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# *Scandinavian-Canadian Studies*

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Wolfgang P. Ahrens

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Scandinavian–Canadian Studies  
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## Western Icelandic Literature, 1870-1900

Viðar Hreinsson  
University of Manitoba

RÉSUMÉ: *Un niveau élevé d'alphabétisation et une aptitude à écrire caractérisent la culture islandaise des siècles passés. Cette tradition a été vigoureusement maintenue par les colons islandais en Amérique. Les livres comptaient parmi les objets les plus précieux dans leurs bagages, et peu de temps après leur arrivée dans le nouveau pays ils commencèrent à publier des journaux et des magazines. Une grande quantité de poésie et de prose vit également le jour, aussi bien dans les journaux que sous forme de livres. La majorité de la littérature soit elle suivait le mouvement romantique en vigueur en Islande, oubliant de parler de la nouvelle expérience que constituait l'émigration, soit elle mettait en valeur une idéologie d'héroïsme de pionniers, tout en dissimulant les aspects plus traumatisants de l'émigration. Quelques auteurs firent cependant face au côté plus sombre de l'émigration et arrivèrent même à exploiter d'une manière créatrice le double horizon du vieux pays et du nouveau monde.*

Literacy and various literary activities among common people were relatively widespread in Iceland in the Middle Ages and onward. So, in Catholic times, before the Reformation in 1550, learning was not limited only to the clergy, and by the 17th century numerous common farmers and peasants were not only able to read and write, but were also engaged in various literary activities. In the 18th century, a self-contained educational system was established, based on domestic teaching under the supervision of the clergy. As a result, Icelanders became the first nation in the world to achieve almost universal literacy—that is, if literacy is defined as the ability to read.<sup>1</sup> There were no cultural nor educational institutions outside the church, and until 1773, the church also monopolized the printing press. Thus, not surprisingly, most of the printed literature was religious; this printed material, however, was widely read and was of great importance for the maintenance of literacy. Parallel to this ‘official’ literary tradition, there existed another

'unofficial' one which was based on the writing and circulation in manuscript of a variety of secular literature. The old saga literature and poetry written in the past centuries were still circulating—side by side with contemporary prose and poetry in a curious blend of oral and literary culture. Verse-making carried with it a strong cultural tradition; it was looked upon as a craft rather than a subtle art. Educational material, storytelling, debates, historical events and biographies were all set into verse, which then functioned as a vehicle for communication, much like the media of today. This 'unofficial' literary activity contributed greatly to the maintaining of a comparatively high educational level among the Icelandic people.<sup>2</sup>

The core of the verse tradition were the 'rímur'—long, narrative poems; these were preserved in written manuscripts and were usually chanted in winter evenings when people were at work, in the so-called *kvöldvaka* [evening—entertainment]. The length could be from 50–5,000 stanzas in endless, often difficult, variations of the quatrain form, with occasional excursions into couplets or tercets. According to research published in 1966, over 1,000 'rímur' from the 15th to the 20th centuries are still preserved in manuscripts (Sigmundsson 1966: v–ix). The 'rímur', related to the quatrain-tradition ('ferskeytla') that is still popular in Iceland today, were important in fostering a mastery of the language among the Icelandic people. It was a highly regarded skill to memorize long 'rímur' and to compose occasional verses oneself; and so, many tried their hand "að hafa kveðskap uppí sér" which literally means 'to chew on poetry', by chanting and reciting. It was even popular to hold poetry competitions, called "að kveðast á" (Tomasson 1980: 122–123). The simple fact that the people were constantly 'chewing on poetry', and were accustomed to dealing with words and poetic language, must have enhanced and fertilized their intellectual capabilities, as well as cultivated a general facility in verse making.

Higher academic and cultural institutions were almost totally lacking in Iceland—there was only one learned school to educate students destined for the clergy. This fact and the extremely poor economic conditions created an impediment to the full development of literature; yet, at the same time, the literary activities which the Icelandic people did pursue brought along with it a tremendous intellectual curiosity, indeed a thirst for education and learning.

The 19th century showed a slow improvement in material conditions from a point far below even subsistence level, and the second half of that century was, despite slow material progress and mass emigration, a

progressive period for Icelandic literature; and thus, the impediments posed by economic conditions which I mentioned before were gradually overcome.

In the early 19th century a powerful new literary movement emerged: National Romanticism, which to some extent departed from the popular undercurrent—the ‘unofficial’ literary tradition. The new romantic poetry, with such major figures as Bjarni Thorarensen (1786–1841) and Jónas Hallgrímsson (1807–1845), discovered the beauty of nature and the glorious past, and rose to an aesthetic level far above the more practical and entertaining popular poetry. Given Iceland’s literary culture and tradition, the Romantic poets and their successors gradually became widely popular in the second half of the century. Also, by the second half of the 19th century, farmers in some areas of the country, influenced both by National Romanticism and by ideas from abroad, founded reading societies, studied foreign languages, bought and read books from Scandinavia, England and Germany, debated, published hand-written local journals, wrote poetry and fiction and were even among those who introduced new literary trends in Iceland.<sup>3</sup>

Emigration to North America started in the 1870s when National Romantic poetry and the farmers’ reading societies were highly prominent. So, how did the general Icelandic literary heritage and the specific literary situation at that time manifest itself and develop further among the Icelandic settlers in North America? It is known that settlers considered books their most precious possessions in the humble luggage which they brought with them. Once settled, they were also quick to establish schools and reading societies. But what literature did these emigrants write—a group which lived scattered in several North American settlements and which by around the turn of the century rose to 12–15,000 people?

Ólafur F. Hjartar of the National Library of Iceland has compiled a register of all publications in Icelandic by or concerning Western Icelanders—*Vesturheimsprent*. Using *Vesturheimsprent* as a base, the Department of Icelandic, University of Manitoba, initiated a compilation of a chronological register of publications until 1900, as well as a list of the literary content of newspapers and magazines during this same period. The hiring of a research assistant for this purpose, the graduate student Árný Hjaltadóttir, was made possible by the ‘Icelandic Language and Literature Fund’. The work has as yet not been completed, but by using the information now available one can already sketch a preliminary outline of the literature of the Icelandic settlers.

Of course, new settlers can be expected to engage in correspondence and emigrants honed their written expression by letter writing.<sup>4</sup> Yet, as important as letter writing was for the early settlers, more fundamental for the preservation of Icelandic language and culture was, in the first instance, the setting up of a separate colony and secondly, the existence of a newspaper in Icelandic. While a serious smallpox epidemic raged in the winter of 1876–77, the settlers in the Gimli area of Manitoba decided to found a newspaper at a meeting on January 22, 1877. A printing company was founded, a printing press with Icelandic letters was bought and on September 1, 1877, the first issue was printed in a log cabin at Lundur. This newspaper, *Framfari*, the most widely known and the most highly praised early achievement of the settlers, contained four pages and was published three times a month.<sup>5</sup> The newspaper suffered from financial difficulties from the beginning and publication ceased in 1880. The next newspaper was *Leifur*, appearing weekly from 1883 to 1886. Then the newspaper *Heimskringla* and the magazine *Sameiningin* (published monthly by the Icelandic Evangelist Lutheran synod) appeared in 1886; *Lögberg*, another prominent newspaper, was founded in 1888. By 1900, about 20 Icelandic newspapers and magazines had seen the light of day, some of these existing only for a year or two, with only a few issues published; others survived, such as *Sameiningin* until 1964. Today, the merged *Heimskringla* and *Lögberg* is still published weekly. These publications were an important link between the widespread Icelandic settlements; they were the main vehicle for many kinds of communication and information—news from Iceland and the world, news from the Icelandic settlements and Canada in general, items on education and entertainment, as well as discussions and debates that often were outrageous and loaded with infamy. In addition, of course, the newspapers and magazines printed literature, and initially they were indeed the main channel for it.

Almost as an aside to the development of printed literature was the theatre; this was carried on in a tradition which resembled the old literary usage in Iceland, for, although plays existed in handwritten manuscripts, they were seldom published. They formed, however, a very important role in the grassroots culture of the settlers. In the period 1880–1930, Western Icelanders wrote at least 123 plays, and translated over sixty into Icelandic from English, German, Danish and Norwegian (Brandson, p. 2). Many of these plays, especially in the first decades, were performed by local amateurs under primitive circumstances; they were meant only for a single performance, and therefore circulated only in manuscript; most of

them are now lost. They were however written by the most prominent writers in each area, and not surprisingly therefore we find that two of the most important Icelandic Canadian writers contributed to this type of literature as well. Stephan G. Stephansson (1853–1927) wrote the first play in 1881, and Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason (1866–1945) wrote at least eighteen, six of which were written before the turn of the century (Brandson, pp. 7–9).

Publications other than newspapers and magazines developed rather slowly and consisted mainly of pamphlets and occasional newsflyers. In the 1870s there were 11 publications, all almost exclusively related to emigration, education, or religious matters, religion being socially the most important uniting force among the Icelandic settlers. The situation was similar in the eighties, with emigration and religion dominating. Finally in 1887, a slim 15-page book of poetry appeared, *Kvæði*, published by the then 20-year-old Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason. The book consisted of three poems, one by Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason himself, the second by Kristinn Stefánsson (1856–1916) and the third by Sigurður Jón Jóhannesson (1850–1923). Volumes of poetry appeared with increasing frequency and in the 1890s at least 21 such books saw publication.

In 1889 three volumes of sagas were printed: *Páls saga biskups* and *Hungurvaka* (both of these bishops' sagas appearing together in one volume), *Nikulás saga* (a late adventure romance) and *Hellismanna saga* (a late, fictive saga of the Icelanders). The adventure romance *Faustus saga og Ermenu* was printed in 1892 and the Icelanders' saga *Króka-Refs saga* in 1900. The printing of *Páls saga* and especially of *Hungurvaka*, the saga of the first bishops in Iceland, might indicate an ideological connection to the settlement of Iceland and the introduction of Christianity, perhaps to support the establishment of the Western Icelandic Lutheran congregations. The other sagas were mainly popular adventure romances which were copied in manuscripts in large numbers for centuries in Iceland. Towards the end of the 19th century and around the turn of the century, these were printed in cheap reading editions; so, the printing of these was merely a continuation of an existing Icelandic tradition. *Hellismanna saga* was in fact composed in Iceland around 1830 by Gísli Konráðsson, a self-educated farmer-historian. Gísli imitated the old saga style and his sources were general place names, folk tales and the *Landnámabók* (*The Book of Settlements*) (Guðni Jónsson 1946: ix). The Winnipeg edition of *Hellismanna saga* was based mainly on one of two manuscripts that were found in Manitoba at the time. An elderly immigrant and farmer-poet, Gunnar Gíslason (1823–1898) wrote a

preface to the Winnipeg edition and maintained the saga's authenticity, by comparing it to the *Landnámaþók*. He owned himself one of the two manuscripts of the saga, as well as numerous other manuscripts—mainly of adventure romances and folktales (according to his daughter who edited and published his poetry after his death). He also began writing a history of the Western Icelandic settlement before he died, but this work, as well as his manuscripts, is now lost (Kristín Gunnarsdóttir 1899: 3–4). Thus it is clear that the emigrants brought with them the old literary traditions of the homeland and that these traditions even found their way to the printing presses of the New World. It is also worth mentioning that there exists a manuscript in Iceland which was written in Winnipeg in 1894 by Sigmundur Matthíasson Long; it contains 17th century poetry that is not found elsewhere, as the manuscript from which these poems were copied seems now to be lost (Einar G. Pétursson 1993: 145–46).

In 1890 the first translations of popular novels were printed: *Myrtur í vagni* (*Murdered in a Coach*) by Fergus W. Hume and *Umhverfis jörðina á 80 dögum* (*Around the World in 80 Days*) by Jules Verne. These novel translations increased in frequency in the nineties, when they were usually issued in serial format in newspapers; subsequently, some of them were then printed separately as well. Thus 'established' literature, e. g., translations and the sagas, formed the basis of the literary market, preparing the ground for original literature.

In the field of original prose, Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason was again the pioneer. In 1892 he published *Sögur og kvæði*, a little book that included five short stories and two poems. 1894 saw the longer short story *Elenóra* by Gunnsteinn Eyjólfsson (1866–1910), 1898 the novel *Valið* by Snær Snaeland, a pen name for Kristján Ásgeir Benediktsson (1861–1924), and 1899 the first part of Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason's novel *Eiríkur Hansson*.

Thus by 1900, we have twenty five books by seventeen authors. We can add to these three authors who are not counted in *Vesturheimsprint* because they moved back to Iceland—Torfhildur Þorsteinsdóttir Hólm (1845–1918), Jón Ólafsson (1850–1916) and Einar H. Kvaran (1859–1938). But these are only those authors who published books. Counting those individuals who published poetry and fiction in various newspapers, we arrive at about one hundred poets and writers. This volume of literature among such a small group of settlers indicates the great importance which literature, and especially poetry, held for this people. But what was the content and quality of this writing?

In a letter to Stephan G. Stephansson, dated January 28, 1899, Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason complains about the great number of poets among the

Icelanders; he mentions some poets with contempt and says that every fifth person in his neighbourhood is considered a poet and that there are numerous poets in Gimli and Selkirk as well; yet, he doubts that he himself is considered a poet! He is worried:

Ég er bara hissa á skáldameröginni hjá Vestur-Íslendingum! En alvarlega talað er íslenzkunni og íslenzkum bókmennutum hér vestan hafs mjög mikil hætta búin, ef blöðin halda áfram að prenta allan þvætting, sem þeim er boðinn, því meinið er: að almenningur heldur, að allt sé skáldskapur, sem kemur út í blöðunum og sem ekki er mótmælt, það er að segja: ef hægt er að hafa rímnalag við það. (Finnbogi Guðmundsson, ed. 1971: 143)

[I am just astonished by the crowd of poets among Western Icelanders! But seriously speaking, the Icelandic language and Icelandic literature here in the west is in great danger, if the papers continue to print all the rubbish that is offered to them, because the problem is: the public thinks that everything is poetry that appears in the papers and which is not protested against, that is, if a ríma-tune fits to it.] (translation by Viðar Heinsson)

This description underlines the importance of poetry, but it is also obvious that Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason was not content with the ‘occasional’ role of poetry, he wanted something more than plain verse making. He was, however, not quite so innocent himself, as he published in *Heimskringla* an awful poem of welcome to the Icelandic writer Gestur Pálsson (1852–1891), who in 1890 was hired as an editor for this newspaper. The poem was reprinted in an Icelandic newspaper as proof of how necessary it had been to hire a new editor for that newspaper, to prevent it from publishing such horrible rubbish! Obviously, Western Icelandic poetry did not have too high a reputation in Iceland.

Of course, most of the literature from this period has only value as historical and cultural documents. Emigration and settling in a totally new environment is a tremendous turning point in the lives of people, and it demands challenges and a reevaluation of one’s whole outlook. But did the emigrants face those challenges, or did they suppress them? Were they able to give full literary expression to these changes? Did the doubling of the horizon of experience provide them with the necessary distance to enrich and extend literature, or did their poetry suffer from the general conservatism that often characterizes settler societies?

Much of the poetry of the Western Icelanders consisted of conventional occasional poetry, commemorative poems, entertaining quatrains, or letters written in poetry. Some of the poems give insight into the daily life of the settlers, but many are merely a faint echo of mainstream romantic poetry in Iceland, Icelandic in subject and imagery, some clever and skillful, some simply bad. In the poetry of two of the

best poets of this period, Kristinn Stefánsson and Undína, a pen name for Helga Steinvör Baldvinsdóttir (1858–1941), the emigrant experience is seldom addressed directly; their poetry is lyrical and melancholic, and often expresses deep sorrow.

The poetry that deals directly with emigration is monotonous and repetitive, no matter whether dealing with the departure (and many poems express sorrow over the departure), the motherland or the New World. A certain pattern of self-representation is developed, repeated again and again, in part or as a whole: Icelandic nature and history is glorified, its present state is lamented, the emigrants view themselves as seeking freedom, parallel to the settlers of Iceland and the Vinland explorers. The new country, be it Canada or the United States, is glorified and a wish is expressed to participate in the glorious progress of the New World. Poets created an embellishing ideology, seen in the bulk of the poetry, which consisted of a general tendency to suppress the hardships and the negative aspects of the emigrant experience.

There were several exceptions indeed. Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason composed some good poems in which he describes the conditions and fate of the average emigrant, with sympathy and concern for the weak. He portrays the young girls, jilted by anglophone boys, the hard labour of the people and the exploited urban workers, those who suffered the loss of family, and the lonely, orphan children who disappeared in the new land. "Litla stúlkán" is a sentimental poem about a little orphan girl, sent away by the community council; he portrays her in the emigrant hall and tells of the merciless people who hired her and treated her badly until she ran away, got lost in the woods and died. According to Stephan G. Stephansson, the poems "Íslenskur sögunarmaður i Vesturheimi" and "Grímur frá Grund" were demarcation stakes, the first one describing the urban emigrant, the second one the emigrant in the countryside.<sup>6</sup> Both characters endured the loss of their wives and children, and managed inspite of this to maintain their human dignity. 'Grímur frá Grund' has as a refrain the comments of some Englishmen on Grímur's character; it underscores the position of the settlers—they had to survive and maintain their identity under the scrutinizing eyes of the foreign people.

The poet, K. N., or Káinn, a pen name for Kristján Niels Júlíus Jónsson (1860–1936), was a farmhand all his life, famous for his wit and humour, who brought the art of the humorous quatrain to an unparalleled perfection. Already in some of his earliest poems, we can see his capability of double-voicing, that is, to bring together in single lines or sentences different layers of meaning and outlook, creating delicate

ambiguity and profound irony, often by inserting English words and phrases. This was possible due to his mastery of poetic tradition, enriched by a large intellectual horizon.

Mastery of tradition combined with a large intellectual horizon also characterizes the greatest of all Western Icelandic poets, Stephan G. Stephansson. Unschooled like Káinn, he emigrated in 1873 at the age of twenty and settled three times. He was a hard working farmer, who, while supporting a big family, managed to participate in community work, read, maintain extensive correspondence and produce voluminous poetry, as well as some prose works. His poetry fills over 2,300 pages and his prose, including letters, over 1,400 pages. He is one of the greatest Icelandic poets ever; some North American scholars earlier in this century considered him among the best poets of North America.<sup>7</sup> His intellectual power and the range of his themes is perhaps unparalleled by any other poet writing in Icelandic. Much of his poetry is dedicated to the emigration experience and the new environment. In his first collection of poetry, *Úti á víðavangi* [In the open countryside], he managed to weave together the nature of Alberta, the Icelandic poetic language and his own philosophical outlook. By around 1890 his literary position and philosophical view seem to be fully developed: an original and intelligent critical attitude and a humanism which was the fruit of an expansion of his double horizon—his Icelandic literary background and his experiences in the New World. By means of profound metaphorical skills and an analytical mind, he was able to criticize sharply his fellow countrymen and to describe the existential conditions of the emigration, for instance an inevitable fact for the emigrants: the loss of national identity, that is, being no longer Icelandic nor yet fully Canadian. Thus, in the long narrative poem “Á ferð og flugi” he shows some glimpses of the tragic life and fate of an Icelandic woman and the hypocrisy of church leaders. In addition, by striking metaphoric descriptions of the landscape, he seriously questions the prairie mentality.

In the late 19th century, most prose published in Iceland was rather primitive. The first modern novels to be printed in Iceland, *Piltur og stúlka* (1850) and *Maður og kona* (unfinished; published posthumously, 1876) by Jón Thoroddsen (1818–1868), were well written rural romances, but without any direct connection to the old prose traditions. Much of the novel writing which followed was a poor diluting of Jón Thoroddsens novels, with an obligatory letter intrigue—that is stolen and forged letters playing a key role in the plot.

Among the first settlers in Gimli was Torfhildur Þorsteinsdóttir Hólm, who became a professional writer, publishing mainly for the Icelandic market. She wrote two huge novels, *Brynjólfur Sveinsson biskup* (1882) and *Elding* (1889), while she stayed in Gimli and later, in Winnipeg; these were the first historical novels written in Icelandic and indeed, the first novels written by an Icelandic woman. Her novels were purely Icelandic in subject matter and did not deal with the emigrant experience. She was a moralizing idealist, writing in a very authoritative manner. She published also a short story, *Kjartan og Guðrún*, in 1886, a kind of allegorical interpretation of the tragic love story of the *Laxdæla saga*, where personifications of love and hate are the main characters. Several short stories by her also appeared in *Framfari*—mostly moralist and religious allegories—this is probably the first fictive prose to appear in Icelandic in the New World. Torfhildur moved back to Iceland in 1889, and she may have written the rural romance, *Högni og Ingibjörg*, on board ship, because this short novel was published in 1889, the same year as *Elding*.

Einar H. Kvaran was one of the editors, the newspapers hired directly from Iceland. He wrote a classical short story, *Vonir*, in 1888 (printed in 1890), about a poor and clumsy farmhand who managed to save money for his girlfriend, Helga, to emigrate. After saving enough money, he intended to come himself. He arrived two years later, and by then, of course, the girl had found another man, who was much more elegant than her Icelandic farmhand friend. Obviously, she had deliberately allured him, in order to be able to emigrate herself. Influenced by Georg Brandes, Einar H. Kvaran was one of the pioneers of Realism in Iceland, and this particular story added a new dimension to Icelandic prose in its psychological description of Ólafur, the main character. There are also deeper layers of meaning: Ólafur lost his dreams as well as his beloved; Helga had rejected her moral values in order to get along better in life, but she had also lost a kind of freedom. Pretty clothes and pretentious bashfulness that characterized her in the New World replaced her unaffected lightness back in Iceland. In the end, when Ólafur walked westwards, out of Winnipeg into the endless prairie, it welcomed him with unlimited potential: that is, life, death and eternity. Thus, the emigration is not portrayed as black and white, but rather as something complex and ambiguous, a mixture of gains and losses.

Jóhann Magnús Bjarnason touches upon this theme of loss in his collection of short stories from 1892, but these stories are but primitive sketches of raw events, some even most unlikely, without any

psychological depth or social breadth. The first part of his novel, *Eiríkur Hansson*, remains true to the facts in describing the emigration and the settling, but then the novel gradually dissolves into a rather poor imitation of David Copperfield, spiced with a peculiar kind of Western Icelandic heroism, a praising of the silent, strong and flawless Icelanders who outclass all others.<sup>8</sup>

The multi-talented Gunnsteinn Eyjólfsson was an unschooled farmer, merchant, postman, musician and writer, who was active in community work. The skillful moralizing satirist shows in his short story *Elenóra* (1894). It was influenced by the critical attitude of Realism. The narrator traces the story of his cousin and friend Elenóra, a lively girl who moved from the countryside to Winnipeg. Using letters and informants he tells her story, how she became the victim of cynical fellow countrymen in the city and died. This is a traditional country versus city dichotomy; the story describes with satirical wit how the Icelandic settlers adopted the urban dissolution of morals. Gunnsteinn Eyjólfsson's wit continued to show when later in the nineties, he published in the literary magazine *Svava* the first of his three comical stories about the stupid peasant, Jón á Strympu, and his self-asserting dealings with the authorities.

It would be unfair to expect that in this period the majority of poets and writers would take advantage of the potential hidden in the double horizon of the Icelandic background and the New World. A certain distancing is necessary to create good literature, and in the whirlwind of the emigration, the settling and the fight for survival, we can't expect this to occur. Stephan G. Stephansson expresses a general condition when he states in the poem 'Í útlegð' [In Exile] that he actually has no fatherland.<sup>9</sup> Perhaps this loss of national identity was substituted by a shallow ideology, the underlying narrative pattern of the new pioneer, escaping the oppression and seeking the opportunities of the New World. This narrative had acquired numerous expressions in the poetic language of Icelandic Romanticism, telling the story of the heroes who escaped from Norway to Iceland. Now this narrative was repeated in the new context of the emigration. Perhaps such self justification and even nationalist heroism was necessary in order to prove one's worth and to defend oneself against the perils and challenges of the New World. This was indeed an ideological closure, as is usually the case with traditional mainstream literature. But the real literary achievement was then of those who managed to break out of this closure, to open and enlarge their own views by means of the fertile effects of the double horizon. Whether this effect then grew stronger in the following decades is another story.

## NOTES

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1. Tomasson 1980: 116–117. According to Loftur Guttormsson (1989) the ability to write was not nearly as widespread.

2. On literacy and the literary market in Iceland in previous centuries, see Carleton (1967), pp. 31–79, Loftur Guttormsson (1989), Viðar Hreinsson (1992), Sólrún Jensdóttir (1975–76), and Tomasson (1980), pp. 116–147.

3. Þorgils gjallandi (a pen name for Jón Stefánsson) was a farmer and among the first Realist writers in Iceland. On Þorgils gjallandi and the progressive farmers see: Þórður Helgason: "Inngangur" in Þorgils Gjallandi. *Sögur. Úrvat.* Þórður Helgason bjó til prentunar. Reykjavík: Rannsóknastofnun í bókmenntafræði og Menningarsjóður 1978, pp. 7–66.

4. A large number of 'America-letters' are preserved in the National Library of Iceland and numerous local archives in Iceland, according to a lecture given by Böðvar Guðmundsson at the University of Manitoba, September 1993. Until now only one volume of Icelandic 'America-letters' has been published (see Finnur Sigmundsson, ed. 1975). This volume contains only letters from Mormons in Utah, from a period before the actual mass emigration.

5. On the founding of *Framfari* and the general conditions of the early settlers see Kristjanson (1965), pp. 29–104, on *Framfari* see especially pp. 58–60.

6. Stephan G. Stephansson. 1948. *Bréf og ritgerðir IV bindi. Umhleypingar.* Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Þjóðvinafélag, pp. 178–187.

7. See Cawley (1938–39) and Kirckonnell (1936).

8. On heroism in Western Icelandic literature, see Kirsten Wolf (1991).

9. "Ég á orðið einhvær veginn/ekkert föðurland." In Kristjana Gunnars' translation: "I have acquired somehow/no fatherland." (Gunnars 1988: 74–75)

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# Problems Posed by the Early Medieval Recipe Collection in Danish and Icelandic: culinary confusion compounded?

Constance B. Hieatt  
*University of Western Ontario*

RÉSUMÉ: *Je suis en train de rassembler une base de données consistant en recettes trouvées dans des manuscrits médiévaux anglais et nordiques; cependant, la classification de ces recettes pose des problèmes. Bien que la collection scandinave représente probablement la première qui existe encore en Europe, ces recettes ne sont que des adaptations, à l'intention des Européens du Nord, de recettes originaires du Sud. Par conséquent, elles ne peuvent pas être considérées comme très proches d'un 'original'. Quelques ingrédients ont pu être échangés contre des produits plus facilement trouvables dans le Nord, les titres ont été traduits d'une manière pour le moins bizarre, et les recettes similaires peuvent facilement être confondues. Néanmoins, une analyse de ces recettes peut se révéler éclairante, en nous forçant à reconsidérer des suppositions, des définitions et des généalogies courantes.*

Research on medieval culinary matters<sup>1</sup> is still relatively new as a field of serious study, and so far the vast majority of the work in the area has concentrated on French and English materials. But the *haute cuisine* of the later middle ages was international in scope, however it varied in local adaptations. Culinary historians are increasingly aware that evidence from other areas—Catalonia, Italy, Germany, and Arabia, among others—must be taken into account before we can truly understand the culinary records of any one country. This most certainly applies to medieval Scandinavia, where, as it happens, one of the very earliest collections of western culinary recipes was preserved—perhaps the very earliest.

Scandinavianists who may not have looked into these matters should note, first, that all recorded medieval recipe collections are ‘courtly’ in nature, or at the very least *haut bourgeois*. They cannot tell us

very much about the daily fare of the peasantry, or of Icelandic chieftains and the like. For such quotidian details, however, we do have two sources of information: archaeology and literature. For Scandinavia, the latter consists mainly of the sagas, of course. Perhaps the translated sagas (*riddarasögur* and the like) should be excluded from consideration on the grounds that the food references there are invariably taken directly from the work translated and thus represent French or Anglo–Norman (or whatever) practice rather than what was normal in Scandinavia. For example, the feast Karlamagnús and his men sit down to in Part VII of *Karlamagnús saga*, which includes such delicacies as peafowl in pepper sauce, no doubt comes directly from an Anglo–Norman source.

While it is more than likely that that saga's Norwegian courtly audience was familiar with "páfuglar pipraðir," as a treat if not as everyday fare, for 'everyday fare' we must probably look at the *Íslendinga sögur*. Readers of these sagas will recall, however, that specific dishes are referred to only in highly dramatic moments, as when Þórdís suggests that a pot of porridge is enough to serve her brother's slayer (*Gísla saga Súrssonar*, Ch. 37), or when Egill and his friend Ölvir are fobbed off with a meal of bread, butter, skyr, and buttermilk by a stingy host who is reserving the best food and drink for his royal masters (*Egils saga*, Ch. 43). We read of many a lavish wedding or autumn feast, but are never told exactly what was served, any more than we are told what Njáll and his sons had to eat when Bergþóra told them to choose their favorite foods on the eve of the Burning (*Njáls saga*, Ch. 127).

Elsewhere in the sagas we can note the importance of the same staples that everyone else in northern Europe depended on. Hallgerðr's shortcomings as a housewife are illustrated by her extravagant waste of flour and dried fish, and her more serious moral shortcomings by her theft of cheese and butter (*Njáls saga*, Chs. 11 and 48). That all of these were equally important elsewhere in Scandinavia (as in northern Europe generally) is confirmed by archaeological evidence, which also witnesses the importance of salted meat (especially beef and pork), dried peas and beans, and cabbages (Skaarup, 1991: 1–4; 1992: 43–44).

But how were these ingredients usually cooked and seasoned? What evidence we have suggests that the answer is the same here as for the rest of western Europe, i.e., that foods were generally either boiled in a pot (which might or might not have resulted in pleasingly complex combinations of meat and/or fish with vegetables and herbs), or grilled, usually on a spit; and that complex seasoning (especially spicing) was a prerogative of the wealthy.<sup>2</sup> That latter surmise, however, is virtually

certain. Few Scandinavians who were not conspicuously wealthy could have afforded spices, such as cinnamon—or, for that matter, sugar.

Clues to how foods were actually prepared and served here, as elsewhere, are to be derived largely from the written records, which, as remarked above, are inevitably the records of an elite upper class. Aside from the early recipe collection, discussed below, the only relevant records which have been described in sources accessible to scholars are two noted by the Danish archaeologist B. Skaarup (Skaarup 1992: 40–42). While both come from a time beyond the cut-off date which is usually observed as the latest date for truly ‘medieval’ food records (i.e., 1500), they would appear to be the best we can do—at the present anyway—for Scandinavian records relating to the presentation of medieval aristocratic recipes.

These are the household books of Queen Christine of Denmark and a list of meals served to a Swedish bishop, both dating from the early 16th century. They appear to tell much the same story: the medieval cuisine we know from records everywhere else in western Europe was alive and popular in privileged circles in early 16th-century Scandinavia. Queen Christine, like all other European aristocrats, preferred wheat bread to the rye breads that most of her subjects consumed as their daily bread. She paid regularly for various expensive imported goods. Spices and almonds are especially significant purchases, since these were essential ingredients for the internationally fashionable dishes of the time.

The records of what was served to Bishop Hans Brask, of Linköping, are equally revealing. The bishop’s everyday meals appear to have often included such universal aristocratic medieval favorites as hens with gravy and mutton with turnips (cf., e.g., *CI*, p. 63, “Hennys in bruet,” and *MPI*, p. 148, et al., “Hericot de Mouton,” a dish to which almost all later versions add turnips), while his festival dishes, for occasions when honoured guests were present, included a signal medieval showpiece: peacock in its feathers, with the tail artfully arranged in a fan. But, for recipes for the dishes served to the queen and the bishop, we apparently have only one Scandinavian source of information, and that source was no doubt about three centuries out-of-date in the early 16th century.<sup>3</sup>

That is not to say that the much earlier recipe manuscripts are of little use in telling us how foods were cooked in the later middle ages. On the contrary, the paucity of data for the earlier centuries is one of the greatest obstacles culinary historians face in understanding the relatively abundant (other than in Scandinavia) culinary records of the later period. The vast majority of our recorded medieval European recipes come from

the 15th century; until very recently, only a handful had been identified as having originated in the 14th or late 13th centuries, yet literary and other records going back at least to the 12th century refer to dishes we find again and again in 15th century collections. We know that many recipes had long been in use before they were recorded in extant manuscripts.<sup>4</sup>

In the past, we have invariably found it exciting and illuminating to discover earlier examples of recipes we know from later records. These usually show a simpler prototype from which later versions developed, and those of us who have compared 13th- and 14th-century recipes with 15th-century ones clearly based on the earlier ones have shown that considerable changes can often be observed in this comparatively short period of time.<sup>5</sup> Analysis of these changes has begun to teach us what sort of changes occur regularly, and thus to discern the earmarks of a later version of a recipe.

This is why the collection of recipes preserved in two Danish manuscripts and one Icelandic one—with a partial parallel in Low German—is of tremendous interest and importance—it comprises far and away the earliest collection of medieval European (as against Arabic) culinary recipes identified so far. While the relevant material from all four of the individual manuscripts had been previously edited and printed, the first full description of this material as a whole, and first discussion of its true importance, was given by R. Grewe in a paper delivered at a conference in 1985, published in the proceedings of that conference a year later.<sup>6</sup>

The earliest of these manuscripts is a copy made around 1300 from a translation apparently made from a German original by Henrik Harpestræng, a noted Danish physician and scholar who died in 1244. Thus the original from which the Danish cookbook was translated must go back to the early 13th century, at the latest. In turn, that original could hardly have been of German origin; that is out of the question for a collection starting with various almond preparations and containing dishes well attested all over southern Europe by the 13th century. We must here be looking back to an even earlier exemplar, either in Latin or in one of the Romance vernaculars, presumably written down in the 12th century. R. Grewe now thinks it likely that a medical student from the north may have copied it while studying at Montpellier (for example), where a medical faculty dating back to the 10th century attracted students from all over Europe.

The majority of the recipes in the collection are unproblematic in that they almost exactly duplicate later recipes found everywhere from Catalonia to Wales. The only aspects of the first group, consisting of various almond preparations, which may suggest adaptation for the region are: first, the inclusion of walnut oil, which in the north, must have been a convenient substitute for almond oil; and second, a recipe for almond milk soured into curds with the addition of vinegar or wine which may have had a particular appeal for northerners—the Icelandic manuscript says this is “as good as skyr,” the sour curds or curd cheese Tacitus reported to be an ancient Germanic specialty, and one which is still a staple in modern Iceland.<sup>7</sup>

However, it should be noted that walnut oil had been well-known in the south since antiquity, and that a recipe for “crem and botere of almoundes” in a 14th-century English collection (*CI*: 84) is almost identical to that given here for sour curds of almond milk. That most later English and French recipes for curdled almond milk are, unlike this one, sweetened is not surprising. The almond dishes are followed by eight sauces (ten if we count two which are variants of those above), including mustard ground with honey and vinegar, and the ubiquitous ‘green sauce’—made basically of herbs and vinegar. Every one of these is a sauce familiar to culinary historians. But it may be notable that only one of the sauces in the collection calls for a bread-crumb thickening. Such a thickening is almost universal elsewhere in, for example, ‘green sauce’, for which no thickener is specified here.

Among the dishes which make up the rest of the collection we find such standard medieval favorites as a milk custard boiled with salt pork, then sliced and fried what was known as “lait lardée” in England and France; chicken or fish baked in a pastry shell, which was known in England as a “bakemete” and in France as a “pasté”; and a dish of finely ground meat cooked into a thickened pottage called “mortræas” in Danish, “mortel” in German; the dish known as “morterel” in Catalonia, and “mortrews” in England—named for the mortar used to grind up the ingredients.

But some of the other recipes in the collection present us with thorny problems, especially when we find a title which looks suspiciously like a familiar one but with ingredients and/or techniques which do not seem to correspond to ‘standard’ versions of what the title suggests. One of these cases, where neither etymology nor analysis can easily answer our questions, is a recipe entitled “kaliis” in Danish, “kalus” in Icelandic. (Of course, these are undoubtably not so much

spelling differences as different ways of reading an original scribe's two minimis.) A knowledgeable expert on early cookery in the Low Countries saw no difficulty with this title; he was sure it must be the dish called "calijs" in early Dutch cookery books.<sup>8</sup>

The trouble is that it appears to be quite different. The Dutch "calijs" is a dish well known in France, Italy, England, and no doubt elsewhere in western Europe—English "cullis", and French "coulis". While recipes for cullis vary somewhat during the period, it has two basic characteristics. It is based on cooked poultry (except for a few fish-day variants), and it is strained. The name is agreed to be derived from Latin *colare*, "to strain." Unfortunately, the Danish "kaliis" contains no meat or meat substitute of any kind, nor is it strained. It consists of cubed bread crusts boiled in milk, then thickened with egg yolks. This dish bears some resemblance to the English dish called "lyed mylke" (*OP*: 77) or "Lyode soppes" (*CB*: 11), but as the latter name suggests, the English dish adds 'sops' of bread to the milk and egg custard rather than incorporating the bread in the first place. Neither the English dish nor the much earlier Scandinavian one resembles a "coulis"/"cullis" in any way.

A variant of this recipe, entitled *caleus*, appears in the early 14th-century German *Daz buch von guter spise*, calling for almond milk rather than cow's milk (Hajek 1958: 23). Since almond milk was often produced by filtering through a cloth, R. Grewe has conjectured that this was where the 'straining' comes in; but he realizes this is an unlikely explanation when neither type of milk appears in most recipes for "coulis"/"cullis". It is possible that this title is a mistranscription of an unfamiliar Latin word, which the scribe mistook as "caliis," which was probably a familiar term by the time our manuscripts were copied. The same scribe(s) may well have made just such mistakes elsewhere when translating the originally Latin titles of the collection.

For example, one of the recipes in the same collection calls for boiled chicken in a sauce of pepper, cinnamon, saffron, bread, boiled livers, lard, vinegar and salt; two of the manuscripts here retain the Latin title, which is "Quomodo temperentur pulli cum diversis speciebus" ["how to prepare chicken with various spices"]. However, the low German version informs us that this dish is called "chickens *in commune*," which seems to reflect French *comminée*, English *comeneye* or *comyn*. But that dish is named for the cumin with which it is seasoned, and our present recipe contains no cumin in any version. The cumin may have been omitted, or cinnamon substituted, since in some other ways the dish resembles some basic French recipes for *comminée*,<sup>9</sup> and it is

certainly likely that at least one spice has been omitted, since pepper and cinnamon alone don't really deserve to be called 'several spices' (saffron was not usually thought of as a 'spice').

But it is at least equally probable that the German scribe could not, for some reason, decipher (or understand?) the heading *cum diversis speciebus*, and assumed the *cum* was the beginning of a familiar recipe title, which he rendered as *commune* despite the absence of cumin in the dish. This is not a particularly unusual sort of scribal blunder; when various English scribes transcribed recipes originally flavored with elderflowers, called 'suet' in Anglo-Norman French, which had retained their Anglo-Norman names, they seemed to assume this meant 'sweet', even if there was not a single sweet ingredient, and some thus spelled the word 'swete'.<sup>10</sup>

If etymology is a dubious guide in cases like *commune* and *kaliis*, and we must pay more attention to analysis in the hope of tracing genealogical connections, there remains a further problem of ill-defined (or undefined) borders between similar recipes. Here, our Scandinavian collection presents us with some extremely vexing problems. In *CI* (p. 179, *sub* 'colys'), I defined *cullis* as "broth enriched by a strained ground meat base, usually ... chicken"; I might well have added, "usually further thickened with either bread crumbs or ground almonds." If we look in the Scandinavian compilation for a recipe corresponding to this description, one that fits exactly is found in one of the Danish manuscripts; unfortunately, this manuscript includes no titles at all.

But before we confidently provide it with the title "cullis," there is a further possibility which must be considered: the recipes in the *Viandier* and *Ménagier* for "blanc manger" for invalids, as our Danish recipe specifies that this is, are almost identical to the same works' recipes for "coulis."<sup>11</sup> So, is our Danish recipe a "cullis" or a "blanc manger"? Is there, for that matter, any essential difference? Perhaps the answer is that the name "coulis"/"cullis" was invented to differentiate the strained "blanc manger" considered appropriate for the sick from the more common versions of the dish served to healthier diners—which hypothesis may offer some help to those who have been puzzling over the extreme variations between various dishes all labelled "blanc manger" (see Flandrin 1984). But the situation is further complicated by the title of yet another of our Scandinavian recipes: one entitled "hwit moos" in Danish and Icelandic versions, that is, "white mush" or "white dish."<sup>12</sup> Is this dish "blanc manger," as the name seems to suggest?

One problem is that it contains no meat—or even fish. It is basically bread crumbs cooked with milk and eggs, and thus almost identical to the recipe labelled “*kaliis*” which immediately follows it in all three manuscripts, differing only in adding saffron (thus losing its whiteness) and butter. This seems pretty distant from other recipes for “*blanc manger*,” but it may nevertheless come from the same family tree.

Two of the earliest “*blanc manger*” recipes we have are found in the *Tractatus* (p. 391) and *Liber* (pp. 402–403), both of which probably had their origins in Italy—not a rice-growing area in the early Middle Ages. Both call for rice, but rice ground into flour. The *Tractatus* suggests the substitution of barley or oats; both suggest goat’s milk as an alternative to almond milk, and the *Tractatus* says the dish can be coloured with saffron. Rice, which is, of course, also not native to Germany and Scandinavia, appears nowhere in our recipe collection, and the northern translators may not have hesitated to substitute bread crumbs for rice flour. Butter may be a substitute for the lard called for in the *Liber*. Only the eggs seem to have no parallel in other early recipes for “*blanc manger*”—and it is possible that they might be a ‘fast-day’ substitute for the poultry, as butter might be for lard.

So, perhaps “*hwit moos*” is indeed a northern variant of “*blanc manger*.” And perhaps “*kaliis*” is, too. But, further, there is one other recipe in the Northern collection which my colleague R. Grewe labelled “*blanc manger*” in his preliminary translation (Grewe 1986: 39).<sup>13</sup> This dish, appearing only in the Danish manuscript which lacks titles, consists of finely cut-up boiled chicken breast, almond milk, sugar, and lard; it has no further thickening, whether of crumbs, rice, or eggs. It, too, corresponds closely to some French versions of “*blanc manger*,” but just as closely to the dish known in England as “*blanc desirree*” (variously spelled in later versions), ‘Syrian white dish,’ or ‘white dish Syrian style’, possibly so-called since most versions of it contain spices from the east—although sometimes, as here, only sugar.<sup>14</sup>

Is “*blanc desirree*”, then, another name for “*blanc manger*”? In the very earliest English collections—those in Anglo-Norman and the earliest translations into Middle English—only the former title appears. It is possible that the name “*blanc manger*” came, in England, to mean only the versions of the dish which contained whole rice—as did most French versions not catering specifically to invalids. In any case, studies of the evolution of “*blanc manger*” should probably take the “*blanc desirree*” family of recipes into consideration, as well as the “*cullis*” group. And note that some of these recipes have wandered a long way away from

what seems to be the original type; one English fish-day “blank desure”, for example (*CI*: 77), closely resembles the Danish “hwit moos,” but with cheese added!

Thus, I must conclude that while the recipes in our ‘northern’ collection often seem to be the earliest recorded examples of various recipes, they do not offer much clear guidance to culinary historians. Early as they are, they evidently represent adaptations for northern Europeans of recipes originating in the south. Some ingredients may have been changed to those more readily available in the north, titles have been translated very oddly, and the borders between similar recipes look hopelessly confused.

These facts pose various problems for those now attempting to follow up the recently completed catalog of medieval recipe manuscripts, the “Répertoire des manuscrits médiévaux contenant des recettes culinaires,”<sup>15</sup> with an analytical list of the titles of the recipes there included. The information which was considered minimally essential by those who initially proposed this project<sup>16</sup> was the title of the dish, the document in which it appears, and the principal ingredient and general category of the dish. This may have seemed sufficient for those dealing with French and Italian examples, but in a paper published in the same volume as the “Répertoire” (Hieatt 1992) I suggested that there would be grave difficulties in so treating English recipes. Namely, first, later modifications to many recipes make them almost unrecognizable; second, a great number of their titles are borrowed from other languages—and transcribed by scribes whose corruptions of the originals may border on the bizarre; and, third, we still have a long way to go in establishing the original etymology (and thus, in part, meaning) of many, perhaps even most, medieval food names.

To this list, I should have added the deliberate changes in titles which were sometimes made when a recipe was translated from one language into another. The Scandinavian collection obviously presents us with exactly the same problems. Ultimately, however, analysis of these recipes may turn out to be illuminating, if not in the way that might have been expected or hoped for. The problems posed may, rather, impel us to reconsider certain common assumptions, definitions, and genealogies.

## NOTES

1. Editions of medieval culinary recipes referred to by abbreviations in what follows are:

*CB* = *Two Fifteenth-Century Cookery Books*. Ed. by Thomas Austin

*CI* = *Curye on Inglysch: English Culinary Manuscripts of the Fourteenth Century (Including the Forme of Cury)*. Ed. by Constance B. Hieatt and Sharon Butler.

*Liber* = *Liber de Coquina*. Ed. by Marianne Mulon.

*Mp1* = *Le Ménagier de Paris*, vol. 2. Ed. by Jérôme Pichon.

*Mp2* = *Le Ménagier de Paris*. Ed. by Georgine E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier.

*Tractatus* = *Tractatus de modo preparandi et condiendi omnia cibaria*. Ed. Marianne Mulon.

*VT1* = *Le Viandier de Taillevent*. Ed. by Jérôme Pichon and Georges Vicaire.

*VT2* = *The Viandier of Taillevent*. Ed. by Terence Scully.

2. Bi Skaarup does not say anything about the archaeological evidence in regard to cooking utensils, such as pots and spits, found in Denmark in either of the articles cited here (1991 and 1992). Her silence suggests that such artifacts are unremarkable, i.e., that they correspond to what is found elsewhere in western Europe. But perhaps she may have more to say on this subject in the future.

3. The sample medieval recipes adapted in B. Skaarup's *Mad og spisevær fra middelalderen* are mainly drawn from the early collection, supplemented by one from a 17th-century Danish cookbook and one from a 14th-century German source (Skaarup 1991, pp. 7 and 9).

4. See Laurioux and Redon (1984), pp. 98–99, for a summary of some of this evidence.

5. See, e.g., Paul Aebischer (1953), especially pp. 76–77., and the introduction to *CI*, pp. 6–11.

6. See Rudolf Grewe. 1986. The earlier editions of the manuscripts concerned are: for MS Royal Irish Academy 23 D 43: Henning Larsen, ed. 1931. *An Old Icelandic Medical Miscellany* (Oslo: det norske Videnskaps-Akademí í Oslo), pp. 131–217; for MSS Royal Library of Copenhagen, Ny. kgl Samling, nr. 66 and nr. 70: Marius Kristensen, ed. 1908–1920. *Harpestræng: Gamle danske Urtebøger, Stenbøger og Kogebøger* (Copenhagen: H. H. Thieles bogtrykkeri), pp. 194–199 and 216–220; for the Wolfenbüttel Codex (the partial parallel): Hans Wiswe, ed. "Ein mittelniederdeutsches Kochbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts." *Braunschweigisches Jahrbuch* 37 (1956), pp. 40–47.

7. See Cleasby-Vigfusson *sub 'skyr'* for references.

8. Joop Witteveen: personal correspondence. The Dutch recipe appears in Elly Cockx-Indestegge (1971), pp. 117–118.

9. Such as the recipe for *comminée* in the *Viandier* (*VT1*, pp. 5–6; *VT2*, pp. 52–54), which calls for boiled chicken, quartered, fried in lard, with bread, ginger, cumin, verjuice, wine, and egg yolks. Another (*VT1*, p. 81; collated in *VT2*, loc. cit.) omits

bread; and an earlier one in the *Traité* (VT1, p. 219) has no bread or ginger. The *Ménagier* (MP1, pp. 161–62; MP2, p. 215) has one like the basic *Viandier* recipe, but adds saffron; variants suggest adding milk and say that some do not fry the meat.

10. E.g. *Sweteblanche*, in CB, p. 112; there is no sugar or other sweet ingredient in this recipe, nor is it notably ‘white’.

11. VT1, pp. 24–25, 100–101, and 167 and 192; VT2, pp. 159–60 and 166–67. MP1, pp. 165 and 242; MP2, pp. 217 and 266.

12. Or, “white sauce,” in the sense that Mod. German *Apfelmus* is translated as “applesauce.”—The variant spelling *hwittmos* in the Icelandic manuscript is (of course) inconsequential.

13. Bi Skaarup follows this example in titling her modern Danish adaptation of the same recipe “Blankmanger” (Skaarup 1991: 5).

14. See especially CI, pp. 45, 67, and 144; note that the earliest version is, like the *Viandier*’s very similar “blanc manger” recipes, garnished with pomegranate seeds.

15. Constance B. Hieatt, Carole Lambert, Bruno Lauroux, and Alix Prentki, eds. in *Du manuscrit à la table*, pp. 315–388.

16. I.e., Jeanne Allard, Annie Duchene, Veronique Grappe-Nahoun, Jean-Louis Flandrin, Mary and Philip Hyman, Carole Lambert, Bruno Lauroux, and Rebecca Spang. .

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# The Treatment of Mesmerism in Per Olov Enquist's *Magnetisörens femte vinter*

Peter G. Christensen  
Marquette University, Milwaukee

RÉSUMÉ: *La tension artistique du troisième roman de Per Olov Enquist, Magnetisörens femte vinter* (1964), apparaît dans le personnage de Friedrich Meisner, à la fois une création de l'auteur et une allusion au véritable Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), le médecin qui a 'découvert' le magnétisme animal. La réception critique n'a pas beaucoup examiné la dimension historique du roman, ni ses liens avec le mesmérisme, bien que nous confrontions une surabondance de questions d'interprétation engendrée par Mesmer, ses doctrines et sa propre vie. Une lecture du roman doit donc poser ces questions: 1) Mesmer, a-t-il appartenu aux mouvements intellectuels du siècle des lumières? 2) Était-il un homme de science? 3) Comment juger ses actions comme médecin envers Maria Theresa von Paradis? 4) Comment expliquer la politique du mesmérisme? Pour Enquist Meisner/Mesmer n'était ni homme du siècle des lumières ni homme de science. C'était plus un charlatan qu'un médecin, et Enquist juge sa politique réactionnaire et dangereuse. Parce qu'on doit considérer la psychanalyse comme l'héritier principal du mesmérisme, un roman qui critique le mesmérisme inclut également une attitude sceptique envers la psychanalyse. Dans ses romans subséquents Enquist tente de décrire une société avec bien plus de détails et laisse derrière lui ce roman mi-historique mi-parabolique.

In his third novel, *Magnetisörens femte vinter* (1964; *The Magnetist's Fifth Winter*, 1989), Per Olov Enquist (born 1934) uses the interesting strategy of making Friedrich Meisner, the title character, simultaneously both an invented character and Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815), the famous 'discoverer' of animal magnetism. In the author's afterword, Enquist writes:

Många av dokumenten om Friedrich Meisner är det inte möjligt att redovisa för; de har skapats och upphört att existera i och med denna roman om honom. Bara i detaljer kan han påminna om Franz Anton Mesmer. Ett av de fall som här relaterats, fallet Keiser, bygger dock i vissa delar på helt autentisk grund. Det återfinns i en sjukjournal från 1821, förd av mesmericisten och läkaren P. G. Cederschjöld. (249 of Swedish (S) version, *Magnetisörens femte vinter*)

[It is impossible to certify many of the documents dealing with Friedrich Meisner; they have been created and have ceased to exist together with this novel about him. Only in details is he reminiscent perhaps of Franz Anton Mesmer. One of the cases related here, however—the Keiser case—has a certain basis in authentic fact. A medical journal from 1821, kept by the Swedish mesmericist and physician P. G. Cederschjöld, is still extant. (231 of English (E) version, *The Magnetist's Fifth Winter*)]

In line with this statement we can cite the two mentions of Mesmer himself in the text. When Meisner first enters Seefond, described as one of the largest towns on the plains north of the Alps, we are told as background information, "Enviss magnetisör Wolfart, lärjunge til Mesmer, påstod sig där kunna bota vissa sjukdomer medelst strykningar och magnetisering av patientens kropp" (S 68) ["A certain Wolfart, a disciple of Mesmer, was claiming he could cure certain illnesses by strokings and magnetizations of the patient's body" (E 60)]. Later, Claus Selinger, a doctor whose blind daughter has been treated by Meisner, is presented with a letter offering information on Meisner, Mesmer and Cagliostro (S 184, E 168).

However, at the same time that Enquist gives the impression that he has drawn upon other mesmericists in addition to Mesmer, the coincidence of certain details with those in Mesmer's life forces us to consider that the novel must also be seen as an interpretation of Mesmer and his practices. For example, Meisner began his career in 1775 when he was one of the men called in to investigate Father Johann Gassner, the Jesuit faith healer who had gone on an exorcism tour of the Rhineland in the summer of 1774 (Benz 1977: 28) (S 136, E 124). Meisner was the doctor in the case of Maria Theresa von Paradis in 1777 at the court of Maria Theresa (S 97, E 87). Five years later in Paris he carried on a polemic against his erstwhile disciple D'Eslon, who defected from his type of treatments (S 231, E 212). In these instances Meisner's life follows Mesmer's.

Analysis of the use of history in *Magnetisörens femte vinter* shows that the details on Mesmer and mesmerism in the novel are not used simply to provide a realistic backdrop for a parable about charlatanry. Nor is it completely correct to say that Meisner is not Mesmer. In fact,

the novel works with the creative tension that the protagonist both is and is not Mesmer at the same time. As *Magnetisörens femte vinter* has not yet been discussed in terms of the accuracy of its portrayal of Mesmer, this essay should open up a new approach to the novel.

Enquist has not steered his critics in the direction of analyzing *Magnetisörens femte vinter* with respect to the issue of mesmerism in its historical context, and the critical literature, reflecting the issues the author finds most important, has avoided it. Thus the novel has been seen in relation to the debate on disenchantment in post–World War II Sweden (H. Jansson 1987: 193) and the promotion of open forms in art during the 1960s (B. Jansson 1984: 148). In a less specific twentieth-century context, it has also been read as a reflection on the growth of Nazism (B. Jansson 1984: 143; Hennigsen 1975: 53). Finally, all critics examine the general human themes. Ross Shideler, for example, notes:

From [the] central issue [of faith], Enquist explores such problems as: the difficulty of discovering and evaluating the truth; the ability of art, though based on deception, to be either destructive or constructive; and the collusion between leaders and followers, whether as doctors and patients, swindlers and victims, or authors and readers. (Shideler 1984: 25)

With respect to these issues, both Shideler and Birgitta Jansson believe that, while recognizing some attractive aspects of Meisner, we are ultimately supposed to have more sympathy for the side of reason, the conscious, and open human dealings exemplified by two of the novel's chief characters, Selinger and Steiner. Claus Selinger, one of the town's eight doctors, records in his diary his growing disillusionment with Meisner, whom his younger colleague Arnold Steiner has considered a charlatan from the start.

Thus despite the fact that at the end of the novel we do not discover the outcome of Mesmer's trial for fraud and charlatany, we should ultimately vote against him. In supporting this thesis, Shideler notes all the bad things about Meisner that we as readers know, but which the citizens of Seefond do not. On a different note, B. Jansson confirms Enquist's negative judgment of Meisner by stressing Enquist's comment on Selinger, "Selinger, det är jag." She quotes from an interview with Enquist in which he declares his unwillingness to convert to a mystical view of life: "jag tror jag kan säga, att jag har gått så långt i förståelse för mystiken som man överhuvud kan gå, utan att konvertera" (B. Jansson 1984: 137) [I believe I can say that I have gone as far in understanding mysticism as one on the whole can go without being converted to it.]

The amount of literature on Mesmer, both for and against, is enormous, and it has increased considerably since the publication of Enquist's novel in 1964. Indeed, several other novels about Mesmer and/or mesmerism have appeared since then, among them Ann Jensen and Mary Lou Watkins' *Franz Anton Mesmer, Physician Extraordinaire* (1967), Peter Sloterdijk's *Der Zauberbaum* (1985), and Brian O'Doherty's *The Strange Case of Mademoiselle P.* (1992). At least the latter two are, like Enquist's, fine novels.<sup>1</sup> Biographies of Mesmer are difficult to write because of the gaps in his life story. Those by Walmsley (1967) and Buranelli (1978) are the best. Mesmer's published writings, except for the 1779 *Mémoire sur la découverte du magnétisme animal*, do not give much clue to his personality, and there are no diaries and few letters to help in an interpretation. He disappears from history for years at a time, and we have few details for the period between his departure from Paris in 1785 and his arrival in Vienna in 1793. Enquist sets the bulk of his novel as a flashback to the years 1793–1794. In 1793, Mesmer returned to Vienna for the first time since early 1778 and was abruptly put in prison for two months because of the political interpretation of casual remarks he made there. Released, he moved back to the Lake Constance area. In the novel, the town of Seefond is a fabrication, but the trial there reminds us of the difficulties in Mesmer's life in 1793. Enquist moves back in time five years from 1798 in the novel's first few pages without any reference to historical events during those years.

As the novel progresses, more and more references are made to earlier events concerning Mesmer and mesmerism. If we read closely, we see that Enquist engages in the following debates: (1) Was Mesmer an Enlightenment thinker? (2) Should we consider him a scientist? (3) Did he act reputably as a doctor in the Paradis case? and (4) What are the politics of mesmerism? We must conclude that for Enquist, Meisner/Mesmer was neither an Enlightenment thinker nor a scientist. He sets a bad example as a doctor, and his politics are suspect.

Enquist tries to remove his hero from the time of the Enlightenment. Early in the novel he asks us to think of the action of the novel apart from any historical specificity whatsoever; the eighteenth-century context is no more essential than setting the novel in a real German town.

Redogörelsen för den vinter som följde måste naturligtvis inte börja just här; den är en våg som ständigt återtar sin form, som är fixerad och beständig.

Denna vågdal börjar alltså sin uppåtstigning sensommaren 1798. Den kunde även ha inträffat 1932. (S 21)

[Naturally, there's no reason why my account of the winter that followed should necessarily begin just here. It's all a wave; a wave incessantly resuming its own form, a form fixed and permanent.

This trough, then, begins its climb in the late summer of 1798. It could equally well have happened in 1932. (E 15)]

Actually, there is a reason to begin the account here and to make us think about Germany the year before Hitler came into power. Enquist does not want his magnetist to be considered primarily with reference to the metropolitan capitals of Paris and Vienna, where he would have to deal with specific historical circumstances. The secluded Seefond better serves the requirements of a parable about the threat posed by a charlatan and the potential of fascism.

Mesmer knew Gluck, was friendly with the Mozarts, and probably met Haydn. The first production of Mozart's *Bastien and Bastienne* took place in Mesmer's garden. The years between Mesmer's marriage and the Paradis case (1768–1777) were prosperous ones, and he was made a member of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. In contrast, Enquist partially severs Meisner from the Viennese art scene to which he gained access not only through his university degrees but also through his marriage to a rich widow. Meisner was born in 1747, fifteen years after Mesmer—a useful change in lowering the number of years lived in the heart of Viennese society.

Furthermore, although both Mesmer and Meisner leave Vienna in 1778, and although both men flee the same Paradis case, Meisner must have taken months or years longer to get to Paris than Mesmer since he supported himself on his way as an itinerant healer (S 53, E 45). The real Mesmer arrived in February 1778. Again we are made to think of the protagonist as a figure more on the fringe of society than was his historical model.

In the eyes of Rudolf Tischner, Mesmer was not a charlatan but a child of the Enlightenment (Tischner 1928: 652). Indeed, some hostile evaluations of his work, such as the Romantic poet Coleridge's, came from the view that Mesmer was too materialistic (Walmsley 1967: 176). Amadou, in his annotated edition of Mesmer's writings, discounts an occult foundation in Mesmer's medical dissertation (Mesmer 1971: 87). In his 1766 dissertation Mesmer notes specifically that his belief in tides in the atmosphere is not to be seen as a return to alchemy (Pattie 1956: 277). In fact, according to Pattie, this belief in the atmospheric tides was part of the material plagiarized from Richard Mead's 1704 *De imperio solis ac lunae*, a work considered part of a scientific tradition. Pattie

writes that Mesmer was a true child of the Enlightenment, not a premature offspring of the coming Romanticism. He backs up an earlier statement by Bernhard Milt that although the German Romantics were interested in Mesmer, it is a major mistake to view Mesmer himself as a Romantic (Milt 1953: 6; quoted in Pattie 1956: 287).

On the other hand, Enquist shares the point of view found in Stefan Zweig's widely read *Mental Healers* (1933; first published in German as *Die Heilung durch den Geist*, 1930), that Mesmer was completely out of place in the Enlightenment. Zweig writes:

The tragedy of Mesmer's life was that he was born too late and lived too soon. He grew to manhood in an "ultra-wise" era (to use Schopenhauer's expression), the era of the Enlightenment, an era that prided itself upon the development of the rational faculties to the exclusion of intuition. (Zweig 1933: 4)

Zweig sees Holbach, LaMettrie, and Condillac, "who looked upon the universe as an interesting machine capable of improvement, and upon man as a curious kind of thinking automaton," as the standard bearers of the Enlightenment (Zweig 1933: 4). Consequently, he overemphasizes one important but not dominant strain of Enlightenment thought.

Zweig's attitude to Mesmer is indirectly attacked, and, I would say, refuted by Robert Darnton in his presentation of Mesmer as an Enlightenment thinker. Darnton feels that "even the most occult of Mesmer's followers rejected any suggestion that they were repudiating the scientific advances of their century" (Darnton 1968: 38). French pro-mesmerism pamphlets noted that J. S. Bailly, one of the official commissioners who condemned mesmerism, held beliefs similar to his. For Darnton, Lavoisier's description of the caloric is made in terms recognizably related to Mesmer's world view. A contemporary list of authors whose works "have some analogy with mesmerism" included Diderot, Maupertuis, Rousseau, Buffon, and Marat (Darnton 1968: 39).

Enquist chooses only one intellectual predecessor for Mesmer, Paracelsus (1493–1541), thus further separating him from an Enlightenment context. Paracelsus is in Meisner's thoughts on the very first page while he is hiding from the townspeople in a cave. Meisner considers him the probable author of the statement that pain afflicts us as a punishment for our stillness. Paracelsus publicly rejected the logic of the ancients, which, he felt, could add nothing new to knowledge (see Debus 1977, Volume 1: 55). Furthermore, Paracelsus, an alchemist, was convinced of correspondences in the spiritual and physical world around him, and Mesmer, although not an alchemist, looked for them also.

Later Meisner thinks that Paracelsus “levde sitt bragderika liv på en alltför jämn nivå” (S 18) [“had lived out a life rich in achievements; but on altogether too level a plane” (E 11)]—a strange comment, given the dramatic successes and reverses of the Renaissance doctor’s career. Meisner is credited with being the author of a book on Paracelsus (S 52, E 45), and he regards him as one who struggled against traditional medieval knowledge and the scholastics with the same fury as himself, suffering the same reverses (S 78, E 69; S 221, E 202).

Meisner even has a dream of his hero—one which undercuts the view of Mesmer as a scientific experimenter and refashions him as a pragmatic liar.

Paracelsus hade kommit fram till honom i drömmen och talat till honom. Du läser mina skrifter, hade han sagt, men du förstår inte vad jag är på jakt efter. Du har en skyldighet mot din vision. Du har en skyldighet att icke förblanda den med verkligheten: att låta den finnas i mellanrummet mellan jord och himmel. Ger du dem verkligheten, hade han sagt, då behöver de dig aldrig. Då kan de nöja sig med den.

Ge dem en lögner eftersom de behöver den. (S 80).

[In his dream Paracelsus had come up to him and spoken to him. You read my writings, he’d said, but you don’t understand what I’m searching for. You’ve a duty to your vision. You’ve a duty not to confuse it with reality: to allow it to exist in the interstice between earth and heaven. Give them reality, he’d said, and they’ll have no need of you. Then they’ll be content with it. But give them a lie, since that’s what they need. (E 71)]

Later, when Meisner feels that the treatments of the blind Maria Selinger are going badly, he decides that he should have listened to the voice of Paracelsus and given her vision rather than reality. He believes he has failed his master, who “borde ha uppenbarat sig för mig och lagt sin hand över min mun” (S 93) [“should have revealed himself to me and laid his hand across my mouth” (E 83)].

Despite the dramatic effectiveness of Meisner’s Paracelsus references, we would be stretching a point to think of Mesmer as a disciple of Paracelsus. In response to M. Thouret’s hostile pamphlet of 1784, *Recherches de doutes sur le magnétisme animal*, accusing him of having taken all of his ideas from Paracelsus, Van Helmont, Mead, and Maxwell, Mesmer denied that he had ever read these authors (Ellenberger 1970: 66). This may well be a true statement on his part, since, as Maria Tatar indicates, Mesmer was not a learned man and acquired his scientific knowledge from a small number of secondhand sources. She concludes that it is unclear how heavily he relied on these famous predecessors (Tatar 1978: 5). Newton’s friend, Mead, whom Mesmer plagiarized in his

brief dissertation, is far more of a rationalist than Paracelsus (Stone 1974: 663), and thus Enquist obscures this line in the origin of mesmerism.

Enquist's Steiner, although a doctor rather than a scientist, continues the thinking of the French Enlightenment commissioners in seeing Meisner as a charlatan. Meisner's interest in faith healing reflects the change in emphasis in mesmerism brought about by Mesmer's disciple De Puységur after 1784. According to Nicholas P. Spanos and Jack Gottlieb:

De Puységur [...] stressed the importance of the mesmerist's will and faith in effecting a cure. Passes without appropriate willing and faith were considered useless. Without the magnetizer's unquestioning faith in his procedures and in the moral purity of his undertaking, the treatment would fail... . (Spanos and Gottlieb 1979: 530)

Steiner confronts Meisner, accusing him of faith healing and manipulation of the will, while masquerading as a scientist and doctor. However, Enquist seems to be less interested in faith as an element in recovery than he is in outright deceit and lying to provoke faith. This is shown by Meisner's complicity in the case of Mme. Keiser, who creates a sensation in Seefond with her claim that she has a dead child caught not in her womb but in her bowels. Meisner publicly treats her by touching in order to dissolve the fetus so that it can be evacuated through her rectum. Eventually the doctors discover that Mme. Kaiser is using chicken bones to pass for human bones leaving her body.

Meisner, speaking of his cases, declares that the severely ill live in a dead world, and a tremendous fund of trust is needed to help them get well. In opposition to him, Selinger claims that trust based on fraud is an illusion and that nothing produced by lies will last. Meisner declares Selinger wrong and punches him. Enquist discredits mesmerism here by showing the mesmerist as a person who, because he cannot win a logical argument, turns to violence.

By drawing a veil over his initial success in Parisian intellectual circles, Enquist implies that there is no scientific backing to what Mesmer achieved in Paris. The French scientific and medical commissions had condemned him on both scientific and moral grounds, and Selinger shares in this double condemnation. He calls upon us to think of Meisner's defeat as part of a repeated pattern in which he fails to act on his own behalf when a situation is turning against him. This type of psychological presentation allows us to forget the specific controversy over the fairness of the commissions. There was public anger at the

perceived inadequacy of their reports, given the fact that so many people had obviously been helped or cured.

One of the two commissions, the scientific commission consisting of nine men, including Franklin, Lavoisier, Bailly, and Guillotin, declared that it was imagination without magnetism which produced the convulsions in the patients, and that magnetism without the imagination produced nothing. A major problem with the investigations by the commission came from the fact that they did not study Mesmer's own clinic (S 103, E 93). The scientific commission also declared that repeated provocations of the imagination could be harmful. In all of these declarations the medical commission agreed. However, the latter group went even farther by submitting a secret report, at first prepared for Louis XVI only, but published soon after, stating that through mesmerism the magnetists were gaining erotic control over women, since the handling of the patient's body during the procedure had an erotic aspect to it (Buranelli 1975: 164–65, 241–42). In the novel, Meisner's attitude toward women is often contemptible. In the case of Helene Stesser he uses his position as healer to place his patient on a couch and then to have intercourse with her. His lechery and unprofessional actions substantiate the fears stated in the secret report.

Because of the reports and the secret document, Mesmer could have been given a *lettre de cachet*, had his disciple Nicolas Bergasse not been instrumental in gaining protection for him from the Parlement de Paris. Since the two official reports were printed in the large volume of 20,000 copies, mesmerism—already a huge craze—received even more publicity. Many pamphlets, broadsides, and journalistic pieces for and against it were provoked by these official investigations. Only one of the scientists, the botanist Laurent de Jussieu, submitted a minority report, stating that further investigation was required. However, his statement did not have much impact, since he did not defend Mesmer on the issue of animal magnetism but rather asked for more evidence (Buranelli 1975: 161–64).

Controversy continues over the judiciousness of the reports. Vincent Buranelli finds that Franklin and his colleagues were in this case "poor judges and unreliable prophets" (Buranelli 1975: 166). Franklin could find nothing in mesmerism comparable to what he found in lightning, and his failure to see anything "disposed of animal magnetism for him" (Buranelli 1975: 166). For Buranelli, the cures were not given adequate consideration. Similarly, Margaret Goldsmith writes that the investigators ignored what they could not understand (Goldsmith 1934: 147).

Enquist, like the commissioners, does not explore the possibility that the rejection of mesmerism is actually rooted in our understanding of scientific paradigms, since he implies that science is acceptable the way it is now conceived. It is possible that Mesmer's animal magnetism touched on issues concerning the nature of scientific evidence and research that fell beyond the scientific paradigms of the time. Thus, in a recent article, Jacques M. Quen asks if the outcome of the investigation was inevitable, even though, given today's vantage point, he does not find Mesmer a charlatan. He quotes Michael Polanyi's view that unaccountable evidence has to be disregarded "in the hope that it will eventually turn out to be false or irrelevant" (Quen 1975: 154). In other words, science would not be able to function at all without an accepted paradigm. Quen also calls upon Thomas Kuhn's study of the role of paradigm shift in scientific revolutions. The French scientists investigating Mesmer not surprisingly noticed an abnormality, but they did not change the paradigm (Quen 1975: 155).

Nevertheless, Enquist's critical attitude toward mesmerism has had a recent supporter. Gereon Wolters argues that the royal commissions were correct in refusing to accept mesmerism as a science. He feels that the commissions held to a high standard of experimental science, and that like other influential critics Robert Darnton only obscures this fact when he tries to assimilate mesmeric thought into other scientific trends of the time (Wolters 1988: 128). Wolters contrasts Lavoisier's experiments concerning heat with the theory of animal magnetism and finds the latter lacking. According to Wolters, Mesmer used the terminology of established sciences but without their methodology (Wolters 1988: 131).

Enquist, who finds Meisner's healings as questionable as his science, does not ask us to accept Mesmer's version of the Paradis case. Meisner's account relies heavily on Mesmer's exposition of it in the *Mémoire sur la découverte*, which includes the description of his daughter Maria Theresa's progress written by Herr von Paradis before the scandal ended the treatments. In the novel Meisner tells Maria Selinger what the educated reader knows to be details about the Paradis affair, but he makes a change that emphasizes its effect on the mesmerist rather than the scientific rationality of the treatment. Meisner leaves Maria Selinger with the impression that following the Paradis fiasco he was given a banishment order by the Empress and had to leave Vienna within twenty-four hours. However, as Hermann Ullrich notes, no disciplinary action was taken against Mesmer; he continued with his treatment of two other

patients, and he stayed in Vienna another six months, leaving on 20 January 1778 (Ullrich 1961–1962: 179).

About Meisner's self-revelations, the narrator writes:

Han måste ha berättat nästan allting för henne. Berättelsen var naturligtvis inte sann, så som vi nu anser att sanningen bör ha sett ut. Inga berättelser är sanna, bara mer eller mindre effektiva. (S 104–05)

[He must have told her almost everything. Of course his tale wasn't true; not in the sense of the word 'true' we accept nowadays. No stories are true; only more or less effective. (E 94)]

Meisner believes that at least in some situations objective truth is an illusion. Nevertheless, we are asked to judge Meisner on the objective truth that sometimes he is a liar. Indeed, some of the scholarly literature on the novel comes to the conclusion that Enquist wants us to see Meisner as a demagogue. When we look at the historical sources to try to understand the Paradis case, we must weigh the evidence, and not just take Meisner's view that all accounts of it are to be judged on their effectiveness in producing a desired result rather than their correspondence to reality..

Meisner stresses the idea that Maria Theresa was a better pianist blind than when she had some of her sight. Thus her improvement anticipated financial loss for the family—an idea we can also find in Mesmer's account (Mesmer 1980: 58–63, 71–76). However, Enquist adds emotional details which obscure the fact that there was a question about the initial diagnosis:

Där, tänkte han, där borde det ha stannat. Jag borde ha blivit dödad just där: av en lönnmördare, av en nedfallande istapp. Sen blev allting förbytt. Jag blev förvandlad. Allting blev groteskt. (S 99)

[There, he thought, there it should have stopped! I ought to have been killed, just there; by an assassin, or by a falling icicle. Then everything would have been transformed. I was transformed. Instead, everything became grotesque. (E 88)]

The incident is not presented as a conflict in medical understanding, as indeed it was, but as an episode in the life of a persecuted genius.

Stefan Zweig helps us to discover the more complex issues at stake (Zweig 1933: 37–40). The court physicians, such as Barth and Stoerck, could not help Maria Theresa von Paradis.

But certain symptoms (convulsive twichings of the eyes which at such times would bulge out of their sockets, and disorders of the liver and spleen which when acute brought on attacks closely resembling mental alienation) lead us to believe that Fräulein Paradies's [sic] blindness was not caused by atrophy of the optic nerve but by a physical disturbance. (Zweig 1933: 36)

Zweig says that Mesmer must have believed that Maria Theresa had experienced some shock to her nervous system, thus making her a suitable candidate for treatment. After all, even if Mesmer's diagnosis were totally wrong, treatment of a dead optic nerve could not do it any conceivable further damage.

Zweig notes that Mesmer's perspective on the Paradis case differs from that of his colleagues in that he declared that her eyesight was almost totally restored, and the other doctors insisted that it was "nothing but a trick and a figment of the imagination" (Zweig 1933: 37). Zweig believes Mesmer, although he also speculates that we can never know with certainty what effect the treatment had on her eyes. The fact that the patient was never again able to see supports the doctors' verdict, but the account written by her father, who sent Mesmer packing, ironically supports Mesmer's claims.

According to Herr von Paradis:

After awhile she grew accustomed to faces, and did not find them so amiss. Her greatest difficulties were to learn the names of colours and to distinguish distances, for in the matter of sight she was as ignorant as a newborn babe. She never made a mistake in the contrasted shades of colours, but committed many blunders when it came to naming them, especially if she was not put on the right trial by first comparing it to a colour she had learned to know. (Zweig 1933: 38)

The detail of the father's testimony in a situation where it would be difficult to draw upon any similar previous cases for fabrication is a strong argument in Mesmer's favour. Since Meisner is said to have been Maria Theresa's doctor, the reader is inclined to extend to the fictional doctor the credit we give to the real one.

Enquist wants to make it harder than ever to figure out the truth about the Paradis case. Although he provides an evaluation by Selinger, he admits that Selinger could have confused facts in the case with those of other cases mentioned at his later trial at Seefond. From Selinger we hear:

Vid den medicinska undersökning av flickan som kommissionen senare företog konstaterade man bland annat att hennes hymen var icke-intakt. Man drog dock inga slutsatser av detta faktum. Vidare anförde man som komplement till utlåtandet ett fall, som Meisner samtidigt behandlat. Det var en man som led av syfilis i ett sent skede. Meisner hade behandlat honom med magnetiska strykningar i två månader, varefter patienten måste avföras till ett dårhus.

Dessa två, den syfilitiske och flickan von Paradis, vårdades på samma sjukhus.  
(S 102)

[Subsequently the commission made a medical examination of the girl. Among much else it was discovered that her hymen was not intact. No inferences,

however, were drawn from this fact. Further, to supplement their report, the commission reported on another case Meisner had been treating at the same time; a man who had been suffering from an advanced state of syphilis. For two months Meisner had treated him with strokings, after which he had had to be taken to a lunatic asylum.

Both patients, the syphilitic and the von Paradis girl, had been nursed in the same hospital. (E 91–92)]

Since, as Hermann Ullrich (1961–1962: 178–79) indicates, no charge of sexual impropriety on the part of Mesmer can be made in the Paradis case, Selinger's refusal to draw inferences is actually the narrator's desire to get us to draw inferences based on Meisner's previous brutal handling of women. Thus the scientific issue becomes lost in Enquist's book.

From Enquist we would not suspect that in actuality Mesmer made certain calculated changes in his strategies in relation to his treatment of women after he left Paris in 1785. Not only the royal commissions but general rumour had raised the issue of sexual scandal. Thus, according to René Roussillon, Mesmer and his followers were happy to develop an interest in somnambulists because the type of hypnotic states these patients achieved did not require rubbing of their stomachs or other contact by male magnetists. Also the interiorization of the therapeutic crisis without the need of the *baquet*, or tub, usually filled with iron filings and mesmerized water contained in bottles arranged like wheel spokes (Darnton 1968: 1–8), helped decrease moral censure (Roussillon 1984: 1366 & 1371). Enquist chooses to underplay these issues and through Mme. Keiser's deception stresses the possible necessity of the therapeutic lie rather than Mesmer's conscious or unconscious adaptation of his methods to criticism.

Enquist, in playing up the mesmerist as a sinister figure trying to gain control of people, gives little sense of the liberal and even revolutionary consequences of mesmerism. This bias is strengthened by the narrator's reference to the fact that 1798 could just as well be 1932, or the year before Hitler took power. The time frame for the main incidents of the novel is 1793–1794. Mesmer returned to Vienna on 14 September 1793, where he still owned his house in the Landstrasse (Vinchon 1971: 151), and he was arrested on 18 November. Shortly afterward, he was let free on the condition that he leave Vienna immediately for Constance, where he had been living (Zweig 1933: 89; Ellenberger 1970: 67). He was not involved in any subversive or revolutionary politics, although he had spoken words that were sympathetic to the French Revolution to the aristocratic Princess Gonzaga (Wyckoff 1975: 124). At this time of

French–Austrian enmity he was falsely considered to be a Jacobin champion of the Revolution (Benz 1976: 69).

Without actually being a revolutionary, Mesmer seemed one to many people. In the years immediately after Mesmer's departure from Paris, writers such as the radical Marat and the Girondist leader Carra capitalized on the widespread popularity for Mesmer's cures to use the attack on him by official scientific bodies as part of their own anti-establishment program.

According to Vincent Buranelli:

Mesmer stood apart from the political offshoot of his theory. It would have been absurd if he had repudiated Bergasse's argument that Mesmerism would propagate mental health, which would bring better institutions because they were run by saner people; conversely, that to replace the existing irrational institutions would improve the mental health of the people governed by them. But Mesmer held all this to be a side issue compared to the science of animal magnetism as applied to medicine. (Buranelli 1975: 184)

Buranelli points out that although Mesmer had many wealthy patrons, he ran his clinic for all social classes, and “he thought the government should be run for all classes” (Buranelli 1975: 184).

Enquist fails to give Meisner the revolutionary aura that developed around mesmerism. In the novel Meisner, in so far as we see him from the inside, does not think in political terms, and Selinger finds his politics contradictory. Whereas he credits Meisner with sympathy for the French Revolution, he also seems to enjoy the company of the nobility, in this case, the Prince of Seefond (S 154, E 141). Later Selinger writes, “[Meisner had] sammanblandat revolutionära idéer med egna idéer på ett förvirrande sätt” (S 240) [“in a confusing manner {Meisner} has blended together revolutionary ideas with notions of his own” (E 221)].

Enquist attributes a politics to Meisner that has an ambivalent message. Among Meisner's notes read at the trial are these:

>>Statens styrelse är avhängig de enskilda människornas vilja>>, stod det.  
 >>Staten är en kropp vars huvud är sammansatt likt vissa insekters ögon: många hundra fasetter som består av oss alla. Den makt som utövas måste anpassas därefter. Inom denna samhälleliga sektor bör alla råda för allas bästa. Men inom var och en av dessa fasetter bör bara de gudomliga lagar som styr vårt fluidum få råda.>> (S 239–40)

[‘The government of the state depends upon the wills of individuals,’ he had written. ‘The state is a body whose head is as complex as the eyes of certain insects: many hundreds of facets, consisting of us all. The executive power must take this into account. Within the social sector everyone should take counsel and

rule for the common good. But within each of these facets only the divine laws governing our fluidum should hold sway.' (E 220–21)]

Henningsen (1975: 53–56) reads this idea of the state as dangerous and connects the lines to Enquist's suggestion that 1932 is similar to 1798. In contrast, they may be seen as justifying the revolution, but Enquist does not give sufficient information to make the reader prefer the second alternative. Following Darnton (1968: 114), we can say that the liberal political interpretation actually characterizes Mesmer's follower Nicholas Bergasse, who was his most politically radical disciple, and who drafted the 1781 *Considérations sur le Magnétisme animal* (Lenoir 1927: 296–99). Bergasse gave lectures in which he stated that the peaceful flow of the fluidum would produce a happy and just French nation. He stressed the idea that mesmerism provided simple rules for judging political institutions, thus moving from universal physics to universal justice (Darnton 1968: 114).<sup>2</sup>

Most of the politically active mesmerists took up the cause of moderate reform. As Buranelli notes:

The champions of political Mesmerism gravitated by instinct into moderate groups. They strove to remain integral constitutionalists in every crisis. They accepted the ideology of a constitutional monarchy, democratic guarantees, and a better life for the French people. When the war against the Austrians and the Prussians failed, and the Girondins [sic] fell, and Robespierre's Reign of Terror began, the political Mesmerians went into prison or exile or rode the tumbrils through the streets of Paris to the guillotine. (Buranelli 1975: 184–85)

Despite these progressive activities by mesmerists, the Revolution, in Robert Darnton's view, dissipated the movement through emigration and social upheaval. By choosing backwoods Seefond as a setting, Enquist decides not to explore this liberal mesmerist diaspora.

Today the legacy of mesmerism is felt much more obviously in psychoanalysis than in politics. Like mesmerism, its heir, psychoanalysis, has also been seen as being anything from radically liberal to radically conservative. These extreme evaluations are rooted in various conceptions of the nature of the personality, illness and maladjustment. According to Leon Chertok, the questions raised by Mesmer two hundred years ago have not been resolved. The "precise connection between the psychic and the somatic, both in terms of the relation and the unconscious" continues to raise awkward problems (Chertok 1986: 20–21). The Paradis case serves as a useful example here, for the doctors in the case had discussed whether Maria Theresa's blindness was due to organ (eye) damage or a type of trauma that had affected her system and

prevented the use of her eyes. It would seem that Mesmer's approach would offer little help in cases of actual eye damage.

In *Mesmer, ou la révolution thérapeutique*, Franklin Rausky also stresses problems inherited by psychoanalysis from mesmerism. He writes that if we begin with Mesmer and move through Braid's hypnosis and then the cathartic method of Breuer and Janet, we arrive at Freud and psychoanalysis. He sees mesmerism as the first attempt at psychotherapy in the modern sense of the word (Rausky 1977: 219). We also find a direct line from Mesmer to German Romantics, such as Jean-Paul, Novalis, and E.T.A. Hoffmann, on to later thinkers such as Schopenhauer, Carus, and Freud (Rausky 1977: 221). Rausky discusses points of contact in five specific areas: 1) the role of the healer, 2) the role of the patient, 3) the therapeutic relationship, or transference, 4) the course of the cure and value of catharsis, and 5) the ending of the treatment and the therapeutic goal (Rausky 1977: 224–35). In terms of negative images and stereotypes, the sinister, powerful mesmerists in E. T. Hoffmann's stories have been replaced by Freudians, who (mis)treat traumatized female patients because of their own patriarchal presupposition that women's stories of familial seduction are fantasies. Enquist's Meisner bridges this gap as the villain who both takes advantage of people's unconscious drives and tries to gain control over women's lives.

Many criticisms of mesmerism in the first category have also been used by various critics of Freudian psychoanalysis in the last century. First, the predominance of male therapists has led to accusations against authoritarian and paternalistic men in power. Echoes of this are obvious in feminist reevaluation of Freud's early cases, particularly that of Dora. The sexual advantage that Meisner takes of Helene Stesser during the cure and her subsequent accusations against him remind us of the headlines we often read of therapists who have psychologically abused their patients, usually women. Second, patients can be hurt when they consult mesmerists or analysts for problems that should be treated by other means. Many people have gone to analysis, confused or in despair, having been told that their problem was "all in the mind," only to find out later that they had some hard to detect organic disease with no conceivable psychosomatic origin. Meisner could offer no help to the syphilitic with his cures. Instead, he further undermined the sick man's mental condition. Third, those in the therapeutic role have been accused of using therapy unconsciously to further their own imaginary construction of the world (Rausky 1977: 228). As we see from his reflections on Paracelsus, Meisner believes that people are so weak that

they need consoling lies more than they need truth. Fourth, the idea of catharsis has sometimes gone hand-in-hand with the privileging of images and feelings brought up from within by the patient at the expense of conscious thoughts and attitudes. In the novel Mme. Kaiser, treated by Meisner, begins to fantasize an organic problem that will correspond with her emotional depression or disturbance. A traditionally trained doctor would not have confirmed her in the fantasies that she eventually had to document with false evidence. Fifth, therapy may go on for undue lengths of time. The idea of forcing a patient to undergo an overlengthy analysis was already brought up in the secret report to Louis XVI (Rausky 1977: 224–35). In the Paradis case, a part of the parents' complaint was connected to the length of the treatment to which they apparently could see no immediate termination.

If we accept the idea that the issues raised by mesmerism are still with us, it does matter what we think of this historical movement. Stefan Zweig's juxtaposition of Mesmer to Mary Baker Eddy on the one hand and to Freud on the other in *Mental Healers* points out two paradoxically similar but contrasting directions taken by Mesmer's followers. With Freud we arrive at an anti-religious secularism and with Eddy faith and healing through the scriptures. Both Freud and Eddy like Mesmer claimed an area of expertise traditionally within the purview of the medical establishment.

The appeal of both mesmerism and psychoanalysis indicates that on a deep personal level many people feel that science has manifest limits or deficiencies. Even Selinger, a doctor with a strong sense of the scientific tradition in his profession, feels these limits and thus has an initial sympathy for Meisner. Meisner is a threat to the community because his methods address the mysterious area connecting the psychic and the somatic. Nevertheless, the novel asks us not to be so overwhelmed by the difficulty of finding an 'objective truth' to various situations in life that we slide into a weak relativism and fail to make moral judgments.

On one level *Magnetisörens femte vinter* can be considered a novel with strong roots in the social sphere. It treats a community under the influence of a powerful individual in such a way that it has resonances with Nazi Germany. On another level, however, the novel lacks a social dimension. As Darnton has indicated, mesmerism had a highly visible legacy in politics, one which Enquist allows us to sketch in only lightly. If we make a comparison between Meisner and Hitler we are also put in the position of not focusing our attention on the way Hitler's politics

appealed to divergent political groups in his society rather than to general gullibility.

As we have seen, in *Magnetisörens femte vinter* Meisner/Mesmer was neither an Enlightenment thinker nor a scientist but rather a bad doctor with an authoritarian view of society. In this type of historical novel, it would have been more difficult for Enquist, or any author for that matter, to take the opposite route and show his mesmerist as an Enlightenment thinker and scientist. More historical details would have been needed. In later novels, such as *Legionärerna* (1968; *The Legionnaires*, 1973) and *Musikanternas uttag* (1978; *The March of the Musicians*, 1985), Enquist stays in the twentieth century and offers his readers a more socially concrete environment, avoiding the vagueness more appropriate of a parable.

## NOTES

1. Mesmer is a figure who still provokes many different points of view, and the interested reader is referred to Amadou's (Mesmer 1971) and Bloch's (Mesmer 1980) translations of Mesmer's principal writings and Heinz Schott's bibliography of the secondary literature (1985).
2. Bergasse was among the members of the Estates General at Versailles who took the Tennis Court Oath to give France a Constitution.

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# The Politics of Fisheries Management: preliminary comparisons of regulatory regimes in North Norway and Nova Scotia

Richard Apostle  
*Dalhousie University*

Knut H. Mikalsen  
*University of Tromsø*

**RÉSUMÉ:** *La gestion des ressources en propriété commune comme l'eau, le poisson et les forêts se fait généralement en y limitant l'accès pour en assurer la viabilité économique à long terme. En général, ce sont les gouvernements qui interviennent lorsque les ressources naturelles diminuent en raison de la surexploitation de la part des utilisateurs. Les formes d'intervention particulières de l'état peuvent toutefois différer considérablement d'un pays à un autre—suggérant qu'il existe plus d'une solution possible aux problèmes de gestion d'une ressource commune donnée. La description et l'explication de telles variations sont au coeur même de la recherche comparative dans les démarches publiques.*

*Cet essai vise à décrire certains des sujets méthodologiques et théoriques pertinents à ce type de recherche (en sciences sociales). Pour ce faire, nous procémons à des comparaisons des recherches spécialisées des problèmes de gestion de pêcheries en Norvège et au Canada, avec un examen de la gérance posé par les gouvernements pour régler ces problèmes. Le but final de cet essai est de dresser les grandes lignes d'une analyse des régimes régulateurs pour ce qui a trait à ces deux pays et de spécifier certains des sujets qui devraient être traités dans une étude comparative plus approfondie.*

*Le présent essai est organisé comme suit: Nous présentons d'abord une évaluation du matériel comparatif des sciences sociales qui traite le sujet. De ces préoccupations générales envers l'analyse comparative, ressort une considération préliminaire des sujets clés dans la comparaison de régimes de gestion des pêcheries en Norvège et au Canada—une importance particulière étant accordée au nord de la Norvège et à la Nouvelle Écosse. Suivra une description de quelques problèmes de recherche majeurs qui doivent être examinés, et dont certains seront considérés dans un projet comparatif mené actuellement par les auteurs de cet essai. Enfin, nous terminons par une brève discussion des procédés méthodologiques utilisés dans ce type de recherche comparative.*

## INTRODUCTION

The management of common property resources such as water, fish and forests is mainly about limiting access so as to ensure their long-term economic viability. Government intervention has been a standard response when natural resources face depletion due to overexploitation by users (Ostrom 1990). The particular forms of state intervention may, however, differ considerably from one country to another—suggesting that there is a fairly wide range of responses to the problems of managing a given common-pool resource. Describing and explaining such variation is at the core of comparative research in public policy.

This essay seeks to delineate some of the methodological, theoretical and substantive issues pertaining to this type of (social science) research. We try to achieve this through preliminary comparisons of government responses to, and scholarly analysis of, the problems of fisheries management in Norway and Canada. The ultimate purpose is to outline the ‘state of the art’ in the study of regulatory regimes as it pertains to these two countries, and to specify some of the questions that should be addressed in a full-fledged comparative study.

The essay is organized as follows: First, we give a descriptive assessment of the comparative social science materials which currently exist. Against this backdrop of general concerns in comparative analysis, there is a preliminary consideration of the key issues in the comparison of fisheries management regimes in Norway and Canada—with particular emphasis on North Norway and Nova Scotia. This is followed by a delineation of some major research problems which need to be examined, some of which will be attended to in a comparative project in which the authors are currently involved.<sup>1</sup> Finally, there is a brief discussion of the methodological issues involved in this kind of comparative research.

## HISTORY AND PROBLEMS IN COMPARING NORTH-ATLANTIC MARITIME CULTURES

The major intellectual and academic connections between Canada and Norway which concern us have a twenty-five year history.<sup>2</sup> To quote from an earlier work:

There has been a longstanding appreciation of the need to understand the workings of other systems (Cohen 1980). This has resulted in frequent visits among scholars from the area, international seminars to discuss similar research topics (the International Seminar on Social Research and Public Policy Formation

in the Fisheries, the ongoing Marginal Regions meetings), and fine studies being done by outsiders (Brox, O'Neill, Wadel). (Apostle and Jentoft 1991: 109)

These connections have primarily been mediated by contacts between Memorial University and Tromsø University. The two primary foci for research activity arising from this contact have been Arctic studies and fishing cultures. The early leadership of the Institute of Social and Economic Research (Ian Whittaker, Robert Paine and George Park) spent considerable amounts of time in Norway, focusing primarily on the Saami. On the other hand, the Norwegian scholars who spent time in Newfoundland tended to devote their efforts to studies of the fishing industry (Brox 1972 and Wadel 1969; 1973). In particular, Brox's work on economic dualism remains significant because of the implicitly comparative dimensions of his analysis. Brox emphasizes both the importance of extensive variation within capitalist societies, and the similarities among Newfoundland and other coastal areas in the Northern North Atlantic, including the Faeroes, Iceland, North Norway, and Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

Brox's theoretical perspective, which Sinclair (1990: 16) has not unfairly characterized as a being rooted in modernization theory, postulated a fundamental dualism between traditional and modern sectors in the Newfoundland economy. Following Barth's economic anthropology, Brox characterizes the relationship between these two sectors as involving 'conversion barriers' which are crucial to making transformations across the sectors difficult. Specifically, Brox recognizes the existence of regulatory mechanisms which make it difficult for outport households to get involved in fish processing, and power differentials which prevent fishermen from controlling the fish pricing system. Furthermore, Brox maintains that the problem Newfoundland fishermen have with landing prices are attributable both to the limited political power of outport fishermen and the existence of unemployment insurance as a subsidy (which in turn lowers the price of fish) (Brox, 1972: 30, 74). Brox further maintains that the Newfoundland settlement programmes were fundamentally misdirected. They did not recognize that urbanization would be unable to provide secure alternative employment or housing for outport families. As an alternative which has continuing relevance, Brox proposed the adoption of immediate technologies which would permit decentralized, bottom-up rejuvenation of Newfoundland's traditional economy (Brox 1972: 59, 90).<sup>4</sup>

One major problem in evaluating the first generation of the 'Newfoundland School' is the relative absence of cross-cultural

generalizations in this work. A closer reading of the introductory and concluding materials in many of these works suggest the difficulties which anthropologists, who are committed to immersing themselves in particular settings, find in elaborating on the meaning of their work for an understanding of other, similar situations.<sup>5</sup> One suspects there are obvious practical difficulties with this style of investigation due simply to the time commitments involved in doing the fieldwork. There are many examples of individuals who have been dedicated enough to carry out studies in different areas, but they frequently do not sustain comparative questions through their analysis. The second possible explanation for this problem is the way in which theoretical categories are applied to empirical materials. In Brox's case, the simple dualism associated with the traditional-modern contrasts, which originate in modernization theory, imparts an unnecessarily static, ahistorical tone to his analysis. Similarly, human ecology frameworks, which have been proposed as a corrective for classical liberal economic assumptions, do not emerge out of empirical analysis. Rather, they constitute a more positive competing paradigm which can be employed to criticize the dominant neoclassical economic assumptions which govern fisheries social science.

More recently, Canadian political economists have begun to use Scandinavian countries as a comparative benchmark to answer questions about Canadian underdevelopment (*The Canadian Review of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 1989). A new generation of Canadian social scientists, and particularly Gordon Laxer, view Scandinavian countries, especially Sweden, as a preferred choice in conducting comparative work. This new turn has been stimulated in part by a debate over appropriate methods of assessing the nature of Canadian development. As Laxer (1989a: 178) puts it:

On the one side are nationalist idiosyncratic historians who focus on Canada's dependent position in the world economy and assume that Canadian history is largely made outside of Canada. On the other side are nomothetic 'internationalist' theorists who address entirely different issues—those of social order and revolution. While the latter assume that Canada is part of an international capitalist order, they assume the Canadian business class is largely indigenous, as in other advanced capitalist countries. Both perspectives tend to be ideologically charged and engage in epistemological and methodological extremism. The result is a dialogue of the deaf.

Laxer's resolution to this impasse is a comparative historical treatment of Canada's 'failed' development which may involve systematic treatment of a considerable number of such countries (Laxer 1985), or close comparisons with one other country (Sweden) (Laxer 1989b).

Laxer has proposed that the key problem for understanding Canada's position is the fact that Canada was part of a small group of advanced systems in the late nineteenth century which were seriously industrializing. Among those 'late followers'—Czechoslovakia, Italy, the Netherlands, Russia, and Sweden—Canada was the only one which did not make the breakthrough to full-fledged industrial maturity. Laxer argues that Canada's failure was manifested in the growing domination of key manufacturing sectors by American branch plants during the early part of the first decade of the twentieth century, as well as the importation of modern technology through licensing agreements with United States corporations. This failure occurred not because of the proximity of an American giant, but rather due to the inability of Canadian agrarian groups to assert their own interests in the political domain. Laxer proposes that Canadian farmers might have encouraged a commercial banking system oriented to industrial expansion rather than trade; prevented enormous wastage of resources on a multiplicity of railway systems; and encouraged the construction of an independent military apparatus (which in turn would have stimulated industrial growth). He further suggests that these shortcomings may be attributed to a fundamental French-English political division. Laxer is careful to point out that he does not view these public failures as matters which arise solely from the "*intention* of social groups" but rather from the "*long-term consequences* of their actions taken in combination with that of their political foes and allies alike" (Laxer 1985: 334, emphasis his).<sup>6</sup>

Sweden, as a successful later developer, figures centrally in Laxer's analysis because Sweden had "a resource exporting economy strikingly similar to Canada's," possessed little secondary manufacturing, and was "an economic hinterland of metropolitan Britain" (Laxer 1985: 314). Further, Sweden, as "the late-follower country that most resembles Canada during the period of early industry," also had a small home market. However, Sweden also differed from Canada in having a more homogeneous population, a greater sense of national identity, and a class structure which was moderately influenced by a feudal past (Laxer 1989b: 77-84).<sup>7</sup> Laxer suggests that Sweden proves that staple-dominated economies are not permanently trapped in economically subordinate positions by geographic and/or external considerations. Sweden combined "an independent military policy, state frugality, and investment banking" to make the break toward independent development (Laxer 1989b: 95).<sup>8</sup>

Wallace Clement (1990), one of the more durable representatives of the old-fashioned political economy which Laxer rejects, has responded to the comparative challenge by conducting a cross-national study of class structures. Using data collected simultaneously from the United States, Canada, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, Clement has directly raised questions about the appropriate sorts of comparisons which social scientists can make between North America and Scandinavia. In the process of doing this analysis, Clement challenges Laxer's selection of Sweden as the most appropriate comparative case for discussion of Canadian social development. In particular, Clement (1988: 464-465) points out that Sweden does not share a colonial past with Canada, but was rather itself a power center; Sweden's class structure was more strongly influenced by the presence of a landed class, and has had a more homogeneous social composition to its population; and Sweden has developed a social democratic tradition in a context where it has not been closely associated with a major world power. In the course of his quantitative comparisons, Clement further demonstrates that it is Norway, rather than Sweden, which bears the stronger similarity to Canada in its class structure. Canada is closer to Norway in its basic industrial composition, gender distribution across class categories, and in the supervisorial patterns typical of its workforce. The difficulty, if there is any, with Clement's strongly descriptive analysis is the virtual absence of outcomes or dependent variables in his essay. This makes it impossible to adjudicate between his simpler class categories and those of Erik Wright and, more generally, to assess the contributions which his style of data collection may make to Canada-Norway comparisons.

#### THE STATE IN THE FISHERIES

Canadian social science has been strongly affected by a resurgence of interest in Marxian theories of the state. The most important structuralist interpretation of the state in Canadian fishing activities occurs in Patricia Marchak's argument about common property as state property (Marchak, Guppy and McMullan 1987). Marchak proposes that the expansion of state managerial functions in the Canadian fishery, as well as state involvement in the definition of access rights, means that resource rights in the fishery have been transformed into crown rather than common property. Marchak extends this argument in several important ways. First she argues that the state does not act in an instrumental way to favour particular property owners or to facilitate the economic growth of specific groups. Instead, the state administers "the system of property

rights, rather than the specific property holders at any one time, and the *system of accumulation*, rather than the accumulated wealth of any one group" (Marchak, Guppy, McMullan 1987: 12, emphasis hers). However, she does indicate that both Canada's federal and provincial governments have tended to favour more powerful interests in drafting legislation. Further, the long term decline of fishery activity in the Canadian economy means that the fishery ministry has gradually lost influence in the federal Cabinet. As a consequence, fishery policy tends to vary in unpredictable ways because other interests receive more systematic primary attention.

John McMullan extends this line of thinking in his essay on the state and capital in the British Columbia salmon fishing industry (Marchak, Guppy and McMullan 1987: 107–132). McMullan delineates three phases of state involvement in the salmon industry, running from the early construction of a regulatory regime through a modernization phase which dates from the second world war to a contemporary era in which licensing and catch regulations are central to a failing effort to resolve contradictions in fisheries organization. McMullan makes good use of government and bank data to demonstrate that the state has been successful in facilitating corporate consolidation. However, the rapid expansion of fleet-related debt in the 1980s, as well as a complex (and ultimately unenforceable) set of fisheries regulations has sharpened the polarization between the state and British Columbia fishermen. In general, McMullan's structuralist analysis works quite well for the British Columbia situation because the relatively brief history of the British Columbia fishery has been dominated by industrial capitalism. The difficulties with this approach are two-fold. First, there is not sufficient recognition of fishermen as independent commodity producers who do not easily accept definitions of themselves as workers. Second, the focus on state activity in creating independent commodity-producers who have the function of protecting large scale capital from risk-taking does not fully appreciate the desire of independent commodity producers to maintain their activities, and also, perhaps, a way of life.

Paul Pross and Susan McCorquodale (1987) provide a pluralist alternative in their analysis of Canadian fisheries politics. Their case study of the constitutional debate about the Atlantic Canadian fishery during the late 1970s develops an intellectual framework about policy communities which is most closely aligned with theories of democratic elitism. From this perspective one can identify policy-making worlds which are typically constructed along functional or sectoral lines. In the

Atlantic Canadian case, the policy community consists of the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), provincial fisheries departments, the Fisheries Council of Canada, the largest five processors (National Sea Products, H.B. Nickerson, B.C. Packers/Connors Brothers, Fisheries Products, and the Lake Group) as well as the Newfoundland Fish, Food and Allied Workers Union (NFFAWU), the co-operatives (particularly the United Maritime Fishermen [UMF]) and members of Parliament. Other unions or fishermen's organization are regarded as 'members of the attentive public', along with a few east coast academics (Pross and McCorquodale 1987: 80-82). DFO, by virtue of its relatively large budget, is by far the most important public agency in the policy community.

With this framework, Pross and McCorquodale show how the Canadian state acted to promote the re-organization of large-scale processing facilities in Atlantic Canada to cope with the financial crisis which faced the industry at that time. However, Pross and McCorquodale are careful to distinguish the Newfoundland situation, which resulted in direct state ownership of the largest fish processing company, from that in Nova Scotia where the federal government permitted the biggest corporate entity to remain in private hands. Pross and McCorquodale would probably agree with the west coast analysts that fisheries policy was only a minor blip on the Canadian constitutional horizon. However, they also argue that the reorganization, in both instances, involved a shift from the market economy into what Galbraith has labelled the planning system. The two provincial solutions, one private and one public, both imply that fisheries management has been absorbed into a Galbraithian techno-structure in which there is "a level of expertise concerned with long-term corporate planning, research and development relations with government, and a host of related issues" (Pross and McCorquodale 1987: 114). Although neomarxists would feel uneasy about the variegated collection of interest groups recognized by this kind of analysis, it does have the advantage of giving clear recognition to the policy significance of coastal community influence in political solutions, and the difficulty these communities, particularly in Nova Scotia, have in articulating their political wishes (Pross and McCorquodale 1987: 14-15, 76-79).

Peter Sinclair (1984) provides a third viewpoint on the role of the state in the Canadian fisheries. He picks up the themes inherent in Skocpol's (1979) and Block's (1987) work to develop an interpretation of the same crisis Pross and McCorquodale investigated. By contrast to

Pross and McCorquodale, Sinclair begins with a neomarxist set of class categories which he supplements with an acknowledgement of state interests in "maintaining social stability, public support and their personal careers," as well as their considerable resources, including "legitimacy (in liberal democratic systems), force, control of information and the capacity to influence public attitudes" (Sinclair 1984: 9). In empirical terms, Sinclair's characterization of the crisis and the ultimate resolution does not differ markedly from that of Pross and McCorquodale. However, the particular understanding he draws from this case, aside from recognizing the autonomous activities of the federal and Newfoundland governments, is that "the intervention of the federal government was not simply a reflection of the superior policy influence of finance capital compared with fish processing corporations. Politicians also had an interest in resolving the problem before total economic and social collapse occurred in large areas dependent on the fisheries" (Sinclair 1984: 35).

Given the differences in the theoretical frameworks and empirical circumstances in these three Canadian case studies, it is virtually impossible to make any clear-cut choices amongst them. The way out of this difficulty, as suggested above, is to resort to comparative analysis. However, we are faced with a major difficulty in extending comparative analysis to the two countries because there has been quite a difference in emphasis in the two national literatures on resource management. Theoretical concerns have tended to dominate in Canada, whereas Norwegian studies have tended to focus more specifically on administrative and organizational issues. In general, the Norwegian approach reflects a more pragmatic acceptance of a stable social democratic political system, with an understandable tendency to concentrate on the administrative aspects of the system which determine specific allocations of resources.<sup>9</sup>

There are, however, several historical accounts focusing on the role of the state in the modernization and organization of the fishing industry. In addition to Trygve Solhaug's monumental two-volume study of the early history of Norwegian fisheries (Solhaug 1976), there are case studies mapping out conflicts and coalitions on particular issues such as technology, ownership and resource management (Handegard 1982; Mikalsen 1977; Mikalsen and Sagdahl 1982; Sagdahl 1973), as well as more general assessments of industrial structure, managerial ideologies, organizational development and institutional design (Christensen and Hallenstvedt 1990; Hallenstvedt 1982; Hallenstvedt and Dynna 1976;

Handegard and Voll 1971; Hersoug and Leonardsen 1979). Most of these studies have a strongly descriptive bent—their main purpose being to illuminate the scope, form and dilemmas of state intervention through careful ‘reconstructions’ of political processes, legislative initiatives and organizational dynamics.

Insofar as one is concerned with theoretical dimensions, the Norwegian perspectives have led to a major interest in the American organizations literature which is appropriate for the analysis of intermediate-level problems which emerge in a system operating reasonably well. At a practical level, the contrast between Canadian and Norwegian approaches has generated some real problems in academic discourse because our scholars tend to approach problems from quite different viewpoints (MacInnes, Jentoft and Davis 1990). However, there has been some recent convergence in our respective economic and political situations which now makes it possible to construct a set of common questions which constitute a coherent research agenda.

In terms of the theoretical literature, Norwegian academics have paid a considerable amount of attention to organization dynamics, where the emphasis has been placed on problems of organizational complexity and the dilemmas and trade-offs which inevitably arise in these complex systems. For example, Mikalsen (1981) utilizes some of this organizational literature to analyze the ways in which their political and administrative bureaucracies have complemented or supplemented market mechanisms in correcting the direction of western economies. From Mikalsen’s point of view, many of the problems in the Norwegian system arise from the need to provide more adequate steering mechanisms for relatively blunt and sometimes inequitable market mechanisms. More recently Hoel, Jentoft and Mikalsen (1991) have extended this kind of analysis in their examination of user group participation in the Norwegian fisheries management scheme. In keeping with the organizational perspective, the authors emphasize the pragmatic way in which fisheries management has developed in Norway, and some of the basic organizational alternatives with which the system is now faced. After outlining the construction of limited entry regulations, both in terms of gear and in terms of the number of participants, the authors consider the extent to which new regulations may or may not improve the ‘political steering’ of the system. They recognize both the existence of sharply divided interests and the multiplicity of organizations which have grown up around these interests in the form of a ‘corporatist’ political system. At the same time, they do recognize a substantial amount

element of centralization in both administrative and political decision making which leads them to the conclusion that one can describe the fisheries policy arena as a type of 'centralized consultation'. In particular, they analyze the operations of the Regulatory Council which provides functional representation for a number of different interest groups in the Norwegian fishery, with the Council operating both as a locus of knowledge and a mechanism for resolving competing political demands. Hoel, Jentoft and Mikalsen end their discussion by examining the basic dilemmas associated with trying to involve user groups in management regimes. On the one hand, some individuals believe that user groups have become too powerful, and more market forces, both through deregulation and the introduction of independent transferable quotas (ITQs), will serve to redress a growing imbalance in the system. Other writers want to decentralize the fisheries regime through regional councils, co-management and co-operatives to ameliorate the inefficiencies associated with a centralized stalemate in Norwegian management.

At a more empirical level, there have been a number of studies of Norwegian fisheries management which have no parallels in the Canadian context. For example, Mikalsen (1986) provides a consideration of the benefits and disadvantages of licence limitation as a managerial tool in Norway. He defines the basic goals of licence limitation as "resource conservation, economic efficiency, professional protection and a regional balance of harvesting capacity." Mikalsen then provides an analysis of the difficulties this scheme has encountered in terms of 'capital stuffing', a tendency to eliminate small-scale units of operation, and difficulties in stimulating fleet renewal and implementing regionally-oriented policies. Jentoft and Mikalsen extend this line of reasoning in a paper on government subsidies (Jentoft and Mikalsen 1987) which demonstrates that the existing system of set subsidies, because it emphasises price subsidies, does not actually favour the marginal regions of the country. Rather, it has the effect of exacerbating regional differences because the larger, more capital-intensive units in West Norway tend to benefit more than one might expect from the subsidy program. However, they conclude that the corporate nature of the policy system, as well as the fragility of the Norwegian Fishermen's Union [Norges Fiskarlag] as a political entity makes change difficult.<sup>10</sup>

Another major area to which Norwegian scholars have made significant contributions concerns fisheries co-management and cooperatives. Jentoft (1989), for example, has examined international experiences with co-management schemes in countries as diverse as

Japan, Australia and the United Kingdom, as well as Canada and Norway. He proposes that the delegation of authority which is inherent in co-management schemes increases the legitimacy of decision-making even when decisions do not necessarily favour particular interests. This will, in turn, have the consequence of making management both more effective and less expensive in situations where co-management can be utilized. However, Jentoft does recognize that successful management schemes tend to work best where they operate on a limited scale (both in terms of membership and regional jurisdiction). More concretely, Jentoft and Kristoffersen (1989) describe how the Lofoten fishery has successfully operated a co-management system for the better part of a century under conditions of limited membership and jurisdiction. In a similar vein Jentoft and Mikalsen (1992) focus on the utilization of functional and territorial knowledge through their case study of user-group participation in the management of North Norwegian fjord fisheries.

Finally, Norwegian academics have devoted a considerable amount of attention to fisheries co-operatives as a specific mechanism for fisheries development. Otnes (1980) and Revold (1980) have both emphasized the fragile nature of fishermen's co-operatives—focusing in particular on problems of management and survival that seem to be characteristic of this type of organization. Jentoft (1985) outlines the ways in which fisheries co-operatives may be helpful in handling distribution problems, in coordinating harvesting and marketing, in regulating competition among cooperative members, and as a device for facilitating innovation in fishing communities. In keeping with the organizations literature which informs this work, Jentoft is quick to recognize the extent to which government involvement, vertical integration, and conflicting interests associated with different scales of production can create problems for cooperatives (Jentoft 1986). On balance, however, Jentoft does think the overall benefits do outweigh the costs because cooperatives can provide a fairer basis for distribution of scarce resources, limit excess harvesting capacity, and lead to the introduction of new or better products.

By contrast to the Norwegian literature, Canadian fisheries research, because of the highly centralized nature of the system, has tended to focus on the effects of this system in Atlantic Canada. We have a considerable amount of information on fishermen's attitudes towards fisheries management in Canada, and it clearly demonstrates the existence of a comparatively high level of political alienation among

Canadian fishermen and plant workers (Apostle and Barrett 1992; Apostle, Kasdan and Hanson 1984; Clement 1986; Thiessen and Davis 1990–91). Small- and intermediate-scale processors in Nova Scotia are quite hostile to what they regard as government intervention in the marketing system, but their protests have been muted both by their fear of the large processors and by the competition which exists among many of them for the loyalties of fishermen. In turn, Nova Scotia fishermen are very alienated from the current administrative regime,<sup>11</sup> but this unhappiness does not find clear expression because of the internal class differentiation among the fishermen and the strong commitment many of them have to individualistically-oriented small business ideologies. Finally, plant workers in Nova Scotia are like other employees in marginally economic enterprises—both politically alienated and apathetic about the prospects for change. This combination tends to generate support for patronage-based solutions to community problems (Apostle and Barrett 1992: Chapter 14).

On the management side, we have a number of historical accounts and case studies of the administrative structure of the Nova Scotia fishery (Bannister 1989; Lamson and Hanson 1984; Phyne 1990). The Lamson and Hanson edition provides an historical account of Canadian fishery policy in Atlantic Canada, as well as case studies of the small boat fishery in southwestern Nova Scotia, the Bay of Fundy herring fisheries and the historical connections between the federal government and National Sea Products. The primary intention of the editors in compiling this collection was to promote “anticipatory, rather than reactive, approaches to management and development planning” (Lamson and Hanson 1984: 1; 240). However, more recent works by Bannister and Phyne demonstrate that the centralizing tendencies in fisheries management, which Lamson and Hanson themselves recognized, have not diminished. In particular, Bannister shows how managerial ideologies in the fisheries have been, and continue to be, based on a commitment to industrial organization (1989: 63, 89). Although the bioeconomic model which underwrites this strategy has been modified by some welfare economic concerns, the fundamental commitments to limited entry licensing, as well as quotas and enterprise allocations, continue to generate a number of irreducible problems for fisheries management in Atlantic Canada. Limited entry licensing has failed to control overcapacity or restrict overfishing. It has also reinforced inequality and conflict among different fleets, and has done little to moderate the impact of biological and economic stability in the industry. Further, the system

of quota and enterprise allocations has had the perverse effect of increasing illegal fishing, dumping and the under-reporting of catches (Bannister 1989: 90–111).<sup>12</sup> Closer to the front lines, Phyne's study of Newfoundland fisheries officers indicates there is a shift in enforcement from more informal, community-based compliance solutions to formal deterrence procedures. This modification has been paralleled by an increasing bureaucratization of the fishery officers' roles.

#### SOME GENERAL THEMES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The newly-announced Fisheries Adjustment Program for Atlantic Canada<sup>13</sup> follows closely upon two major federal government reports concerning serious declines in fish stocks. For Newfoundland, the Harris Report (Harris 1990) discusses the decline in northern cod stocks, and the Hache Report (Hache 1989) focuses on the declines in cod and haddock stocks in the Scotia-Fundy region. The current situation is thus one of crisis and scarcity, and one of the primary research areas we need to examine is how this affects the Advisory Committee system through which various groups in the fishery are supposed to be involved in the planning process.<sup>14</sup>

MacInnes and Davis (1990) provide a detailed description and analysis of the Scotia-Fundy advisory system. They argue that the state has encouraged fragmentation in the representation of independent fishermen through licensing policies and bureaucratic definitions of the composition of the Advisory Committee. In addition, Felt (1990), in a paper on co-management in the Atlantic Canada salmon fishery, discusses his lengthy involvement with the Atlantic Salmon Advisory Board, the Board of Directors of the Atlantic Salmon Federation (a large association for recreational fishermen) and a number of commercial fishermen's organizations. This long-term involvement in the salmon industry produced high-quality information about this particular industry and a fascinating assessment of the limited prospects for involving fishermen in the management process.

We intend to take this analysis further in two ways: First, by looking more closely at the dynamics of the current advisory processes—emphasising the characteristics and consequences of the interaction between scientists, officials and industrial representatives that takes place within the framework of the committee system. Direct observation of advisory group meetings and interviews with selected participants will form the empirical basis of this analysis.

Second, we intend to pay particular attention to the process of institutional change currently under way, i.e., the proposed separation of conservation and allocation within Canadian fisheries management. The establishment of a new Fisheries Resource Conservation Council signals a change towards a strengthening of the scientific input in management—possibly at the expense of industrial representation and political bargaining. The ongoing attempts at reforming the process of licensing and allocation also point to a stronger emphasis on expertise and knowledge—and less direct involvement of user groups. The proposal of creating two new Regional Fisheries Management Agencies—one for the Atlantic coast and one for the Pacific coast—will imply a more decentralized structure of allocation. Analysing the causes and consequences of these changes is but one step towards a better understanding of processes of institutional reform in the public sector.

As for Norway, there may be significant changes emerging in the scope and forms of state involvement in the industry. The prospects for further empirical research thus revolve around recent trends pointing towards a fisheries policy in transition. First, the regulatory system is currently being reconsidered. The Ministry of Fisheries has, in a recent report, advocated the introduction of independent transferable quotas (ITQs). Although the particular version singled out for further scrutiny is rather muted—with built-in restrictions as to the marketability of quotas across geographical regions—it would, if introduced, leave the structure of the industry more open to market forces. On this point we need to look more closely at the background and objectives of such schemes: why they are introduced, to what extent they are shaped by the experience of other nations, and how they are decided upon and eventually implemented.

This proposal of a more market-oriented approach to problems of resource scarcity has, however, been challenged by most of the groups affected, and it has run into serious problems of legitimization. The course and eventual outcome of this process could thus provide some interesting clues as to relationships of power and influence within the fishing industry as well as to the conditions of regulatory reform.

Second, the scope and form of government subsidies are changing—as part of an overall strategy to reduce the level of transfer payments within the Norwegian economy. Profitability and self-reliance are key words here. This is probably the policy area where the impact of general political and ideological trends is most clearly felt. It could provide an excellent ‘testing ground’ for hypotheses pertaining to the

'permeability' or 'vulnerability' of the fishing industry, as well as to the ability of established institutions to survive in an increasingly hostile environment (Selznick 1949).

Third, the legitimacy of established institutions and policies are currently being questioned—within the industry as well as by groups outside. Compliance with government regulations can no longer be taken for granted—and problems of control and enforcement are becoming a major preoccupation of policy-makers. The fish stocks are increasingly being considered as part of the national 'heritage', and their management as too important to be left exclusively to negotiations between government and industry. This point of view is largely founded on the assumed consequences of particular institutional structures—and less on solid empirical evidence of how corporatist arrangements affect the content of regulatory decisions. We thus need to take a closer look at the effects of (exclusive) user-group participation for policy content and outcomes (Hernes 1991).

Regional authorities and ecological groups in particular are demanding a say in the process of regulatory decision-making, and some adjustment to accommodate these demands have already been made (Eriksen and Mikalsen 1990; Hoel et al. 1991). An interesting question here is whether the traditional corporatist system of decision-making—based on exclusive rights of participation and close cooperation between government and the Fishermen's Union—is now breaking up. If so, what are the likely consequences for the organization and content of regulatory policy-making? To what extent will the inclusion of new groups make an impact on existing institutions and policies?

Summing up, the prospects for further research seem to revolve around the processes, problems and possible effects of changes in the political and institutional framework of the fishing industry in our two countries or regions: the reorganization of decision-making, the broadening of participation and agendas, the formulation of new objectives and the implementation of new and often controversial policies.

#### **COMMON PROBLEMS IN RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: QUESTIONS FOR COMPARATIVE RESEARCH**

In both Atlantic Canada and North-Norway, managers, politicians, and fishermen's organizations are contemplating independent transferable quotas (ITQs) and other privatizing systems of resource management and adjusting management schemes to accommodate more open trading

relations with their respective international markets. This reorientation of managerial perspectives means that participants in both countries are reexamining basic assumptions about the operation of their regimes. The key topics involve questions about centralized decision-making and scientific input, co-management (where resource users are actively involved in management), the representation of regional interests, and the implications of more market-like solutions to problems of fisheries management.

In Canada there has been a general tendency to favour relatively centralized administrative structures in which bio-economic perspectives shape the policy process, while Norway has generally relied upon a more corporatist framework to solicit input from the industry about both scientific and allocative issues. However, the recent changes in international circumstances have forced policy-makers to look more carefully at the presumed strengths of their different systems. In Norway, fisheries resource managers are actively exploring the introduction of more centralization while at the same time creating more autonomy for their scientific experts. Alternatively, Canada is beginning to introduce mechanisms which are ostensibly designed to generate more participation on the part of both fishermen and processors. What can we learn from the Canadian experience where scientists have been central actors in resource management, and from the Norwegian experience where interest groups and administrators have played a more prominent role? There are differences between North Norway and Atlantic Canada with respect to the importance that scientific knowledge and the bio-economic model play in designing and legitimating policies. What are the implications of centralization and/or changes in the participation of resource users for the role of scientific and professional expertise in management?

Regionalization in resource management can express territorial responses to competition for scarce resources, but can also be a way to help tie resource management policies to the needs of coastal communities or the specifics of ecological systems. It can be part of a centralized decision-making system, a principle used in the allocation of resource rights, but it can also mean delegation of decision-making authority to regionally-based groups or agencies.

Given the current interest in some form of regionalization of existing structures, it is important to consider its implications for resource management. Does territorial delegation of power contribute to more flexible and equitable allocation of power and resources? Are there

alternative schemes which will address regional peculiarities and needs while accommodating national priorities?

There are models for cooperative and local-level decision-making in the experience of both North Norway and Atlantic Canada. However, it is an empirical question to what extent unions, cooperatives, ad hoc coalitions, and informal networks are meaningfully involved in policy decision-making. In addition, in both regions there are cases in which fishermen have the authority and power to develop and enforce their own management systems, i.e., 'co-management.' Can participants be trusted to construct and administer regimes which will simultaneously deal with private and public interests? How do you establish experiments in co-management which will appeal both to resource managers and fishermen?

Following the bio-economic model, there is a tendency in both North Norway and Atlantic Canada to assert that market forces should determine the distribution of rights, wealth and responsibility. Consequently, resource managers are promoting independent transferable quotas (ITQs) and other ways to privatize the rights to harvest resources. To what extent are the ecological, economic, and social consequences of quasi-privatization in fisheries management being considered? How are this process of institutional change and its policy outcomes influenced by the different political structures, economic environments and cultural traditions of Northern Norway and Atlantic Canada?

#### METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

The disciplinary traditions in which we have been schooled have a strong bias towards viewing comparative methods in the social sciences as an effort to use small numbers of cases which are rich in qualitative information to approximate the causal analysis typical of experimental research or large-sample quantitative analysis (Smelser 1976). One specific variant of this orientation which we have found quite appealing proposed that social scientists, when they do good work, are engaged in the construction of "*historically specific general ideas*" through a "piecemeal deepening of analogies" (Stinchcombe 1978: 4, 22, emphasis his). Investigators begin the broad general formulations (which may be inspired by theoretical paradigms), examine a large number of facts which may be causally connected to these formulations, and then generate explanations which are adequate to the phenomena under consideration. In this process, one is frequently engaged in expanding the number of equivalences among the cases under consideration to facilitate

the process of concept formulation and to increase the likelihood of producing causally important assertions.<sup>15</sup>

Having said this, one has to appreciate the strength of the interpretive tradition in the social sciences. Some of the best writing in our related fields utilizes comparative frameworks to 'clarify particularities through contrasts'. 'Orienting concepts' are employed to facilitate the presentation of narratives which will do justice to the complexities, particularly cultural ones, of the cases selected (Skocpol 1984: 371). This type of research usually adopts a more conservative approach to the formulation of causal regularities on the belief that attempts to develop general causal assertions run the risk of being too abstracted from the contexts which have initially attracted social science concern.

Interpretive social science has partially developed as a reaction to older, less credible attempts to apply grand theories of either functionalist or Marxist origin to individual cases (Skocpol 1984: 368).<sup>16</sup> There has been a tendency associated with this reaction to engage in polemics which may be less than fruitful. For example, Cohen (1985: 98), in his otherwise elegant statement about the importance of qualitative approaches to the study of community states: "Meaning, of course, is ethnographically problematic. It is not susceptible to objective description, let alone to interpretation." The more scientific scepticism about assertions like this would argue that thick description is just description after all, and that interpretative science too frequently results in more interpretation and less science than is desirable.

Given our decision to focus on two primary units of analysis (North Norway, Nova Scotia) it seems reasonably clear that we will be engaged in a series of compromises between these alternative emphases in comparative methodology. Except for the internal variations we may think important, we do not have a sufficient number of cases to meet the demands of rigorous quantitative work. We can, nevertheless, emulate some of the goals of causally-oriented comparative work.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, the emphasis on the *politics* of management and the centrality of institutional concerns to our investigations, dictate that we expend considerable effort on qualitative investigations which will inform the policy dimensions of our project.

What we are involved in is what Harrop (1992: 8) has called "focused comparisons," i.e., comparing a single sector (in our case the fisheries) across national boundaries—with particular attention to the way in which it is organized and managed. Our basic approach is

institutional in that it emphasizes political decision-making as choice within organizational constraints. This does not entail a neglect of individual actors, their goals, interests and strategies. It rather seeks to place these variables in context by enquiring how they are affected by more comprehensive and enduring structures. In this sense, we will seek to understand management policies by focusing on the ways in which formal institutions structure political interaction within our two systems.

However, the effects of institutions on policy will vary with changes in the broader socio-economic and political context. In other words, the significance of political and administrative institutions "...ultimately depends on the particular circumstances in which they operate" (Dunlavy 1992: 139). By emphasizing the importance of context, our approach 'forces' us to pay attention to the ways in which factors such as industrial structure, interest group strategies, market conditions and the state of the stocks may account for variations in management policies and institutions between our two countries. In this respect, our study will be a contribution—however small—to comparative politics to the extent that variations in management regimes can be linked to variations in political structures and economic circumstances.

#### NOTES

1. The authors are part of a larger, seven-person research group conducting a multidisciplinary examination of communities, entrepreneurship, markets, trade relations, and resource regimes in North Norway and Nova Scotia. This work is generously funded by the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

2. Comparative work by natural scientists in these two regions dates to the first war. Johan Hjort, the Director of Fisheries for Norway, headed a Canadian fisheries expedition in 1914–1915. His report begins with the observation:

In the course of my researches in North European waters, it has frequently occurred to me that many problems of long standing in the sphere of fishery and marine investigation might perhaps best be solved by making a comparison between the two separate areas of sea which contain the same forms of animal life, viz., the waters of northern Europe, and the range of sea from the coast of Labrador and Canada to that of Maine.

Gran and Braarnd (1934–35) continued using this frame in the inter-war period. We are grateful to Dr. Michael Sinclair for this point.

3. Brox's notion of appropriate points of comparison is shared with several other works published in the same time period. Andersen and Wadel (1972), for example, consider precisely the same collection of units, in good part because their work, like

Brox's, tends to focus on the position of commercial fishermen. According to Andersen and Wadel, (1972), pp. 1 & 3, there are a series of traits common to these areas. To quote them, "Many are located on rugged or deeply fjorded coastlines as found in Norway and much of Newfoundland, and on small islands such as the Shetlands. There are often no roadways linking the settlements. The surrounding land is commonly unarable or, at best, suitable only for small gardens and production of feed for a few grazing stock such as sheep, cattle, and horses. The fishermen also typically operate from areas with little or only recent industrial development apart from fishing... Other continuities, variously true as some of our essays reveal, are suggested by the foregoing: settlements with poor communication links with the outside; small populations; culturally diverse, yet relatively simple societies with regard to specialization and complexity; a stress on self-sufficiency and adaptability manifested in seasonally pluralistic economic pursuits involving fishing, gardening and/or farming and animal husbandry, and logging, where forest resources are sufficient and where appropriate industries and markets have been developed for their use; and finally, minimal local-level political development." In a later definition, Andersen (1979) shifts the focus of attention to the more technical dimensions of maritime culture. As he puts it, p. 7, "Its coastal peoples, however, are all somehow involved in and affected by Euro-North American industrial culture. This is especially evident with regard to the fishing and vessel technology of the developed Western nations which has become widespread among Atlantic rim peoples in recent years... (1) the growth of technologies that are increasingly efficient and effective, mobile, versatile, and capital intensive; (2) growth in the scale and range of marine resources extracted; (3) increasing occupational specialization with the emergence of industrial fisheries; and (4) the growth of increasingly complex forms of integration linking fish production with local, regional, state, and international markets, economies, and organizations (e.g., international fishing commissions)."

4. However, McCay (1979) points out that narrow technological definitions of 'appropriate technology' can have negative consequences for selected communities.

5. Geertz, (1968), pp. x-xi, puts this succinctly in his classic study of Islam when he states, "I am attempting to discover what contributions parochial understandings can make to comprehensive ones, what leads to general, broad-stroke interpretations particular, intimate findings can produce... The bulk of what I have eventually seen (or thought I have seen) in the broad sweep of social history I have seen (or thought I have seen) first in the narrow confines of country towns and peasant villages."

6. Laxer has implicitly adopted Mill's 'method of difference' as the basic logical structure for analysis of the Canada-Sweden differences. According to Skocpol (1984), pp. 378-379, this approach involves contrasting "cases in which the phenomenon to be explained and the hypothesized causes are present to other ('negative') cases, in which the phenomenon and the causes are absent, even though those 'negative' cases are as

similar as possible to the 'positive' cases in other respects." Skocpol views the 'method of difference' as a more powerful approach than the alternate 'method of agreement'. With this latter approach, one tries to determine whether cases with a common outcome requiring explanation also share common causal factors, even in the presence of potentially important differences.

7. Laxer suggests, but does not expand on, the idea that Canada and Norway followed similar trajectories into dependent development. He states, (1989), p. 95, "Sweden could have taken the same path as Norway or Canada, remaining dependent on resource exports and allowing a high level of foreign economic control. All three countries had similar problems and opportunities: a shortage of domestic capital during early industrialization; a comparative advantage in staple exports; and foreign designs on their resources and infant industries." He later qualifies this notion, (1989b), pp. 103-104, by acknowledging that Norway began at a lower level development, had a less advanced banking system, and did move to limit foreign ownership in the first two decades of the twentieth century.

8. There have been a number of important criticisms levelled against Laxer's work (*Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 1989). For our purpose, the most telling comments about Laxer's analysis concern the deemphasis of political factors in his causal scheme. In particular, Orloff and Parker indicate that the relative absence of a military orientation among Canadian farmers is attributable to Canada's relatively secure geopolitical position; the economic wastage involved in Canada's railroad expansion was due, in good part, to a patronage system which pre-existed the introduction of formal bureaucratic administration; and the inability to staunch the flow of foreign investments has as much to do with the absence of a developed state apparatus as it did with agrarian failures (*Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 1989, pp. 514-515). Mahon also notes that Laxer's work concentrates on central Canadian farmers and tends to neglect the importance of regional considerations in Canada's failed industrialization (*Canadian Journal of Sociology*, 1989, p. 505).

9. For a recent exception to this rule see Fagerberg, Cappelen, Mjset & Skarstein (1990).

10. Holm (1991) points out that in a bargaining society like the Norwegian one, state subsidies do not support the formal goals of the system (efficiency, profitability), but rather help to stabilize incomes in the industry.

11. Thiessen and Davis (1990-91) demonstrate that small boat fishing captains in Nova Scotia are quite apprehensive about the effects of limited entry licensing and individual quotas. Their fears are associated with their continuing perceptions that D.F.O. is unresponsive to their needs.

12. What little credit the Canadian administrative regime can claim comes by contrast to the American system. In the United States, decentralization and a strong

commitment to free enterprise ideology have permitted many fishermen to destroy the environmental basis of their own existence; see Bannister (1989), pp. 77-85; 111-117.

13. In May of 1990, the Canadian federal government announced a five-year, \$584 million program which has three major aims: (1) rebuilding the fish stocks — science; conservation; enforcement and surveillance; education and information (\$150 million); (2) economic adjustment — a plant workers adjustment program (aimed primarily at older fish plant workers and trawlersmen); introduction of an individual quota system for vessels under 65-feet with mobile gear; dockside inspections; and a professional program for fishermen; and (3) economic diversification in the fishery — aquaculture; marketing; and development of under-utilized species.

14. Bannister (1989), pp. 109-111; 179-182, provides a description of the general planning structures and procedures in DFO.

15. The creations of 'deep' analogies sometimes make positivistically-minded scholars nervous about the possibility one is building arguments which may not be empirically falsifiable because of the apparently circular nature of their propositions. In other words, one may continually be sifting through facts to accommodate conceptual frameworks.

16. I would make partial exceptions for efforts which try to utilize internal variations in the case study to find causal patterns. Marchak, Guppy & McMullan (1987) use this sort of strategy in their examination of the British Columbia fishing industry.

17. Ragin (1987) thinks we are now at a point where we can supersede the tensions between qualitative and quantitative comparative analysis. He acknowledges that qualitative, case-oriented approaches can study and explain causal complexity more easily, but usually at the cost of particularizing accounts. On the other hand, quantitative variable-oriented perspectives can draw in a wider range of cases, but they typically encounter problems with concept specification and with abstract generalizations. Ragin, (1987), pp. 36-41, believes that the primacy of multiple, conjunctural causation in comparative work means that we may have no necessary or sufficient conditions to explain important events. As a consequence, Mill's methods of agreement and indirect differences are both invalid. However, he does believe that it is now possible to devise a synthetic and analytic comparative methodology which is based in Boolean algebra to overcome existing difficulties.

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# The Recruitment and Representation of Women in Norwegian Provincial Politics

Ingunn Norderval

Møre og Romsdal distrikts høgskole, Molde, Norway

RÉSUMÉ: *Cet article analyse une théorie de représentation politique attachant de l'importance aux critères ascriptifs en vue du recrutement de femmes politiques dans un des départements de la Norvège de l'Ouest.*

*Dans les deux dernières décennies les femmes norvégiennes ont augmenté dramatiquement leur représentation dans les forums politiques. Pourtant, beaucoup de voix prétendent que cette augmentation n'a pas abouti à des changements en proportion équivalente en ce qui concerne l'orientation politique. Les partis politiques ont plus marqué les femmes de leur empreinte que les femmes n'ont réussi à marquer ces premiers de la leur. Le concept de la représentation descriptive tient une forte position dans la politique norvégienne. Les forums politiques doivent refléter la population, et les partis politiques cherchent à établir une liste équilibrée où des groupes d'électeurs sont représentés par leurs 'propres' membres. Ceci comporte l'élimination de candidats compétents en faveur de politiciens moins visionnaires. La culture du parti est toujours dominée par des traditions paternalistes, ce qui peut contribuer à la discrimination contre des femmes politiques compétentes.*

"I believe that the greatest danger for feminism is not that no women get elected at all, or maybe only a few. The greatest danger is that only such women are elected that we cannot consider our representatives because they have absolutely no understanding of the idea of feminism. Surely this will often be the case if we leave it to the political parties to decide which women to nominate for election." Gyrithe Lemche, Danish feminist and politician, in *Kvinden og Samfundet*, Nr. 13. 1915 (cited by Dahlerup 1988: 292).

## INTRODUCTION

"The time is ripe. The occasion is here. The decision is made." With these words, Norway's Secretary of Church Affairs, Gudmund Hernes, announced the appointment of Rosemarie Køhn as the first female bishop

of the Church of Norway. (Norwegian Broadcasting Network, February 4, 1993). It was a landmark decision. Fifty-five years after the adoption of the law which in principle granted Norwegian women access to all public offices, and thirty-two years after the ordination of the first female minister, one of the last male strongholds, the college of bishops, was invaded.

To spectators across the world, this event is probably yet another symbol of the influence attained by Norwegian women—an influence which is humourously reflected in the remark of a five-year old boy to his little girl friend who announced that she wanted to be prime minister. "If I were a girl, I would become prime minister, too!" retorted the young man, used to Gro Harlem Brundtland and her 'government of women'.

In no other country have women advanced as far politically as in Norway, and countless commentators have discussed the 'revolutionary changes' that have occurred in this regard. But is it truly a revolution we have witnessed? Some social scientists contend that the answer to this question must be 'no'. Women's entry into Norwegian politics has not led to significant policy changes. As Knut Heidar (1988: 136) points out, women have revolutionized neither the form nor the content of their country's politics. They have not given us a new, female type of politician, and there is little difference between male and female politicians as far as attitudes, experience and activity are concerned. Heidar concludes:

For those who might have thought that an increased proportion of women automatically would lead to an all-encompassing change of the political course, there is probably ground for disappointment. On the contrary, one must admit that it appears that the parties have moulded the women far more than the women have moulded the parties.<sup>1</sup>

This is a view shared by many. In this paper I propose to outline some of the reasons why women's presence in Norwegian politics has resulted up to now more in tepid reform than revolutionary change. I shall look especially at the recruitment process in Norwegian politics, and the theory of representation underlying it, by focusing specifically on recruitment in the setting of provincial politics.

In my discussion here, I draw on personal notes from my own experience as an elected politician in the Fylkesting, the provincial assembly, of Møre and Romsdal, one of Norway's western provinces, as well as on in-depth interviews with 20 politicians at the local and provincial levels, and questionnaires distributed to all 71 members of the Møre and Romsdal Fylkesting at its session in March 1991. The

politicians were asked to comment on their willingness to stand for reelection, or, if they refused, why they did so. The return rate was 80%—a very satisfactory level of response.

#### FEMALE REPRESENTATION AT THE NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEVELS

Norwegian women received full voting rights in 1913, but as Table I shows, it was only after the Second World War that political parties began to nominate and elect more than the occasional female representative to political fora. Not until the 1970s did the proportion of women in elected office exceed 10%, both at the national and local levels.

TABLE I  
Percentage of Women in the Norwegian National Parliament (Storting)

	1921	1936	1945	1957	1969	1973	1977	1981	1985	1989
<i>Labour</i>		1	5	10	15	19	26	33	42	51
<i>Conservatives</i>	2		4	7	7	17	29	25	30	30
<i>Christ. People's Party</i>					7	5	14	7	25	36
<i>Liberals</i>				5						
<i>Centre Party</i>						14	8	18	17	18
<i>Progress Party</i>										5
<i>Socialist Left</i>							19	50	50	44
<i>Communists</i>					9					
<i>Total</i>	1	1	5	7	9	16	24	26	34	36

Sources: Ingunn Norderval Means (1972: 496) and Hege Skjeie (1990a: 46)  
(For the names of the parties in Norwegian, see footnote 2.)

Norway has adopted a system of proportional representation using a party list method of election. An entire province constitutes one electoral district in provincial and national elections. All parties appoint nominating committees which suggest candidates for party lists, and after a round of hearings in the local party organizations, nominating conventions decide the final composition of the party ticket. At the municipal level, voters may exercise a personal preference vote, but in the elections to the provincial assembly, the Fylkesting, or to the national legislature, the Storting, the parties' rank ordering of candidates on their electoral list in fact determines the individual candidate's chance of

election. In Norway's multi-party system, where as many as six or seven parties may compete for a small number of seats, only the candidates at the top of their party's list are ensured election.

The low proportion of women in the Storting prior to the 1970s was in part a consequence of women's traditional relegation to the lower spots on the ticket. The few women representatives were by and large from those parties big enough to win several seats in an electoral district, i.e., the Labour and the Conservative parties. The relationship was quite clear: the more 'safe' seats a party possessed, the higher the chance that women would be nominated and elected. Conversely, parties that could hope for only one or two seats, seldom had women elected. It is also interesting that the Labour Party was no more likely than other parties to elect women in those districts where this party only commanded one or two seats (see Norderval Means 1973: 40–41).

The 1970s were a period of democratic renewal in Norway. The women's liberation movement coincided with the reform of the provincial political system—a reform which enhanced political opportunities for women.

Before 1975, the assemblies at the provincial level, the Fylkestings, were not directly elected by the voters, but were composed of the mayors of the various municipalities, as well as a few other elected local leaders. This resulted, in practice, that the Fylkesting was an almost exclusively male affair, until the reform adopted in 1975 instituted a direct, popular vote for members of the Fylkesting.

The coinciding of these two movements—the democratization of provincial politics and women's liberation—might lead one to expect that the provincial assemblies would be fora where women could make their impact. Many 'new' political positions were available, it wasn't a zero sum game where men had to give up 'their' positions in order to accommodate women. Hopes were also high that a 'new provincial politician' would emerge—a politician not hampered by the old political culture.

Initially, some of these expectations seemed borne out, and women were elected to the new provincial assemblies in larger numbers than either to the national parliament, the Storting, or to the municipal councils; the proportion of seats held by women in the provincial assemblies has continued to remain high.

However, the 'staying power' of women has not been as high as one might have wished. Their turnover rate, both in the local and provincial assemblies, is not much different from that of men. However, in recent

elections, virtually all political parties have reported difficulties in recruiting the proportion of women demanded by quota rules which now are common in most parties. Typically, quota rules state that a party list must contain at least 40% of either gender, and that this percentage must apply not only to the ticket as a whole, but also to the safe, winnable seats. Some parties have now made it a practice to alternate between women and men in their listing of candidates on the ticket.

The first party to adopt a quota system was the Liberal Party in 1973. (For names of parties in Norwegian, see footnote 2.) The Socialist Left Party followed suit in 1975, and the Labour Party in 1983. Finally, in 1989, the Centre Party submitted to pressures from its women members and adopted quota rules. Women within the Christian People's Party have worked hard to secure a similar rule, but so far without success. At this party's national conference in 1992, a proposal to adopt quotas was defeated very narrowly. The two parties on the right side of the political spectrum, the Conservative Party and the Progress Party have no quota rules. The Conservatives have, however, generally nominated and elected almost as high a proportion of women as the parties on the left (see Skjeie 1990b: 236).

Much of the discussion concerning women's political involvement has focused on the women themselves. It is their lack of interest, ambition, self confidence and competence which are said to explain why the parties have problems recruiting sufficient numbers of female list candidates. Consequently, the proposed remedies have to a great extent centred around making individual women more able, and more self confident as their skills increase. Thus, the political parties have arranged 'Bully Courses for Women' and 'Women Can' courses in an attempt to increase the supply of competent women willing to stand for office.

However, this focus on the individual woman and her responsibility for changing her own situation tends to deflect attention from the party culture and structures—that these may be discriminatory and functioning in a way that is incompatible with the recruitment of those kinds of women who are most likely to become strong politicians and exert political influence.

Further, one must note that men, too, quit politics. The turnover rate for local and provincial councillors, both women and men, is so high that some talk about a crisis in Norwegian local democracy. Approximately two thirds of elected representatives at the local level do not seek reelection, and over the past 20 years, the turnover has been about two thirds in both local and provincial elections. But, as Larsen and Offerdal

(1990: 25) point out, failure to get reelected is not in itself a sign of crisis in a democratic system. On the contrary, it may be an indicator that the system is working. The parties, or the voters, may be exercising their democratic duty of passing judgement on the performance of the politicians by denying them renomination or reelection. If, on the other hand, a large proportion of politicians refuse to stand for reelection, the voters do not have a chance to hold politicians responsible. Also, desirable continuity and experience in the political system are lost.

Very little research has been done with regard to the recruitment of Norwegian municipal politicians, their renomination and turnover rate, and virtually none has been conducted on provincial politics. Einar Brandsdal's study (1983) of municipal councillors, entitled "Who goes and who stays?" established that less than half of the councillors interviewed wished to be reelected, and that 80% of those who said they desired reelection, in fact were reelected. Brandsdal concludes that turnover is primarily a function of the representatives' own choice, and only to a very small degree caused by party or voter rejection of the politicians.

Jarle Weigård's study, "Kommunestyret 1984-87: Erfaringer, arbeidsvilkår og framtidsperspektiv," examines the attitudes of elected representatives in 12 northern municipalities. Again, about half of the councillors refused renomination. According to Weigård, the most important problem is the increasing complexity of political tasks and the heavy workload, which combine to make the representatives feel helpless and overburdened.

Ottar Hellevik and Torild Skard's book (1985), *Norske kommunestyrer—plass for kvinner*, focuses particularly on the recruitment of women. The authors found that only a little over one third of the women desired renomination, as against almost half of the men. However, of the women willing to serve again, a lower proportion was in fact renominated than was the case for the men. While 67% of the willing men were renominated, only 57% of the willing women secured renomination. It thus appears that there are more barriers to women's than to men's renomination.

One may ask: Why do not women have more staying power? Two reasons may be suggested: 1) Many of women recruited do not have the qualities needed to stay in politics. 2) Women are facing obstacles within the political system which give them little influence, and hence little encouragement to continue their political careers.

### WOMEN IN PROVINCIAL POLITICS

Let us first look at the female politicians. Who are they? How did they obtain their positions?

On the basis of their performance in provincial politics, both male and female politicians may be classified into three major categories: 1) The 'Silent Servant'; 2) The 'Pragmatic Party Loyalist'; and 3) The 'Idealist'.

The distribution of the three types varies somewhat according to sex. Among the men, the largest group is composed of 'Pragmatic Party Loyalists', while the 'Silent Servants' constitute the largest group among female politicians. Let us examine each of the three types briefly, as they relate to women.

The 'Silent Servant' gains access to provincial fora because she fulfills several 'ascriptive criteria' in the demands for group membership. She may have years in local party politics behind her, and may be promoted to provincial legislative office because the party needs a woman, someone from her geographical district, or someone with her type of occupational or other background in order to 'balance the ticket'. The 'Silent Servant' is extremely loyal and conscientious, but lacks selfconfidence and initiative, and does not become an active politician. She is the silent spectator, who shrinks from political confrontations. "It is too taxing," said Anne, a typical 'Silent Servant', when refusing to comply with her group leader's request that she prepare a short speech on a certain issue. And she added: "I don't belong here. This is not for me."

Over a four-year period, Anne only once participated in the debate in the assembly, and she refused renomination. The role of politician is as a rule a very brief guest role for the 'Silent Servant', who normally opts out after one period.

The 'Pragmatic Party Loyalist' has learned the rules of the game, and demonstrates an impressive staying power. She is seldom found in opposition to the party leadership, and is somehow always on the side of the majority—regardless of views she may have articulated earlier. Her staying power is probably to be found in her ability to 'blow with the wind', and to rationalize the changing of her own views to coincide with those of the majority and the leadership. The 'Party Loyalist' often prefers the company of men, and the political game and power politics have become her forte. "Because I think like a man," was the answer given by one 'Party Loyalist' when asked to explain her political success.

The 'Idealist' is in many ways the exact opposite of the 'Pragmatic Party Loyalist'. She has a very conscious attitude to politics, and is extremely aware of the values underlying her political choices. Her political activity is the result of her desire to use politics as a tool for reform, and she would agree with the ancient Greeks that politics is, most profoundly, a question of ethics—that politics has to do with creating the just society. Her sense of political efficacy is strong. When asked why she chose to stand for reelection in spite of the cruel treatment she had experienced from some of her party colleagues, one 'Idealist' answered: "In order to influence the course of development towards a good society, and in order to prevent the bullies in my party from having their way."

Naturally, these are ideal types. All we claim is that our politicians have more or less of one or the other in their make-up. Further, it is necessary that it be so. If the 'Idealist' is to become a great politician, she has to learn the ways of pragmatism. For what is the use of a pure heart if you cannot get others on your side to fight for justice? The art of building alliances involves the ability to compromise, to give and to take. The 'Pragmatic Party Loyalist', for her part, will in the last analysis be hemmed in by her very pragmatism. The visions, the compelling power of faith in a just cause, are missing. Unless her pragmatism is married to idealism, she will be unable to inspire others, and the great tasks of the politician will elude her.

#### WOMEN IN THE MØRE AND ROMSDAL FYLKESTING

What, then, is the role played by women in Møre and Romsdal provincial politics? Politically, the province has leaned towards conservatism. The socialist parties do not normally gain enough support to elect the Fylkesordfører, the provincial mayor, on their own, although the Labour Party is the single largest party both provincially and in most municipalities.

The province has also been conservative in regard to women's political advancement. Not until 1977 was a woman elected to the Storting from this province, and only a handful of municipalities have ever had female mayors. In 1990 just two of 38 mayors were women (Møre og Romsdal Fylkeskommune. *Kvinnemelding* 1990: 317).

With the political reform of 1975, women marched into provincial politics here as elsewhere, their proportion increasing from a mere 3.6% in the Fylkesting to 28.2%. Since then, their numbers increased in every election until 1987. The election in 1991 represented a setback—women's representation in the Møre and Romsdal Fylkesting was reduced from

42% to 35%. However, the election resulted in the province getting its first female provincial mayor, *Fylkesordfører*, —the Labour Party's Grethe Westergaard Bjørlo.

TABLE II  
Women Representatives in the Møre & Romsdal Provincial Assembly<sup>3</sup>

	1975		1979		1983		1987		1991	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Labour</i>	5	26.3	6	31.5	8	38.0	9	42.8	5	41.6
<i>Conservatives</i>	3	33.3	3	18.7	5	35.7	7	53.8	3	37.5
<i>Christ. People's Party</i>	4	26.6	6	42.8	4	33.3	4	40.0	4	50.0
<i>Liberals</i>	3	42.8	2	28.5	2	33.3	3	60.0	2	66.6
<i>Centre Party</i>	3	23.0	3	33.3	2	25.0	2	28.5	3	37.5
<i>Progress Party</i>		0		0		0	2	28.5	0	0
<i>Socialist Left</i>	1	50.0	1	50.0	2	66.6	2	66.6	2	40.0
<i>Unpolitical</i>		0		0		0	1	33.3	1	10.0
Total	19	28.1	21	29.5	23	32.3	30	42.2	20	35.0
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%

Source: Official protocols of the Møre and Romsdal Fylkesting

Turnover patterns in Møre and Romsdal have also been similar to those observed elsewhere. With the exception of 1987, approximately two thirds of the legislators retired after each period (see Table III).

There is no clear profile regarding party differences in renomination and reelection rates in general. Nor does it appear that women are less likely to be reelected than men. Especially in 1987, the reelection rate for women was high, as Table III shows. Five of the eight Labour Party women who were elected in 1983, were reelected in 1987. The same year, the Conservative Party reelected four of their five women representatives from the 1983–87 period, whereas only four of the nine Conservative men stood for reelection. It is important to note that the men's lower reelection rate is due to their own refusal to seek renomination.

TABLE III

Representatives reelected in elections, 1979–1991, in the Møre and Romsdal Fylketing

	1979				1983			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Labour</i>	1(5)*	20.0	4(14)	28.5	4(6)	66.6	5(13)	38.4
<i>Conservatives</i>	2(3)	66.6	4(6)	66.6	0(3)	0	5(13)	38.4
<i>Chr. People's P.</i>	1(4)	25.0	4(11)	36.3	3(6)	50.0	2(8)	25.0
<i>Liberals</i>	1(3)	33.3	2(4)	50.0	0(2)	0	2(5)	40.0
<i>Centre Party</i>	2(3)	66.6	2(10)	20.0	1(3)	33.3	1(6)	16.6
<i>Progress Party</i>							1(1)	100.0
<i>Socialist Left</i>	1(1)	100.0	1(1)	100.0	1(1)	100.0	0(1)	0
*****								
	1987				1991			
	Women		Men		Women		Men	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
<i>Labour</i>	5(8)	62.5	8(13)	61.5	3(9)	33.3	4(12)	33.3
<i>Conservatives</i>	4(5)	80.0	4(9)	44.4	1(7)	14.3	2(6)	33.3
<i>Chr. People's P.</i>	4(4)	100.0	3(8)	37.5	2(4)	50.0	2(6)	33.3
<i>Liberals</i>	1(2)	50.0	2(4)	50.0	1(3)	33.3	0(2)	0
<i>Centre Party</i>	1(2)	50.0	2(6)	33.3	1(2)	50.0	3(5)	60.0
<i>Progress Party</i>			3(4)	75.0	0(2)	0	2(5)	40.0
<i>Socialist Left</i>	1(2)	50.0	0(1)	0	0(2)	0	1(1)	100.0
<i>Unpolitical</i>			2(3)	66.0	1(1)	100.0	2(4)	50.0
Proportion of all members reelected in each election								
	1979	1983	1987	1991				
	36.6	35.2	56.9	40.3				

\* The numbers in parentheses indicate how many women / men were elected in the previous election.

The 1991 election, as well, resulted in proportionally slightly more women legislators than men being reelected. Nine of the 20 women elected that year had served before, while 16 of the 37 men in the new Fylkesting had similar experience. Comparison between the 1991 Fylkesting and earlier ones is complicated because of the reduction of the Fylkesting membership from 71 to 57 (for reasons of economy and efficiency). But it is clear from the responses on the questionnaire distributed to legislators that in several parties, women proved more willing than men to 'reenlist', but with the reduction in overall seats for each party as a result of the smaller Fylkesting membership, the seats for which women were nominated were in some cases lost. In the Labour party, for instance, over half the men refused to be renominated, while over two thirds of the women were willing to seek reelection and thus to represent continuity in the party group.

More interesting than women's renomination and reelection rates, is the question of which type of politician it is who leaves office at the end of a four year period, and the reasons given for quitting or staying. One is struck by the pattern revealed in Table IV: The largest single group of quitters among the women politicians is found among the 'Silent Servants'. About three fourths of the 'Silent Servants' opt out, the vast majority of them after only one period.

TABLE IV  
Møre and Romsdal Fylkesting, 1991 elections, women desiring reelection  
[actual numbers]

	<u>Idealist</u>	<u>Party Loyalist</u>	<u>Silent Servant</u>	<u>Total</u>
Yes	5	6	3	14
No	4	4	8	16
Total	9	10	11	30

It seems likely, then, that high turnover rates in part may be explained through the presence of a fairly high number of 'Silent Servants' among the politicians. A political system that recruits many 'Silent Servants' cannot expect anything but high turnover, for these are people with little talent for or commitment to politics. They are bound to be dissatisfied with political work, and the prospect that they will remain active is, from the outset, small. Over one third of the female membership are actually not competent to play a significant political role.

The consequences for the political system are clearly negative. As we have seen, if the electorate is to exercise control over its representatives, as presumed in democratic theory, then the representatives must want to continue their political activity. Only then may the electorate 'punish' poor representatives and 'reward' the good ones. When the representatives themselves opt out in large numbers, it means in fact that the electorate has no control over the elected (see Larsen and Offerdal 1979: 89–90).

Clearly, it must be dysfunctional for a political system to recruit large numbers of 'Silent Servants' who are simply tokens for various groups among the electorate. They do not enjoy the game of politics, and when they explain why they leave, the theme stressed is their feeling of powerlessness and the total meaninglessness of it all. The few 'Silent Servants' who choose to continue, also tend to explain their decision in a way that reflects little political enthusiasm: "To do a job my party has given me," or: "One term is too little," or: "To ensure my community representation."

The 'Party Loyalists' and the 'Idealists', on the other hand, are 'political animals' who consider politics important, and who in the explanations of their own motivations for either staying or quitting tend to emphasize the issue of political influence. It is, however, the 'Idealists' who seem to possess the greatest sense of their own convictions as a basis for political action, and a belief that they are able personally to have an influence on the course of politics. These comments are typical of the 'Idealist'—"I want to have influence, and I feel that I am able to obtain results in regard to the causes I choose to work for. I believe I still have something to contribute in politics."—"Because I feel it is interesting and because I can contribute to decisions and developments that are as close as possible to what I wish them to be."

The 'Party Loyalists' appear to express themselves more in vague clichés, stressing their roles as tools for the party, as 'a voice of the people', and as representatives of their districts. There is less of a feeling of personal political efficacy in their statements.

Similarly, when it comes to decisions to quit politics, the 'Idealists' distinguish themselves clearly from the rest, in that their reasons for leaving are also political considerations. One will be her party's candidate for mayor in the municipal elections; another states that she has always intended to serve only two periods, in order to retain her enthusiasm for political work, although this will now be exercised in another context. Yet another indicates that leaving politics is necessary for her in order to be

able to continue to work for the causes she considers important. Her relationship with the leader of her group in the Fylkesting was of such a nature that it made it impossible for her to continue to work effectively. She leaves, she says, "because I feel burned out. Because I feel it is easier for me to fight for the causes I am most committed to outside the party group in the Fylkesting." This woman's statement is important. We shall see later why the 'Idealists' may face greater obstacles in politics than the 'Party Loyalists'.

#### **REPRESENTATION THEORY AND RECRUITMENT**

Politicians are not particularly highly esteemed in Norway. Frequently, one encounters the call for a new type of political leader who possesses moral courage, vision and an ability to chart a steady course; in other words, that happy blend of idealism and pragmatism which constitutes the 'great politician'.

According to modern democratic theory of representation, it is the task of political parties to recruit such leaders. Political parties have been compared to giant employment agencies, where the employers, the sovereign people, obtain contact with the prospective employees, the aspiring political candidates. Through the nominating process, the parties screen the applicants, and presumably, the most qualified applicants will in the end obtain the status of candidate and, if successful in being elected, the status of representative.

But does the system function as intended? Or is it mere fluke—a stroke of good luck—that once in a while we get that fortunate blend of idealist and pragmatist who has the making of a great politician? The answer to the question is probably 'yes'. The recruitment process is such that it may be more luck than merit that causes the able politician to emerge.

The main reason for this must be sought in the theory of representation that dominates within the Norwegian political parties. In addition, the party culture, with its lack of openness surrounding the nominating process has negative consequences.

#### **REPRESENTATION**

The concept of representation is a complex one. At the very basic level, however, some authors distinguish between primary and secondary representation: Primary representation is the representation of opinions, values, beliefs and ideology, while secondary representation has to do with demographic characteristics; representatives and voters share such

characteristics as class, age, geographical belonging, just to mention some (see Heidar 1988: 59–63). ‘Descriptive representation’ is a more commonly employed term, and will be used in this paper to denote ascriptive criteria.

Although party representation clearly is based on the premise that ideology is important, party recruitment in Norwegian politics today is dominated by the theory of descriptive representation. In order to be truly representative, the political body should be a miniature version of ‘the people’, with ‘all’ groups represented, preferably as close to their proportion in the general public as possible.

The idea that the elected assembly should be a ‘mirror image’ of the populace has a venerable lineage. President John Adams was an eloquent spokesman for this view, and according to his opinion, a representative body “should be an exact portrait, in miniature, of the people at large, as it should think, feel, reason and act like them” (Pitkin 1967: 60). However, Alexander Hamilton, co-author with Adams of the Federalist Papers, expressed profound disagreement with this view in one of his essays. That all classes of citizens should be represented by some of ‘their own’ in the representative body, wrote Hamilton, “in order that their feelings and interests may be better understood and attended to ... will never happen under any arrangement that leaves the votes of the people free” (cited by Putnam 1976: 142).

Nonetheless, the notion of the political elite as ideally a ‘mirror’ of the grassroots has stayed alive and provided the basis for criticism of existing political fora from many quarters. Sidney and Beatrice Webb, for instance, attacked the House of Lords as the worst possible example of a representative assembly, since “it contains absolutely no members of the manual working class; none of the great class of shopkeepers, clerks and teachers; none of the half of all the citizens who are of the female sex” (cited by Pitkin 1967: 61). And their fellow countryman, Lord Booth, argued that “ideally, the House of Commons should be a social microcosm of the nation. The nation includes a great many people who are rather stupid, and so should the House” (cited by Putnam 1976: 141).

The demand that a group must be represented by its ‘own’ members is of course rooted in the belief that those who share the characteristics of the group may be expected to share its values and therefore protect its interests. However, both research and practical experience have shown that demographic representation is no guarantee of interest representation. Certainly, many women will dispute that Margaret Thatcher represented women’s interests, even though a physical member of the group.

Political theorists have subjected the 'mirror image' concept of representation to serious criticism. Pitkin points to the fact that in a modern society, where 'new' groups continuously form in response to changing, concrete demands, it is impossible for 'all' groups to be represented. To Pitkin, it would not even be desirable. And in contrast to Lord Booth, Pitkin does not deplore the absence of fools in Parliament (for that matter, are they absent?): "We would not want to complain that the large class of stupid or maleficent people have too few representatives in Parliament: rather the contrary" (Pitkin 1967: 89).

To Hanna Pitkin, the test of true representation is to be found in the responsiveness of the elected to the electorate. There must be institutions and mechanisms which enable the people to express their attitudes and to exercise control over their governors—in the last instance through denying them reelection. This means, then, that responsiveness must be institutionalized through regular elections. But it does not mean that the representatives must be 'like' the electorate, nor that they always must do 'what the people want'. Society is not a homogenous unit with a clear and simple interest, and therefore the representative cannot be an agent bound to a particular course of action. "He is neither agent nor trustee nor deputy nor commissioner; he acts for a group of people without a single interest, most of whom seem incapable of forming an explicit will on political questions" (Pitkin 1967: 221).

#### THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT AND DEMANDS FOR REPRESENTATION

While the early women's movement emphasized the liberal demand for equal political opportunity, the modern movement has demanded equal representation for women as a group. And it is precisely the mirror analogy that is employed to legitimate the demand for equal representation. Since society consists of approximately equal numbers of men and women, this fact ought to be reflected in the political fora. Impatient with the slow recruitment of women, feminists have insisted on affirmative action and quotas for women, both in regard to elective office and representation in public committees and councils.

The Norwegian practice has inspired interest in other countries. In Great Britain, for instance, the Labour Party is currently discussing the principle of quotas (see Brooks et al. 1990). The authors claim that women's rights can only be secured by women obtaining a strength similar to men's in the political fora. The extremely poor representation of women in North American politics has also resulted in curiosity about adopting the quota principle. The typical argument is that only through

increased representation of women in the political bodies where authoritative decisions are made, can the interests of women be secured (see for example Sapiro 1981: 701–716.)

However, there has also been serious criticism levelled against the quota system and the assumption that women's rights automatically will be assured by merely increasing the numbers of women in the political bodies. The Dutch political scientist and feminist Rian Voet is one of those who has expressed her objections and pointed to difficulties with the assumptions of descriptive representation and quotas for women. Descriptive representation, says Voet (1991: 8–9), "offers no single standard about what good representation is," and she suggests that one may only hope that women elected on the basis of this principle will in fact represent women's interests. More women in political positions will not automatically lead to better representation of women, if one has not developed criteria for what is good representation. Descriptive representation simply means that groups are represented in the political assemblies - it does not assure that these representatives in fact feel, think, or behave like those they are supposed to represent. Women politicians may in fact behave like men, but under the principle of descriptive representation, there are no grounds for complaint. In this connection, one may point to Heidar's conclusion regarding the impact of female politicians in Norway: they have been more influenced by their parties than they have themselves succeeded in influencing the parties. Men and women alike are socialized into prevailing party norms (Heidar 1988: 136).

Finally, Voet disagrees with the notion that 'all' groups must be represented in the political assemblies. This mirror image of representation is both unrealistic and undesirable, and its realization would imply an enormous fragmentation of politics: "Suppose the following utopian situation: after feminists had introduced quotas for women in politics, it turned out that the final list of elected persons in political parties and in parliament reflected exactly the composition of society. We had all kinds of political personalities. In truth, everyone found himself or herself represented by someone. The politicians were really like us. Would this not lead to an incredible fragmentation? Would this not imply for feminism, that black political women only wanted to represent black women, while the lesbian M.P. only wanted to speak and act for lesbians? My worry is that this fragmentation would have a very negative effect on the impact of feminism as a political movement" (Voet 1991: 15).

Clearly, political paralysis would be the result of such extreme fragmentation and the function of political interest aggregation rendered impossible, unless there was willingness to compromise on the part of the representatives. However, I do not agree with Rian Voet's conclusion that the principle of quotas for women must be rejected. Gender is such a fundamental distinction, and the lives of men and women are so different, that it is reasonable to demand approximately equal representation of the sexes in political fora. At the same time, it is necessary to underline that far more attention needs to be paid to what kind of women the parties recruit for political office and, naturally, to how the parties support and socialize those that they do select.

This is particularly true in a system like the Norwegian, where gender is just one of the ascriptive criteria that are applied in the recruitment process. The party lists must be 'balanced', containing candidates from the various geographical areas, occupational backgrounds and organizational affiliations, as well as different age groups and both genders. For all the parties, the nominating process thus becomes a jigsaw puzzle of finding candidates that represent "all" the elements of the electorate one hopes to appeal to.

In the process, extremely able candidates may fall by the wayside because 'their' group already is represented, while a less talented politician with the desired ascriptive trait is pushed ahead. Although one may argue that there is a system benefit in a broad and diverse representation, it is also clear that there is a cost involved. The party lists will contain many 'token candidates'—silent supporters for the party leadership, men and women without the ability to articulate their group's interest, to win supporters and to build alliances. They become the 'Silent Servants', not the strong politicians needed to renew politics. They let the parties mould them, instead of themselves moulding the parties.

Just as ascriptive criteria are employed to demand representation for certain groups, they are also used to exclude others. Older women have been particularly discriminated against in the past. Willing, able and experienced women have been eliminated from consideration as party candidates because they are 'too old'. Thus, in the last parliamentary elections, prominent women politicians, not yet 60, from many provinces and different parties shared the same experience. Their age was the most important argument against their candidacy. Women's political life expectancy in this way becomes shorter than men's. Family responsibilities may restrain their political engagement before they reach middle age, and when they finally are ready to contribute their wisdom

and enthusiasm, they are met with a negative shake of the head: "She must be crazy—doesn't she realize she is too old?" (See Ingunn Norderval Means 1973: 52).

The nomination processes of the various parties in Møre and Romsdal in 1991 aptly illustrate some of these problems. The Labour Party placed a completely inexperienced young man among its top candidates, which would normally have assured him a seat in the important policymaking, governing body, the Fylkesutvalg, because the 'youth vote' must be catered to. At the same time, one of the party's most respected female politicians was demoted to a position far down on the party ticket because "we can't have so many teachers at the top of the list." Instead, an inexperienced housewife was selected for one of the top spots as a "representative from the group of full-time housewives." As it turned out, the party did poorly in the election, and the teacher lost her seat.

The situation is not unique for the Labour party. In the Christian People's Party, one of the most able politicians could not be placed among the top candidates because her geographical area already was represented by someone with more seniority, and because another region's superior size entitled it to two candidates at the head of the ticket. Similarly, the most able and experienced female politician in the Centre Party could not be accommodated at the top of the list because the party's leader comes from the same geographical area as she. Had achievement criteria, rather than ascriptive criteria, been applied, all three women would have been candidates for the Fylkesutvalg.

#### PARTY CULTURE

Over a generation ago, Professor Henry Valen, then a young political science student, conducted the first empirical study of Norwegian parliamentary nominating practices (Valen 1956). He regarded it as a great weakness of the system that the question of candidate selection was so little discussed in local party groups. The situation is not very different today. To a surprising extent, the question of candidate selection is left up to a small circle of party leaders, to be ratified by the party nominating convention. A nominating committee proposes a slate of candidates, which is then sent out to the local party groups for comment, the so-called 'trial nomination', before the committee makes its final proposal to the party convention. The trial nominations engender, as a rule, little interest, and the results in the nominating conventions are often identical with the

committee proposals. This applies both to provincial and national elections.

To a considerable extent, the lack of openness surrounding the question of candidacy is rooted in the 'cult of modesty' syndrome that characterizes Norwegian politics. It is considered to be in bad taste to confess to political ambitions, and declare ones candidacy for a particular political office. Of course, politically ambitious individuals will attempt to advance their political careers, even if they can't do so openly. The 'cult of modesty' thus contributes to secrecy and manipulations in the nominating process, rendering politics both 'dirty' and irresponsible, and removed from democratic controls. A person with political ambition does not know who the other likely contenders are, and cannot play the political game with open cards. She must be 'tactical' and anticipate any and all moves of imagined competitors. Whispering campaigns and rumour mongering become political tools.

Naturally, the party's function as 'employment agency' is rendered difficult when candidacies cannot be openly confessed and discussed in rational fashion. The political climate becomes unhealthy.

Sitting representatives are, however, normally exempt from the cult of modesty rule. They are not just allowed to express their interest in renomination—they are entitled to it if they so desire. Thus, in a typical election the situation will be that some party candidates are not subjected to any competition. The democratic guarantee for responsible politics is not functioning. Regardless of ability, the political representative will normally be reelected simply by expressing her desire for reelection. Open expression of criticism and honest discussion of possible replacements are not considered politically appropriate.

In some cases, however, the routine is broken: rumours are systematically employed to destroy a candidate's possibilities. The victims are normally the last to know, and by then it may be too late. The process is essentially the same as that described by Svein M. Kile in the case of business enterprises, corporations and organizations: the rumours appear impossible to stop, they destroy the individual and are damaging to the enterprise (Kile 1990: 156).

Ironically, the most likely victims of the rumour mill are our 'Idealists'. They are not anonymous—in the course of their political careers they have been noticed for their positions, for their refusal to submit meekly to the party leadership in various instances, and maybe for their opposition to powerful interest groups. Through their political activity they have made enemies who are keen to see their retirement.

In any organization, there is a built-in tendency to recruit new leaders who will perpetuate the organizational culture. At the same time, there is an urgent demand for renewal, for creativity and growth which will be impossible to secure if the organizational recruiting pattern is a blueprint of the old leadership. Unfortunately, the recruitment process within Norwegian political parties today too often functions in such a way that the creative 'Idealists' are isolated and forced out rather than nurtured and rewarded. They become losers in the system, sometimes after very painful experiences. As one 'Idealist' explained why she decided not to serve another period: "I thought it would be different. I thought it would be possible to fight for the causes I believe in and which are in accordance with the party's ideology." Instead, she experienced the tough demand for submission to party discipline, often in a way she felt was contrary to the party's philosophy. "And I am not strong enough to hold on to my own convictions always. I burst into a cold sweat and get sick to my stomach when I am in opposition. And if I give in, I feel ashamed and just want to cry." This politician decided that in order to work for the causes she believed in, she would have to leave provincial politics.

#### CONCLUSION

Is it truly a revolution we have witnessed? It would be wrong to leave the reader with the impression that important changes have not occurred in Norway as a result of the dramatic increase in women's representation. Clearly, women's presence has made a difference when it comes to issues like improved child care facilities, maternity leave and the right of fathers of newborn children to paternity leave. However, the total effect on political life is no doubt less than hoped for by many. Political organizations are still dominated by traditions that have evolved over time, without imprint of women and as Hege Skjeie notes, "so far there seems to be little reason to expect that the integration of women will transform the traditional pattern of political organizing" (Skjeie 1990a: 70).

The American sociologist Rosabeth Moss Kanter, in her book *Men and Women of the Corporation* (1977), demonstrated how organizational structure and patterns of leadership tend to limit women's career possibilities. Kanter's most original contribution to the understanding of women's opportunity structures is her emphasis on the concept of relative numbers. In order that women shall be able to function in an optimal manner in a group, they must constitute more than just one or a few. A single woman in an organization of men is bound to be a 'token', a symbol of her group. The same is true if there are just a few women

present. They are highly visible as 'the others', they will have difficulty obtaining recognition, and will easily be stereotyped and forced into 'suitable, feminine' roles. They will be isolated and not integrated into the group (Kanter 1977: 212-221).

Kanter's analysis applies equally well to the world of politics as to the world of corporations. The political system has everywhere been dominated by men, and its networks have been extremely excluding of 'deviant' newcomers. Women entering politics experience their minority status. It is demanded of them that they both adapt to the organization and behave like men, and that they behave like 'real' women and submit to the men. As one female provincial politician said: "They expect us to be, 'one of the boys' and participate in politics according to the rules that were defined before we entered. But at the same time, we are criticized for being aggressive and unfeminine if we play ball the way the boys do."

All the women politicians I have talked to have admitted that they to a greater or lesser degree have been negatively affected by this male political culture. The social scientist and politician Berit Ås has listed several techniques of political oppression—techniques which may be used against anyone, but which particularly tend to be applied towards women: 1) Rendering someone invisible—not hearing what she has to say; 2) Ridicule—her ideas are laughed at; 3) Withholding information—the boys' communicate among themselves; 4) The double bind—whatever she does, is wrong; and 5) Subjection to extreme criticism if she acts contrary to group norms (see Berit Ås 1981: 42-68).

Women from all parties confess to having experienced these techniques of oppression. A Conservative woman put it this way: "You state your opinion—they just look vacantly into space. You don't get information. The top male leaders discuss things, but information is passed on selectively to the chosen few. Women have to be fellow travellers in order to be admitted in from the cold. Able women do not get a chance to show what they are capable of."

Obviously, many Norwegian women have attained powerful political positions today. Still, the party hierarchies at the lowest and middle levels, with which we have been concerned, are dominated by men. Women are thus still dependent on men if they are going to be able to market their political ideas and attain success. The attitudes of the male leadership are crucial to breakthroughs for women and their causes.

Recognizing that as a small minority, women would not be able to change the course of events in their parties, Norwegian female politicians have successfully pushed through their demand for representation that

reflects the size of the female electorate. Quota rules now ensure that women are not a small, but a large minority in the political assemblies.

Some social scientists have speculated that as the size of the female minority increased, one would attain a 'take-off point' from where the development would accelerate, and women would be able to leave their imprint on the political decisions, effecting a qualitative change. Thus, the Danish political scientist Drude Dahlerup in her comparative study of the consequences in the Nordic countries of the increase in women's representation, postulated initially that several aspects of politics would be affected by the presence of large female minorities.

However, her findings led Dahlerup to conclude that the changes that have taken place are indeed modest:

A critical mass? Does 30% women in politics accelerate the development? As shown in this article, it is difficult to apply the idea of a turning point following from a growth in the size of the minority... . Human beings do not act automatically like particles. Only on one point, namely changes in the social climate, does it seem relevant to talk about a kind of 'automatic' change when the minority grows large (Dahlerup 1988: 296).

Dahlerup suggests that only when the minority is willing and able to mobilize the resources of organizations or institutions to improve their lot, will significant changes occur. But this, in turn, depends on altering the recruitment process in such a way that those women find their way into the system who have the qualities needed to change it.

In the case of Norway, it may be a difficult task to effect this change, since the principle of descriptive representation is so firmly engrained. But it should not be impossible. It would, however, require of party elites that they make a determined effort to find, within each group that is 'entitled' to representation, women who possess other qualities besides their group membership, qualities of political strength and leadership. But there must also be greater willingness to transcend narrow regional and group interests. Last, but not least, the political parties must become far more conscious of the numerous ways in which party culture still subjects women to practices which are discriminatory in their effects, even if they are not intended that way.

#### NOTES

1. All translations from Norwegian given in this paper are my own.
2. Labour Party—Arbeiderpartiet; Conservatives—Høyre; Christian People's Party—Kristelig Folkeparti; Liberals—Venstre; Centre Party—Senterpartiet; Progress Parti—Fremskrittspartiet; Socialist Left—Sosialistisk Venstreparti.

3. The number of representatives was reduced from 71 to 57 prior to the 1991 election. Obviously, the small number of representatives elected by several parties may result in some startling proportional fluctuations. When the Liberals elected three women in 1987, one more than in the previous election, women's representation in that party increased from 33% to 60%. In the 1991 election, only two Liberal women were elected—66% of the three seats the party won that year.

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# Governing Norwegian Universities in the 1990s

Janet E. Rasmussen  
*Nebraska Wesleyan University*

**RÉSUMÉ:** Depuis 1987 les universités norvégiennes subissent des changements étendus. Sous la bannière du programme 'Nouvel Etat' du gouvernement, on a donné aux universités un mandat leur conférant une plus grande autonomie, mais avec des prévisions rigoureuses de responsabilité. Dans cet article on lira sur la planification stratégique exigeant des résultats, la façon décentralisée d'envisager les décisions budgétaires et la nouvelle structure pour les conseils d'administration au niveau universitaire qui en résultent. On s'attend à ce que cette vague de changements continue jusqu'à la fin de la décennie période, pendant laquelle la consolidation des ressources et l'assurance de qualité demeureront des valeurs déterminatrices dans le secteur public en Norvège.

Norwegian universities have been under intense scrutiny in the years since 1987. Four government commissions have issued White Papers related to higher education and the report of an external OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) team has added fuel to the national reform debate. In this context, Norwegian higher education policy has shifted emphasis. Previously, the accent rested on expanding educational opportunities through the regional colleges with their professionally-oriented curricula; now, attention is concentrated on assuring the quality of post-secondary teaching and research and on consolidating educational resources.

Accompanying this shift in emphasis are several significant changes in the way the universities are administered. As of 1992, these changes continue to percolate through the university culture in Norway. The changes include: mandatory outcomes-based planning and evaluation; a single legal framework for the research institutions; dramatically revamped governing boards; a new measure of budgetary autonomy; and

a focus on public accountability and the inter-institutional coordination of academic work. Shock waves of various proportions have moved across the university communities in response to these reforms. The universities have gotten considerable publicity—not all of it positive—as campus debates about academic values and self-governance have spilled over into the popular press.

Understanding the tenor and scope of this reform movement requires one to locate higher education within the larger domain of Norwegian public policy. Writing in 1986, political scientist Johan P. Olsen noted that the Norwegian welfare state had come to an important crossroads:

Relativt få synes å mene at 1990-årenes problemer kan løses med mer statsstyre og en planøkonomisk renessanse. De sentrale stikkordene er privatisering, avregulering, avbyråkratisering, omprioritering og omorganisering. Nedbygging eller ombygging synes å være mer aktuelt enn en videre utbygging. [Very few people seem to believe that the problems of the 1990s can be solved through more government authority and a revival of the planned economy approach. The central catchwords are privatization, deregulation, de-bureaucratization, re-prioritization and reorganization. Reduction or restructuring seems more appropriate than continued expansion.] (Olsen 1986, rpt. 1988: 103)

Olsen's reading of the situation was confirmed by the official government program called *Den nye staten* [The New State], which was launched in 1987.

The chief goals of the 'New State' program may be expressed as the better use of government resources and better service to the public. To accomplish these goals, the program calls for the modernization of public administration through strategic planning, as modeled by the corporate sector. The mandated planning mode is result-oriented, with a focus on outcomes and a required annual reporting of results (Gornitzka 1989, see Table 4). Drawing further on perspectives from private industry, the 'New State' program underscores the importance of supporting and rewarding effective personnel performance; included are such strategies as compensation flexibility for public employees and less stringent dismissal policies. A decentralized administration is also called for. Here the most important reform concerns greater autonomy in the use of budgeted resources. Lump-sum budget appropriation by the central authorities provides new freedom at the institutional level to assign monies to individual budget lines and subsequently to shift monies, as needed, among expense categories.

In all of these areas—planning, outcomes assessment, personnel policy, and administrative delegation and decentralization—the

assumption is, to quote from the 1989 White Paper *En bedre organisert stat* [A better organized state]: "Gjennomgående er det den institusjonen som står for utføringen av arbeidet som har best forutsetninger for å vite hvordan det skal gjennomføres på den mest rasjonelle måten." [On the whole, the institution responsible for performing the work is best qualified to know how to do it in the most efficient manner.] (NOU 1989, nr. 5, 66). This philosophical approach stresses the active involvement of interested parties, both in the formulation of policy and in ongoing policy administration. But the dominant rhetoric of the modernization program concerns efficiency and effectiveness, rather than consultation and collegiality 'per se'. Put another way, grassroots responsibility is desirable because it produces the best results.

The links between the national 'New State' program and the university sector are fairly easy to explain, although a thorough discussion of measures to date and future implications goes beyond the scope of this paper. In 1987, while the 'New State' model was being launched, a government commission headed by Professor Gudmund Hernes began a major study of Norwegian higher education. The timing proved significant. The Hernes commission report, *Med viden og vilje* [With Knowledge and Determination], published in 1988, supported the concepts of result-oriented planning, greater fiscal autonomy, flexible personnel policies, and streamlined administration as means to improved educational quality. This in turn helped set the stage for a new university law, passed by the Norwegian Parliament in 1989 and operational as of January 1990.

With the 1989 law, the four research universities—Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim, and Tromsø—were for the first time brought under a common legal framework; also included in the law were the specialized research colleges for agriculture, architecture, business, music, physical education and veterinary medicine. The reduction of multiple governance systems to a single system clearly exemplified the commitment to consolidate and streamline resources. At the same time, the new law reflected the ideology of locating appropriate decision-making at the institutional level. It not only guaranteed academic freedom with respect to the content of university teaching and research, but also empowered the individual universities by, for example, delegating to their governing boards the authority to appoint both professors and the university director. Previously, the Ministry of Education held the formal authority for such appointments.

The university law of 1989 also mandated a much smaller internal governing board. The rhetoric of the law clearly echoes the new public policy emphases: the board is referred to as *styret* [the board], rather than the traditional *Det akademiske kollegium*, and its realm of responsibility is described as “ansvaret for virksomheten og for at den drives effektivt” [responsibility for the enterprise and for its effective management]. This general terminology would be equally applicable to business and industry and offers no explicit acknowledgement of the academic context to which it is directed.

The ‘New State’ program quickly led to a parliamentary mandate that all public institutions put in place, by the end of 1990, an outcomes-based planning and assessment process, or *virksomhetsplanlegging*. Thus, the universities were required to tackle this project simultaneously with discussions of, and planning for, the governance reforms. In grappling with the assessment mandate, the universities received a list of three generic items that they were to address. The Ministry of Education requested that, at a minimum, each institution delineate: 1) long-term and short-term goals; 2) the results to be achieved over the course of the coming year; and 3) an overview of what the costs of producing the various results would be (*Fra visjon til virke*, 1990–91: 57). With this minimal directive, each college and university was expected to undertake *virksomhetsplanlegging*.

It may be instructive to describe briefly the type of reporting a given academic department is expected to provide. At the University of Trondheim, a set of forms is used to anticipate which courses and other instructional opportunities will be offered during the next academic year, how many students will be served, and how the capacity of the faculty will be distributed across the range of professional activities (teaching, advising, thesis supervision, research, administration). Normative criteria are employed to determine the personnel costs of serving a given number and type of students. The formulas allow for such nuances as the extra time investment required to mount new courses and programs, but the reporting is strictly quantitative and leaves little room for exploring innovative approaches to the instructional delivery and reward system. On the positive side, the reporting activity encourages meticulous attention to curriculum management and faculty resource allocation, both as anticipated outcomes and achieved results.

By their very nature, research universities are loosely organized entities and they promise individual scholars considerable autonomy. Such a profile means that assessment-based planning is a potentially

volatile issue for any campus. Norwegian institutions of higher learning had no choice about subscribing to the approach. The potential for good public relations seems to have swayed some reluctant participants in the process; others remained unconvinced that the academic culture could respond without corrupting its basic values.

Tom Christensen has studied the implementation of the planning process at four institutions (University of Oslo, College of Agriculture, Møre and Romsdal Regional College, and Institute for Veterinary Science). In his monograph from 1991, Christensen enumerates the internal dynamics that hampered the initial round of *virksomhetsplanlegging* at the University of Oslo. One problem was that the project remained fragmented. Pilot efforts were undertaken by three of the academic divisions, but unfortunately, this activity neither filtered up to, nor was reinforced by, the central administration. Considerable effort was expended in defining the planning activity so that it better 'fit' the academic mould; however, this diverted energy from the development of the specific plans themselves. The resulting documents from the three academic divisions varied widely with respect to scope, detail, and priority setting.

Other factors influencing the response in Oslo included the overall size of the campus, turnover in the central administration, and over-emphasis on the public relations features of the endeavour. In fact, all four institutions Christensen studied relied upon generous doses of imitation and window-dressing in complying with the planning deadlines. Nevertheless, Christensen suggests that in closely-knit academic units like the veterinary science institute, importing the mandated assessment process proved a viable strategy and fostered useful shifts in organizational behaviour and expectations. Even though the University of Oslo had difficulty with the project, it is worth noting that the principal planners were "enthusiastic about the approach to organizational and management questions... It was believed to be an important way of improving the overall management of the University" (Gornitzka 1989: 5).

In this new organizational climate, the Ministry of Church, Education, and Research intends to hold the universities accountable for the wise use of the funds allocated to them. In return for the extension of greater budgetary freedom to the individual universities, the central authorities expect greater accountability. As indicated in the 1991 Stortingsmelding *Fra visjon til virke* [report to Parliament, From Vision to Action], "det vil være nødvendig å endre tildelingskriterier slik at de i

høyere grad enn hittil knyttes til mål for virksomheten. Det åpner for at man kan budsjettere ut fra resultater som er oppnådd, og hva man forventer kan komme ut av innsatsen” [it will be necessary to alter the allocation criteria such that they to a greater extent are tied to the operational goals. This allows for budgeting on the basis of the results that have been achieved and what one expects to derive from the effort] (p. 54). For its part, the Ministry recognizes that it must develop an effective method for evaluating and responding to the annual goals and results reported by the universities.

In a conversation with me in September 1991, Gudmund Hernes, who now serves as the Minister of Education, stressed the consolidation, integration, and strengthening of specialized academic programs. There is strong concern that institutions not strike out in uncoordinated and unauthorized directions. All new subject areas and degree programs must be approved by the Ministry and the Ministry will continue to set the parameters for the number of students each campus may serve. Furthermore, a plan to reduce dramatically the number of *høgskoler* [colleges] through the creation of regional college centres entails a re-definition of the role of these institutions to function both regionally—through general courses of study—and nationally—through specialized programs not duplicated elsewhere. Over time, it appears likely that the individual universities and regional college centres will be expected both to document results in general studies comparable with their Norwegian peer institutions and to demonstrate the strength of their specialized programs within an international framework. Although up until now result-oriented planning has been expressed in terms of internally-defined institutional goals, the desire for a comparative yardstick seems inevitable.

If result-oriented planning is to have the effects envisioned by the architects of the ‘New State’, faculty leaders and campus administrators must provide astute and energetic leadership. This leads us to consider the scope and type of the administrative structure in Norwegian universities. In recent years, much has been made of the large-scale growth in administrative staffs at North American colleges and universities. Data published in *The Chronicle of Higher Education* showed that between 1975–85, there was a 60% increase in ‘other professionals’, whereas faculty numbers increased less than 6% (Grassmuck 1990: A1). In Sweden, too, such a trend has been documented and explicitly labeled the ‘bureaucratization’ of the

university. The Norwegian universities have experienced a similar pattern, but not to the same degree.

While there has been a considerable increase in the number of non-academic staff, the overall percentage increase has not exceeded the corresponding percentage increase in academic staff. Non-academic staff continue to account for approximately 40% of the total employee pool. Within the non-academic staff, however, the growth has been in administrative positions (office and project heads) rather than support staff positions. In 1970, there were approximately four academic positions for every administrative position; by 1987, the ratio had dropped to three academic positions for every administrative position (see Gornitzka 1991). In interviews with Norwegian faculty members, there are occasional references to a perceived shift in influence away from the academic side to the administrative side. This perception has not been tested in any systematic way.

A factor to consider is the time allocated to administrative tasks by faculty members. In 1981, tenured faculty members reported that they devoted 18%–20% of their time to administrative tasks. The 1988 Hernes report suggested that reducing that commitment by half (to roughly 10% of professional time) would free enormous professional resources for teaching and research. This is an additional motivation for streamlining the institutional decision-making structure.

In line with this trend, one significant change embedded in the university law of 1989 concerned the size and composition of the university governing boards. Instead of large boards made up of some thirty members with representatives from each of the academic divisions, the universities were to have nine-to-thirteen person boards elected from internal constituencies, but with no direct links to the academic structure.

If we examine the formal organizational structure at the University of Oslo prior to the new university law, we see that the members of the governing board—*Det akademiske kollegium*—were, in addition to the rector and pro-rector, the seven academic deans, a librarian, four members of the technical-administrative staff, twelve representatives from the academic staff, and seven students, for a total of thirty-three persons. An elected nine-member working group functioned as an executive committee and kept the vital business flowing. The rector chaired both the governing board and the working group.

Today, the University of Oslo's governing board is comprised of the rector and vice-rector, three faculty members, two members of the technical/administrative staff, and two student members. The university

director, who carries responsibility for all the administrative functions of the institution, serves as staff support to the board. With the move to this much smaller board of nine voting members, the working group has fallen away. Another major change relates to the academic deans. The deans no longer sit on the board, but relate to the governing board via the rector and the university director. To compensate for the fact that there is no direct involvement by the academic division leaders in the board deliberations, the university law made provision for an advisory council, *rådet* or *kollegierådet*.

The role of this new council remains vague. During the first year of their existence, the councils spent much of their time and energy trying to define the parameters for their work. While the deans sit on the council, they miss more direct involvement with the rector and the budget process. The rectors have responded to this complaint by organizing separate orientation and discussion sessions for the deans, thus mitigating somewhat the intended streamlining. At the University of Bergen, these decanal sessions occur in conjunction with every meeting of the university board.

The establishment of rules and procedures for the election of governing board members has proved difficult and has been handled differently at the campus level by each constituent group. Refining these procedures is part of the ongoing challenge of institutionalizing the legal reform. Links exist between the labour unions and the candidates from the technical/administrative staff and between student political groups and the student candidates; such a link is less visible in the election of the faculty members, although it is not absent entirely. An inherent tension derives from the fact that persons elected to the board as the representatives of specific groups are nevertheless expected to act independently of constituent interests and on behalf of the total institution. Yet lobbying, and in the case of the students direct political mandates, are inevitable features of the organizational environment.

Students have been represented in the governance system since the fifties, but their profile as vigorous internal participants in university governance can be traced to the so-called student revolution of the late sixties. The trend over the last twenty years had been to expand the opportunities for large numbers of persons to be involved in governance issues and therefore, until recently, the debates concerned who was to be represented internally and in what proportion. Now the question of external representation on university governing boards has arisen. This is partly driven by a perceived need for greater accountability and partly by

a push to consolidate all of higher education under the same legal umbrella. The regional colleges include external representatives on their boards and both the Ministry and the parliamentary committee on higher education have recommended that the university boards be opened up in similar fashion. A commission has been set to work designing a law for all of Norwegian higher education and its 1993 report is anticipated to present a specific proposal for a new comprehensive higher education law, to take effect in 1995.

Campus opinion has been divided as to the wisdom of external representation. The most fervent voices stress the philosophy of self-governance; others question the appropriate balance of internal versus external representatives. Frequent reference is made to Sweden, where external representatives have functioned on the boards since the 1970s. Researcher Jan-Erik Lane surveyed Swedish faculty opinion in response to the Swedish educational reforms and concluded that the policy reforms did accomplish their purposes. Further, he believes it important to consider centrally directed educational reform as feasible public policy: "In fact, if the system of higher education consists of organizations that are bottom-dominated, then there may be important public policy tasks of coordinating and integrating at the system level" (Lane 1990: 102).

The positions of university rector and university director have gotten increased responsibility and visibility. To be successful, these administrators require not only academic respectability, but also political acumen and sophisticated managerial skills. External representation within a framework of public accountability; the expertise to oversee complex budgets; the ability to establish effective domestic and international links with other institutions—these are some of the expectations now part of the portfolio of Norwegian university leaders. This model of university leadership may be an influence from the American scene. Gudmund Hernes has compared the strong leadership given to the University of Bergen by director Magne Lerheim with the influence of an American university president.

Recently, Henry Wasser analyzed the backgrounds and orientations of European rectors and United States college presidents. The European rectors described their institutions as functioning according to "*collegial* (rector first among equals) and *network* (collective decision-making among faculties and administrators)" structures. Their American counterparts stressed "*political* (power-sharing with representative boards) and *network structures*" (Wasser 1991: 17). Both in terms of professional background and administrative orientation, the European

rector remains more closely tied to the faculty and thus can exercise "more creative planning and leadership in research and teaching." But Wasser points to increasing 'managerialism' as an undeniable feature of present-day university leadership and predicts that this trend will continue on both sides of the Atlantic through the 1990s.

Central aspects of Norwegian higher education reform and the attendant public debate correspond to pressures being faced by institutions of higher learning in North America. Accreditating agencies in the United States now demand that institutions present assessment plans with criteria, measurement strategies, and documented results. A comparative approach that draws together the Norwegian and North American approaches may prove helpful in illuminating the advantages and disadvantages of specific accountability strategies. Such a comparative approach may also prove helpful to the Norwegians as they grapple with the presence of external representatives on university governing boards, the establishment of regional systems with shared administrations, and increased expectations and demands on university leaders.

Higher education faces considerable challenges in an era of fiscal restraint, growth in student numbers, and public distrust of academic priorities. As resources shrink, the tendency grows to look to business and industry for management solutions. The first waves of reform have washed over the Norwegian universities in the wake of 'New State' public policy; more are breaking on the horizon. Not surprisingly, the Norwegian Centre for Research on Leadership, Organization and Governance [LOS Senteret] recently identified university governance as a major focus for the coming years.

#### NOTE

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## REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

**Matti Klinge.** *The Finnish Tradition: Essays on Structures and Identities in the North of Europe*. Helsinki: Suomen Historiallinen Seura, 1993. 264 pages.

Reviewed by J. DONALD WILSON  
*University of British Columbia*

Matti Klinge is one of Finland's leading historians. His books range from a four-volume history of Finnish university students (1809–1960) and a three-volume history of the University of Helsinki (1640–1990) to an extremely popular *A Brief History of Finland* which has been translated into thirteen languages and gone through nine editions. In addition, Professor Klinge is a frequent contributor of controversial op-ed articles to Helsinki's leading daily newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*.

Klinge's main concern in this collection of translated essays of varying lengths written over the past decade or so is to discuss Finland's relations—political, economic and cultural—with her dominating neighbours Sweden, Russia and more recently Germany. Finland's history is inextricably involved with these three nations and remains so to this day. For six centuries Finland was part of Sweden, then from 1809 to 1917 an autonomous Grand Duchy of Russia. German influence was most evident in the twentieth century highlighted by German support of the 'Whites' in the Finnish Civil War and the election of Kaiser Wilhelm's brother-in-law as King of Finland in the spring of 1918. Although Germany's collapse prevented him from ever ascending the throne, German economic, cultural and military influence predominated until the end of World War II. University education, for example, came under strong German influence. By 1914 eighteen out of thirty-seven doctoral theses defended at the University of Helsinki were in German. Militarily, Finnish and German troops fought side-by-side in the Continuation War (1941–44). The collapse of the Soviet Union has dramatically altered Finland's economic ties with Russia, but Finns remain constantly aware of the need to have continuing cordial relations with their Eastern neighbour. Of course, Finland's links with Sweden now extend across all of Scandinavia—so-called Norden—through Finland's membership in the Nordic Council. Similarly, relations with

Germany are now broadened to include the European Economic Community which Finland anticipates joining in the next couple of years along with Sweden. These current developments make Klinge's collection very timely reading indeed, for there is an amazing continuity in Finland's relations with its neighbours accentuated by its geopolitical position in Northern Europe.

Besides helping us to understand Finland today through consideration of its past, Klinge seems determined to offer insights into Finnish national character. Of late this topic is something Canadians have eschewed perhaps because of the difficulties posed by the failure of both the Meech Lake agreement and the Charlottetown Accord. Klinge boldly discusses the positive legacies of both Swedish and Russian rule in the formation of Finnish national identity; the religious heritage of German and Swedish Lutheranism and Russian Orthodoxy; the resolution of bilingual (Finnish-Swedish) problems over a century and a half resulting in relative harmony today (as contrasted with Canada) with minority Swedish-language rights entrenched since 1921; the poverty of Finns throughout most of their history and the sense of being on the periphery of Europe—"a source of both their inferiority complex and their *hybris*" (p. 23); and the emphasis Finns put on their northerness and love of nature as illustrated by their national anthem (*Maame*) where 'the North' and not Finland "is presented as the object of love" (p. 225). Klinge recounts how "the silent land of the forests, untouched by man, became a source of inspiration" (p. 234) to Finnish artists like Edelfelt and Gallen-Kallela, writers like Aleksis Kivi, and composers like Jean Sibelius. These were the equivalent of Canada's Group of Seven. By contrast, Canadians over the past half-century have by and large shunned their northerness perhaps because of its racist overtones. Lutheranism and belief in the superiority of northern peoples and 'natural man' has led Finns over the years, according to Klinge, to both an anti-Latin and anti-Catholic stance. The implications of this as Finland prepares to enter the Common Market (ECM) with its free exchange of labour are interesting to contemplate. Attitudes of racial superiority linger just below the surface among present-day Finns as evidenced in their very restrictive immigration policy and prevailing hostility towards refugees and asylum seekers.

One of Klinge's main strengths as an historian is his revisionism. These essays contain many examples of his proclivity to challenge generally accepted views of Finnish history. Typical is his chapter on Russophobia or *ryssänviha* as it is called in Finnish (literally, hatred of

the Russian). *Ryssäniha* incorporates the notion that Russians both as people and individuals are detestable and to be feared, that this negative attitude towards Russians is of long standing, and that this mutual animosity "is expressed in the wish of the two nations to destroy each other" (p. 238). This said, Klinge then proceeds to demolish each of these contentions. He demonstrates in this and other chapters (such as the two on St. Petersburg) the positive side of Russian political and cultural influence on Finland such as the glorious architecture of Senate Square in downtown Helsinki and the establishment of the University of Helsinki in 1828. The century of Russian rule in Finland, he asserts, was for the most part quite benevolent. Russia interfered little in Finnish political life until the Russification campaign launched by Czar Nicholas II in 1899. Moreover, Finnish independence was ceded willingly by Lenin in December 1917.

In reality, *ryssäniha* was a product of a deliberate campaign launched in the early 1920s by certain right-wing elements in Finnish society fearful of the spread of communism, both Finnish and Soviet, and of socialist propaganda. These elements were concentrated in the student organization 'The Academic Karelia Society' (AKS) and a secret group within it called *Vihan Veljet* (Brotherhood of Hate). These propagandists sought not only to protect Finland's borders ("If we hasten in rage to the eastern frontier ... the *ryssä* will never be able to destroy our independence" p. 246), but also to incorporate back into Finland lands inhabited by Finnish-speaking peoples, such as Eastern Karelia. This campaign to restore the borders of *Suuri Suomi* (Big Finland) figured prominently in popular circles as late as the Continuation War. Then "the wartime anti-Russian propaganda and the opposition towards Communism easily merged into a single theme" (p. 261). By concluding the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance with the Soviet Union in 1948, Finland entered a new era of economic, political and military cooperation with her wartime enemy. Virulent *ryssäniha* is now a thing of the past replaced instead by outward friendliness and underlying concerns about the potential for continued instability, both economic and social, in the new Russia. All this is combined with profound relief that 'Finlandization' is now a dead issue and with disappointment that trade with the Soviet Union which accounted for a fifth to a quarter of Finnish trade before that country's collapse has now been shattered.

Despite the repetitiveness inherent in a collection of previously published pieces—for example, the translation of the Bible into Finnish

in 1642 is mentioned in several places—these essays make for very enjoyable reading both for their literate and provocative nature. In their sweep, both geographically (all of Europe) and chronologically (over a thousand years), they constitute for an understanding of Finnish society an excellent example of ‘usable’ history. By reading this book one gets a pretty good idea of what makes Finland tick. What more can we ask of an historian who loves his country but feels the need to expose its various identities to foreigners with truth and clarity? Three cheers for Matti Klinge!

**Elinor Berglund Barr.** *The Swedish Experience in Canada: An Annotated Bibliography of English-Language Books and Articles Relating to the Swedish Experience in Canada*. Meddelanden från Svenska Emigrantinstitutet / Proceedings from the Swedish Emigrant Institute, Volme 4. Växjö, Sweden: The Swedish Emigrant Institute, 1991. 79 pages.

Reviewed by JOAN MAGEE,  
*University of Windsor*

This pioneer work by Elinor Barr, a writer of Swedish origin living in Thunder Bay, has been selected by the Swedish Emigrant Institute as the fourth in its series of Proceedings. In his preface to this bibliography, Ulf Beijbom, director of the Institute, points out that “Not only the quantity but also the quality of the Swedish influence in Canada has been underestimated. One of the valuable aspects of Barr’s bibliography is that it reflects the Swedish presence in most avenues of human life in Canada. This fact should inspire many of us to study and do more research on an almost forgotten emigration. I would therefore like to see the bibliography as a sign of renewed interest in Canadian-Swedish emigration history (p. 1).” Evidence that the Institute itself has contributed to such recent migration research is provided by its project of microfilming Swedish-Canadian church archives. In addition, the Institute has also conducted invaluable oral history interviews in Western Canada, adding these to its extensive archives in Växjö.

Barr’s contribution includes an introductory essay in which she gives an overview of the history of Swedish emigration to Canada from earliest times to the date of he bibliography’s compilation—1989 (pp. 3–21). Following this is a 54-page bibliography of printed source material, which includes some 160 entries for both books and journal articles, arranged in alphabetical order by author’s name (pp. 22–76). The

informative annotations are written in an informal rather than scholarly style.

Barr is to be commended for her indefatigable search for materials suitable for inclusion. It is indeed apparent that relatively little has been written on this subject, either in popular or scholarly literature, in comparison with the great number of extensive studies of Swedish emigration to the United States. In her bibliography Barr tends to be inclusive, retaining certain peripheral materials which might best be treated separately as background reading, or simply omitted. Among such books and pamphlets are Carl Olof Larsson's *Ett Hem / A Home*; Paul Britten Austin's *On Being Swedish: Reflections Towards a Better Understanding of the Swedish Character* and two pamphlets published by the Swedish Institute: *Delicious Swedish Food* and *Traditional Festivities in Sweden*.<sup>1</sup> Many annotations note the lack, rather than the presence, of pertinent material in the work at hand. Still others can only disappoint the reader: "The only mention of Canada, that 315 Swedes emigrated each year 1910–1926, is not footnoted (p. 46),"<sup>2</sup> "A comparative study of ethnic groups in Canada, with only one reference to Swedes (p. 39),"<sup>3</sup> and "The book provides useful background information on a movement that involved a significant number of Swedes, but of Swedes themselves there is no mention (p.73)."<sup>4</sup>

It would strengthen this bibliography to include fewer annotations, stringently edited. Nevertheless, Barr has succeeded admirably in achieving her goal of providing "a seminal resource for individuals pursuing projects such as a family tree or regional history, or simply exploring things Swedish? (p. 5)"

#### NOTES

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**Bjerrum Nielsen, Harriet and Torill Steinfeld, Eds.** *Nora, Nordic Journal of Women's Studies*. Oslo: Scandinavian University Press, Volume 1, Number 1 (1993). 72 pages.

Reviewed by SEIJA PADDON  
Toronto, Ontario

I would like to begin this review of the recently launched *Nora* (published semiannually) by congratulating those who came up with the idea of a Nordic feminist journal and subsequently nurtured it into being. Considering the noteworthy achievements of Nordic women in various fields of social, cultural and scholarly endeavours, the goal of having their voices 'transcend borders', whether cultural, linguistic, or other, not only deserves success, but the journal addresses very specific needs in the areas of women's studies and interests.

*Nora* is by design an interdisciplinary journal and its first issue reflects this fact. Along with an editorial, book reviews, and "Solveig's Corner" (65-66), a 'prologuesque' commentary on the journal's scholarly base, the issue contains five articles covering a broad range of studies. In terms of focus, it runs the gamut from the socio-political and literary to the philosophical. One detects also an obvious editorial effort to have the writers' national backgrounds as widely representative as possible. Although such ambitions of coequality necessarily encounter easily imaginable difficulties, it is to be hoped that the expressed design can be maintained, and that future readers will also encounter writing by women from lesser known regions of Northern Europe.

Paradoxically, perhaps the laudable ambition of the journal, to be all things to all women, leaves a door open for scholarly challenges. Viewing the content within—I hasten to emphasize—traditional Anglo-North American academic criticism, the predominance of discussion papers; although clearly appealing to the diverse readership—the avowed aim of the journal, makes some of the writing challengeable by those scholars and scientists to whom *Nora* also hopes to appeal. Discussion papers, such as Kerstin Westerlund-Shands' "'Transcending gynocentric space': spatial metaphors in feminist theory" (30-38), tend to employ untenable generalizations and make random comparisons between references which are incompatible when placed within their specific contexts. By contrast—and at the risk of being judged to harbour a nationalistic bias—Ullaliina Lehtinen's "Feelings are patterns in the weave of our life—not a basis for feminist epistemology" (39-50) stands out as a noteworthy critical study and as an example of interdisciplinary

airing of posited ideas, the methodology of which avoids the pitfalls of paper entangled in its own arguments.

On a purely formalistic note, I consider the omission of translators' names in a feminist journal regrettable. Although I have no way of knowing the original language of the submissions, as a reader it seems to me English was not the initial language of all the texts. Women as the anonymous, discredited handmaidens to established male authors, for example in the field of English literary translations, have a long history; hence the issue carries a particular political burden in feminist writing, quite aside from now recognized contemporary views on writing practices generally.

The above specifics aside, *Nora* promises to be a vital, infinitely readable, interesting and informative journal. It deserves to be highly recommended to anyone, individual or institution, engrossed by the complexity of issues involving women everywhere. The Nordic countries have not only been 'laboratories of equal rights policies', but laboratories of innovative ideas, which, I suggest, can be of great benefit most particularly to women's studies on this continent.

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