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separate spheres; they should be analysed as two sides of the same thing. The authors in *Modets Metamorfoser* agree with the latter standpoint. The articles in the book therefore seek to show how clothes and fashion can be analysed as cultural processes, for example, identity constructions, and that the analyses can be based on something material, such as objects of clothing. Several articles use performance as an analytical concept and try to interpret the dressed body in a performative perspective in order to combine the view of fashion as embodied practice with the view of fashion as idea and discourse. Other articles deal with the ability of clothes and fashion to transform the person who wears the garments, and discussions of gender and sexuality in relation to clothes and fashion recur in several of articles.

In empirical terms, the articles cover a wide range. Marianne Larsson's essay is about what clothes do to people, or more specifically what the postal uniform does to the postman. Ingun Grimstad Klepp analyses what it means to feel well dressed. Marie Riegels Melchior writes about the Danish fashion industry and the way it stages itself as something particularly Danish on a globalized market. Magdalena Petersson McIntyre's article considers the influence of sport on fashion, gender, and body, based on ethnographic fieldwork done at a fitness centre. Viveke Berggren Torrell's contribution analyses the way the Swedish welfare state (the People's Home) advised housewives about the right clothes for actively playing children. Karolina Ojanen's essay investigates norms of dress among Finnish horse girls, as regards what the right clothes mean for the girls and what this can tell us about Finnish gender culture. Lizette Gradén has examined folk-dress fashions among Swedish emigrants in the USA and analyses what happens to folk dress when it is moved from one geographical place to another. She considers how a body in folk-dress becomes a tool when social and geographical boundaries are renegotiated. Marie Nordberg's article is about hair and power; she analyses the short hairstyle that has become the characteristic of men in power. Angela Rundquist's essay deals with women's festive dress and the opportunities this special category of clothes gives to transform the wearer. Bo Lönnquist's article is about fashion and men's underpants, and the transformation this masculine garment has undergone since the end of the

1960s, from being invisible, private, and unmentionable to become colourful, decorated, and filled with symbolism and humour. Magnus Mörck rounds off the volume with an article about men's suits. He regards the suit as an expression of masculinity, fashion and power. It is worn daily by men in power and in various professions, but it is a form of dress that all men have a relationship to and have to wear at some time in their life.

All in all, *Modets Metamorfoser* is a book full of inquisitive and well-written articles, which demonstrate the current breadth of the field and show that Nordic research on dress and fashion has started in earnest. It will be exciting to see what cooperative projects will emerge in future.

*Helle Leilund, Copenhagen*

### **Death and Dying and Cultures of Commemoration**

*Anders Gustavsson*, Cultural studies on death and dying in Scandinavia. Novus Press, Oslo 2011. 215 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-82-7099-639-1.

■ At the start of his book, Anders Gustavsson states that he collected English translations of articles in Swedish that had previously been published separately for this book, which is intended for an international audience, on the advice of his foreign colleagues. The articles appear to be presented as separate chapters in the book. Gustavsson has spent a long time studying external symbols associated with death such as gravestones and the expressions of the emotions of those who have encountered the death of a near one or a pet. He has carried out field work in Sweden and Norway, and also briefly in Portugal and France. In the course of this field work he has gathered a wide-ranging archive of material – photographs, observations, interviews – and has studied letters, diaries and archives. The most recent collection of material consists of Internet memorial sites for family members, friends and pets, the number of which skyrocketed in the 2000s.

Gustavsson emphasises the fact that his research is based on material which is limited in geographical scope. The research is qualitative and does not aspire to make quantitative generalisations. The theme that pervades the whole book is a comparison between the ways Swedes and Norwegians face death and commemorate the dead. The comparison is

based on materials gathered in relatively similar local communities, which lends credibility to the comparison.

The first chapter of the book discusses death in a nineteenth-century Swedish rural community. The most important material consists of the diaries of a man who lived from 1795 to 1879. The man writes about the events on his farm, local deaths and funerals, events in neighbouring villages and reports of deaths he has read in the newspapers. In addition to the diaries, Gustavsson has studied the parish registers of deaths and burials. The writer of the diaries lived close to the village church and closely observed events at the nearby church and graveyard. He conscientiously recorded the name, age and home farm or croft of each deceased person. The diaries give an interesting and detailed insight into both now obsolete burial customs and new conventions – such as the replacement of biers with hearses, which happened in the diary writer's village in 1872. Moreover, the writer describes the special burial customs that existed for people who committed suicide or for children who were stillborn as well as those pertaining to mass deaths caused by epidemics, royal deaths and burials and how the deaths of domestic animals were dealt with.

In the following chapters Gustavsson discusses the symbolism of gravestones in the 1990s in Swedish and Norwegian graveyards, how Christian revivalist movements affected the iconic symbols and texts on gravestones as well as the commemoration of the deceased, cats' graves in Sweden, Norway, Portugal and France, sudden deaths (accidents, suicides), the Internet as a domain of death and commemoration and research ethics. Most of the book concentrates on the handling of death and the culture of commemoration in recent decades and even in the last few years. After the slightly disconnected historical starting point at the beginning, the book progresses in a natural way: the means of commemoration have partly stayed similar (e.g. gravestones, epitaphs); modern culture and new technologies have brought in changes in the forms and symbolism of commemoration.

When comparing Swedish and Norwegian gravestones of the 1990s and 2000s, Gustavsson reveals as the main difference between the countries the fact that old traditions are more actively maintained in Norway. According to him, religious symbols (e.g. the cross, angels) and religious terminology (e.g.

God, Jesus, the Lord) on epitaphs are more common there than in Sweden. However, Gustavsson states that the appearance of crosses on Norwegian gravestones does not necessarily indicate a Christian reference. He considers that the use of the cross merely reflects the fact that the Norwegians follow traditions and use the same symbols and epitaph as they have seen their predecessors use. Nowadays, the cross is more a general symbol of death and mourning in both Norway and Sweden than a specifically Christian one.

Secular and sacred symbols are combined differently in Norway than in Sweden, where secular images and epitaphs do not usually appear together with sacred symbols. In Sweden, a boat or a ship on a gravestone refers to recreational hobbies, whereas in Norway these are associated with a religiously-coloured idea of life as a journey. In Sweden, gravestones are more often engraved with images that evoke positive feelings (birds, flowers, animals) and often also with symbols referring to features of the deceased's life, such as images related to leisure and hobbies (pets, fishing, hunting) or work (a horse or a tractor, musical instruments, a paint brush). According to Gustavsson, this emphasis on the deceased's personality on gravestones is related to laws on burials and gravestones that came into effect in Sweden in 1990 and in Norway in 1996 allowing more liberal individual choices. In Norway, a sort of individualisation on gravestones can be seen in references to the deceased's job title, which according to Gustavsson are still engraved according to the old tradition. Commemoration of the deceased is also evident in the Swedish traditions of visiting graves to remember her/him and the next of kin taking care of the graves and their flower arrangements. In Norway, it is common to hire a graveyard employee to maintain graves, which are also visited less often than in Sweden, since remembrance of a deceased person is not seen as being connected to her/his burial site.

Gustavsson has found innovations in Norwegian gravestones that were not present in Swedish ones – even though Norwegians follow tradition more closely. One popular custom not found in Sweden is having a bronze figure of the deceased attached to the gravestone. According to Gustavsson, the way deceased persons' names are placed on the gravestone is a sign of equality (or the lack thereof). In Sweden, when married couples are buried, the

man's name is still engraved on the left, and the woman's on the right, as if to show a difference in rank. This is done even if the husband dies after the wife. Sometimes the wife's name is engraved under the husband's name. However, this custom started to become less frequent in the 1990s. In Norway, the name of the person who dies first is engraved on the left side, regardless of the deceased's gender. The names may also be placed so that the name of the person who dies first is on top, and subsequent deaths are listed below it. Gustavsson considers that the Norwegian custom reflects the discourse on equality of recent decades. Re-using gravestones is also more common in Norway than in Sweden, and is, according to Gustavsson, a sign of modern environmental consciousness.

In Norway, stillborn babies and miscarried foetuses (with a gestational age of at least 28 weeks) have had the right to a grave since 1990 (in Sweden since 1999), and since 1996 the right to a free gravesite in the mother's home municipality. In practice, both countries had allowed for the burial of such prematurely deceased infants in their own graves with full-size gravestones even before the law came into effect. Moreover, the gravestones of almost full-time foetuses have clearly shown the child's name, and the gravestones have not been hidden from view as they were before. The graves are well maintained throughout the summer, which according to Gustavsson is a comfort to the parents, who never got to meet their children alive.

In the last few decades, sudden deaths have often given rise to more visible exhibitions for public mourning. In both Norway and Sweden (and Finland, too), the victims of traffic accidents, especially young people, are publicly commemorated with candles, flowers and pictures at the accident scene and with epitaphs on the Internet. According to Gustavsson, this tradition of commemoration has come into being in particular among young people who feel that they belong to the same generation as the deceased. In such cases, the emphasis is specifically on the mourning and sense of loss of the deceased's next of kin, friends and peers. One essential feature of this custom is the fact that the accident scene is marked as the location where the final parting with the deceased has happened, even if s/he actually died in hospital or on the way there.

It has also become more common to mark the places where famous people die to show collective

grief. In Sweden, the murder of Prime Minister Olof Palme in 1986 was the first, prototypical event of collective, indeed national, grief and shock, where the murder scene was inundated with flowers and candles. Similar forms of collective mourning and grief were seen when Sweden's Minister for Foreign Affairs Anna Lindh was murdered in 2003.

Gustavsson does not discuss recent sudden deaths or celebrity murders and the cultures of commemoration in other countries at all in his book. However, these expressions of collective grief often extend beyond national borders. The most far-reaching expression of collective grief was probably in connection with the death of Princess Diana in a car crash in 1997. In Finland, the death of Diana and the murder of Olof Palme were clearly used as models for collective expressions of grief when two policemen were murdered in 1997 (Korkiakangas 1997 in *Ethnologia Fennica* 1997, vol. 25, pp. 6-8). Gustavsson's statement: "Solidarity and collectivism have become important key words in the approach to traumatic situations at the expense of individuality and privacy. This is a major innovation in the study of rituals around sudden death in recent times" (p. 140) is highly apposite to the mass killings in Norway in July 2011, which are still being mourned and processed both collectively and privately. Another expression of collective commemoration is the remembrance of historical mass killings or deaths. The most recent example is the commemorative journey to honour the memory of the victims of the sinking of the Titanic on 14 April 1912.

New technology has made it more common to commemorate deceased close relatives on special Internet sites. According to Gustavsson, this is more widespread in Sweden than in Norway. It also seems that it is done more often by women (mothers, widows, sisters) than men. Gustavsson sees this as a sign of men's inability to express deep emotions verbally in crisis situations, although he thinks the situation will change gradually. Gustavsson has studied websites that do not require separate registration, and are thus, in his view, public in the same way as graveyards and headstones. However, he does point out that the researcher cannot just stalk the site like a spy, observing and saving texts without taking part in the discussion itself. Because the writers are not aware that their sometimes very personal expressions of grief and loss will possibly be used in research studies, the only option for the re-

researcher is to make the writers anonymous. Naturally, the researcher must always act in an ethically valid way, and this is also true when studying gravestones.

In addition to Internet epitaphs and gravestones for humans, Gustavsson discusses commemorations of pets, especially pet cats. According to him, pet cemeteries and epitaphs are signs of the emotional closeness between people and their pets. Gravestone symbols and epitaphs for pets, in Gustavsson's study cats, have become more and more like those of deceased humans, especially in Sweden. Unlike in Portugal and France, pets' graves in Sweden have also started to display religious symbols: crosses and angels. The anthropomorphising of pets is also apparent in epitaphs on the Internet. They claim that not only human beings but also deceased pets go to Heaven, the humans to a Heaven of their own and the pets to a separate one. The people and the pets who are supposedly in Heaven are written about as if they were still taking part in events on earth. Dead relatives and cats are in their Heavens, waiting for those still living, and will greet them after death. One epitaph for a cat states, for example, '...hope we will meet you again on the other side. We hope you will greet us at the door when it is our turn to go through the pearly gates' (p. 189). Heaven with angels has become a sort of a conceptual and emotional base for coping with grief. According to Gustavsson, this is not a traditional Christian custom, but rather a neo-religious trend.

Gustavsson dedicates a separate chapter to discussing questions of research ethics. Field work that involves confronting death means that many ethical aspects must be taken into account. Gustavsson does not find photographing at a graveyard ethically questionable, since graveyards are public spaces. Possible conversations with relatives at the graves require an empathetic approach while at the same time maintaining a certain distance out of respect for the relatives' grief. One must also avoid undue haste and show an interest in the interviewee so that s/he does not feel taken advantage of. Gustavsson poses further questions, such as whether it is unethical for a researcher to open wounds caused by loss, can somebody performing field work provide support for a mourning person, can the researcher offer an opportunity for a mourner to express her/his feelings of grief to an outsider and thereby obtain some relief.

To conclude the book, Gustavsson has written reviews of some Swedish and Norwegian and one German doctoral dissertation on death published in the 2000s. The topics include terminal cancer patients, the funerals of homosexual men who died of AIDS, Muslim graveyards and a school trip to a Polish concentration camp. Gustavsson's book reviews raise interesting questions about how death is confronted, and they constitute a good supplement to the book.

The book is a wide-ranging and well-thought-out study of Swedish and Norwegian ways of facing death and of the symbols associated with it in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Gustavsson focuses his observations on the emotions caused by the death of a close relative or pet and the expressions of these feelings in the symbolism of gravestones and in letters, diaries and epitaphs on the Internet. The book can be regarded as ethnographic: it is not burdened with long theoretical introductions. Its strength lies in the field work material and the abundant illustrations thereof: quotations and photos of gravestones with their symbols of death bring the subject matter close to the reader.

*Pirjo Korkiakangas, Jyväskylä*

### **The Gastronomic Revolution**

*Håkan Jönsson, Den gastronomiska revolutionen. Carlsson Bokförlag, Stockholm 2012. 224 pp. Ill. ISBN 978-91-7331-484-8.*

■ How does one describe a revolution? That is the question that Håkan Jönsson justifiably uses as the heading to the first chapter in his book about "The Gastronomic Revolution". He then tackles the interest in food and meals that has grown so vigorously in the last thirty years, especially meals and cooking enacted in a commercial public sphere. He also considers how this interest can be understood in the light of a new outlook on knowledge. The aim of the studies in the book is to expose cultural processes by analysing and synthesizing different attitudes to the ingredients, dishes, and meals encountered in Sweden today. This is a vibrant cultural field of study with an unusual dynamic, but it is a field where most things have not yet been studied, especially not from the perspective of cultural value.

But is it a revolution as the author claims? Is it perhaps not just a revolt or a more moderate Swedish reform, an ordered development with a careful-