

attitudes of the media and people living in towns towards their profession; most of the interviewed farmers had also lived in town, so they had first hand experience of the way of life and the values that prevail in towns.

In the article *Female Entrepreneurs on Farms in Southwest Finland and Their Relation to Place and Locality*, Katariina Heikkilä discusses female entrepreneurs who practise their trade on their own farms in the Finnish countryside. Women's entrepreneurship combines work and family, and one strategy of female entrepreneurs is emphasizing locality and maintaining the historical continuity of one's own living environment. This manifests itself in the forms of entrepreneurship: female entrepreneurs process the products of their own farms and market them as ready-made meals, pastries or crafts. They want to make something that they have innovated themselves and combine modern entrepreneurship with a traditional working environment. They also aim to keep their own farms and the whole countryside alive so that the next generation could also earn a livelihood in the country and enjoy living there.

Jussi Lehtonen's article *Mobile Services in the Countryside of Finland* also deals with defending the future of the countryside. During the past few decades, the Finnish countryside has been afflicted by a severe loss of both inhabitants and necessary services. The public has shown the most concern for maintaining small village schools and shops. Lehtonen examines the disappearance of a very typical form of service in the countryside, the mobile shop, from the country roads and bus stops. The mobile shop system, which substituted village shops, was at its height in the 1970s. Since then, this form of service has been nearly wiped out by the decrease in the number of customers and the ever-increasing car population. However, many people living in the countryside still miss the mobile shop as it used to facilitate shopping and maintained social contacts.

Following the articles portraying the present state of the Finnish countryside, Anna-Maria Åström's article *Work and Working in the Savoix Manorial Society in the Early Nineteenth Century* plunges into the past. The author perceives work as a social construction; in the manorial system

this was manifested by the different meanings applied to work in different social groups, including estate-owners. The entire system was based on landownership, power and the exchange of services and products. The highest in the hierarchy was the estate-owner, who owned the land and had the power to control its use, its products and the work and leisure time of the crofters living on his land, the farm hands, and the servants living in the buildings of the estate. Exchange economy based on labour force and products guaranteed livelihood for both parties.

Laura Stark ends the article section of this issue with her article *Ethnic Dynamics and the Finnish Factor: the View from a Post-Soviet Karelian Village*. The writer explores the meaning of ethnicity in micro-level social interaction and the way it is manifested through linguistic communication and behaviour. In the villages where Stark conducted her fieldwork, there was a very diverse ethnic population including Karelians, Russians, Belorussians and Ukrainians. The villagers recognised their neighbours' ethnic background different from their own but ethnicity hardly seemed to matter in everyday interaction. People would also "change" their own ethnic identity depending on the person they were talking to and the topic of the discussion. The article also analyses the dimensions of ethnic identity in a wider context, that is the recent history of Soviet Russia.

In addition to Ethnos, Turku Provincial Museum and the discipline of ethnology both in the University of Turku and the Åbo Akademi University, the Swedish-language university in Turku, participated in the organisation of the Ethnological Colloquium. In the Review articles section, Timo J. Virtanen and Anna-Maria Åström shed light on the profile and research activities of the above-mentioned fields of study and the cultural activities of Turku Provincial Museum and the City of Turku. Virtanen concentrates mostly on the urban ethnology while Åström describes the whole profile of her Department. The last section of the journal is dedicated to introducing new doctoral theses and other ethnological research.

Pyry Korkiakangas

   Johanna Rolshoven

Town-Country Flow / Stadt-Land-Fluss Second Home-Scapes as New Social Spaces and Strongholds of Urban Rurality

Representations of town and countryside challenge ethnological work and thought, regarding both methodology and theory, embracing old and new topics. However, representations are not static, but shaped in the course of history. If we identify men and women as acting persons and active protagonists of culture, we should be highly interested in processes of change; this gives cultural action an optimistic character and opens realms of possibility and opportunity, realms that are, at the same time, spheres of our scientific reflection.

With the town-country dichotomy in mind, we first have to show some symptomatic interfaces of "urban" and "rural", places where processes of change become visible. The classic town-country representations mark our scientific and private minds – representations that predominate during all through the 20th century, well-explored and often reproduced by European ethnologists. For them, all spatio-cultural change is essentially strung between the two poles of urban and rural.

The phenomenon of vacation home estate is a tangible aspect of this spatio-cultural model. It reaches new transnational scales and raises a number of questions: Under which conditions have, during the last two or three decades, mobility and spatial changes been increasing? How can we phenomenologically determine a transnational space as an objectification of late modern mobility? And what does an "international summer-house-country" look like, one that could be considered as an expression of the modern relationship between rural and urban?

Country-town-representations

Peasant culture as a traditional topic of ethnology. Peasant culture and country life are traditional topics of ethnology and "Volkskunde"; implicitly or explicitly, they are conceived in terms of opposition to town culture and urban life.

The evolution of the modern industrialised cities within the nation states as centres of technology, economy and work, as well as centres of communication and political decision-making, engendered an important inflow of rural population which, in some regions, caused not only the exodus of people but also of traditional and well-known meanings. This has been – as often described – one of the main conditions of the birth of our discipline. The pioneers of "kansatiede", of "folklore" or "Volkskunde" were, as lovers of folk culture, mostly town-dwellers, middle-class citizens, members of the urban bourgeoisie. They were longing for the countryside just as we – belonging to the same professional family – are today. But the conceptual polarity of town-country-representations, its terms of opposition or complementarity, is not only a scientific construction. It fulfils important ideological functions which structure and reassure individual identities and help thus govern societies.

The musealisation of the village concomitant of modernity

One of the ethnologists' contributions to the confronting idea of the urban-rural complementarity is the musealisation of the traditional village. The village as a national symbol is an excellent ex-

ample to illustrate this context. It symbolises the domestic and the home in the modern age which is supposed to be unsettled and homeless²; it is not only the foundation of the historical background of the nation, but also its anchorage in an aestheticised authenticity as a value. This process of valorisation offers individual participation.

In creating village-artifacts on the occasion of national exhibitions, this idea has actually been realised. In many European countries, such model-villages have been constructed as open-air exhibitions since the end of the 19th century. The most famous has undoubtedly been the Swedish Skansen, founded in 1892; another well-known example is the "Swiss Village" of the Swiss National Exhibition in Geneva in 1896.³

Without delving deeper into the subject of the so-called "open-air-villages" (what a wonderful name!), let me just remind you of another famous, even paradigmatic village: the Romanian Village Museum in Bucharest, which was set up in 1936 in a vast area of about 10 hectares situated in the centre of the town. In contrast to Skansen, which was "populated by wax figures in folk costumes"⁴, and to the first Swiss Village with 353 real "inhabitants" (also in folk costumes) who lived there only during the short time of the temporary exhibition, the Romanian Village Museum was designed to be inhabited for a long period. The reason being that, in the first place, it was not to be an ethnographical but a sociological museum. Initiated by the innovative politician and founder of the Bucharest School of Sociology, Dimitrie Gusti, the Romanian Village was meant to be less "romantic" (as Gusti said) than other contemporary museographic projects such as Skansen. He did not want to put architecture into the foreground but the people as protagonists of culture⁵. Thus he wanted to show the real situation of the Romanian country life. In special exposition rooms of the Village Museum, issues concerning social problems were represented. Gusti planned the construction of a second village as well – where he wanted to show a vision of the future: the same village, but modernised with advanced technologies.

For many reasons, this experiment didn't last. Certainly for a start there were political reasons. With the outbreak of World War II, the experiment had to be stopped. The government changed; Gusti and his team had become *persona non grata* and subsequently lost all official functions. During the war, the Village Museum housed refugees mostly from Transylvania. But many practical questions threatened the continuity of the Village: the fact that it was a living village resulted simply in the degradation of the houses and their inventory. After the war, the village became a harmless ethnographical museum. Gusti's 'village utopia' changed from its visionary concept of approaching the future to the retrospective attitude of museums so familiar to us today.

On the one hand, the undoubtedly fascinating examples of the village museums reflect current contemporary country-life-ideals, on the other hand, they raise the important question: What happens when museums become reality?

Town-country-images

Between reality and representation approximately twenty years ago, our discipline engaged in a discussion on self-reflecting methodology, and on the relationship between realities and their representations. What is reality and what is its representation when, in the end, the latter as the "imago" of reality, can be more meaningful and important as reality itself? Early in the 1970s, our discipline still taught us that "a farm house is a farm house is a farm house". During this decade, we slowly learned to differentiate between the definitions of a farm house depending on the individual and sociological point of view. We began to discuss epistemological questions, motivated by the critical and stimulating reflections of structuralism and of gender research, which had to do with representation analysis and thus furnished important theoretical tools. Today and in a phenomenological perspective, we are capable and allowed to go back to the farm house itself in order to place it in a present-time user context. Thus, it is important to sketch the setting of the social and economic conditions: to contextualise the phenomenon.



The pictures refer to a text by Konrad Kostlin where he discussed the motif of the 4WD Landcruiser as an object and technical item symbolising an expressive rurality in town. It fits into your urban living room and also stands for an urban lifestyle, security and comfort midst the wild wild nature... The Landcruiser as an artifact stands for the dilemma of the real question formulated by the French writer Alphonse Allais about a hundred years ago: "Do we put the city into the country or the country into the city?"²⁸



The urbanisation of the agrarian world: agriculture re-established as "culture"

During the last decade of the 20th century, important changes have been taking place which concern not only the polarised representations of town and country but also the realities they refer to. Rural change today no longer intends the modernisation of the agrarian world which meant, for example, refashioning nature in order to increase the profits of agriculture; or refashioning the rural world according to the model of an urban habitus and life style including dwelling, clothes, cooking, eating and drinking, the mechanisation of the household, education and training objectives tending to overcome the rural stigma of backwardness.

Rural change today is certainly a change of ideological representations but what mainly changed is the population itself which took part in a general process of urbanisation. When we look back on the history of urban representations of the countryside, we see its evolution from an "undeveloped" *terra incognita* – evoking fantasies of a frightening and rustic-exotic counter-world – to a modern space of compensation and recreation, where town-dwellers find resources and remedies, in order to rebuild their physical and mental integrity. Every European town has its own charts of countryside-preferences and cultivates its specific and historically founded "countryside image" as a projection of what it is longing for.

Four current topics of the "town-country-flow" as fields of ethnological research

From this essentially urban angle of vision can be derived four symptomatic topics of the present time town-country relationship; the fourth shall be the basis for further theorising. The first issue is the urbanisation of the country; the second is the ruralisation of the town; the third relates to counterurban and suburbanisation, exerting pressure on space in late modernity; the fourth motive can be seen to be "second home-scapes" characterised by a kind of urban rurality as utopian villages – the terminus scope having a sense of perspective – which exist, in the sense of Gusti, beside the 'real' village.

Topoi 1 and 2: urbanisation

Of the country and ruralisation of the town
The first topic refers to the urbanisation of the countryside; the second to the ruralisation of the town. Today's urban spaces have lost the attributes of the classic definition of urbanity – perhaps they never were characteristic of the town

– such as cosmopolitanism, bustle and a *blaise'* or distant attitude (as Georg Simmel calls it²). Frequently quoted, these characteristics have become kind of technical terms in German-speaking urban anthropology.

Today we draw rurality into the cities and we are longing for values and things we consider to be rural.

City life

Modern city-life was, since its beginnings in the nineteenth century, marked by the metaphor of rurality which was present in symbols and gestures, in practices and objects of the bourgeois' everyday-life. Allusions to what is considered rural continue to be present when today's urban space is 'renatured' with the help of an increased presence of plants and flowers and when it is spatially re-arranged: public spaces are transformed into rustic places, the centres are invaded by slowness.³ Peasant markets have been re-installed – such as the one which occupies once a week the neo-classical hall of the Zurich main railway station. The huge angel flying under its ceiling – it is one of the famous Nana-sculptures by Niki de Saint-Phalle – looks down on a strange scenery from high above: On one long side, coffee tables, a flower shop and a newspaper stand create a kind of Parisian atmosphere. In front of this consumption space, there is a stationary crowd of young people and lost people, standing or sitting on the floor in a gently provocative cloud of ghetto blaster sounds and the smoke from joints. Between these two opposed socio-cultural expressions, ordinary people are hurrying in order not to miss their trains. Further inside the hall, a large idyllic market with rustic design offers expensive rural food and multicultural fast food, *bratwurst*, and Swiss folk-music. The entire scenery mixes different times, styles and messages into a dense and fluctuating urban space – comforting some and disturbing others – discreetly watched by the station's security officers.

Country life

In the countryside we have, in the same way to do with rural spaces, whose rurality doesn't match the generally accepted definitions. Rurality has

become in some way the materialisation of urban longings: modern citizens are the interpreters of the countryside⁴. "Here they find what they are missing"⁵ – this diagnosis by Konrad Kasch postulates that the image of the country is the result of the alleged deficits in town life. The representations of rurality have become, parallel to its disappearance, stereotyped and exaggerated: simplicity, authenticity, health, truth – essential (and moral) parts of life.

Let us sum up by stating that the habitual categories used to describe the urban and the rural have become unreliable. Country means urbanised life surrounded by open landscape⁶ and no longer the antithesis to town. Therefore an urban anthropology which carefully gains access to the canon of the legitimate ethnological subjects is perhaps going to become obsolete before really getting established.

Topos 3: Conurbation

The third topos is the most relevant: It is the conurbation, also called agglomeration. It represents the most important urban expansion in the late modern age. In Europe, it has a happy and an unhappy face. On the one hand, conurbation encompasses pretty landscapes and well-groomed family housing estates. They form a broad zone between town and country, where it is hard to determine if you are still in an urban or a rural place. In the iconography of those places, you are able to read the ambition of order and prosperity. The in-between-position of this kind of "urban" space has become the privilege of its inhabitants who combine the advantages of paying inexpensive land prices and of living in tranquility close to nature yet enjoying accessibility to urban culture and consumer amenities.

On the other hand – and this is its unpopular side – suburbia is the industrial zone and/or the area of a monotonous housing estate development. These regions are the places of what the German sociologist and urbanist Detlev Ipsen called "urban metabolism". He coined this term with a social as well as an ecological connotation: "At its borders the city carries out all the elements that by the moment have become useless [...] such as things, functions and persons". Thus the fringes

"The World"¹² – Doesn't it look like a residential block in a French suburb?

of the conurbation somehow offer a discharge of the present time¹³ – the future of a society is supposed to take place in the middle, in the centre of the towns.

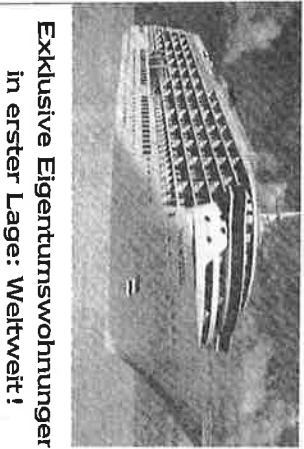
This pattern of conurbation belongs mostly to the depressing areas in town: they are neither town, nor country, they lack the bustle business which authorise urban behaviour in public space. Colette Péronne was probably the first urban anthropologist who cared for the suburbs. She said that these spaces are characterised by the "absence of any pretext for a vital movement" ("l'absence de tout prétexte au déplacement vital")¹⁴. The composition of a suburban population tends more towards the social periphery than to its centre. Destruction and violence which characterise the suburbs since the 1980s reflect this "absence", the missing link and the in-between status of this world between country and town.

In such places, traditional scientific categories are no longer suitable. The example of the agglomeration shows us in which ways borders and interstices are meaningful spatial elements: they are symptomatic of the entire society coping with the expansion and urbanisation of the social world.

Topos 4: Second Home-Scapes.

From "national" to "international" villages
 Another phenomenon of the present time is the considerable growth during the last two decades of the real estate market with respect to second homes in the countryside in general and in Southern Europe especially. This is also an in-between topic which can found in several fields of research: tourism research, migration research, consumer culture and lifestyle research. Ultimately all these fields should be covered by urban anthropology.

The practice of owning a second home encompasses many different cultural forms depending on the specific historical, economic and social conditions of the respective country. A tentative and not exhaustive phenomenology¹⁵ starts with four types.



**Exklusive Eigentumswohnungen
in erster Lage: Weltweit!**

1. There is the practice of owning summer and week end houses "at home", where you live, within the borders of your own state or even region. Scandinavia, Finland, Russia, France or Spain are countries where, for different historical and political reasons, this kind of domestic tourism or form of living exists. 2. The second home-agglomerations in the Australian, American and European "gold coasts", the so-called "cottage communities", are populated by mostly elderly people, often in a kind of colony¹⁶. On the Southern Spanish Coast, British, Germans or Fins spend their life after retirement under the Southern sun.

3. In Mediterranean countries, a great number of new and urban-type homes have been built by Turkish, Portuguese, Italian, Yugoslavian, Algerian or Moroccan workers who went north during the last decades of the 20th century in order to earn more money. They were hoping that, one day, they would return to live at home in their own house. Yet most of them stayed in the host countries where meanwhile their children grew up and became socialised. Torn between two cultures, they continue to construct and restore houses in their native countries, where they go only during the holidays.¹⁶ 4. Recently, a real estate advertisement offered holiday apartments on a luxury liner which is to leave Oslo harbour in spring 2002 for an "eternal journey" across the oceans... Its name is "The World", the target group of potential buyers are international multimillionaires who (quotation from the shipowner) "don't want to live in a specific place nor country"¹⁷.
 Are the luxury liner apartments a serious example of a second home? Or are they just a meta-

phor for what Arjun Appadurai understands by his concept of "scape", which aims at avoiding the fallacies of the terminologies that assume geographically precise and stable locations of cultures? In this sense the ship operates beyond specific national places and beyond our general comprehension of a home.

Procession to the South: push- and pull-factors
 Second home-scapes are an adequate term for the arising new social and international formations in the Southern and Mediterranean regions of Europe. Their protagonists are individuals who are migrating on a massive scale to Spain, Italy, France, Portugal or Greece. They don't want to live neither in "cottage communities" nor on a luxury line, but prefer to live in isolated farm houses or in authentic villages. In the meantime, some of these villages in the South count a majority of foreign temporary inhabitants and undergo a process of musealisation with respect to architecture and lifestyle.¹⁸ They have become "ideopoles between country and town"¹⁹, a kind of "International Living Village Museums".

Presently, it is estimated that approximately one million German people own a second home in the above-mentioned countries!²⁰ Exact numbers are not available, the quantitative outlines are blurred because the second home-market is an intermediate phenomenon, caught between the different national legal and fiscal systems and therefore escaping all surveys. We have reason to suppose that a considerable part of the investment in foreign country-summerhouses derives from illegal income. With this quality of an interface- or interface-phenomenon, it is likely to be considered as an objectification of change. Its significance for globalised life conditions is evident: processes of de- and re-territorialisation, increasing mobility, general wealth and also what we would call a late modern impetus to pleasure. The era characterised by systematically postponed satisfaction, as identified by Max Weber, draws to an end. The history of a post-modern pursuit of happiness scores new elements such as consumerism and the immediate fulfilment of wishes.

These outline the pull factors. A country summerhouse may realise town people's longing for

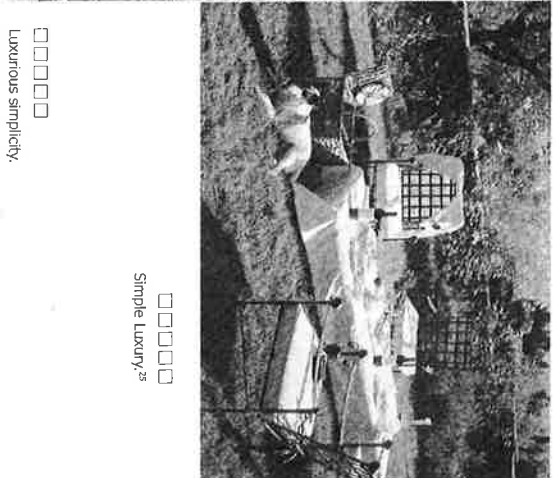
another life,²¹ offering the anthropological "counter-world", the sociological "event society" or "multi-optional society".²² As European ethnology is a modest science (not really a compliment), let us better operate with simpler and more basic terms such as experience, desire or hope, which are, at the same time, categories closer to individual perception.

Today, a second home with its promise of another, a better, an easier life, has become an "option", a possibility of longing and even of consumption. The social, economic and political conditions have favoured for this project. De-territorialisation means the retreat of agriculture, rural exodus and depopulation which threaten to cause the social and ecological desertion of the Mediterranean countryside. In a certain way, such processes also free existing spatial structures and thus open them up for new purposes. These are the real pull factors, to be distinguished from the mythical ones. The mythical pull-factors consist of historical representations of Southern mentality and lifestyle, such as cheerfulness and hospitality, the Mediterranean diet or the rhythm of work, all ultimately attributed to the Mediterranean climate.²³

Some important push factors depend on the economic conditions. The active population in Mid-western Europe has been called the "generation of the heirs" or the "stock exchange generation". They absorb capital in order to invest it – quite contrary to our parents' generation who worked mostly with ethics which were oriented towards the lifetime of the descendants; they would never have spent money on foolish and secondary things. Another important push-factor is the construction and representation of a new Europe without borders sharing a certain common culture: common money, common welfare principle (medical care, public utilities, fiscal system...) making mobility easier. These are some essential preconditions we don't have to forget when we are interested in people's wishes.

Urban rurality as a home

Advertisements as representations and images of happiness are an important source of information on the state of desires. The increasing importance



□□□□□
 Simple luxury,²⁴

□□□□□
 Luxurious simplicity.

of public relations, the "publicisation" in our society, has been interpreted as a powerful shift, the conquest of the countryside.²⁵ In this process of change, the notions of rural urbanity and urban rurality play an important part. Rural elements are decorating the background of our generally urbanised culture, which is true even for the rural population living in remote places and striving for modernisation. The marketing of things and values contributes to spreading this message. Within the complexity of the mixed media-genres and means of advertising, the motives are omnipresent: you find them in the simple advertisements of supermarkets as well as in the sophisticated ones of expensive magazines or manufacturers. You find it in the advertisement itself as well as in reports about regions, tourist trips, houses, eating and drinking, fashion, lifestyle and hobby. Here you constantly meet the same message suggesting a desirable life: pleasure, beauty, health, cheerfulness, happiness, freedom and quiet. These are suggested by elements of Mediterranean rurality which are sold to furnish urban apartments, balconies and gardens; they make them look hospitable even if you rarely see people on these beau-

tifully elaborated photographs: just imagine yourself part of the picture, as the leading actor on stage.

Such are the representations of a practice which aims to realise collective individual dreams originally located in a country summerhouse as the ultimate modern home. At the same time, they serve as an example for a Mediterranean Lifestyle in towns.²⁶ Both are the result of a constant and mutual flow of persons, information, functions, things, activities, substances and energy.²⁷

The image and metaphor of flow is symbolised by the image of the car moving between the two places: from one home to the other home. Remember how people in Middle Western Europe used to smile at the fully-packed working migrants' cars, when these left for holiday to Turkey, Algeria or Portugal, or when they returned from there. These overloaded cars carried the stigma of the migrants. Today, however, you will observe the family vans and small trucks with Swiss, German or Belgian license plates driving southwards equally packed. Through the tinted windows, you perceive to what extent they are crammed with things. When leaving, they move

almost the entire household, when returning, they are stuffed with antiques, pottery and other handicraft objects or regional food and plants. Along with this physical and material flow, there rushes the flow of ideas, symbols and dreams. The material and ideational flow combined mark the second-home-escape as a translocal space. It broadens binary oppositions such as town-country or North-South into a triadic system: the "car", symbolising the flow, becomes the third element between the two homes. Suddenly places are given new and dynamic qualities. As a minority's practice, it is becoming the majority's model: for "imagined identities and imagined worlds are going to gain (so to speak) the normative strength of the facts".

The town-country dichotomy of modern Western society is not static as stereotypes suggest. Two fields of representation – the "urban" and the "rural" – are modelling the respective spaces, inducing strong reciprocal flows consisting of exchange of people and ideas.

On the scale of the urban centres and peripheries the urbanisation of rural societies is reflected by rustic elements of urban culture. On the scale of continents or latitudes it reflects the appropriation of places as second-home-spaces, where individual desires on the basis of collective dreams – the South, the sun, the healthy life – are re-inventing the landscape.

Notes

- 1 Cf. The notion of *Bebauungsein* in der *Unbebaueten Moderne*, which the theoreticians of the culture-critical progressive movement talk about.
- 2 The main slogan of the exhibition was « Know yourself » (« Connais-toi toi-même »); see Cretaz, Bernard 1982. Un village suisse. Le temps, la mémoire, la mort et les dires de Robert Rouvinez, paysan, organisateur et conteur à Grimentz. Lausanne, 171. « Dans un paradoxe apparent, la modernisation et l'indispensable pulsion d'avant, du dix-neuvième siècle finissant, produit l'enlèvement passif et rural du village. L'avenir citoyen d'ordre économique, politique, culturel inventé son propre passé villageois... » (By the way, in May 2002 the 6th national exhibition opened in Switzerland, this time without any participation of ethnologists. All their proposals were refused by the rather innovative managing board.)
- 3 Stoklund, Blarne 1999. How the Present House Became a National Symbol. *Ethnologia Europaea* 1, 5-18; 8f.
- 4 Gust: "an unoccupied house is not a real house" In: Stoica, Georgela et Ioan Godca 1995. Le Musée du Village et son rôle dans la formation de l'ethnologie Roumaine. *Ethnologie française* 3, 375-393; 387.
- 5 Cf. Niederrittler, Péter 1998. Stadt, (Kultur)en und Macht. Zu einigen Aspekten "spatio-temporaler" Stadtethnologie. *Ostereichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* LI/101, 279-301; 285f.
- 6 Simmel described the term "Basistenthal" in "Die Grossstadt und das Geistesleben" (1903).
- 7 The two advertisements hail from Campaigne Décoration. Un art de vivre 8 (2001), 12f., and 20 Minuten (a swiss commuter journal), 10.6.2002, 25.
- 8 See Moscovici, Serge 1978. La paysannerie, en réserve de quelle civilisation? Un entretien avec René Dumont, Nicole Etzner, André Gorz, Marcel Jollivet, Serge Moscovici, Paul Virilio. *Autrement* 14, 232-243; 235.
- 9 Köstlin, Konrad 1998. Volkskunde und Geländewagen: Landrituale in der Stadt. *Harmone als Thema der Bilder. Österreichische Zeitschrift für Volkskunde* LI/101, 303-327; 304, 311.
- 10 Köstlin 1998, 312; Gyf, Ueli 1992. Land- und Stadtgemeinden als Lebensräume. In: Huger, Paul (Hg.), *Handbuch der Schweizerischen Volkskultur*. Vol 2, Zürich, 687-706; 687f.
- 11 Ipsen, Detlev [2003]. Städte zwischen Innen und Aussen. Randbemerkungen. In: Rolshoven, Johanna (ed.). *Der Rand des Raumes. Kulturtheoretische Essays zu Phänomenen des Übergangs*. Marburg (in print). 10: The rural population freed itself of its courtly lifestyle without losing touch with the "country".
- 12 Ipsen, Detlev *ibid.*
- 13 Péronnet, Colette 1987. Variations sur le bruit sourd d'un mouvement continu. In: Guivard, Jacques et *ibid.* (Hg.), *Chemins de la ville*. Paris, 247-261; 255.
- 14 More detailed see Rolshoven, J. [2002]. Südliche Zweitwohnsitze als Phänomene der Spätmoderne. *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde* II (in print).
- 15 Hulber, Andreas 1999. Heimat in der Postmoderne. Zürich, Girard, T.C. and Gartner, William C. 1993. *Second Home, Second View*. *Host Community Perceptions*. *Annals of Tourism Research*, vol. 20, 685-700; 687. O'Reilly, Karen 2000. *The British on the Costa*.

del Sol. *Transnational Identities and local Communities*. London, New York.

- 16 Gagler, Aysel 1998. Die zwei Leben eines Couchtisches. *Die Deutsch-Türken und ihre Konsumpraktiken*. *Historische Anthropologie* 2, 242-256; Giordano, Christian 1994. Zwischen Mittelaltel und Siedelring. Zur Verflechtung von Uniformierungs- und Differenzierungsprozessen bei Migrationsphänomenen. *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Soziologie* 2, 437-453; Pinson, Daniel 1999. Les maisons du Marocain. In: Bonnin, Philippe et de Villanova, Roselyne (éds), *D'une maison l'autre. Parcours et mobilités résidentielles*. Mayenne, 69-87.
- 17 Preiser, Eckard 2001. Die mobile Immobilie für Multimillionäre. *mobit* 10, 14f.; 15.
- 18 Vielen Dank dem hochmobilen Kollegenteam Dr. Barbara U. Schmidt und Manuela Barth in München!
- 19 Vgl. Köck, Christoph [2003]. Grenzen und Übergänge auf Mallorca. Felderführungen aus einer touristischen Alltagswelt. In: Rolshoven, J. (Hg.), *Der Rand des Raumes*. Marburg (in print); Redeker, Lutz 2001. Quo vadimus – oder: Vom neuen Leben in alten Häusern. *Leben zwischen Deterritorialisierung und Reterritorialisierung in einem kleinen Ort der Südtoskana*. *Voyage*, 16-28.
- 20 Köstlin 1998 (see note 9), 313.
- 21 *Estimates in Der Spiegel* 9 (2002); *SUD INSEE* No 91 (2000). *Projections de population Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur*; Bourrat, Yannick 2000. *Résidences et résidents secondaires en espace rural*. (= Dossier de
- 22 In a different context, I explained that this is not an innocent longing but has a long history. Cf. Rolshoven [2002] (see note 14).
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