other, where the interaction took place and where they became conscious of each other.

Time and space for dance

On the threshold to the expanding period for the timber industry, the institution of farm service, with maids and farmhands in the farms, was still a living custom. It is among them we find the majority of the youth, because it was customary in the agrarian society that young men and women worked as servants in peasant households for some years between childhood and marriage, before they were able to establish a household of their own (Harnesk 1990). This implied that the social intercourse among young people was structured in relation to their masters and in relation to how the work was organized at the farms.

If we closely observe the situations when young people gathered for common activities, we find that they solely deal with times separated from the everyday work, times beyond the daily life and work conducted by the masters. When the work was over on Saturday evenings, people had to prepare themselves before the Sabbath, a period lasting until the end of the service at Sunday noon. After this point of time, following popular customs, it was time for social life outside the households; to join social life at other times was considered indecent. Thus, Sunday was the day in the week when the youth could gather for common activities.⁵

This social life was shaped in relation to topographical conditions, economic structure, population density, etc. In the settings of *Norrland* the distance was of more vital importance for social contacts and interface than the social status of the participants. Everyone within a particular age group was allowed to participate, irrespective of their social belongings. This circumstance determined the nature of the activities. To stage collective activities always demands a certain number of participants. Usually the social life among the young took place within the vil-

5 EU 8487 (Bjuråker), EU 22939 (Ovanåker), EU 23870 (Färila), EU 25635 (Forsa), EU 27982 (Bergsjö), ULMA 9272, p. 1229 (Färila), p. 1565 (Bjuråker). However, not if the Sunday occurred on *storböndagshelger*: Christmas Eve, Christmas day, and Easter Day.

lage, or within a part of the parish, where the connection between neighbours was strong. This entailed that parents and masters personally knew the youth in the village. To regard this from a more extended perspective: in an egalitarian society dominated by farmers, every person among the young was an expectant kin, neighbour or farmer, a person every adult would have a close relation to in the future, and in longer terms the youth would guarantee the survival of the society. For that reason, the farmers had in general a positive attitude to dance and had no difficulty to follow what the custom pointed out, to provide dance floors when the young people needed it; it was considered as a matter of course, a right, something taken for granted.⁶ In this way, there was never any question of compensation to the owner of the property.

If the youth desired to make sure that a dance took place, they engaged a fiddler and asked for a dance floor in advance.⁷ In general this kind of event was called *lekstuga*. Both boys and girls played an active part when organizing *lekstugor*; they asked for a dance floor, engaged a fiddler and collected spirits and food by begging. The boys and the girls, however, did separate tasks, but the pattern could differ which is evident from a comparison of the parishes. A task defined as male in one parish could be defined as female in another.⁸

The youth always tried to organize *lekstuga* in connection with the high festivals and with celebrations after busy working periods. On certain occasions during the year, larger entertainments with dance were arranged, *storlekstuga* or *hopanjässpe*, as they were called – later termed *bjudningsbal* or *hopläggningbal*. At these events some kind of food was always offered,⁹ jointly contributed by all the participants, or by the group of young people in the village, who organized the dance.¹⁰ It seems as if the ambition was to attract as many participants as possible, but only among youth in the neighbourhood they were familiar with. These *storlekstugor* were held in periods during the year when the rate of working was low, like Christmas, *mickelsmäss* (Michaelmas) in September and *slänkveckan* in October, i.e. the granted period of

6 See e.g. EU 25635 (Forsa), EU 27982 (Bergsjö).

7 Here, I leave all the opportunities when spontaneous dance occurred out of account and focus merely on the more organized dance events, which could not be arranged without support from the landowners. For a more detailed description of the social organization of dance in the agrarian society in *Hälsingland* during this period, see Berglund(-Lake) 1988b. Cf. Sarmela 1969.

8 See e.g. ULMA 9272, *passim* (Hassela, Bjuråker, Delsbo, Ljusdal, Färila, Ytterhogdal); Widholm 1974.

9 This was a prerequisite that young people obtained as servants. See Granlund 1944.

10 The youth in the villages that gathered to join in *storleksstugor*, seems to coincide with the division in files for catechetical meetings (*husförhørsrotar*), see e.g. EU 8487 (Arbrå), ULMA 2887: 1 (Järvsö); cf. Erixson 1921.

seven days leisure after the termination of one year's service.

The benevolence of the farmers, however, was not absolutely necessary to create occasions for dance. Primarily, it was a matter of season. During the summer, when the contacts between young people could be held outdoors, the possibilities expanded; it is during the summer that the dancing events were most frequent. The young people looked for localities where they could be by themselves undisturbed: at crossroads, in meadows and in barns, but above all at *fåbodarna* (the shielings) situated in the outlying woodland.

The mountain pasturing was central for the agrarian economy in northern Sweden. Since the care of cattle and the preparation of dairy products were defined as female tasks, it was women, especially young and unmarried women, who stayed at the shielings during the summer. This implied that the women who belonged to the youth of the villages populated the forests. This circumstance drew the rest of the youth in the villages towards the shielings during weekends.¹¹ From a personal perspective, this implied that the contact field expanded, as a consequence of the fact that young people from the entire parish and the neighbouring parishes, depending on the location of the shielings, were often on the move at the same time. Opportunities opened up for contacts with people other than the ones they already knew from the home village.¹²

Modalities taken for granted

Outlined so far is a description of how dance was organized in the social life of the youth during a period when the agrarian society was confronted with an expanding timber industry emerging from the outside, with opportunities for the local population to obtain employment and good earnings in forestry work, construction of float-ways and log driving. What implications did the demand for labour and good wages from the timber industry have for the young and their social life, their relations to each other and to the farmers, and the opportunities to expand the space for their activities and for their lives?

As in other parts of Sweden the population of the villages in *Hälsingland* continued to increase in the latter part of the 19th century, which also entailed an increasing number of young people in the villages. At the same time the

11 EU 14196 (Ovanåker), EU 22939 (Ovanåker), EU 25635 (Forsa), ULMA 7303 (Gnarp), ULMA 9272, pp. 130-134 (Ytterhogdal), p. 1484 (Ljusdal), p. 1525 (Ljusdal), pp. 1567-1570 (Bjuråker), pp. 1600-1601 (Ljusdal), pp. 2326-2327 (Bjuråker), ULMA 9373 (Arbrå); Widholm 1974: 209-210, 215-216 (Bergsjö).

12 See e.g. ULMA 9272, pp. 130-134 (Ytterhogdal), pp. 1567-1570 (Bjuråker).

statistics show, however, that the number of servants in farmers' households heavily decreased (Harnesk 1990: 195-196). The annual wages for servants were low compared to the wages offered by the timber industry. Consequently, the timber industry enticed people away from the agricultural work and offered alternatives for all, not only for the landless, but also for the farmers and their sons. The social belongings and the modes of provision turned more open and not so self-evident compared with previous periods. By making big money as forestry workers and log drivers, it was possible for all with capacity for work to establish a household of their own on acquired or rented land, and combine wage-labour with small-scale subsistence farming.¹³

The institutions developed in the peasant society to support the youth activities, that is to say, institutions which from an extended perspective were support to the establishment of new households in the villages, lost their social and pragmatic relevance when the young people no longer were considered prospective farmers or a manpower reserve for farmers, maybe not even permanent villagers or neighbours. Among the farmers this gave rise to another outlook on the youth and on their manners of social intercourse.

The more institutionalized dance events, *storlekstugorna*, ceased and this happened in a relatively short period of time. However, the more unpretentious dances did not cease. Instead, these seem to have increased in number during the latter decades of the 19th century, and turned out to be the dominating activity among the youth. Everyone belonging to this particular age group used to participate. Indeed, the number of the group varied depending on the working season, but no one was excluded because of his or her social position as servant or as wage earner in the timber industry. Instead, we can see a strong continuity within every generation of youth, if we focus on the modes of their common activities.

For the resources needed to arrange the more organized dances, the youth now took from their own means by a fund-raising collection of cash. At *bjudningsbalerna* it was a rule that the boys and the girls took turns to arrange them. *Bjudningsbalerna* attracted young people from many villages, and those who arrived were expected to pay an entrance fee to cover the expenses. These dances attracted participants from a larger area than before. Nevertheless, the traditional form of *bjudningsbal*, when the villages took turns to invite, was still a living custom.¹⁴

Related to the increasing frequency of dance events was the distribution of mass produced musical instruments like the mouth organ and the accordion, which of course was a consequence of the emerging monetary economy and the capitalistic market (Berglund(-Lake) 1987). The demand for dance music could

13 E.g. Emigrationsutredningen 1909, p. 63.

14 E.g. SVA BB 3328 (Bergsjö).

now more easily be satisfied, at least in situations where the claim on the music was modest (Berglund(-Lake) 1988a). Another reason was the decreasing influence of the Church on the everyday life of the parishioner, which among other things entailed the loss of the sacredness of Saturday evenings and opened up for social life also on that day, without any risk of losing social reputation. Dances were now arranged both on Saturdays and Sundays (e.g. Widholm 1974: 195).

When a dance was to be organized, the youth took for granted that the demand for a dance floor could be satisfied in the same ways as before. This mode of arrangement was not considered begging, but an inherited right. It was a matter of course to ask farmers for a *dansgolv* (dance floor), and the youth expected an affirmative answer. As in all systems of giving there was also, however, an imperative obligation to reciprocate; this is what Marcel Mauss observed as the “three obligations of reciprocity – giving, receiving, repaying” (1954: 37). There were advantages, both economic and social, that a landed farmer could count on in return if he complied with the demand from the youth. In the agriculture of *Hälsingland*, where a shortage of labour had always been a reality, and had become more perceptible in the competition with the timber industry,¹⁵ it was an absolute necessity to have extra day-labourers available for the labour-intensive periods, but the farmers had to weigh their benevolence against any possible losses of prestige in relation to other farmers. The social and political position in the parish and the legitimacy this relation entailed was probably more valued than the relation to the youth.

We see that the farmers were acting from their social position, which may seem based on rational choice and material imperatives, and it certainly was. We should also observe, however, that they were acting as human beings and not primarily as a category. We can say the same from the angle of the youth. Sociality is a matter of interpersonal play, and, as the anthropologist Michael Jackson remarks, “the meaning lies in relationships as they are *lived* and not simply in the structural and systematic properties that analysis may reveal them to have” (1996: 26). In every village the farmers had a personal relationship to the youth and the youth to them, which entailed a mutual ability to empathic understanding. In spite of the fact that work, forestry work or log driving, took place outside the village, young people were deeply rooted in the village and in their parents’ house with the social ties this entailed to farmers through neighbourhood and kinship; they had their existential footholds with strong emotional ties to the place, and they looked upon themselves as belonging to the place. From the personal viewpoint of the farmers, the youth appeared as children of neighbours, of kin and also of their own. This in-betweenness and interplay of strong personal ties and loyalties

15 E.g. Emigrationsutredningen 1913, pp. 459, 697–698.

existed during the period, discussed here, as a whole, and we must emphasize that, even if society obviously was changing to an increasing socio-economic differentiation.

Open-air dance floors – A matter of appropriation

A changing attitude to the social life among young people, a displacement rather than a break, turned out to be more apparent the closer we come to the end of the century. The cohort of young people who experienced their youth at this point of time was more often met with opposition and aversion from farmers as soon as their activities came in contact with the farmers' properties, servants and children. We can see this as an expression of an increasing social screening and that the principle of reciprocity was losing its meaning and importance as a norm in the social and economic life (Kjellman 1979, cf. Sarmela 1969).

Youth as a homogeneous group and as an institution tied to the village was gradually loosened in favour of a more temporary group, which changed from time to time depending on how many were at home on the occasion and not away for work. However, it was still a group of people whose members were well known to each other, from growing up together. Nevertheless, most of them were people who the farmers rarely or not at all could count on as servants or get any mutual relation to in the future as landowners. Furthermore, to an ever-increasing extent, it was common that outsiders now appeared at dances, moved around in the village, and visited girls during the nights. In relation to the farmers they were strangers, but not to the youth of the village. Often they were fellow workers of the village boys, in seasonal forestry work and log driving, or sons or daughters of workers who recently had moved into the village. They were people that the farmers rarely had or tried to attain any personal relation to.

Consequently, it began to be difficult to get access to dance floors from farmers when dances were to be arranged. Depending on the social and personal connections to the person who asked, the farmer could have a positive or negative attitude. If he refused to provide *dansgolv*, they moved on to the next farmer and the next until they got a positive answer, as young people had always done. The dance was not cancelled, even if all farmers denied them dance floor. The youth activities were not dependent on support from farmers, who nevertheless could obstruct and limit. If the dance arrangers did not get permission to use peasant property for the dance, the youth demonstrated their independence by resorting to the outskirts of the village or to the forest, to places the youth had already appropriated: meeting places at crossroads, on meadows and at *fåbodarna*

(the shielings).¹⁶ What young people did in the outskirts of the village and in the forest was outside the concern of farmers as long as the youth activities did not risk their property and prestige.

Some of these localities were chosen as building sites for open dance floors. During an intensive building phase around the turn of the century, open dance floors were built in every parish.¹⁷ Earlier, open dance floors had only been constructed sporadically in separate places.¹⁸ By building dance floors, and also by using the dance floor as a site for dancing, the youth transformed an empty space to their own place, as they had always done, named it, brought values and meanings to it and by that claimed the right to it. This was a matter of appropriation in the sense of 'to make one's own', which does not mean a possession in any literal sense (Casey 1987: 191). Rather it was a kind of incorporation of the world to the youth themselves through their deeds; they brought meaning to the open dance floor as a place and a thing through their practice, care and concern, and at the same time it gave meaning to their sense of identity (Dovey 1985). Thus, appropriation was closely related to the process of identification. The site of the open dance floor offers the youth a distinct quality of being inside. Through their action and concern the place disclosed ability to marking out others, that is those who did not belong to the group, particularly the adults. These places gained a meaning of free zones beyond the control of the adults; they became places that only the youth was a part of and had admittance to.

However, the construction of open dance floors did not necessarily imply a conflict with the farmers as individuals, in accordance with the previous line of argument. Some farmers supported the youth, for example with timber to the dance floors. Conflicts occurred not until the open dance floors attracted *utbölingar* (outsiders), people from other parishes, to whom the farmers and the adults did not have any personal relations. When the farmers could no longer recognize the social life of the young and it lost the relation to their own experiences, when the adults' relation to the young ceased to be personal and mutual, and when young people started to be generalized as a category with emphasis on external attributes like looks and behaviour instead of personal qualities, then the dancing events were condemned as *busliv* (rowdyism).¹⁹ It became more common that the youth and their entertainments ended up in a conflict with the farmers, their social position as landowners and their political position as persons in authority. In

16 The youth continued to use the shielings as meeting places as long as they were running; see e.g. SVA BA 190 (Alfta), SVA BB 3329 (Delsbo).

17 EU 22933 (Hälsingtuna), EU 23870 (Färila), SVA BA 179 (Arbrå), SVA BB 2363 (Bollnäs).

18 E.g. EU 22939 (Ovanåker), EU 25635 (Forsa).

19 E.g. EU 23870 (Färila).

the capacity of landowner the farmers could refer to the proprietary right, by that tear the dance floors down, and compel the young people out of the place. After a while, however, new dance floors were constructed in other places and the dance continued as an unceasing activity.

We can see this as an act of political defiance. The strategy was to withdraw from the farmers' observation and control, with the purpose to keep away from a direct confrontation. It was a passive resistance, but at the same time an active defence of central values that the dance could vouch for. The youth used the dance intentionally and it had meaning in relation to the practical and social life in which they were engaged in. The dance had capacity to make desires happen. The immediate reason for the individual was to get in touch with other young persons in a context separated from imperatives of ordinary days (cf. Nilsson 1998: 62). The memories belonging to the sources underline the amusement, the excitement and the curiosity that the social life among the youth entailed, particularly in the relation to the opposite sex, a positive outlook on the human need of mutual and emotional contact with others. Nevertheless, referring to my opening argument, the driving force was a more basic imperative, which had to do with the ability to survive. The dance was closely connected to the intention, the need and the desire to get married. Youth implied a process to free oneself from the house of one's parents and to set up a household of one's own, which at the same time involved close ties to another person for life. This was also general after the time when most of the youth had chosen a career as wage earners in the timber industry. In its entirety this existential project was of too decisive importance to be left to self-willed farmers to decide and delimit.

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Swedish rural inhabitants coping with change: Moose hunting, the school and the church

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Introduction

A presentation

This article¹ takes its point of departure in how rural inhabitants reflect and act to maintain a viable local community in times of increasing urbanisation and globalisation. Two kinds of changes are discussed; first the kind of continuous changes, which are part of daily life, and which rural inhabitants usually find ways to cope with. Two common trends in this category of changes are that most people leave the village during daytime to earn their living and that the school, shop and other local meeting places are closing down. This complicates the important every-day contact between the inhabitants, and to cope with this many people are engaged in associations where they can act as inhabitants of a local community. Second, I identify three types of more radical changes; 'increase of market pricing relations', 'mobilisation to save public places', and 'changed power relations'. To illustrate these changes three narratives are presented concerning moose hunting, the school, and the church. The ways to handle changes some times leads to conflicts between people. The conflicts reveal a paradox embedded in the concept of rural development, that change implies strains as well as opportunities for the local community, depending on the perspective taken. The aim of the research is to understand how the inhabitants of a rural community reflect and act according

1 The text is based on the thesis "Från arbetsgemenskap till fritidsgemenskap. Den svenska landsbygdens omvandling ur Locknevis perspektiv" (Gunnarsdotter 2005). A similar version is published in Persson et al. (2003).

to the changes facing them. This knowledge can be used to investigate the more action-oriented questions: How could rural policy be formulated to better correspond with the inhabitants conception of a viable local community?

Outline

There are two main concepts in the thesis; local community/*bygd* and *modernity*. I also present the rural community of my fieldwork and the Swedish rural context. In the next part the theoretical perspective guiding the research is presented. Subsequently an attempt is made to integrate theories relating to the concept of local community/*bygd* with the actions and reflections that inhabitants use in their continuous re-creation of the rural community. After that I integrate theories relating to modernisation with the three narratives on change. In the last chapter the different processes of change are used to open up for a discussion on the content of a rural policy that better corresponds with the inhabitant's conception of a viable local community.

Background

To investigate modern rural life the two phenomena local community/*bygd* and *modernity* as well as the relation between them are analysed. This is done by integrating local narratives and social actions with theories of identity, place, time, (high or reflexive and post) modernity, globalisation and development. The two phenomena can be described by different concepts.

To understand what it takes for a place to become a home I use the Swedish term '*bygd*', a part of the term 'landsbygd', which could be translated to rural community. Community implies simultaneously both similarity and difference, and thus expresses a relational idea about opposition of one community to others (Cohen 1985: 12). But *bygd* makes it easier than any English term to encompass an ontological perspective of the world as something created through interaction between persons and their environment. 'Dwelling' is closely related to *bygd*, but in the text I use the more common 'local community'. In the thesis I use my own definition of *bygd* as 'a shared conception of interconnectedness between people and a place over time'. This is expressed in dialect, buildings, food, clothes, business, traditions, etc. The definition could also apply to local communities in urban areas.

A 'first approximation' as to the term *modernity* connects with the sociologist Anthony Giddens (1990: 1) who says that "modernity refers to modes of social life or organisation which emerged in Europe from about seventeenth century onwards and which subsequently became more or less worldwide in their influence". The worldwide influence is expressed by another social theorist Arjun

Appadurai (2000: 1) who grew up in Bombay where he “saw and smelled *modernity* reading *Life* (...), seeing B-grade films from Hollywood”. The history of mankind includes continuity and so-called traditional societies have much in common with modern societies (often synonymous with western). But *modernity* also brought discontinuities like the pace and the scope of change as well as modern institutions (Giddens 1990: 6). According to Giddens (1990: 16–17) the dynamics of modernity derives from the separation of time and space, the disembedding of social relations and the reflexive ordering of social relations. To distinguish early *modernity* from today’s mode of life, terms like high or reflexive *modernity* are used. The term post *modernity* emphasises a new discontinuity without any grand theories to explain society. Theories of *modernity* do not belong to post modernity.

To relate rurality to *modernity* is problematic since rural communities are rooted both in time and space. Land, forest and water, and the activities historically derived from these resources, create contexts that give rural areas meaning. Such meanings are the driving forces behind the local engagement of many rural inhabitants, farmers or none. But to view *modernity* only as a threat is not sufficient for understanding rural conditions and rural change. Instead of a causal connection there is a paradox embedded in the concept of rural (or local) development: change implies strains as well as opportunities for the local community, depending on the perspective taken. Development that benefits some people can lead to a loss or weakening of the qualities that characterise the rural community, such as landscape or social networks. This paradox becomes manifest in interaction between people with different frames of interpretation, which can lead to conflicts. For example, attracting tourists to the region is a way to create jobs and stabilise the level of service in the region, but it also affects the relationships between the residents and their appreciation of their town, their environment, and their notion of ‘a good life’.

The rural community

To understand the local strategies of coping with the paradox of rural development a case study is undertaken, with participant observations and qualitative interviews. The local community chosen is Locknevi, a parish of 500 inhabitants situated in the province of Småland, in the municipality of Vimmerby. Locknevi is part of the Leader area ‘Astrid Lindgren’s native place’. The number of inhabitants has remained constant over the last decades, in spite of few jobs being available locally. Most people commute to nearby small towns. About ten farms remains in the community of which only a few are large enough to support a family. I have chosen to illustrate societal change through three narratives from this local community; all of them are typical examples of what happens in many Swedish rural areas.

Narrative	Change
Moose hunting and hunting tourism	Increased commercialisation
The struggle for the school	Mobilisation to save public places
The conflict between the priest and the church council	Changed power relations

Rural context

Rural development in Sweden both refers to the village action movement consisting of local actors (Herlitz 1989), and to the policy aiming at improved living conditions for the rural population. The village action movement is continuing the Swedish tradition of popular movements that has become governmentally supported and more or less institutionalised. Other examples are the environmental and the feminist movements. The contemporary rural development based on the great structural changes during the 1970s and the 1980s. During that period a community based on agriculture gradually became replaced by a community based on non-profit-making associations. In the end of the 1970s the government established the Rural Delegation and thereby changed the rural policy from merely supporting enterprises and infrastructure to also include local development projects and local action groups (Herlitz 1989). In the 1980s both the government and the national folklore association wanted to strengthen this trend, and in 1987 Sweden joined the rural campaign of the European Council. With political support a local mobilisation took place often in response to a concrete threat against the local school or shop, but through the years the mobilisation comprised broader questions such as local democracy and livelihood. Irrespective of their activities the local action groups create and reproduce a place-related communality, and their engagement can be seen as a way to establish new ideas of what the place is (Berghlund 1998: 193).

In the end of the 1990s there were almost 4000 village action groups registered at the Popular Movements Council for Rural Development (Folkrörelserådet Hela Sverige ska leva). This is an organisation comprising both local groups and national NGOs. The organisation was established in 1989 when the Rural Delegation was gradually transformed into a state agency, i.e. the National Rural Development Agency. The Popular Movements Council arranges a rural parliament every second year, that functions as a lobby organisation towards the government, and presenting the voices of the village groups.

A relational perspective

That many people feel related to a place is an assumption formulated from a relational perspective. A characteristic of this perspective is an ambition to bridge the dualism between body and soul, nature and culture as well as between natural and human sciences, realism and relativism. The relational approach has grown out of different disciplines with important contributions from phenomenological philosophy (Husserl cited in Abram 1996, Gibson 1979, Maturana & Varela 1987, Merleau-Ponty 1962, Roszak 1992, von Uexküll 1982).

Ontologically a relational perspective presupposes a world that we create by living in it, acting and relating. Every being is living in its own subjective universe (Umwelt according to von Uexküll 1982) where the world is meaningful. This opens up for diverse worlds, or diverse perspectives on the world. The conception of a self-contained individual interpreting the world through sensory impressions is put against a 'developing-organism-in-its-environment' (Maturana & Varela 1987).

The environment is "reality constituted in relation to the beings whose environment it is" (Ingold 2000: 168), and should not be confused with 'nature' or 'real' environment (as opposed to 'perceived'), which presuppose an imagined separation between the perceiver and the world. A local community/*bygd* defined as a shared conception of relations between different components (people, place and time) is an example of an environment for those inhabiting it. Heidegger (1971: 145-161) uses the term 'dwelling' to describe how we inhabit the world, perceived as being-in-the-world.

Epistemologically a relational perspective presupposes that knowledge is not something one commands but something one creates by relating to the world. This relation is often expressed through language (Israel 1992: 83-84). How we understand the environment depends on how we act in it and thus perceive it, writes Ingold, suggesting, "we know as we go" (2000: 228). By this statement the dichotomy between perception (a positivistic way of gaining knowledge) and interpretation (a hermeneutic way of gaining knowledge) dissolves, and instead knowledge becomes something contextualised, practical and personal. This appears to stand in contrast to scientific knowledge, but the practise of science is more actively exploring than passively observing and there cannot be any observation without some kind of engagement.

Ecological anthropology is based on a relational perspective, but cognitive anthropology differs ontologically from that. The key concept in cognitive anthropology is cultural models, defined as "presupposed, taken-for-granted models of the world that are widely shared by members of a society..." (Holland & Quinn 1987: 4).

These models are viewed as networks of complex relations, and they can have a motivational force and thereby explain why people think the way they do, and not only label and describe the world (D'Andrade & Strauss 1992).

In spite of cultural models being more complex than those of cognitive science, cognitive anthropology still starts from the premise that culture is a corpus of transmissible knowledge, as distinct from the ways in which knowledge is acquired in practical contexts of perception and action. There is a movement in contemporary anthropology rejecting this, with Pierre Bourdieu's (1990) concept of habitus as an alternative to cultural models. This movement could be labelled the theory of practice, and resembles the relational perspective on knowledge in the sense that habitus reminds of Ingold's expression "we know as we go". Habitus is not expressed in practice, like cultural models, it rather subsists in it. And if people from different backgrounds behave in different ways, this is not because they are interpreting the same sensory experience in terms of alternative cultural models, but because, due to their previous experiences, their senses are differentially attuned to the environment. Practical theory and habitus are concepts that help to handle the complexity of people's experiences to gain a deeper understanding of their meaning making than what is possible with its linked concept of cultural models.

The continuous re-creation of a local community

People's feeling of relatedness to a place is crucial to address in order to understand how the inhabitants of a rural community reflect and act in response to change. I integrate theories about sense of community/*bygd* with examples showing how the inhabitants of Locknevi cope with continuous changes. Embedded in the definition of *bygd* presented earlier are the three concepts of identity, place and time. The empirical examples concern how the inhabitants reflect and act in response to transformations that take place at a pace and a scale that goes unnoticed in every day life.

Some facts about the community Locknevi

The parish has been inhabited for about one thousand years. Småland was constituted historically by several 'small lands', and Locknevi formed the inner part of one of them. This remained so until the 1971 when Locknevi through a municipality reform became part of the municipality of Vimmerby, which historically belongs to another of the 'small lands'. The parish consists mostly of forest and very little fertile land. It was traditionally inhabited by smallholders and crofters, and the land, including the forest, is still privately owned in rather small plots. Many inhabitants emphasise the importance of equality and solidarity towards

the community. The area is about 20 km in the north-south, and less than 10 km in east-west direction. A cultivated valley opens up the forest landscape from the north to the south. There are five villages in the parish with ten to twenty houses each, including the church village in the northern part. The demographic development follows a typical rural pattern with a rapid population increase in the 19th century followed by an equally rapid decrease in the 20th century. At its peak in the late 1800s the population stood at around 2700, and today it is approximately 500 (Gerger 1984: 23). In a distance of 40 km there are three small towns, to which most of the inhabitants of Locknevi commute.

Theories on identity and social relations

In the discussion of continuous recreation of a local community, the concept identity takes a central place. The categories and symbols that make up a person's identity serve dual functions. First, they make it possible to reflect on our intentions, our desires and ourselves. Second, identity expressions make it possible for others to decide which position a person has in a group. Thus our identities are socially constructed and vice versa they construct society. Among the different communities that form the greater society Wenger points out communities of practise, as the "basic building blocks of a social learning system" (2000: 229). Viewing Locknevi as a community of practise helps to understand how the inhabitants act to continuously re-create their community.

An anthropological debate concerns whether the concept of a person vary cross-culturally, starting when Geertz in the 1980s called the western conception of the self 'peculiar' (Spiro 1993). One way of describing differences in terms of identity is socio-centric and ego-centric relationships between the individual and the society (Schweder & Bourne 1984). A socio-centric solution subordinates individual interests to the good of the collectivity, while in the ego-centric solution society becomes the servant of the individual. A person with a socio-centric identity is defined as a daughter of or neighbour of someone, and becomes a component in a field of social relations. With an ego-centric identity one becomes someone through one personality, style, professional ability, etc. Especially in western societies the same person may have several social identities, and place identity could exist parallel to professional identity, etc. In rural contexts, where the past is present, it is more likely that a socio-centric identity is triggered. Another important aspect of identity is the construction of male and female identity (West & Zimmerman 1987). Moose hunting is a rural context where gender identity is evoked, even though the male gender of hunting is breaking up (Adelswärd 1996).

Connected to the concept of person are theories of social relations. Fiske (2000) recognises four universal models of relations; communal sharing, aut-

hority ranking, equality matching and market pricing. In order for people to interact there has to be an agreement on which relational form one is referring to. In local communities communal sharing is probably the most dominating form, as well as dominating norm. But also authority ranking is likely to be common in many situations. With the commercialisation of modern western societies market pricing relations tends to increase. Another concept that may help to understand social relations, from the aspect of local economic practises confronting societal change, is coping strategy elaborated by Aarsæther and Bærenholdt (2001: 15-40). Inspired by Polanyi (1944) they view places and localities as made up by three types of social relations; reciprocal, associative, and market-oriented. This corresponds to Fiske's division and supplements the component of relations between people in my definition of a local community. All three kinds of relations are necessary for a viable local community according to Aarsæther and Bærenholdt. To maintain a balance between them the inhabitants use different coping strategies including innovations (to create support and relations to national and global levels), networking (to create local inclusion and relations outside the community) and formation of identity (to be meaningful for those involved). If one of these strategies is missing people will have a harder time to face problems related to providing incomes, maintaining public service and securing the natural resource base.

Identity and social relations in community Locknevi

Relations to the other inhabitants in rural Sweden were historically maintained through agricultural work during weekdays and attending church service on Sundays. This pattern gradually started to break up from the 1940s, and in the 1970s only a few people were included in these kinds of relations. Sport activities among the male had since the 1940s grown in importance as a way to keep up the social relations. Politics, hunting and associations were other important activities. Several female informants who moved to Locknevi during the 1970s told me about their difficulties to get to know other people. In the village shops nobody spoke to them, and when passing the houses they could see the curtains move. It took years before they talked to some of the neighbours.

In the early 1980s new kinds of social relations started to develop. Then one of the women who had moved to Locknevi invited other women to gymnastic groups in the school. The mobilisation to save the local school (see the second narrative) grew partially out from the gymnastic group. The next step was that the different sport associations established a common association. Its first task was to put up notice boards in the villages. The other associations established a coordinating association (Sockenföreningen) that started to distribute a local newsletter to all inhabitants. The newsletter also helps to keep up the social

relations for those who have moved from Locknevi. Many old associations connected with the church, Red Cross, temperance movement, farmers association, the rural community centre, the local folklore society and political groups remained. When they broadened their engagement to cover the whole community many of them became more vital. Earlier there had been a clear division between the northern and the southern part of Locknevi, mirrored by the fact that many of the associations consisted of two groups. This division was now slowly weakened.

A lot of activities, old and new, are now engaging many of the community inhabitants. Among the yearly events is the homestead day taking place at the old homestead museum, the handicraft day at the community centre where there is also at least one study circle every winter season. There are also summer celebrations at the lakeside, a yearly veteran car exhibition, bicycling and other activities arranged by the common sport club, festivities with sport and competitions arranged by the farmers association, and trips as well as outdoor services arranged by the church.

It seems as if the socio-centric identity of the inhabitants gradually is shifting towards ego-centric identity, although the associations and their activities strive to uphold a sense of community where a person is defined through his or her position in a web of social relations. Market pricing relations and innovations are less dominant compared with other types of social relations like reciprocal, communal sharing and equality matching. However the shift towards ego-centric identity probably also promotes market pricing relations. These changes of identity and social relations evoke conflicts that could be both strengthening and dividing.

Theories on place

Relph (1976) developed the concept 'sense of place', consisting of four components; the physical space, the activities taking place there, the meaning of those two and the spirit of the place. With such a definition it is possible for people to carry an image of the place irrespective of where they are. A general interpretation is that time-space relations are compressed and that place is becoming less important (Appadurai 2000, Harvey 1993). Others argue that there are new power relations that make way for new interpretations of what place is (Massey 1993).

The interest in the local, the place, the landscape and the feeling of belonging associated with these aspects has lately been questioned. Lippard (1997) writes about the lure of the local, and constructs a theory that links local place to both global processes and the politics of representation through which that place is known. The important question for her is "... how a multicentered world can be wrested from

the control of multinational corporations to assure a certain local legitimacy of the projects of home and place” (Lippard cited in Mitchell 2001: 278). The landscape is also political, besides having other meanings. An example of this is the possession of land, which is an important issue in many rural communities and highlights the power relations of a place (Newby et al. 1978). Another issue is how to maintain cultivated landscapes. Krogh (1996) argues that it is important to maintain the relations between agriculture and cultivated landscape, by focusing the process of landscaping instead of putting a price on different objects in the landscape as has been done by the rural policy of EU (CAP)².

Urry (2000: 137–138) makes a distinction between two forms of local belonging, land and landscape. Landscape refers to the visible scene, and the practice of landscape is that of leisure, relaxation and visual consumption. He then describes some general features of many local communities (Urry 2000: 139–142). First, local communities seem to be organised through different temporalities, carrying memories of those who have lived there. Second, time may or may not presuppose movement, change or transformation, leading to an understanding of places as complex networks and flows. Third, objects are significant in the construction of a local community, which include the significance of informal causal meeting places like cafés, community centres, spaces under trees and so on. Urry calls these kinds of public places ‘third places’, beyond work and households where communities come into being and neighbourhood life can be sustained. Fourth, many local communities are characterised both by unequal social relations and hostility to strangers. Fifth, local communities are places of consumption, and many places are themselves in a sense consumed. Finally, local communities depend upon diverse mobilities.

Territoriality is a concept related to place, and it has often been interpreted as a matter of instincts, built on the assumption that animals can be dichotomised into territorial and non-territorial species. Humans are supposed to be a territorial animal. But there are studies of mobile societies that show flexible territorial behaviour in relation to factors as uncertainty and risk (Casimir & Rao 1992). An attempt to connect territoriality to *modernity* is made by discussing how capital, knowledge, business and individuals are crossing borders (Karlsson & Gidlund 1997). To classify some people as indigenous is built both on the assumption of a territorial instinct and on a classificatory model for kinship, based on genealogy (Ingold 2000: 132–151). To classify is to decontextualise, according to Ingold, and therefore it represents a typical modern way of knowing.

2 CAP is the Common Agriculture Policy of EU.

Relations to the place of community Locknevi

There are only a few public places left in Locknevi, but they are much used. The only places to meet inside are the school, the rural community centre and the church. They are all situated in the main village in the northern part. In the southern part there are a few minor public houses for meetings and festivities. The last shop closed in the beginning of the 1980s. In the summer the inhabitants meet at the beach that was restored and enlarged with public money and local work. Barnyards are semi-public places that vanish when the farmers are closing down.

In order to maintain relations to the place people often tell anecdotes about different farms and other places. Especially during hunting it is common to stop and remind the others when a moose passed or some other event took place, often these are stories that everybody have heard before. The places where the hunters go to wait for game have their own names that refer to significant features or events.

The following three real-estate purchases show other ways to keep relations to a place:

- A man, who lives outside Locknevi, wanted to sell his parent's house when they died. He wanted to sell to a family with children instead of getting a market price and his behaviour was highly appreciated. An interpretation is that to him the well-being of the community was more important than his own (economic) well-being.
- Six siblings wanted to sell their deceased parents small farm, and one of them wanted to buy it and move there. An offer from a German family made the siblings sell to them instead of to their brother. The German family now lives there all the year round and cultivates the land. The brother visits them sometimes and shows them how the heating system works, etc. An interpretation is that he cares about the farm in itself in spite of who owns it.
- The church sold the old priest's house, where a family with three children had been living for several years. The family wanted to buy, but the church wanted a higher market price, which the family could not afford. The family moved and most people considered the church greedy and not caring for the community. An interpretation is that the church finds its own well-being more important than that of the local community.

From such examples it is obvious to see that people care about the place and have a strong place identity. However it is getting more difficult to practise the caring for the place since there are fewer public places and the community is divided into several more private places. The boundaries of the local community are shifting depending on contexts, e.g. when the farmers are getting fewer the communities of farmers becomes geographically broader than the community of the church. Since the school closed the community of the school includes the neighbouring parish

where the children of Locknevi go to school. The community is not material but perceived, coming into being when people act and communicate it.

Theories on time

The concept of time has also been discussed in relation to modernisation. Historically time was linked to place. When the watch was invented the 'empty time' appeared. Now the whole world follows the same division of time although the calendars differ. When the time was emptied even place was emptied and time and space became separated (Giddens 1990). In traditional societies a place is where social activities take place and it has a time dimension of 'now'. In modern societies it is possible to have relations to absent people and distant places. The local here and now is affected by social actions far away in time and space. But even today there are different perceptions of time according to context. When living off the land it is more likely that time is viewed as circular, as compared to an urban surrounding which evokes a perception of time as linear. Societal change is by neo-classical economists perceived as something deterministic, based on a linear perception of time. A way to overcome this polarisation is the concept of an expanding present (Bergson 1996). This is useful when analysing the contextual perception of time that appears when local inhabitants here and now are aware of the local history at the same time as they are acting to influence the future.

A concept connecting identities, place and time is nostalgia, or homesickness. Until the 19th century nostalgia was perceived as a medical phenomenon, but with *modernity* it transformed to a social phenomenon (Johannisson 2001). The need for a place to call home was supposed to disappear in a future where all people were united (Johannisson 2001): 127). To be nostalgic became a sign of weakness and passivity, and an inability to become modern.

Relations to the history of community Locknevi

It is rather common, not only among elderly people, to be conscious about the history of Locknevi. To be viewed as a 'real inhabitant' it is more important to have ancestors in Locknevi far back in time than actively engage in the local associations. A sign of the importance of history was people's involvement in study circles about genealogical research about 15 years ago. Another example is the various written records about Locknevi. The local association of retired people has, together with a researcher who moved back to Locknevi, written two reports about work and school when they grew up. A similar but older text is an ethnographic book from 1812 written by the local cantor. Many inhabitants have read it and quote parts from it that describes the character of people from Locknevi. In the 1950s and 1960s the vicar collected local newspaper clippings about. These

are kept in five files by the local folklore society. Two situations illustrate the presence of the past. An 85-year-old woman, who moved to Locknevi as a teenager, had tears in her eyes when she told me about the fire that destroyed the church of her native village. It happened in the 1700s. A hunter lent me spontaneously some framed letters from the Middle Ages concerning legal disputes in his village.

Also the more close history is important, and many people are still upset about the reform that incorporated Locknevi in the municipality of Vimmerby. They say that they lost their independence through this reform and that Locknevi historically belongs to another area of Småland, with another cultural context.

The inhabitants of Locknevi seem to be living in a kind of expanded present, when they in daily life are conscious about the past and even relate to it for mobilising around common activities, which in turn create new memories to relate to.

Three narratives on radical change

In this part I turn to the more radical societal changes called *modernity* (high, reflexive or post). I have identified three processes of change that many inhabitants discuss in terms of conflicts, struggles or problems that have to be handled. These narratives on change could be described in terms of the paradox of rural development, illustrating how people reflect and act in response to changes that might imply discontinuity in the history of their community. A situation that is perceived as threatening for some people could be viewed as a possibility for others. There is a tendency that people who have moved to a village are more likely to act than those who were born there, like taking initiatives to stop changes like closing down the school. Those who were born in the same village sometimes feel expectations to conform to the majority, and they often exhibit an attitude of wait and see rather than take an initiative. Differences between people can also be related to other criteria, like sex, generation or class.

Modernisation

Modernity was mainly elaborated in sociology, starting with Marx, Tönnies, Durkheim and Weber from the late 19th and early 20th century. With the exception of Durkheim they were all critical to societal change from a radical perspective. In addition to their German origin they also shared the critical interest and social engagement with the researchers of the Frankfurt school that established critical theory in the 1930s. Contemporary researchers who are seen as critical modernisation theorists include Beck, Giddens and Habermas. They have in common a view on modernisation as a process of unifying where large scale and general

systems dominate the diversity of local systems. Beck stresses that modernisation leads to a risk society, where the global economy, scientific and technological knowledge apart from creating wealth also generate risks (Beck 1992). Unique for modern society, according to Giddens, are the pace and the scope of change as well as the emergence of modern institutions like the nation-state, the wholesale dependence of production upon inanimate power sources, and the commodification of products and wage labour (Giddens 1990: 6). The dynamics that characterises *modernity* originates from the separation of time and space, which opens up for decontextualisation and self-reflection. Modern society uses the image of dualism to make it possible to take phenomena out of their contexts, which changes the meaning by which we construct the world (Giddens 1990). Meaning is replaced by facts, i.e. entities taken out of their contexts and therefore perceived as objective, general, and possible to exchange, often through money. The risks with increasing market relations are discussed by many authors (Hart 1999, Lash 1999, Polanyi 1944, Sagoff 1994). Hornborg (2001) argues that we are caught in a collective illusion that enables us to see other than technological solutions to the economic and environmental problems.

In contrast to Beck and Giddens, Habermas (1989) neither emphasises the risk nor does he focus on structure to such a high degree. He views society as a communication process, which goes against the dominating opinion of society as the sum of its individuals. In his analyses of society he focuses on process, and advances a theory of communicative action that opens up for various possibilities. In short his theory distinguishes two perspectives on society: the life world and the systems world. The life world is society seen from the inhabitant's point of view, while the systems world relates to the observer's perspective. Different goals and rationalities guide the two perspectives. In the life world rationality tends to be more communicative, i.e. we speak in order to understand each other. While in the systems world we tend to act more strategic and speak in order to gain something. Communicative rationality does not appear in every day life Habermas remarks, in polemic with Giddens, who criticises Habermas for being unrealistic. *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, as presented by Tönnis in the late 1800s, are two concepts related to life world and systems world, but according to Habermas (1989) they are not transferable to modern society. *Gemeinschaft* is connected with the family sphere, while life world is a perspective of life more than a lifestyle.

The concept of local community could be seen as an example of a modern cultural construction that arises from increased self-reflection. However there are researchers who question the concept, and through ethnographic examples they argue that *modernity* is a matter of context, where some contexts activates modern knowledge, identity etc., while other activates a more traditional or

local way of life. In the actor network theory of Latour (1993) he applies a relational perspective to claim that we never have been modern, and that societal change is a matter of shifting contexts. How to label contemporary society seems to be a continuous discussion, with different suggestions depending on one's interpretation of societal change. Modernity, high or reflexive modernity, a-modernity and post-modernity are the most common concepts engaging in such discussion. The same situation holds for what to call the *époque* before the enlightenment and places outside the western world. Traditional, pre-modern and a-modern are some suggestions. The insight that it concerns something highly contextual and dynamic makes it difficult to split time and space in two categories. I use modernisation for contemporary time and 'western' society and what is not modern I label depending on context.

Development

Another concept related to *modernity* is 'development', a metaphor for something gradually growing. The object of growth has shifted from the 1800s onwards. The most common is the neo-liberal interpretation of economic growth. Another interpretation emphasises growth in relation to justice, inclusiveness and sustainability in society (Korten 1990). When the expression 'rural development' is used in Sweden it refers to both definitions depending on who is using it. The concept of development presupposes an intention, an actor who acts towards a goal that defines the object of growth. The kind of rural development I study in Sweden takes place when the local inhabitants act to make it possible for themselves and others to live in a place where they feel at home. Sometimes these actions are included in political initiatives like CAP or Leader programmes³, but mostly they concern spontaneous every day actions without explicit intentions of creating local development. Local inhabitants rarely use the term development when they speak about voluntary work in the sport association or organising a market fair.

Moose hunting and hunting tourism – An example of increasing commercialisation

Many people who have left Locknevi return for moose hunting every year. At these occasions relations between people, place, and history are confirmed, through an activity where the land is actively used. Since landowners and their relatives are members of the hunting teams, and since most of them have quit farming and many even have moved from Locknevi, the moose hunt is viewed partly as a

3 Leader is one of the common initiatives of EU, aiming at stimulating innovations to promote rural (economics) development. Leader areas are governed by a partnership consisting of private business (enterprises), public sector (local authorities) and idealistic sector (non-profit-making associations). The partnership should mirror a bottom up perspective.

compensation for farming. Hunting is an activity that in different forms has been a part of human culture since ancient times. The tradition with hunting teams for moose however is only about 50 years old in Sweden, though the individual form of hunting smaller game has a longer tradition. The importance of hunting seems to be to strengthen the bonds to the place, the forest, animals (game and dogs), and to (male) friends. Other features are the excitement and an opportunity to step out of civilisation. This is confirmed by research showing different aspects of hunting (Adelswärd 1996, Ekman 1991: 64-76). Despite social change there is a cultural continuity in hunting. How the meat is distributed, who gets the hunting trophy, who is included in the team, how the game should be treated both when shot and when slaughtered, and the great importance of equipment are in many ways similar to societies of hunters and gatherers.

Women and hunting are gradually becoming more common, but the combination also raises some problems. There are some women engaged in moose hunting in Locknevi, but most of them drive the game and only a few shoot. One woman born and living in Locknevi has been hunting since young age. She was a member of a big hunting team but is now only hunting in her own forest together with her son-in-law and his friends. "She probably wanted the meat", is a comment from her former team. To hunt for the meat is not considered serious and the fact that she is a woman could be an explanation for that judgement. Another woman moved to Locknevi as an adult and started to hunt. She and her husband are members of a hunting team together with some neighbours. During the first years she did not feel accepted. A tense situation arose when she invited a young German woman knowledgeable about hunting. Although it is allowed to invite friends to the hunt this was not considered acceptable. The others did not say anything but showed their disapproval in different ways, e.g. when the woman did not get the usual congratulatory call on her birthday. One way to understand this response is that her local identity was seen as weakened. As a woman who had moved in to Locknevi she did not really belong to the hunting team and when she brought a female foreign guest the link became too weak. Since then she has co-operated with some of the team members in other contexts and feel more accepted in the hunting team.

Hunting tourism started in the 1970s when prices of land began to rise and the moose stock increased. Hunting opportunities was leased out for several years and for small sums. During the last 15 years foreign tourists have started to come for hunting, paying larger sums of money and leasing for a week at a time. This is happening in most of the country. Landowners have in response to this change tried to find a balance between the need to gain an income when farming is not profitable, and to contribute to the local hunting tradition as a way to keep a viable community. Both perspectives, the economic and the cultural, are needed to maintain a rural community.

Some hunting teams and landowners in Locknevi have tried out different models for hunting tourism:

- One hunting team has paying guests one week a year. It is always the same six Danes that come and the money that the team gets goes to their own equipment.
- A few landowners, all of them active farmers, are leasing out their land one or two weeks and hunt together with the tourists.
- One landowner, living in Locknevi but not hunting himself, is leasing all his hunting area to the same Danish person who in his turn leases to other hunters.
- One landowner, neither living in Locknevi nor hunting, is leasing all hunting weekly to different groups from Germany and Denmark.

Most people in Locknevi understand the importance for the landowners to find local providing, and find the first two models acceptable. The most problematic situation is when landowners let foreign people in without taking part themselves. One hunter is during an interview critical towards his neighbour who is leasing all hunting to foreign tourists. Later, when we are walking in the forest he shows me a place where he plans to build a hut for hunting tourists. Next time we meet he points at the contradiction. This illustrates that the same person can have different opinions about the same phenomenon depending on the context.

The problems with hunting tourism according to the inhabitants of Locknevi can be categorised in three kinds:

- A cultural problem. Through the money the relations between hunter, forest and game are changed which thereby changes the meaning of hunting. The price gives instrumental values to what used to be intrinsic values. The hunters themselves express this as “The money has ruined the hunt” and “With hunting leasing the ethics are gone”.
- A social problem. Relatives and friends that return to Locknevi for hunting might not afford hunting when the prices go up. The same holds for inhabitants that do not own land. It is already hard to attract young people to hunt, which partly could be explained by the high costs. This evokes the question of how the local identity is created.
- An ecological problem concerning game preservation. Most of the Danes hunt without a Swedish guide, and they are accused of “shooting everything that moves”. It is also supposed that they consume a lot of alcohol. For these reasons people are worried that the Danes do not stick to the hunting regulations, and explain the decrease of game from this. The Germans have Swedish guides and are supposed to stick to the rules. But for both groups the hunters of Locknevi are afraid that those who pay want something out of it, and are likely to lack solidarity towards regulations and game preservation.

Some examples from hunting illustrate who belongs to the community and who is not, i.e. the concept of local identity. Danish hunters are considered less foreign than the Germans, since the local people can speak with them and recognise their behaviour. Even among people in the community there are those who belong more than others. Hunting teams from the northern part of the community rarely hunt together with those from the southern part. There are also more or less visible power relations in hunting since the landowners are usually viewed as belonging more to the hunting teams than are the landless members.

Hunting tourism has expanded, and the way to handle this differs individually. The only common platform in the community to discuss the problems is at the annual meetings of the local association for moose preservation (älgskötselområde). All landowners and hunting teams in Locknevi are members except for two, of which one is the landowner leasing to Germans and the other is the couple involved in the conflict with the priest (see the third narrative). The association has taken over some responsibilities from the local authorities, and the members agree on common rules for how much game to shoot. The co-operation between the teams has worked well and the next step is to co-operate with neighbouring associations to create bigger hunting areas with the same rules. This big scale organisation is criticised by some of the hunters.

An interpretation of what happens when the local hunting meets hunting tourism can be made in terms of the modernisation process. When the moose hunt is taken out of its context of a male network that confirms the community, the meaning of hunting is changed to a source of income for the landowner. To make this possible hunting must become a part of the market economy, which many hunters oppose. To put a price one has to redefine the context from a relation to an object that could be measured. An object is something that one can have claims on; it becomes a resource that one can own or use (Evernden 1987). Tourism in general involves a risk of objectifying 'the other' (Urry 2002). Of course earlier hunting was also a way to provide, but more directly, (meat instead of money), moving between contexts when relating to the game as a subject, to as an object. To relate to everything as resources reduces the diversity to instrumental values only.

The struggle for the school – An example of mobilisation to save public places

This narrative contains two processes of change. One is the diminishing number of public places, i.e. informal meeting places between the spheres of residing and work (what Urry called 'third places'). The other process of change is the mobilisation triggered by a threat. The most well-known Swedish example of inhabitants mobilising to keep the local school is Drevdagen in the 1980s (Halvarsson

1999). In other local communities it is the local shop that is threatened and there are parallels between what a shop and a school means to a local community (Kajiser 1999). In Locknevi the last shop closed in the beginning of the 1980s before the development of new kinds of social relations that made mobilisation possible. A few years later the municipality suggested closing the school, because of too few children, and moving the children to the neighbouring community. The community school had been built in the 1940s representing progress and wealth. Not only parents, but also other inhabitants were engaged in the struggle to keep the school when the authorities wanted to close it.

A mother who had moved to Locknevi some years earlier took the initiative to mobilise the inhabitants against the decision. She engaged not only other parents but also other members of the community, one of them a returning researcher who had specialised on local schools. He presented facts that made it difficult for the authorities to ignore the protest. Not all inhabitants engaged and the fight made people's opinions visible in quite another way than before. The school is situated in the northern part of Locknevi and some of those in the southern part already preferred the bigger school in the neighbouring community closer to them. The woman who took the initiative to struggle for the school is also a politician, and another local politician from the same party took a standpoint in favour of the local authority, which evokes hard feelings from many inhabitants. After a while the fight succeeded, and the school could continue, but only for a year or two at a time. This created a lot of uncertainty among both the inhabitants and the teachers, and several times they had to mobilise again to meet new threats. The last years the school has had classes only up to fourth grade, and sometimes in B-form, i.e. different grades in the same class. In 2003 there were only eight children and the school closed in June.

The struggle can be viewed both as a success and as a failure. It is common that a threat against the school activates the place identity that make the inhabitants mobilise. The mobilisation led to other initiatives, which will still exist when the school is closed. In this sense the struggle for the school was a success. It was also a success that the school continued for 20 years after the first threat. The failure was that Locknevi lost another of the few common places to meet, and opportunities to work together for the school and that it became difficult for the children to create relations with each other and with the place. Many conflicts have been avoided in the community because people trust each, a trust that had been established since they went to school together. Yet another consequence is that the boundaries of the community changes, and Locknevi is gradually merging with the neighbouring community. The fusion of the two parental associations into one some years ago was a step in that direction.

The conflict between the priest and the church council – An example of changed power relations

This narrative concerns a conflict between the traditional members of the church council and the new and modern priest. The church in Locknevi was built in 1903, when there were 2000 inhabitants, but the population decline had already begun. The church is an impressive building, much bigger than what could be expected in a small village. It is built near the school and the two institutions remind of the past days when Locknevi was a municipality of its own. The church council has since many years been dominated by a couple that was powerful when Locknevi was its own local authority. The wife is a daughter of the last head of the local government board, and the church council has served as an unofficial local government board, although Locknevi since some years ago together with the neighbouring community forms a common church parish. Three priests have quit because of the powerful church council, and the new priest was conscious about the situation when he arrived in 1996. He became popular and soon the church services attracted more people than they had for a long time. One example of his many new ideas is the yearly 'hunting service' before the moose hunt, with a stuffed moose, beer and pea soap served in the church.

Two years ago the priest got tired of being unable to make decisions on his own and after a fight he closed the church and told the parish that "it's me or them". Unlike traditional ways of handling a conflict he also called the newspapers which published several articles about the conflict. Some people in Locknevi responded in the same public way and distributed a call in favour of the priest. Many added their name but many preferred to be neutral, not only those who were born in Locknevi but also some of those who had moved there. A few people took a stand for the church council. Finally the priest stayed and the old couple and a few other elderly people left the church council. They also left other associations linked to the church, and they do not even attend church service anymore. The new church council consists mostly of people that engage in the other local associations. Some of them are atheistic but the priest says, "it is more important how people act than what faith they have". Other changes are that the congregation applauds when there are artists performing in the church and that the churchwardens are casually dressed.

An interpretation is that the church has changed identity from representing the old community (when Locknevi was a municipality) to representing modern development as one of many local associations. The power has shifted from the old people involved in the municipality of Locknevi to the younger people engaged in other associations. In this case the change was so abrupt that some people literally stepped out of the community. Different interests such as in this case do not have to lead to conflict. However when the change is abrupt there is a risk

that the persons involved distrust each other and the situation. From a situation of maintaining traditional values and sometimes rejecting change, the church is now driving change together with other local associations.

Discussion

To understand how the inhabitants of a rural community reflect and act when facing change, there is first a need to know what it means to be an inhabitant of a rural community. An answer to this could be: It means that you uphold relations to other inhabitants, to the place and to its history, that the social relations are often reciprocal, that all kinds of relations (to people, place and history) are elaborated in activities and that you among other social identities also present yourself as an inhabitant of a community, i.e. a place identity. Other ways to express this could be that you have to dwell there, or the place has to become a part of your habitus. To dwell does not mean that you have to live there permanently or spend the whole day there. Since many people are commuting and leaving the community during daytime, they have to find other ways to maintain the relations or to dwell. The local associations and the activities connected to them have expanded during the last 15 years generating a number of social relations, leading to new projects and new associations. Place identity is strengthened through these associations, but also through activities like hunting, celebrations and small talk about people, places and memories. The relations to the place and its history are maintained through activities like the yearly homestead day, the church ceremonies and study circles where elderly people publish books about their memories.

As to change it can be seen as a part of life for all organisms and communities. Societies have through history been characterised by mobility and influences, although in different pace and scale. This implies that a community always has to be re-created. The activities and reflections presented above are part of a continuous re-creation of the community, helping the inhabitants to balance change and tradition. To avoid a collapse of the community the inhabitants strive for continuity and therefore changes are interpreted in relation to existing cultural models of how to relate to other inhabitants, to the place and to its history, manifested in traditions and norms like how to celebrate mid-summer or how to greet each other. Changing these models could be difficult and frustrating, something that especially newcomers and young people have experienced. Many of the new activities initiated during the last 15 years have been initiated by new inhabitants, appreciated and encouraged by many native inhabitants. This might imply that the rather static concept of cultural models should be exchanged for the concept of habitus that is more individual and

depending on context. A person's habitus grows out of his or her practice, which in turn is affected by what could be called cultural models and other features of a person's context. Habitus helps to understand the situation where different actors with different experiences and in different ways are engaged in the continuous re-creation of the community.

A generalisation about the long term change during the past decade is that a community of work since the 1980s has been substituted by a community of leisure. Where agriculture used to dominate the community the voluntary associations now to a great extent have taken its place and the concrete physical relatedness has turned into a more abstract relatedness. The three narratives about moose hunting, the school, and the church all illustrate situations that evoke conflicts or struggles and they show what could happen when the relations cannot be maintained, or when the cultural models are violated. To make a generalisation possible the narratives need to be compared with other research and interpreted into processes of change that many (Swedish) rural communities are experiencing. The narrative on moose hunting and hunting tourism illustrates the increasing commercialisation, which is the major driving force behind the modernisation process. The narrative about the school illustrates both the process of fewer public places as well as the tendency that inhabitants mobilise in order to save them. Such mobilisation is at the heart of the so-called village action movement. The narrative about the conflict between the priest and the church council illustrates the changing power relations of the last decades, triggered by the municipality reform and the village action movement. Every narrative contains a little bit of all three kinds of changes though they are chosen to illustrate one of them. The three narratives show how different perception of relatedness evokes different borders for the community. The hunting tourism was handled in different ways by different landowners and hunting teams. The struggle for the school mobilised the whole parish, while the church conflict divided the community into pro, against or neutral towards the church council. The examples illustrate Cohen's statement that when physical and administrative borders are threatened the symbolical borders are strengthened (Cohen 1985).

One possible interpretation of the more radical changes is that they represent a discontinuity that could be threatening for the Swedish countryside. The time-space relations that give meaning to, and thus create, the community are in the three narratives replaced by other relations which change the meaning and thereby the whole phenomenon of the community as a dwelling-place and an important part of the inhabitants' habitus. But others welcome what some people perceive as a threat. Since there are different views in a local community, one challenge for decision makers is to complement the economic and

legal policy instruments with methods for handling conflicts, social learning and other communicative instruments that empower the inhabitants to act in a way that maintain the local community without conserving it or completely renewing it.

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Forest cultures: Nature, work and freedom as culturally constituted themes in different forest contexts – outline of a project idea

Ingar Kaldal

When the abstract was written for this paper, plans had been made for a project, and an application for financial support was sent to the Research Council of Norway, where a Programme for Cultural Research was launched for the financing of new projects from 2003 to 2007. This application was rejected, although there was positive feedback (out of 150 projects only 12 got financed). Therefore, currently there is no ongoing project to report and I find no reason to present in detail the concrete and specific studies involved in previous plans for the project. The situation is open now. Therefore I will only write a cursory, rough draft of a paper in order to present some main points that indicate how I am thinking about a possible project, and to invite interested colleagues to join a network where ideas could be identified and developed further.

The rationale for presenting these ideas is equally to get in touch with relevant contacts for my own research, as well as to initiate a large common project, which seems to be an investment with uncertain results. So I have two main aims with my presentation: 1. To discuss ideas and perspectives that might be useful for my own research. 2. To get in touch with researchers who are working on related topics.

The idea is to concentrate the studies on three themes that are supposed to have been associated with varying meanings within different forest contexts: 'Nature', 'work' and 'freedom'. The chosen themes are also relevant on many levels to current public debates:

'*Nature*': During the last decades the forest has been one of the main mobilizing subjects for environmentalists around the world. Moreover, it has also been

a place to look for what is ‘natural’ in a wide range of contexts, from romantic dreams of alternative lifestyles, to the use of wood as a building material because of its ‘natural’ qualities. The forest has been symbolizing ‘natural’ qualities in very different situations. How many books have been written for children, where the characters representing a ‘natural’ friendliness, humanity and morale, come from the forest, thus ‘naturalizing’ culture and culturalizing ‘nature’? But the ‘natural’ aspects of the forest have also been seen as something to be cultivated, controlled, civilized and modernized. Therefore the ‘natural’ aspects of the forests have been wild, raw and undisciplined. The meanings of the forest as ‘nature’ have been multivalent and are changing. Although it seems obvious to anyone that the forest *is* ‘nature’, the meanings of it *as* ‘nature’ have been varying between different and changing contexts. Here it should be mentioned that the ecological ‘nature’ of a forest found by environmentalists, is no less culturally constituted as ‘nature’, than what could be said about any romantic view of the forest as ‘nature’ and as a place for ‘natural’ lifestyles. And it is the various ways of culturally constituting the forest as ‘nature’, that I want to focus on.

‘Work’: The forest has been associated with many different kinds of work. It has been economically utilized on several levels, from the multitude of ways to use the forest resources for fuel, clothing, tools, housing and food, to the modern forestry and timber industry, which have themselves undergone radical changes during the last generations. The idea with a project like this is not to reconstruct how work has been done in different situations in the forest, but to analyze how ‘work’ has been culturally constituted with varying meanings in various forest contexts. From the forest many stories have been told about what ‘real work’ is (was), and about how hard, heroic and masculine work was in the past, prior to mechanization of the forest industry, in times before the big machines took over. The forest has in many situations been associated with ideal qualities of ‘work’, and a common narrative custom has been to contrast the picture of the ‘free’ and ‘natural’ work in the forest, to the clock-controlled, dirty and noisy work in factories. Images of ‘work’ where stories about work in the forest have represented idealized, and often mythologized aspects, have also influenced the ways of thinking about ‘work’ in quite different contexts; then often told about as ‘work’ without some of its essential and ‘original’ characteristics, that are assumed to have been reality in the forest. Analyzing cultural meanings associated with ‘work’ in various forest contexts may broaden our perspectives on work during a time of profound and rapid change in the ways of thinking about it. In many ways this project may also deepen our understanding of the relations between work, nature, identities and other aspects of everyday life.

‘Freedom’: The forest has been associated with freedom and independence within a wide range of ideological and cultural contexts. Life in the forest used to

be one of the frequently portrayed motifs in national romanticism in Nordic as well as other cultures around the world. In some situations the forest has also been referred to as a symbol for national and ethnic strength and pride. One example is how the forest and nature are integral to many aboriginal cultures. They have often used their harmony and contact with the forest and nature as themes in the building of identities. Another example to be mentioned is how the 1930s Nazi ideology was also constructing images of the forest as a place where ‘natural’ purity and ‘Ordnung’ was realized. At the same time, the forest has also been considered a place of freedom for oppositional groups, radicals and criminals, for people living in conflict with authorities, or in some way ‘outside of society’. The forest has also been seen as a source of survival for poor people, as many resources were not under the control of landed proprietors. In modern times the forest has been seen as an arena for recreation for growing urban populations. People in the cities have been telling their stories about the forest as a place of ‘freedom’ and ‘natural’ life. By analyzing such attitudes, it should be possible to illuminate interesting aspects of identity-building processes in general. As identities break up, it is important to consider how they are made and maintained, not at least through stories and myths about the relationship between ‘nature’ and the characteristics of life for various groups, peoples and nations.

Themes like the three roughly outlined above, are always difficult to delimit and concretize. ‘Nature’, ‘work’ and ‘freedom’ are themes appearing almost everywhere in our culture. They are woven into almost all fields of life, in more or less identifiable ways. And their presence can in some way easily be found in the most different social and cultural situations. Although ‘nature’, ‘work’ and ‘freedom’ can be seen as themes common to many cultures, their meanings have varied between different contexts and historical periods. An aim with a project like this should be to investigate how those variations have been expressed and constituted in selected contexts where the forest has been important.

The chosen themes have often been culturally constituted in very essentializing ways. Whether the subject has been ‘nature’, ‘work’ or ‘freedom’, the forest has often been mentioned as a ‘home’ for the most ‘real’, ‘pure’, ‘genuine’, ‘true’, ‘primeval’, ‘original’ or ‘primitive’. Countless stories have been told about the forest as ‘genuine nature’, the forest as an arena for ‘real work’ or the forest as a place where the most heartfelt forms of ‘freedom’ can be experienced. The meanings expressed in the stories and told in such situations have much in common, but they also vary, as when the essentialized ways of talking make the stories sound ‘the same’.

The focus in a project like this should be on continuity as well as change, on similarities as well as differences, between cultural meanings connected to ‘nature’, ‘work’ and ‘freedom’. And when one is concerned with ways of talking

about these themes that seem to be stable and common, it should also be an aim to investigate how the meanings have been connected to – and constituted in – specific historical contexts. When investigating this, one will probably discover that even the apparently most stable and fixed meanings vary in their cultural makings. Because when the contexts change, the meanings of the text will also vary, no matter how similar the words, stories, expressions and signs might look at first sight. Thus the meanings of stories told all over the world about forest life emphasizing ‘nature’, ‘work’ and ‘freedom’, are never quite the same, regardless of how similar they might seem to be on the surface.

For example, the forest has been associated with ‘freedom’ among manually working loggers in Nordic forests, and it has been seen as a source of ‘freedom’ among German tourists who have been searching forests for ‘Waldeinsamkeit’ (loneliness in the forest). But the content and meaning of the ‘freedom’ of the logger and the ‘freedom’ of the tourist has been different.

Another example is that the forest is considered an arena for ‘hard work’, and ‘real men’s work’. This image probably applies more to the experiences and meanings of the loggers in the highly mechanized and capitalized North American forest industry, than for the small Norwegian farmer. Until recently, the small Norwegian farmer has logged only a few weeks every winter in the forests close to his farm, with much less industrialized kinds of technology and capital than in North America. It could be interesting to compare the different meanings of ‘work’ with meanings of ‘work’ in other forest contexts, where the work is more concentrated on utilizing forest resources other than timber. This could also be compared within the same regions, because in North America and Scandinavia the use of the forests also includes non-timber forest products, traditional botanicals and recreation.

There have been not only similarities and differences, but also interrelations between the various contexts where the three selected themes have been involved. The forest as ‘pure nature’ has of course been associated with other meanings for environmentalists interested in biodiversity, than what it has meant for poets searching for some kind of natural virginity in the forest. But ecologists and poets have both seen some kind of harmony in the forest (as well as wilderness and conflicts). And each might have influenced the meanings of their stories about this harmony. Cultural meanings are never fixed in certain contexts. Rather, they are fluid and therefore their meanings are also flexible. Thus it can easily be imagined that stories told by environmentalists about the forest as ‘nature’, might have ‘borrowed’ words, metaphors, meanings and narratives from stories told about forest and forest life by poets. It might also have been the other way; ‘eco-poetry’ may have been influenced through ecological ways of imagining the ‘natural’ aspects of the forest.

A further example is that machine entrepreneurs in modern forestry may have adopted aspects from previous ways of telling about work in the forest. Their ways of mythologizing their life as ‘free’ but ‘hard’ working men in the forests, and their ways of constituting themselves as heroes of work, might have been influenced by stories told about forest work in previous periods.

Interrelations like this, constituted diachronically and synchronically through historical and cultural processes, would be interesting to explore in studies where material from various cultures and contexts could be comparatively investigated. Between the various forest contexts there has probably been much continuity and intertextuality as well as change. The meanings of stories told about life in connection to the forest should be interpreted with this in mind.

None of the focused themes should be analyzed in isolation from each other. Logging has been seen as ‘real work’, but also as work in harmony (or in disharmony) with ‘nature’, and as work in ‘freedom’ from industrial control and discipline. Aspects like this might have been mixed together in similar stories; for example, work has often been seen as ‘real’ and ‘free’ because of its connection to the ‘nature’. Thus the meanings of ‘nature’, ‘work’ and ‘freedom’ have often been intertwined in complex cultural webs. The idea is that it would be interesting to study how webs like this have worked within different concrete forest contexts around the world.

One of my main incentives for putting forward ideas about how to study themes like these within forest cultures, is that my own research on cultural aspects of life in Scandinavian forest regions, needs to be compared and contrasted with the ways the ‘same’ themes have been culturally constituted in forest contexts in other parts of the world. During a visit to the Pacific Northwest (Washington, USA and British Columbia, Canada) in the summer of 2002 I made observations that have made me think in new ways about my own Scandinavian source materials. In this region there are a lot of traces telling about influences from Scandinavian forestry through immigration, but at the same time there are also differences in the ways of utilizing the forests. Here it should be emphasized that this is a region with many common characteristics with Scandinavia. It might be more exciting to do comparative analysis of forest cultures in much more different regions of the world. What about studying systematically how meanings of ‘nature’, ‘work’ and ‘freedom’ have been culturally constituted – or may be not present at all – in tropical forest areas in Africa, in the cultural meeting between Maoris and European colonizers on New Zealand, or in areas with much more extreme conflicts about the forests, as in Amazonas and Papua New Guinea, and in regions where the forests have been subject to quite different kinds of use than as timber resource for industrial exploitation?

It would not be realistic to explore to a very large extent material from a variety of places in the world within the same study, or by the same researchers. However, with an international network of colleagues and contacts from different disciplines and places around the world, it should be possible to exchange ideas, literature and information in ways that would be fruitful to all the participants. And of course a project like this would need a lot of money for travelling, arranging conferences and for publishing the results. It should be a goal to make it possible for the participants to visit forest milieus in other countries in order to carry out fieldwork as well as to collect information and sources on some level.

Regardless of all the problems associated with doing research on life in remote milieus, it would be fruitful for any study in this field to involve cross-cultural and global perspectives in the analyses. Forest culture is a field of research where this is necessary and relevant. Since early colonization the forest has been subject to international interests and relations on various levels. All over the world the forest was one of the main resources that interested colonizers, and therefore it became a frequent theme for conflict when western interests in timber and wood collided with traditional interests in utilizing and living in the forests.

A 'Forest Cultures' project or network could be organized and framed theoretically and methodologically in a wide variety of ways. One way could be to emphasize the narrative aspects of the cultural processes through which the varying meanings of 'nature', 'work' and 'freedom' have been constituted. In many situations people have been telling their experience with the forest; I base much of my research upon memories told orally in interviews, but also on written stories and diaries. As sources for analyzing the varying cultural meanings of the three themes, it could be relevant to interpret not only memories told by people living in woodland communities, but also various kinds of literature, texts, traces and landscapes 'telling' in various ways about the forest as arena for 'nature', 'work' and 'freedom'. In the regions where the forest has been important to people, there are often accessible narrative representations on various levels, from oral tradition and local history to fictional stories where life in and with the forest is made a subject. Other kinds of art could also be studied, from paintings and sculptures to films and poetry. Museums and historical exhibitions should be used not only as a base of information, but as primary sources, because they have themselves been actively constituting culturally various aspects of the life in and with the forest. Many of those sources are easily accessible. In such a project researchers from various disciplines could come together and make cross-cultural as well as local and regional studies of how people have been talking and telling about 'nature', 'work' and 'freedom' in various forest contexts.

To conclude, I want to underline that my intention has just been to mention some themes and ideas for a possible project and cooperation. These are too unspecified to be presented as plans, but may be as roughly formulated, as they often need to be, when inviting colleagues to take part in further developing them.

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Margined people of the karstland: Pastoral cave-centred survival strategies in the Central Mediterranean

John Chircop

Archaeological evidence has established the view that cave complexes, scattered in the Central Mediterranean island landscape, have been used for human occupation, either incessantly or intermittently, from prehistory down to the late Middle Ages.¹ More recent comparative fieldwork surveying and the re-discovery and interpretation of significant written sources, have assisted in the emergence of a fresh outlook on the use of cave complexes in the pre-modern era. Numerous references to entire cave-dwelling communities on the Sicilian terrain, the Maltese and Pelagic islands and North Africa, abound in the contemporary texts of classical Arab geographers and chroniclers. In most of these works, cave-complexes, usually referred to in Arabic as *Al Giran*, were identified as landmark settlements. *Hisn al Giran* (fortress of the grottoes) which held a large community in forty large caverns,² *Gardutah* (probably at *Rocalmuto*) and the *Giran ad Daqiq* (the grottoes of flour) with their vigorous markets,³ were distinguished zones in the Sicilian landscape. Similarly, natural or semi-artificially hewed sets of caverns as *Ghar il-Kbir*, *il-Latnija*, *Gebel Pietru* and *San Niklaw*, were principal cave-founded settlements in Malta and Gozo during the Middle Ages.⁴ Further research is confirming that from the late Middle Ages the

1 This is shown by the archaeological evidence found in major caves in the central sea islands. For the Pelagic Islands (Pantelleria, Lampedusa and Linosa) see Orsi 1899a: 9-49, Sommier 1908: 32. See Bonanno 2002, Delano 1978: 188, Orsi 1899b, Tagliaferro 1915: 183-185 and Trump 1990: 82-84 for Sicily and Malta.

2 According to Ibn Haldun, Ibn Alatir and Al Bayan in Amari 1881: (ii) 28, 178, (i) 374.

3 Ibn Edrisi in Amari 1881: (i) 115, Amari 1933: 310, 335, Messina 1979.

4 Buhagiar 1984: 17, Messina 1989: 109-120, Santoro 178: 65-114, Wettinger 1975: 188, Quinin D'Autun 1536: 38-39.

gradual expansion of the urban centres, accompanied by the enclosure of extensive tracts of common land, mainly of public grazing grounds, gradually eliminated many of the ancient cave dwelling communities. The remaining household groupings were later to be found dispersed on the extents of uncultivated garigue wasteland.⁵ Yet, the social dimension of these scattered cave-centred people during the modern era has not been studied. In this context, the present paper seeks to assist in the understanding of these communities' ways of life by incorporating their social and economic formations in what can be called 'pockets of terrain' that have been exploited in a multi-variety of ways.⁶ It is important to keep in mind that the cave-centred households under focus survived during the modern era through-out the 19th and 20th centuries,⁷ on the remaining extents of common lands, leading a pastoral way of life.

The social history of these essentially pastoral groups of people has been either ignored or mistreated as insignificant by conventional mainstream academic research. The principal reasons for this lack of scholarly research are simultaneously of a methodological, historiographical and cultural-political nature. Basically, the serious dearth of primary archival documentation on post-medieval pastoral people in this region constitutes one main quandary. This is compensated, up to an extent, by a fragmented mass of published narratives, written by contemporary native observers and foreign travellers, which start to become plentiful as from the 17th century.⁸ Still, on the whole, these texts contain tacit or explicit urban-centred, class-based and/or colonialist-racist preconceptions against indigenous rustic people. In effect, prejudiced notions of cave-centred pastoral communities as primitive and uncivilised types can be immediately detected in the illustrations and photographs, as much as in the written text, of these published accounts.⁹ Nonetheless, by keeping a cautious mind, when utilised in tandem with other relevant sources and actual landscape surveying,¹⁰ these contemporary narratives are important for two main reasons. Firstly, they make glaringly evident the cultural construction of the 'troglodyte' image suspended in the prevailing urban-centred popular and historical discourse. Secondly, and in a more creative way, these accounts can help in the reconstruction of the micro-histories of cave-

5 On wastelands see Uggeri 1978: 115, Dodgeson 1987: 245.

6 Leighton 1999: 101-103.

7 Bonanno 2002: 26, Lewis 1977: 11, 13.

8 Brydone 1773, De Boisgelin 1804, Freller 1997: 53-55, Schellinkx 1669.

9 See for instance the romanticised representation of *Ghar il Kbir* in Van Der A. A. 1729: 38. The engravings by K. Ganisborg on the drawings made by D. Bruun and 'Albert the photographer' of the subterranean and cave dwellings in Tunisia (Bruun 1898).

10 On the importance of landscape archaeology to construct localised social and economic activities see Roberts 1987: 79-85.



Figure 1. The Central Mediterranean (part of La Carte generale de Le Mer Mediterranée by P. Du Val)

centred communities localised in various sites of the karstland in this region.¹¹

Utilised with other alternative sources, including oral history,¹² these published texts and visual representations can assist in the gathering of authentic internal evidence on the ways of life, survival strategies and aspects of indigenous know-

11 However, the urban sprawl, expanding quarrying, mining and other heavy extraction activities, as well as the transformation of these “margined” zones into leisure/theme parks and tourist resorts, in most of the Central Mediterranean islands under focus, are physically degrading cave complexes and disturbing their surrounding topography.

12 The recording of authentic recollections of ‘margined people’ forms part of a project launched by the *Oral History Centre* at the University of Malta. Here again, when it comes to interviewing, time is running out as the few families still inhabiting cave-complexes in this region are dying out and their internal knowledge system is being lost.

ledge, including nutritional and healing practices, which have been contained in the collective memory of these pastoral people.

To keep on this line of thought, the ‘primeval’ mental attitudes and historical misconceptions, which still persist in the general historiography of the Mediterranean, are intensely problematic as they hinder a more impartial inquiry of these communities. From a modernist historical perspective, pastoral communities, and more specifically cave-occupying households, came to be envisioned as residues of historical evolution, as alien and irrelevant to civilisation. They have been represented as socially fossilised in a primeval lifestyle, stubbornly resisting progress. Indeed, this urban-centred ‘civilising’ discourse has itself been deeply rooted in European history. Conceived earlier on during the late Middle Ages, it fabricated the image of the rustic folk as strange and deviant¹³ and consequently fostered the term ‘troglodyte’ as a metaphor to epitomise socially margined subjects. In early modern times, a number of scholars and antiquarian collectors,¹⁴ adhering to the Enlightenment’s philosophical attempts to explore human nature, conceived the pastoral mode of living in an Arcadian fashion and portrayed these cave-occupying pastoral people as ‘savage nobles’ who were still in the earlier stages of evolution and thus ‘in one with nature’.¹⁵ These primordial notions, nourished by endemic religious-nativist undercurrents,¹⁶ were later articulated in various nationalistic ideologies which were divulged throughout Europe during the 19th century. Simultaneously, the stereotyping of these pastoral cave-occupying people as primitive and uncivilised was elaborated in a supposedly refined ‘scientific language’ by the North European colonial powers: mainly the British, the French and the post-unification North-Italian state, as part of their colonising strategies in the Central Mediterranean. These industrial powers’ imperialist sense of racial and cultural superiority over their subjected peoples, nourished by contemporary social Darwinist principles, projected indigenous pastoral people – ‘dirty’, ‘savage’ and ‘animal like’ – to be the pure prototype of the ‘subject race’.¹⁷ Legitimised by this essentialist colonising

13 On the inception of such urban perceptions on shepherds during the Middle Ages in Europe see Geremek 1997: 366–367. For Cherubini, the urban town culture, emphasised the rustic people’s “filth, poor clothing, and minimal diet, but also a sort of bestiality that a times placed [them] almost at an intermediate level between beats and humans” (Cherubini 1997: 132).

14 On these antiquarian collectors and their ‘cabinet of curiosities’ and early museums see Leighton 1999: 1–2.

15 For a discussion on this issue see Thomson 1987: 4–6.

16 Individual caves have been transformed into religious and nationalistic symbols. On St. Paul’s cave and the healing-cultic and nationalistic attributes it came to represent in the Maltese Islands see Zammit Maempel 1975: 83–93. On the crib tradition in Southern Europe especially in the Italian South and the islands see Bozzini 1985: 54–60.

17 See Bruun 1898: 148, *passim*.

discourse, imperial and central state-management institutions, assisted by colonial scientific associations and backed by the military, attempted to locate, map, observe and classify pastoral groups scattered in the remoter terrain, which came under their nominal jurisdiction. For instance, the French Foreign Legion, attempted to construct a typology of 'troglodyte groups' found on Tunisian terrain. At the same time, the British colonial administration in Malta, charted and endeavoured to classify cave-dwelling and other pastoral households spread over the wastelands of the archipelago and the neighbouring islands. A similar process ensued in Sicily and the adjacent islands. As a result, various pastoral cave-centred communities in these island territories and coastal areas were evicted and dispersed on the similar pretext that they were leading an uncivilised, 'morally debasing' and 'unsanitary' way of life.¹⁸

In contrast to the prejudiced branding of pastoral households as fossilised and passive subjects in history, which still persists in various cultural and historiographical discourses, the present paper shows these pastoral people as active agents, backed by a specific form of social organisation and skilfully managing the resources found on the surrounding karst landscape. This fresh approach contrasts with the environmental-deterministic interpretations which prevail in classical studies on the Mediterranean people in general¹⁹ and on pastoral groups in particular.²⁰ In fact, emphasis is here put on the symbiosis existing between these localised pastoral households on the micro-topography, including the cave compounds which they inhabited. One fundamental argument of this paper is that cave complexes functioned as central *loci* for these pastoral families' social organisation and for the handling of their mixed subsistence strategies to exploit diverse resource niches: from the various areas of garigue, cliff terraces and the rugged sea coast, as much as the cultivable patches of soil.

Cave complexes located in the karstland topography which were utilised by pastoral households were of two main types: naturally-formed flat-land karst depressions and caverns recurring in hills, ravines or cliffs.²¹ Their occupiers found that these formations had natural shelter and defence characteristics which they improved through generations. Caves provided the basic thermal conditions for human habitation by keeping cool in summer and warm in winter, while affording pastoral families with protection from human adversities such as sea-borne piracy. Inhabited caves lay dispersed and hidden in the uneven karstland, while their occupiers uti-

18 Kempe 1988: 135, Sanvisente 1849: 124, Trump 1990.

19 Braudel 1987.

20 Davis 1977.

21 On cliff caves in Tunisia see Bruun 1898: 212, *passim*, Luttrell 1974: 2-3, Messina 1989: 109-120.



Figure 2. The invented image of the cave-dwelling pastoral prototype employed to represent colonised Mediterranean people (*Animali Parlanti*; Malta, 1875).

lised numerous subterfuges to make them less detectable and accessible. Flat-land cave-complexes were usually only accessible through intricate and devious pathways, while dwellers of cliff caves made their own means of access: hidden terraced stepping stones, mobile wooden planks and ropes.²² Additionally, various plants and shrubs, chiefly the prickly pear cactus and caper plant, as well as the fig and carob trees, in conjunction with dry rubble stone walls, were applied to camouflage cavern apertures and to divert attention. This intense preoccupation with shelter and protection is confirmed by a comparative analysis of recurring stone walls, corridors, passageways and subterranean hide-outs, which connected individual grottoes²³ in the intern of various cave complexes being surveyed.

22 Uggeri 1978: 129. The surveying of the *Pwales*, *Melliha* and *Lapsi* cliff caves in Malta indicate that their occupiers used a combination of these means of accessibility.

23 Orsi 1899b: 33-146, Quintin D'Autun 1536: 38, Saliba et al. 2002.

The immediate topography surrounding these cave formations indicates an incessant human exploitation of local natural resources through generations. At variance from mainstream works on agricultural economic history,²⁴ drawing from theoretical approaches generated by exponents of the new school in ecological economic history and supported by on-site comparative fieldwork, emphasis is here put on the fact that the karst wasteland contains a range of natural resources upon which active pastoral people made a living. What must be highlighted is the fact that the possibility of the free exploitation of these natural resources was due to the karst terrain being considered by custom as common land open for public use.

In the Central Mediterranean region, the pastoral people considered the use of all resources on these *spazii publici* as a legitimate customary right²⁵ to be managed by habitual practices and obligations which made possible ecological sustainability and their households' social reproduction. In actual fact, accessibility to and the modes and rate of exploitation of the natural resources were checked by a set of internal customary rules, obligations and commitment practices, which formed part of these pastoral households' shared common-sense. One of these common customary rules limited the number of goats and sheep kept by each household in order to sustain the wild vegetation and the maquis needed for grazing. Another common-sense practice, with similar ecologically-founded purposes, limited the gathering of herbs and plants according to season, time of day and climatic variations in order to give time for regeneration. Moreover, the sustenance of the local micro-ecology of the divers areas of common land was fostered by various other practices which included the routine splintering of stone to induce its slow disintegration into soil patches.²⁶

The actual occupation of the cave compounds lying in these common lands was considered a legitimate right by the members of the households. Usually, caves passed from generation to generation and this relished a sense of 'inherited right of occupation', which gave the occupiers exclusive rights of access and use.²⁷ This customary right was indispensable for the continuous adaptation, social reproduction and identity of these same pastoral households. As a matter of fact, these customary inheritance rights were frequently voiced to contest and resist endeavours by the central state or individual entrepreneurs to appropriate and

24 See for instance Forbes 1996: 68-95.

25 On the definition of customary rights and praxis see Thompson 1991: 95.

26 Acheson 1994: 351-378, Haslam & Borg 1998.

27 Dodgshon 1987: 67. On the 'heightened' social sense of access and territoriality in 'prehistorical times' see Tringham 1972: 463-475.

enclose surrounding areas of common land.²⁸ The centrality of these customary rights and practices for these households' exploitation of the karstland has been observed by various contemporary narrators as from the 16th century. J. Quintin D'Autun, the first published chronicler of the Maltese islands describes, in 1536, how pastoral families lived on the extensive common lands which he describes as "full of stones, but grass springs up from beneath and because of this there is plenty of pasture for sheep. And these rocks mostly abound in wild thyme and broom."²⁹ More than a hundred years later, in 1647, another chronicler describes how the "poor families" making up the *Ghar il Kbir* cave-dwelling community led an active pastoral existence "on occasion of being located on the *spazio e campo publico*."³⁰

The pastoral people's daily subsistence on the resources found in the varying parts of the extensive karstland including cliff edges and the sea coast, within the parameters of the open public spaces, required minute knowledge of the terrain and the employment of mixed strategies of exploitation. Vital to these strategies was the grazing of goats and sheep which provided the milk and cheese that made up the basic nutritional elements of their elementary diet. Trapping and snaring of wild game, including rabbit, was usually practiced, in addition to the keeping of poultry which supplemented their daily nutritional intake.³¹ These pastoral activities were usually combined with the cultivation of patches of thin soil, usually in the immediate vicinity of their cave-based habitations. Naturally-occurring pockets of soil on the uneven karstland was intensified with earth extracted from cave fissures and with the already mentioned habit of breaking down rock, making possible the cultivation of some corn and barley. Besides, bee-keeping for the production of thyme (*Thymus capitatus*) and wild flower honey, utilised for its alimentary and healing qualities, was another common activity, as the frequently found adjacent grotto-aperies make evident.³²

Foraging and extracting activities, from the various locations on the common land, enabled these households to increase their daily subsistence intake. The cropping of snails from the karstic land, as well as the gathering of seafood, plants and salt from the rugged coastline, together with cliff hanging fishing,³³ further helped to supplement the nutritional intake of both flat-land and cliff

28 On the state's appropriation of large tracts of common land in southern Italy and Sicily, from 1816 to 1929, following the *Legge di Censuralizzazione* see Asante 1988: 29-53.

29 Quintin D'Autun 1536: 39.

30 Abela 1647: 79-80.

31 Kircher 1664: 97.

32 Borg 1989: 9, 132-133, Haslam & Borg 1998: 47. On-going fieldwork surveys of *L'Imgiebah* at *Xemxija*, or *I-gherien tal-Imgiebah* at *Selmun* at Malta confirm this practice.

33 Lacroix 1841: engraving No. 22.

cave-dwelling households. So did the gathering of a complex diversity of herbs and edible wild plants which grow on the uneven garigue terrain. Herbs were in fact extracted and used for both alimentary and medical purposes.³⁴ Besides, naturally-growing or planted in the rock crevices outside or in the vicinity of caves, plant trees, mainly the prickly pear cactus and the fig and carob tree were used for human nutrition and healing and as fodder for animals.³⁵ The pear cactus fruit, having a high content of water, was consumed and its leaves were chopped as fodder, while the plant itself was utilised for fencing and camouflaging cavern openings and to protect cultivated patches from sea spray. Carobs, olives, capers and figs, together with garlic and onions, were preserved for later consumption by a process of sun drying on the outer-cave terraces or the roofs of constructed dry stone-walled rooms or corbelled huts.³⁶ Sea salt was used for the preservation of cheese, raw fruit and plants, while herbs were separately hung to dry in the inner areas. Dead or dried thyme plants, thistle, thorns and brushwood together with animal dung, were all utilised by households as fire material in an environment where wood was scarce.³⁷ Nothing was wasted.

In the semi-arid climate of the Central Mediterranean, the localisation, tapping and constant safeguard of water was a crucial process, because of the inconsistent distribution of this vital source in the karst bedrock. For this reason, inhabited cave complexes were either located near streams or held natural water reservoirs.³⁸ On many occasions water was found naturally trapped in the rock fissures of the cave complexes. It either poured out naturally or was artificially channelled into reservoirs.³⁹ Stone and earthenware containers, adjacent to water-basins, have been found in most cave complexes, with those at *Pantalica* in Sicily and at *Ghar il-Kbir* in Mata, being fine examples.⁴⁰ In addition, on the open karstland, pastoral households assisted the flow of water and protected it by managing streams, digging holes to tap the water-table and constructing reservoirs.

Stone detached from the limestone bedrock was the most abundant resource on this common land. Omnipresent and easily available, stone was employed by the pastoral people for a multiplicity of purposes, the most significant being the construction

34 For the general use of wild herbs and shrubs for nutritional and healing purposes see Crellin & Philpott 1990, Lipp 1996. See also list of herbs and plants to be found in the Pelagic islands in Sommier 1908.

35 Bowen-Jones et al. 1961: 217, Kircher 1664: 97, Quintin D'Autun 1536: 39, Sommier 1908.

36 Cassar 1961: 65-68, Fsadni 1999, Kircher 1664: 95.

37 Bosio 1602: 43, Quintin D'Autun 1536: 39.

38 Kempe 1988: 157.

39 Cotecchia & Grassi 1978: 146, Saliba et al. 2002.

40 Kempe 1988: 135, Orsi 1899b, Pace 1935: 5.

of walls and fences for the segmentation and arrangement of internal space in the caverns. The division of the inner space by dry stone walls indicates the existence of an enduring social organisation which was supported by, and in turn sustained, the household's daily strategies for survival on the outer terrain. In these occupied cave compounds, animals were separated from human living quarters either by walled enclosures, usually in the outer cave areas, or by being held in separate grottoes. In the larger cave complexes, the inner dwelling space was usually divided between nuclear families, with each one of them occupying separate, natural or artificially-hewed, caverns. Each separate family space was mainly utilised for sleeping and for storage purposes as the stone-bed bases, shelved niches hewed in the rock and the tables and benches found in them, make evident. On other occasions, individual families occupied separate smaller caves in the vicinity, or adjacent to larger complex where communal tools, artefacts and utensils were held.⁴¹ In effect, a comparative examination of the internal spatial arrangements of all these cave compounds indicate that although internal caverns were occupied by separate households, a flexible form of communal cooperation was practiced. This is mainly visible in most of the flat-ground cavern complexes found in Sicily and Malta, similarly to the artificially-hewn subterranean chambers in Tunisia, where a central open space was left – as courtyard – for common use. Large ovens, small hand-managed olive oil crushers and corn grinding hand-mills, from different periods, have been found in this open space, indicating communal sharing on a daily bases, at least as a meeting place where members of the community spend time to discuss, 'cook and eat in common'.⁴² This communal cooperation, as much as the internal cave spatial order, further confirm the centrality of the cave complexes for the social aggregation and the management and employment of these pastoral households' daily strategies for survival.

Conjointly with its use for the creation of an internal spatial and social order in the cavern complexes, stone was also utilised in a variety of ways and for different purposes, on the outer-cave terrain. Dry walls, terraces and corbelled stone huts were constructed for shelter, storage, defence and observation. Formed in notable sizes and shapes, stone pieces were also intricately used to mark-out resource spots containing water, soil or wild vegetation and to visibly indicate grazing sites and hazardous zones. Although more in-depth research is required on this issue, it suffices here, as a conclusion, to underscore that through the spatial positioning of stones, local pastoral households made sense of the surrounding terrain and created a system of support for their long-term combined strategies of subsistence on the exposed karst common-land.

41 Kircher 1664: 97, Pace 1935, Uggeri 1978.

42 Bonanno 2003, Bruun 1898, Kircher 1664: 98, Uggeri 1978: 130-131.

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Resource management, settlement and ownership

...a little closer to Paris: On 18th- and 19th-century crofts in Northern Scania

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...a little closer to Paris: On 18th- and 19th-century crofts in Northern Scania

Annika Knarrström

Crofts and the Swedish heart

Crofts are a distinct and cherished part of the Swedish national identity. The affection was called forth by the bourgeoisie, by intellectuals and artists during the last century, and was naturally held in trust by the surviving relatives of the past crofters. Whereas the life and circumstances of the crofters were viewed in a social-realistic, critical and compassionate way from the 1930s to the 1970s, the general perspective today is far more romantic and unscrupulous. In short, time has passed. Still, interest in the preservation of buildings and landscapes is generally increasing, alongside thoughts of ecology, simplicity and small scale, and the plain Nordic style. But the crofts will not last, whatever the ambitions. The majority are in ruins, overrun by biology. And thus, they raise questions of historical value, methodology, results and reconnection to present-day society. These questions were brought up by a case of rescue archaeology, concerning the crofts of Grisavad and Vårsjö in northern Scania.

An extended archaeological project

The archaeological project in connection with a new stretch of the E4 road in northern Scania has been in progress since 1993 (Figure 1). The latest part of current interest runs from Örkelljunga and proceeds to the border of the province of Scania, through forests and wetlands, but also across farmed fields and pastureland. The northern district of Scania is rich in rocks, stones and water, it is hilly, forested and situated on barren tills. The road works constitute

a major intervention in a landscape that has seldom been the focus of regional archaeological interest.

Vast amounts of preparatory studies have been conducted within the project. Since the mid-1990s, mapping and inventories in connection with the planned course of the new roads, compilations of historical and geographical source materials, palaeoecological explorations, some minor archaeological activities and of course the general framing of the archaeological project have been worked on. The overall idea is to draw a view of the development of the landscape and its colonisation in a long-term perspective (Olsson & Anglert 2003).



Figure 1. The geographical framework for the archaeological project in connection with of the new E4 road in northern Scania

During the past three years more meticulous and large-scale archaeological fieldwork was commenced, and in 2002 the activities were distinctly intensified. By the start of July 2003 the archaeological fieldwork was terminated – by then approximately 75 sites had been investigated in various degrees – and in the autumn of 2004 the new highway opened. Amongst the sites that we have come to handle archaeologically, some are outland settlements from later historical times, i.e. the period from the late 17th to the early 20th century.

Late historical outland settlements

It was while executing the field surveys of the cultural landscape as part of the project that outland settlements were observed. Initially, the notion of the antiquarian management of the remains was quite vague, partly because few places like these have previously been handled in the region and partly because the Act concerning ancient monuments and finds cannot be interpreted explicitly in these cases.

However, within the project several factors worked for the view of late historical settlements as antiquarian objects of solid value, which must be supervised and conserved, or scientifically documented, within the framework of the legislation. In the scientific programme for UV Syd for the period 1998–2002, it was noted that the situation of the unpropertied population, above all from later historical times and in forested areas, is generally under-represented in archaeological research and antiquarian practice in Scania (Hansson 1999). The report *Sentida bebyggelse i antikvarisk och arkeologisk verksamhet* (Late historical settlements in archaeological and antiquarian activities) from 2001 by Hans Lind, Eva Svensson and Jonna Hansson stresses the under-representation on a national level, but also displays scientific potentials and methods.

More case-specific thoughts contributed to the determination to hang on to the finds. The archaeological knowledge of the Scanian forested areas is generally low. The remains in question seemed well preserved and intriguingly complex, and could be related to a broad corpus of source material. The local inhabitants had maintained interest in and knowledge of the sites in question, and we felt the firm support of the public to consider these clearly thought-provoking remains. We saw great opportunities to get close to people in the recent past, and to tell some good stories from the results of archaeological excavations.

There would also be fine opportunities for interdisciplinary analogies. Eminent examples are the studies by Berit Sandberg (1987), Christina Rosén (1991, 1999), Stig Welinder (1992), and Hans Lind et al. (2000), but also works by students and colleagues at county museums and contract-archaeology units (e.g. Fri-

berg 1999, Karlenby 2002, Karlenby & Ramström 2000, Mogren 1995, Olsson 1994, Ramström 1999). And naturally, as a foundation for these works on later historical contexts lies the concept of historical archaeology, which in Sweden was established at the end of the 20th century (Andrén 1997). Altogether, this inspired us not to let go of the remains without further evaluation.

The field surveys had revealed four sites – in all cases with buildings situated within the developed area – with late historical settlements. Our preparatory works included every site, as we saw exceptional possibilities for results and basic research, and for considering some good and rewarding analogies (Wylie 1985: 98). However, the County Administration Board expressed a different view, stressing the point that a single developer should not be forced to bear the expenses of such a large undertaking. They also pointed out that the general interest in local history should be kept alive by the concerned inhabitants and associations, instead of becoming a subject for distant scholars in ivory towers. Due to these considerations, the Board's decision on trial excavations included two of the sites, and the decision on final excavation of only one site.

Grisavad

One site was situated just south of the lake Hjälm sjön, not far from Örkelljunga, and on what was once the outland of the hamlet of Östra Ringarp (Figure 2, Knarrström 2003). The croft, named Grisavad, was located on a small height in the terrain, between two wetlands. As a whole, it all seems to have been a pretty moderate settlement, stretching over some 7000 m². A small square stone enclosure surrounded the remains – still visible in 2002 – of a stone-built fireplace and its wrecked chimney, some sill stones from the walls and a low doorstep. Nearby were the scarcely identifiable signs of an outbuilding, a stone-lined cellar and a well.

The highly restricted trial excavation revealed a certain stratigraphy just by the dwelling, as well as some organisation of the settlement as a whole. Due to the effects of podzolisation and the probable repeated diggings and redepositions in the yard of the croft during the period of use, the layers were by no means easily recognisable. A large and varied amount of finds was collected, mainly in the area between the fireplace and the cellar. They included nails, fittings and clasps of iron, fragments of red earthenware, stoneware and porcelain, pieces of glass from windows and vessels, tiles, a few animal bones and details of shale. There were also a couple of coins from the 19th century, buttons and pipes of different materials, a metal comb and brooches.

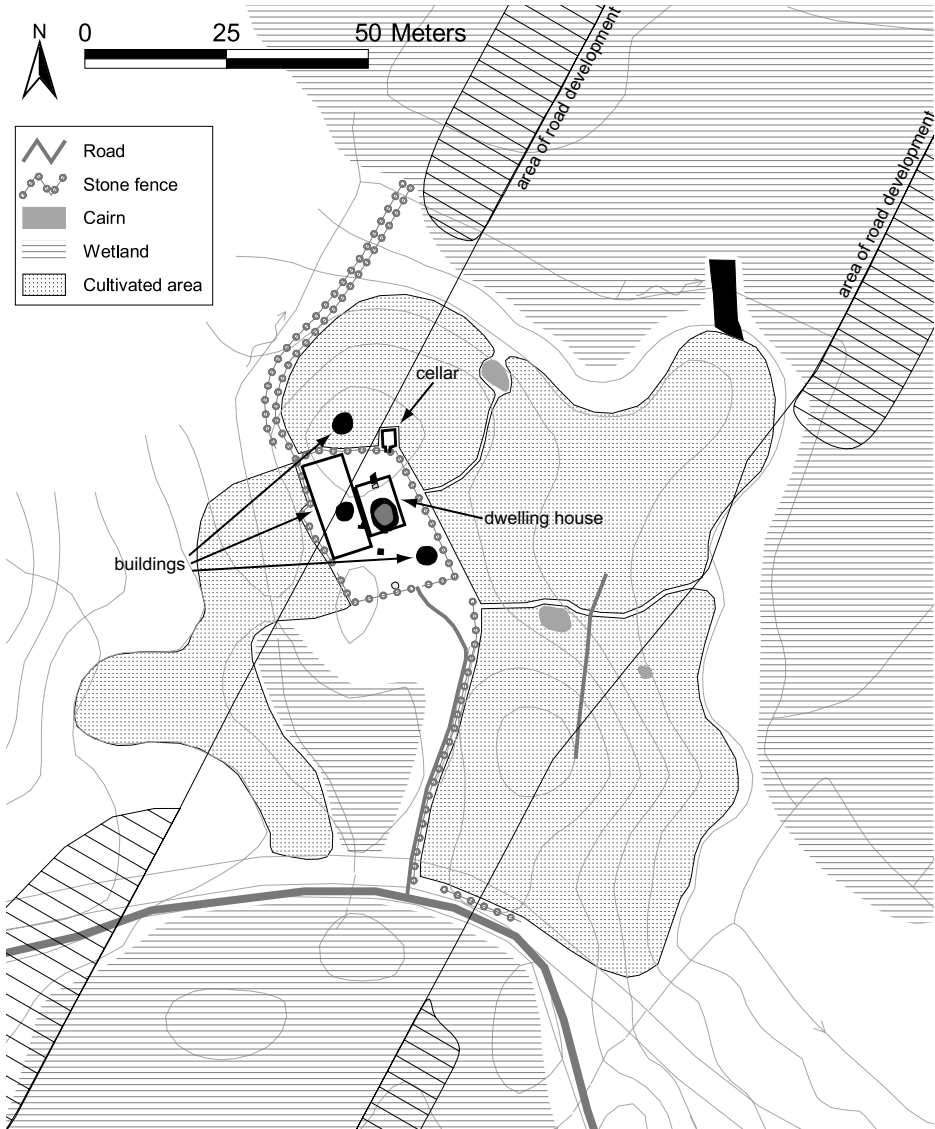


Figure 2. The Grisavad settlement

Just outside the enclosed yard of the croft were patches of fields used for growing potatoes and cereals. The fields had been cleared of stones, which had been put in cairns, and terraces had been formed due to works in connection with cultivation. The fields seemed fairly small and still rocky, and were delimited by the wetlands and low stone fences. Judging by historical maps and documents, a few

more small fields and meadows, situated a short distance away, might have gone with the croft. Paths and small roads demonstrate the pattern of movement within the settlement, and the connections to the world around. Notably, Grisavad was located furthest away from all the surrounding hamlets.

The dating of the settlement still remains to be clarified. Undoubtedly, the finds point toward the croft being inhabited during the 19th century. However, a substantial part of the objects could just as well be dated to the period 17–18th century. The historical maps and the present landscape indicate a history of use going back possibly as far as the Late Iron Age. The name Grisavad is found in the property surveys from the end of the 17th century, and we have been able to name inhabitants of the settlement as far back as the beginning of the 19th century.

One fascinating key person is Hjalmar, with whom we have become acquainted through his grandson Bo. In 1883, when Hjalmar was eight years old, he, his father and siblings left Grisavad a short time after his mother and grandmother had died. A hussar and his family inhabited the croft until 1899. In 1912 Hjalmar visited Grisavad for the first time since his childhood days; by then the buildings were already in ruins. The next and last time that Hjalmar visited Grisavad was in 1949. He then brought along his grandson Bo, and took the opportunity to tell stories about people and happenings in his youth. Amongst the tales there is one of young Hjalmar being sent to the grocer's to buy 'caggamom' (cardamom); when the milk jar was smashed and his mother burst into tears; how his father laid the stone fences 'in the moonlight'; and how the inhabitants enjoyed the joke that they were more up-to-date than the people of the nearby croft of Stadia Svens – 'Grisavad was located a little closer to Paris'.

The idea of a restricted and therefore careful, trial excavation was that we would return at a later stage and do a final excavation and gather source material. However, according to the County Administration Board this was not a case for statutory supervision, and the final investigation was never executed.

Värsjö

The other site, which was approved for both trial and final excavations, was situated some 8 km further to the north-east (Figure 3, Knarrström 2004a). The settlement was located on the outlands of the hamlet of Värsjö, on high ground with nearby wetlands. The area undergoing development ran just south of the still visible remains of the dwelling – in the shape of a large stone cellar – and the excavations therefore mainly concerned the infields and closest outland of the croft. The settlement as a whole was badly damaged by the crude harrowing and

the plantation of young spruces.

We took the opportunity to map all the visible remains of the settlement, such as buildings, cellars, traces of enclosures, wells, cairns, pits and roads. What we actually investigated and documented within the area was traces of charcoal stacks, tar pits, cairns, cultivated land and terraces, and various types of stone fences. Besides that, we also worked our way through a layer that probably represents a big outbuilding, and gathered a large amount of finds. Amongst the artefacts were horseshoe nails, fittings and clasps of iron, fragments of red earthenware, stoneware and faience, and glass from windows and vessels. There was also a striking amount of metal buttons, a glass lens, a tiny casting mould, flints and details of metals from rifles.

The finds gave the impression that the dwelling had been inhabited at least during the period the 18th to the mid-19th century; but the land might thereafter still have been used for grazing or harvesting hay. The structures on the site seemed solid and the land quite large – measuring some 13 000 m² – showing intriguing differences in strategies for cultivation and outland use. Within the settlement, space seemed to be ordered separately for humans, animals, cultivation and other production. This in turn indicates patterns of movement and daily social life.

On the same occasion, a site just 150 metres further to the north-east across a small wetland was investigated (Figure 4, Knarrström 2004b). It contained a stone fence and a road, a couple of charcoal layers from stacks and some thirty clearance cairns, all rather plain and small. However, one of the cairns was slightly larger and more compact, and a closer look showed it to be the remains of a stone-built fireplace. As we uncovered the adjacent ground we also discovered parts of sill stones and wood, fragments of floor layers, a stone-paved porch and a large number of finds similar to the ones gathered from the nearby settlement. At that time, the excavations were at a closing stage and hence the survey and documentation of this house was hasty and superficial. Yet, we managed to obtain a picture of the general layout and through the set of finds also estimate the dating to the period from the 18th to the mid-19th century. The settlement extended over some 600 m². The impression is that we were dealing with some kind of supplementary dwelling to the nearby croft, possibly a habitation for relatives or rural labourers.

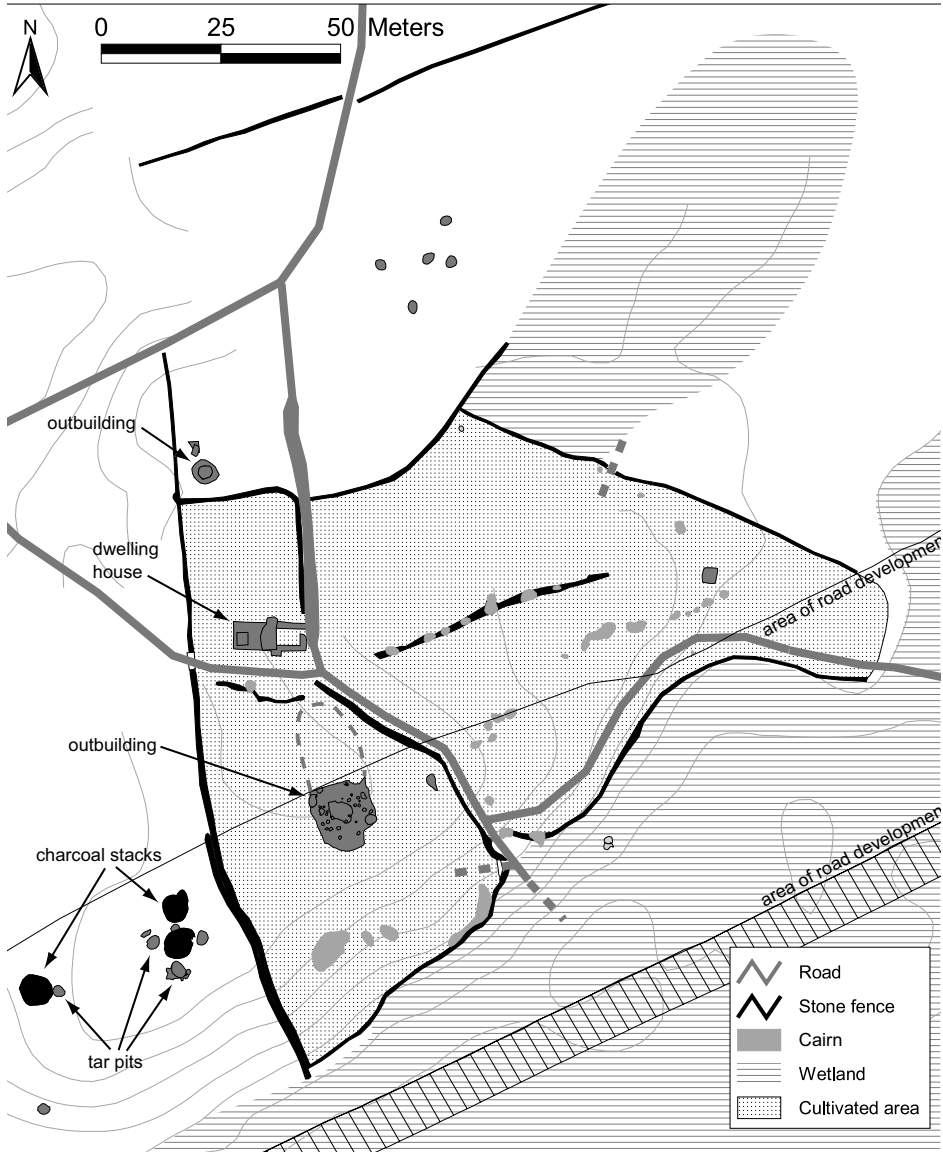


Figure 3. The Värnsjö main settlement

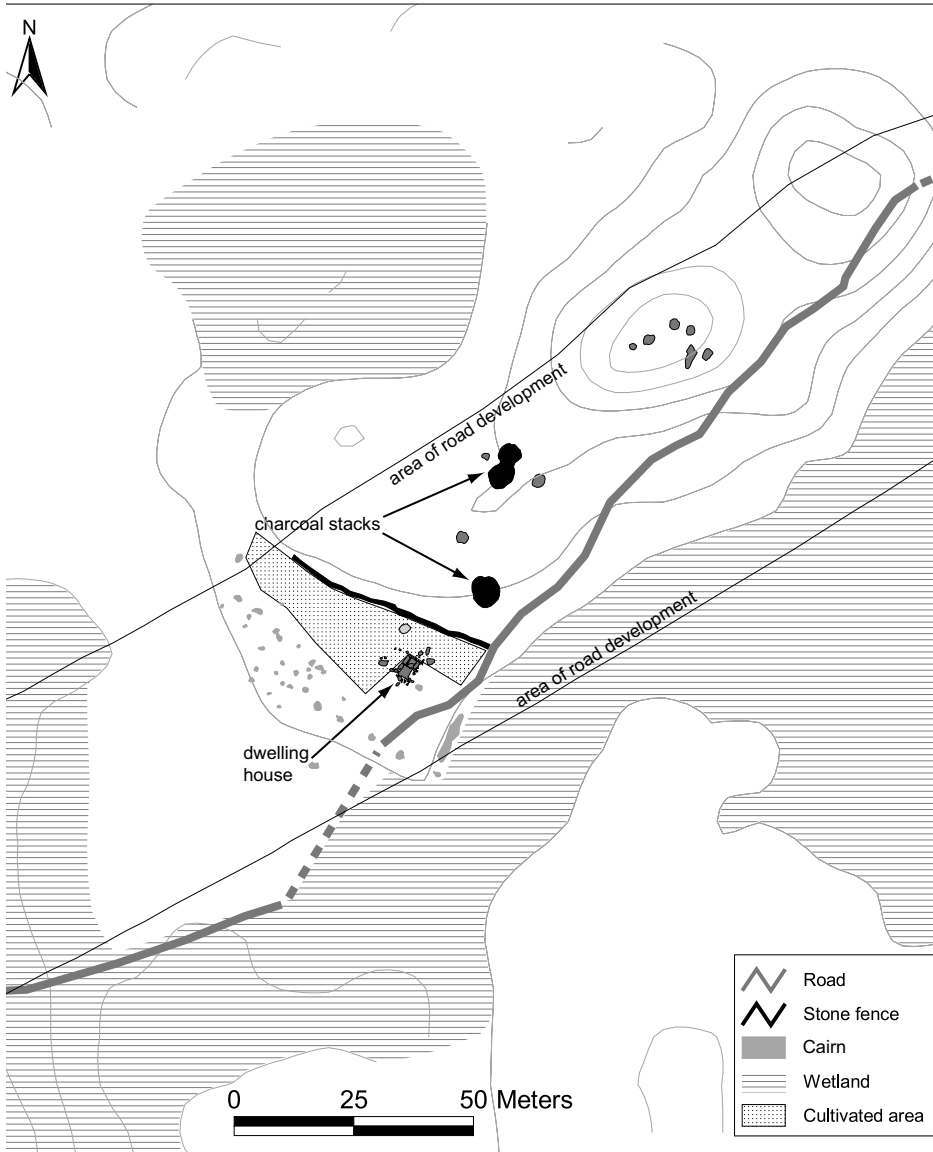


Figure 4. The Värnsjö supplementary settlement

Unlimited archaeology to include crofts

The archaeological investigation of the three dwellings revealed the extent of varied circumstances that are generally hidden in the term croft. The Vårsjö croft could be dated at least as far back as the 18th century, and displayed fairly large and well-structured buildings and land, plus activities of an ancillary nature. Besides, we also saw connections with a nearby supplementary dwelling, quite possibly a sign of some social ranking arrangements. The Grisavad croft could be securely dated to the 19th century. The settlement seemed far more modest in terms of material culture, judging by the buildings and land. On the other hand, as we are dealing with far richer historical and traditional source materials, it can provide more detailed perspectives on the dwelling and its inhabitants.

The basic analysis and compilation of the source material was completed in 2004, and I suppose it will be followed by thorough scholarly studies. Because these kinds of sites are seldom subject to rescue archaeology, both methods and possibilities, such as application and facts, are still slightly vague. We also have to consider to what extent archaeology is a relevant way of working with settlements from later historical times. The analyses of the sites will focus on, for example, cultivation and fencing, the ancillary pursuits and use of resources, local and regional patterns of communication, building customs and the organisation of settlements and people.

Bearing in mind the confusing antiquarian and legal perspective on these types of remains, we aim to contribute to their display and problematisation from an archaeological point of view. Hence, the support of an actual increase of archaeological knowledge will expose the research potentials of later historical remains in general. There are no signs of any benefits to be made by avoiding excavations of later historical sites – on the contrary, we lose the long-term perspective and natural abilities to attach to our past. There are at present no signs of these cases becoming less common in the antiquarian process. In this development, the interdisciplinary approach is highly appreciated and comes naturally, as the range of source materials is maximised. Without further attempts and re-evaluations, we cannot impose limits to how close to our own times archaeological method and theory are and should be relevant and applicable, without a substantial loss of credibility.

Acknowledgements

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Medieval iron production, surplus and subsistence economy: A case study from Østerdalen, East-Norway

Ole Risbøl

Introduction

Some major archaeological projects have been carried out in outfield areas in Norway, revealing the versatile history of large, non-agrarian areas in forests and mountains. The significance of the outfield as a part of the subsistence economy in peripheral communities has been brought into focus.

In the period 1999–2002 archaeologists from The Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research (NIKU) were surveying a certain part of Østerdalen called Gråfjell for cultural features. A total of 230 km² were covered and approximately 3000 cultural features recorded (Risbøl 2005). The Gråfjell area can be described as a forested outfield with extensive bog areas with small lakes and rivers located at 300–1000 meters above sea level. The southernmost part is characterized by dense coniferous forest alternating with open pine forest, while the forest is sparse in the northern part where mountainous birch and spacious bog areas dominate. About 10 summer farms and the bulk of the other cultural features are situated in the southern part of Gråfjell. The area is situated in Åmot, a municipality in the southern part of Østerdalen in Hedmark County, on latitude with Malung municipality, Dalarna County in Sweden (Figure 1). The survey project was followed by an excavation project in the years 2003–2006 under the auspices of The University Museum of Cultural Heritage in Oslo.

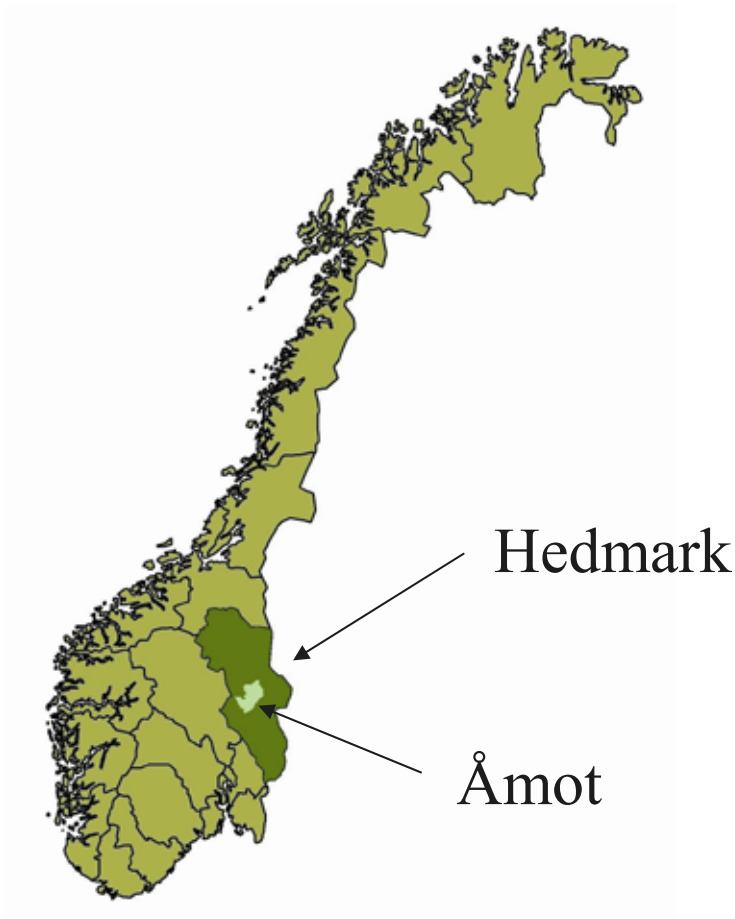


Figure 1. Map showing the location of Åmot Municipality in Hedmark County in southeast Norway

This paper deals mainly with iron production in the Viking and Middle Ages. Questions concerning production, social organization and economy are discussed, emphasizing the surplus production, how this production was organized and the related socio-economic circumstances. This is presented together with brief analyses of local property rights and social organization. The paper was originally prepared after the survey project and the conclusions are mainly based on knowledge status previous to the excavations. The comprehensive excavation project in Gråfjell has obviously contributed with results of vital interest of the issues dealt with in this paper but will only be referred to briefly in this context.

Medieval iron production

The systematic survey of the area has uncovered a great number of cultural features which demonstrate a versatile and intensive usage of the outfield (Risbøl et al. 2000, 2001, 2002a, 2002b). The features represent a wide time span covering prehistoric and historic times with Mesolithic Stone Age sites as the oldest and early 20th century constructions for floating timber among the youngest. Pit-falls for trapping elk, constructions for tar production and other constructions indicating different exploitation of outfield resources have been found. Within the area we have no clear archaeological evidence of prehistoric permanent settlements, and only one inhabited farm lying in the fringe of the area was in use until recently.

Iron production was beyond all doubt the most dominant activity in the area. A combined total of almost 3000 features were recorded, 1862 of which are associated with iron extraction activities in the late Viking Age and early Middle Ages. Several similar iron production sites were excavated in the middle of the 1990s in Rødsmoen, a neighbouring area just across the river Rena. According to the results from these excavations and the Gråfjell survey and excavation projects, there is no difference between the two iron extraction site areas with regard to dating. Both were in use in the late Viking Age and early Middle Ages. Typical for both areas is the fact that adjacent charcoal pits lie scattered around each site in a distance of up to 600 meters. It is a general problem that the density of the extraction sites makes it difficult to distinguish which pits belong to which site. But in some areas only one extraction site with charcoal pits is found, and this gives a clearer picture of the situation, indicating that the number of pits belonging to each site probably is between 10 and 15 (Figure 2). In addition to slag heaps and charcoal pits, some sites where the bog ore was roasted were also found.

Excavations of smithies at Rødsmoen showed that the whole bloomery process was not restricted to the production of iron, but to some extent also included forging of the iron produced here (Narmo 1997: 145–163). The blooms were probably further prepared before the iron was brought out of the area, and in this respect, a depot of iron bars found some 50 years ago near Osensjøen just outside our area of investigation is interesting. These bars were dated to the Middle Ages and the findings consisted of 11 semi-manufactured articles formed as spear points, arrow heads and knives (Oldsaksamlingen's Main Inventory Catalogue nr. C. 29250 a–k.). Some slag findings in the Gråfjell area were initially interpreted as smithies like those from Rødsmoen by the survey project but was later disproved by excavation and re-interpreted as ordinary extraction sites.

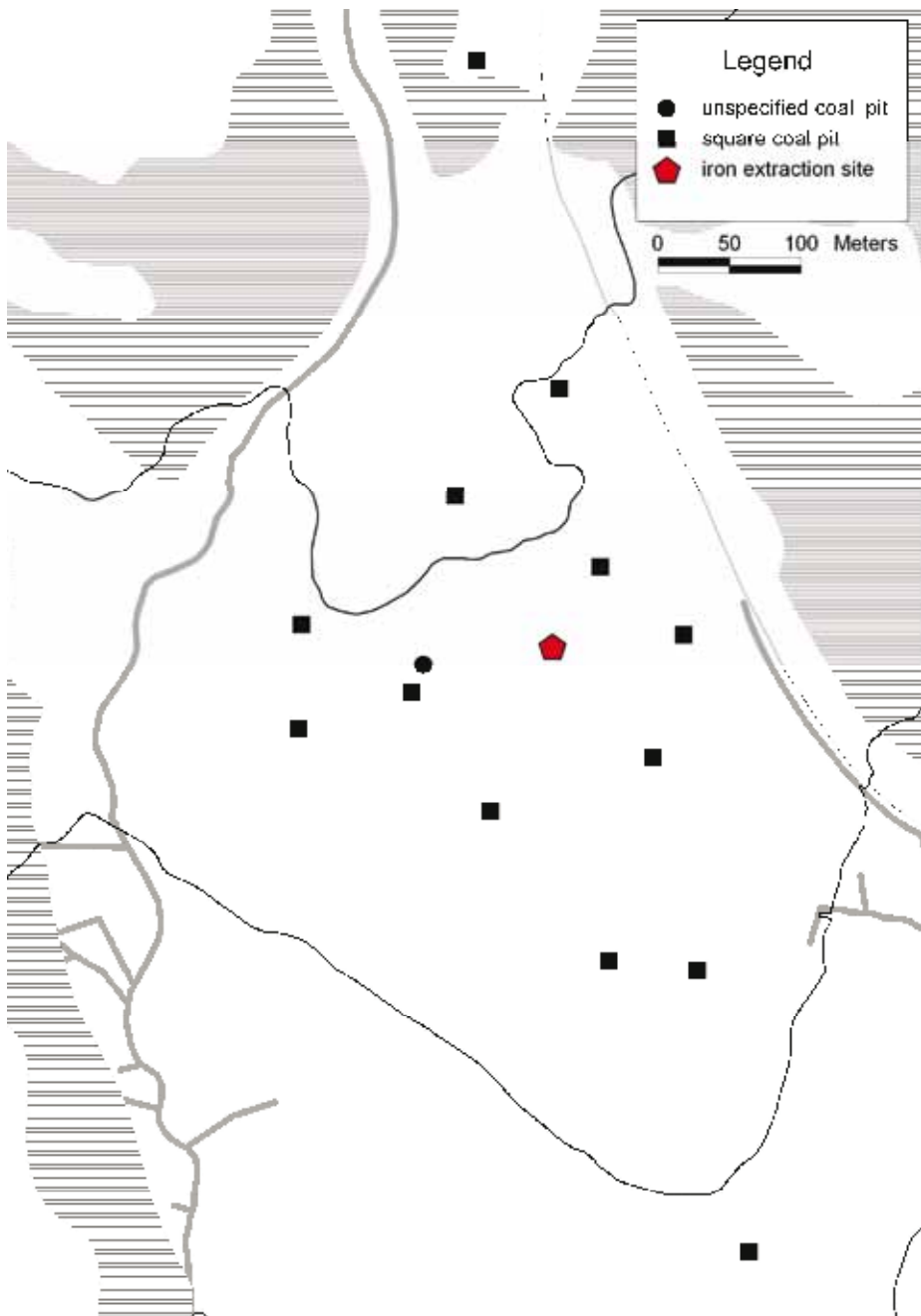


Figure 2. A single iron extraction site (Id. No. 24478) with adjacent charcoal pits

One may conclude that the iron production in the Rødsmoen and Gråfjell area has been comprehensive, including all links in the process of iron production from extracting and roasting the ore, producing the iron, and in some cases preparing iron bars or even semi-manufactured articles.

Datings

The resources in the area have been exploited more or less continuously since Mesolithic times, but how and to what extent varies from one period to another. It seems obvious that the time of iron production stands out as a period when the exploitation activity must be described as particularly intensive. During the comprehensive archaeological excavations carried out at Rødsmoen several iron extraction sites and charcoal pits were dated, showing that the vast iron production took place in a period restricted to approximately 300 years, from AD 950–1250/1300 (Narmo 1997: 116, 123). This dating frame is proven to be the same in the Gråfjell area (Rundberget 2007: 321). Thus the period of intensive iron production seems to be limited to an approximately 300-year period from the middle of the 10th century into the mid- or late 13th century. A limited iron production started centuries before this, but during these 300 years, the production was carried out on such a scale that one may speak of a surplus production. This was already established through calculations made by the Rødsmoen project (Narmo 1997: 131) and has now been confirmed by the results from the Gråfjell project (Risbøl 2005: 19, Rundberget 2007: 356–358).

This period, AD 950–1250/1300, was a period of great changes in the Norwegian society with the Christianization process, the formation of towns and the establishment of royal power being among the most important. These are all matters of great significance when the background for the intensive iron production is to be understood. But the size of the production is one matter; relating the production to the local society in the current period is another.

The local society

As a point of departure for analyzing questions concerning how the iron production was organized, I will start with the local level. What do we know about local settlement in this area in the Viking Age and early medieval period? As mentioned earlier, we have no clear evidence of permanent settlement from this period within our area of investigation.

The late Viking Age and early Middle Ages are normally described as periods

of population growth and expansion. Based on findings and farm names this situation is more clearly apparent in this region than anywhere else (Bergstøl 1997: 83–85, Narmo 2000: 114, Sørensen 1979: 76). Indications of Iron Age settlement in the region before the Viking Age are very scarce. There are some objects, features and datings from the early Iron Age, but they are few and of a different kind compared to those in good extensive farming areas elsewhere in the county. It seems that the late Iron Age is a period of expansion as in other regions, but in Åmot this expansion stands out more clearly due to the small number of traces of earlier settlement.

In the Rena river valley we have datings from two clusters of farms, Deset and Løset, which go back to the late Iron Age (Figure 3). No findings are known from the farms at Deset. There are just a couple of grave mounds which most likely can be dated to the Viking Age like the majority of grave mounds in Åmot. A sword and a spearhead from the mid-9th century were found at Løset, and these are the only archaeological evidences indicating settlement near the Gråfjell area in this period. Also, judged by the farm names, these *-set* farms are the only ones in the vicinity of Gråfjell which were cleared in pre-Christian times (Harsson 2000: 9–10).

The farm Rødseter is a third farm that might have been cleared before the large-scale iron production began. Farm names compounded with Rød (*-rud*) are usually dated to early medieval times, but the simple name Rød might have been in use before the 10th century (Stemshaug 1985: 114). Pollen analysis indicating cereal farming in the 8th century near Deisjøen, not far from Rødseter, indicates that settlement might go back to the late Iron Age in this part of the area (Solem 2003: 27). The farm name and written sources show that Rødseter originally was a summer mountain farm which later, in the beginning of 19th century, became an ordinary farm (Lillevold 1971: 389). The farm was moved here from Rødsmoen where the historic and present Rød farms are situated. Near the Rødseter farm many clearance cairns and house sites were found and documented by the survey project. No grave mounds or findings are known from Rød or Rødseter, but the results from the recent excavations of clearance cairns and house sites carried out at Rødseter show that the area was taken into use in pre-Christian times (Amundsen 2007: 275–280). It has been documented that the area was cleared and grazed from the transition between the 8th and 9th century AD. Clear dwelling sites are first proven from the 14th century but the existence of buildings on the site in the Viking age is not rejected (Amundsen 2007: 276, 279). Most likely Rødseter was a summer farm initially and became a farm during the late Middle Ages (Amundsen 2007: 285). However, this does not exclude the presence of a pre-historic Rød-farm in the vicinity.

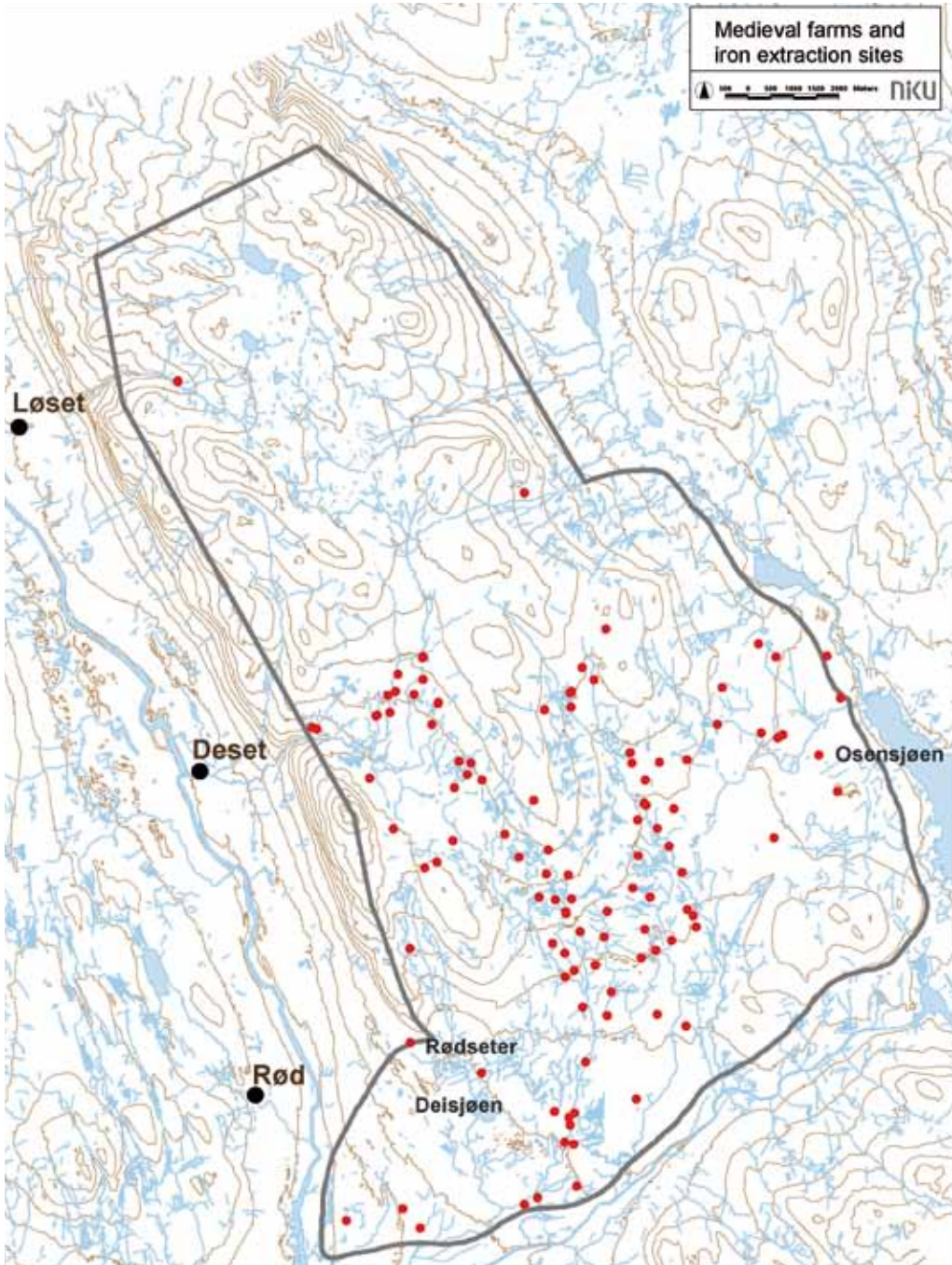


Figure 3. Map showing the known farms/clusters of farms in use in medieval times in the region. The dots indicate iron extraction sites

If Rød/Rødseter is older than written sources indicate and dates back to the Viking Age and Middle Ages we are dealing with three known farms or clusters of farms adjacent to the Gråfjell area in the iron production period. We have no other sure evidence for prehistoric or early medieval settlement in the nearest area surrounding Gråfjell. It is important to underline the well-known fact that the distribution and number of graves or grave finds are not reliable indicators of the extent of contemporary settlements. However, there is reason to believe that the settlement in the Gråfjell area was restricted to few farms in the Viking Age and early medieval times. The medieval settlement in Åmot has also been analyzed on the basis of written sources, mainly taxation and property records. Deset, Løset and Rød are the only three farms or clusters of farms in this part of the Rena valley that are mentioned in these early sources (Sørensen 1999: 93–94).

The common

To understand how the outfield was used with regard to the production of iron is of vital interest. We have to examine the situation concerning property rights and land-use in the period of topical interest. Today the proprietary right in the outfield is strictly regulated by property lines. This, however, is a quite recent phenomenon since these areas used to be common land like outfield areas elsewhere in Norway in earlier times. According to the Norwegian Frostating law from the 13th century anyone could clear a summer farm or a regular farm in these commons. The Gulating law furthermore points out that this is an ancient custom (Reinton 1961: 206–207). King Håkon VI's Civil Procedures' Act from 1358 which was in force in Østerdalen proclaims that iron production can be carried out in common areas as before by anyone who wants to (Diplomatarium Norvegicum VI: 238) showing that this was a customary practice at that time. In the middle of the 14th century, however, iron production had been shut down for a century, and the Civil Procedures' Act may be seen as an attempt by the King to revive the production (Narmo 2000: 159).

It seems that the right to use and administer the commons was left to the local users to a large degree. The central power first shows interest in claiming the exclusive ownership to common areas as late as in the 17th century while royal interest prior to this first and foremost was concentrated on demanding land rent of new farms cleared in the commons and of stating the common right of use to these areas (Reinton 1961: 208, 211).

In Åmot this transition from common land to exclusive private property seems to have taken place in the very beginning of the 19th century. Written sources tell about quite a few conflicts and trials concerning rights to the common areas at

that time (Lillevoold 1973: 74–89). The problems probably lead to the regulation and privatization of the commons. Historical maps from the first decades of the 19th century show us for the first time a division of the Gråfjell outfield area into three major subdivisions belonging respectively to Løset, Deset and probably Rød (STH Juell 14 & 282 in Fladby 1979: 212). There is reason to believe that these borders were drawn along lines which to some extent reflect the traditional and historic use of common land by these farms. I shall try to explain this: In the period of iron production we must assume that the outfield where this production was carried out was common land in shared use by the farmers in the area. In Åmot these areas are very extensive, and even though it was joint land, most likely the farmers used the outfield areas lying closest to their own farms. A similar use of outfield areas is known elsewhere in Åmot, indicating that hunting, fishing, production of iron and so on was a regular part of the farm economy in this region. The abundant resources in the endless forests gave no reason to set out too far from the farm. Not until the growing population in the 17th or 18th century led to pressure on these areas did it become necessary and desirable for the users to claim formal rights to the outfield. Probably the Gråfjell area was first and foremost used by the nearest local farms in late Viking Age and medieval times.

The production

One can ask if specialists were involved in the production. Lack of written sources mentioning iron production as a specialized occupation speaks against this. The involvement of specialists also presupposes permanent or semi-permanent dwellings on the extraction sites or somewhere else outside the known farm sites. Dwellings are found near some of the extraction sites, but these are small and with thin cultural layers indicating only short stays (Rundberget 2007: 350, 356). At the summer farm premise Deset Østseter a few of the dwellings sites excavated turned out to be contemporary with the iron production and there might be a connection between these dwellings and iron production or elk catching activities (Amundsen 2007: 285). But all things considered we do not have clear and extensive evidences of some kind of permanent iron production related settlement outside the known clusters of farms.

The scale of production is of crucial interest, namely whether the production was on such a big scale that it excluded the possibility of a production carried out by local farmers only, or whether it was of such a complexity and extent that it required the involvement of specialized producers. Calculations made after the excavations at Rødsmoen stated that the production exceeded the local needs to a great extent (Narmo 1997: 131).

The need for iron in the Viking Age and Middle Ages has been estimated to be 1 kg per farm per year (Narmo 1996: 148–149 with references). The number of farms in the Åmot municipality during the early Middle Ages was between 70 and 80 (Narmo 1997: 131, Sørensen 1999: 95). Consequently, there was enough iron to meet the need of the farms in the whole of Åmot many times since the production on each site usually comprise several tons of iron. The result of the excavation project fully supports the contention that the production in this region was a surplus production that to a very high degree exceeded the local needs. Furthermore it is worth mentioning that the extraction sites at Rødsmoen and Gråfjell only constitute a minor part of the total amount of such sites in Åmot. Many similar extraction sites have been recorded elsewhere in the region.

Only a few tests have been made to calculate the time used in producing iron. This makes it difficult to transform the quantity of iron production into labour hours. As mentioned above we assume that at least three clusters of farms with a total of up to at least seven farms used this outfield area in the period of interest. Nuclear or stem families seem to have been the common way of living on farms in the medieval period (Svensson 1998: 174–176), with households consisting of approximately 5–7 persons (Magnusson 1986: 289). The labour force needed to carry out the iron production consisted of two or three persons, and we must assume that this was done within a family or in community by the farmers (Svensson 1998: 180). The preliminary production calculations from Gråfjell presented by Rundberget (2007: 352, table 59) seem not to exclude the theory about local producers when one takes into consideration that the large figures are the result of at least 300 years of production.

As mentioned above there are no written sources describing iron bloomery as a craft carried out by specialists (Magnusson 1986: 281–282). In the northern part of Värmland, a region with quite a lot of the same features as Åmot, the production seems to have been an integrated part of the subsistence economy of local farmers (Svensson 1998: 172–174). The production was probably integrated in an annual cycle as described by Magnusson where all steps in the iron production were adjusted to all the other tasks characteristic of the life of a farmer in historic time (Magnusson 1986: 281–283). Even though the production in the Gråfjell area was huge, there is so far no reason to believe that it was not carried out by local farmers. Nor do we have any evidence of a controlling central power directly involved in the production of iron. Furthermore these sites have no dwelling units of more permanent character in contrast to what was customary on iron production sites in other regions with a vast production such as Møsvatn in Telemark (Martens 1988) and Dokkfloy in Oppland (Narmo 1996). The small dwellings found on some of the extraction sites in the Gråfjell area indicate short stays by few people and might just have been simple lodgings used by the local

farmers when working in the outfield far from the farms. Such small lodgings are known from later periods where they were used by farmers producing charcoal for iron works.

The producers and the market

Iron must have been a sought-after merchandise in a society with a growing population, the development of a state and the foundation of towns. Findings of iron from settlements show that the amount of iron is tripled from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages (Magnusson 1998: 29). The exchange systems of pagan times were developed further in the Viking and Middle Ages to include long-distance trade as well as trade with bulk goods. The emerging kingdom and the founding of towns and market places played a central role in this development.

Some resources were adequate in forest regions while agricultural goods of vital importance for living here were scarce. Exchanging iron and other outfield products for grain and other commodities required certain trade and exchange systems. As mentioned above we have indications that the local iron handling included the production of semi-manufactured articles. How the exchange was organized, which way the flow of iron went etc. we know little about. But if we look at a broader geographical area some clues can help in throwing light on this question. Hamar, some 60 km southwest of Åmot, is the nearest medieval town. Coins were issued here by King Harald Hardråde from the middle of the 11th century, and royal power seems to be very central in the development of Hamar as a *kaupang* – a trading centre. Findings indicate that the Hamar kaupang might date back to the 10th century (Sæther 1992). Hamar played a significant role in trade from the early Middle Ages, and an episcopal see was established here in 1152/53. As a royal centre in the 10th to the 12th centuries this town must have been integrated in both national and perhaps also international trade.

Between Åmot and Hamar we find the modern town of Elverum, situated where the forested areas of Østerdalen meet the good extensive farming area Hedemarken between Glomma and Lake Mjøsa. Here the historically well-known seasonal market at Grundset was held for centuries, from at least the 16th century to the very beginning of the 20th century. This annual seasonal market held in the wintertime was attended by people from the whole of Eastern Norway and Trøndelag (Finne-Grønn 1921: 266-278). The rise of this market in the middle of the 16th century is probably associated with the collapse of the Hamar kaupang which fell into disuse both because of the Reformation and because of war at that time (Finne-Grønn 1921: 269). The Grundset market has a possible predecessor in a nearby site called Torge. We do not know for sure if this was a

market site and if so – how old it is. But the place name indicates that trade took place at this site and that it might go back to prehistoric time (Finne-Grønn 1921: 266, Østmo 2000: 55). Both of these markets were located at strategically important meeting places between two regions where people from the forests and the valleys traded and exchanged their products with farmers from Hedemarken who brought grain and other kind of goods. This is known from historic times.

There is reason to ask if Torge played a role in the trade with iron produced in Østerdalen in the late Viking Age and early medieval times. Perhaps iron was brought to this regional market place along with other commodities and exchanged for agricultural goods with farmers from the extensive agricultural areas? In this respect it is also of interest to observe the difference in social organization in these two different ecological zones in the late Viking Age. In Østerdalen burials that indicate people of high social rank or position are not found (Sørensen 1979: 88). In Hedemarken, on the other hand, several rich equestrian burials are found in the area around Hamar, the bulk of which dates to the late 10th and early 11th centuries (Braathen 1989: 101, 136, Risbøl 1997: 17–20). Rich smiths' graves are also found in this region (Martens 2002: 175). Whether these burials represent a kind of 'middlemen' involved in trade is difficult to say, but many of the equestrian as well as the smiths' graves include scales and weights, and we have an interesting combination of high status, iron handling and trade. The concentration of iron bar deposits in this area might contribute to underline this although the datings of these are uncertain (Resi 1995: 136, Figure 2).

Another ancient market place was situated at Koppang 40 km north of Åmot. Besides the place name *Koppang* which means kaupang, indicating a market place probably dating back to the Iron Age, we know very little about this place (Sørensen 1975: 40–41). Perhaps Koppang played a role in trade and exchange between people from Østerdalen and people from the Trøndelag area further north?

The decline of iron production

According to datings iron production seems to decline and end quite suddenly during the last half of the 13th century. The role of iron production in the subsistence economy of the local farmers was probably so significant that this decline must have been experienced as some kind of a crisis. Changes in the market because of an increased Swedish iron production could be one reason for the end of the production. In Sweden, mining and blast furnaces were put into use in the 12th century (Magnusson 2001: 365). This efficient mode of production must have influenced the production and the market in areas outside Sweden and perhaps especially the nearby neighbouring production areas. An alternative

Conclusion

Compared to many other areas, population has always been scanty in this part of the country. The climate and natural topography in the region differ from other agricultural regions, and this is reflected in the way of living and the basis of subsistence. The daily life of people living in forest regions differed from that of other farmers' lives due to the versatile subsistence economy which included a wide range of activities in connection with the exploitation of the outfield in addition to agriculture. Resources from the outfield were in some areas of greater importance than ordinary farming (Holm 2002: 70, Martens 1989: 75). Historically the outfield was important to farms in general in Norway, but in some regions this was a more crucial factor than in others. In this region the numbers of farms were doubled from the Viking Age to the High Middle Ages (Sørensen 1999: 96), and there seem to be a connection between a growing population in the early Middle Ages and the intensifying of the outfield production in these interior valleys. In the Gråfjell area this means first and foremost an increased iron production. The emergence of the Norwegian state during this period – the so-called Civil War period – may among other factors provide an explanation for the increased importance of iron production at this time.

To what extent iron production and other outfield resources constituted a crucial part of the subsistence economy varied from one region or ecological zone to another. We have indications of minor communities which were almost totally reliant on iron production. A written source from 1804 mentions a regional co-operative society called Tomsseter in Ringsaker, a forested outfield area between Åmot and Hamar, where a now vanished community was almost exclusively occupied with bloomery in the period prior to the Black Death (Røhnebæk 1995: 22). In forest regions like Åmot, iron production seems to have been a very important part of the economy in the Middle Ages. The production made it possible to acquire grain and perhaps prestigious goods. At the same time, this exchange system ensured supplies of this vital metal to areas with no iron production.

A marginal society with an increasing population and a complex subsistence economy in the 10th to the 13th century has been outlined. This local society was an integrated part of a rapidly changing greater society which at the same time had the capability of managing to adapt their mode of production to current changes. Agriculture was the foundation, but due to the marginal (in agricultural terms) geographic situation, the resources in the outfield played a crucial role in people's lives in areas like this. For 300 years iron played this role, a role succeeded by cattle and later by forestry.

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Palaeogeographical evidence of an advance of the peripheral zone of agriculture in Eastern and Northern Europe

Sergei Savchik, Valentina Zernitskaya & Galina Simakova

Introduction

The term ‘periphery’, related to the agricultural development, may be referred to the areas, situated on the edge of relatively advanced agricultural communities and simultaneously hosting the population, which practices more retarded agricultural techniques and methods in comparison with more advanced neighbours. In general, the environmental conditions in Eastern, and especially in Northern Europe were not favourable for the arable agriculture, if compared with Southern and Central Europe. This was one of the major reasons of a delay in the development of agricultural and other productive economies in the Eastern and Northern Europe in Neolithic and subsequent periods. An appearance and gradual northward advance of cereal farming in high-latitude areas of Europe had coexisted for a long time with the gathering economy. Also, agricultural techniques in Neolithic, Bronze, and Iron Ages in the region had possessed for a long time primitive features, and, in some northernmost areas, have acquired neither spatial nor economical importance up to now. Therefore, it is possible to assume, that every area of the Eastern and Northern Europe has been the peripheral zone of the agricultural economy at different stretches of the time.

Several criteria may be assumed while considering the ‘peripheral’ and ‘non-peripheral’ features of the agricultural economy of ancient societies. The peripheral agriculture does not play a predominant role in the economy, and does not influence significantly the way of life of human communities within large areas. The end of the ‘peripheral stage’ of agriculture occurs when the

population depends on the agriculture more than on other means of production and gathering. The authors of the paper made an attempt to summarize the data on the development of 'peripheral' arable agriculture and its transition into the 'non-peripheral' one in Eastern and Northern Europe, and to outline the spatial and temporal frames of such a development.

Important stages in development of early agriculture

The early arable agriculture in Eastern and Northern Europe went through several major stages, marking both, intensity of agricultural production and its importance for ancient societies. These stages are described below in the following order: (1) introduction (appearance) of cereal farming; (2) development of primitive agriculture, introduction of ploughing, appearance and distribution of rather developed cereal farming; (3) the end of the 'peripheral' agriculture, and transition to the large-scale arable agriculture.

Introduction (appearance) of cereal farming

This first stage is characterized by small-scale occurrence, cultivation without ploughing, and the use of the most favourable and fertile areas. *Palaeogeographical* and *archaeological records*, supporting the beginning and development of this first stage include an appearance of *Cerealia* pollen in the pollen spectra, findings of *Cerealia* grain prints and remains in the earthenware. These records are clearly enough pointing on an introduction of agriculture. The *palaeogeographical methods*, allowing to detect first signs of plant cultivation are usually limited by pollen analysis, that is considered to be quite effective for this purpose. The only difficulty lies in an assumption, that relatively small early crop fields were scattered within large areas covered with natural vegetation. Therefore there should be 2 000 and more pollen grains in a sample in order to find single *Cerealia* pollen grains (Hicks 1997). But in turn, an occasional presence of cereal pollen in a sample with relatively small total amount of pollen would definitely support an existence of plant cultivation.

Based on the results of a number of studies, the chronological (in uncalibrated radiocarbon years) and spatial advance of the first stage of peripheral agriculture in the Region may be represented as the following (Figure 1):

- 8000-7000 BP – Western Ukraine (Kremenetskii 1991).
- 7000-6000 BP – South-Eastern Poland (Bałaga 1982), South-Western Belarus, North-Western Ukraine (Zernitskaya et al. 2001), Polish Silesia, Polish Lowland (Nowak 1999);

- 6000-5000 BP – Central Belarus (Zernitskaya et al. 2001), Latvia (Vasks et al. 1999), Lithuania (Stanikaite 2000), Estonia (Poska 2001), Southern Sweden (Regnéll 1989);
- 5000-4000 BP – Southern Norway (Henningsmoen 1980), Northern Belarus (Zernitskaya et al. 2001), Western Russia (Novgorod area, Königsson et al. 1997);
- 4000-3000 BP – Southern Finland (Vuorela 1999, Zvelebil 1993);
- 3000-2000 BP – Northern Norway and Middle Sweden (Eriksson 1991);
- and < 2000 BP (< AD 1) North-Western Russia (near Lake Ladoga, Vuorela 1999).

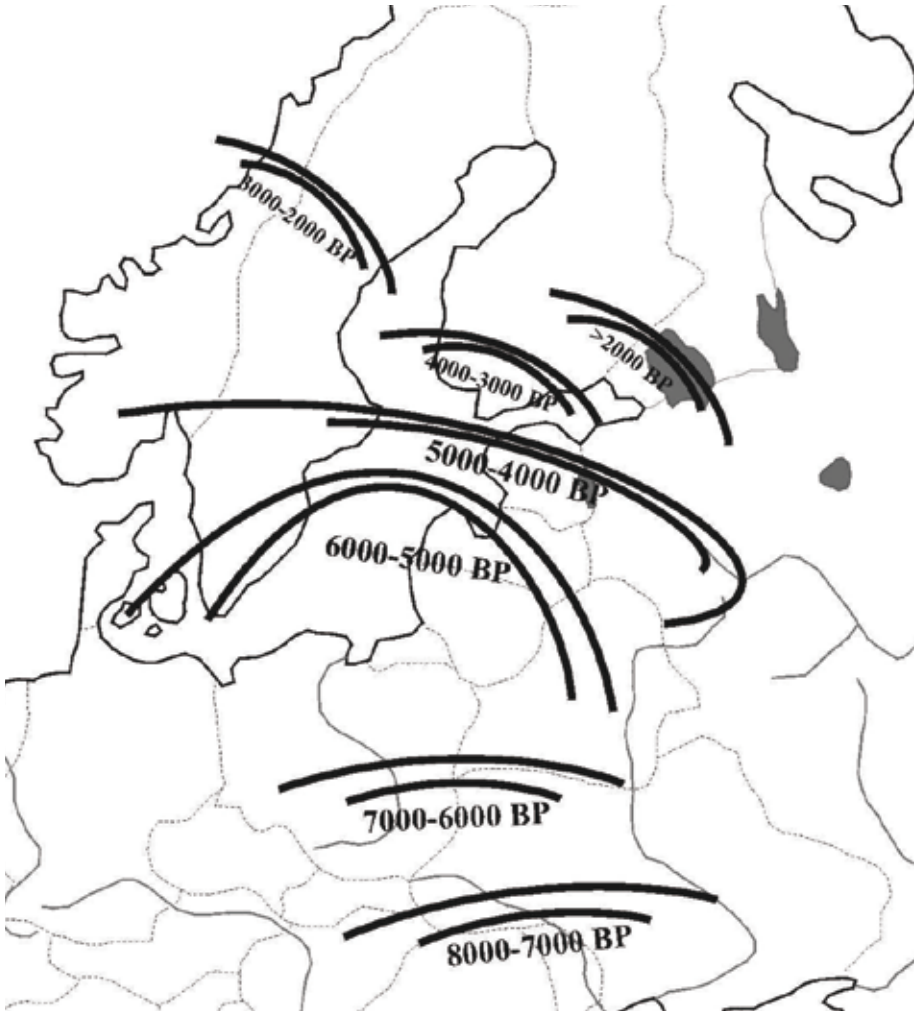


Figure 1. Temporal and spatial advance of the initial phase of peripheral agriculture in Eastern and Northern Europe (appearance of cereal farming, uncalibrated radiocarbon years)

Development of primitive agriculture, introduction of ploughing, appearance and distribution of rather developed cereal farming

This second stage is characterized by spatial expansion of farming after its appearance, by forest clearance, agricultural colonization of watershed areas, but the agricultural landscapes still do not play a significant role in the landscape pattern of large territories; they may be the dominating landscape type only within small areas. The arable farming still possesses the 'peripheral' features. *Palaeogeographical* and *archaeological records* include rise of *Cerealia* pollen curve in the pollen spectra, an appearance of the pollen of indicators of cultivated land (specific weeds), findings of primitive ploughs and plows. These indicators sometimes are not clear and lead to the doubtful conclusions. Findings of the tools, especially in the beginning, are rather rare, and shifts in pollen curves may be conditioned by climatic, hydrological causes, and by migrations of ancient tribes.

The *palaeogeographical methods*, which are used to determine the time span of moderately developed arable farming, include mostly palynological studies. First significant rises of pollen curves of cultivated land indicators (both cultural and weed species) may be considered to mark the beginning of the second stage. The end of the stage is marked by the even more significant and steady rise of the curves of land cultivation indicators in pollen diagrams. Timing of the second stage of agricultural development within different parts of the region is based on the approximate estimation of time between the starting point and the end of this stage. Thus, the chronological and spatial advance of the second stage of peripheral agriculture may be suggested as the following:

- from 6000 to 1000 BP – Poland;
- from 5000–4000 BP to 1000–500 BP – most of the territory of Belarus and the central part of Western Russia, i.e. the area near Moscow;
- from 3000–2000 BP to 500–300 BP – North-Eastern Baltic Region and Southern Scandinavia;
- 2000–100 BP – Central Scandinavia and Finland.

The end of the peripheral agriculture, and transition to the large-scale arable agriculture

This stage is characterized by mass colonization of watershed areas, large-scale clearance and burning of forests. Arable farming turns to be the economical mainstay. *Palaeogeographical* and *geological records* include an abrupt and steady rise of the curves of pollen of the both cultivated and weed plants in the pollen spectra; an accumulation of the specific floodplain and lacustrine deposits, which are considered to be the response of landscape processes (facilitation of erosion) on the large-scale

agricultural development. *Palaeogeographical methods*, making it possible to reveal the large-scale human-induced landscape alterations include palynological studies, as well as lithological and geochemical analysis. The rise of curves of cultural and weed plant pollen in pollen diagrams may not always be referred to as the definite evidence of drastic changes in the landscape pattern. This may be conditioned by climate change, periods of decline of local economies, and by migration of population. The permanent and definite rise of the pollen curves, indicating changes in the landscape pattern due to the human impact is recorded, for example in Belarus, starting from the Late Subatlantic (SA-3), which is younger than 1000 BP.

Lithological and geochemical methods allow to define changes in the sedimentation pattern of both local and large scales. Relatively recent changes in the sequence and composition of fluvial and lake sediments are frequently considered as being caused by predominantly agricultural development. The intensive and large-scale deforestation and land cultivation leads to the facilitation of sheet and linear erosion, and contributes to an abrupt increase in the river sediment discharge. Rivers become overloaded with sediments – especially during spring floods – that results in an accumulation of specific poorly sorted floodplain mud. According to several studies the sediment yields within the river floodplain may triple as a result of forest clearance and other human impacts (Thieme 2001). The consequences of action of this triggering mechanism are illustrated by Figure 2. The photograph shows the section of proluvial deposits on the top of the sandy Late-Glacial terrace, undermined by the River Drut, Eastern Belarus (Figure 3).

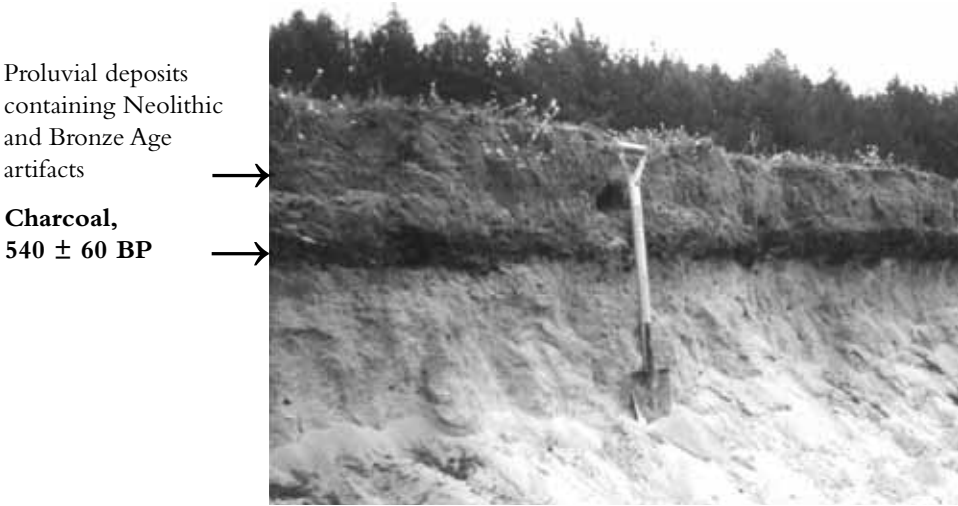


Figure 2. Section depicting the process triggered by forest fire accumulation of proluvium, Drut River bank, Eastern Belarus

The youngest part of these deposits, overlaying thick layer of charcoal and burnt wood, was deposited after 540 ± 60 BP (IGSB-917). This thickness reflects the phase of slope erosion after big anthropogenic or natural forest fire. It contains artefacts of different periods, e.g. Neolithic flints and ceramics of Neolithic and Hatched Ceramics cultures. Therefore, it is possible to suggest, that the single episode of quite intensive deforestation have caused a facilitation of erosion within the area of forest fire which have resulted in an accumulation of 0.5 meter thick deposits on the river bank and an input into the river itself. The floodplain deposits of the anthropogenic genesis are referred to as poorly sorted or unsorted, silty or/and sandy sediments of a considerable thickness, covering the top of a section of river valley sediments (Kalicki 1996, Savchik 2002). They frequently show upwards coarsening of the material, which differ from natural finer material upwards in the sediments. Nevertheless, this feature is not always observed and the alternation of fining-coarsening upwards cycles is recorded.



Figure 3. Studied sections containing lithological indications of the beginning of large-scale agriculture in Belarus. 1-2: River Dnieper. 3: Rivers of Adrov and Pochalitsa. 4: River Drut. 5: River West Berezina (tributary of Niemen). 6: River Berezina (tributary of Dnieper)

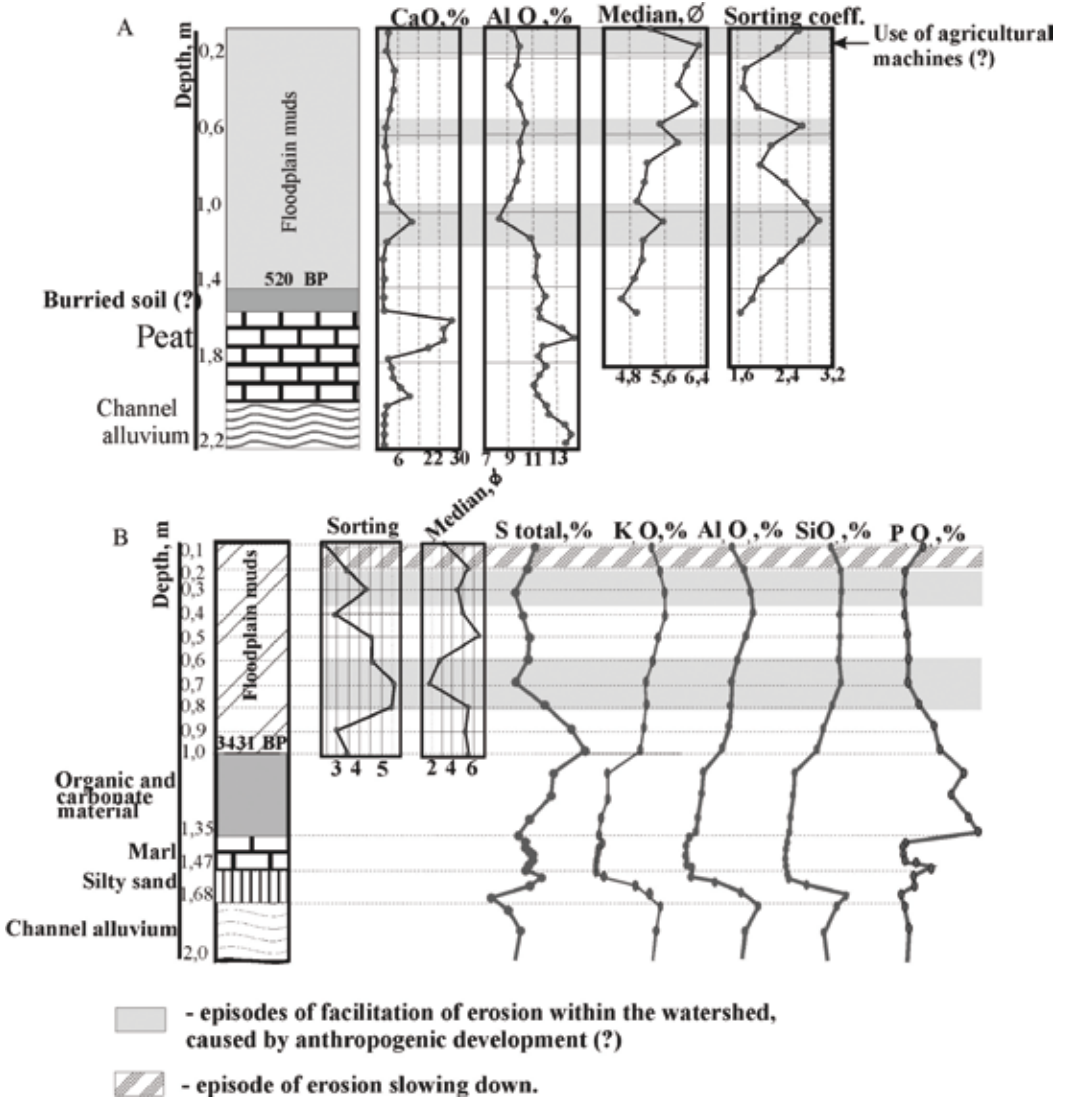


Figure 4. Sections of floodplain deposits from the River Pochalitsa (A) and River Adrov (B), recording facilitation of floodplain sedimentation due to possible wide-scale agricultural development

Figure 4 shows graphical representation of two sections of floodplain deposits sampled in the Upper Dnieper basin, North-Eastern Belarus (Figure 3). The sections were studied in the valleys of River Adrov and River Pochalitsa, which are tributaries of Dnieper. The floodplain mud form from 1.0 to 1.5 meters thick layers, overlaying peat and floodplain deposits. An accumulation of mud started at Pochalitsa site at 520 ± 80 BP (IGSB-627). The granulometric composition of material from the Pochalitsa site shows irregular coarsening and fining of deposits upwards with simultaneous changes in the sorting coefficient, clayey material input (Al_2O_3 curve) and autochthonous calcium (CaO curve). This allows a suggestion of three phases of man-induced erosion facilitation in the area. Floodplain mud in Adrov valley has started to accumulate much earlier, at 3431 ± 114 BP (IGSB-618). Distribution of granulometric features and chemical composition along the profile of floodplain muds at Adrov site may be defined as two phases of facilitation of possibly man-induced erosion and one phase (recent time) of erosion slowing down. The earliest phase occurred after 3431 ± 114 BP, and at the unknown time. According to the similar thicknesses of material, deposited since the earliest phase at both Pochalitsa site and Adrov site, it is possible to suggest, that the first phase of intensive accumulation (first erosion facilitation phase) at Adrov site took place at about 500 BP. Therefore, the process of presumably natural accumulation of floodplain deposits with a thickness of 20 cm stretched over c. 2000 years, and accelerated by man the accumulation of 80 cm thick deposits occurred during the subsequent 500 years.

It needs to be emphasized, that the study of changes in the sequence and composition of deposits is a relatively new method to make assessments of the landscape changes, caused by agricultural development. Sometimes, its application may give records, which are difficult to address to either human or natural factors. Nevertheless, such studies of lithological indicators of human alterations of landscapes allow us to define the time frames of these alterations, especially while applied together with other palaeogeographical and archaeological methods. Thus, an analysis of the results of the number of studies makes it possible to outline the pattern of northward advance of the third final stage of peripheral agriculture and its transition into the 'non-peripheral' one. The first signs of changes in sedimentation character in river valleys of Southern, South-Central and North-Central Poland, related to deforestation and agricultural development, are dated to Roman times – 1900-1800 BP (Starkel 2001). After this, the process of partial recovery of forest cover is seen within the mentioned areas. More definite palaeogeographical signs of distribution of relatively large-scale arable agriculture in Poland are dated to 1000-800 BP (Starkel 2001, Kalicki 1996). According to pollen and other data, the agricultural lands (including pastures) occupied in Poland about 20 % of

total land area 1000 years ago; 35 % in 14th century; and 55–60 % at the time from 15th–16th to 18th centuries (Starkel 2001). Studies of the upper Dnieper basin in North–Eastern Belarus, revealed changes in floodplain sedimentation pattern, indicating agricultural development as the following:

- 1000–800 BP along the River Dnieper (Kiev Russia times; Kalicki & Sanko 1992);
- about 500 BP in the valleys of small tributaries of River Dnieper (Savchik 2002, Savchik & Makhnach 2002);
- ca. 500–400 BP in West–Central Belarus (River Western Berezina) and North–Western Belarus (River Niemen; Kalicki 1993, 1999);
- and 340 BP in the Dnieper Berezina River Valley near the city of Borisov in Central Belarus (Kalicki 1999, Kalicki & Sanko 1992).

An increase in the intensity and frequency of floods, caused by deforestation and agricultural development in the Moscow region and some other parts of Central Russian Plain, has started from 900–700 years BP (Alexandrovskiy et al. 2000). This resulted in burial of floodplain soils with recent floodplain alluvium. Large-scale landscape changes due to agricultural and other developments occurred just recently (about 100 years ago) within the North–Western Russia and have not yet occurred in North–North Western Russia and Northern Scandinavia. The temporal and spatial advance of the end of ‘peripheral agriculture’ in Eastern and Northern Europe is shown in the Figure 5.

Conclusions

The edge or ‘peripheral’ frontier zone of the agriculture approached and entered the territory of modern Poland and Western Ukraine 3000–4000 years later (8000–6000 years BP) than the farming appeared in Greece and Bulgaria. After this, the peripheral zone had moved gradually northward, and reached Southern Finland and North–Western Russia in about 4000–6000 years. It took very long time – up to 4000 years – for ancient societies in Scandinavia and Finland (especially in high-latitude areas of this region) to make available and adopt known agricultural techniques and to put them into the practice (Zvelebil 1993). Such a delay was conditioned exclusively by unfavourable environmental conditions for crop cultivation. A transition to arable but still peripheral agriculture had stretched for a longer period of time in Poland, and occurred very soon after the introduction of farming in Finland and North–Western Russia (0–700 years later). Consequently, it took from 1500 to 2000 years for this transition to be developed in all the societies from ancient Poland to the northernmost areas of North–Eastern Baltic regions.



Figure 5. Temporal and spatial advance of the end of peripheral agriculture in Eastern and Northern Europe (uncalibrated radiocarbon years)

The temporal and spatial pattern of a development of large-scale arable farming was more heterogeneous. In general, an advance of the well-developed farming is quite similar to the distribution of the beginning of arable farming in terms of later appearance northward. As it appears in the palaeogeographical and historical records, the vast territory of Eastern and Northern Europe (especially in eastern and northern areas of this region) in Medieval times represented a combination of ‘spots of civilization’, which surrounded big cities or populated rural areas. The spots were separated from each other by extensive territories of sparsely populated areas. Therefore in some neighbouring areas the large-scale farming developed with a delay of some 500–700 years, and, probably, in local scale, was conditioned in larger degree by the density of population, than by the environmental conditions.

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Pre-Roman Iron Age occupation of the vast peat areas near Rotterdam, the Netherlands: Peripheral society?

Corrie Bakels

Introduction

A considerable area in the western parts of the Netherlands was, until quite recently, covered with peat. Some of the peat has been dug away to be used as fuel. In other places the surface has been covered with sand to allow the expansion of towns. Nevertheless, many stretches of peat are still there, converted to pasture and grazed by cattle.

The peat was formed during the second half of the Holocene in the delta of the large rivers Rhine and Meuse. The River Rhine, with its source in Switzerland, and the River Meuse, originating in France, both discharge their waters into the North Sea, forming a delta, which takes up a considerable part of the Netherlands. The front of the delta consists of a series of coastal barriers which separate the hinterland from the sea. Nevertheless, sea and hinterland are not independent of each other. The sea level, for instance, governs the inland water table. Sea levels have risen worldwide during the Holocene due to the melting of ice caps since the end of the Ice Age. Initially, the rise of the North Sea level was rather fast, c. 2 m per century. In the second half of the Holocene the process slowed down but has not yet come to a standstill. In addition the subsoil of the delta has been sinking due to tectonic processes, resulting in a continually rising inland water table. At the same time the formation of coastal barriers, starting in the second half of the Holocene, has impeded the drainage of the hinterland. Together with the rising water table this has resulted in the drowning of vast stretches of land and the building up of a considerable layer of peat.

Peat formation started in the lowest areas, leaving dry places jutting out of the marshes. But already during the Subboreal, roughly between 3000 and 2000 cal. BC, it became impossible to walk from dry spot to dry spot. A canoe was the most suitable way of conveyance for human beings. Peat growth did continue and in the end the wetlands in the delta became completely covered with peat.

The Pre-Roman Iron Age occupation

During the Neolithic the area was inhabited, but occupation was restricted to dry elements in the landscape. There was sufficient open water to allow water traffic. When the area was drowned by the rising water table and its waterways became clogged by the expansion of peat growth, occupation came to an end. Traces from the Bronze Age are absent. Surprisingly though sites dating from the Iron Age are quite common. They are situated on top of the peat. I had the opportunity to take part in a closer examination of the area between the towns of Delft and Rotterdam (Figure 1).



Figure 1. The Netherlands with the towns of Delft and Rotterdam

Although a smattering of traces dates back to the early Iron Age (between c. 650 and 550 cal. BC), true occupation started around 350 cal. BC and lasted until 150/100 cal. BC, when the population left the area again. The habitation spans two and a half centuries at most (van den Broeke 1993).

The occupation was not in the least sparse. On the contrary, the peat has been described as rather crowded with single-dwelling sites. The sites manifest themselves in an unusual way. They do not appear as dilapidated structures or well-organized clusters of postholes, but as chunks of floors toppled over and sunk into the soft subsoil (Abbink 1993). The remnants consist of layer upon layer of plant remains and animal dung, reaching thicknesses of up to 150 cm. Occasionally, wooden posts protrude from this matter. The layers are lying at an angle to the original surface (Figure 2). The situation can best be compared to a so-called tree-fall. When a tree falls down, its roots with adhering soil turn over, causing a chunk of soil to be buried at an angle to the original surface. Something similar is thought to have occurred with the ruins of the Iron Age houses (Abbink 1993, Koot 1994). Parts of the floors were buried in the subsoil. Post-occupational processes, foremost medieval reclamation and drainage, have destroyed the original surface on which the houses stood. Only chunks of the floor, sometimes with some adhering ancient surface, have remained to be excavated.

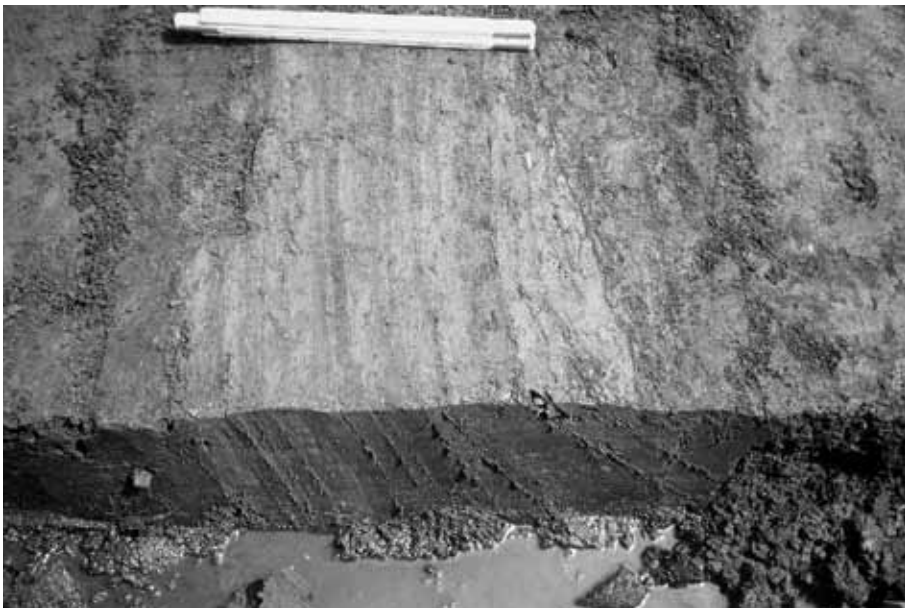


Figure 2. Part of a floor lying at an angle of 90° to the original surface. Photo by: Corrie Bakels

Local conditions during occupation

The peat formed in the Rhine-Meuse delta was originally eutrophic peat. The succession ran from telmatic peats formed in reed and sedge vegetation to wood peat formed in alder carrs. Alder carr is the last seral stage, but if rainfall is high enough, ombrogenic, oligotrophic peat based on *Sphagnum* mosses can form on top. This happened in the cores of the larger peat areas, giving those areas a domed aspect. Where an area was much dissected by river branches and creeks, the formation of oligotrophic peat was hampered by the occasional influx of water rich in nutrients. This all concerns living peat. Such environments are wet and not suited for human habitation. Therefore, the peat must have been 'dead' during the time of Iron Age occupation. To achieve this, the peat must have been drained. Natural drainage is possible during periods of enhanced activity of the North Sea. An aggressive, invading sea clears clogged waterways and creates new ones. Both serve to drain the hinterland and to also drain the peat formed there. This is what occurred during the Iron Age.

The remnants of old surfaces adhering to chunks of floor enable us to provide more detail, as they have remained wet enough to allow pollen analysis. One series, coming from a succession of dwellings in the locality of Duifpolder may serve as an example (Figure 3, excavation by C. Koot and pollen analysis by I. van Amen). The houses were built in the same, restricted, area, but not on top of each other. The analysis of macroscopic plant remains shows that the matrix is eutrophic peat. There are no traces of *Sphagnum* mosses indicating oligotrophic conditions.

The lowest bar depicts the pollen rain deposited some decades before the construction of the first house. All values are percentages based on a total pollen sum. Some 1000 pollen have been counted. Local trees, mainly alder and some ash, dominate, indicating that alder carr had been the local peat former. Nevertheless, the considerable percentage of local herbs shows that open areas were already present. Some of those herbs do not belong to the vegetation of natural clearings. They are so-called anthropogenic indicators, suggesting that the open spaces were not natural, at least not entirely. People must have visited the area before settling there. The abundant presence of marsh plants, which belong to waterside vegetations, points towards the existence of a creek nearby. The relatively high amount of pollen shed by small trees, shrubs and herbs growing under mesotrophic conditions, i.e. in an environment poorer in nutrients, represents most probably the more inland vegetation. Dominant are birch and bog myrtle. These two may also have profited from the drying-out of the peaty subsoil.

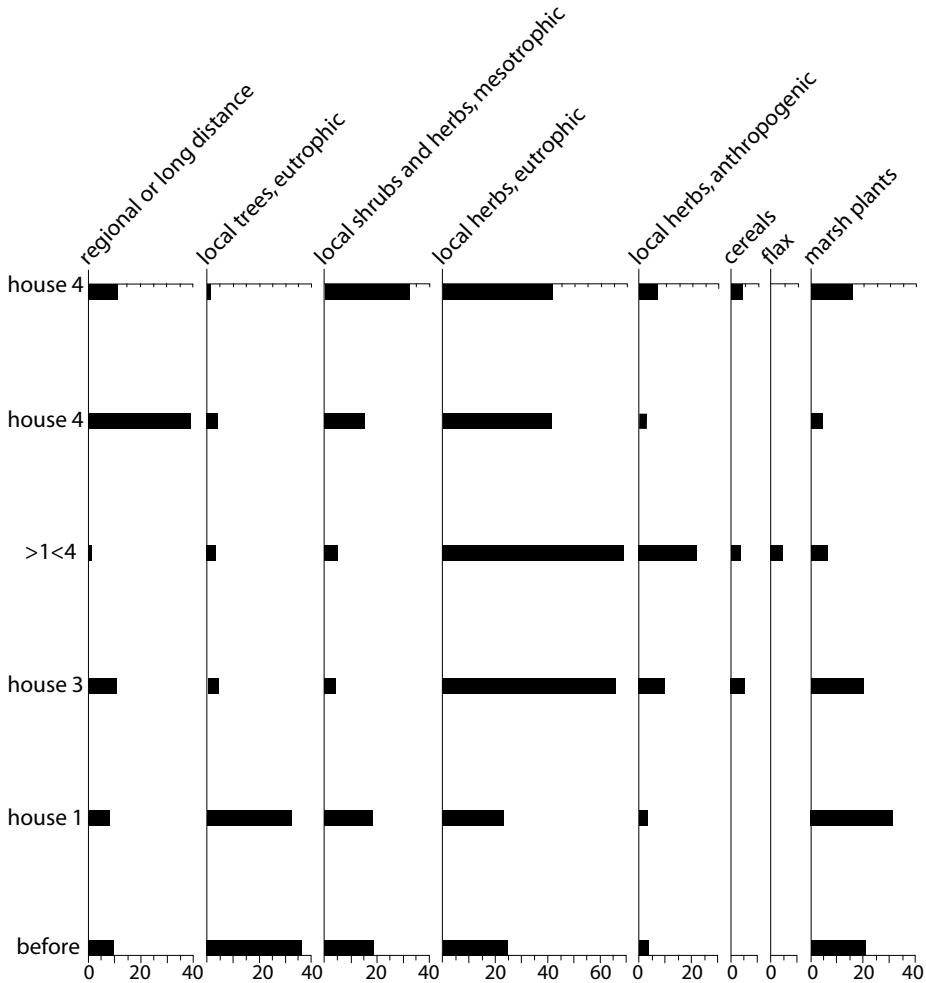


Figure 3. Pollen spectra (percentages) from old surfaces

The first house was built in a comparable environment. After it fell into ruins it was followed by a second house, from which unfortunately no sample could be obtained. The subsurface of the next house in this succession of dwellings, the third house, shows a disappearance of local trees. Whether the conditions had become unfavourable for trees, or whether local trees were cut down to be used

as building wood and fuel remains unclear. But as the houses were partly built of alder and ash, the latter explanation is quite conceivable. Open space with a herb vegetation was dominant at this time. The presence of cereal pollen may certainly be connected with the handling, if not growing, of grain. An old surface dated younger than the first house but older than the fourth house shows the same kind of open space. In addition to cereal pollen, pollen of flax was found. This surface may represent part of a yard belonging to the second or third house. Two samples could be obtained from the old surface on which the fourth house was built. A relatively large proportion of regional or long-distance pollen in the pollen rain indicates that the area was now very open, though local stands of birch and bog myrtle were still present.

The fourth house was the last structure on this site. There is no peat or other pollen bearing deposit available to show the subsequent history. All younger peat has deteriorated and disappeared. From other sources it is known that the activity of the sea slowed down at this time. Creeks silted up, hampering drainage again, and peat formation must have started afresh. Most probably the area became too wet for a population which lacked the technology of large-scale artificial drainage. To conclude, Iron Age people visited and exploited the Duifpolder area for a short stretch of time, one household decided to settle there, built four houses, one after the other, used a lot of local wood, and left again. The next occupation was medieval. Reclamation of the land started only in the 10th century AD and the invention of the windmill finished the job.

Living on peat

Big chunks of floor are the typical remnants of the occupation considered here. As remarked above, they consist of layer upon layer of plants and dung. Apparently the floors subsided during use and sunk into the soft, peaty subsoil. More material had to be added to make the floors level again, a process which had to be repeated over and over. It looks like a continuous battle to keep dry feet inside the house. Homes were built of alder and ash (Koot & Bakels 2002, Koot & Vermeeren 1993) – not very durable kinds of wood – and were possibly subject to many repair jobs. In conclusion, dwelling on peat looks unattractive in comparison with dwelling on sand in solid oak houses.

Has this been a kind of marginal subsistence, a life on the periphery of people better off? It is thought that because of population pressure on the higher, sandy soils in the east and the coastal barriers in the west, people were forced to colonize the peat. Population pressure was certainly a factor in Iron

Age communities (Fokkens 1998, Schinkel 1998). That the peat dwellers were culturally related to other groups in dry areas is indicated by the style of the pottery found in the floor remains (van Heeringen 1992: 205–219).

What did these people do for a living? The animal dung in the floors point towards cattle raising. Some droppings have preserved their shape and contents. Through remains of specific lice they can be identified as having been produced by sheep (Schelvis & Koot 1995). Bones indicate the presence of horned cattle and sheep/goat, supplemented by some pig and a horse (L. van Hoof personal comment). The plants preserved in the floors comprise not only wild reeds cut along the creeks but also cultivated plants. The Duifpolder houses revealed emmer wheat, barley, flax, rapeseed and gold of pleasure. As mentioned earlier, the old surfaces showed pollen of cereals and flax. Subsistence was obviously based on a combination of cattle raising and crop cultivation, i.e. exactly the same as on the higher soils and with the same animals and plants.

Were the people perhaps poor? The alignment of the floor chunks, together with some cases in which posts show some configuration, leads to the conclusion that the houses had normal lengths. People did not live in hovels. Every floor contains fragments of millstones made of tephrite, imported from Germany. The inhabitants clearly could afford these. As rock is a commodity absent in peat areas, and millstones are necessary objects in cereal consuming societies, the tephrite millstones should perhaps not be considered a luxury. Still, none of the fragments was extremely worn as would be expected in poor communities (Koot personal comment). Moreover, in some houses, glass beads and bracelets were found. They are scarce, but they are there. These are true luxury, indicating that at least not everybody was poor.

Taken altogether, the peat dwellers seem not to have led a marginal existence. On second thoughts, this may not be very likely indeed. When the Dutch peat was drained in the Middle Ages, the pioneers did very well. They were successful in raising crops and the taxes they paid formed one of the sources of the wealth of the medieval counts of Holland (van der Linden 1956). Only when they wanted still more and overdid drainage, did the peat dry out too far, leading to an irreversible shrinkage and lowering of the surface to an extent where the water table could not sufficiently be controlled. The land had to be converted into pasture, as it still is today, but even then, the farmers on the peat never were poor.

Iron Age occupation on the peat was perhaps quite successful as long as the natural drainage lasted. But this lasted only 250 years at most. In this respect, life on the peat was a temporary phenomenon, peripheral perhaps, but not felt as such in everyday life.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank my colleagues A. Abbink and C. Koot for many fruitful discussions on the topic of peat dwellers. I am thankful, too, for the improvement of my English by K. Fennema.

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[Settlement] continuity as a matter of view? Shifting centralities in the central Swedish forest region during the Iron Age

Stefan Nilsson

Introduction

Scientists in Swedish historical research during the 1970s and 1980s, within the so-called ‘settlement archaeology’, often made vast generalizations of settlement history, based on assumptions from results of studies in Uppland (e.g. Hyenstrand 1984). Their studies showed a connection between Iron Age graves and contemporary settlements. The scholars simply counted burial mounds in the different Swedish counties and got hypothetical numbers of contemporary inhabitants. However, the scholars also drew the conclusion that absence of such graves meant that there had been no settlements. These studies had impact on other disciplines, such as historic human geography. Various maps were made, attempting to show how settlements in Sweden were located during the Iron Age and the Middle Ages. These maps have been widely spread in various publications. I find this unfortunate, since I believe they give an over-generalized – and false – image of Swedish settlement history. The Middle Age shade in Figure 1 is more likely to show the conditions during at least the Iron Age, even though burial mounds is lacking in most of these areas. It is long overdue to study how and where people lived, not how and where they died and were buried.

During the last two decades attempts has been made, showing that the settlement history of Sweden is far more complex than earlier shown. For example, it has been indicated that such peripheral forest areas as Hällefors in Western Bergslagen has had almost the same land-use history as ‘central’ areas as such by Lake Mälaren and Lake Vättern (Almquist-Jacobson 1994: 64–68). Northernmost Värmland has probably been firmly settled since the late Stone Age, although

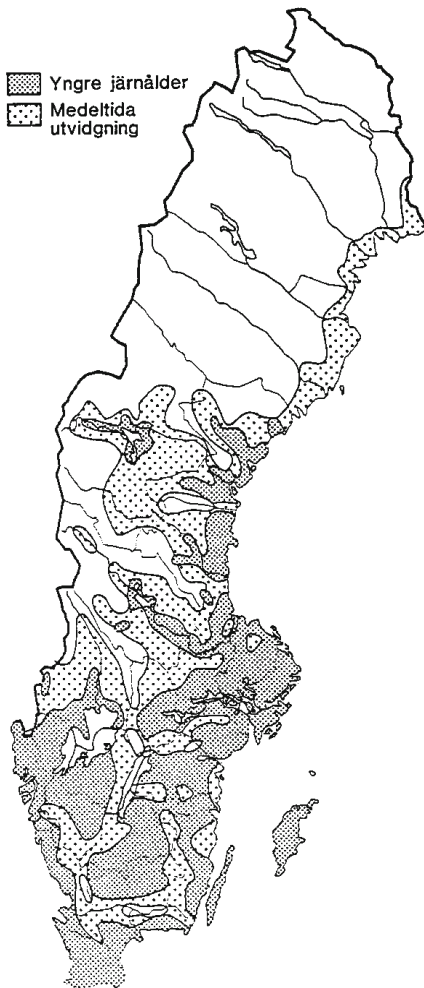


Figure 1. Map of Iron Age and Middle Age settlements (Sporrong 1996: 22). The dense shade show permanent settlements during the Iron Age (Yngre järnålder) and the sparse shade show settlement expansion in the Middle Ages (Medeltida utvidgning)

prehistoric graves are unknown there (Emanuelsson et al. 2003, Svensson 1998). In ‘peripheral’ areas in Dalarna and Bergslagen there are indications of long and firm settlements, even during periods that traditionally has been seen upon as times of desertion, such as the Black Death in the 14th century AD (Emanuelsson 2001). There are similar indications in parts of Norway, and it has even been claimed that the effects of the Black Death on population and settlement have been exaggerated (Holm 1999). Rather, people seem to have

relocated their activities to new places, within their territories, to meet such crisis.

Centralities and continuities – Spaces and places

The character of a society is as much a result of internal factors as of external, more of contemporary factors than of historical. Local communities may have taken part in overwhelming societal changes, as when new kinds of products were being requested. Other local communities then altered their way of land-use to meet the new requests. It has been argued that during time, different activities have succeeded each other in local communities. Thereby the production of different commodities has been kept on a more or less steady level, while the commodities have varied over time (Layton 1995: 71). For people in a community – either ‘requesting’ or ‘supplying’ community – the own place was their centre, even if there were matters of centrality and periphery within the local community, but on different scales. This means that the requesting community was not more central or peripheral than the supplying one.

Places within a parish can be seen upon as different hamlets or as single farms, sometimes of large sizes. Farmsteads and hamlets earlier needed large spaces of their own, including arable land as well as forest, in order to survive as independent units. The area needed was determined by the size of the different farms. This space-size relationship seems to be similar for farms all over the central Swedish forest region, as I have noted while working in different counties. Co-operation and communal agreements between people on farms in a hamlet, as well as farmsteads and hamlets in a parish, was necessary for their survival. Decisions regarding settlement and land use practice were taken during common deliberations, whether the community was more egalitarian or more hierarchical. Of course there have been farm units that for one reason or another succumbed. But when it comes to desertion of farms in larger numbers, there ought to be other reasons than mere ‘death’.

From a space-place perspective, I would like to argue that deserted farms in today’s forests, represented by clearance cairn areas, is a matter of *space continuity*, rather than of *place continuity*. Only looking at a single spot, i.e. a deserted farmstead, may give an impression of death and desertion. If people did not die of plague, war or hunger they went somewhere – and they had to go on living and working at some place. What happened to the people at the deserted medieval farmsteads, did they die or move? What happened to the late 19th century crofters when they became so many that they no longer could support themselves on the small pieces of land that they used – were they the ‘croft culture’ that

became extinct or did they find other ways – and localities – for their subsistence within the contemporary (but changing) society?

Within the spaces – territories – of the farms, the hamlets and the *bygd* (a Swedish concept meaning a quite homogeneous and delimited settled district, often (part of) a parish; Eneqvist 1941), there often were many places to settle and use land. Where people settled was partly a matter of in what direction their current economy – the way in which they supported themselves – was pointed. Another parameter of settlement location is communal agreements of where new settlements were allowed to settle. In an old, continuous society the room for new settlement ought to have been limited. But – if all settlers moved simultaneously the decisions of where to move were communally agreed.

Two case-studies

To exemplify my arguments of place versus space continuity, I will briefly show two areas, *bygder*, in Värmland: the Nor area and the Ullerud area (Figure 2). Both are rich in prehistoric remains: stray finds and dwellings from the Late Stone Age; a lot of graves from the Bronze Age and the Iron Age; and some remains from the Middle Ages and until modern times. Both areas are crossed by larger rivers and the land consists of sandy fluvials along the rivers and mixed moraine on higher elevated bedrock. The parishes were formed rather early, and they can probably be dated to the earliest parts of the Middle Ages, concluded by Christian finds in former and present churches (Hallbäck 1965). In the form of *bygder*, I believe they are even older, as it can be assumed that such entities were formed by the people's social practices already during prehistoric times. In spite of the many similar prerequisites there are also great differences – not at least in the aspects of continuity and centrality.

The Nor area

The Nor area, the central parts of Nor parish, is located near the mouth of River Norsälven, which is running from the lake system of Fryken to Lake Vänern. The ground is made up by fluvial material and the area was successively filled with sandy sediment after the Ice Age. The surrounding moraine areas were flushed heavily by the sea and by a big lake, the so-called *Storvänern* that covered the area for some millennia (Lundqvist 1958). During excursions, I usually choose a certain mountain top as viewpoint, Hökberget (X in Figure 3), just west of the church. This mountain edge is not only a good viewpoint over the entire valley; there is also a hill fort, presumably from the middle of the Iron Age. Five hill forts, or remains of such, are situated along the river from its mouth and to the northernmost one at Hökberget.

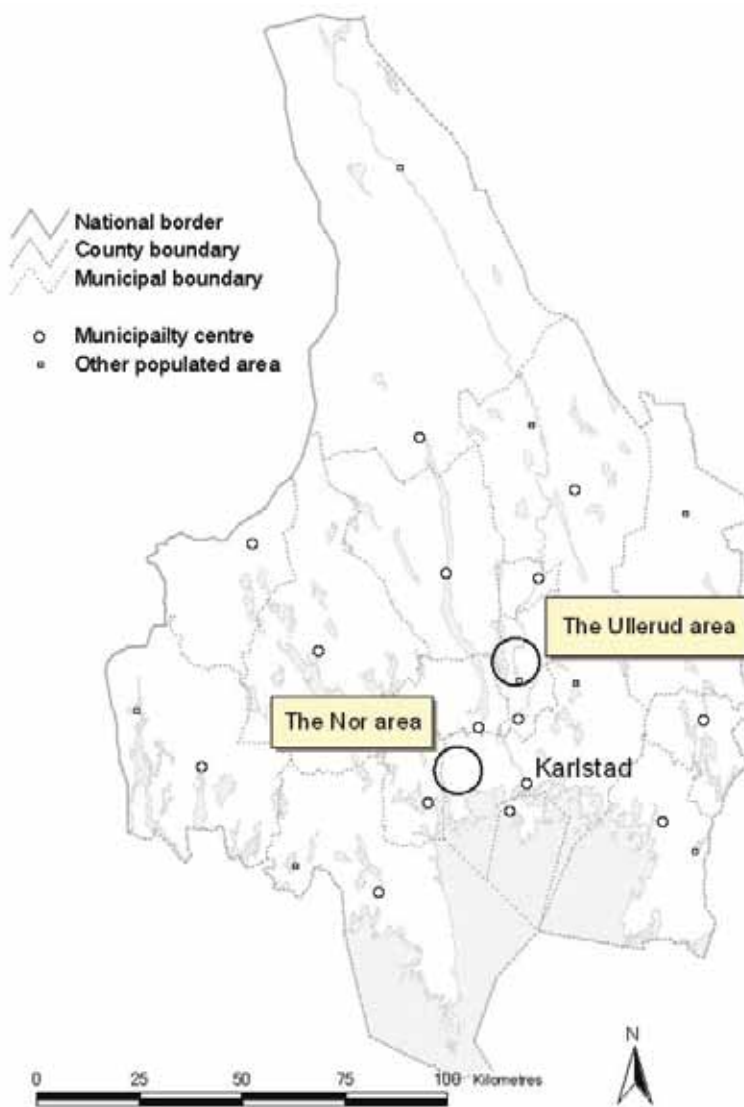


Figure 2. The two case-study areas in Värmland, in relation to the county centre Karlstad

What is seen from Hökberget is a intensely cultivated plain, surrounded by lower hilly and rocky heights, making the valley formed as a bowl. A number of farmsteads and settlement agglomerations can be seen from this point. There are quite a lot of finds from the Late Stone Age in the area, in form of stray finds (axes and other tools) and dwelling places (hearths). There are also a lot of Bronze Age burial cairns, graves that were located in highly visual points. A few artefacts from this period have been found but no certain contemporary dwellings are known. During the Iron Age, the burial forms changed, as well as the structure of the society. During its earliest period, 500 BC, graves were only small holes in the ground with small vessels, containing burned bones of the buried individuals. Sometimes a small stone circle was placed around the hole, c. 1 metre in diameter,

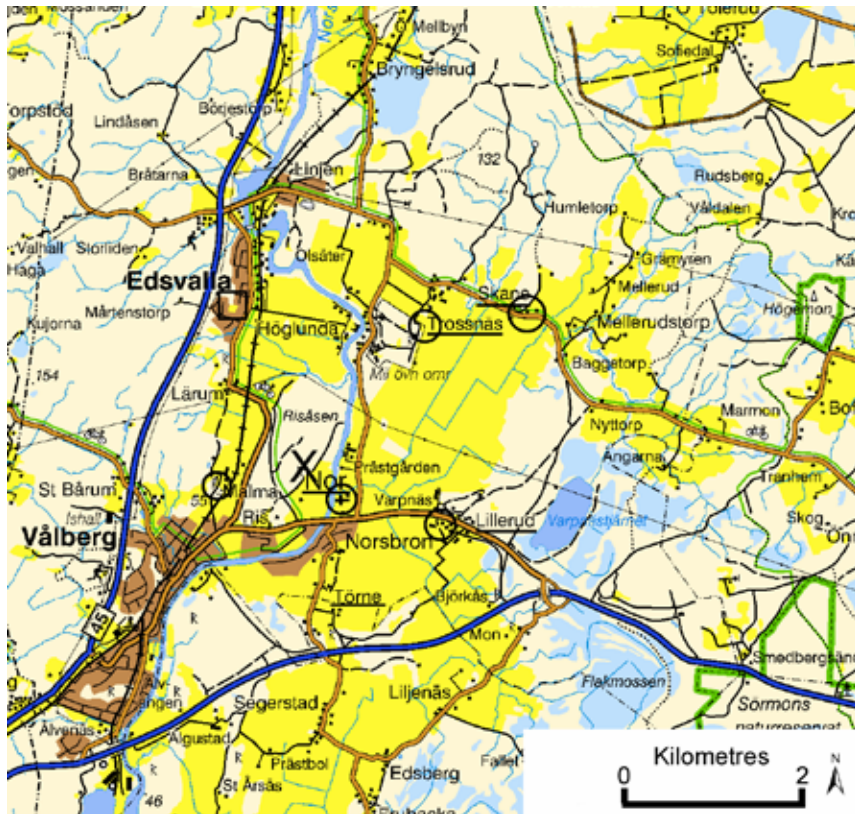


Figure 3. The Nor area. Place-names mentioned in the text are underlined. Some Iron Age grave fields are marked with circles, a clearance cairn area with a square and the viewpoint Hökberget with an X (section of Blå kartan, Vol. 3, © National Land Survey of Sweden; map edited by author)

but this grave type is not visible on the ground surface today. Later during this period, people started burying their dead in earth mounds, sometimes mixed with stones, still cremating the dead. Usually skeleton graves are found from the latter part of the Iron Age, in the Late Viking Age. From what I know, no skeleton graves from the Iron Age have been found in the Nor area. Two probable settlements from the Iron Age have also been found further south, in today's settled district of Vålberg. At two places, by the church in Nor and in Lillerud, the earliest Iron Age grave type has been found. At Gustafsberg a field of earth mounds mixed with stone is situated, which probably can be dated to the Early Iron Age. South of the farm Trossnäs a field of burial mounds also is situated but it might be younger than the one at Gustafsberg. To the southeast, at Valum, Törne and the little residential district of Norsbron, Iron Age graves have been found.

All these places can be seen from Högberget – but what does this tell the observer? The Iron Age graves tell us that people lived and died here during a great part of that period. There are settlements here today. That does not mean, however, that there has been continuity from then until now – unless we look at the place-names and the settlement history of the area. The place-name Nor, which also is the name of the entire parish, means 'small sound', 'narrow passage for water', and probably indicates a part of the river Norsälven where the small creek comes out just by the church. The name is hard to date but can probably be drawn back to the Iron Age (SOV I: 118). There has been a farmstead with the name Nor, but later the name pointed at the church and the entire area. Therefore there is no obvious continuity between the earliest Iron Age graves and the name Nor.

Most of the other place-names in the area indicate high ages. To the north the hamlet of Gutafsberg, formerly called *Skane*, is situated. The name may be related to the divinity of *Skadhe*, and, together with the suffix *-vini* – 'pasture' – indicating a holy grazing field, dedicated to the god or goddess of *Skadhe*, it probably dates back to the Early Iron Age (Rosell 1981: 173, SOVV: 24). This gives a fine connection to the field of graves situated there. Another *-vini* name is found to the south, at *Törne*, maybe relating to a god, **Thor* or **Thora* (SOVV: 25). Next to Törne is *Valum*, which also is a name indicating high age, because it is known as a *-hem* name, and the prefix **Hval* or *hvall* may relate to the small hill where the farmstead is located (Rosell 1981: 59).

More place-names of *-vini* and *-hem* can be found in the Nor area, indicating the high age of the settlement here. But not only that, they also indicate a long-term continuous settlement, as the dwellings mostly are the same today as they were during the Iron Age, even its early parts. The area is also characterized during historic times by a high amount of nobles. Therefore one might suspect social reasons for why settlements have not been scattered all over the area. Instead the farms are concentrated to a few places, condensed at some places like Norsbron, Vålberg and Edsvalla, but these three dates to the late 19th and 20th centuries. Even the late 19th century croft

expansion took place in other parts of the area, in the peripheral forest lands near the parish boundaries. The Nor area thus is characterized by what I have called *place continuity*: the prehistoric graves are located in the same places as today's farmsteads; their place-names are mostly of high age, maybe the Early Iron Age; and the historic social structure has delimited the possibilities for people to settle where they wanted to. The landscape image today is probably much the same as it was some 2000 years ago.

The Ullerud area

The parish of *Övre* (Upper) *Ullerud* is located around the River Klarälven, some 45 km north of Karlstad (Figure 4). River Klarälven has its sources in the mountains of Jämtland, passing through both Sweden and Norway. Along the river there are sandy terraces and plains where most settlements – farmsteads and hamlets – are located. These sandy areas are surrounded by hills and mountains, which are sometimes steep, so that the river valley is rather pronounced. The post-glacial flushing of the moraine ground has not been as heavy here as in the Nor area.

The Ullerud area is not as easy to overview as Nor. Instead one must travel through it and use maps to get an overlook. What you see when you travel is small and large farmsteads situated in the river valley and small farms and former crofts in the forest areas. The ground is hilly, with the exception of a plain area north of the church. In the Ullerud area some stray finds and dwellings from the Late Stone Age has been found. There are also many prehistoric graves in the area, from large Bronze Age cairns, to mixed earth and stone mounds, to Iron Age earth mounds. As in other places, there seems to be little or no correspondence between the Bronze Age graves and any settlement, present or prehistoric. The Late Iron Age graves, however, correspond more to present-day farmsteads and hamlets, most of them – but not all – situated on the river banks. The mounds that are made of a mix of earth and stones is mostly located in between farms or in the forest land. There are both single graves and grave fields in the area. A prominent grave field is located at B in Figure 4 and gives a remarkable impression, laying in the seemingly peripheral forest. At C in Figure 4 there is also a grave field but it consists of larger cairns and might be older than the others (Early Iron Age or maybe even Bronze Age).

The parish name *Ullerud* refers to 'the island', or rather 'the land along water dedicated to the god Ull' (Ullar-ö) (Rosell 1981: 34, 172). South of *Övre Ullerud* is *Nedre* (Lower) *Ullerud* parish – a differentiating naming to separate two areas along a river, where 'Upper' is upstream of 'Lower'. There have been discussions of whether the two parishes once was one and the same. Probably there have always been two separate areas but with common naming. The god Ull's name and the worship of Ull, has been considered to be very old, older than the worship of the Viking Age gods of Thor, Odin and others (Rosell 1981: 172). Many

of the place-names indicates a younger age than the ones in the Nor area. In Figure 4 the names with the suffix *-by* have been underlined. Within place-name research it is considered that such names, if they occur at primary settlements, can be dated to the Viking Age. It probably means ‘dwelling’, ‘village’/‘hamlet’, or ‘single farmstead’ and stems from something like ‘preparation of land for dwelling’ (SOV I: 82). Some *-by* names also have a pre-Christian personal name as suffix, e.g. *Ulvby*, further indicating its prehistoric age, while other have Christian names, indicating a medieval or later age.



Figure 4. The Ullerud area. Place-names with *-by* suffix mentioned in the text are underlined, A–E symbolize clearance cairn areas and some Iron Age graves fields along River Klarälven are marked by circles (section of *Blå kartan*, Vol. 3, © National Land Survey of Sweden; map edited by author)

The area, or *bygd*, of Ullerud has probably been constituted very early. The many Late Iron Age names, however, indicate that some changes have broken the settlement continuity. There are also other indications of this. At A–E in Figure 4, there are not only graves but also former fields in the form of clearance cairn areas, all situated in peripheral forest land today. At A, there is a large clearance cairn area and at the mountain top some hundred metres to the northwest is a single Iron Age grave. At B, next to the remarkable grave field in the woods, there is also a clearance cairn area. It is not obvious if there is a temporal relation between the graves and the cairns; parts of the area has been tree-cut and thereafter ploughed for the new tree plants, so unfortunately there is little left of any prehistoric fields. At C in Figure 4, the grave field with large cairns is surrounded by a large area of clearance cairns, in fact one of the largest in Värmland. At this site there seem to be a direct contemporarily between the graves and the former field. In the southern part of the peninsula of Västbynäset, D in Figure 4, there is a large grave field of earth mounds mixed with stones, as well as graves lying single or in small groups. Around these there are areas of clearance cairns and there is no obvious reason why they should not have been contemporary. There are more clearance cairns in the northern part of the peninsula, although there are no graves. There are also traces of historic cultivation in some parts of this forested area. At E in Figure 4, there is another clearance cairn area and there are small grave cairns on a mountain top to the southwest. Most of this former field has been tree-cut and then ploughed, so it is hard to form an opinion of its composition.

The Ullerud area is likely to have been constituted early, as its name indicates. However, the place-names within the area are relatively young, compared to the area's name. Few place-names are of the same age as the area name, so seemingly there is no indication of place continuity as in the Nor area. Rather, it is a clear example of what I call *space continuity*. My hypothesis is that in the beginning of the Iron Age most settlements lay in what is seen today as peripheries, at A–E in Figure 4. Sometimes during the Late Iron Age, a societal change took place, and people moved closer to the river and lakes. There they continued to bury their dead in earth mounds of that time's fashion, and it is also in these places we find the settlements today. People continually lived *in the area* from the Stone Age until today, but at least at one occasion they moved between *different locations*. This probably happened sometime during the Late Iron Age, leading to pre-Christian graves and place-names in Viking Age fashion, within an much older area.

Conclusion

First, I would like to state the great difficulties in dating graves and areas with clearance cairns to a part of a certain period and even to a single period. Without vast and deep examinations, including archaeology (excavating and dating), vegetation history (pollen analysis with dating) and other disciplines, it is almost impossible to determine the age of single remains. By looking at several factors, as partly done above, I believe it is possible to make assumptions, hypotheses, which can be considered as a basis for further investigations. I am aware that my stories are highly descriptive, and that I do not give any reasons to the differences between my example areas or why the changes at all took place and in the way they did. These issues will however be further developed in my PhD project.

There probably were different kinds of continuities, in that people has lived in an area – a space constituting a *bygd* – during all times. In the Nor area people have lived mainly in the same *places* – place continuity – while in the Ullerud area they dwelled at different places during different periods but within the same *space* – space continuity. Also, the centralities would have been altered in the latter case, as the farms were situated at different places. The centrality of the local society would mainly, in practice, have been the farmsteads, although there ought to have been common places for political and religious activities within the *bygd*. Such places may have been situated centrally in the area, in order for the inhabitants to easily gather there. Any religious centre may on the other hand have been located to some holy place (or places) that primarily were not geographically central.

The differences between the two kinds of continuity, as I have used them, can be illustrated by schematic figures (Figure 5). This is a kind of time-space diagram, as used in time geography (Hägerstrand 1953 cited in Giddens 1984: 112–113), but here only used for illustrating a small part of settlement and land-use history, as it may have developed during a certain space and time. The diagrams shown are also highly simplified in that they only show the location, relation and dynamics of settlement and not amount, intensity or other forms of land-use activities. This kind of graphic illustration can be much more developed (and complicated). The first one shows the place continuity in the Nor area, where a few secondary settlements may have come and gone, but where the main *bygd* was settled mainly in the same places. In the second diagram I want to show how the settlement in the Ullerud area may have shifted localities but was continuous in a space perspective – space continuity.

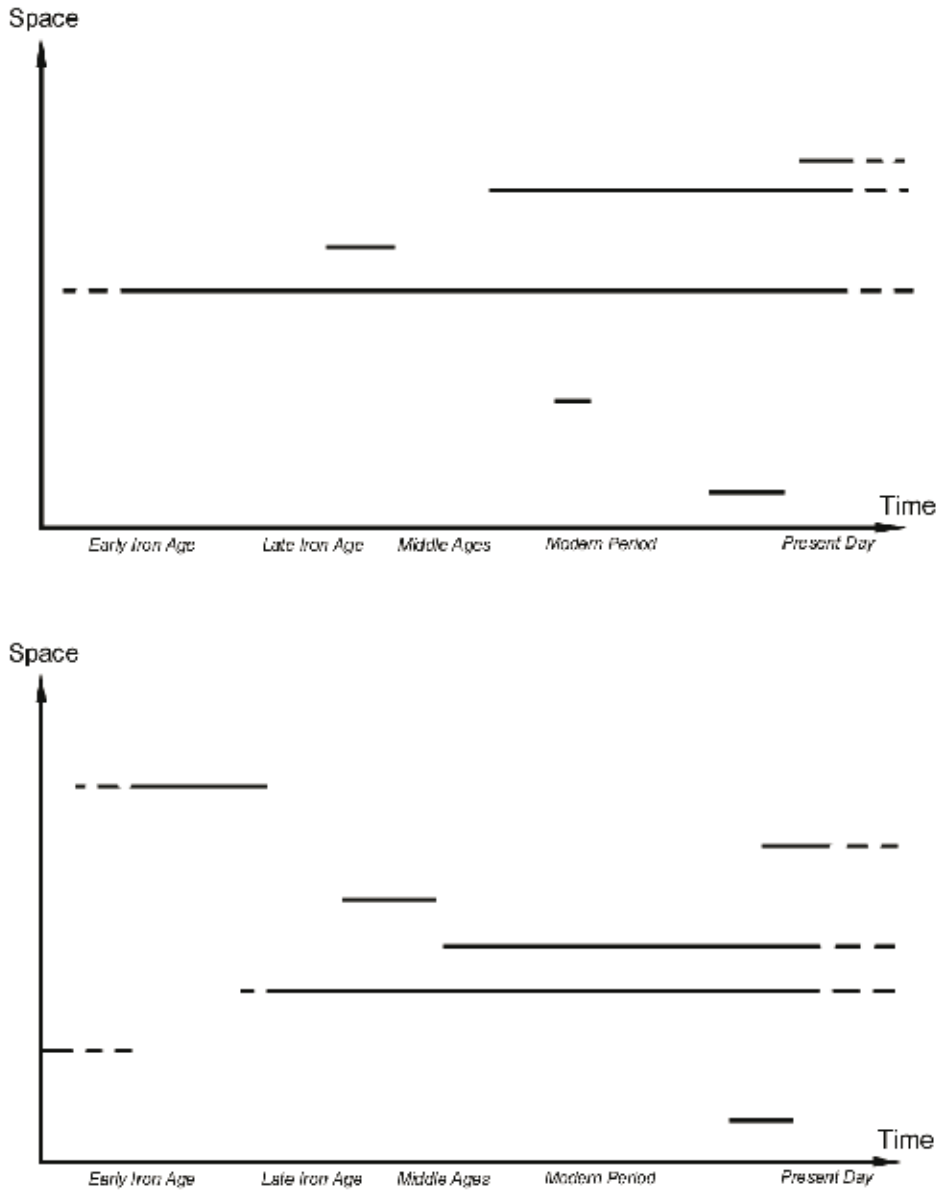


Figure 5. The two kinds of continuity: place continuity in the Nor area (top) and space continuity in the Ullerud area (bottom). Dashed lines indicate uncertainty in age

There may be several reasons for why there are different kinds of continuity in different areas, as for why people chose to respond differently to changes, in different *bygder*. In spite of similar physical prerequisites in two areas there may still be different local settlement histories. Therefore one may suspect social differences between the two areas; for example, in later periods, there were many more nobles in the Nor area, while more tax-paying farmers lived in the Ullerud area. In other cases the physical settings, the ground itself, is very different but the societal outcome may be similar. It is close to hand to draw the conclusion that the natural resources did not determine how people organized their local societies, only what means they had to meet external changes. The way they chose was an act of social decision, common or not, but still an active choice by the local inhabitants.

If looking at an individual spot alone, i.e. each farmstead that was deserted during the Iron Age, one would get the impression that it had been deserted. Of course it was, but not in the sense that people died or migrated, but in the sense that they ceased to live at it. This is why it is very important in settlement history research not to look at single spots alone, but on larger areas: the farmsteads territory, the *bygd* or the parish – all at the local level. It is also necessary to compare different local areas regionally, as well as regions nationally, in order to understand the role and dependencies of a local area in a broader perspective. I claim that it gives a much more nuanced picture of settlement history than a generalizing perspective. By looking at space, in a broader sense, different places will be much more contextualized and thereby better understood. It is also, I mean, necessary to use a wider span of time in research, not only looking at moments but at periods. This way it will be easier to identify expansions as well as declines and probably get closer to the reasons behind the changes. The ‘research window’ needs to be of a ‘panorama’ type – wider in space and in time.

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Colonisation of a periphery in southern Sweden: Some aspects of marginality

Mats Anglert

This paper deals with the colonisation of the woodlands in southern Sweden in general, and in the vicinity of the E4 road in northern Scania in particular. The incentive for the following thoughts is the rebuilding of the road and the archaeological investigations in connection with it (Figure 1). One aim of the paper is to raise some questions that will be further developed and studied in the contract-archaeology project.

The colonisation

The border between what would become the realms of Sweden and Denmark seems to have been sparsely populated, and partly an uninhabited wasteland before the medieval colonisation. Neither settlements nor burials from the Iron Age – or even the Bronze Age – have been found in the studied area. Place-names are not older than the Middle Ages. The traditional central settlement areas were located in the plain further south in Scania and in the districts of Finnveden and Varend to the north.

The studied area is the vicinity of the E4 road from Scania to Stockholm and further north. Already during the Middle Ages it was the main connection between Denmark and Sweden. The frontier between the two countries seems to have been established and confirmed at the beginning of the 13th century. A document from the beginning of the 11th century referring to the drawing-up of the frontier ('Landamæri I') has proved to be a 'forgery' from the 13th century (Sawyer 1991: 64–73). By referring to regents from the 11th century the Danish government claimed long possession of northern Scania, Halland and Blekinge. In 1658, after a long period of war, the national frontier was moved to where it is now.



Figure 1. The localisation of the studied area in the north of Scania. The new road E4 through the woodlands is marked. Map made by Staffan Hyll and Jesper Olsson, the National Heritage Board, E4 project

The earliest settlement in the area consisted of single farms, and it can be traced back to the beginning of the 13th century (Skansjö 1997: 78–79). These farms are first mentioned in the cadastre from 1523 of the feoff of Helsingborg Castle, but were probably originally freeholds. It seems to have been an agricultural colonisation with a few single farms at first since taxes were paid in agricultural products. Later on the royal interest in the area increased and farms with a direct connection to the feoff were established. These farms made payments to the crown in cash and in products from the forest, e.g. boards for ships. The earliest written document from the area is probably in connection with the castle in Örkelljunga, verifying the royal interest already at the beginning of the 14th century (Skansjö 1997: 71–76).

Iron production was of great importance for the area during the Middle Ages, being Denmark's most important production district. Enormous slagheaps can still be seen in the landscape, which emphasise the great weight of this production. Production sites have been excavated, and several slagheaps and ovens have been dated. The majority of the constructions are from the medieval and the early modern

period, and the main production period was c. 1400–1650 (Ödman 2001: 131–142). After 1658, when the area came under Swedish control, the interest in the area as a mining district disappeared. At this time Sweden was already one of the biggest iron-producing countries, with the central mining districts situated further to the north.

Exploitation of the woodlands continued after 1658, however, and products from the woods made up a great part of the diversified economy. Many people were occupied with tar and potash production, while others produced, e.g. boards, bass, and baskets. Later on, the heathlands became a dominant element in the landscape. In combination with wetlands, heathlands probably gave the conditions for large-scale peat cutting during the 19th and 20th centuries. The production of fuel was on a virtually industrial scale.

The colonisation of the woodlands can be described as a complex development. Perhaps it was only the first limited dwellings that can be described as part of an agricultural colonisation. Besides cultivation, cattle breeding and iron production were important features. But from the 15th century the importance of the iron production increased. In a long-term perspective the development can be seen as several parallel durations of varying length and strength. The intensity of the activities of outland use varied over time and space. The development in the landscape was not linear but characterised by different temporalities.

Regional identity

From a woodland or a border zone perspective it is possible to see some typical or characteristic features in the landscape in southern Sweden. The dwellings seem to be organised in a special way; the written sources mention several ‘households’ on each taxable farm. As many as eight ‘users’ were registered on one single farm in the 17th century, but there were in general three or four households. We do not know the organisation or structure behind this. Were they living together in one big farm with several houses, or was it a loose grouping of separate building plots? There is some evidence of family ties among the inhabitants of each farm (Skansjö 2003: 32–33), which may indicate that there was a division of the original farm into parts within the family. As the central administration was aware of this, through several ‘users’ mentioned in the cadastres, there must have been some kind of tax reduction for the people colonising the woodlands. The crown was also the dominating landowner; about 60–70 % of the tithe-paying farms belonged to the crown. The settlement structure was looked upon as consisting of single farms, but in reality every farm were occupied by several families and probably looked more like hamlets or small villages.

The importance of iron production has already been mentioned, but also agriculture, and especially cattle breeding, played a great role in the diversified eco-

nomy that characterised the area. Meadow and pasture were manifest features in the landscape, which could still be recognised, in the early maps from the 18th and 19th century. Even today it is a very well preserved relict landscape, as a consequence of the low exploitation of the land. The arable fields were small. Two different types of fields can be recognised on the large-scale land survey maps from the area. We have the irregular fields that were held together and the strip fields. Often they exist together in the same settlement, probably reflecting two different ways of organising the arable fields or indicating that there were two levels in the settlement structure. On the plains to the south the manor's fields were often excluded in the division of the arable fields during the Middle Ages. In the studied area we have no indications of manors, instead the crown was the dominant landowner. But there are some tendencies for the oldest farms or settlements to have the most highly developed subdivision of the arable fields, and the excluded fields (not divided) could be interpreted as being the rest of the original farm. The state of subdivision could also be related to the number of 'users' or inhabitants on each farm. Lärka was one of the biggest farms, inhabited by nine 'households' in 1651, and an extensive and developed subdivision of the fields can still be traced in the landscape.

The strip fields with their long and narrow parcels have long been noticed in the landscape, but investigations involving radiocarbon datings developed from the 1960s onwards (Connelid 1997, 2003, Mascher 1993, Widgren 1997: 35–39). From a connection with the colonisation during the Viking Age and early Middle Ages the chronological and functional period was extended back to Roman times. Research into strip fields was then rather separated from the discussion of the medieval agricultural system and organisation. How long the strip field systems were in use is under discussion, but the strip fields must have been obvious to the surveyors who made the land survey maps in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century. Today the view of the strip fields seems to be more modulated, and the field structure must be related to the settlement organisation. Lordship, village formation, kinship, communal efforts, and other phenomena must be discussed together with strip fields. The strip fields, according to Widgren (1997), reflect some kind of communal organisation not unlike the medieval village. Ethnological studies around the world have also shown that strip fields are to be found among agricultural societies based on kinship. Hitherto most of the research has been done by human geographers, who have pointed out many interesting questions and some directions for further research. This could be seen as a challenge to archaeology and archaeologists, especially since the agricultural remains are better preserved than dwellings and cemeteries in this region.

In the studied area there are no documented settlements before the late Middle Ages, and the location and dating of the churches support this picture. No older cemeteries or burial grounds are known. Nor are there any place names indicating settlements before the medieval period. The datings from the iron pro-

duction sites indicate a medieval development (Ödman 2001). According to this general view, the strip fields and other arable fields must be seen in a medieval or later context. Or have we archaeologists fallen into a trap where our knowledge and methods are unreliable? If we have been unable to reveal the burials, they must differ a lot from the known burial practices and rituals in other areas. The cultural identity of the Viking Age people has normally been manifested in the burial practices. As long as we have not found the buildings and the graves, the hypothesis must be that the studied area was a wasteland until the Middle Ages.

In the woodlands along the border between Denmark and Sweden a special type of building also developed – known in Swedish as *sydgötiska huset* or ‘the South Götaland house’. The characteristic of the building is the combination of three different parts: in the middle a small house with the fireplace, and on each side a higher two-storey loft (Figure 2). Buildings of this type are known from the Middle Ages, and perhaps as early as the 13th century (Augustsson 1986, Erixon 1947: 230–285). Because of the distribution, and no references outside the area, the type probably developed in the actual woodland area. An old name or designation for the building is *härbarge* (Eng: shelter, lodging), recorded in the 13th century. Can this tell us something about the original function of the building, and the relation to the activity in the forest? Or could the type be related to the frontier with the communication and trade across the border?

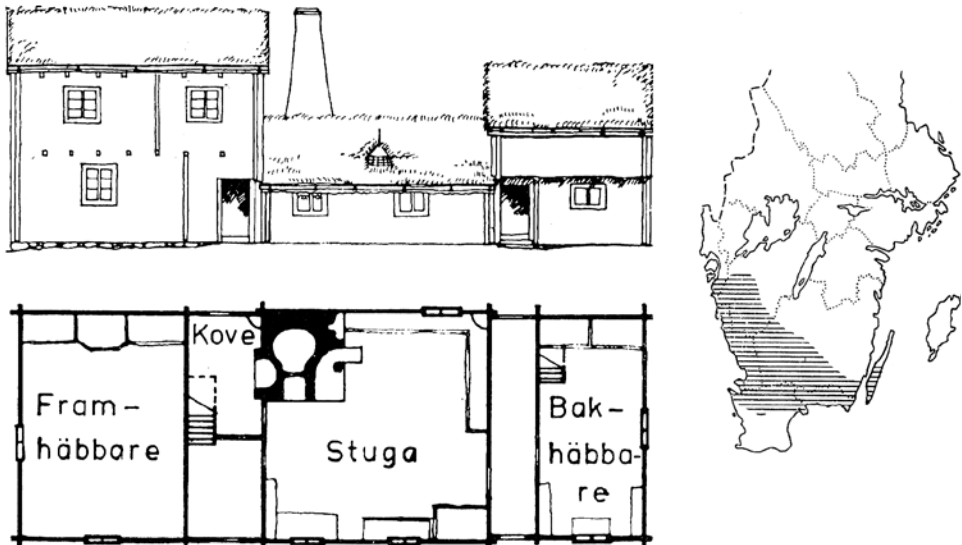


Figure 2. The distribution area of the ‘sydgötiska huset’ in southern Sweden, and one late example from Kyrkhult parish, Blekinge (Bringéus 1983: 309)

Iron production included several phases at different times of the year. The supply of different material needed in the process required mobility and flexibility in resources and people. And this was probably valid for many of the activities characteristic of the diversified economy of the woodlands. Life in the woods was not as stable as it was on the fertile plains where tilling the earth was the main occupation.

Across the frontier between the two countries there was extensive trading, not only in iron, but also in other commodities (Larsson 2000: 32–33). In this respect the frontier seems to be connecting people rather than separating. On both sides of the frontier a similar woodland economy existed, with cattle breeding and iron production. A great many separate and local peace treaties were drawn up along the frontier during wartime in the 15th, 16th, and 17th centuries, which emphasises the importance of connections between the people living in the woodlands (Andrén 2001, Venge 1980). Paradoxically, it was in the 13th century, when the frontier was established, that communication and trade increased. During the Viking Age the area was almost uninhabited and the differences between the cultural traditions reflected in the burial customs, in the central districts to the north and south were apparent (Svanberg 2003).

These features seem to have strengthened the identity among the peoples in the woodlands surrounding the frontier. In economic, social and mental terms, life in the border zone woodlands was organised in a different way than in other areas. The identity was created by the everyday practice.

Beyond tradition

As we have seen, the communities in the woodlands of Scania differed from the communities on the agriculturally developed plains. The people colonising the forest region organised their lives in a different and probably new way. Old traditions seem to have been left behind. To understand the difference it may be useful to look at them as communities of assent and communities of descent (Morris 1996: 238–245). A community of assent always has its roots in a community of descent. But what is more important is that assent communities are orientated towards the future, and they are continually engaged in the process of their own formation. Assent communities are always ‘new’. Descent communities, in contrast, are always looking at the past where the descent has its ‘origin’. It must be stressed that these are just two heuristic models of community. The different ways to organise the society could also be described in terms of contemporarily and conspatiality (Lundmark 1989: 129–133). This view is relativistic, and the importance of conspatiality was higher in a narrow, local context and vice versa. Life in the forest had no roots in the actual

landscape, and subsequently was more concerned about what happened contemporaneously in a wider space. The new circumstances for the colonising people resulted in a detraditionalisation. Similarities to the theories about the birth of modernity are obvious, with a crucial shift in perspective happening in 17th century (Lundmark 1989: 85–86). People recognised they were living in a ‘new’ time, and looked back at the Middle Ages. Perhaps this shift was easier for people living on a periphery developing a new tradition. The tradition/modernity binary has been discussed for a long time in social theory, but should perhaps not be seen as a sharply distinguished dichotomy (see e.g. Luke 1996).

One aspect to be considered in the present case is the transformation of religion, i.e. Christianisation. In some respect it reflects the difference between communities of descent and assent. In the pre-Christian society the origin of the descent lay in the past, e.g. in burials of ancestors or myths. The Christian society developed a non-familial community where the assent was the Church. The difference could probably also be understood in a non-territorial and territorial way. How did the pre-Christian people look at the unsettled woods? It has been suggested that the wasteland was regarded as dangerous (Duby 1981: 60, Gurevich 1970). Was an established Christian ideology a prerequisite for the colonisation of the woodlands in southern Sweden?

Who were the people colonising the woodlands then? According to the written sources the predominant landowner was the king, but we do not know how the crown exercised its power. On a local level there are no indications of any authority or power. The system with manors, which characterised the central districts, does not seem to be developed in the studied area. Apparently the area was of no interest to the aristocratic families residing in the old settlement districts. In the transformation of society during the early Middle Ages a lot of people became redundant in the reorganisation of the aristocratic domains. Those people who did not become manorial tenants may have moved to the woodlands and started a new life as colonisers. And for the studied area the colonising people became tenants of the crown. This means a quite new situation for the people, culturally, organisationally and spatially. At the same time they probably were not deeply involved in the formerly dominant rituals upheld by the elite of the society. Altogether this provided excellent conditions for a new traditionalisation. The implication of this is, to some extent, that the woodland has had its own culture, and in that respect cannot be characterised as a periphery or a margin.

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Partible inheritance and the physical features of the cultural landscape

Elisabeth Wennersten

This paper is about landed property and its implications for people, landscape and settlement in two different provinces, Dalarna and Hälsingland in Sweden during the period 1734–1815, with occasional excursions both earlier and later. The theoretical framework is based on the assumption that the organisation and physical features of the cultural landscape can only be properly understood by elucidating the principle of inheritance and choice of marriage partner. Three hamlets in the south of northern Sweden, a southern boreal region, were investigated. Two hamlets – Ullvi in Leksand parish, the province of Dalarna, and Säljesta in Järvsö parish, the province of Hälsingland – are located in old sedimentary soil river valleys. The hamlet Ängersjö in Ytterhogdal parish, the province of Hälsingland, is a place in boreal forest land (Figure 1).¹

Method

I have investigated the relationship between farms, households and individuals, both horizontally, i.e. what happens within a generation, and vertically, i.e. what happens between generations. The empirical investigation is focused on the splitting phase of the family cycle – when new households emerge as the children choose a marriage partner and marry. Methodologically I combined information in the minutes of land registers from the *Storskifte* (an enclosure reform) with the contents of the church ledgers. In the land registers information could be found about the individual ownership of every piece of land, its actual (physical) size and its size

1 Sporrang & Wennersten 1995, Wennersten 2001, 2002a.



Figure 1. The geographical positions of the investigated hamlets (SNA 1990: 163)

after evaluation of land quality. In the church ledgers I could identify every person in the hamlet (born, dead, married and moved in to and out of the area) and connect him/her to the owners in the land registers. By studying the genealogy of every household I was able to reconstruct how the farms were inherited through the generations, and how the owners were horizontally related through marriage generation by generation. Together with other land registers, maps and inheritance documents the combined data gave information about peoples' social organisation and how that organisation was manifested in the cultural landscape.

Early mixed farming

The early mixed farming was organised around the farm in the hamlet and the shielings (*fäbodur*) in the forest. One single class, freeholders, constituted the socio-economic structure of the hamlets. No long-term hired help existed in the households. The hamlets had a high degree of diversified productive activities. The social structure was primarily characterised by family farming on a small scale. The area surrounding the intensively used part of the hamlet territory was held in common and was very important for supplying the necessary components for mixed farming.

Empirical results

The empirical findings show that preconditions for agricultural activities as well as different socio-economical and population combinations differed between the hamlet in the forest and those in the river valleys. The exploitation of resources within the compass of people closely and more distantly related seems however to have followed principles of inheritance similar in character. Both sons and daughters inherited; sons twice as much as daughter. The inheritance from the father's and the mother's side were kept apart and sons and daughters inherited from both father and mother. Most frequently the farm was left to a son. Here primogeniture as well as ultimogeniture was applied and the choice of son depended on the living situation of the family. Demographic absence of sons explains the taking-over by daughters and their husbands in 18-27 % of the cases.

Partible inheritance and strategic actions

Partible inheritance was thus practised. This principle implies fragmentation of land. Different strategic actions of the farmers, however, counterbalanced this tendency. The farm could for instance be cultivated by one inheritor paying

rent to his/her siblings or paying for the share of the joint heir. Joint heirs kept the share of inheritance as a mortgage for future generations. Co-heirs did not take out their shares. Two or more siblings married partners or did not marry and cultivated the farm together. Another strategy was not to divide the physical parcels into smaller units. Instead individual parcels were distributed among the heirs. Suitable marriages sometimes even resulted in an increased size of the property. Cultivation of new land was another strategy to preclude division of parcels. The farmers used the principle of partible inheritance in a very flexible way according to the number of heirs, their possibility to get married to another farm, the economy of the farm, the composition of the family and the means of support for the old generation. The results indicate that birth control was one strategy against fragmentation of property. A mutual exchange of marriage partners – ‘sibling-exchanges’ – between farmers in and outside the hamlet, remarriages from other hamlets, strengthening of kinship ties and endogamy were expressions of the social organisation. The phenomenon of ‘sibling-exchanges’ is also found in other areas, for example, in the parish of Sazes in central Portugal and in Necharhausen in the south western region of Germany. The law prescribed partible inheritance.²

The social group, built on bilateral kinship, was reproduced through horizontal integration between households and vertical integration between generations according to a cognate system. The society was built up by those two different ideas of kinship. Kinship was thus pleaded with both male and female sex, beginning with the individual. People did not always take out their share of inheritance. When they later on claimed their inheritance, disputes could emerge. In court the principle was mostly accepted that an individual had right to his/her inheritance if there was proof of kinship with a certain ancestor or ancestress. The ancestry (*bördsrätt*) has often been advocated as a relic of a family’s original joint property descended by male individuals. My results, however, indicate that ancestry in this case was the remnant of the claims to landed property expressed by descendants of a certain individual who once owned that land. In that case the conception of kinship was cognate, i.e. the kinship was considered through both males and females starting from an ancestor or ancestress. These two different systems of reckoning kinship were also found in an analyse of runic inscriptions from the Viking Age.³ These systems were thus still alive during the 18th and 19th centuries, and even into the 20th, although the legal rights of ancestry expired in 1863. The social identity of farmers was rooted both in existing ties of kinship, in near relations to neighbours and in the affiliation of pre-existing ancestry.

2 Alves 1998, Sabeau 1990.

3 Sawyer 1988.

The farmers adjusted the land holdings among themselves according to their needs and agreements. They could generally find solutions suitable for the production and an ecological balance between needs and resources. The agreements were not always ratified in court. This circumstance minimised control by authorities. The territory of the hamlet consisted of both individually and commonly owned land. The production was based on infield and outfield activities, something that made it possible for inheritors to settle down permanently in the outfields – an interior colonisation.

Inheritance and the physical landscape

Remarriages to the hamlet of birth and the reinforcement of social ties between relatives and hamlets were common phenomena in all hamlets. Internal factors in the three hamlets, like demography, socio-economy and informal customs were both similar and different. The hamlets of Säljesta and Ängersjö had larger farms than the hamlet of Ullvi, and their capacity to support the members of the household were greater both for old and new settlements. A new type of settlement, crofter's holdings, was established in Säljesta and Ängersjö but not in Ullvi. These results motivate a division of the hamlets in two separate groups, each with a different pattern of acts related to inheritance. The difference was more of degree than kind.

In the documents of inheritance from the hamlet of Ullvi the resources of the farm, all types of landed and personal property, were divided in individual shares. The minutes of land registry confirmed that the contents of documents were put to practice. Sons inherited twice as much as daughters, and the inheritance from father and mother were kept apart. Sons as well as daughters inherited shares from the father and the mother. Accumulated possessions fell apart in every following generation and were dispersed among the inheritors. Land and dwelling-accommodations were distributed and redistributed. The principle of inheritance was legitimised by kinship. The mutual exchange of marriage partners was common, relatives had very strong control over conjugality, transactions of land, the individual ownership and 'demographic accidents'. The married couples were often distantly related in several ways. The pattern of acts related to inheritance was manifested in the physical landscape.

Ullvi consisted of many small farms with dense settlement. The houses formed different groups. In the course of time there was a concentration of both houses and relatives in and between those groups. The view of ownership was an ideology which leavened many social relations. People with shares from different farms married and the shares were combined into new farms, often small to begin with. By cultivating new land and/or buying land the farms increased. The

one who took over the old farm tried to marry someone who could compensate for the lost shares as far as possible. Thereby new farms could be established and old farms be retained without deterioration of the capacity of the farms to support its members. Since at least the middle of the 16th there was an economical differentiation between the farms. It still existed during the period of investigation, but the relation between the farms changed to a more egalitarian one in Ullvi than was the case in the Hälsingland hamlets. The cultivated land was very fragmented. The Ullvi farms had considerably more numerous and smaller parcels than the farms in Hälsingland. The small amount of land owned by the farms in Dalarna meant that people had to support themselves with several activities to supplement farming and stock-keeping. Characteristic for farmers from this area was that they constituted a mobile workforce, wandering in groups to find work in different parts of Sweden.

In the inheritance documents from Säljesta and Ängersjö the resources of the farms were not divided in individual shares of parcels or buildings. They give the value share of 'house and land' for each heir and, in case of a sale, to whom the farm was sold. Most frequently a son bought it. When the farm was sold it was handed over to a new owner, and his/her duties to co-heirs were to buy their shares in landed property or to compensate them in some other way. There was a customary 'value proper' when selling to siblings. Some farmers applied this custom, others might put a higher price. Probably the value of landed property was based on the amount of work put into it. An indication of that was found in Ängersjö. Sons and daughters took inheritance from both the father and the mother and the heritage from father and mother was kept apart. In the hamlet of Säljesta the farmers did not follow the public law as strictly as in Ullvi. Sometimes the daughter got equal shares with the son in private property and sometimes also in landed property. Also in Ängersjö it happened that a daughter got equal shares with sons. In the hamlet of Säljesta a son often succeeded to the farm in the hamlet while a daughter took over the farm in the outfield (in Järvsö parish called *bodland*).

The natural resources around Säljesta at the River Ljusnan were different from those around the river at Ullvi, River Österdalälven. This fact affected how the resources were distributed among siblings. Also in the hamlets of Säljesta and Ängersjö the mutual exchange of marriage partners was common, relatives had control over conjugality, transactions of land, the individual ownership and 'demographic accidents'. The marriage couples were often distantly related but mostly only in one way and not in as many ways as in Ullvi. This indicates that the marriage partners were not as dependent upon finding a partner who earlier had shares in the farm. In Säljesta landed property could be redistributed between farms in connection with marriages. Both the partners had shares from their farm of birth. The shares were combined in establishing a new farm, near either

the husband's or the wife's farm of birth. The same phenomenon was found in Ullvi. The most common principle applied during the period 1734–1820 both in Säljesta and Ängersjö was for farms to be divided in equal or unequal parts between two siblings. The principle of inheritance was legitimised more by the family farm than by kinship. In Ängersjö the ownership of land showed greater stability than in Säljesta and especially compared to the hamlet of Ullvi.

As in Ullvi the pattern of acts related to inheritance in Säljesta and Ängersjö was manifested in the physical landscape. In 1542 Säljesta consisted of two dense groups of farms. Even then the hamlet was crowded to its limits and farms had been divided. In the two groups there was no space left for new settlement. A few new farms were built in the infields, on small impediments in the tilled landscape. Other new settlements were found on outfields (*bodland*) adjacent to the infields to the north, south and east. In the hamlet of Ängersjö settlement was dispersed from the outset. During the period of investigation three new farms were established near their farms of origin. In one case one successor took over the farm in the hamlet and another inherited the shieling.

In Säljesta and Ängersjö crofters' holdings were established in more peripheral areas of the hamlet. They can be viewed as smaller farms under development. They were quite independent units. Sometimes they paid taxes to their farm of origin, and sometimes they were a new colonisation. All new farms and crofters' holdings came into being through shares of inheritance from the original farms. The existence of the farms from the middle of the 15th to the 19th centuries showed a considerable continuity. Landed property was inherited from parents to children through centuries during seven, eight and even more generations.

Cultivation of new land caused the territory of kinship to be expanded physically in the hamlets and the surrounding outfields. Apart from the farm site the territories of kinship encompassed other physical resource areas in the production system. The territories of different branches of kinship came and went both in a physical and an immaterial sense. During shorter or longer periods certain branches of kinship owned more or less of the landed property. All kinds of resources in nature were used. The kinship territory of cultivation was not an undivided area. The tilling area of the hamlets was divided into parcels according to terrain, soil and climate. Within these areas different owners had parcels of varying quality of soil in relation to their farm's share in the hamlet.

The *Storskiftet* land reform resulted in fewer and wider parcels per farm. Neither in Ullvi nor in Säljesta was it possible to give a farm a solid area of parcels in the infields as stipulated in the *Storskifte* regulations. They were distributed in several places in the infield area. In Ängersjö the parcels of the infield area were connected to a continuous area around the farm. This is most likely because Ängersjö is

younger than Ullvi and Säljesta. In the hamlet of Tibble, near Ullvi, the younger farms had their parcels physically closer than the older farms.⁴ Partible inheritance was an important factor in the process of establishing hamlets.⁵

Säljesta and Ängersjö were economically more similar concerning the size of the landed property compared to Ullvi. At the time of the land reform the life expectancy was higher both for men and women in Säljesta and Ängersjö, an indication of higher welfare. Conditions for cultivation were better in Säljesta than in Ängersjö. Despite the partible inheritance the older farms in Säljesta could increase their capacity to support household members. This capacity decreased in Ängersjö. The incapability to support household members had different effects. The age of marriage increased for men and women, and the number of children per family became lower, as the life expectancy for men and the part of the population that did not have landed property increased. The old hamlets on sedimentary soil in the river valleys were alike in having a higher population than the hamlet in the forest. Characteristic for Säljesta, compared to Ullvi and Ängersjö, was birth control and extended families. Partible inheritance gave different results. Two variables united all three hamlets. At the time of the land reform the share of the total soil of the 10 % largest farms was about the same (20 %) in all hamlets, and the share of the 50 % smallest farms was also about the same (35 %). The land properties varied between the hamlets in a similar manner. However, the difference in landed property between rich and poor was less in the hamlet of Ullvi than in the hamlets of Säljesta and Ängersjö.

The basic structure of the physical landscape can thus in many cases be explained through social surveying, where the principle of inheritance is the key element for understanding. The choice of marriage partner is another important factor. When I presented my results one elderly male farmer said “you never married further away than the plough was used”. Figure 2 is an illustration of this man’s statement. The picture of the parcels of cultivated land is an extract from the infield map of the hamlet Föränge in the parish of Järvsö, Hälsingland. The map was made 1730, before the *Storskifte*. In the year of 1730 Karin Olsdotter was the owner of cultivated land belonging to farm A. Her parcels of cultivated land were located in the infields of the hamlet as the picture in Figure 2 shows. The farms (A, B, C and D) involved in two marriages (in the years of 1795 and 1817) had parcels of cultivated land next to each other in several places.

4 Sporrang 1998.

5 Helmfrid 1966.

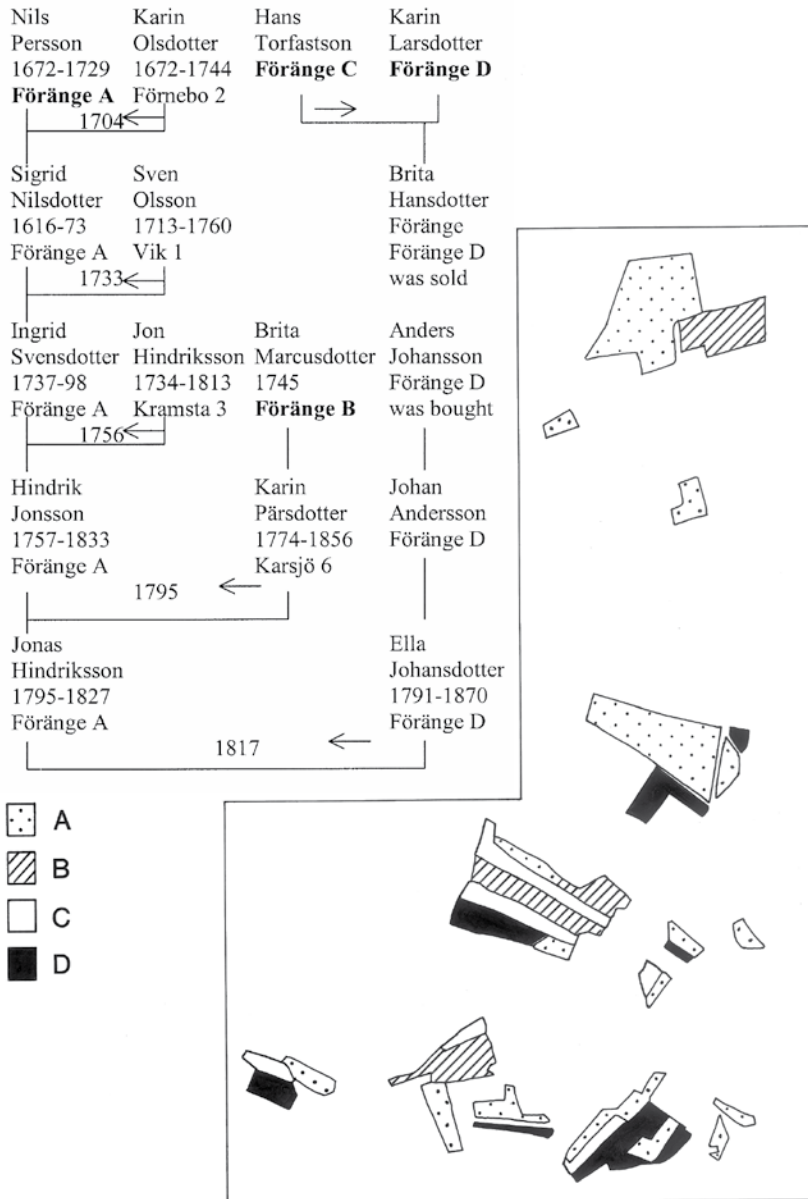


Figure 2. Marriages and pieces of cultivated land

In Europe, partible inheritance is often found in areas encompassing several ecological zones for resource utilisation and suited to small-scale production. Those areas are often more egalitarian than those in which primogeniture domi-

nate and where there are great differences between the social classes. The laws of Normandy, France favouring a heritage of long ramified continuity offer an interesting comparison to my results:

...throughout the generations, the unbroken succession of descendants, down which property flows, harmoniously shared according to the main stems, the branches and the furthest forks, twigs and stalks of the line.⁶

In hierarchically built societies, where powerful families controlled large parts of the population and the land, the indivisibility of property was the ideal in order to keep control over production within the family. The areas that I have investigated did not have this type of hierarchical social system. Instead, the social system was constructed of horizontal relations between households. Every line, male or female, had its cultural value in its long-term continuity. The population guarded a special set of rules (rights of disposal and their transfer between generations) that maintained the continuity to the place of settlement (*tomt*) belonging to an ancestor or ancestress. Its aim was to safeguard the continuity of the line also for the future. In doing so they defended deep-rooted social identities that could be traced back to the Viking Age. To some extent, this fact could explain the farmers' opposition against the enclosure reforms initiated by the authorities and the ensuing conflicts, in Ullvi as well as in Säljesta and Ängersjö.⁷

Conclusions

The farmers were immediately related in the production. All of them had the right of disposal of infield land and to use common outfield. The commonly shared values were aimed to support the inhabitants of the hamlets in an ecological, economical and socially sufficient way. Production and consumption were based on households where women and men, younger and older, had complementary roles. Rights to use outfield were not based on the ownership of a certain area of land but rather rights to make use of different resources, often overlapping in one and the same area. The system of rights of possession constituted of many and limited legal claims. The use of the resources of outfield was adapted to seasons so that one could use all ecological niches. The right of disposition was important for the use of resources of both infields and outfield.

The social organisation consisted of rights and duties connected to different

6 Le Roy Ladurie 1979: 56.

7 Wennersten 2002b.

positions anchored in a system of kinship characterised by horizontal and vertical kinship networks. Mutual consideration was the ethos of social relations. The old system of production and consumption was adapted to the natural surroundings of the hamlets. A small-scale and variable production was in harmony with the prevailing physical conditions. Before the land reform the farmers could maintain their territoriality, and the landed property was mostly kept within the class of small family farmers.

The land reform was one way to regulate the system of ownership so that each farm could have its parcels in fewer areas than before. The central authorities also regulated the ownership of woodland during the 16th to the 19th centuries (*avvittringar*). These reforms opened the possibility for a system of ownership containing fewer and more incisive claims of rights. Conditions were created so that other peoples' claims of rights to an area could be overridden. It meant a crack in the wall of the farmer's territoriality, of the small well functioning small-scale units of production and consumption. Despite this the farms continued to exist. Either a son and his wife or a daughter and her husband took over. Through the centuries there was succession through either men or women in an ascending line back to one long since deceased ancestor or ancestress. Later examples show that this pattern of reproduction was still relevant in the 20th century.

Beside topological conditions kinship relations, marriages and rules of inheritance affected the localisation of settlements as well as the pattern of cultivation. The transfer of the farms to the next generation was embedded in moral duties, rights and stipulations typical for exchange in a social system consisting of a network of kinship.

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Appendix 2

Programme of the conference in Ängersjö August 14-17, 2003

Thursday 14th

Afternoon Registration at Ängersjö. Reception at the forest museum
Welcome address by professor Ella Johansson, chair of the
conference committee

Friday 15th

Morning Opening speech by professor Ella Johansson
Keynote lecture by professor Sandra Wallman,
Department of Anthropology, University College of London:
The balance of continuity: Open and closed boundary systems

Workshop sessions:

Boundaries, frontiers, and ownership – Contested terrains
with contributions by Stefan Nilsson, Mats Anglert and
Gabriel Bladh

Regulations, implementations and welfare in local communities
with contributions by Kirsten McIlveen, Carol Warren
and Carl von Rosen

Traditions, value systems and modernity
with contributions by Tiina Suopajarvi, Katri Kaunisto and
Margaret R. Yocom

Afternoon Keynote lecture by professor Stig Welinder,
Department of Humanities, Mid Sweden University:
Outland-use, long term perspectives and social structure

Excursion in the village
Dinner in Ängersjö. Address by Maggi Mikaelsson,
county governor in Jämtland

Saturday 16th

Morning

Keynote lecture by professor Ulf Jonsson,
Department of Economic History, Stockholm University:
Flexibility in peripheral communities. An asset or a brake?

Workshop sessions:

The impact and management of changing markets
with contributions by Eva Svensson, Sven Olofsson and
Aslihan Aykac

Identity, gender and lifecycles
with contributions by Lissa Nordin, Håkan Berglund-Lake,
Yvonne Gunnarsdotter and Ingar Kaldal

Resource management and settlement
with contributions by Annika Knarrström, Ole Risbøl,
Sergei Savchik and Corrie Bakels

Social relations, space and authority
with contributions by Gunilla Bjerén, Leif Haggström,
Maria Wallenberg Bondesson and John Chircop

Afternoon

Excursion by bus in the parish of Ängersjö

Summary: the conference committee opens the dialog with the
floor

Conference dinner in Sveg, hosted by the municipality of
Härjedalen. Welcome address by Rune Berglund, chairman of
the Local Council and member of the Riksdag.
Entertainment by local dancers and musicians

Sunday 17th

Morning

Excursion by bus to Duvberg, a village in Härjedalen

Appendix 3

Participants of the conference

With their affiliation at the time.

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Sven Olofsson	Dept of Humanities, Mid Sweden University, Sweden
Bo Persson	Dept of History, Stockholm University, Sweden
Arne Ring	Municipality of Härjedalen, Sweden
Ole Risbøl	Norwegian Institute for Cultural Heritage Research, Norway
Elisabet Sandqvist	Dept of Archeology, Stockholm University, Sweden
Sergei Savchik	Institute of Geological Sciences, National Academy of Sciences, Belarus
Ulf Segerström	Dept of Forest Vegetation Ecology, University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden
Bjørn Skåret	Museum Centre of Trysil/Engerdal, Norway
Ylva Stenqvist Millde	Dept of Archaeology, Stockholm University, Sweden
Tiina Suopajarvi	Dept of Art studies and Anthropology, University of Oulu, Finland

Appendix 3: Participants of the conference

Eva Svensson	Dept of Archaeology and Ancient history, Lund University, Sweden
Magne Thorleifsen	Museum Centre of Trysil/Engerdal, Norway
Carl von Rosen	Dept of Anthropology, Uppsala University, Sweden
Cecilia Waldenström	Dept of Rural Development Studies, University of Agricultural Sciences, Sweden
Maria Wallenberg Bondesson	Dept of History, Stockholm University, Sweden
Sandra Wallman	Dept of Anthropology, University College of London, England
Carol Warren	School of Asian Studies, Murdoch University, Australia
Stig Welinder	Dept of Humanities, Mid Sweden University, Sweden
Margaret R. Yocom	Dept of English, George Mason University, USA

Appendix 4

The Series Skrifter från forskningsprojektet Flexibilitet som tradition, Ängersjöprojektet

(ISSN: 1650-9102)

- 1 Emanuelsson, Marie. 2001. *Settlement and land-use history in the central Swedish forest region. The use of pollen analysis in interdisciplinary studies*. Acta Universitatis Agriculturae Sueciae. Silvestria 223. Umeå: Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences.
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- 10 Lagerstedt, Anna. 2004. *Det norrländska rummet. Vardagsliv och socialt samspel i medeltidens bondesamhälle*. Stockholm studies in archaeology 30. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
- 11 Emanuelsson, Marie, Johansson, Ella & Ekman, Ann-Kristin. (eds). 2007. *Peripheral communities. Crisis, continuity and long-term survival*. Reports Department for Urban and Rural Development no 6/2008, Uppsala: Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU).
- 12 Stenqvist Millde, Ylva. 2007. *Vägar inom räckhåll. Spåren efter resande i det förindustriella bondesamhället*. Stockholm studies in archaeology 39. Stockholm: Stockholms universitet.
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- 4/2007 Swedish EIA centre. (2007), **Swedish EIA centre**,
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In this book, life in peripheral communities is examined from a wide range of research perspectives. Scholars studying social, ecological, cultural and economic aspects, from prehistoric to modern times, contribute to create a comparative perspective on life in peripheries. Some of the articles focus on forest communities in northern Sweden, but studies from other parts of the world form a substantial part of this volume.

The publication is the outcome of the multidisciplinary conference *Peripheral Communities: Crisis, Continuity and Long-Term Survival*, which took place in the small Swedish village Ängersjö in August 14–17, 2003.

Central themes of the conference were:

- Resource management in peripheries
- Ecology – technology – local knowledge
- Social organisation – property relations, inheritance patterns and gender
- Socio-economic strategies in internal and external relations
- Motives to live/stay in peripheral communities

- History and culture – an asset and/or a drawback
- Local political culture and the public sphere
- Conflict resolution – the use of legal and local systems
- Value systems and traditions
- Relations to state and market
- Diaspora, collaborative communities and networks

Host of the conference was the interdisciplinary research project *Flexibility as Tradition: Culture and Subsistence in the Boreal Forests of Northern Sweden*, funded by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Foundation. The project has studied the flexible, composite, and changeable character of economic activities and resource utilization in the forest districts over a long temporal perspective.

This report, no 6/2008, is published by the Department of Urban and Rural Development SLU - Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences. Within the series are published reports from the four units at the department; Environmental Communication, Landscape Architecture, Rural Development and Agroecology, the Swedish EIA Centre.

The subject rural development has a special focus on the interaction of social systems with natural resource management. Rural development is an interdisciplinary subject which includes analysis of rural change processes in a comparative perspective.

This publication is also no 11 within the series *Skrifter från forskningsprojektet Flexibilitet som tradition, Ängersjöprojektet*, ISSN: 1650-9102