

Swedish Student Life in Uppsala:
Intersections of Ritual and Play in the Process of Identity Formation

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Abstract

Student life at Uppsala University in Sweden is full of expressive culture, aspects of which will be discussed in three major parts: annual celebrations during the course of the yearly round, music's multiple roles in creating and maintaining regional/social/festive student culture, and the use of festive clothing to negotiate questions of both group and individual identity among occupationally oriented student associations. Common threads running throughout this dissertation are the continual formation and negotiation of identity, group, and tradition through ritual and play.

Field data collected from participant-observation, formal interviews, and other research conducted during the 2010/2011 academic year in Uppsala illustrates how members of student organizations that date back to the first half of the 17th century, or even the most recent decade, are actively engaged in serious questions of culture and the future while also enjoying life as best they are able and see fit.

Västgöta and Gotlands nation, two of thirteen regionally oriented student organizations in the city, as well as multiple sections of *Uppsala teknolog- och naturvetarkår*, a union of engineering and natural science students, serve as the focal points of discussion of the continuity and change evident in Uppsala's student life.

Acknowledgments

The combined tasks of fieldwork, analysis, and composition have been enormous. In the three years during which I was most actively engaged with this project, I have accumulated many debts of gratitude. To properly thank everyone involved in this mammoth undertaking, I would nearly require an additional book. Nevertheless, I shall now attempt to highlight a few people and organizations who contributed greatly to the successful completion of this dissertation.

Early in 2010, I learned that I would be able to conduct an entire year of fieldwork in Uppsala, Sweden. First, I would like to thank the American-Scandinavian Foundation for its generous economic support, in the form of a Thord-Gray Memorial Fund fellowship, which made it possible for me to travel to Uppsala and focus entirely on participant-observation and research. Second, I would like to thank Lars M. Andersson of the Department of History at Uppsala University who acted as my sponsor for the visa application and made it possible for me to be affiliated with the university as a guest doctoral student.

Upon arrival in Uppsala later that year, I quickly met many helpful people in multiple student organizations. My sincerest gratitude is extended to Västgöta and Gotlands nation, both of which accepted me and my project with open arms and minds. Within Gotlands nation, I am especially happy to have been a part of the library committee and men's choir. Additionally, credit must also be given to the myriad members of *Uppsala teknolog- och naturvetarkår* who took me under their wing from the very moment I stumbled upon their initiation. Of the thirteen sub-sections, I am especially glad to have made the acquaintance of members from the following groups: IUPAK, Möbius, BÄR, FysKam, and FUTF.

On a more individual level, I am extraordinarily grateful for information provided by Johannes Z. Wolff, my first informant, without whom I would not have been able to collect much of the information about the initiation weeks discussed in Chapter 2. His tips and suggestions were so helpful that many event organizers could not understand how I always seemed to be awaiting them in various locations around the city. Nils Lenngren and Michael Nordlund, my camel comrade, provided much of the information needed to follow and understand IUPAK. Love Forsberg and Terese Olander saw to it that I

was able to participate in Moebius as a full member. Andreas Eriksson provided access to BÄR's subculture, of which I am now an honorary member. To each of the people named so far and the many more who are not, I wish to express my thanks.

Life in Uppsala was not always filled with joy, and therefore, I must acknowledge three wonderful individuals who provided profound assistance when I was in need. First, I would like to mention Hugh Williams, who provided me with safe haven for two weeks during the bitterly cold period between Christmas and the New Year, when my landlady appeared to suffer greatly from paranoid dementia directed mostly towards me. Second, I would like to mention Sandra Olsson and Randi Nordström who also provided me with a home for nearly two months at the end of my fieldwork year, when yet another housing solution did not work out as promised. May you two ladies never be in a similar situation to request reciprocation, but if you are, I will help as best I can.

Upon returning to Wisconsin, the difficult task of determining how exactly to analyze and present my vast quantities of data truly began. For their guidance along the way, I wish to thank the members of my committee. Thomas DuBois, my adviser, gave me a great amount of freedom to explore and shape this project, providing brief yet necessary moments of reality at strategic times. I wish to extend special thanks to Rose-Marie Oster, who continues to advocate on my behalf many years after I have departed the University of Maryland, College Park. Her patient advice and assistance have never gone unnoticed or unappreciated, even when spending three hours on the phone on Thanksgiving Day to discuss revisions for a chapter in the making! I owe much of my academic development and sanity to her.

The majority of this dissertation's composition and a hefty amount of secondary research were conducted during the past academic year. The ability to focus intensely on this project was made possible by the generous economic support of the Barbara Morgridge Wisconsin Distinguished Graduate Fellowship, awarded by the executive committee of the Department of Scandinavian Studies. Without needing to work as a teaching assistant to fund my studies, far greater amounts of time were available for progress to be made at an accelerated pace. Additionally, I was further enabled to present at conferences.

Despite much evidence to the contrary, graduate students do not exist solely within the realm of academia, even if the borders begin to blur. I would like to thank my parents for their continued support. I am especially grateful to my mother, who has listened to me read multiple drafts aloud over the phone at varying intervals during the past year. I would also like to thank the past and current staff of the Wasabi Japanese Restaurant and Sushi Bar in downtown Madison, especially Taka-san, Speedy, Urygen, Marika, Ken-san, MaryRay, Ming, and Jose. Their conversations, jokes, and cheerful interactions all helped to rescue me from many low points during the road to my PhD.

Finally, to any and all individuals or groups that did not receive explicit mention, I wish to extend my most heartfelt thanks. I truly could not have reached this point without you.

Tack ska ni ha!
Thank you all!



Fig. 1 – Design of a patch traded or given to informants during my 2013 visit to Uppsala.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	v
Glossary of Abbreviations and Terms	vi
Chapter 1 – The Study of Uppsala’s Student Life in Context	1
Introduction.....	1
Research Site	3
Temporal Setting	5
Research Methodology	7
Chapter Plan.....	12
Chapter 2 – The Yearly Round.....	13
General Theory	14
Initiations and New Beginnings – <i>Reccemottagningen</i>	21
Fall Celebrations of Food and Identity.....	35
Spring Celebrations of Independence and Ambiguity.....	49
Conclusion.....	56
Chapter 3 – Music and Place.....	59
Introduction.....	60
A Sense of Place.....	74
Social Relations: A Sense of Community.....	94
Proper Context: An Order to All Things.....	106
Conclusion.....	114
Chapter 4 – Clothing Culture.....	116
Introduction and General Theoretical Framework.....	117
The <i>Studentmössa</i> and Other Academic Headgear.....	122
Festive Occupational Clothing.....	137
Conclusion.....	165
Chapter 5 – The Big Picture and Future Developments.....	170
Expressions of Identity.....	170
Expressions of Group.....	173
Expressions of Tradition.....	177
2013 Developments and Future Predictions.....	180
Appendix 1 – Songs Recorded at <i>Gasques</i> , <i>Sexor</i> or Other Formal <i>Sittningar</i>	184
Appendix 2 – Songbook Surveys.....	191
References Cited.....	219

Glossary of Abbreviations and Terms

Bal	Often suffixed at the end of a word describing the reason or intended audience of the event, a formal ball is the most spectacular form of social gathering. The dress code often requires white tie for men and full gowns for women, though the gender division has lost some rigidity recently. Folk costume may also appear. Typically, each student nation has one ball-level event per semester. UTN usually holds one formal ball per year.
BÄR	<p><i>Biologiska ämnesrådet</i> The Biology Student Council</p> <p>BÄR is a <i>sektion</i> for students who study academic tracks within biology. The organization maintains one recreation room, called <i>BÄRrummet</i>, within the Evolutionary Biology Centre building complex. Many trophies are stored in this location, and a kiosk was recently added to provide students with snacks. Its largest annual social event is <i>Selektionsfest</i>. Its primary rival is IUPAK. Based on their periodical, <i>Bladet</i>, the organization can be traced back to 1977, but oral history places its founding in the late 1960s. The name is also a joke, meaning “berry.”</p>
Fadder (“Faddrar” in plural)	Somewhat analogous to “big brothers” or “big sisters” in American fraternities and sororities, <i>faddrar</i> is the term applied to older student-members of student nations or <i>sektioner</i> who guide the freshmen during initiation receptions.
FUTF	<p><i>Föreningen Uppsala Tekniska Fysiker</i> The Association of Uppsala Engineering Physics Students</p> <p>FUTF was founded on March 8, 1967, according to old protocols and meeting records. The organization later combined with other engineering programs, the result of which was UTK. The purpose of FUTF was to provide organizational opportunities for larger social gatherings as well as academic concerns. It is considered the earliest predecessor to UTN.</p> <p>Today, a separate organization with the exact same name exists as a UTN <i>sektion</i>, which is devoted entirely to engineering physics students. This organization formed when the previous one morphed into UTK. It is often considered the friendly rival of the combined natural scientists.</p>
FysKam	<p><i>Fysikums kamratförening</i> The Physics Friends Group</p> <p><i>FysKam</i> is a <i>sektion</i> formed primarily of physics students in the natural sciences. It maintains a recreation room, called <i>Skamvrån</i>, in the <i>Ångström</i> building complex. <i>Moebius</i> is considered a sister organization, and many members from the two groups may often be seen together in various capacities, whether in action or simply relaxing.</p>

Gasque
(also “Gask”)

A *gasque*, using the spelling most common to Västgöta and Gotlands nation, is a formal dinner party that is considered one the major highlights of student life. A multiple course meal is augmented with communal songs considered appropriate by the hosting group, short skits performed by a theatrical group, choir performances, short speeches, and other forms of entertainment. Each *gasque* has a theme, and the men’s and women’s dinners are notably less formal and far more playful.

GeoS

Geovetenskapliga Studierådet
The Geology Student Council

GeoS is a *sektion*, restarted in 2008, devoted to students in geology tracks. It has a rather rowdy reputation among the other *sektioner*. One of the group’s most prized trophies is a stolen, rubber fist from an organization in Copenhagen, Denmark. In 2011, the organization renamed itself GRUS.

GRUS

Geovetenskapliga Rådet för Uppsalas Studenter
The Geology Council for Uppsala Students

GRUS is considered by some students to be the social maturation of GeoS. The social end of the organization planned and hosted its first major party, *Orogenesen*, in 2011 to the delight of other *sektioner*. Additionally, the abbreviation is a joke, meaning “gravel.”

Inspektor

Inspektor is the title of a professor who is charged with supervising the behavior of student members at a specific nation. At least during the past decade, this person is often highly regarded by the general membership and has the privilege of wearing special attributes during formal events, such as a livery collar with the nation’s insignia or other decoration.

IUPAK

Intresseföreningen Uppsala Akademiska Kemister
The Interest Group of Uppsala Academic Chemists

The acronym IUPAK is a play on IUPAC, the International Union of Pure and Applied Chemistry. This *sektion* was small yet incredibly active during my year of fieldwork. Its annual celebration is *Analysfest*. Its primary rival is BÄR, whose flags and other trophies were stolen with great regularity. Unlike some of the other *sektioner*, IUPAK does not have a room to call its own.

KGB

Kemist, Geolog, Biolog
Chemist, Geologist, Biologist

The KGB is a dormant umbrella organization that combined the efforts of three *sektioner* in order to create a larger initiation without overtaxing the students responsible for hosting such an event. It also met occasionally during the remainder of the academic year for pub crawls. In the Fall of 2011, the alliance dissolved, when IUPAK joined MI:Fy\{ve} to test a new grouping of freshmen for the orientation weeks. The name, KGB, was intentionally chosen to sound like the Soviet intelligence agency.

Kurator (also abbreviated 1Q, 2Q, or 3Q as appropriate)	Curators are student nation leaders, elected to their positions for one-year appointments. Their job is considered full-time, and the university excuses them from their studies during this time. This position is often considered an honor. Nowadays, First Curators (abbreviated 1Q) are officially in charge of the entire operation. However, they are aided by multiple people. Second Curators are often in charge of financial decisions. Third Curators are often in charge of food and festivities. Many other positions also exist to deal with more specific issues, but they hold different titles.
MI:Fy\{ve}	<p><i>Moebius, IUPAK, FysKam... eksklusive Datavetare (?)</i> <i>Möbius, IUPAK, FysKam... excluding Datavetare (?)</i></p> <p>Formed in the Fall of 2011, an umbrella organization was set up to combine the efforts of three <i>sektioner</i> that were considered to see more of each other after the initiation weeks, due to building locations. The symbols around the letters, “ve,” are meant to exclude another group, which is ambiguous. One possibility is <i>Datavetare</i>, the computer scientists, but it is unclear. The name continues to use the mystique of KGB, instead calling to mind the British counter-intelligence unit, MI5.</p>
Möbius (also “Moebius”)	<p>Moebius is both the name of the <i>sektion</i> and a recreation room in a cellar at <i>Pollacksbacken</i>. The organization was founded at the end of 1984. Its oral mythology, however, states that it has always existed, springing forth when Gunnar Berg, a professor who will soon retire, removed his hat. The organization is meant primarily for mathematics students, but the atmosphere during my fieldwork was very open. A kiosk located in its cellar room is popular with engineering students. The organization’s symbol is a Möbius strip, which is a shape that has no beginning or end if an organism were to walk along its surface continually. It is of no surprise, therefore, that all traditions within this organization are said to have existed since the beginning of the group, regardless of actual age.</p>
Sektion(-erna)	<p>The fifteen distinct subgroups of UTN are collectively referred to as the sections. Each <i>sektion</i> officially represents a single major academic discipline within engineering or the natural sciences. Many occupy their own recreational room, organize one major and many minor social events per year, and act as intermediaries between students and faculty. Exact details, however, are greatly dependent on the specific section and membership at any given time.</p>
Sexa (“Sexor” in plural form)	<p>A <i>sexa</i> is a party considered less formal than a <i>gasque</i>, but one that often has many of the same rules, at least when it begins. Cutlery and plating are more formal than students would use casually at home. Entertainment is often limited to communal singing, and food is often served without wait staff. The atmosphere is allowed, and often expected, to become rowdier as the night progresses, often in connection with the amount of schnapps bought by individuals for the entire group. These parties almost always occur after some form of work has been accomplished. More than one student remarked: “You have to earn a <i>sexa</i>.”</p>

Sittning	A generic term for any social gathering when students are seated around a table for festivities. One less-common example is the <i>mikrogasque</i> , during which participants utilize a microwave to cook their own food.
Släpp	A <i>släpp</i> is an after-party, often occurring shortly after a <i>gasque</i> has ended, and the personnel have had time to clean up the main room. Music is often played loudly from speakers, and many students are drunk. A <i>släpp</i> is a time for students to wind down from formalities, dance, and flirt. Often, these after-parties last from midnight until 4:00am. Thus, they are often called <i>04-släpp</i> .
Spex	<i>Spex</i> are theatrical performances that can vary greatly in length, subject matter, and quality. Shorter <i>spex</i> resemble skits performed by Boy Scouts or other organizations in the United States. Longer <i>spex</i> may more closely resemble full theatrical productions, though with far less funding than a professional troupe. Songs are typically composed for each <i>spex</i> , some of which become sufficiently popular to enter printed songbook canon.
Studentikos(-t)	<i>Studentikost</i> is an adjective used to describe anything considered part of or related to student life. Examples include: songbooks, items attached to festive coveralls or lab coats, student festivals, and much more.
Studentnation(-er)	The student nations at Uppsala University started as fraternal, region-oriented organizations in the mid-17 th century. Women first officially entered the nations in the 1870s, when they were allowed to study at the university, but their participation was not substantial until the early 20 th century. Today, thirteen student nations continue to operate, and mandatory membership was abolished in 2010. Each nation maintains its own building, which often contains a lavish banquet hall and various other amenities. Often, these buildings are rented out in order to balance finances. Each nation is an umbrella organization unto itself, consisting of multiple choirs, theatrical troupes, and more.
TUPP	<i>Teknolog Uppsala</i> Uppsala Engineer The rooster continues to symbolize many engineering <i>sektioner</i> , first and foremost the engineering physicists, and it was first mentioned in 1977, according to FUTF protocols. The rooster lost its status as the union symbol when UTN was formed, transitioning instead to a figure made with ellipses that was later commonly interpreted as a goat.
UNF	<i>Uppsala Naturvetarförening</i> Uppsala Natural Sciences Student Union
Uppsala studentkår	The main student union at Uppsala University, it represents all students who do not belong to other unions, such as the pharmaceutical or veterinarian unions. It was founded in 1849, and its newspaper, <i>Ergo</i> , has been printed since 1924. Unlike the student nations or UTN, it does not host festivities or provide food. Instead, it is focused upon other practical

concerns, such as health care, insurance, small loans, and so on. Its pool of students is currently shrinking, as other unions are currently striving for official recognition from the university. UTN received official recognition as a union on February 20, 2013 for a trial period of three years.

UTK

Uppsala Teknologkår
Uppsala Engineering Student Union

Forming from the merger of FUTF and other engineering programs, UTK continued to grow. In 2002, it merged with UNF to form the current umbrella group, UTN.

UTN

Uppsala teknolog- och naturvetarkår
Uppsala Engineering and Natural Sciences Student Union

UTN was formed on February 2, 2002. It currently acts as an officially recognized student union, and it acts as the umbrella organization for fifteen separate *sektioner* within engineering and the natural sciences. Its offices and banquet hall are located at *Pollacksbacken*, within a building named *Uthgård*. Some of its responsibilities include: an annual career fair, outreach to high school students, the ever-expanding initiation reception, a river rafting event during *Valborg*, and so on.

*** Please Note:

This glossary is meant as quick reference for readers who have no background regarding these organizations and terms, which are more nuanced and complex than described in the previous pages.

Chapter 1 – The Study of Uppsala’s Student Life in Context

Introduction

I first experienced Uppsala’s student life during the 2003/2004 academic year as an undergraduate exchange student. At that point in time, I primarily studied Icelandic literature from the Viking Age and was affiliated with the Germanic Languages and Literatures department at the University of Maryland, College Park. Professor Oster suggested I study abroad for one year in Uppsala to broaden my cultural knowledge. The student nations were a curiosity rather than the focus of my exchange, but membership was mandatory, and I decided to join the nation that represented the region from which my great-grandfather emigrated. However, I found myself drawn deeper and deeper into Västgöta nation, an organization with an impressive building, communal singing, fine dining, skits, and many other joyful things, all driven by student-members. A spark had been lit. This phenomenon was unlike any I had experienced before, and it left a lasting impression. Seven academic years would pass before I was able to return and conduct fieldwork for this dissertation.

When I joined the Scandinavian Studies department at the University of Wisconsin-Madison as a PhD student, I shifted my focus from literature to folklore and from the Germanic region of Europe to the Nordic area. My cultural scope broadened as my geographic focus narrowed. The chance to return to Uppsala had come. In its infancy, my project’s focus rested solely on the student nations, and the working title was: *The Swedish Student Nations: Reflections of the Past and Visions of the Future?* Already aware of their long histories reaching back to the mid-17th century and of similar student organizations, such as the *Burschenschaft* in Germany¹, I initially wished to see how both regional and national identities had evolved over time and in which direction they appeared to be moving. To this end, I would focus my attention on three student nations: Västgöta, my home nation; Gotlands, the friendly rival of the former; and V-Dala, a much larger nation.

¹ Many books have been written about German student organizations, to which several names have been applied: *Landsmannschaften*, *Corps* and *Nation* included. To read more about their history from the medieval period until 1900, see Fabricius 1908.

Similar to many other projects, mine continually evolved as new circumstances presented themselves. Within the first month, I realized there were simply too many time conflicts in order to perform adequate participant-observation at three nations. To keep my project manageable, I decided to split my time and most intensive focus between Västgöta and Gotlands during the fall and spring semesters respectively. V-Dala was removed from my target groups, but an exciting new opportunity quickly arose during this same period. While I was relaxing at Västgöta nation's garden before the official start of the academic year, an unknown group of students wearing colorful lab coats walked by along the river. After introducing myself, I was invited to follow them for the remainder of the day. I had encountered the so-called KGB and found an exciting new subculture which had not existed in that form seven years earlier. It had, however, evolved naturally from previous traditions that continued to live on. Such student clothing traditions are the primary focus of Chapter 4, and they are, for the most part, largely absent from published scholarly literature². Nevertheless, this modification of my target groups did not change the initial aim of considering how the concepts of group, tradition, and identity were expressed by student culture in Uppsala. Instead, it provided additional groups that did not share the extensive histories of the student nations but followed similar trends. Academic discipline, rather than geographical home region, also appears to play a major role in contemporary student life outside the classroom.

² Specialized, festive coveralls in Finland have been written about briefly in recent scholarly conversation. Lönnqvist 2007 is a particularly nice article, but the observations are more generalized, and specific details about the components of the clothing are not as thoroughly discussed.

Research Site

Uppsala University does not have a centralized campus. Therefore, my participant-observation was conducted at multiple locations within the city. The *kommun*, or municipality, is the fourth largest in Sweden, and it currently has more than 200,000 residents. It lies 67 km (41.6 mi) northwest of Stockholm. Together with *Sveriges Lantbruksuniversitet* [SLU], an agricultural university, there are approximately 40,000 students. Between 1960 and the present, the general population has doubled³. The continued growth of both the general and student populations has led to a burgeoning housing crisis over the past few years, as new housing is not built fast enough to accommodate demand. This issue continues to cause a great deal of stress for many students, and I experienced firsthand the hassle it may cause. During the course of my fieldwork year, for example, I was forced to find new accommodation five times. A few students had even worse luck, which is an extreme rather than the norm. However, housing is sometimes considered a delicate subject.

Uppsala University is the oldest university in the Nordic region, tracing its history back to 1477, and it continues to remain prominent today. Some of the most famous people to have been part of the university are Carl von Linné, Olof Rudbeck, Anders Celsius, and Erik Gustaf Geijer. Additionally, the university claims eight Nobel Prize winners, one of whom is Dag Hammarskjöld⁴. The university is ranked quite favorably, both in Sweden and internationally. It had become an increasingly popular destination for foreign students in the first decade of the 21st century, due to the lack of tuition fees and the well-known student life. However, starting in the 2011/2012 academic year, tuition fees were put into effect for all foreign students who were not part of an official exchange agreement.⁵

³ This information is according to the municipal website, <http://www.uppsala.se/sv/Kommunpolitik/Kommunfakta/>, which was updated 27 August 2012. I last accessed the website 29 May 2013.

⁴ This information is according to the university website, <http://www.uu.se/om-uu/historia/>, which was updated 21 May 2013. I last accessed the website 29 May 2013.

⁵ For more information about the university's history from 1477-1976, see Lindroth 1976. An English translation of this book also exists.

The student nations of Uppsala have attracted a great deal of attention during their roughly 350 years of existence, written almost exclusively in Swedish up to the present day⁶. English is quickly gaining favor, and this trend is already beginning to turn as Swedes increasingly switch languages to reach a larger audience⁷. On the whole, however, English scholarship about the student nations is lacking, and to the best of my knowledge, scholarly information about the science and engineering students of UTN is currently non-existent. The general culture of the student nations at Uppsala has undergone drastic change in the most recent decades, a fact that I did not truly realize until hearing from generations older than my own after the year of fieldwork. Unfortunately, due to the scope of my project, I am unable to fully address the monumental nature of this change, but suffice to say in brief, the student groups have become far more liberal in their mindset despite centuries-old traditions that continue to refashion themselves as time progresses. It is certainly a topic worthy of further study.

The primary locations of my targeted groups may be found in various places within the city. The two student nations, Västgöta and Gotlands, are both situated in buildings along the River Fyris, near the cathedral in the center of town. These buildings will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 3, which is partially concerned with how place is situated and represented in music. Today, the natural sciences and engineering *sektioner* are primarily to be found a bit further to the south of the city center. They had previously been more central, but the construction of newer buildings near the turn of the 21st century forced relocations of classrooms, laboratories, and recreation rooms from *Engelska parken*, now the Humanities Centre, to the Biomedical Centre [BMC] or the multiple building complexes in the *Pollacksbacken* and *Ångström* areas. Major student living areas include *Flogsta*, which consists of both high rise dorms and low rise apartments on the western edge of town; *Kantorsområdet*, which is primarily low rise dorms, somewhat north of city center; *Studentstaden*, low rise dorms, somewhat west of city center; and many other, smaller areas across the city and its outlying suburbs.

⁶ For an incredibly well-written anthology in Swedish that discusses the Uppsalian student nations from their beginnings to 1949, see Samzelius 1950.

⁷ For discussion of rhetorical practices at the student nations from their beginnings until 2010, see Burman 2012.

Temporal Setting

My fieldwork in Uppsala lasted slightly longer than one full academic year, spanning from early August 2010 until late July 2011. During this period, I conducted seventy formal interviews, totaling 27.8 hours of recorded time; participated in over forty formal student events, hosted by two nations and multiple UTN *sektioner*; recorded 556 student songs at the aforementioned events, with well over one hundred distinct titles; created my own festive coverall with over one hundred patches sewn on; took roughly 2,500 digital photos; looked through nation and *sektion* archives; and kept a running field journal, among other minor things. The sheer volume of data collected proved almost unwieldy at times, but much of it is interconnected in one way or another.

The experience of my informants spanned anywhere from a few weeks, if they were newly initiated freshmen, to five years or more, if they were graduate students. Additionally, a few student keepers of group lore could recall stories handed down by previous student generations, sometimes stretching hazily into the 1980s. Direct memories were typically limited to a span of three years on average, and thus, stories I could tell from the 2003/2004 academic year were often appreciated and almost gave me senior status at times with the current students despite my hiatus. Off the formal record, older generations of former students casually told me that roughly 50% of what they experienced at a *gasque* was familiar. Such was especially the case during *Hembygdsmiddag* at Västgöta nation in November of 2010, which was primarily intended for members who had been active in the 1970s or earlier.

Songbook collections in the student nation archives of Västgöta and Gotlands offered a glimpse into the canonical selections considered worthy of print, at least by the songbook committees, over the past century. Starting in the 1910s, nations would release a new songbook roughly every decade if able. An inventory of which songs appeared during specific years of release as well as a list of the songs I was able to record may be found in the appendices. Older, handwritten songs for specific occasions were also

found in one book, which dated back to 1918, at the Gotlands nation archive. That book was labeled as the second in a series; the whereabouts of the first are currently unknown.

Additionally, chronicles were composed over time by many nations in various forms. *Chronica Gutorum Upsaliensium*, for example, records general news at Gotlands nation from 1916 until 1984, when the chronicle was transformed into short installments within the printed periodical, *Lambskallet*. Should one be interested in the nation's recent history, I would suggest asking for access to those two sources in the student nation's library.

It is also important to note that the 2010/2011 academic year saw the abolishment of *kårobligatoriet*, mandatory membership in the nations and a student union. This development had been discussed for many years, and the decision caused varying levels of anxiety among the student nations. Economically, the smaller nations are more at risk, most likely needing to rent out their buildings more often. The rise of UTN as a social organization was briefly considered a low-level threat, but similar to the economic situation, the nations appear strong and stable. In fact, many of the groups centered on academic disciplines rent student nation buildings for their own festivities. I did not follow the economic situation too closely during my year of fieldwork, but most of the nations appeared optimistic and realistic during their business meetings with the general membership. To date, I have not heard of any serious problems.

Beyond my focused year of fieldwork, I made two short visits to Uppsala at roughly one year intervals. The first corresponded with Easter in 2012, and the second was immediately prior to and during Valborg in 2013. During these brief trips, I was able to quickly meet once again with some of my informants and also visit my target groups' locales. With each year comes gradual change, but my 2010/2011 observations continued to fit the big picture. Facebook has also proven a valuable tool in maintaining contact with informants who often update my information with some regularity. Additionally, Skype has been a beneficial medium for a handful of long-distance, follow-up interviews.

Research Methodology

Due to the living, continually evolving nature of student life in Uppsala, I chose to focus the predominant amount of my efforts regarding data collection on direct participant-observation and formal interviews. Such actions require a great deal of trust on the part of those being observed or interviewed, and a fair amount of time was spent simply building rapport and gaining credibility with my various target groups. Materials from student nation libraries and archives proved useful, but they primarily acted as supplemental information. Contemporary voices that speak for themselves about their own culture were, and continue to be, the most important facet of my data.

Participant-Observation

Due to my previous undergraduate exchange year spent in Uppsala, I was able to take advantage of prior knowledge and gain an advantageous head-start during my fieldwork. For example, my first course of action was to sign in at my home nation, Västgöta, where I found that an old friend, who had joined the same year as my previous exchange, was now the first curator [1Q]. Ted Isaksson introduced me to the almost entirely new membership, and he helped to build my credibility from the first day. Even so, the presence of a digital audio recorder, despite promises to only record songs/speeches/*spex*, required multiple formal events before students generally felt at ease with my project. Time and continual involvement in activities both great and small were crucial to this end.

Friendly competition proved to be my greatest ally at Gotlands nation. Members of that organization were often greatly amused to have a member from their rival join their ranks. Such was a very new phenomenon. With the fall of *kårobligatoriet*, students were no longer forced to join a nation, but they were now able to join multiple if they so desired. Though many individual members were also skeptical of my intentions at first, the nation as a whole accepted my project almost immediately. I was, for example, allowed to record the entirety of their *kräftskiva* [crayfish party] in August of 2010. This feat was unique, however, and all subsequent audio recordings were limited to songs/speeches/*spex*.

Friendly competition often manifested itself at *sexor*, when members would privately or publically ask how many songs I had recorded during that *sittning*. It was sometimes a point of pride for them to sing a greater number of songs than I had recorded at Västgöta's *sexor* near the same date.

Initial credibility with the engineering and natural science students is an interesting case. In 2003/2004, I had observed students wearing colorful coveralls decorated with patches and other items. At that time, I had no idea who they were or what they were doing. However, I considered the concept to be incredibly fun and was determined to make my own version at a later date. I even began collecting patches that same year, though they were primarily from tourist attractions and stores rather than other students. Two patches were purchased directly from *Uppsala studentkår*, which often caught my informants' attention. It was not until 2008, however, that I began to design and create my own coveralls, which were purchased from a Tractor Supply Company store in Southern Maryland. Basic Internet research provided general rules to follow concerning the color of my coveralls, chosen explicitly to not replicate existing program colors in Uppsala, and the placement of patches.

When I returned to Uppsala in 2010/2011, my tribute coveralls played a major role in boosting my credibility despite my lack of UTN membership or enrollment in a discipline studying engineering or natural science. In fact, when a group of KGB freshmen and their *faddrar* walked along the river on August 24th, 2010, I had nearly given up on spotting such traditions. Many of my contacts at that point had no desire to talk about such customs or groups. Fortunately, I had been wearing my own coveralls on that day, mostly out of a desire to get some use out of them, even if the subculture had vanished. A few members of Västgöta in the garden outside the nation house that day regarded my action with surprised curiosity and what appeared to be muted disgust. "Coverall culture," as it is known in Sweden, is often considered linked with alcoholism—which may also be said about the student nations to a certain extent as well. In any case, my first contact with the KGB was to simply walk up to them. Older members, wearing colorful lab coats, silently tried to interpret my coveralls before Nils Lenngren asked which university and program I came from. Though I often explained my project, a handful of students outside

my target groups continued to believe I was enrolled in an engineering program, even after my year of fieldwork had ended, and I had returned to the United States.

The combination of my seemingly extraordinary knowledge of Uppsalian customs, my habit of recording certain festive student activity with a digital audio device, and my seemingly unexplained presence at many secret or otherwise group-specific events led to the creation of a nickname: *spionen*. Translating literally as “the spy,” it was first coined by members of the UTN *sektioner*, and its usage soon spread to all my targeted groups. Swedes are often considered a relatively taciturn people. At the very least, they are relatively private at first, but once one gets to know them better, they can be incredibly open⁸. This nickname first expressed the reluctance and nervousness of Swedish students when they initially encountered me and learned about my project. However, it quickly became a term of endearment, and signs of play are evident in the freshman films produced by both the KGB and UTN. In the former group’s movie, the camera was hidden in the grass and aimed up at me to provide a sense of “counter-espionage” from the very first day I met KGB freshmen groups. The UTN film similarly shows a few brief seconds of me ducking behind a tree after seeing their camera later in the initiation weeks.

Formal Interviews

Formal interviews tended to follow a set procedure. I would schedule a specific time to meet with an informant, often in my own room with tea and a snack provided⁹, and would listen to any concerns they had before the audio device was turned on. Frequently, I would ask some of the more general questions I expected to pose in order to give them time to consider their answers. Certain students wished to receive questions in advance for preparation, and occasionally, informants wished to be interviewed in pairs. Such requests were always accommodated. All interviews were conducted in English with minor amounts of Swedish, mostly for my benefit and also due to the high language

⁸ For a book about Swedish culture meant for a general audience, see Svensson 2000.

⁹ The custom of *fika*, which is beloved by many Swedish students, usually consists of coffee or tea and some form of pastry. These items are consumed in the early afternoon, either at home, work, or in a café.

proficiency of most Uppsalian students. These interviews were later transcribed and sent to each informant, who could then ask that certain information be removed from the official transcript if he or she felt such information should not be used in my dissertation or reach an audience beyond myself. Such removals of information were extremely rare.

The majority of my interviews were conducted during the second half of my fieldwork year. By that time, I had built up sufficient rapport for individuals to feel comfortable with the idea of being recorded. Although *fika* was greatly appreciated, I noticed a marked increase of willing interviewees after designing a cloth patch as a reward. Decorated with a friendly *Spy vs. Spy*¹⁰ image, the patch was considered a prize by students who participated in festive clothing culture as well as those who did not. Even when conducting interviews, lessons learned from participation-observation were important.

The content and flow of the interviews were intended to give the informant the greatest amount of flexibility. Nearly every time, the first question was “Could you tell me a little bit about yourself?” Informants were then allowed to say as much, or as little, as they wished. Students were often more eager to discuss their subculture than divulge information about their personal lives, and I felt compelled to respect their wishes. Information came in the form of personal memories, stories told by others, oral histories of a group, and even pseudo-mythologies. A few individuals questioned the validity of interviews: “How can you be sure any of us is telling the truth?” It was a valid point, to which I replied: “I’ll talk with many of your friends in due time.” After transcribing seventy interviews, I can confidently say that they all support each other quite well, even if variations of stories appear.

A Folklorist’s Dilemma

As hinted at above when I mentioned that members of Gotlands felt a sense of pride in asking me if they had surpassed Västgöta yet, my presence certainly affected the behaviors and situations I wished to

¹⁰ *Spy vs. Spy* is a comic strip originally created by Antonio Prohías. It was first published in *Mad* magazine in 1961, and new strips continue to appear to this day, though they are continued by other artists after his retirement and death.

study. The most disturbing aspect of my participant-observation was, by far, the audio recording device. There were always a few individuals who felt awkward whenever it was present. To minimize the disturbance, I scarcely used it when attending events of any target group for the first time. In fact, I completely removed it from sight and usage during *Naturvetarfesten*, the first major UTN festivity I attended, when the girls around me were visibly and vocally disturbed. As the year progressed, the digital recording device mostly lost its threatening aura, and a few students even reminded me to have it at the ready in the spring.

Similar to the change in tone surrounding the nickname *spionen*, my presence gradually became something my target groups appeared to enjoy to an increasingly greater extent. In December of 2010, for example, Gotlands nation kept me as a “hostage” when members of Västgöta stormed the building, sang faux-insulting songs, and challenged the nation to the competitions of *Tefatsgasquen* in the spring. After a brief sledding competition down a stairwell, Gotlands’ 1Q was abducted and taken to Västgöta’s nation house. As I attempted to follow and take pictures, Gotlands’ 3Q held me back, shouting: “Oh yeah? We’ve got Bishop, and you can’t have him!” The mathematicians of *Möbius* also grew accustomed to my observations, and even memorialized it in song:

I ett hörn står spionen och ler
Nedteknar allt som han ser
Särskilt om troll utan hus
Under en filt i Moebius.

In a corner, the spy stands and smiles
Jotting down all that he sees
Especially about [a] troll without a house
Under a blanket in Möbius.

Aware that my presence altered behaviors and situations to a certain extent, I nevertheless attempted to maintain as objective observations as possible.

Chapter Plan

My chapters are arranged in order to begin with a rather large scope, focusing on events that bring many students and their multiple forms of expressive culture together all at once, and then to narrow down to more specific elements before considering the big picture and future possibilities. For this reason, discussions about parts of the “yearly round,” or festive calendar, which both unites and distinguishes all of my target groups, appear in the chapter immediately to follow. Moving into Chapter 3, the role of student music used to both describe and create a sense of place among Västgöta and Gotlands nation is considered. Switching focus to target groups within the UTN *sektioner*, Chapter 4 looks at how “coverall culture” and more contemporary derivatives have continued to evolve to express both collective and individual identities of students in the natural science and engineering disciplines. Finally, Chapter 5 returns to a much broader scope, making assertions and predictions about what these forms of celebratory culture can possibly reveal about Swedish society in general. Additionally, observations of noteworthy occurrences in 2013 will be used to show how student life is beginning to truly reach farther than students in Uppsala, or even Sweden for that matter.

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 are subdivided into multiple parts. My intention is to give a general idea of the concepts as a whole in the form of an anecdote, which is then followed by scholarly concepts that continue to be important in the academic conversation. A more detailed analysis of each chapter’s focus is subsequently made, focusing more heavily upon primary ethnographic sources—interviews, photographs, song texts, etc.—and integrating some of the scholarly conversation as necessary. Finally, each of these three chapters contains its own conclusions, which are expanded upon in Chapter 5.

Let us begin!

Chapter 2 – The Yearly Round

Try to imagine yourself in the following situation: It is early in the afternoon of December 13th. The sun has almost completely disappeared below the horizon, and you have just returned to the Karin Boye Library in the Humanities Centre after a quick lunch to find some sources to quote in your research paper. It will be due in a week. As you peer through the shelves, looking for a specific book, you suddenly hear the faint sound of singing. The familiar melody reminds you that today is the feast of St. Lucy, but as the voices draw nearer, you certainly don't remember any lyrics about acids and explosions. Suddenly, you see a group of students slowly walk by. They are wearing lab coats, silver tinsel, and glow sticks. You have certainly never seen a *Lussetåg*¹¹ like that before. Who are these people? What are they doing exactly?

Later that evening, within your student nation house a brief walk away, tables are bedecked with a wide array of delicacies. The centerpiece is a pig's head, which has been decorated with lines of white frosting on its skin and an apple in its mouth. A candelabrum casts interesting shadows upon the tablecloth as its light reaches the food and other ornaments. The song leader instructs you to open your song book to Page 130, and everyone sings *Hej tomtegubbar*. As you tell the story of your earlier experience during the day to your table companion, you both wonder how they are connected. In fact, every holiday appears to be interconnected somehow, a thought that lingers briefly before you return to your drink and merriment.

¹¹ *Lussetåg* is the name given to processions during St. Lucy's Day. Typically, they consist of a blond girl—wearing a crown of lit, wax candles and robed in a white gown—and an unspecified number of attendants, each of whom carries a single candle in his or her hand. Examples of attendants include: girls in white gowns, boys with conical star hats, *tomtar* (Christmas elves), and gingerbread men.

General Theory

The complicated, multifaceted nature of human life has often been considered cyclical, which is amply reflected in religious, scientific, occupational, and other forms of cultural manifestations. One need only call to mind the concepts of clocks, liturgical calendars, or even the circle of life. The Swedish ethnologist, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, emphasizes the need to divide such cycles into meaningful segments:

Tiden existerar inte hör man ofta sägas. Men även om tid inte finns, måste vi skapa den. Utan tidsuppfattning blir vårt liv kaotiskt och outhärdligt. Vi har ett behov av gränsmarkeringar, både större och mindre. Årets och livets märkestillfällen utgör "rites de passage", övergångsriter. (1999: 9)

One often hears that time does not exist. However, even if there is no time, we must create it. Without a sense of time, our life would become chaotic and unbearable. We have a need for boundary markers, both large and small. The year's and life's noteworthy occasions constitute rites of passage.

Jack Santino, an American folklorist who has analyzed holidays in the United States, appears to agree with this sentiment, and further states that: "to investigate holidays fully and correctly, ... we need to think of them as dynamic processes of human behavior and look at the ways people create them by regularly recreating traditional symbols and actions" (1994: xvi).

In addition to considering the symbols and repetitions contained within each separate holiday, it is also important to keep in mind how they are interconnected and build upon each other. Theodore Caplow, an American sociologist, discusses this very subject after performing a replicated community study in Muncie, Indiana. This town was the first location in the United States to have such a repeated study conducted in the early 20th century. He found that "... in each festival the emblems convey one kind of message repeatedly, that each festival produces a different message by being contrasted with the others, and that these messages express different aspects of the same themes..." (Caplow 2004: 107). In fact, according to his research, the major holidays appear to mimic the overall progression of American life from childhood into adulthood and how society should interact. Starting with Halloween and progressing through major American holidays until Easter, Caplow finds that the social order is first thrown into upheaval before transitioning into orderly, familial celebrations of food and specific kinship

ties during the late fall and winter months. As spring approaches, the celebrations shift their focus to a more general sense of community but also a friendly competitiveness with increasingly sexual undertones.

Although circles are sometimes described as having no beginning or end, the yearly round most certainly does. Despite endless repetition and modification, each cycle is nevertheless aware of when the next full iteration may be marked. The anthropologist, Dwight Heath, when researching the interrelation of alcohol consumption and culture, found:

It is when we shift our attention to that yearly round (which varies in terms of enumeration and starting-date, but which is remarkably consistent as a frame of reference for time in the minds of most peoples) that the cyclical nature of drinking becomes most strikingly apparent, both in its opulent detail and in its diversity. (2000:19)

Although the Gregorian calendar, the one most commonly used by Western civil authorities, begins on the first day of January, many other calendars use different dates, better suited to their own cycles. For example, the Roman Catholic liturgical year begins during Advent, four Sundays prior to Christmas. An academic year often begins in late August or early September, depending on the institution and governmental holidays in the vicinity. This possible overlap of calendars also appropriately calls attention to how different cycles often operate simultaneously and may affect one another.

The overlap of multiple cycles and symbols is easily seen when comparing religious and secular, or quite often agrarian, components of holidays. Christmas is one such holiday that often receives a great deal of attention year after year, and it is often considered to be under significant threat:

The religious and secular Christmases are usually contrasted, to the disparagement of the secular. "Keep Christ in Christmas!" cries Middletown. "Christmas is too commercialized!" That may be, but we have seen that extensive Christmas gift giving serves an important purpose by maintaining all sorts of personal relationships. The message of secular Christmas is not really different from the message conveyed by the Christmas story. [...] The secular and the religious iconographies are analogous in that they use different elements to convey the same meaning: children are helpless, and their parents must help them. They convey also the related message that families must use all possible means to preserve themselves against influences tending to split them apart. (Caplow 2004: 112)

Though Caplow noticed secular Christmas was more often disparaged in late 1970s Indiana, I had quite the opposite experience while conducting fieldwork in Uppsala. Many university students were hostile to varying degrees towards anything and anyone who seemed sincerely religious, but the similarity of the celebrations remained quite strong.

Despite the dramatic wane of Christianity across much of Europe, there still exist many celebrations tied to the liturgical year, if not the more central religious holidays, that have become even more visible and popular. Jeremy Boissevain, a social anthropologist who has conducted fieldwork in Malta and other areas of Europe and Canada, specifically noticed a developing trend connected with how the expressive nature of holidays is framed:

I think that a clue to the expansion lies in the relation between the ritual and play frames of the celebrations. In Naxxar, ceremonies that are characterized more by ritual than by play – such as the Eucharistic celebrations – have declined during the past twenty-five years. The ritual dimensions of Good Friday and the various patronal celebrations have remained constant or declined slightly during the same period. In contrast, the play elements of those celebrations --- the theatre, costumes, parades and wild spontaneous demonstrations – have increased markedly. (1991: 147)

A similar pattern was certainly visible during my own fieldwork in Uppsala. An emphasis on play and enjoyment was often considered the most important aspect of many celebrations¹², but ritual maintained a firm role in the initiation weeks of the science and engineering students as well as the general student populace welcoming spring during *Valborg*.

Drawing on ideas set forth by Don Handelman, Boissevain notes that these changes “may be seen as a comment on the nature of ordinary life,” which appears to be connected to the growing social isolation among members of local communities. He specifically points to the fact that fewer holidays are officially recognized by the Labour government in Malta; the birth rate is declining rapidly, which in turn leads to fewer family-level rituals; and that increased individual independence derived from economic

¹² If one is to consider the role of clothing once again, both the student nations and UTN sections showed a great affinity for costumed theme parties. A few students particularly proud of the coverall and party lab coat tradition even expressed their concern that single-use costumes were threatening their own subculture. Costumes at the nations were most common during staff parties and have not transitioned to more formal *gasques*, though the *Herrmiddag* [Men’s dinner] and *Damsupé* [Ladies’ Supper] are often an exception to this rule.

prosperity and improved technology is disrupting local, interpersonal interaction (1992: 147-148). The disruption of technology meant to improve life is especially noteworthy and parallels between Malta and Sweden may be tenuously drawn. In the case of the village, Naxxar, refrigerators helped to reduce the need for frequent trips to the market for food and gossip. The increased availability of cars reduced the importance of bus schedules¹³ and being home at a certain time, turning the village into a bedroom community. Televisions kept people inside their homes (Boissevain 1992: 147-148).

Turning our attention to contemporary Uppsala, the biggest technological hindrances to face-to-face interaction appears to be Facebook and other online social media. Or are they? Almost one month prior to *Valborg* 2013, Uppsala University uploaded a series of five short videos to YouTube in order to provide some funny, factual background to a few major events during the holiday. The introductory video is quite clear in its message for students to go out and experience what the day has to offer:

Om du ska plugga i uppsala är det några valborgsgrejer som du bör uppleva, annars kan du princip läsa på distans tycker jag.
 -- Pappa, pappa! Berätta, berätta! Var det romantiskt i uppsala på våren? Dansade du på slottet? Och är det sant att alla ta på sig mössarna samtidigt i carolinabacken?
 -- Ja, du, min son, jag är ledsen men jag vet faktiskt inte för att på valborg då satt jag oftast i ekonomikumparken och uppdaterade min facebookside.
 Där vill ni inte stå. Så häng med nu. Grundkurs 1A: Uppsala, Valborg. Varsågod.

If you shall study in Uppsala, there are a few *Valborg* things you should experience; otherwise, you can basically study at a distance, I think.
 “Daddy, daddy! Tell me, tell me! Was it romantic in Uppsala during the spring? Did you dance at the palace? And is it true that everyone puts their student caps on simultaneously at Carolina Hill?”
 “Yeah, well, my son, I’m sorry, but I honestly don’t know because, on *Valborg*, I usually sat in Ekonomikum Park and updated my Facebook page.”
 Don’t let this happen to you. So come along now. Basic Course 1A: Uppsala, *Valborg*. Welcome.

This approach appears to be more of a precautionary measure than reaction to dwindling participation, as the popularity of *Valborg* celebrations continues, drawing participants from neighboring cities and even

¹³ The connection between transportation and communities can be seen in some areas of the United States. Certain Amish populations intentionally utilize horse and buggy rather than automobiles, which is partially a strategy to keep their communities more tightly knit by self-restricting movement to a certain area.

many foreign countries¹⁴. Additionally, as of April 13, 2013, the series of videos has tallied no more than 706 views for the introduction, and neither the Swedish nor English version of the university Facebook pages has posted the video to its timeline, where the isolated students are considered to be stuck. Both the student nations and UTN sections have, however, extensively used Facebook to spread word about their events, though official registration remains the domain of more formal methods, such as email or contacting the responsible organizers in person.

Uppsala University's concerns about social isolation among its students certainly fit within a broader Scandinavian context concerning which forms of celebrations and release are considered appropriate and non-threatening. Pauline Garvey, a European anthropologist whose research is primarily divided between Norway and Ireland, specifically notes how cultural attitudes are relaxed when Norwegians go out to drink, but a level of social control is nevertheless expected to remain:

Drinking parties are organized along a relatively defined set of expectations of how the evening should unfold. The consumption of alcohol and the experience of some form of abandon is common. In losing control, the individual is seen as sharing part of themselves with those present, they are turning themselves 'inside out' (Sørhaug 1996:184). To become drunk in company therefore demands or creates a bond of trust between the participants, even if this is of a temporary or superficial nature. In turn, social drunkenness is patrolled by the group. (2005: 97)

The concept of students turning themselves "inside out" certainly calls to mind the student coveralls, analyzed in Chapter 4. Bo Lönnqvist uses nearly identical language, when he describes Finnish student boiler suits as: "open and loose in form, which in turn allows the possibility of 'jumping' into the suit, being donned in the suit and crawling out of one's shell at will" (2007: 94). As Garvey found during her fieldwork, it is not the inversion of social norms that is perceived as dangerous but rather individuals breaking away from the group.

¹⁴ Even the economical aspect of attending various *Valborg* festivities points to its popularity. For example, "guest cards" for access to the student nations are markedly more expensive for the week leading up to the holiday in 2013. Normally, a week's access costs 75 SEK [~\$12], but the *Valborg* guest card costs 200 SEK [~\$31]. This information was accessed online 13 April 2013 from:
<http://www.kuratorskonventet.se/default.asp?sc=page&sid=11>

Returning almost full circle to Caplow's observations about holiday interconnectivity through contrast, Garvey finds Norwegian social drinking reaffirms and even appears to strengthen the very cultural norms the imbibers temporarily wish to escape:

By violating conventional rules of normality, and by transgressing social codes of behavior, the group redefines itself, assessing its solidarity and forming a coherence. This form of abandon, which is defined, structured and immediately recognizable, is in itself controlled. Through processes such as this, alcohol reaffirms the values of the group. In this way 'licensed' rebellion or rejection of the system can act as the harbinger of its inversion, in a celebration of the existing order (cf. Gluckman 1963). (2005: 104)

Limiting drinking, albeit often heavy, to the weekends allows students and workers alike to focus their productive time during the rest of the week on seemingly more productive tasks relating to their occupations or study. However, this periodic abandon allows a release of stress, which is equally important for a normal return to hard work.

Similar observations have been made regarding a contrasting duality of student behavior and identity in the United States. Returning our attention once again to Indiana, James Leary has written about the contrasting roles of students at Notre Dame, which are essentially symbiotic means towards a future goal rather than in binary opposition:

[T]he ideal "Notre Dame Man" is a pious Catholic, devotee of the Virgin Mary, and earnest churchgoer. He studies diligently, laboring to gain further knowledge for the pursuit of career and the glory of God. An ardent fan of the "Fighting Irish," this model character is a firm believer in healthy exercise and an enemy of tobacco, alcohol, and "dangerous drugs." Finally, the "Notre Dame Man" is unmistakably a "man"—a wise male matured beyond boyhood.

In contrast, entrants in the "Mr. Campus" competition were a motley collection of self-identified beasts (hogs, gorillas, animals), personifications of filth (dirtballs, eyesores), and deviant men (flakey floozies, stupendous studs, pretty punks, zooey zeroes, funny men, egg heads, and corny comics). Their talent lay in an ability to exploit these marginal personas by donning outlandish attire, uttering blasphemies and obscenities, and parading before an approving mob of intoxicated, apparently deranged, fellow students.

The role of "Notre Dame Man" is genuinely emulated by most students, but its unceasing realization is a hard, "heavy" burden to bear. Those who take it too seriously run the risk of becoming mere observers of the role type's outward signs, while lacking its inward spirit. By playfully performing and applauding symbolic evocations of animalism, dirt, and madness, Notre Damers demonstrate to each other that-although they may be morally inclined young men-they are also human beings. By briefly reversing an otherwise

striven for superhuman role, they are ritually, humbly, humorously showing each other that, despite their ambitions, they are still only men: clumsy, confused, savage, absurd. (1978: 143)

Certainly, the threat of going too far or losing the “inward spirit” is a constant threat, but such is the general nature of the yearly round, which so far has been shown to both revel in and guard against such attacks that are certain to challenge the social or familial order.

Thus, with all of these concepts in mind, it is time to shift our attention to the fieldwork I conducted in Uppsala, focusing on two student nations and multiple UTN sections. Holiday festivities spanning the entire academic year touched upon many themes, ranging from extended initiations that bestowed new identities to celebrations of food that signaled regional or occupational cohesion. Differences and commonalities clashed in ceaseless forms of play that ultimately resulted in the same outcome: expressions of student life and the transitional progression through an uncertain, liminal stage of life.

Initiations and New Beginnings – *Reccemottagningen*

Pseudo-Mythology and Major Players

Initiation rites have long been of anthropological concern, and two names continue to hold considerable sway in scholarly discussion of the matter. Arnold van Gennep divides rites of passage into three major parts: separation, margin, and aggregation. Influenced by this grouping, Victor Turner is especially interested in the elements of the transitional phase:

The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* (“threshold people”) are necessarily ambiguous, since the condition and these persons elude or slip through the network of classifications that normally locate states and positions in cultural space. Liminal entities are neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial. As such, their ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols in the many societies that ritualize social and cultural transitions. (1969: 94-95).

Uppsala is a city rich in traditions surrounding the initiation of many types of students, but one of the most visible ceremonies—which may be called *mottagning*, *inspark*, *nollning*, and many other names¹⁵—is conducted by UTN, lasting a full two weeks.

UTN’s *reccemotagning* is considered a time of transition primarily for incoming engineering freshmen to the university, but it is certainly a time of liminal status for the many groups of students involved. Assuming the newly arriving participants have no prior knowledge of the event¹⁶, the first introduction to the ritual is experienced in a lecture hall. Two faculty members perform a roll call, which both bores students and gathers them together to watch a film that will explain the upcoming reception weeks. In the fall of 2010, after the faculty members finished their tasks and the lights were lowered, the following pseudo-mythology began to play:

Under jordens skapelse cirkulerade kraftiga energistormar över jorden. Mellan blix och dunder flög de fram och färgade atmosfärens tak mörkblått. När detta förenades med de fyra elementen – jord, vatten, luft och eld – uppstod något mäktigt och oförklarligt:

¹⁵ These relatively complicated terms and many others will be made clear as the analysis continues. I ask your patience and beseech you to simply continue reading. Everything is interconnected.

¹⁶ Organizers of these yearly events try their best to keep the details secret, going so far as to self-censor many videos uploaded to YouTube and even inserting textual warnings on DVDs put together to capture the essence of any specific year’s reception.

kraftfulla fenomen som kom att kallas *Rekå*. Tillsammans fungerade *Rekå* som ett och de gjorde allt i sitt makt för att upprätthålla balansen på jorden mellan kaos och harmoni, mellan sorg och glädje, mörk och ljus. För att lättare kunna verka på jorden antog *Rekå* mänsklig skepnad. De insåg att de var tvungna att tämja sin energi och slog därför in den i bitar av atmosfären. Allt eftersom tiden gick blev en av *rekå*iterna girig och jämvikten rubbades. Denna *rekå*it var *Snalabo*. De andra försökte övertala honom att fortsätta samarbeta men *Snalabo* vägrade. (Reccefilmen 2011)

During the Earth's creation, powerful energy storms circulated over the Earth. Between lightning and thunder, they flew forth and colored the atmosphere's ceiling dark blue. When this was combined with the four elements – earth, water, air, and fire – something mighty and inexplicable arose: powerful phenomena which came to be called *Rekå*. Together, the *Rekå* functioned as one and did all in their power to maintain the balance on Earth, between chaos and harmony, between sorrow and joy, darkness and light. In order to more easily work on the Earth, the *Rekå* adopted human form. They realized that they were forced to tame their energy, and therefore struck it into bits of the atmosphere. After time passed, one of the *Rekå* individuals became greedy, and the equilibrium shifted. This *Rekå* individual was *Snalabo*. The others attempted to convince him to continue to cooperate, but *Snalabo* refused.

Already at this point, students watching the video have been introduced to the first major group responsible for the reception: the *Rekå*.

The *Rekå* have a dual nature. Behind the scenes, they are a committee of twenty students officially responsible for the operation of the reception, whether it concerns economics, the media, preparing food, scheduling activities, or so on. These tasks often require a great deal of time and effort beyond the initiation weeks, but their god-like personas dominate the two weeks when freshmen are involved.



Fig. 2 – One of the *vindar*, fully in persona, and two members of the *Rekå*.

The pseudo-mythology, appearance, and mannerisms connected with the *Rekå* closely mimics tribal initiations as analyzed by Victor Turner. First of all, special significance is often attributed to natural objects that are not the work of human hands, such as firewood collected from the ground rather than cut by an axe (1969: 100). The *Rekå* are literally said to be embodiments of the four elements.

Secondly, their clothing shrouds them in a sense of mystery. Though each individual *Rekå* wears his or her own personal attributes—often quite colorful and even gender-bending pieces of clothing or lavish hairstyles, which freshmen may not replicate—they all may be collectively identified by their dark blue capes. Depending on the solemnity of the occasion, these capes either conceal or augment the appearance of each individual.

Most importantly perhaps, the power of speech and its connection to the wisdom and authority of an entire community's traditions (Turner 1969: 103) may be recognized through the *Rekå*'s peculiar accents—said to mimic errors of prosody in text-to-voice software among other things—and their nearly total authority when around freshmen. Vision is also connected with power, and part of their mystique is embodied by the idea that looking them directly in the eyes is dangerous and harmful. Within the introductory film, Snalabo is defeated when the other *Rekå* remove their glasses and reveal their glowing, swirling gaze. For this reason, they wear sunglasses at all times to protect the human initiates¹⁷.

The element of danger calls to mind the concept of *apocalyptic communitas*, to use Turnerian terminology. Though parents and teachers may often utter the phrase, "It's not the end of the world," major transitions, such as starting college, are most certainly the end of one life phase and the beginning of another. Thus, a story of an epic battle, where good defeats evil, is entirely appropriate:

In tribal initiations, too, we find myths and their ritual enactments in liminality that relate to divine catastrophes and crises, such as the slaying or self-immolation of important deities for the good of the human community, which locate crisis in the living past if not the imminent future. But when crisis tends to get placed before rather than after or within contemporary social experience, we have already begun to move into the order of structure and to regard communitas as a moment of transition rather than an established mode of being or an ideal soon to be permanently attained. (Turner 1969: 154)

In short, the *Rekå* have shown that great hardships have occurred before; they were a temporary problem; and they were indeed overcome. The transitions to university, one's own room or apartment, and perhaps even a new city will be difficult yet manageable.

¹⁷ Older students, however, will readily explain the sunglasses as great ways to hide the bloodshot eyes of incredibly sleep-deprived individuals. The students who take the form of the *Rekå* do not sleep much during the initiation.

Returning to the pseudo-mythology contained within the introductory film, students are introduced to the present time and a new group of people that will help them accomplish their transformation to productive university life:

Då Snalabo till synes hade försvunnit återgick *Rekå* till sina energiformer och världen hamnade åter i balans. Men med tiden kommer förändring. Snalabos starka vilja gjorde att han långsamt började samla sin kraft. Världen sattes åter i obalans och människorna levde inte längre i harmoni. *Rekå* valde därför att lära människorna att själva stå emot Snalabos negativa kraft. Detta uppdrag krävde en speciell plats och efter mycket sökande föll valet på Uppsala, kunskapens centrum. Där handplockade *Rekå* studenter, *fadderkå*, vilken hade förmåga att stå emot Snalabos kraft. Dessa hjälpsamma personer skulle komma att jobba hårt för att göra Uppsala till en raffig färgglad plats. Tillsammans med *Rekå* skulle de se till att minimera tristessen i vardagen. (Reccefilmen 2011)

When Snalabo seemingly disappeared, the *Rekå* went back to their energy forms, and the world returned to balance. However, with time comes change. Snalabo's strong will made it so he slowly began to collect his power. The world was set again in imbalance, and humans no longer lived in harmony. The *Rekå* chose, therefore, to teach humanity to themselves stand against Snalabo's negative power. This mission demanded a special place, and after much searching, the choice fell upon Uppsala, the center of knowledge. There, the *Rekå* hand-selected students, *Fadderkå*, who had the ability to stand against Snalabo's power. These helpful people would come to work hard in order to make Uppsala a refined, brightly colored place. Together with the *Rekå*, they would see to the minimization of distress in the everyday.

The second, complementary group of students meant to assist the incoming freshmen is thus identified, yet they still qualify as special despite their human status.

Fadderkå consists of fourteen students, representing various UTN sections, who also play a role in the initiation of freshmen and may be identified by their own distinctive appearance and mannerisms. Representing the softer side of the community's authority, an official booklet distributed to prepare freshmen for the more pragmatic aspects of the initiation weeks describes *Fadderkå* thus:

Fadderkå är lätta att skilja från mängden eftersom de alltid bär den energiska färgen rosa tillsammans med en färgsprakande overall. Men vill du var extra säker på att hitta dem



Fig. 3 – Three members of *Fadderkå*, each representing a different section.

bör du bege dig till Kramtältet. Här kan du spela spel, mysa, läsa eller kanske det bästa av allt, bara hänga med Fadderkå. Några kvällar under mottagningsveckorna kommer även Fadderkå att ge dig och dina kursare ett ypperligt tillfälle att lära känna reccar från andra program, genom något som kallas sektionfusionen... (Recceboken 2010: 16)

Fadderkå are easy to distinguish from the masses, because they always wear the energetic color, pink, together with a vividly colored coverall. However, if you want to be extra certain to find them, you ought to head to the Hug Tent. Here, you can play games, get cozy, read, or perhaps best of all, just hang out with *Fadderkå*. A few nights during the reception weeks, *Fadderkå* will even give you and your classmates a great opportunity to get to know freshmen from other programs, through something called *sektionfusionen*...

A softer side, however, does not mean a weaker side¹⁸. The “Hug Tent” is considered an area of safe harbor for freshmen, and the *Rekå* lose all their power should they enter its borders, marked by stanchions and rope. On one occasion, for example, members of *Fadderkå* successfully corralled *Rekå* individuals, who were then freed by sympathetic freshmen.

Considering the larger picture, *Fadderkå* appear to provide a middle-ground between the incoming freshmen and the supervisory *Rekå*. According to Turner, this facet is unsurprising: “The powers that shape the neophytes in liminality for the incumbency of new status are felt, in rites all over the world, to be more than human powers, though they are invoked and channeled by representatives of the community” (1969: 106). These older students most definitely represent the community, through the wearing of coveralls specifically displaying their academic disciplines. Each department is represented, so no group can be considered left out of the larger event. Additionally, though authority is a force with which to grapple, freshmen learn to look for others who can aid them when the need arises.

The final segment of pseudo-mythology set forth by the introductory film cryptically introduces a third group of students involved in taking care of freshmen, the *vindar*, and also turns the focus directly to the freshmen themselves:

¹⁸ Many students commented on the contrasting nature of *Rekå* and *Fadderkå*. Some students went as far as to call the former “militaristic.” According to an interview with Johannes Wolff, “They are sort of an opposite of *Rekå*, who have the image of being hard and muscular and tough and so on. The *Fadderkå* are the cuddly, friendly ones” (1 Sept. 2010).

För att hitta de studenter som är mottagliga för kunskapen att stå emot Snalabos kraft skickade Mörk ut sina vindar. De färdades till landets alla hörn tills de hittat de bäst lämpade. Hemma vid köksbordet satt reccen och funderade på vad han skulle göra till hösten. Plötsligt insåg han precis vart han skulle. Generalen kallade på de övriga rekåiterna för att åter anta mänsklig form. Återvändade från de fyra elementen svarade de på hennes kall och inledde färden mot Uppsala.

Du är utvald.

In order to find the students who are receptive to the knowledge to stand against Snalabo's power, Mörk sent out her *vindar*. They traveled to all the corners of the land until they had found the best suited. At home by the kitchen table sat the *recce*, pondering what he should do in the fall. Suddenly, he realized exactly where he would go. The General called upon the remaining *Rekå* individuals to again adopt human form. Transformed from the four elements, they answered her call and began the journey to Uppsala.

You are chosen.

Music composed by Vangelis is used liberally within the film and crescendos to impart the sense of an epic journey to be undertaken. Each individual *Rekå* is introduced by name and a photo, ending with the command for all the freshmen to “stand up for the *Rekå*,” who then enter the hall. The festive, ritual ceremony has now truly begun.

The attributes of the freshmen undergoing the UTN initiation have certainly changed over the past decade, but the basic concepts remain the same. For example, the name chosen to describe them is somewhat problematic and connected to external, societal perceptions of the initiation phenomenon. In 2010, the term *recce*¹⁹, a shortened form of *recentior* derived from Latin, prevailed. This term provides the central basis for many of the other terms. *Rekå* is an abbreviation for *reccekommittén* [freshman committee], for



Fig. 4 – Two *reccar* wearing *samveten*.

¹⁹ In fact, I heard some engineers disparage this term as pertaining far too much with the humanities!

example. However, within living memory of some of the older students, the term *nolla* lives on.

Johannes Wolff explains one major reason for the transition:

We called the freshmen “*nollor*” – “zeroes” and we didn’t really think about it being a bad word because it was so common that you were a *nolla* when you started. I don’t think the students really minded, but the decision to change was more like when you applied for sponsorship at university and enterprises. When you needed funding, it sounded better. (1 Sept. 2010)

Why is the term *nolla* threatening enough to prevent funding and require a change? Quite simply, it is considered to be too strongly connected with the concept of hazing²⁰—the dark side of initiations.

Another freshman attribute to undergo relatively recent change is the paper worn on their chest to signify their truly “betwixt and between” status. In 2010, a *recce* could be visually identified by a green, oval mass of printer paper called a *samvete*, which translates literally as “conscience.” Samone Liti, a freshman who had recently undergone the initiation, described her interpretation of this symbol:

The green *samvete* was the most important thing because the meaning of them that we understood after the *mottagning* was that we had to—*bjuda på sig själv*—you shouldn’t be shy. You should do whatever you want to do even if you’re crazy and stuff like that. I mean, people run away when they try to rip it and I was *utsatt* [exposed]. One day, I was speaking to one of *Rekå*, and she asked me what her name was, and I said the wrong name to her because I didn’t know who she was, so she ripped my *samvete*. I screamed and I ran away, and they had to [catch] me, and I fell on the floor/ground, and they took my *samvete* and ripped it, and I was just really crushed. Stuff like that—normal people would just stand there and watch it get ripped, but I was like, “I have to run! I love my *samvete*! Don’t rip it!” (6 Oct. 2010)

Each *samvete* is unique. The front displays one’s name, program, and various decorations²¹. However, a 5x5 grid on the back and the general size demonstrate how well each individual has currently been able to accomplish the various tasks they have been assigned. Each success, whether it be answering a trivia

²⁰ A great deal of literature is available about this subject. One good example is *The Hazing Reader* (2004), edited by Hank Nuwer, which contains many articles that analyze various forms of hazing across cultures and national borders. Attempts to transform the more negative forms of hazing are also outlined.

²¹ If a *recce* is particularly lucky, he or she will receive “idol cards” from the *Rekå*. These small, silly photos could either be collected in their *Reccebok* [freshman book] or, as I saw many do, affixed to their *samvete*.

question or aiding another student, is marked on the grid. Once filled, which is incredibly rare²², a *recce* qualifies for a “golden” *samvete*, presumably made with yellow paper.

Failure, on the other hand, is far more common. For each mistake that catches the *Rekå*'s attention, the *samvete* is torn in half. Replacements are expected to be double in size, and the grid's tally is reset. Symbolically, with each misstep, one's conscience grows heavier—both in the literal and metaphorical sense. The size of some *samveten* could grow quite large, as Samone Liti recounts:

I mean, I got a big *samvete*. It was sixteen A4 papers. It covered all of me and I saw people with thirty-two or sixty-four and that was just... yeah. They liked to *reta* – nag on me, so that was why I had the huge *samvete*. (6 Oct. 2010)

In Samone's case, sixteen sheets that began as a 4x4 square signify that she is on her fourth iteration, which in turn means she has failed three separate tasks.

Returning once again to Turner, the symbolism of the *samvete* fits perfectly with that general message imparted by many initiation rites:

The neophyte in liminality must be a *tabula rasa*, a blank slate, on which is inscribed the knowledge and wisdom of the group, in those respects that pertain to the new status. The ordeals and humiliations, often of a grossly physiological character, to which neophytes are submitted represent partly a destruction of the previous status and partly a tempering of their essence in order to prepare them to cope with their new responsibilities and restrain them in advance from abusing their new privileges. (1969: 103)

Soon enough, coursework will require memorization of information. A professor will not care about the name of a particular *Rekå*, but concepts and equations will need to be provided upon demand during a test. The *samvete* will be damaged and the tally restarted after a student arrives late to a reception event, just as missing a project or lab experiment will result in a loss of data and perhaps all progress. Certainly, there are ways to repair the situation, but problems have a way of compounding much the same as the *samveten* grow with each new iteration.

²² According to Johannes Wolff, only a single golden *samvete* was earned in 2004. He had neither seen nor heard of another until 2010, when three or four were spotted (1 Sept. 2010). To put that number into perspective, 900 freshmen were considered to take part in the 2010 reception. I was never able to catch sight of one, however.

The predecessor to the *samvete* used different details, but nevertheless conveyed the same general message. Johannes Wolff recalls a time before the consolidation of UTN sections into a larger reception:

At first, the *nollning* as we have it now only encompassed the Master Engineers. Back then, it was also more connected with the rooster, which was the common symbol of all the engineers, so instead of the *samvete*, you had an egg. The general theme—the aspiration of the all the “zeroes” was to become a “one” during your first year. So you were sort of doing your zero year at first. (1 Sept. 2010)

The symbolism of an egg is also quite powerful. It is a creature undergoing development, incomplete and ready for a new beginning. Sharing the same 5x5 grid and rules as the *samvete*, the eggs appear to mimic the lesson learned by Samone: one must break out of one’s shell and experience new things. However, an egg is fragile, and mistakes can be costly. Fortunately, another group exists to help with this issue.

The fourth and final major group of students involved in the reception is called the *vindar*. Translating literally as the “winds,” these students act as assistants to both the *Rekå* and the *reccar*, though their mission and identities change gradually with each passing day. At the start of the reception, their most important task is to blend in as if also freshmen. Thus, they are able to act as the extended eyes and ears of the *Rekå*, who are said to see and hear all. This ploy works incredibly well, and students are often surprised to hear one of the *Rekå* mention a specific deed done or phrase uttered outside of their presence.

However, the *vindar* are also actively engaged in removing a certain level of embarrassment from the freshmen. Despite the existence of *fadderkå*, many freshmen will still look to their peers to gauge whether or not they truly feel comfortable. Aleksander Lundqvist, another freshman who underwent the 2010 UTN *reccemottagning*, remembered their antics:

Typically odd [*samveten*] are the ones of the “Winds”—the fake *reccerna*. They were also supposed to be odd. That was kind of the point with them. The one in my class was Link from *The Legend of Zelda*. She made her *samvete* into a shield and carried it on her



Fig. 5 – A very large *samvete* worn by both a possible *vind* and a dog.

back like Link carries his shield. I also had Harry Potter in my class, but his *samvete* wasn't as special. (10 Sept. 2010)

Silliness in one's peers that goes without negative incident is often motivation enough for others to feel safe to do likewise. The camaraderie built up in freshmen groups certainly remained to a certain extent throughout the year. Guessing who your two *vindar* might be also became popular in its own right.

A Compressed Festive Year and an Extended Initiation

In addition to serving as the beginning of the festive, academic year, the UTN *reccemottagning* also compresses the yearly round into the span of two weeks. Although the initiation is clearly set in the fall, holidays from around the year are celebrated. This concept of "borrowed holidays" is widespread and may often be found in other types of temporary communities:

A Boy Scout camp counselor from New Mexico told me that he regularly celebrated the year's holidays with the boys through the summer; Christmas on July 25, New Year's on August 1. A Friday was chosen as Hanukkah, and other calendrical days were celebrated as well. One year, he even staged a kind of nativity play based on the Mexican tradition of *posadas* he had witnessed in New Mexico, borrowing some domesticated llamas to be used as camels. I have found similar phenomena in other summer communities such as Cedar Point, Michigan, and Put-In-Bay, Ohio. These celebrations are more than occasions for friends to celebrate together holidays that they could not share otherwise. The summer is made to contain the entire year, so their relationships are felt to be complete²³. (Santino 1995: 12-13)

Within the 2010 freshmen weeks, multiple holidays that typically span an entire calendar year were celebrated, though not always in the proper, chronological order or even separately.

One of the early days during the initiation weeks is *STING-dagen*, an abbreviation of *den stora föreningsanstormningen* [the great association rush²⁴], when freshmen are exposed to a combination of practical and festive information. More specifically, they are introduced to campus locations they will likely frequent and committees that organize events or provide help throughout the year:

²³ I experienced similar "borrowed holidays" firsthand when I worked as an instructor at Camp Olmsted, Goshen Scout Reservation in Virginia in 1999. We had an enormous Thanksgiving meal with leftover food, sang the Marseillaise on Bastille Day in honor of one French instructor, and exchanged small gifts for Christmas.

²⁴ It is certainly a term that calls to mind the "Rush Week" initiation experienced by fraternities and sororities across the United States.

Dagen börjar med information i aulen. Där kommer organisationer med nyttig information om vart *reccen* kan vända sig vid olika problem. Därefter kommer *reccen* få chansen att gå runt på *Pollax* tillsammans med sin *fadder*grupp. *Pollax* kommer vara fullt av snitsiga aktiviteter av alla dess slag anordnade av magnifika föreningar. Dagen avslutas med ett raffitgt spex som *reccarna* själva framför inför *Rekå*. (*Reccaboken* 24)

The day begins with information in the aula. Organizations will be there with useful information about where a *reccen* can turn regarding various problems. Next, the *reccen* will get the chance to walk around *Pollax* together with his *fadder* group. *Pollax* will be full of stylish activities of all sorts, arranged by the magnificent associations. The day ends with a classy skit that the *reccar* themselves will perform before the *Rekå*.

One of the committees to be encountered at *Uthgård*, the corps house of UTN, is *Forskå*. These students, visually identifiable by their black carpenter pants with flames sewn on the bottom of their pant legs, will explain *forsränningen*—literally meaning “the rapid running,” a spring celebration that occurs during *Valborg*. However, at this point in time, freshmen are able to replicate the experience of floating over one of mini-falls of the Fyris River by instead sliding down a slope adjacent to the corps house. Additionally during this day, students may participate in a celebration of food and fall that is located more closely to the time considered proper by most of Swedish society: the *kräftskiva*. The consumption of crayfish and schnapps is popular across much of Scandinavia in the late summer and early fall, but I will return to celebrations of food later in the chapter.

Whereas *STING-dagen* mixes work with pleasure, *Midsommar* is a day devoted entirely to festivity, further highlighting a sense of completeness as suggested by Santino. Midsummer is most likely a holiday that many students will be unable to share with one another on a wide scale, as many will augment their CSN²⁵ loans with income from summer jobs or will otherwise be out of the city. The daytime festivities are divided into three major parts: a volleyball tournament, which brings together many students in competition; the raising of a maypole, around which students dance and celebrate an old folk tradition; and a general activities area, where students may engage in such feats as rock climbing or refrigerator tossing. Nighttime activities, on the other hand, take an even broader approach to completing

²⁵ *Centrala studiestödsnämnden*—The Central Student Grants Committee—is charged with helping students find and later repay loans, among other things.

the festive year. Changing location from *Pollacksbacken*, where laboratories and classrooms are to be found, to a student nation house, students celebrate *Alla Kräftans Luciaween*. This amalgamation touches upon four holidays: *Alla hjärtans dag* [Valentine's day], *kräftskivor* [crayfish parties], *Lucia* [St. Lucy's Day], and Halloween. Elements of the individual holidays are certainly touched upon, and students may be observed participating in speed dating, wearing silly paper hats or electric candle crowns, and otherwise participating in carnivalesque behavior.

Φ-naldagen marks the end of the initiation weeks, and the four major groups of students already mentioned will be ritually transformed. It is a day of heightened emotions, and many students mentioned the impact the day had on them, once they had recovered from hangovers, minor autumn illnesses, and had adjusted to normal university life. The ritual



Fig. 6 – The burning of the *samveten*.

ceremony occurs on the bank of the Fyris River, a short walk away from the Vendel era mounds of *Gamla Uppsala* that served as the religious and political center of Sweden in earlier times. Arriving by bus, freshmen play a few final games before they are met by the assembled *Rekå*. Sad music plays, and the *Fadderrekå* huddle together in a group hug as each *recce* places his or her *samvete* into a chest. An enormous circle is formed by all in attendance, and the freshman dance is performed. Afterwards, the freshmen are instructed to sit on a grassy incline, where the *Rekå* solemnly march single-file. The General thanks the freshmen for the prior two weeks and announces that they have learned what they need to know. They are now full students, and the *samveten* are burned, destroying the outward form of their transitional status, and the freshmen are told that what they have experienced is now internalized.

The *Rekå* also undergo a similar transformation. They are no longer embodiments of ultimate authority, and they must become regular students once again. Thus, the outward signs of their power must be shed. One by one, they return their capes, to be reused in following years, and personal attributes

that are easily removed. The final article to be relinquished is their sunglasses. For the first time, at least officially, the freshmen are able to look each individual in the eye and see them smile.

A few members of *Fadderkå* and the *Vindar* join the newly exposed *Rekå* for the final element to transform the members exercising various levels of authority into normal students. Gathering together on a pier that begins to sink under their collective weight, these students jubilantly jump into the water in a spectacle that resembles a baptism of sorts. Their old identities are washed away, and they join the fully initiated students on the same vintage buses. These buses reflect the transformation that has occurred: they are no longer “Line 0” but “Line 1,” calling to mind the older term for initiates: *nolla*. Small Swedish flags are displayed, imitating city buses that also fly the flag on national holidays.



Fig. 7 – One of the vintage buses used on *Φ-naldagen* sits ready.

Despite an official end to the initiation weeks, certain elements from within them extend much further into the year and possibly beyond. The *reccedans* [freshman dance] is one such action that had a tendency to appear in a wide variety of contexts. Johannes Wolff explains the phenomenon:

[The *reccedans*] occurs every year—a new one. Usually the tune you dance to—they try to find one tune that is moving upwards on the charts, so it will become popular during the following months, so the people have the maximum opportunity to dance this *reccedans*. It’s usually quite popular in the tent, because it’s always quite fun to dance together—several hundred people dancing the same moves together—it’s a special feeling doing that, I think. (1 Sept. 2010)

In order to coordinate anywhere from ten to many hundred students, dancers arrange themselves in matrixes, and the choreographed moves tend to repeat four motions before switching to another. A certain percentage²⁶ agree with Johannes’ “special feeling,” and the freshman dance may be observed

²⁶ I do not have specific numbers but if I were forced to hazard a guess, roughly 10% of freshmen repeat the dance outside of the initiation weeks in public.

anywhere from dance floors at student nations to videos posted on YouTube after field trips or even personal vacations abroad.

Reaching beyond one's own freshman year, the dances are often kept alive by individuals who gather together for that explicit purpose²⁷. Fredrik Trella recalls how he was part of such a group:

I really liked this whole dancing thing. I had never been much of a dancer before. After the reception, one of my old *faddrar* said, "You know, there are other dances." "What?" "Yeah, there's a dance for every year, and I happen to know most of them. I could teach them to you if you want to." "Yeah, absolutely!"

So, he brought this boom box, and he placed it in front of the school at Pollacksbacken in the middle of [the yard], and he started teaching these dances. The first times, we were five people perhaps. Then next time, ten... then twenty... then thirty... then forty. Suddenly, it was crowded. Everyone wanted to learn these dances. (31 May 2011)

These loose organizations come and go, but the "Matrix Dance Troupe" in Uppsala recently made a return with a Facebook group, created on February 18, 2012. Information gleaned from this source shows that it appears to have had varying degrees of success in organizing dance occasions, but it certainly keeps track of similar style dances from other programs and other Swedish universities. As of April 19, 2013, there were 109 members who follow this group.

²⁷ For many great considerations about how dance fits into ritual and society, see Dąbrowska and Bielawski 1995.

Fall Celebrations of Food and Identity

Turning our attention more towards the student nations, many of the larger celebrations contain elements spanning many cultural periods within the history of Sweden, whether they be Pagan, Christian, or thoroughly contemporary reinterpretations. Often, these aspects are mixed, and many scholars have noticed their interplay. Elizabeth Pleck, analyzing the evolution of ethnic holidays in the United States, which has welcomed immigrants from around the world, noticed the following trends:

Many rituals disappeared entirely or were practiced only in a few towns or cities with unusually large ethnic populations. If a church did not encourage a practice, that practice was less likely to survive. [...] Ritual was especially likely to vanish among immigrants or their children who did not live in an ethnic enclave but instead resided in multiethnic neighborhoods and attended multinationality parishes or had changed their religious affiliation. For every group, the acculturation process was accompanied by a streamlining of the religious and agricultural calendar once observed. (2004: 49)

The involvement of a church to help keep community traditions alive is certainly important, but celebrations may indeed take multifaceted formats. Dwight Heath found a relatively symbiotic relationship when looking at drinking customs tied to holidays:

Wherever Roman Catholicism is a dominant religion, the annual calendar is punctuated with festive occasions, most of which involve considerable drinking. Such practices usually follow folk custom rather than express church doctrine, but the association is inseparable in the minds and lives of local people. [...] Each saint's commemorative day is also marked by celebration wherever that saint is a patron, and heavy drinking again is normally an important part of any such a fiesta. (2000: 20)

Whether or not any specific facet of a holiday's larger rubric is followed is of less importance than how the celebrants truly wish to approach their festivities. However, by drawing upon the old, the new is given additional credibility, as Jack Santino has found when looking at symbols within holidays:

Moreover, the people invented this symbol themselves, out of various bits and pieces of popular culture. Based on tradition but new to the situation, the yellow ribbon carried the authority of tradition with it. Although essentially a new usage, the yellow ribbon seemed as if it had been with us forever. (1995: 15)

The yellow ribbon has, of course, been used to symbolize a person returning home from prison, a hostage from Iran, or more generally any military service person returning from combat. With these general ideas

in mind, it is now time to consider why goose blood and sheep heads are celebrated at student nations, and how an early Christian martyr has become associated with pigs and Swedish chemistry students.

Goose Blood and Sheep Heads

In the fall, one of the most common food celebrations at the student nations is *gåsmiddagen*—the goose dinner—on the Saturday nearest November 11th. This date celebrates the feast of St. Martin, who was considered a generous man and a reluctant leader:

När Martin uppsatts som biskopskandidat, sökte han enligt legenden undkomma genom att gömma sig i en gåsstia. Gässens kackel förrådde honom emellertid, och biskopsmitran undgick han inte. Sedan Martin efter sin död helgonförklarats, blev Tours snabbt ett pilgrimsmål. Gåsen som symbol för Martinsdagen möter vi första gången 1171 i Nederländerna.

Medeltida kalkmålningar i svenska kyrkor visar att S:t Martin också varit känd och vördad på våra breddgrader. Vanligen framställs han som en ryttare som kastar sin mantel åt en trashank bredvid hasten. (Bringéus 1999: 99)

When Martin was elevated as a bishop candidate, he attempted, according to legend, to escape by hiding himself in a goose sty. The geese's cackle betrayed him, however, and he did not avoid the bishop's mitre. Later, when Martin was canonized after his death, Tours soon became a pilgrimage destination. We meet the goose as a symbol for St. Martin's Day for the first time in 1171 in the Netherlands.

Medieval frescoes in Swedish churches show that St. Martin was also known and venerated in our latitudes. Frequently, he is depicted as a knight who throws his mantle to a beggar beside his horse.

In addition to the legend, his feast day is strongly connected with the agrarian cycle when certain foodstuffs are considered ready for consumption:

Gåsen på svenska och norska runstavar som markering av den 11 november påminner om att gässen vid denna tiden är slaktfärdiga. Vål så viktigt i södra Europa är att det första vinet kan avsmakas vid denna tid. Vinodlarna och krogvärdarna gjorde snabbt S:t Martin till sin marknadsförare genom att utnämna honom till skyddspatron. Visor diktades till S:t Martins och gåsens ära och sjöngs av kringvandrande trubadurer liksom av tiggande barn. (Bringéus 1999: 99)

The goose on Swedish and Norwegian rune staves marks November 11th as a reminder that the geese are now ready for slaughter. Just as important in southern Europe, the first wine may be tasted at this time. Wine growers and tavern hosts quickly made St. Martin their marketer by appointing him their patron saint. Songs were composed to St. Martin's and the goose's honor and were sung by wandering troubadours as well as begging children.

The celebration of St. Martin's goose also has quite a long history with some of the student nations of Uppsala University, stretching back many centuries. It is perhaps of no surprise that students would enjoy a time of food and merriment, though certainly not in a solemn, church-like manner:

Mårtensfirandet var särskilt förknippat med universitetsstäderna. Mårtenslovat vid universitetet betraktades redan i början av 1700-talet som en gammal tradition. Sedermera professorn Pehr Sjöbring omtalar från Uppsala 1799 att den 10 november "var Smålands Nation samlad om aftonen på Östmarkens källare, för att fira Mårtensgås. Där var jag och med, och hörde där flera otillbörliga sånger sjungas och skålar proponeras och drickas." I "Sveriges kyrkoförfattning" (1825) skriver F.W. von Schubert: "Understundom samlas en nations ledamöter till förtroliga måltider, särdeles Mårtensafton och den 1 Maj." (Bringéus 1999: 100)

The celebration of St. Martin was especially tied to the university cities. Martin's vacation at the university may be observed already in the beginning of the 1700s as an old tradition. Later, Professor Pehr Sjöbring mentions from Uppsala in 1799 that on the 10th of November "Smålands nation was assembled in the afternoon at *Östmarkens* cellar to celebrate St. Martin's goose. I was also there and heard many improper songs sung and toasts raised and drunk." In *Sveriges kyrkoförfattning* (1825), F.W. von Schubert wrote: "At times, a nation's members would gather for close-knit meals, particularly St. Martin's Eve and the 1st of May."

These celebrations certainly continue.

At Västgöta and other nations during the past decade, the greatest appeal of the goose dinner appears to derive from the opportunity to wear formal, white tie attire and to enjoy the exotic nature of *svartsoppa*, black soup. In 2003, members of Västgöta delighted in telling me that the soup "tastes like spiced chocolate" and to "hurry up and eat it before it congeals." Despite their teasing, the consumption of blood is not considered special in its own right. Many Swedes eat *blodpudding*, which is easily found in most grocery stores. However, the soup is not as common, and its history as a festive appetizer is said to be younger than the celebration of the St. Martin's goose. Although black soup is often associated with Scania, the combination that is seen today is said to have originated in Stockholm:

Vid slakten tillvaratogs även gåsblodet, som vispades för att inte koagulera. Detta brukades till svartsoppa, en avredd soppa beredd av buljong, spad från kokta äpplen, vin, ättika och ett stort antall kryddor. Själva kombinationen svartsoppa och gåsstek är enligt Sigfrid Svensson ett påhitt av någon kock på en stockholmsrestaurang under 1800-talet. (Bringéus 1999: 102)

During butchering, the goose blood was also taken and whipped in order to not coagulate. This was used for black soup, a thickened soup prepared from bouillon, stock from boiled apples, wine, distilled vinegar, and a large number of spices. The combination of black soup and roast goose is, according to Sigfrid Svensson, an invention of a certain chef at a Stockholm restaurant during the 1800s.

The use of giblets that retain some of their original shape as condiments to add to the soup allows many students to test their ability to handle less-common food items and engage in a show of bravery of sorts.

Songs specially designated for this dinner take delight in the level of disgust that might be found in connection with eating every part of the bird. Terms associated with the church are used, describing the death of a goose and its soul returning to God in *Till Svartsoppa* [To the black soup], and a goose taken for the slaughter finds some comfort realizing he will avoid the coming winter in *Gåsvisa* [Goose song]. However, the irreverent nature described in the 1700s remains, and *Till gåsen själv* [To the goose itself] is one such example:

Gåsen tillhör släktet Anser anser Hans
och i Tyskland kallar gåsens fans den Gans
Svenska gäss från Skansen fanns, men dom blev
utträngda och svalta.
Vitkindsgäss går nu och bajsar överallt.

Men den gås vi fått på faten verkar fet!
Den har levt på korn av högsta kvalitet.
Låt oss alla högljutt tralla, sjunga Mårtengåsens
lov:
Prästanäsa, sås och krås och gåsaskrov!

The goose belongs to the genus, *Anser*, Hans notes,
and in Germany, the goose's fans call it *Gans*.
Swedish geese from *Skansen* exist, but they were
marginalized and starved.
Barnacle geese now walk around and poop
everywhere.

But the goose we got on the plate seems rich!
It has lived on grain of highest quality.
Let us all trill loudly, singing the praises of Martin's
goose:
Rump, sauce and giblets and goose carcass!

A bit of wordplay may be recognized in this song. For example, *Anser anser* is a scientific name for the Graylag Goose, which may be found at *Skansen* today, and *prästanäsa* literally translates as “priest’s nose” though it is used to describe the tip of meat found at the rear of a prepared goose between the drumsticks.

Gotlands nation has a similar celebration of food at the same time of year, focusing instead on sheep skulls and the expression of Gotlandic identity. *Lambskallegasquen* is a tradition with a firm starting date and official description from the curator who initiated it in 1952:

Ändå skrev jag fem dagar senare i ett brev till min mor i Visby: “I november skall jag försöka anordna en riktig Gotlandsfest. Programmet skall bli i möjligaste mån gotländskt och matsedeln består av lammskallar och gotländsk dricke.”

Men lammskallefest blev det, lördagen den 15 november. Från ett senare brev till min mamma citerar jag: “Vi hade skaffat 40 lammskallehalvor från Andelsslakteriet i Visby. Dessutom 101 dricke från Almungs i Stånga, hitförd av Anders Dahlgren. Det blev en lyckad fest ... Jag hade aldrig trot att lammskallar skulle vara så delikata. Och ölet var hemlandstoner. Vilka tjut, när lammskallarna kom på bordet. Och de flesta åt av ordentligt.” (Lingström 2006: 112)

However, five days later, I wrote in a letter to my mother in Visby: “In November, I shall try to arrange a real Gotland party. The program shall be Gotlandic as much as possible, and the bill of fare consists of sheep skulls and *Gotlandsdrikku*²⁸.”

And a sheep skull party occurred, Saturday the 15th of November. From a later letter to my mom, I cite: “We had acquired 40 sheep skull halves from Andelsslakteriet in Visby. Additionally, 101 *drikku* from Almungs in Stånga, brought here by Anders Dahlgren. It was a successful party ... I had never believed sheep skulls would be so delicate. And the beer had hints of the homeland. What a yell when the sheep skulls came to the table. And the majority [of attendees] ate their fill.

The celebration has repeated each year since then, and it is said to be the oldest continual *gasque* in Uppsala. Although sixty years of sheep skulls do not compare with centuries of goose dinners, there is still a level of justifiable pride in the continuity. In contrast, the 2010 *gåsmiddag* at Västgöta was cancelled due to insufficient registration.

Earlier in the day, long before sitting down to table, members of Gotlands nation and appropriate guests assemble and process ceremonially, yet casually, behind their flag past rival nations until they reach *slottsbacken*, the hill by the palace, to engage in the so-called Gutnic Games. Joakim Hallberg explains:

Yeah, I am *föremän för gutniska lekar*. I was managing the *stangstörtning*, where you toss long poles, basically. It’s an old Gutnish game and it’s always done on the afternoon before the *lambskallegasque* every year, and it’s also done on Gotland, of course, especially at the Stanga Games each summer, where they have the championship.
(19 Nov. 2010)

²⁸ *Gotlandsdrikku* is a home-brewed, alcoholic beverage considered to be a regional specialty on the island, but one that is strongly associated with *Lambskallegasquen* in Uppsala. This spelling is currently the most commonly used.

Stangstörtning is accomplished by placing the palms of one's hands underneath a long pole, which is then thrown up and away. In order for one's cast to be considered valid, the pole must complete one rotation while in the air. Men and women compete separately, and three sizes of poles exist. During my fieldwork, the largest pole, meant for men, was left behind in the nation house. The mid-sized pole, meant for women, was used by the men; the smallest pole, meant for children, was used by women. The man and woman to throw their pole the furthest are declared winners, and they may write their names on a sheepskin during the formal dinner.

The formal dinner itself, the *gasque*, has many occurrences of both serious and humorous nature that are limited to this event alone.

David Glansholm describes two of the highlights:

[S]ome things like the Guta Saga—storytelling—could be done in different ways. This year we had Rasmus and Fredian singing, and that was a huge success. It was really nice. But some things like the *staikstrikare*, the one running around serving the first head, is always done the same way. It's supposed to be two young, preferably *reccar*, with very little on them like a small lamb cloth. (19 Nov. 2010)

Additionally, in 2010, *Sång till Gotland* was sung underneath the tables; a sheep's head upon a wooden pole was used instead of a bell to silence the guests; and a skit mocking the practice of *vaska*—a public display of wealth, where one bottle of champagne is drunk and another poured on the ground, often by rich tourists from Stockholm—was performed.



Fig. 8 – A visiting female student from Lund and the child's pole.



Fig 9 – Two *staikstrikare* after serving the first two sheep skulls.

The dinner's eponymous food item, the sheep skull, is a delicacy that is rarely seen outside of the event itself, even on the island. Similar to a *gåsmiddag*, the element of bravery involved when the main course returns your gaze is a major appeal. Students who attend *lambskallegasquen* multiple times will often keep count of one particular detail: how many eyes they have consumed. One is expected to remove the lens from the eyeball and drink it along with schnapps, but some



Fig. 10 – A fully-prepared sheep skull.

like to brag about consuming the entire eye. Similar to *svartsoppa*, the eye also had its own devoted song, *ögonvisan*, which is sung rather solemnly. The food, however, is not to be taken too seriously. Despite the mystique surrounding the sheep skulls, they are often not considered to contain enough meat to satisfy students through the night. Thus, many nation members break into smaller groups to enjoy what has come to be called a pre-*gasque* tradition: a visit to one of the nearby pizza parlors.

Pig's Heads, Candle Crowns, and Glowsticks

Almost exactly one month later in December, similar celebratory combinations of food and identity may be witnessed. However, unlike St. Martin's Day celebrations, which are far more concerned with the goose and merely mention the saint's name in passing, St. Lucy's Day pays tribute to the saint herself:

I ett evangeliskt land brukar vi sällan prefixet sankt eller sankta. S:ta Lucia är ett undantag, och hon räknades t.o.m. till martyrernas exklusiva krets. I Legenda aurea från 1200-talet berättas att Lucia övertalades sin mor att ge henne sin brudskatt, som hon skänkte åt de fattiga. Hennes trolovade anklagade henne då som kristen hos den romerske ståthållaren. När denne som straff ville låta föra henne till ett horhus, lyckades det inte att rubba henne från platsen. Man sökte därför bränna henne på ett bål, som likväl inte skadade henne, men till slut dödades hon av en bödelsknekt, som rände ett svärd genom hennes hals. Enligt en yngre legend rev Lucia ut sina ögon, vilka bedårat en ung man, men återfick genom ett mirakel sin syn strax innan hon skulle avrättas. (Bringéus 1999: 110)

In a Protestant country, we seldom use the prefix “saint.” St. Lucy is an exception, and she is counted among the martyrs’ exclusive circle. In *Legenda Aurea* from the 1200s, it is said that Lucy convinced her mother to give her her dowry, which she gave to the poor. Her fiancé then accused her as a Christian to the Roman governor. When he, as punishment, wished to let her be taken to a whorehouse, it was not possible to move her from her place. One therefore tried to burn her at the stake, which likewise did not harm her, but in the end, she was killed by an executioner, who ran a sword through her neck. According to a younger legend, Lucy tore out her own eyes, which had bewitched a young man, but regained her sight through a miracle before she was to be executed.

The subject of Lucia’s death, much less execution for one’s beliefs, is a harsh subject that is mostly absent from many Swedish celebrations. Instead, one of the highlights is a candlelit procession, where many white-clad attendants follow a manifestation of St. Lucy, who wears candle crown/wreath upon her head.

Swedish tradition from the northern region certainly connects Lucy with both light and darkness:

En omständighet som framhävt den 13 december som festdag är att fram till kalenderreformen 1753 solen då stod längst på himmelen. Detta har i sin tur givit upphov till föreställningar om Lucia som en sista rest av en förkristen solvändefest eller julfest. Stöd härför saknas dock i folktraditionen. Tvärtom pekar de folkliga föreställningar kring Lucia med all tydlighet på en kristen kontext och en dualistisk världsuppfattning. Själva ordet Lucia har både sammankopplats med ordet lux (ljus) och med Lucifer (djävulen). Enligt en norrländsk sägentradition skulle Lucia rentav ha varit Adams första hustru och hennes ättlingar utgjort ett ont släkte på eller under jorden. Vi möter alltså här ytterligare en av föreställningarna kring Lucia, fast inte såsom i legenderna på individplanet utan med kosmologiska drag. (Bringéus 1999: 110)

A circumstance which highlighted the 13th of December as a holiday is that up until the calendar reform of 1753, the sun stood lowest in the sky then. This has, in turn, given rise to notions about St. Lucy’s Day as the final remnants of a pre-Christian solstice or Yule celebration. Support for this, however, is missing in folk tradition. On the contrary, the folk conceptions surrounding Lucia point quite clearly at a Christian context and a dualistic worldview. The word Lucia itself had connections both to the word *lux* (light) and with Lucifer (the devil). According to mythological tradition from Norrland, Lucy²⁹ was really Adam’s first wife, and her descendants formed an evil generation on or under the Earth. Thus, we see an additional notion surrounding Lucy, though not like in the legends on the individual level but rather with cosmological features.

Dismissing pre-Christian influences is, in my opinion, a step too far, but certainly the interplay of light and darkness can be seen as a parallel of the eternal struggle between good and evil in many traditions. It certainly calls to mind Caplow’s observation that this time of year is one that is “under attack.” However, once again, a seeming simplification of these elements to the playful, costumed performance follows

²⁹ Lilith is the name more commonly given in such stories.

trends as observed by Boissevain. In any case, similar to St. Martin's goose, the celebration of St. Lucy's Day has a long connection with the student nations, taking many forms:

Traditionen med sånguppvaktning tog de djäknar som fortsatte sina studier med sig till universitetsstäderna. I Värmlands nation i Lund protokoll den 15 december 1791 omtalas att kurator bjudit på "god Luciabete", och Esaias Tegners äldre bror Elof skriver med patriotisk självkänsla om värmlandsstudenterna: "Vi veta då i Lund att också fira vår Lusse". Av allt att döma ingick en rejäl frukost i firandet men ingen lussebrud.

I Västgöta nation finns den första uppgiften om luciafirande med en lucia 1850, men bruket uppges vara gammalt redan då. År 1869 firade man lussefest första gången gemensamt i de västsvenska nationerna i Lund. Denna s.k. "Stora Lusse" upprepas med vissa års mellanrum. De luciafirande nationernas hedersledamöter väcktes av studenterna med hurrarrop och fanfarer och fördes tillsammans med biskopen i triumf till Akademiska föreningen. Där kastades facklorna i ett flammande bål. Eftersom det inte fanns några kvinnliga studenter vid denna tid, var det naturligt att en av de manliga studenterna fick påtaga sig Lucias roll. Från Uppsala skildras luciafirandet i Värmlands nation på 1850-talet. (Bringéus 1999: 112)

The tradition of [Lucia] caroling was taken by those students who continued their studies to the university towns. A protocol from Värmlands nation in Lund, dated 15th of December 1791, mentions that curators offered "good Lucia snacks," and Esaias Tegner's older brother, Elof, writes with patriotic self-esteem about the Värmlands students: "We in Lund certainly know how to celebrate our Lucy." By all accounts, a hearty breakfast was included in the celebration but no costumed Lucy.

At Västgöta nation, the first information about a celebration with a costumed Lucy is found in 1850, but the custom is said to be old even then. In 1869, St. Lucy's Day was celebrated by the combined West Swedish nations in Lund for the first time. This so-called "Big Lucy" was repeated every few years. The Lucy-celebrating nations' honorary members were awoken by students with shouts of "hurrah!" and fanfare and taken together with the bishop in triumph to the student union. There, torches were thrown into a blazing bonfire. Because there weren't any female students at that time, it was natural that one of the male students played Lucy's role. In Uppsala, Lucy celebrations are depicted at Värmlands nation in the 1850s.

A great deal of elaboration has accompanied celebrations of St. Lucy, and the traditions continue to exhibit both continuity and change.

Västgöta nation in Uppsala hosted an exquisite *Lussegasque* during both my undergraduate year abroad in 2003 and my year of fieldwork in 2010, offering a wide variety of delicacies. The great commonality was an excess of food, all of which was placed on a communal table in an elegant display rather than being served to each guest on individual plates as is customary for a formal *gasque*. In

addition to Figure 11, a sense of the abundance may be gleaned from a list of foodstuffs offered during the first course: mustard herring, garlic herring, *bohus* herring, pickled mushrooms, Christmas ham, veal brawn, sausages, salmon pâté, vegetable pâté, liver pâté, *gravad lax*, cold-smoked salmon, red beet salad, various cheeses, Christmas salad, deviled eggs, and bread. These cold dishes were followed by the warm course, which in turn was followed by a dessert spread.



Fig. 11 – First of three sumptuous courses at Västgöta’s 2010 *lussegasque*.

The choice of centerpiece from either year points to both pre-Christian and agrarian connections that share in the winter celebration. In 2010, the central decoration on the *julbord* [Christmas table] was a pair of straw goats, called *julbockar*. In its current form, the goat unites both Christian and Pagan midwinter celebrations. Thor’s chariot is said to be pulled by two goats, and the practice of dressing up as goats during this period of the year extends back to the 1600s within Sweden (Bringéus 1988:60-62). The amalgamation was rather striking during the evening’s skit in 2010, in which a student acting as Hans Christian Andersen narrated a tale of Lucia, a gingerbread man, and a *julbock*. Each character was, of course, in appropriate costume.

In 2003, the centerpiece for the communal table was a pair of decorated pigs’ heads with apples in their mouths. Pig-shaped ginger snaps were also available during lunches leading up to the *gasque*. In this case, there appears to be a blending of both Pagan and agrarian elements. Freyr, the Norse god of fertility, had a special boar, *Gullinbursti*, whose golden bristles would shine and



Fig. 12 – Two pigs’ heads decorate the *julbord* at Västgöta’s 2003 *Lussegasque*.

bring light to any condition, according to the *Skáldskaparmál* section of Snorri's *Edda*. Once again, the element of light in the darkness appears! The agrarian cycle is also conducive to pigs as a part of the festivities celebrated at this point in time:

I kyrkoåret inföll Lucia före julfastan, men liksom före påsk sökte man ta ut det bästa innan den inträdde. Det är som en sådan liten fastlagsfest jag tolkar den äldre, västsvenska luciaseden. Tröskningen och svinslakten skulle vara undangjorda vid Lucia, och detta firades med en arbetsfest. (Bringéus 1999: 111)

In the liturgical year, St. Lucy's Day fell before the Advent fast, but just as before Easter, one sought to use up the best [food] before it began. It is like a little Lenten celebration I interpret as an older, West Swedish St. Lucy's Day custom. The threshing and pig slaughter should be accomplished by St. Lucy's Day, and that was celebrated with a working party.

On the menu offered in 2010, both the cold and warm dishes included ham. However, in contemporary times, many other items are certainly available and offered at the feast.

Turning our attention away from the student nations and towards the members of IUPAK, a small group of chemistry students, similar elements may be observed in the celebration of *Sankta Chemia*.

The exact origin of the holiday is unknown, but photographs from 1998 exist. The current format, which includes many songs lamenting the loss of *Gamla Kemikum*, the building complex that housed the chemistry department before the newer BMC was built, and the hanging of a wreath were added around 2002 or 2003. Despite heavy turnover in participation, the holiday has become a relatively stable tradition, as Sandra Olsson relates:

It's one of the things I read about before starting the program, actually. In the introductory pamphlet, it said that the board of IUPAK every year goes to Old Chemicum to commemorate this old, proud building by putting down a funeral wreath and singing sad Chemia songs or something. It's actually one of the most amusing things I've done for IUPAK. You dress up in a white lab coat, of course, and you have glow sticks in bright colors. (6 Aug. 2012)



Fig. 13 – *Sankta Chemia* addresses chemists in front of *Gamla Kemikum*.

Directly imitating many aspects of St. Lucy Day celebrations across Sweden, *Sankta Chemia* focuses especially on clothing, music, and a rather lengthy procession to various locations of the campus.

Multiple costumes may be employed when celebrating from year to year. The basic costume consists of a white lab coat, a glow stick, and silver tinsel for the majority of members. *Chemia* wears an additional crown—a handmade, wire sculpture that depicts an entire camel in profile and holds four glowsticks. This crown dates back to at least 2005, judging from photos in the IUPAK archive, but it might be somewhat older. However, in 2010, a biologist joined the procession as a *tomte*—who typically wear red, Santa Claus-style garments—with subtle attributes to distinguish himself from the chemists without



Fig. 14 – A biologist poses as a chemistry *tomte* with a candle lantern.

deviating from the typical appearance of his character. As can be seen in Figure 14, an interesting color scheme has been selected. First, he is the only member of the procession to wear red. It is an old party lab coat devoid of any patches that signifies a chemistry student. Second, his green and blue belt tied around the waist is, in actuality, an *ordensband* that would normally distinguish a biologist wearing white tie attire. The placement, however, resembles typical Lucia attendants. Finally, a bit of word play is signified within his lantern. Rather than produce light through a chemical reaction of an activated glowstick, an ordinary candle is used. In Swedish, a burning candle is referred to as *levande ljus*, which literally means “living light.”

The selection of songs sung during the celebration of *Sankta Chemia* is specifically tailored to suit the audience of the procession, which mostly wound its way from friendly to more “hostile” territory. Starting at the furthest point from city center, chemistry labs in the *Ångström* complex were treated to camel-shaped ginger snaps and various songs, ranging from gloomy to giddy in mood and partially

tailored to the specific chemistry program visited. After a short break to listen to the live lecture given by the visiting Nobel Laureate in Chemistry, the group continued onwards to visit the biologists, friendly rivals who suspiciously watched and guarded their recreational room. However, it was during the visit to *Gamla Kemikum*, which is now the Humanities Centre, that the silly lyrics truly showed both the mixed mood and a sense of identity through difference. The final verses are especially illuminating:

Från taket droppa' syror, explosioner hördes ofta
Hela stället dofta' liksom kemikalier gör
Labbar oftast avbröts först när doktoranden ropa'
"Ge er allihopa! Lägg ner kolven, eld upphör!"

From the ceiling, acid dropped, explosions were
heard often
The whole place smelled like chemicals do
Labs interrupted mostly when PhD students yelled
"Quick everyone! Drop the flask! Stop the fire!"

Hujedamej sånt plejs det var, ej bättre tänkas går
Där laboranter chansa' vilt och sen bars ut på bår.

Hujedamej what a place it was, can think of none
better
Where lab techs take wild chances and then are
carried out on stretchers.

Kvällstid fylldes stället utav fulla beduiner
Berusade på viner som de bryggt utan talang
Labbsprit fanns i kranen liksom varmvatten och
eter
Omrörarmagneter, ja det är finemang!

Evenings, the place was full of Bedouins
Drunk on wine they brewed without talent
Lab spirits were found in the tap as well as warm
water and ether
Stirring bars, yes they are great!

Hujedamej sånt plejs det var ej bättre tänkas kan
Men humanisten kom en dag... och Kemikum
försvann.

Hujedamej what a place it was, can think of none
better
But the humanities students came one day... and
Kemikum vanished.

Great joy was derived from causing disruption to the humanity students' day, if only briefly, and the procession ended with a brief speech on the steps of the building, as visible in Figure 13, and the placing of a wreath on one of the lanterns. For many years, IUPAK has been amused to see the previous year's wreath, which no one had dared remove despite never being informed of its purpose.

The clever use of symbolic clothing and the musical procession from one part of the campus to another relate closely to observations made by Boissevain regarding his fieldwork in Malta:

The growth of play does things for Naxxarin in two ways. It promotes both identity and a sense of togetherness. Festive celebrations promote individual identity by providing scope for ordinary folk to dress up, to be on stage, to take part as individuals in a public event; neighborhood identity by celebrating patron saints and so creating a Durkheimian sense of segmentary solidarity around local symbols; village identity by elaborating

community celebrations that further intravillage solidarity by being performed for local rivals; and national identity by consciously celebrating aspects of Malta's cultural heritage for foreigners. (1992: 151)

Regarding the chemists and a biologist involved in the 2010 celebration of *Sankta Chemia*, many levels of identity are played out to varying extents. Individuals demonstrate their affiliation to multiple entities: their academic discipline through wearing white lab coats; their university as they move from site to site, recognizing the other programs and departments; and Swedish culture in general through close imitation of a widespread holiday.

Spring Celebrations of Independence and Ambiguity

Spring is often considered a time of new beginnings, which is amply reflected in many of the holidays that occur during the season. Festivities during this time period appear to celebrate ambiguity and independence. Theodore Caplow especially noticed such trends when considering Easter:

The symbols of Easter convey a sense of new life, but they also convey, more subtly, the message that the conventional categories of Middletown's culture (especially the social categories) are merely conventional. [...] Easter... seems to say that particularizing these relationships is unimportant. The symbols do not invert particular categories so much as negate "category" itself. (2004: 114)

The ambiguity of spring symbols, such as eggs and bunnies, is important because they easily remove visible differences. Young rabbits are quite similar in appearance to their older counterparts, and eggs certainly appear nearly the same despite the differences in their future outcome. The message appears to be similar to the *samveten* and paper eggs of the initiation weeks in the fall: it is time for students and other youth to fend for themselves.

Do the secular celebrations at Easter oppose the Christmas emphasis on nurturing children? As we would expect, there is an opposition here, too, and it is evident in the custom of the Easter-egg hunt. At Christmas, the presents are brought into the house, where they can be opened in cozy leisure. At Easter, the eggs are hidden outside and must be hunted competitively by the children. Children are urged to go out and do for themselves; they are deprived of overt parental aid and are forced to be independent. (Caplow 2004: 115-116)

Reaching the symbolic extreme of independence, the cycle certainly turns back upon itself as it begins to once again foster the creation of a family that will be celebrated in the fall and winter. An element of sexual, erotic love is also present, but it also fits within the theme of ambiguity. New life must certainly come about after other matters are attended to, but they need not be explicit:

As at Valentine's Day, the element of sexual intercourse is rigorously suppressed, and in this we have a connection between Valentine's Day and Easter. At Valentine's Day, Middletown celebrates women romantically (they are potential sexual partners and, therefore, potential mothers, but these feminine characteristics are never mentioned). Some time later, at Easter, essentially parentless children appear and are celebrated. Obviously, sexual activity of some kind must have taken place during the interval, but it is not even hinted at... Familial sexuality remains intensely private. (Caplow 2004: 116)

Similar elements are visible within the celebrations of *Valborg* and *Vårbalen* [the Spring Ball], both within the context of the student nations and the science and engineering sections of UTN.

A Sea of Rafts and Caps

Valborg, which falls on the last day of April, is one of the largest student celebrations in not only Uppsala but the entirety of Sweden. One of the oldest parts of the festivities appears to be the bonfires that are lit in the evening:

I motsats till förhållanden på kontinenten förefaller valborgsmässaöldarna, där de har gammal tradition, ha varit förknippade med boskapsskötelsen. Upplänningen Jonas Moman omtalar i en avhandling 1750 att aftonen före 1 maj “samla ris i höger, som den lantliga ungdomen under lekar och åtskilliga upptåg tända eld på. Man tror, att deras boskap skall frias från angrepp av vilddjur inom de gränser, som eldens lågor kan iakttagas.” (Bringéus 1999: 65-66)

In contrast to the circumstances on the Continent, *Valborg* bonfires, where they are an old tradition, seem to have been connected with raising cattle. Jonas Moman, from Uppland, mentions in a 1750 dissertation that on the evening before May 1st “sticks are collected in piles, to which the rural youth set fire while playing and frolicking. One believes that their cattle shall be freed from attack by wild beasts within the borders of where the fire’s flames may be observed.”

Bonfires still play a role in contemporary *Valborg* celebrations, and one is often lit near the Vendel mounds at *Gamla uppsala*. Similar to the food offered at *Lussegasquen*, the activities performed during *Valborg* have certainly multiplied in recent times.

Although the river rafting event, known as *forsränningen*, lasts only a few hours during *Valborg* itself, the construction of rafts is part of a week-long festival: *forsfestivalen*. Elements of ambiguity and independence may certainly be observed at the start of construction. First, every team is provided with the exact same, bland construction materials: white



Fig. 15 – Construction materials await rafting teams on the first day of *forsfestivalen*.

Styrofoam and wooden planks. These items are certainly formless, when compared to the final results, and much like Easter eggs, they will be decorated as students engage in work for which only they are considered responsible. Colorful coveralls and even a few party lab coats are worn by individuals during construction, but as opposed to the discipline-centric procession of *Sankta Chemia*, many academic departments are represented as each work towards the same goal. Pride may be taken in separate identities, but during the construction of rafts, they are all simply *rännare*, rafters.

During the morning hours of *Valborg*, the transformed rafts are finally placed in the waters of the River Fyris. Up to 30,000 spectators, including many adults and non-students, come to observe the colorful, creative results of the previous week's work. Crowded along the riverbanks, bridges, and any other vantage point they may find, onlookers may do only one thing,



Fig. 16 – Finished rafts on *Fyrisån*.

observe, which further highlights how the students at this time are symbolically on their own. Though Christian elements are muted or mostly absent, they still follow in the same vein of Holy Week:

Jesus, the Son, is no longer cherished and protected by all the levels of creation. He is on His own, independent and almost deserted. At Easter itself, we celebrate the Resurrection. The language of the Apostles' Creed demonstrates the shift from dependence at the Nativity to independence at the Resurrection. Whereas Christ was incarnate (that is, by someone else), at Easter He arose (that is, He did this Himself). His subsequent actions—He ascended into heaven and will come again, et cetera—all display an independence in that He is not being looked after as at Christmas but is looking after Himself (and others). As Christ the helpless infant and Christ the willing victim are opposed, so Middletown's offspring as dependent children and (potentially) independent adults are opposed; each is celebrated at its own festival. (Caplow 2004: 116-117)

The image of the willing victim approaching danger may also be seen in parallel with students challenging the miniature waterfalls in the river. The risk is low and divers stand ready, but similar to the rafters, adults are never truly alone within society.

Turning now to more general celebrations, which draw participants from Uppsala University and other institutions around the country and even beyond, an overall display of stable life may be observed.

Lars Jenner, whose dissertation analyzed the *Valborg* phenomenon primarily in Umeå, found the more contemporary displays act as a spectacle of students proving they are indeed successful on their own:

[S]tudents who were born in the 1960s to parents who lived for individualism, free choice, creative liberty through antiritualism, have reformed Valborg. Student caps, extravagant dresses, tuxedos, champagne breakfasts have returned in full splendor. The idea seems to be that one should live the good life in public, if only by play-acting, as an expression of success and well-being in everyday life. (1999: 68)

Independence is once again firmly demonstrated, but students take yet another step through temporary formalization. Not only are the students capable of providing for themselves, they are able to enjoy life as well. The donning of the student caps, which have a history of social stratification, are now relatively ubiquitous and ambiguous symbols. They are worn not only by students currently engaged in study but also by parents and grandparents who wish to join in the celebration. Young and old are mingled, and even the UTN students shared an affinity for the white student cap, even if they also wore their festive coveralls or lab coats.



Fig. 17 – White student caps are raised at precisely 3:00p.m.

The song most associated with this day, *Studentsången*, captures the essence of hope and optimism in an as of yet unknown future. The lyrics, which ring throughout the air at 3:00p.m. in front of *Carolina Rediviva*³⁰ and may be found on greeting cards or even cakes, are as follows:

Sjung om studentens lyckliga dag,
låt oss fröjdas i ungdomens vår!
Än klappar hjärtat med friska slag
och den ljusnande framtid är vår.

Sing about the student's happy day;
Let us rejoice in youth's spring!
Ever beats the heart with healthy throbs,
And the bright future is ours.

³⁰ The main academic library on a hill which bears the same name.

/: Inga stormar än i våra sinnen bo,
 hoppet är vår vän, och vi dess löften tro,
 när vi knyta förbund i den lund,
 där de härliga lagrarna gro,
 där de härliga lagrarna gro. :/
 Hurra!

/: No storms yet reside in our senses;
 Hope is our friend, and we believe its promises,
 When we tie alliances in the grove,
 Where the glorious laurels grow,
 Where the glorious laurels grow. :/
 Hurrah!

Despite its composition in the 19th century, the words continue to express very emotional sentiments shared by many people today. Many alliances and friendships formed at the university, “where the laurels grow,” are certainly lasting, even if one did not earn a literal laurel wreath as the humanities PhD would.

Love and *Punsch* Are in the Air

In addition to making lives for themselves, students are also at an age when they may begin to at least consider finding a partner and starting a family in the not-too-distant future. Although *Alla hjärtans dag* [Valentine’s Day] has found a place among the holidays celebrated in Sweden, it is considered a newcomer by way of the United States and commercial marketing. Instead, to find similar trends as Caplow in the yearly round, one must consider traditions surrounding *Vårbalen*, the Spring Ball.

The night before the Spring Ball, men’s choirs from all thirteen student nations may be found traversing the city, singing serenades for many different ladies. The tradition most likely began in the 1800s among students in Uppsala and Lund. Karl Fahlström explains how it lives on today:

The tradition, to be strict, is that every guy who is going to the ball has a lady, which you’re supposed to stand beside or under her window, and you’re going to sing serenades. If she’s happy and the serenades are good, she will then give the choir a bottle of *punsch* or some other alcoholic beverage, which is nice. (17 May 2011)

Additionally, the lady or ladies receiving the serenade are never



Fig. 18 – Girls on Gotlands nation’s balcony lower a bottle of *punsch*.

directly visible, at least if the process is undertaken most strictly. Various symbolic substitutes communicate her messages: a lit candle in the windowsill signifies she is present and listening, a rose dangled out the window signifies her pleasure upon completion of the serenades.

I was fortunate enough to participate as a member of the Gotlands' Men's Choir in 2011, and I followed them for the majority of the afternoon and evening. To begin, the choir members assembled at V-Dala nation's pub for a communal dinner and mental preparation for the task ahead. The white student caps and the newly cast medals were worn in combination with regular tie and jackets. The most formal choirs, such as the one from Västgöta nation, wore white tie instead. Four songs typical for the occasion were selected for each performance: *Sångarhyllning*, used to rouse attention that the choir has arrived and sung multiple times, *Till Österland*, *Kom du ljuva hjärtavän*, and *Gute Nacht*. As the final selection should illustrate, the choir bids the lady a good night and does not linger.

Gotlands Men's Choir's first task was to visit the women of the nation. It was accomplished first by visiting the nation house, where a dozen ladies from Uppsala and visitors from Lund were waiting. Due to the public location of the building, many pedestrians and even auto traffic stopped to enjoy the performance. Upon completion of the songs, a bottle of *punsch*³¹, considered the most appropriate reward could one afford it, was lowered on a string from the balcony, and the members consumed it immediately, passing the bottle from one to the other. The next location was the home of the *inspektor*, the professor who acts as a supervisory guardian, who cheerfully opened the gate. A candle in a second story window alerted us to his wife's presence. We did not see a rose emerge upon completion of the serenades, but we were instead given a basket full of beer and sandwiches, which were also consumed immediately.

Upon completion of nation obligations, the evening took a somewhat more competitive turn. Whenever two men's choirs meet, they are expected to "battle" one another through song. Encountering Kalmars nation's choir, we loudly sang *Katyusha*, a Russian wartime song about a girl longing for her

³¹ *Punsch* is an alcoholic beverage, gold in color and made from arrack. It dates back to the 1700s in Sweden.

military husband. Following laughter and their own song, we briefly joined forces to serenade the girls working in Kalmar nation's pub that evening before parting ways. An unexpected twist encountered much later in the evening was a group of girls on a balcony in a student housing area near *Djäknegatan*. For each song we sang, they returned the favor and had guitar accompaniment. Instead of rewarding us with a drink or food, they instead asked if any of us happened to be single.



Fig. 19 – A rival choir from Kalmars nation prepares for “battle.”

Similar to Caplow's findings, sexual intercourse is indeed never mentioned nor depicted directly, though it certainly exists beneath the surface. One explicit example of this indirect yet readily apparent sub-text may be found in the Gotlands nation song book:

Ibland kan det slumpa sig så att man får erbjudande om att följa med någon hem för att dricka te. I Uppsala är “dricka te” ett väldigt brett begrepp som kan inkludera många saker förutom att dricka te. Bara idén att dricka något som är vätskedrivande efter kväll på nationen låter ju dumt redan där. Men som en före detta förste kurator sa “te kan avnjutas i många ställningar”. Hon gav även tips att försäkra sig om att det handlar om en tepåse som doppas i en mugg med varmt vatten, eventuellt mjölk och citron. Annars finns risken att det sista du kommer att få är en dryck. (2009: 7)

Sometimes, it can happen by chance that one gets an offer to accompany someone home to drink tea. In Uppsala, “drinking tea” is a really broad concept that can include many things outside of drinking tea. Just the idea of drinking something that is diuretic after an evening at the nation sounds dumb already. However, as a former first curator said, “tea can be enjoyed in many ways.” She even gave tips to ensure that it is about a teabag that is dipped in a mug with warm water, possibly with milk or lemon. Otherwise, there is the risk that the last thing you will receive is a drink.

This piece of introductory information may very well pertain to *Vårbalen*, given the actions undertaken the night before. However, regarding the direct application of such information, my data is currently lacking.

Conclusion

What is it that makes holidays so important? Some of them, such as *Sankta Chemia*, are in all due respect, incredibly tiny slices of an already subdivided group within Uppsala and Sweden in general.

Yet despite the narrow dispersion of such celebrations, a great deal of cultural heritage can be found:

Kärnan i vårt festår utgör ett arvegods, vars ursprung vi kanske inte känner, och vars innebörd vi inte förstår. Med varje årscykel tränger sig festdagarna likväl in i vårt samhälle och våra familjer, och på något sätt måste vi förhålla oss till dem, positivt eller negativt. Genom att ta fram symbolerna och upprepa riterna kan vi fylla festdagarna med innehåll. (Bringéus 1999: 7)

The core of our festive year constitutes an heirloom, whose origin we might not know, and whose meaning we do not understand. With every yearly cycle, holidays still push their way into our society and our families, and in some way, we must relate to them, positively or negatively. By producing the symbols and repeating the rituals, we can fill our holidays with substance.

This cultural heritage must be shared, however, and the need for a suitable context arises.

Students in the city of Uppsala have entered a new stage in life, one that separates them to varying extents from familial bonds, geographic homes, and prior social circles. For this very reason, the existence of multiple “second homes/families,” as some student nations like to consider themselves, or even a group of similar minded individuals within a program of study provide an important support structure to aid these youth in liminal status as they look for a new place in society. Though he describes a phenomenon in Zimbabwe, Dwight Heath could just as well be referring to Uppsala:

The beer garden provides an open context in which people living in the city can, when they choose, fit into the roles they choose to act out there, while reserving their choices also to reenact any of the traditional rituals or festivals that meant so much to them back in the rural communities that they had left. (Heath 2000: 52-53)

Yet even having the choice to act out one’s roles in society may also be a commentary upon society itself.

Many students, whether they be Swedish, American or otherwise, often complain about the increasing isolation of higher education or find causes and new power to tackle issues that further divide them.

Holidays may thus function as a necessary release valve to relieve the pressures of life as Boissevain found was the case in Malta despite increased economic prosperity:

To my mind, then, the increase in the celebrations of parish and neighborhood patron saints and Holy Week is a comment on and a reaction to the increasing isolation of Naxxarin from each other. It is a manifestation of a desire to do something together. [...] They achieve this by... watching fireworks with others, by dancing together in the street, by drinking, praying, and socializing with neighbors, by walking with their neighbors behind the band, by listening together to the band concert in the packed square, by laughing together and at each other – in short, by celebrating together.

In Naxxar, the *festas* is also a time-out for bitterly opposed political antagonists. During the celebration politically opposed neighbors who are barely on speaking terms with each other can meet free of political allegiance to celebrate their common patron and their community. Thus *festas* are looked forward to as moments of truce when members... [can] ignore the political divisiveness that keeps them from interacting during the rest of the year. (1992: 148)

Holidays are not always a moment of peace, but like most things, they can be used for good or ill.

Fortunately, within Uppsala, student festivities are primarily occasions when the only true aim is to enjoy the event and escape the harsher aspects of life. I agree that such celebrations are increasing, when students are not faced with economic hardship, and “express the desire of people buffeted by waves of radical change and political divisiveness to play and so to re-establish their identity and contact with one another and to achieve, momentarily, the peace of *communitas*” (Boissevain 1992: 152).

Additionally, the temporary inversion of social norms that may be seen during festivities is one that may serve to strengthen society even more. Pauline Garvey, analyzing Norwegian drinking culture, certainly believes so:

By violating conventional rules of normality, and by transgressing social codes of behavior, the group redefines itself, assessing its solidarity and forming a coherence. This form of abandon, which is defined, structured and immediately recognizable, is in itself controlled. Through processes such as this, alcohol reaffirms the values of the group. In this way ‘licensed’ rebellion or rejection of the system can act as the harbinger of its inversion, in a celebration of the existing order. (2005: 104)

When the night has reached its end and the alcohol has run dry, even raucous students return home to sleep and eventually return to the normal rhythm of life, at least until the next chance for escape through celebration.

All in all, holidays are important simply because we decide they are. The celebration of holidays is often completely voluntary as is the choice to modify them to suit one’s desires:

[W]e still need what myth and religion and festivals and holidays provide. But today, in our secular society, we have to construct—or reconstruct—our meanings from the ground up. Rather than passively accept the dogmas and creeds and liturgies, people use these as the raw materials from which to build acts and symbols that are meaningful to themselves and their friends, companions, and neighbors. (Santino 1994: 32)

This active play also contains the most important element of all that might not always be the most popular within academic circles: despite all other elements, holidays and all their elements are considered fun.

Chapter 3 – Music and Place

Try to imagine yourself in the following situation: You are an international student who arrived in Uppsala only two months ago. You joined Gotlands nation because it is small, which you hope will put you in more contact with real Swedes rather than other international students. The October business meeting has ended, and it is time for the *sexa*. You have a song book this time, but you still have not memorized many melodies yet. How do the Swedes know so many of these melodies? Do they really sing that often? By the third song, you are ready for *Takk för supen*. This song almost always finishes a shot of schnapps. It has a happy melody, but looking at the page on which it is printed, the use of *gutemål* dialect makes reading and pronunciation difficult. It is certainly not like what you are taught in your language classes, especially the vowels.

Towards the middle of the *sittning*, the song selections become longer, even if a few students protest that they prefer shorter versions. In any case, everyone seems to enjoy *Jubileumslåt*, which expresses how the nation is good for girls and guys, straights and gays, and even ugly and pretty people. That part is easy to translate, and when certain individuals try to perform dance moves from YMCA by the Village People, you simply laugh and attempt to follow along with the lyrics.

As the evening draws nearer to its end, coffee and *punsch* are served. Two songs are becoming familiar. *Punschen kommer* is really short. Repeating the same verse three times, you are able to both sing the lyrics and follow the motions of rocking side to side, back and forth, as well as sitting and standing. You are not quite sure, however, why your friends often sing about Ofvandahl. Yes, they showed you the café a mere block away across the river, but who came up with a song to praise a poet-turned-baker anyway?

Introduction

General Theoretical Framework

Music, in all its various forms, is an expressive cultural phenomenon connected with the process of identity formation as many folklorists and other scholars have shown.³² Why does music hold such power for multiple disciplines across academia and populations around the world? Quite simply, it both creates and transcends the boundaries used to define groups of people:

[M]usic is socially meaningful not entirely but largely because it provides means by which people recognise identities and places, and the boundaries which separate them. [... M]usical performance, as well as acts of listening, dancing, arguing, discussing, thinking and writing about music, provide the means by which ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilised. (Stokes 1994: 5)

From this point of departure, three major aspects of music within the culture of two Uppsalian student nations form the focus of this chapter, each of which builds upon the others, as I will indicate: a sense of place created through the performance or composition of music associated with the nation's home district or Uppsala itself, social interactions in which music plays a central or ancillary role for the creation and maintenance of group identity, and particular contexts in which music becomes spotlighted as a key activity. The sense of the passage of time over the annual or seasonal cycle is also closely linked to particular musical performances, but this aspect was briefly touched upon in the previous chapter about the yearly round.

When considering the sense of place, scholars have come to multiple conclusions about the origin of a location's special character and its flow. Does greater influence emanate from the land itself, much like a spring or geyser? Or does humanity attribute meaning to the land, which acts as a vessel, much like a waterfall draining into a lake?

³² For folkloristic examinations of music and identity, see: Kim, Seong-Nae. 2004. "Shamanic Epics and Narrative Construction of Identity on Cheju Island." *Asian Folklore Studies*. 60.1: 57-78. / Fleming, Rachel C. 2004. "Resisting Cultural Standardization: Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann and the Revitalization of Traditional Music in Ireland." *Journal of Folklore Research*. 41.2-3:227-257.

Genius loci—originally a location’s guardian spirit in Roman mythology³³—is now a term used to describe the specific atmosphere of an area. According to Norberg-Shulz, a Norwegian professor of architecture who wished to harmonize structures within nature: “People must take time to open themselves to the distinctive character of the surrounding world in order to experience the *genius loci* – as it has grown out of the landscape and become the natural spatial structure” (Kapstad 2002: 7). The student nations of Uppsala, all but one of which are removed from their native *landskap* or province, often attempt to replicate their home surroundings in some manner. Paintings are commonly employed, such as the many murals in Västgöta’s banquet hall or the rustic veneer of Betty’s Pub in the basement of Gotlands nation. Uplands nation, the only organization to be situated in its native territory, references this concept directly at the start of its 350 jubilee year book rather than history as many other nations chose (Ellenius 1992: 10-18). Music also plays a prominent role, though audible rather than visual.

A (*cultural*) *landscape*, alternatively, views place as inseparable from human thoughts and actions. One pioneering scholar of this concept, Orvar Löfgren, explains how location can gain new meaning as different people encounter it:

[A]ll nature is a cultural landscape. It is filtered through a consciousness, even if it was concretely shaped by cultivation or the need to exploit it. The history of the landscape is thus not just a description of agricultural techniques, railway construction, and plantation, but just as much a study of world-views, life horizons, and patterns of thought, and a history of perception, perspective, and vision. (1992:111)

Moving beyond the realm of the mind to that of the body, it is important to realize that people interact corporally with their surroundings. Jonas Bjälesjö, writing about the Hultsfred Festival in Småland, Sweden, found that many participants described the positioning of tents and even various smells. Additionally, Bjälesjö draws upon Niels Kayser Nielsen (1997), who “argues that the Nordic landscape, especially the Swedish one, is a landscape that we learn to understand by moving in it. More than reflection and contemplation, experience and physical presence become meaningful in the experience of

³³ Similar spirits in Norse mythology are the *disir*, which lend their name to a yearly market in Uppsala, called *Disting*. This pagan name has survived centuries of cultural change and remains today. Additionally, the open air museum in Old Uppsala is named *Disagården*.

being someone, or being Swedish, in the Swedish landscape” (2002:28-29). With regards to student songs in Uppsala, one must often know the accompanying gestures and movements to fully participate in the experience, often at the nation house itself.

The convergence of *genius loci* and cultural landscape leads to two additional concepts: *geographical imagination* and *social imaginary*. Together, these concepts constitute a cycle wherein both the land and the people acting within it continually influence each other. Drawing on ideas from Steward (1996) and Massey (1994), Bjälesjö describes the cycle quite succinctly:

In a way, it seems that this geographical imagination corresponds to Steward’s social imaginary. Perhaps it is possible to regard these two concepts as being different sides of the same coin. While geographical imagination is about how people’s interactions and relations give rise to imaginations about places, social imaginary is a matter of how places cause the actual appearance of the interactions and relations that Massey talks about. (2002: 23)

In this way, the seeming “chicken and egg” paradox is solved. Rather than try to find an ultimate origin of influence, scholars can instead focus on the interrelation of nature and culture—a duality as opposed to a dichotomy.

Similar to the discussions about sense of place, scholarly debate about social interactions and communal identity also looks at boundaries and the processes of how various factors influence their continual reevaluation. Philip Bohlman describes music’s role in social identity:

Oral tradition is also a measure of a community’s sense of itself, its boundaries, and the shared values drawing it together. Folk music can be a repository for these values and a voice for their expression. Oral tradition often determines the social acceptability and limitations of these values through its continuous process of sifting and winnowing. Some values gradually become stylized or vestigial; others enter and exit quickly from tradition; and still others consolidate to form a cultural core that oral tradition undergirds through many generations. Changes in a community’s social structure thus influence not only its folk music repertory but also the ways in which this repository is transmitted. Musical change reflects—indeed, becomes a metaphor for—cultural change. Together, these two types of change animate the oral tradition of folk music. (1988: 14-15)

Describing music as a repository once again touches on the concept of cultural flow. In this case, Löfgren’s *landscape* is the greater parallel. The meanings of music are created by human consciousness. However, music can work in the opposite direction, influencing people with its own character, and instead

parallel the concept of *genius loci* as “a voice for their expression.” When analyzing “The Liverpool Sound” in England, Sara Cohen found that both possibilities were indeed at work:

[A] complex relationship does exist between music and the socio-economic context in which it is made. It may very well be, therefore, that the music of a band like *China Crisis*, in its use of echo, timbres and vocal qualities for example, is coded in such a way that it expresses the social and biological context of the band members, with its particular configuration of factors such as religion, kinship, ethnicity and class. For consumers open to such suggestion, such music may indeed encourage particular images and emotions, such as those linked with open spaces or Catholicism. What *is* apparent, however, is that the notion of a local sound, like the ‘Liverpool Sound’, does reflect the desire to symbolically assert difference and a sense of local identity. (1994: 129)

Bjällesjö’s remark that the cycle of influence is two sides of the same coin appears to once again hold true, even with regards to music rather than place. It is particularly important to note, however, that a social identity can be a confluence of many different social interactions as Cohen mentions. Thus, groups that may appear similar in many ways will still have their own special character based on the distinctions they wish to emphasize.

Context is also important to keep in mind as social interactions are often tied to both a *situation* and place. Many scholars have commented on this concept, which Philip Bohlman summarizes:

When particular needs arise that require specific responses of identity from a group, choices are made to channel these responses through institutions. These responses, the “folklore of ethnicity” (Danielson 1977 and Stern 1977), often result when an ethnic group chooses to express its self-perceived ethnicity for certain occasions but finds no reason to do so for other occasions. The process of making these choices is sometimes called cultural foregrounding (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1983:43-44) or situational use of ethnicity (Royce 1982:18)... (1988: 64-65)

In the case of Uppsala students, the *gasque*—a type of formal dinner party—is often the primary occasion for collective singing. These events are often considered a highlight of *studentikost* life, although they occur only once per month on average. In fact, the very removal of events, such as the *gasque*, from daily life works to their advantage, as Martin Stokes explains:

The parallel association of music and dance with social license, sexual adventure, drink and drugs establishes these communal musical events as a vital and pleasurable part of life. [...] The association of pleasure, license and a festival atmosphere with music and dance makes them experiences which are distinctly ‘out of the ordinary’. [...] Even though they are out of the ordinary experiences, music and dance (and talk about music

and dance) do encourage people to feel that they are in touch with an essential part of themselves, their emotions and their 'community'. (1994: 12-13)

Regarding student events, although there may be quite an amount of social license toward the end of the evening, the undertaking of a *gasque* is a structured event. Songs are to be sung in a certain way, at a certain time, and even in a certain order. These small details often mark the boundaries between groups as much as the contents of the lyrics.

Placing the Importance of Music in Uppsala and Sweden in Socio-Historical Context

The participatory nature of singing in Uppsala reaches beyond the walls of the student nations' banquet halls. UTN, the science and engineering union, has fought for a decade to gain recognition as an official *kår* at Uppsala University. Before receiving such status in February of 2013, UTN produced two song books, which are of comparable size and content to any particular student nation's own exemplar. The rise of organizations that fulfill similar cultural needs has not gone unnoticed by the student nations. In fact, the question of whether the increasingly active academic associations pose a threat to the student nations has been commented on in *Västgöta Correspången*:

Allt fler studenter i Uppsala väljer att engagera sig i sin linjeförening istället för på nationerna. Vad innebär detta för nationernas framtid? Kommer vi att tappa de engagerade medlemmer som driver nationerna? Vad är det linjeföreningarna kan erbjuda som inte nationerna har? (Aurén 2004: 12)

All the more students in Uppsala choose to engage themselves in their academic associations rather than the nations. What does this mean for the nations' future? Will we lose the active members who run the nations? What is it that the academic associations can offer that the nations do not have?

Although music is not mentioned specifically, the increase of festivities hosted by academic associations is seen as possibly worrisome, despite their use of nation locales. UTN's struggle will be discussed further in the following chapter about clothing culture, but it serves to briefly spotlight how participation in musical arenas is an important facet of expressing group identity. Similar observations have been

made by scholars looking at the level of nation states, and the Eurovision Song Contest [ESC] is a contemporary stage that continues to draw attention from both academia and the general public.

Sweden's love of music is known far and wide, both at home and abroad. The country's prominence on the international stage is due in no small part to the Eurovision Song Contest. As of February 9, 2013, the ESC website proudly proclaims it is:

... one of the longest running television shows in the world. It was on the 24th of May, 1956, that Europe saw the first ever Eurovision Song Contest. After 56 runnings, the contest is one of the most typical European traditions and without doubt, Europe's favorite TV show! In 2005, the Eurovision Song Contest celebrated its 50th anniversary by picking the best entry to date.

Sweden's first victory, ABBA's "Waterloo," not only won the contest in 1974 but was also selected as 2005's best entry to date with 2.5 million votes cast (Eurovision 2013). Four additional victories have been won, the most recent in 2012, which means the country is once again in the spotlight as the city of Malmö has the privilege of hosting this year. Considering "an estimated 125 million viewers watch the Eurovision Song Contest" (Eurovision 2013), it is certainly an opportunity for the country to display itself to an ever-increasing, large number of participatory neighbors.

The very issue of display and power relations in connection with music has certainly been a topic for scholarly debate. In fact, the ESC itself captured the attention of Michael Stokes, who claims:

Clearly music has to be seen as a field of symbolic activity which is highly important to nation-states. The promotion of supra-national entities by nation-states is not an exception, allowing them to argue the right to participate in a sphere of cultural and political involvement (Turkey's commitment to the Eurovision Song Contest being a case in point), or the right to control this sphere (as in the case of Egypt's hosting the Arab Music Congress in 1932). (1994: 15)

This desire to participate in a greater context can also be problematic for smaller units within the whole.

As the intended audiences grow larger and more diverse, the feasibility of more local attributes may appear increasingly irrelevant to certain entities. Many songs, for example, in the ESC are sung entirely

or partially in English rather than the native tongue(s) of the home country³⁴. When considering multinational record companies and “geographic agility” (Berland 1988), profitability is a key factor promoting widespread appeal: “This has contributed to a discourse of transnationalism within the industry, and it is often in the vested interests of the major companies to obscure and overcome subnational or national boundaries in order to market their products as widely as possible” (Cohen 1994, 130).

However, despite the seeming threat of globalization as a whitewasher of local variety, the same mechanisms are also providing a possible outlet for the continuation of local expression to some extent. Specifically, the process of defining one’s group in correlation or opposition to others allows for a level of flexibility.³⁵ Sara Cohen describes this concept very well:

Transnational trends or styles are received, mediated and appropriated within a local context, and although popular music’s communication networks are not restricted to local or national boundaries, they increasingly enable cultural production within localities and the expression of local identity defined, or perhaps emphasised, in relation to the ‘non-local’. ‘Locality’ (representing a district, city, region) can thus be seen as a political strategy within a global, plural system.

Despite the new outlet, tensions will remain between global and local forms with regards to claims of authenticity. (1994: 133). Michael Stokes views these tensions as “power struggles” despite “the language of global participation,” and ultimately deems music at shared events to be “a form of public display which the state and other social groups have an interest in controlling for obvious purposes of self-promotion” (1994: 16).

Before the ESC receives a performance from Sweden, a competition is held within the country to select the best representative. TV ratings attest to the sheer popularity of this event, called *Melodifestivalen*. According to SVT, a major Swedish television company, by way of MMS, a survey

³⁴ A similar trend can be observed in Uppsalian student music. In 2010, certain audiences of the *Sankta Chemia* procession requested even more songs in English. I was told they were primarily graduate students. Additionally, student nation song books contain foreign lyrics intended primarily for foreign members. These songs are used.

³⁵ In its most recent song book, Gotlands nation chose to spell the title of each chapter using a form of *gutemål* dialect. Song lyrics using the dialect are also collected together in the beginning of the book, following the nearly obligatory national songs that receive far less attention than their placement might suggest.

company, the number of Swedes watching the final broadcast of the competition has ranged between 2.9 and 4.2 million since 1995. In fact, this song competition has rated as the year's most seen TV program in Sweden since 2000 (*Melodifestivalen* 2012). These numbers equate to between one third and one half of the entire population, roughly equivalent to or even more favorable than viewership of the Super Bowl in the USA during the same period of time.³⁶ However, unlike the Super Bowl, the results of *Melodifestivalen* are determined in part by the viewers, who are able to vote directly for the performance they most enjoy.

Participation in popular musical contests need not be limited to voting for professional performers in a televised arena, however, and the *Spritmuseum* [Alcohol Museum] in Stockholm functions as the intermediary for both a national and international drinking song competition³⁷. Similar to how *Melodifestivalen* leads into the Eurovision Song Contest, the *Spritmuseum* starts at the national level:

Sedan 1995 har Vin & Sprithistoriska Museet korat årets svenska mästare i nyskrivna snapsvisor. Nu har Spritmuseum tagit över ansvaret. Över 200 visor skickas in varje år och tio går vidare till final. (Spritmuseum 2013)

Since 1995, the Wine & Alcohol Museum has chosen the annual Swedish Master in newly written schnapps-songs. Now, the Alcohol Museum has taken over the responsibility. Over 200 songs are sent in every year, and ten go on to the final.

Songs which make it to the finals are published on the website for all to see and use if they so desire. The first place finalist for the 2012 competition was even broadcast on SVT. An additional level of excitement appears on the international level, when the Swedish winners are sent to Finland:

Sedan 2001 har Sverige och Finland tävlat i nyskrivna snapsvisor. De fem främsta bidragen från SM i nyskrivna snapsvisor möter de finländska bidragen i en spännande uppgörelse där man tävlar individuellt, i lag och bästa hejarklack.

³⁶ Viewership of the Super Bowl in the USA averages roughly one third of the population, based on population data provided by the U.S. Census Bureau via www.google.com, and Super Bowl ratings provided by www.statista.com. Accessed February 9, 2013.

³⁷ Students across Sweden also compose their own drinking songs for various events. I was able to observe a performance of selected skits from *Lundakarnevalen*, performed by visiting students from Lund, at Norrlands nation one night in fall 2010. Although they are not always credited with 100% consistency, many selections within song books are canonized forms of event-specific songs.

Årets tävling äger rum i Helsingfors lördagen den 17 november. Under båtresan över till Finland tränar vi på våra hejarklacksramsor för att vinna den kanske viktigaste grenen – Bästa hejarklack! (Spritmuseum 2013)

Since 2001, Sweden and Finland have competed in newly written schnapps-songs. The five foremost contributions from the SM in newly written schnapps-songs meet the Finnish contributions in an exciting confrontation, where one competes individually, in teams, and for best support.

This year's competition takes place in Helsinki on Saturday, the 17th of November. During the boat trip to Finland, we will practice our support cheers in order to win the perhaps most important segment – best support!

It should hardly come as a surprise that such a number of songs and participants continue to contribute to the museum's endeavor, when one looks at their vast collection:

Vin & Sprithistoriska Museet har samlat dryckesvisor sedan slutet av 1992 och nu tar Spritmuseum vid. Resultatet har blivit en databas med drygt 9.000 visor, en siffra som ständigt ökar.

Museet gav ut *Stora Snavsviseboken* 1994 (som har tryckts i 40.000 exemplar!) samt *Stora Snavsvise-cd:n* 1995 där kändisar som Hasse Alfredsson och Lill-Babs framför ett hundratal visor. (Spritmuseum 2013)

The Wine & Alcohol Museum has collected drinking songs since the end of 1992, and now the Alcohol Museum continues the task. The result has become a database with a hefty 9,000 songs, a number which continually grows.

The museum published *Stora Snavsviseboken* [The Big Schnapps Songbook] in 1994 (which has been printed in 40,000 copies!) and *Stora Snavsvise CD* in 1995, in which celebrities such as Hasse Alfredsson and Lill-Babs present one hundred songs.

As impressive as the song book and CD are, they are but part of a long line of Swedish attempts to distribute such collections, which are connected with a vast multitude of organizations across the country and through its recent history.

Christina Mattsson, director of *Nordiska museet* [the Nordic Museum] and a prominent folklorist, has researched Swedish drinking songs extensively, both encountering and contributing to the history of song books in Sweden. Mattsson has found that the convergence of multiple factors led to the creation of song books within Uppsala's student nations at the start of the 20th century, including: a growing romantic interest in Swedish culture by bourgeois circles at the start of the 19th century, a renewed interest in

unison voice in the latter half of the century, and interactions with the Finno-Swedish student nations in 1910. Each of these factors appears to be connected with the reevaluation of identity, whether on a national or regional scale.

Similar to other countries around Europe, an interest in domestic, specifically peasant, culture began to become truly popular in Sweden in the early 1800s. The creation and proliferation of song books at this time is linked directly to a desire to tap into a seemingly untainted source of culture:

De första sångböckerna trycktes i en tid när Sverige nåddes av romantikens intresse för insamling av folkliga kulturyttringar. Sammanslutningar av olika slag, som hade mer eller mindre seriös prägel, bidrog till att den sällskapliga visan fick en allt större utbredning. Tiden omkring sekelskiftet 1800 blev en glanstid för den sällskapliga sången. När den första sångboken av detta slag trycktes år 1817 var det för att tillmötesgå detta intresse hos publiken. Den hade titeln *Wisbok, innehållande Walda Svenska Sånger, jemte några Norska och Danska*. Denna sångbok, liksom dess efterföljare, är avsedd för praktiskt bruk. (Mattsson 2002: 121)

The first song books were printed at a time when the romantic interest in collecting folk cultural expressions reached Sweden. Associations of various kinds—which had more or less serious character—contributed in such a way that the social song gained an ever increasing distribution. The time around the turn of the century in 1800 was a heyday for the social song. When the first song book of this kind was printed in 1817, it was to accommodate this interest among the public. It was titled [Song book containing selected Swedish songs, along with some Norwegian and Danish]. This song book, as well as its successor, is intended for practical use.

It is important to note that during this period, national boundaries in the Nordic countries as well as greater Europe were in dramatic flux. Sweden's borders shifted primarily to the west after losing Finland to Russia in 1809. Five years later, following the Napoleonic Wars, Norway declared itself independent from Denmark. However, Norway was soon pressured into a personal union with Sweden that same year. The combination of Romantic interest and shifting borders appears to partially explain the inclusion of “some Norwegian and Danish” songs in an 1817 Swedish song book.

A renewed interest in unison voice during the latter half of the 19th century provided even more support for the creation and usage of song books. Although unison voice was not at all a new creation, it became “a product of the time's ideology and a distinction against other types of performed music: choir song and instrumental music.” This interest in active rather than passive participation increased

gradually, and in 1905, *Samfundet för unison sång* [The Society for Unison Voice] was established (Mattsson 2002: 116-117). Thinking of political history once again, the foundation of this society also coincides closely with the dissolution of the political union between Sweden and Norway, which prompted a collective look inward concerning national identity.

Regarding the student nations in Uppsala, the final push appears to have come around 1910. Multiple student-led and societal influences were certainly involved³⁸, but the account of one student, Gunnar Mångberg, who served as the first curator of Norrlands nation, suggests Finno-Swedish students are one of the greatest factors. After visiting a sister nation in Helsinki, Finland, he describes his experiences thus:

En annan sak, som var ny och ovanlig för oss norrlänningar, var den myckna unisona sången. För min ringa del har jag visserligen vid våra 'nationsfyllor' sökt då och då genomdriva lite unison sång, och jag vet exempelvis att min värderade kollega och vän Manne Ekman i Smålands nation gjort kraftiga försök att få in unison sång som ett stående nummer på nationszwycernas program. (Mattsson 2002: 117)

Another thing, which was new and unusual for us *norrälänningar*, was the many unison songs. On my small part, I have certainly attempted at our 'nation binges' to implement a bit of unison song now and then, and I know, for example, that my esteemed colleague and friend, Manne Ekman, in Smålands nation made significant attempts to bring unison song in as a standing part of the nation's party program.

In fact, *Vasungavisor*, which was printed in 1910 and served Vasa nation, made such an impression on Gunnar Mångberg that he wrote the following bit of praise:

Där fanns allt, som man gärna kan få lust att sjunga i ett muntert lag. T.o.m. riktigt 'svinaktiga sånger' som studentskorna sade! (Mattsson 2002: 132)

Inside was everything such that one could happily get the urge to sing in a cheerful team, including really 'piggish' songs as the female students said!

From that point onward, song books became a common item in student nation usage, undergoing many versions through the century to follow and are still a common sight in Uppsala today.

³⁸ Concerning cultural attitudes towards the serving of alcohol, Sweden introduced new regulations in 1914 requiring food to be available when alcohol is consumed at restaurants. Student nations were not exempt, and instead of gathering around a communal *punsch* bowl, students remained seated at table (Mattsson 2002: 117-118).

Active singing, however, did not confine itself to the realm of the student nations and song books proliferated across the country. In fact, when *Samfundet för unison sång* attempted to survey the dissemination of song books in 1949, it was found to be a monumental task:

Var och en har sin speciella sångbok. Varje organisation med självaktning anser sig nära nog nödd och tvungen att utarbeta en egen sångbok. Omkring 25% av våra folkhögskolor har ansett sig så särpräglade att särskilda sångsamlingar varit nödvändiga. Varje studentnation har sin sångbok. Varje bokförlag med någon framåtanda måste ge ut en egen sångbok. Varje sånglärare som är mån om sitt namn måste komma med sin sångsamling. (Mattsson 2002: 130)

Everyone has his or her own special song book. Every organization with self-esteem considers itself almost forced and compelled to develop its own song book. Roughly 25% of our community colleges have considered themselves so distinctive that special song collections were necessary. Every student nation has its song book. Every publishing company with some ambition must release its own song book. Every music teacher who is anxious about her or his name must come with his or her song collection.

This exasperation appears mostly focused on academic sources, but Christina Mattsson readily adds to the list of groups who took it upon themselves to have their own song book: secondary schools, adult education schools, community colleges, temperance organizations, outdoor groups, scouts and similar, military units, state and free churches, unions, political groups, and so on. All in all, the survey conducted by *Samfundet för unison sång* found nearly one thousand song collections (Mattsson 2002: 130). The number only increases to this day.

One need not rely solely on the existence of song books to realize the extent of Uppsala's love of music, which is supported in part by the local government. Multiple schools receive economic support from the municipality, three of which qualify as music and culture schools. One example is *Uppsala musikskola*, which is described as follows on the city's website:

Den kommunala musikskolan, Uppsala musikskola, grundades 1956 och har cirka två tusen elever. Undervisning förmedlas i olika genrer: klassiskt, afroinriktat, jazzimprovisation och folkmusik. En omfattande konsertverksamhet på uppemot två hundra konserter per år ger eleverna tillfälle att visa upp sina färdigheter för såväl allmänhet som anhöriga. (Lundström 2013)

The municipal music school, *Uppsala musikskola*, was founded in 1956 and has roughly two thousand students³⁹. Instruction is divided into different genres: classical, African-oriented, jazz improvisation, and folk music. An extensive concert operation of up to two hundred concerts per year gives the students the opportunity to showcase their skills for the public as well as relatives.

In addition to supporting formal education, the local government takes pride in the active choirs found all around the county. It attempts to connect citizens with the choir that would best suit their desires through the online database, *Körsång Uppland*:

Uppsala kan med rätta kallas för körsångens stad. Vid Uppsala universitet bildades i början av 1800-talet de första studentkören i Sverige - en grogrund för den livskraftiga körsångstraditionen i Norden. Uppsala är en av landets körtätaste städer med många olika körer för alla åldrar. De kändaste är nog Orphei Drängar och Allmänna Sången. Uppsala kommun har tillsammans med Uppsala universitets Körcentrum skapat en databas med information om olika körer, för att du som är intresserad ska kunna komma i kontakt med dem. (Rhodin 2012)

Uppsala can justly be called the city of choirs. At Uppsala University, in the beginning of the 1800s, the first student choirs were founded in Sweden – a hotbed for the invigorative choral tradition in the Nordic region. Uppsala is one of the country's most choir-dense cities with many different choirs for all ages. The most well-known are probably *Orphei Drängar* and *Allmänna Sången*. Uppsala municipality has, together with Uppsala University's Choir Center, created a database with information about various choirs, so that you who are interested may be able to contact them.

This database acts as a registry, where choirs are able to promote themselves by providing a series of self-defined information within parameters set by the website. A quick tally of statistics compiled on January 26, 2013 provides the following information:

³⁹ *Elever* specially refers to students before graduating high school.

<i>Number</i>	<i>Type</i>
65	Mixed Choir
21	Children's Choir
20	Church Choir
12	Girls' Choir
10	Women's Choir
10	Nation/Student Choir
7	Youth Choir
7	Men's Choir
5	School Choir
4	Boys' Choir
3	Vocal Group
3	Gospel Choir
1	Seniors' Choir

<i>Level</i>	<i>Number</i>
New Beginner	33
Novice	31
Intermediate	69
Advanced	29

This impressive list of choirs is not exhaustive, but it should still serve to highlight Uppsala's continued singing tradition across genders, ages, and affiliations.

It is now time to shift our attention to how music plays multiple roles in student life at Västgöta and Gotlands nation. Owing to the fact that each nation is named after its home province, it is perhaps best to first consider how a sense of place is created through musical selections contained within their song books.

A Sense of Place

The Student Nations – *Hembygden* and *Fosterlandet*

The connection of the student nations to specific provinces is clear from their very names. Ten of the thirteen nations that exist today are named after one or more of the twenty-five Swedish *landskap*—cultural provinces that no longer have any official governmental authority. The remaining three are named after major cities. My analysis will focus on two nations—Västgöta and Gotlands—both of which are connected to a historical *landskap*, comparing historical trends from their song books with participant-observation conducted during the 2010/2011 academic year. For a detailed look at when certain songs appear in different song book editions by year and nation of release, please refer to the appendix.

The relationship between provincially-oriented student nations and the country of Sweden as a whole is positive yet indirect. Both the national and royal anthems are found in song books to varying degrees during their century of use, but neither one was sung seriously during my year of fieldwork. Certainly, students knew the tunes, but there was no desire—and possibly even an aversion—to performing them under most circumstances.⁴⁰ The portrayal of Sweden in *Du gamla, Du fria*, however, is one that strikes a chord that may be seen in many other songs:

Du gamla, Du fria, Du fjällhöga nord	Thou old, thou free, thou mountainous north
Du tysta, Du glädjrika sköna!	Thou quiet, thou joyous [and] beautiful!
Jag hälsar Dig, vänaste land uppå jord,	I greet thee, fairest land upon the earth,
/: Din sol, Din himmel, Dina ängder gröna.:/	/: Thy sun, thy sky, thy meadows green. :/
Du tronar på minnen från fornstora dar,	Thou art enthroned on memories from great, ancient days,
då ärat Ditt namn flög över jorden.	when honored thy name flew over the earth.
Jag vet att Du är och Du blir vad Du var.	I know that thou art and thou shalt be was thou wast.
/:Ja, jag vill leva, jag vill dö i Norden.:/	/: Yes, I want to live, I want to die in the North :/

Within the lyrics of the anthem, two important aspects are worthy of note. First, most of the imagery stems from nature. There is no mention of king or country whatsoever in Richard Dybeck's two verses.⁴¹

⁴⁰ I heard the national anthem sung a handful of times. However, it was always when all students were quite drunk at the end of a celebration, often at private celebrations with a small circle of friends rather than at a nation house.

⁴¹ They are the original two verses. Two more were added in 1910, changing the imagery significantly.

Second, one's loyalty is to *Norden*—literally, the northern areas—which is easily recognized in English as the Nordic region, spanning multiple nation states.

The relationship between the student nations and the national anthem is best considered with regards to 20th century history and trends in song book releases. Gotlands nation did not print *Du gamla, Du fria* until 1944, as the Second World War raged, and Sweden's neighbors were occupied by or cobelligerent⁴² with Nazi Germany. This show of national and international support during a time of significant threat is reinforced with an illustration of the flags of all the Nordic nations—unique among Gotlands' collection—and further bolstered by the addition of the Norwegian, Danish, and Icelandic national anthems as well. The national anthems disappear from the very next release in 1971, and only the Swedish anthem reappears in 1998.

Västgöta nation, on the other hand, has printed *Du gamla, Du fria* far more consistently. Appearing first in 1936, the national anthem vanishes briefly in 1971, only to reappear in the very next edition in 1980. Similar to Gotlands, the national anthems of Norway, Denmark, and Iceland appear alongside Sweden's from the beginning. However, all the additional anthems remain through multiple song book releases until 1971, when they were removed, failing to return in subsequent printings. It appears the appeal of Nordic national anthems is connected with fears of losing their continued existence in the face of external threats. These threats need not be from militaries poised to invade, and more contemporary fears are instead often directed at recent immigrants.

Cultural attitudes that were left unsaid in *Du gamla, Du fria* begin to show themselves in other songs. For example, in *Dromedaren*, also known as *Utvandraren*, *Norden* is no longer predominantly described as nature-focused but rather a land that immigrants wish to join and where religion is unimportant, at least according to the students who composed the song:

⁴² Finland's role during WW2 is an incredibly special case, which I am unable to explain in this dissertation.

Jag tänker sälja min dromedar.
 Jag tänker flytta till Norden.
 Vem vill vara bosatt uti ett land
 där man får ligga vid borden?
 Nu konverterar jag, här på snabben!
 Jag vill ha akvavit till kebaben!
 Var ingen mes.
 Fyll upp min fez!

I'm thinking of selling my dromedary.
 I'm thinking of moving to the North.
 Who wants to live in such a country,
 where one may recline at the table?
 Now, I convert, right here on the spot!
 I want to have schnapps with my kebab!
 Don't be a wimp.
 Fill up my fez!

This selection, which won a schnapps-song contest in Lund in 1998, again avoids referring to countries directly, both domestic and foreign. However, cultural practices are now visible, contrasting both geographic and religious concepts. Presumably, the voice in the lyrics belongs to an imaginary Muslim man from an area of the former Ottoman Empire, quite possibly a Kurd⁴³, who will not only change location but also culture. His beast of burden, best suited to a dessert climate, shall be sold. His hat and his religious beliefs are then converted in order to accommodate alcohol consumption. Echoing a sentiment seen in the second verse of *Du gamla, Du fria*, the desire to live and die in Sweden is its praise, which is compounded by the fact that even people born abroad desire the same fate.

The concept of *Norden* is not lost when singing the praises of one's home province. In the case of *Sång till Gotland*, the interlocking relationship of these identities is stated directly, and a mixture of natural phenomena and human emotion is employed:

Gotland, fosterö i Norden.
 Gamla bygd, du är oss kär,
 är vårt hem, om än kring jorden
 vikingslynnnet vida bör.
 Nordrets raukar stup och hållar,
 Sudrets väna lövskogsprakt,
 havets glans i sommarkvällar,
 vinter stomars vilda makt.
 All vår kärlek du är vorden,
 Gotland, sköna fosterö.

Gotland, foster island in the North.
 Old countryside, you are dear to us,
 Are our home, even if around the earth
 The Vikings' temperament ought to be.
 The north's limestone stacks, cliffs and outcrops,
 The south's fair woodland splendor,
 The sea's shimmer on summer evenings,
 Winter storms' wild power.
 All our love you are worth,
 Gotland, beautiful foster island.

Gotland, sagans ö i havet,
 fri du växa, fri och stark.
 Aldrig lossa vi på kravet:

Gotland, the saga's island in the sea,
 Free you grow, free and strong.
 Never release we the claim:

⁴³ Kurdish refugees have immigrated to Sweden since 1965. A large number fled northern Iraq after the second Gulf War, arriving throughout the 1990s. (Bartl 2009: 26) Kebab is a very common fast food item in Uppsala and around Sweden, often connected with restaurants serving pizza and hamburgers.

frie trampa fädrens mark.
 Svenskar helt till liv och kynne,
 gutar först och sist ändå,
 vi som ärvde fädrens lynne,
 fädrens hjärtelag också,
 vi din fana trohet svära.
 Hell vår hembygd, Gutars ö.

Freely to tread our fathers' land.
 Swedes completely in life and temperament,
Gutar first and last even so,
 We who inherited our fathers' temperament,
 Our fathers' disposition also,
 We swear faithfulness to your banner.
 Hail our home district, *Gutar's* island.

Closely paralleling the style and content of the national anthem, *Sång till Gotland* praises nature⁴⁴ and even harkens back to the old days of glory. Referencing the Vikings is an interesting choice, as that time was one of stubborn cooperation between the island and the mainland. According to *Gutasaga*, a medieval account from the 13th century, Gotlandic relations with the king—who was then at Uppsala—were based on mutual respect, and many limitations about how the king and the bishop could call upon the people of the island are laid out. The tense cooperation can be seen in the lyrics, when the people are said to be Swedes through and through, yet they are *Gutar* first and last. Although the king is no longer primarily in Uppsala, it appears the dialect that continued to develop in the Mälaren region ultimately triumphed. The song is sung in *rikssvenska*—standard Swedish—rather than the local dialect, *gutemål*. However, one should not write off the dialect quite yet. We will return to it soon.

Turning to Västgöta nation, praise of the home district does not need to be compared or contrasted with the nation as a whole. Instead, praises of the land are mostly sung with regards to agricultural and religious imagery:

Jag hälsar dig, Västgötarike,
 i morgonens gyllene glans,
 ty söktes kring världen din like,
 jag vet, att den aldrig fanns.
 Jag hälsar de stugor röda,
 när vallaren släpper sin hjord.
 Som doftande rosor de glöda
 på åkrarnas dukade bord.

I greet you, *Västgöta* realm,
 In the morning's golden splendor,
 For around the world your likeness is sought,
 I know it shall never be found.
 I greet the red cottages,
 When the shepherd releases his herd.
 Like fragrant roses they glow
 On the fields' set table.

Jag vet, var de fingo sin styrka,
 de prövade odalmän,

I know where they get their strength,
 The tested cultivators,

⁴⁴ When speaking with some students native to the island, I was sometimes told the mascot of Kränku, a tea shop in Visby, was seen as an embodiment of the region's *Volksgeist*. The two most popular blends praise both the people (*Guteblandning* – the *Gute* blend) and the nature (*Kalkstensdrömmar* – Limestone dreams) of the island.

församlingens vita kyrka
 på vallen berättar än:
 Vart huvud bedjande böjdes
 för klockornas vigda malm,
 mot himlen all bygden höjdes
 av Spegels jublande psalm.

The congregation's white church
 On the grassy bank still attests:
 Every head is bent praying
 For the bells' consecrated ore,
 To heaven all the district is raised
 By the Mirror's jubilant psalm.

Stig upp över svallande rågar,
 du strålande midsommarsol!
 Nu äringen kring mig lågar,
 där plogen gick fram i fjol.
 Stig upp med ymnighetshornet
 och töm det på Vätterns strand,
 men glöm ej att blanda i kornet,
 Guds frid över Västgötaland!

Rise up over bulging rye,
 You radiant midsummer sun!
 Now, the crops around me glow,
 Where the plow went forth last year.
 Rise up with the horn of abundance
 And empty it on *Vättern's* shore,
 But forget not to blend in the grain,
 God's peace over *Västgötaland!*

After a brief mention that the district is unlike any other place in the world, *Hymn till Västergötland* delves into poetic imagery that shows a mirror image of both the land and its people. One of the most striking parallels is that of the bent heads in the middle of the second verse and the beginning of the third. Gathered together in an iconic, white Lutheran church, human bodies are bent in prayer. Outside in the fields, at least during the autumn, heads of rye ripe for the harvest are bending their stalks under the weight of their ripe kernels. At once, both the nutritional and spiritual needs of the people are in the process of being fulfilled. Perhaps, at that moment, a pastor is reading a passage from the Bible with similar imagery: “Truly, truly, I say to you, unless a grain of wheat falls into the earth and dies, it remains alone; but if it dies, it bears much fruit” (John 12:24).

What brings all of the songs discussed so far together? Although they all have somewhat different focuses, they also are strikingly similar. The indirect praise of one's homeland has elements that could easily describe other areas. Sweden does not have a monopoly on mountains and memories of glory days. Västergötland is not the only farming region to grow rye. Gotland is not the only island with limestone stacks. However, the poetic and emotional qualities speak to the people who identify these images with the place they consider home or special. Connie Rekstand Kapstad hints that such may simply be a fact of human expression:

Yet the cultural marking of the camp and the place seemed to occur in other categories of sources than explicit, well-formulated reflections, in categories on the margin of articulable language. For the sources I had found hitherto were not very explicit. Could the place only be communicated in lyrical and poetic images? Was this the only category of source capable of communicating it? (2002: 6)

She may very well be correct. For my part, simply attempting to provide English translations for songs included in this dissertation was an incredibly frustrating and rewarding experience. Each term carried such connotations that I needed to give many of them deep consideration or even consult natives, and I still hope with some trepidation that my choices do the originals justice.

Sven-Erik Klinkmann, when analyzing how John Fogerty and Creedence Clearwater Revival [CCR] created an imaginary landscape, encountered a similar issue of deeply meaningful terms:

The picture of the Southern reality could still be called a genre picture, a way of depicting people, artefacts and landscapes which has deep roots in American tradition. Such signs can, to use Sherry Ortner's vocabulary (Ortner 1973), be called summarizing symbols. (2002: 38)

Whereas CCR is able to express a form of Southern life in the USA by mentioning the Fourth of July, barking hound dogs, and hoodoo, Swedish students are able to conjure a verbal picture of home through red cottages, Viking temperament, and the free, mountainous North. In the case of *Utvandraren*, on the other hand, they are also able to create a picture of the foreign with a dromedary and a fez.

Regarding provincial songs, especially for many students in Uppsala who are currently removed from their *hembygd*, music does more than paint a picture of one's distant home. It can also function as a way to temporarily return home without ever needing to travel:

Scenes and festivals can also be said to transform events into places by transforming individual musical events into the identity of a place. Different music scenes and festivals are often described in terms of "Mecca's", with their fans or visitors going there to get away from ordinary, everyday life. But this also means that the feeling of belonging and identification is predicated by a *desire* to be there, a movement. So when visitors talk about a place that means a lot to them when they are absent from the place, being there is not made into a precondition of belonging. (Bjålesjö 2002: 26)

The nation houses, especially during a *gasque*, are able to transform a tiny part of Uppsala into another location, similar to the concept of how embassies are officially considered special extensions of another

country. While singing and carrying on with other appropriate actions, students are in a sense on the island of Gotland or in the fields and hills of Västergötland.

Gotlands nation, in particular, has made efforts to preserve and use its regional dialect, especially—but not exclusively—within the context of singing. The most recent song book, which was released in 2009, is explicit about its effort to reflect a provincial feeling through use of *gutamål*:

Vi har valt att sätta en gotlandsprägel på sångboken genom att utöka antalet visor med anknytning till Gotland men även genom att med hjälp av Gutamålsgillet använda oss av gotländska kapitelnamn. (Thomsson 2009: 2)

We have chosen to set a Gotlandic mark on the song book by increasing the number of songs with ties to Gotland but also, with help from *Gutamålsgillet*, using Gotlandic chapter names.

Despite the well-intended efforts of the song committee, the problem of relatively few students who know and understand the dialect is one that must be grappled with, even within the nation itself. One member, Lina Amlinger, attempted to address this issue by writing short articles in the nation's periodical, *Lambskallet*, providing short explanations about special terms or even translations of entire popular songs into standard Swedish, which is humorously called *fastländska* [mainland dialect]. The first verse of one such song, *Vardesväisu*, is as follows with standard Swedish in italics below the original dialect:

Var gang soli gar ör sjöien me en nöiar dag
Varje gång solen går ur sjön⁴⁵ med en ny dag

Every time the sun comes out of the sea
with a new day

Är det sumli ti förargelse u andra ti behag.
Är det somliga till förargelse och andra till behag.

It is sometimes an annoyance and
otherwise a pleasure.

Man vait int va man har kumm fran, int va man ska hän,
Man vet inte varifrån man har kommit, inte vart man ska någonstans,

One doesn't know from where one has
come nor where one is going,

Man får spark si själv ei rövi u upp u ränn igen.
Man får spark sig själv i rumpan och upp och springa igen.
(Amlinger 2011: 15)

One may kick himself in the rump and get
up and run again.

⁴⁵ Amlinger specifically points out that *sjön* in this context should in fact be *havet* or *Östersjön* [The Baltic Sea] when using standardized Swedish. The scale of these water body terms differs.

When one looks at the printed forms, the dialect generally does not stray very far from the standard to which most Swedes are accustomed. However, when sung, it can sound sufficiently different. For example, during a shared freshman reception combining Gotlands, Smålands, and Göteborgs nation, the song leader of Göteborgs nation jokingly exclaimed: “That’s not even Swedish!”

Västgöta nation does not place quite the same overt emphasis on their dialect in song books, but it may still be found if one looks for it. One extraordinarily popular song, which even has some officially printed debate on its page in the 2006 song book, is *Hej bonnapôjka*:

/: Hej bonnapôjka ifrå bôjda*
imella Vänern och Vättern. :/
Nu sa vi supa, nu sa vi sjonga,
för vi ä glaa å vi ä onga.
Hej bonnapôjka ifrå bôjda
imella Vänern och Vättern.

/: Hello farm boy from the district
Between *Vänern* and *Vättern* :/
Now we’ll drink, now we’ll sing,
For we are happy and we are young.
Hello farm boy from the district
Between *Vänern* and *Vättern*.

One word of particular note is *bôjda*, which is the *västgötsk* dialectal variant of the word, *bygden*⁴⁶.

Although the term by itself is non-specific, in this context, it is used in opposition to *slätta*, the plain, according to a special footnote below the song. Thus, between Lake Vänern and Vättern, students will further specify from which geographical sub-region they hail: *Varaslätten*, a flat plain in central Västergötland, or *bôjda*, the settled areas beyond the plain.

The Student Nations—Uppsala as Second Home

Despite an orientation to the *hembygd*, each of the student nations is situated firmly in its own building within the city of Uppsala, providing additional layers of location-oriented identity. Similar to the relationship between the national and regional identities, there exists a shared body of songs reflecting city-wide phenomena that contrasts with student nation-specific selections.

⁴⁶ When using dialectal terms, spelling and pronunciation is tricky. In this case, the sponsor of the page on which the song appears, Karl-Johan Högstadius, wrote: *Det heter BÖGDA och hör sen!* [It is called *bögda*, you hear!]

Västgöta nation in particular is a student nation that is exceptionally proud of its old, distinguished building. Both the nation and its current house hail from the 17th century and have taken ever-changing forms during their roughly 400 years of existence. Since the beginning of illustrations in Västgöta's song books in 1936, the nation house has appeared in one form or



Figure 20 – Västgöta's nation house

another. In the 2006 release, Kristina Rudbjer, a former first curator and current long-standing member, wrote the following brief history about the nation's home in Uppsala:

Under Västgötas första två hundra år saknade man ett eget ställe att samlas på. Man hade möten och tillställningar hos medlemmarna eller hemma hos Inspektor. Hos den senare förvarades även nationens kassakista. I början av 1800-talet började dock intresse för ett eget nationshus att spira. Efter insamlingar och en donation ur Inspektor Johan Winboms egen ficka kunde det nuvarande nationshuset köpas år 1825. Man hade dock inte råd att använde hela huset till nationsverksamhet förrän på 1830-talet, och hyrde ut större delar av fastigheten till annan verksamhet.

Vårt vackra nationshus är troligen byggt 1604, men på en mycket äldre grund. Källarvalvet tros vara från sent 1400-tal. Huset ägdes under åren 1648-51 av fältmarskalken Lennart Torstensson. År 1666 reparerades huset och en övervåning byggdes till. Sedan dess har det byggts till och reparerats, Torstensson skall säkerligen inte känna igen sig om han kom på besök. Under ombyggnationen 1900-1901 tillkom tornet och väggmålningarna i Stora Salen. Nästa stora förändring kom under ombyggnationen 1946-49, då kök och tambur tillkom, och ingången flyttades till sin nuvarande plats. Sedan 1981 har huset varit tegelrött.

Dagens verksamhet motsvarar knappast den man hade i nationens barndom, dessutom är inte heller huset anpassat för den mängd medlemmar vi har idag. Ändå älskar vi vårt lilla slott och hoppas att det kommer att stå majestätiskt i många hundra år till. (2006: 149)

During Västgöta's first two hundred years, one lacked one's own place to gather. One had meetings and gatherings at the home of members or the *Inspektor*. At the latter's home, the nation's coffers were kept. In the beginning of the 1800s, however, interest for one's own nation house began to sprout. From collections and a donation from *Inspektor* Johan Winbom's own pocket, the current nation house was able to be bought in 1825. Even so, one could not afford to use the entire house for nation activities before the 1830s, and the greater part of the property was rented out to other business.

Our beautiful nation house was probably built in 1604 but on a much older foundation. The cellar vault is believed to be from the late 1400s. The house was owned from 1648-

51 by Field Marshal Lennart Torstensson. In 1666, the house was remodeled and a second story was built. Since then, it has been built upon and further remodeled. Torstensson would certainly not recognize it if he came to visit. During the 1900-1901 renovation, the tower was added along with the wall murals in *Stora Salen* [the main hall]. The next major change came during the 1946-49 renovation, when a kitchen and an entry hall were added, and the entrance was moved to its current place. Since 1981, the house's exterior has been brick red.

Today's business hardly reflects what one had in the nation's childhood, and the house is hardly adapted for the amount of members we have today. Even so, we love our little palace and hope that it shall stand majestically for many centuries to come.

Turning to musical lyrics, Västgöta nation does not have quite the same profusion as songs praising its

Uppsala location as the qualities of the *hembygd*. However, one song specifically written for

Valborgsgasque in 1928 has never vanished from any of the song book releases, including 1971 when the number of selections shrank to a mere twenty-three titles. *Dryckesvisa* praises the nation itself, its

officers, and the members:

Nu haver vi samlats bland skålar och pokalerna
så lusteligt som plägas uppå Västgöta Nation.
Ty här är vi fria som själva kannibalerna;
var finnes väl den herreman, som vågar ta sig ton.
Här är vi i vår borg, här vilar ingen sorg,
och finnes här förtjände män, så dricka vi dem till.

[...]

Vår Andre kurator han är nationens klockarfar⁴⁷,
han styrer och han ställer båd med hus och
trädgårdslann.
I räkningens konster han knappast väl sin like har,
han skriver och han stämplar som den värsta
handlingsman.
Han lägger vantarna på alla slantarna
men skänker även givmilt, så vi dricka honom till.

Now we have gathered among toasts and goblets
As happily as usual at Västgöta Nation.
For here, we are as free as the cannibals themselves;
Where is that gentleman, who dares raise his voice?
Here, we are in our fortress; here rests no sorrow;
And if deserving men are found here, then we drink
to them.

[...]

Our second curator, he is the nation's steward;
He leads and he directs both house and garden plot.
In the art of accounting his equal is hardly found,
He writes and he rubber-stamps like the worst clerk.
He gets his hands on all the coins
But also gives generously, so we drink to him.

At this point, the first and fourth verses are beneficial for considering the nation house itself. Once again, non-specific praise is the norm. The nation house is first and foremost considered a place to drink and be

⁴⁷ *Klockarfar* literally refers to a person who takes care of the church bells, but its usage is closer to steward—one who manages property and financial affairs. However, the connotation is one who has arrogantly inflated self-worth and meddles busy-bodily in other people's affairs. For more details, look up *Klockarfars visa* by C.W. Böttiger and J.W. Bäckström. (Personal communication with Ann Björnander, 21 Feb. 2013)

merry. The sense of total freedom, compared to the idea of cannibal life and the ability to use one's voice to question anything, is paired with a sense of safety as the building is described as a fortress rather than simply a palace. The fourth verse, however, both praises the second curator and points out the more mundane, or at least less festive, aspects of home ownership. Real estate, in the form of a building and small plot of land, must be tended to economically, and paperwork must be filed.

Unlike the other songs listed in this chapter, I never experienced *Dryckesvisa* sung aloud during any of the events I attended, quite possibly because I was unable to attend their May ball. Nevertheless, in addition to its unbroken longevity in the century of song book releases, *Dryckesvisa* was specifically pointed out by certain members as a song I should record. One man, who simply signed his first name, wrote the following below the song's lyrics:

Spela nu in denna när den sjungs för full stämman, annars ska det ditt liv från att gå vidare hamma. Hurra!! /Oscar

Record this one when it is sung at full voice, otherwise it might inhibit your life from going further. Hurray!! /Oscar

His bold proclamation fits with the spirit of late evenings when song books are signed by students under heavy influence of alcohol, but informal conversations confirmed that it is still sung in certain circumstances. For now, it shall be an unfulfilled task and a solemn nod to any songs left uncollected.

Gotlands nation is also proud of its home in Uppsala, but rather than revel in a house with a long history, they instead take pride in a modern structure with a symbolic location and, more recently, greater recognition from the municipality. The current building, completed in 1957, appears as a song book illustration only once, in the 2009 release, and it shares the page with *Här jär*



Figure 21 – Gotlands' nation house balcony.

gudagutt att varä, a dialectal reworking of Gunnar Wennerberg's *Här är gudagott att vara* [It is good to be here]. In order to understand why particular song selections or lyrics were included into the more recent canon, one must first be aware of recent developments in the nation's locale.

Situated along the Fyris River, Gotlands' real estate underwent radical change in the late 1950s, though planning began a decade earlier. *Grindstugan*—the wooden gatehouse—was torn down, and a larger, entirely new building was constructed in its place. Despite a limited budget, this new abode was able to provide a few luxuries:

I början av 1957 stod så huset färdigt – ett skinande nytt nationshus i sex våningar med all tänkbara moderniteter. Till och med en TV hade köpts in, närmare bestämt en Dux 43 T 140 A 'Revy' för hela 1 445 kronor. Mycket pengar på den tiden, och kostnaden för denna och andra moderniteter fick delvis täckas genom de pengar man drog in vid försäljningen av inventarier från gamla huset.

[...]

... många välvilliga donatorer visserligen gärna skänkte diverse möbler och inventarier, men med samma generositet villkorade användningen för gåvorna. Till detta kom nämndens egna estetiska preferenser, och att jämka ihop alla önskemål var naturligtvis ett styvt jobb. (Strömberg 2006: 72)

In the beginning of 1957, the house stood complete – a shiny, new nation house with six stories with all imaginable modern features. Even a TV had been purchased, specifically a Dux 43 T 140 A 'Revy' all for 1,445 Swedish crowns. It was a lot of money at that time, and the cost for it and other modern features were covered partially by the money one brought in from the sale of inventory from the old house.

[...]

... many benevolent donors were certainly happy to bestow various furniture and fixtures, but with equal generosity bestowed conditions for the usage of the gifts. Additionally, there were the committee's own aesthetic preferences, and reconciling all the requests was, of course, a tough job.

Examples of donations, though not all from the original contributions, that were still in use during my fieldwork are: pews from a church, placed in the basement pub; a coffee table, adorned with the outline of the island and used for *fika*; and a ship's bell used before making announcements during most *gasques*.

A lot can change in fifty years, and thus a major renovation was needed for the nation house to continue to feel modern and provide for its occupants. This process, though not as drastic as replacing an entire structure, was certainly one that could hardly be missed:

I sommaren 2000 stod huset i kaos! Den gotländska fanan med lammet hade halats och ersatts med ockupanternas vitsvartblåa tygstycke varmed kuratelet fann det för gott att fly oroligheterna och upprätta en exilregering hos göteborgarna. De nya härskarna styrde och ställde som de behagade och snart stod allt på ända. Väggar slogs in, golv revs upp och fönster krossades. Men en dag verkade det inte så mörkt längre. Ockupanternas vilda härjningar hade tappat i intensitet och kuratelet kunde i triumf flytta tillbaka – dock utan Internet-uppkoppling. (Marissink 2006: 80)

In the summer of 2000, the house stood in chaos! The Gotlandic banner with the lamb had been lowered and replaced with the occupiers' white-black-blue cloth, whereby the curators found it best to flee the unrest and set up a government in exile with the members of Göteborgs nation. The new masters ruled and did as they pleased, and soon everything stood on its head. Walls were bashed in, the floor ripped up, and windows were smashed. But one day, it was not so dark any longer. The occupiers' wild ravages had dropped in intensity, and the curators could return in triumph – without Internet-access, however.

The tone of this account is humorous, but it also seems to conjure a feeling of when the Danish king, Valdemar Atterdag, ravaged Visby in 1361. This event is commemorated in the 1998 release of Gotlands song book, which would have been in use at the time, and the song is taken from a *spex*⁴⁸ about the subject⁴⁹ in 1996. Interestingly enough, the description of updating the nation house again focuses on a modern luxury—in this instance, an Internet connection.

An additional nod to history is necessary to understand how Gotlands nation lent its name to the small city park directly in front of the building. Lars Bäcklund, the vice chairman of Uppsala's municipal naming committee, explains how the process was not an uncomplicated one, and how the city needed to be convinced that such a name did not lack a connection to Uppsala itself:

Argumentet att det skulle saknas anknytning till Uppsalas historia bemötte jag i namnberedningen med att påpeka att Gotlands nation är en levande påminnelse om den svenska stormaktstiden även i Uppsala. När (det alltså gällande) kårobligatoriet kom

⁴⁸ *Spex* is a term that refers to student-produced skits. They can be incredibly short, lasting 5-10 minutes during a *gasque*, or they can be full theatrical productions with multiple acts.

⁴⁹ The song's rather long title is: *Värt att veta om Valdemars vildhavre och vidare verksamhet bland Visbys vackra våp och varpor*.

till genom nationsobligatoriet i Uppsala blev benämningen på nationen i högsta grad ett belägg för rikets dåtida mäktighet. Det var ju på det sättet, att universitetets konsistorium upprepade gånger hade diskuterat hur man skulle få ordning på de odisciplinerade studenterna. Den 14 januari 1663 var man klar för ett beslut. Jag informerade namnberedningen om konsistoriets protokoll där man föreskrev ett antal nationer. Var och en av dessa skulle stå under överinseende av en professor som i egenskap av inspektor skulle utöva konsistoriets kontroll.

Det namn man gav på den ursprungliga Gotlands nation var "Finlandz, Livonum, Gothlandz et Germanorum".

Således skulle studenter från riksdelarna på andra sidan havet alla tillhöra samma nation. De var representanter från stormaktstidens besittningar. Det är märka att finska studenter kommande från nordliga delar av riket uppenbarligen skall tillhöra en Väster- och Österbottnisk nation, alltså inte länder "over-seas". (2006: 83-84)

Against the argument that it would have no connection to Uppsala's history, I pointed out that Gotlands nation is a living reminder of the Swedish Great Power Era, even in Uppsala. When (the still existing⁵⁰) student union dues came about through student nation dues in Uppsala, the name of the nation was very much evidence of the realm's contemporary power. It was in this manner that the university senate had repeatedly discussed how to bring order to the undisciplined students. On the 14th of January 1663, it was time for a decision. I informed the naming committee about the senate protocol, where several nations were prescribed. Each and every one of these should be supervised by a professor who, in the role of *inspektor*, would exercise the senate's control.

The name given to the original Gotlands nation was "Finlandz, Livonum, Gothlandz et Germanorum."

Thus, students from parts of the realm on the other side of the sea would belong to the same nation. They were representatives from the Great Power Era's possessions. It is noteworthy that Finnish students hailing from northern parts of the realm should obviously belong to a Väster- or Österbottnisk nation, that is land not "overseas."

Bäcklund's efforts were successful. In 2001, the small area by the riverside was named *Gotlandsparken*.

Additional recognition arrived in 2008, when the government of the island of Gotland sent a concrete sheep⁵¹ to sit in the park. These concrete creations, more aesthetically pleasing than simple slab-barriers, are used to redirect motor traffic in Visby and around the island. Also worthy of note is the fact that these students from the other side of the sea continue to be the only nation house on "the other side of the

⁵⁰ After many years of debate, the obligatory dues were abolished in 2010.

⁵¹ IQ Ola Thomsson was instrumental in this event (Personal communication with Jonas Wik, 23 February 2013).

river.” Even today, Gotlands stands apart from the other student nations by a body of water, even if it is easily crossed by many small bridges.

All of the preceding background information, minus the concrete sheep, is quickly praised without explanation in *Jubileumslåt*, written especially for the 325th jubilee year of the nation in 2006:

Recce – jag har också vart ny! (jag var)
 Recce – och helt vilse i byn! (men som)
 Recce – blev jag rosig i hyn!
 När jag äntligen fann himlen.

Freshman – I have also been new! (I was a)
 Freshman – and totally lost in town! (But as a)
 Freshman – I became rosy in my complexion!
 When I finally found heaven.

Och himlen fann jag på Gotlands nation,
 ja paradiset var Gotlands nation.
 Huset stod som en rauk,
 jag blev sexig och stark,
 jag fick rentav en egen park.

And I found heaven at Gotlands nation,
 yes, paradise was Gotlands nation.
 The house stood like a limestone stack,
 I became sexy and strong,
 I even got my own park.

Once again, emotional feelings are expressed in lyrical imagery, as Kapstad found, but a genre picture is taking form with the help of summarizing symbols, to use Klinkmann’s and Ortner’s terminology. The house, in which presumably the song is sung, needs little or no description. However, in a single word—*rau*k—there is sufficient detail to call to mind the nation house’s vicinity to the River Fyris and its connection with the island of Gotland. Limestone stacks are, after all, most common near the waterfront. Additionally, the newly named *Gotlandsparken* only needs only be mentioned as their own for the name to be brought proudly to mind.

Songs need not be specifically linked to a particular nation in order to enter the regularly used canon. *Ofvandahls* is a prime example. Originally composed by Henrik Arnberg, presumably a member of V-Dala nation in the early 1980s, the song praises a café situated near most of the student nations:

Hundra år sen ungefär
 Ofvandahl han sa så här:
 Skriva dikter ger mig ingen
 peng i pung, nej blott misär⁵².
 Det nå't annat måste bli,
 varför inget bageri,
 runda bullar små mig gör till millionär.

Roughly one hundred years ago,
 Ofvandahl, he said this:
 Writing poems gives me no
 Coins in the purse, no, merely misery.
 Something else needs to be,
 Why not a bakery,
 Small, round buns make me a millionaire.

⁵² V-Dala’s 2004 song book instead uses *besvär* [difficulty].

Ofvandahls, kaffe med avec.
 Ofvandahls, Landings stora skräck.
 Ofvandahls, napoleoncanapé,
 ger oss krafter nog att vandra vidare.

Ofvandahl's, coffee with liqueur.
 Ofvandahl's, Landings' great horror.
 Ofvandahl's, Napoleon's canapé,
 Give us strength to wander onward.

Under åren som har gått,
 många styrketåren fått
 och en del av dem på Ofvandahls,
 när det känns trist och grått.
 Efter nattens hårda slit,
 när det ej finns mera sprit,
 då man tar en kaffetår och lever opp.

During the years that have passed,
 Many cups of strength were received
 And a number of them at Ofvandahl's
 When it felt dreary and gray.
 After the night's hard work,
 When there is no more alcohol,
 Then one takes a coffee cup and perks up.

Ofvandahls...

Ofvandahl's...

Ja, sen slumpa' det sig så,
 att V-Dala råka' få,
 Ofvandahls en dag när övriga
 inkomster var rätt små.
 Som ett högre slags försyn,
 som en kringla ifrån skyn,
 vi har sålt det nu, men det var kul ändå.

Yes, then by chance it was such
 That V-Dala happened to get
 Ofvandahl's one day when other
 Incomes were quite small.
 Like a higher kind of providence,
 Like a pretzel from the clouds,
 We have sold it now, but it was cool even so.

Ofvandahls...

Ofvandahl's...

This song has many elements that appeal to Uppsala students at different levels. They include: an exaggerated comparison of the stressful life of students with Ofvandahl's own transitional period, humorous nods to the style of Ofvandahl's poetry, and the continuing relationship of the academic community with the beloved *studentikos* café situated on a corner of Syslomansgatan. In order to fully understand and appreciate the first two aspects, one must look at the background of the man himself.

Erik Ofvandahl is certainly one of Uppsala's interesting historical personalities. Although the song dedicated to him is cheerful when sung, the lyrics contain a tension between hopes and reality. The question of money, or lack thereof, in the first verse is one that relates well to Ofvandahl's early life:

Hans liv kunde ha börjat bättre. Han föddes 1848 bland fattiga småbrukare, under namnet Erik Andersson, eller Ersson eller Eriksson, källorna går isär. Han blev tidigt föräldralös och auktionerades bort av fattigvården till byn Ovandal i Dalarna. Han fann sig dock inte tillrätta vid plogen utan flyttade vid 23 års ålder till Uppsala som sockerbagaregesäll. Efter ett kort mellanspel som konditor i Sala återvände han till Uppsala för att öppna ett Konditori och Damkafé. Damkafé eftersom fiket enligt honom själv var så rangerat att Damer och Herrar trivas gott. Inrättningen flyttades två år senare till den nuvarande adressen på Syslomansgatan, under namnet Café Dahlia. (Lasota 2002)

His life could have begun better. He was born in 1848 to poor small-scale farmers under the name, Erik Andersson, or Ersson or Eriksson, the sources differ. He was soon orphaned and auctioned away by poor relief to the village Ovandal in Dalecarlia. However, he found himself unsuited to the plow and moved at the age of 23 to Uppsala as a confectioner's apprentice. After a short interlude as a pastry chef in Sala, he returned to Uppsala in order to open a bakery and lady's café. The café was a "lady's café," according to Ofvandahl himself, and arranged so that ladies and gentlemen felt comfortable. The establishment was moved two years later to the current address on Sysslomansgatan, under the name Café Dahlia.

The need to move to follow one's dreams is also a common experience for many university students.

Uppsala gathers many, but the provincially named nations are proof that such transitions are not always easy.

The drudgery of life continues. Certainly, when looking at the second verse of the song, a dull winter's night after studious academic work draws a similar exaggerated picture of suffering that Ofvandahl himself composed during his apprenticeship years in his mid-twenties:

Till bestraffning jag nedträder	As punishment, I step down
Uti detta källarvalv.	Out of that cellar vault.
Och min syndadräkt avkläder.	And I remove my penitential shirt.
Gammal snart half sekel half. (Lasota 2002)	Soon half a half century old.

As is the case with many students, Ofvandahl eventually made the transition into self-sufficiency, but his job was not one that spoke to his true passion. He wished to be a poet, and he pursued this dream avidly on the side.

Ofvandahl's enduring image is that of the *pekoralist*—an author who writes unintentionally hilarious works due to forced rhymes, cliché content, or disorder of words to force the meter. Looking back at the song, the final line of the first verse is technically correct, but it certainly sounds odd to Swedish speakers today. This stylistic dissonance was also problematic for Ofvandahl in his own time:

Mycket riktigt var det få som förstod hans poesi. Det är väl dokumenterat hur flera av hans poesiuppläsningar havererade i skrattkaskader. Särskilt på den tiden, då man var hårt fixerad vid vad som var bra och dåligt, fann man munterhet i hans bombastiskt högstämnda stil, tillkämpade metrik och nödrim. Kanske fanns det hos det dåtida Uppsalas akademiker en extra stark vilja att driva med en självlärd som försökte vara lika god som dem själva. (Lasota 2002)

Indeed, there were few who understood his poetry. It is well documented how many of his poetry readings collapsed into cascades of laughter. Especially at that time, when one was truly fixated on what was good and bad, one found hilarity in his bombastic, lofty style, struggling meter, and forced rhyme. Perhaps there was an extra strong desire among contemporary Uppsala scholars to tease an autodidact who attempted to be as good as them.

An exaggerated, lofty style may also be seen in the third verse of the song, in the fifth and sixth lines, when the majesty of owning the café is compared to a form of divine providence and a halo-like pretzel⁵³ from heaven. However, even though a pretzel descending from the clouds may seem outrageous, the religious imagery of pretzels has a historical background:

Kringlan föreställer korslagda armar över bröstet. På det sättet var det vanligt att be under medeltiden. Enligt en berättelse var det en italiensk munk som tog fram det speciella bakverket på 600-talet. Munken ville belöna sina elever med små brödstycken formade på samma sätt som barnens armar när de lade dem i kors under bönen. Bakverket fick namnet ”pretiolas” – ”liten belöning”. (Världens historia)

The pretzel represents crossed arms over the chest. It was customary to pray in this manner during the Middle Ages. According to one story, it was an Italian monk who developed the baked good in the 7th century. The monk wanted to reward his students with small pieces of bread shaped in the same way as children’s arms when they crossed them during prayers. The baked good received the name, *pretiolas* – little reward.

Despite this historical and religious connection, the idea of a holy pretzel is once again better suited to laughter among students than serious scholarly consideration. Thus, the title of “one of the country’s worst poets but the best author of doggerel verse” attributed by Jerry Lasota in *Ergo*⁵⁴ truly hits the mark.

The most tangible connection to student life today, however, is the physical presence of the café on the corner of Sysslomansgatan and S:t Olofsgatan. Offering a student discount and in close proximity to the nation houses, the café is still able to draw many *fika*-craving souls into its midst. Although the song’s refrain praises a pastry known as Napoleon’s canapé, there are other goodies attributed to Ofvandahl that persevere and are linked to Uppsala’s other personalities:

Mellan dikterna skapade han bakverk som Linnébakelsen, Vårbakelsen och Studentskan (den sistnämnda cyniskt nog oskyldigt grön utanpå men svart inuti). [...] 1901, vid fyllda

⁵³ *Kringla* may also refer to a circular-shaped pastry. However, contemporary usage of the word is more strongly linked to “pretzel.”

⁵⁴ Uppsala studentkår’s newspaper.

50 år, bytte han av okänd anledning namn till Ofvandahl - och fiket förvandlades till Ofvandahls hovkonditori. (Lasota 2002)

Between poems, he created pastries, such as the Linnaeus cake, the spring cake, and the female student (the latter, cynically named one is innocently green on the outside but black inside). [...] In 1901, at fifty years of age, he changed his name for unknown reasons to Ofvandahl – and the café was transformed to Ofvandahls *hovkonditori*⁵⁵.

The world-rekknowned biologist, Linnaeus, continues to be celebrated by the city outside the context of a cake at Ofvandahl's café. In fact, two well-known cafes in the city bear Linnaeus' name. In any case, the *studentska* remains popular, and the pastry's history is known and was discussed by at least a handful of students, one of whom described it to me one afternoon during *fika*. Further anchoring the song to Uppsala is the mention of Landings, a rival bakery, in the refrain.

Of greatest concern to the nations is the claim in the third verse that V-Dala nation owned the café for an indeterminate, short period of time⁵⁶. According to V-Dala's website chronicle, this period was during 1971, and the years immediately following were one of economic crisis⁵⁷. It makes great sense, therefore, that such an acquisition would not be held onto for long. More concrete information might be found in city records. However, this verse is one that does not always appear in other nations' song books.

The song's distribution is wide. Of the most recent thirteen books that were in use during my fieldwork, ten of them contained the song, *Ofvandahls*. However, only half of these ten include the third verse. Drawing on ideas from Vansina, Philip Bohlman explains why this divide might have occurred:

The selectivity central to oral tradition shapes its canon from the very inception of tradition and then continually reshapes it throughout the tradition's history. Items enter the canon because they somehow stand out and are worthy of special artistic attention and because they can be fitted to the tradition without sacrificing the integrity of the item or the tradition. (1988: 31)

⁵⁵ The prefix *hov-* refers to the fact that a bakery provides goods to the royal court.

⁵⁶ The café was most likely bequeathed in a will and sold almost immediately.

⁵⁷ The nation's website may be found at www.v-dala.se. The chronicle may be found under the "about" and "history" tabs.

The absence of *Ofvandahls* from song books is not necessarily evidence that it lacks a place in certain nations. The whims of song book committees or simply the idea that it may easily be sung without lyrics is possible. Discussion of *Helan går* later in this chapter will consider this problem further. *Ofvandahls'* absence from the 2009 release of Värmlands nation's song book is a curious matter. The previous release in 1997 not only included the song but all three verses. Despite this minor oddity, the song is beloved by many nations, most likely due to its strong connection to the city of Uppsala. Gotland and Västgöta nation, in their part, print and sing all three verses. Mention of V-Dala is neither seen as a threat to their own history nor an unsuitable topic of song.

Social Relations – A Sense of Community

Social Dynamics

In addition to locating a group of students in relation to multiple geographic places, songs also function to demarcate social boundaries and relationships within each group. Older selections, and indeed many songs that continue to be sung today, lean heavily towards male-dominated audiences or utilize primarily male figures. Returning to Västgöta's *Dryckesvisa*, composed in 1928, masculinity and a certain level of hierarchy prevail:

Vår skål denna gång gäller Bibliotekarien,
som samlar vetenskaperna i tjocka kalvskinnsband.
Av dammiga luntor han giver och han tar igen,
ja, självaste latinet vandrar ur hans visa hand.
Vill du bli vis och klok, läs då varenda bok.
Dock finns in vino veritas, drick därför honom till.

[...]

Ja, nu har vi skyldrat och ärat dem, som äras bör
i skålar och pokaler som ett folk av frejdad stam.
Så låt oss till sist i en samfällad och en enkel kör
som tappra söner mana tappa fäders andar fram.
Hej, vad det susar här! Hej, vad det brusar här,
av gamla fäders andar, dem vi också dricka
till. HEJ!

Our toast this time concerns the librarian,
who collects the sciences in a thick calfskin strap.
Of dusty tomes, he gives and he takes again,
yes, Latin itself wanders out of his wise hand.
Do you wish to become wise and clever, then read
every book.

However, *in vino veritas*, therefore we drink to
him.

[...]

Yes, now we have saluted and honored those who
ought to be honored
with toasts and goblets like a people of renowned
heritage.
So let us finally in a collective and simple choir
As brave sons manage to draw forth our fathers'
spirits.
Hey, how it whizzes here! Hey, how it roars here,
from the old fathers' spirits, to them we also drink!
HEY!

Only the sixth and eighth verses are provided above. The librarian, one of six officers to merit his own verse, is praised in a fashion similar to the others. His service to the nation as a facilitator between members and resources—in this case, books of knowledge rather than money or alcohol—is cause for his celebration. The nation has many needs, and he partially aids in their fulfillment. As the song approaches its end, the focus turns instead to those who came before. The sons of Västgöta nation hail their fathers⁵⁸.

Where are the women?

⁵⁸ I wish I could have heard it performed. Perhaps feminine pronouns are used as many women hold positions.

Although female students officially joined the student nations in the 1870s, when women were first allowed to study at Uppsala University and membership was mandatory for all students, they did not become an active force until the 1920s. The first female curator, for example, was elected to her post in 1939 at Kalmars nation (Burman 2012: 23). Even today, women are slowly becoming a stronger voice heard in song. Simple pronoun or noun replacement is common, especially during *Än en gång därän*, when *bröder* [brothers] is replaced with *systrar* [sisters]. However, the female voice takes center stage in *Mera män*, a song that reverses the sexual roles in the old, “piggish” songs:

Vi vill ha mera män, vi vill ha flera män,
vi vill ha stora, starka, muskulösa män.
De ska ha hårigt bröst och djup och sexiga röst,
så att de orkar med oss till imorgon kväll.

We want more men, we want many men,
we want big, strong, muscular men.
They will have hairy chests and deep, sexy voices,
so that they can handle us until tomorrow evening.

Vi vill ha män med stil, vi vill ha sexappeal,
vi vill ha män med pengar, kontokort och bil.
Vi ska förföra dem, vi ska förgöra dem,
så att de kryper hem till sig imorgon kväll.

We want men with style, we want sex appeal,
we want men with money, bank cards, and a car.
We shall seduce them, we shall destroy them,
so that they crawl back home tomorrow evening.

The performance of songs that lean heavily towards one sex is hardly a serious concern, however. Today, both sexes are celebrated with their own *gasque*, which is often considered to be the best of the year.

These events rarely follow as strict form as other *gasques*. *Herrmiddag* makes for merry men. *Damsupé*, in turn, delights the damsels.

The question of gender identity in the 21st century stretches beyond the idea of sex, and Gotlands nation’s *Jubileumslåt* reaches further to specifically mention homosexuals in the joys of nation life⁵⁹:

Gotlands – här tycks ingen va lat! (nej på)
Gotlands – kan du få en bit mat! (för på)
Gotlands – får man skalle på fat!
Alla mår så bra på vårt.
Gotlands – bra för kille och tjej! (jag säger)
Gotlands – bra för straight och för gay! (kom till)
Gotlands – om du är snygg eller ej!
Spelar ingen roll för hör här:

Gotlands – here none thinks to be lazy! (no at)
Gotlands – you can get a bit of food! (for at)
Gotlands – one gets a skull on a plate!
Everyone does so well at our place.
Gotlands – good for guys or gals! (I say)
Gotlands –good for straights and for gays! (Come to)
Gotlands – if you are attractive or not!
It matters not, so listen up:

Varenda kotte på Gotlands nation,

Every person at Gotlands nation,

⁵⁹ One cannot help but consider the lesbian exchange of festive lab coat collars in Chapter 4. However, the traded collars may hide behind a code that outsiders might not understand. *Jubileumslåt* is explicit to all who listen.

blir snygg för han är från Gotlands nation.

[...]

Här kan alla ta ton,
på vår fina nation,
där är sången helt unison:
Gotlands!

Becomes attractive ‘cuz he’s from Gotlands nation.

[...]

Here, everyone can raise their voice,
at our fine nation,
there, the song is in complete unison:
Gotlands!

In the end, membership itself is sufficient for broad inclusion and a form of acceptance. The system has yet to be perfected, but the general trend is certainly positive and promising for future developments.

After a century of combining drinking songs with dining, differences in regards to food have also become more visible. Personal preferences, religious considerations, allergies and more have begun to affect the work done in nation kitchens. More concerted efforts to accommodate a variety of food-related concerns have also made their mark on music. Returning to Västgöta, *Ärga kockens rätt- och felvisa*⁶⁰ addresses these concerns ironically with the voice of an irritated cook:

Laga vegetarisk rätt
Görs på kockens eget sätt
Om jag lägger i kamel
-- då har jag gjort fel!

To prepare a vegetarian dish
Is done in the cook’s own way
If I add camel
-- then I have done wrong!

Laga musselmanens mål
Utan fläsk och alkohol
Baconlindad Absolut
-- och jag åker ut!

To prepare a Muslim man’s meal
Without pork and alcohol
Bacon-wrapped Absolut [Vodka]
-- and out I go!

Laga specialversion
Till en känslig, klen person
Gluten, ägg och låglaktos
-- du blir utan sås!

To prepare a special version
For a delicate, frail person
Gluten, eggs and low-lactose
-- You’ll go without sauce!

Du som inte gillar fisk
Ät din rätt på egen risk
För du är en jävla snobb
-- ger mig extra jobb!

You who do not like fish
Eat your dish at your own risk
For you are a fucking snob
-- Giving me extra work!

This selection appears in song pamphlets from the 2010 *Lussegasque* and the 2011 *Reccemottagning*.

Thus, it has not yet entered the song book canon. The atmosphere for the addition of a similar composition to song books in the future is promising, however. Both Västgöta and Gotlands inquired

⁶⁰ The title contains a pun. At first glance, it means “The Angry Cook’s Right and Wrong Song,” but *rätt* is also used to describe parts of a meal [*förrätt/huvudrätt/efterrätt* = appetizer/main course/dessert].

prior to all formal events about allergies and vegetarian/alcohol preferences during my year of fieldwork in 2010/2011, which stands in contrast to my experiences as an exchange student in 2003/2004, when one ate what was provided and cigarette smoke was simply to be tolerated indoors. Additionally, brief work in Gotlands' kitchen during one rental event allowed me to see a meticulously detailed seating chart, listing allergies and special guest considerations.

Defining One Nation in Contrast with Another — Identity through Difference

Although there is a great deal of similarity between the nations, combinations of distinguishing nuances matter. These differences may be relatively subtle issues, such as how songs ought to be performed, who has the authority to initiate them, and the actions performed following the completion of singing. In order to highlight how one nation performs certain rituals, it is often considered helpful to do so in relation to another nation that acts differently. Many scholars, including Philip Bohlman, have noticed this form of definition through contrast:

When different ethnic communities and social groups come into contact, the interrelation of cultural core and boundaries become more dynamic. As one is forced to recognize other traditions, one is more sharply aware of the characteristics of one's own. (1988:62)

Considering each other a friendly rival, both Västgöta and Gotlands refer to one another, often indirectly, but the common rival city of Lund also provides an ample target.

The primary concern of rules surrounding behavior, including singing, is to maintain a “painless” environment—this specific term is shared by Gotlands and Västgöta, among others—in which to enjoy festivities. Addressing this concern humorously, the 2009 Gotlands song book begins thus:

Välkommen till Gotlands nation, din nya förmyndare. Nu när dina föräldrar har gjort grovjobbet att uppfostra dig till fantastisk diamant är det Gotlands nations uppgift att slipa diamant. När sedan Gotlands nation har polerat klart kanske diamanten går härifrån som en framtida nobelpristagare, president eller varför inte kung. Men för att slipningen ska gå smärtfritt så bör man känna till lite om vett och etikett. Nedan följer lite "bra att ha innanför pannbenet"-information som kommer att göra dig till en förstaklass gentleman eller lady. (3)

Welcome to Gotlands nation, you new guardian. Now that your parents have done the hard work of bringing you up as a fantastic diamond, it is Gotlands nation's task to hone the diamond. Once Gotlands nation has finished polishing, perhaps the diamond will go forth as a future Nobel Prize winner, president, or why not king? However, in order that the honing shall be pain-free, one ought to know a little bit about sense and etiquette. Below is a little "good to have in mind" information, which will turn you into a firstclass gentleman or lady.

The extent to which one is expected to follow all the rules certainly varies, and as the evening progresses later into the night, formalities are gradually ignored. "*Vettikett är snarare beprövade knep än påtvingade förmaningar*" (Rudbjer 2006:8). Etiquette is closer to tested tricks than imposed admonitions, as Västgöta's song book admits. How, then, do they differ, and what are the consequences of mistakes?

Singing is an integral part of formal events at every nation, and varying levels of control are exercised with regards to who may initiate songs. During a *gasque* or ball, both the selection and timing of songs has been planned well in advance, and one person—the song leader—is charged to assist with keeping the tight schedule. The 2009 Gotlands nation song book describes it thus:

Eftersom du håller i en sångbok så kan du nog förstå att det sjungs mycket. Under gasquen leds sången av sånganföraren. Spontansång är inte uppskattat norr om Lund. Man får väldigt gärna öva hemma. Vissa sånger förekommer oftare än sällan t.ex. Takk för supen och O gamla klang och jubeltid. (6)

Since you are holding a song book, you can probably understand there is a lot of singing. During a *gasque*, the songs are led by the song leader. Spontaneous song is not appreciated north of Lund. You are very welcome to practice at home. Certain songs occur more often than not, for ex. *Takk för supen* and *O gamla klang och jubeltid*.

In addition to distancing themselves from the rival city of Lund—in the above case, Hallands nation, a sister organization that often visits and is visited by Gotlands—many other nations emphasize the fact that the *sånganförare* is not meant to stifle joy but rather to keep order during formalities scheduled with a great amount of effort. Gotlands specifically mentions the anxiety that could befall a poor song leader:

Sånganföraren, liksom nationsmarskalken, sitter med en minutiöst gjord tågordning som talar om när saker och ting bör ske för att middagen skall vara klar på utsatt tid. Om då någon glad, men förvirrad, gäst spontant ställer sig upp och talar om att han eller hon hämskt gärna skulle vilja sjunga denna fem versers visa nu på stört så kommer säkerligen alla glatt att stämma in. Denna till synes harmlösa handling kan framkalla lätt panik hos dem som sitter med tågordningen och ser att inspektors tal nu kommer att bli försenat, vilket innebär att andra vinjudet blir försenat... (Lindström 2006: 117)

The song leader, like the nation's marshal, sits with a minutely made schedule, which tells [him/her] when certain things should occur so that the dinner progresses at the appointed times. If then, a certain happy, yet confused, guest spontaneously stands up and says that he or she would terribly enjoy singing this five-verse song right now, then certainly everyone would gladly join in. This seemingly harmless action can easily cause panic in those who sit with a schedule and see that the *Inspektor's* speech will now be delayed, which means the second wine service will be delayed...

Respect for the students who have arranged the formal dinner is cause enough for one to follow etiquette, but practical problems may also arise. In addition to the formal dinner, a *04-släpp*—an informal afterparty from midnight until four in the morning—is a common occurrence that allows guests from one nation to mingle with guests from other nations. By changing location, these new guests also provide a little extra income for the hosting nation. To this end, banquet halls must be cleared and cleaned before they arrive.

The need to maintain a tight schedule is a far less serious concern in more relaxed contexts, which occur during the *sexor* after business meetings or cleaning days. Even when sitting down to a semi-formal, communal dinner with far more schnapps than a typical *gasque*, a certain order is nevertheless maintained. However, in this case, it may be more openly challenged by the participants. Typically, the *Inspektor* or first curator will lead the first song, and control is then sent from person to person. The last student to name a song also names their successor. Spontaneity occurs when the assembled nation members believe too much time has elapsed between songs—the consumption of schnapps is directly linked with singing—and a cry of “*Åååååååh, tempo!*” is meant to hurry the next selection along. Lund may be mocked and considered uncouth for its spontaneous songs, but Uppsala student nations also have their moments of less rigid control.

Whether at a formal or semi-formal event, it is customary to toast the people nearest you at table after a communal song. The order in which one directs his or her glass can sometimes serve to distinguish one nation from another. Although every nation begins their toast in the same fashion, the second half is divided twofold among them. Västgöta nation describes the proper format as such:

Vid gemensam skål börjar vi med bordsdamen, kavaljeren, därefter med den andre bordsgrannen och slutligen med personen mitt emot innan vi dricker, efter skålen

upprepas proceduren åt samma håll. Många andra nationer tar felaktig motsatt väg tillbaka. (Rudbjer 2006: 8)

During collective toasts, we begin with your table lady, cavalier, thereafter with your other table neighbor and finally with the person across before we drink. After the toast, the procedure is repeated in the same direction. Many other nations take the improper, opposite way back.

Ideally, the male/female attendance ratio will be perfectly balanced, and only the opposite sex will be toasted. However, as is often the case, the ratio is somewhat uneven, at which point students seated at the ends of tables will need to figure out who assumes the role of the opposite sex, if only for this interaction. Typically, a man seated at table is expected to turn to his right, where his partner sits, then to his left, and finally look forward, directly across the table. Whether he repeats or reverses this procedure depends on the nation's customs. What are the consequences for error?

Mistakes regarding proper toasting are a far less serious matter than spontaneous song. Primarily, nation members will view incorrect direction as a sign that one is new to nation life. However, those with more experience are usually teased. In my personal experience, reversing the order during one dinner at Västgöta prompted the first curator to chuckle and mention that I had been spending too much time across the river at Gotlands. In this instance, a mistake that often shows ignorance or a disrupted train of thought specifically highlighted my participant-observer status in two nations.

Intentionally playing upon ignorance and errors is also a playful part of song culture. A relatively constant stream of new students year after year ensures a flow of uninitiated membership, but the use of alcohol late at night may also affect the more veteran members. *Svärmor* is one example of a well-known, short song familiar to most nations that includes a certain pounding rhythm in addition to vocalized lyrics. Only three lines in length, it is meant to be repeated until everyone correctly recognizes and performs the percussive element after the first and second lines only. A common outcry prior to restarting the song is "*Åååååh, recce!*" Freshmen are usually considered to be mistaken, but tricking veterans merits extra prestige to those who manage to do so.

Barnen och herdarna, used by Västgöta, also takes advantage of unsuspecting participants—new or visiting members—and focuses almost entirely on bodily motions. The lyrics are the same as the title and are repeated a few times in order for everyone to quickly learn the gestures of rocking a baby or tapping a shepherd’s crook against the ground. However, the goal of this short song is to frighten anyone unaccustomed to it when it transitions to shouting, *björnen och herdarna*, at which point one makes a frightening face and nearly attacks one’s companion, pretending to be a bear or fleeing shepherd.

One need not take advantage of new members at all times, and another Västgöta favorite, *Motocross å valross*, combines a song with silly lyrics and musical accompaniment meant to challenge everyone involved. Typically reserved for much later in the night, the expectation is that all will be inebriated when the song is initiated. Holding a butterknife in one hand, striking a beer bottle twice and then a glass once, the goal is to both sing the lyrics and maintain the rhythm—a feat that many members of Västgöta swore was a true accomplishment while under the influence.

Differences between nations are also celebrated to a certain extent. The greater half of song books contain a chapter especially dedicated to other nations, whether they be in Uppsala, Lund, or even abroad in Finland. For example, Gotlands recognizes Hallands nation in Lund and *Åländska studentlaget* in Finland by including their identifying songs, *Rituell elddans* and *Ålänningens sång*, respectively in addition to those of the other twelve Uppsala nations. Västgöta acts in a similar manner concerning its neighbors in the city, and the two more distant friends are Nylands nation in Helsinki and Västgöta nation in Lund, represented by the songs *Sibboborna* and *Inkontinentas lovsång*. Why might these chapters be found, and why might they be utilized by only seven out of thirteen nations?

Once again, identity can be demonstrated through comparison and contrast. Whereas Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has spoken of “cultural foregrounding” when an ethnicity chooses to express itself with its own markers when appropriate, it appears a form of cultural backgrounding may also take place. A group may be defined partially in relation to its friends and neighbors. To use Bjälesjö’s words instead:

The institutions of ethnic culture do not simply reaffirm tradition from within; they may also strengthen ethnicity by allowing and then controlling the mixture of a group's traditions with those of other groups and external society in general. (2002: 66)

Each nation's ability to control how other nations appear in its own song book correlates well with ideas raised earlier in the chapter concerning socio-historical context. Michael Stoke's claim that music can serve as "a field of symbolic activity" in a sphere of cultural involvement (1994:15), certainly appears to partially explain why nations may wish to be seen and heard by their peers—it is a form of self-promotion. Whenever a song book is opened at a dinner, its nation's symbol is displayed to the surrounding guests. The need for "geographic agility"—allowing students to visit other nations—also draws parallels to Sara Cohen's work on Liverpool bands. Their sound is developed locally, but they nevertheless desire to move outwards in search of a broader audience.

Control does not remain solely with the nations after the books have been printed. Once employed by students, pages may be modified by the use of side notes or corrections penned by hand. My own song books have a few examples. The most striking is contained within Västgöta's 1996 release, regarding Nylands nation's *Sibboborna*. One Finnish girl simply struck out the title and replaced it with two more, which are also words for residents of placenames: "Kyrkslättsborna/Långviksborna." She did not provide any explanation in the margins, and the most recent song book release in 2006 does not address this concern either. Thus, additional questions are raised that I unfortunately am unable to answer currently.

The act of writing in song books—which is expected near the end of *gasques*—helps them move beyond their status as tomes of canonized song culture frozen and alike at their time of printing and allows them to become individualized, containing evidence of interpersonal exchanges at many different points in time. While analyzing music festivals, Bjälesjö noticed a similar process occurred when material objects were modified to reflect intangible phenomena:

Many of the different relations and processes that people are involved in, both inside and outside the festival as time, space and place, become real and actual in and around these tents with the help of, and through, different forms of materiality. By giving the "festival

community” a name and writing “Roskilde 96” and “Hultsfred 97” on the side of the tent, different social relations are being confirmed at the same time as they become anchored in time and space and are positioned in different places. By using the tent as a “biographical diary”, people create (mentally and materially) a biographical space to which they can attach their experiences and memories (cf. Reme 1999). (2002: 31)

Much the same as many patches worn on festive engineering coveralls, discussed in Chapter 4, written messages in song books help students know where and with whom they have been. Typically, when writing in song books, the following elements are included: the date, the event’s name, a brief message/poem/song/illustration, and signature. A great amount of flexibility is afforded to students writing in books. According to tradition, the owner of a song book must wait until awaking the next morning before reading whatever has been added—a wise custom allowing sober minds to take in a joke that might have otherwise caused problems when one is exhausted and inebriated.

When writing in the margins, students are able to engage with questions of identity in many ways. Writing in the vicinity to the lyrics of a specific song may help bolster pride regarding allegiances. This method is most often employed by visiting students, but some look outwards as well. *Vårbalen*—the spring ball—at Gotlands especially attracted students who acted as representatives of sister organizations outside of Uppsala. Using my personal 2009 song book, the following examples may be observed:

Med hälsningar från Åland 21/5-11 /Folkdräktsflickan
Greetings from Åland 5/21/2011 /The folk costume girl
Written in the margins next to *Ålänningens sang*

Vårbalen 21/5 201[1]
Jag skriver här för att det är närmast Rituell elddans (Hallands nationssång). Åh så roligt det var att få träffa dig ikväll. Kom till Lund. Snälla. Det är roligt. Puss. /Elvira
Spring ball 5/21/2011
I’m writing here because it is nearest *Rituell elddans* (Hallands nation’s song). Oh, so nice it was to meet you this evening. Come to Lund. Please. It is fun. Kiss. /Elvira
Written on chapter heading, the page before *Rituell elddans*

Majmiddag 2011
Denna sång har jag sjungit många gånger med våra vänner från Lund. Får du möjlighet tycker jag du ska åka dit någon gång. Det är bland det roligaste jag gjort. /Ida 1Q 2009
May Dinner 2011
I have sung this song many times with our friends from Lund. If you get the opportunity, I think you should go there sometime. It is among the most fun I’ve done. /Ida 1Q 2009
Written in the margins next to *Rituell elddans*

Though the messages are short, they blend a great deal of cultural information: geographic orientation, musical representation, a time of cultural foregrounding, and even active attempts to draw an individual to them. The first marginal note sheds any semblance of individuality and acts completely within the role of a representative, even replacing her name with a description of her clothing that also acted as a geographic signifier. An active and friendly promotion is undertaken by the next two examples, directly inviting or admonishing me to visit Lund, where I will join in singing *Rituell elddans* and all the other cultural aspects to which it is linked.

More contrasting examples of marginal messages are also to be found, placing individuals and groups into friendly competition. One particular exchange between the first curators [1Q] of Västgöta and Gotlands played out in song book marginalia before taking more corporeal form. Sketching a muscular barbarian and a big-nosed sheep in my VG song book, Ted Isaksson wished to contrast himself with Gustaf Wellhagen, both serving as the 1Q of Västgöta and Gotlands respectively. The images were labeled: For study purpose (truth). When this information reached Wellhagen's attention, a response in kind was deemed most appropriate. Taking my Gotlands song book, he sketched a small, rough rock next to a large, chiseled block. The text, however, demonstrated an elevated rhetoric:

Herr Biskop, du har en dubbel natur. Du har en massa fråga på lur. Hoppas du är på vår sida. Annars kommer Ted få lida.

Mister Bishop, you have a double nature. You have many questions waiting in ambush. Hope you are on our side. Otherwise, Ted shall suffer.

Certainly, there was no danger of actual harm coming about, but my relationship as a participant-observer between two rival nations continued to play out. Just after *Lussegasquen*, when the position of 1Q shifted between individuals, Västgöta decided to visit Gotlands and steal items to ignite passions for the upcoming competitions of *Tefatsgasquen*.⁶¹ Karl Fahlström, Wellhagen's successor, challenged the

⁶¹ These *gasques* figure into the yearly round. *Tefatsgasquen* is a formal dinner preceded by winter competitions between Västgöta, Gotlands, and Snerikes nation, typically in late February. For more detailed information about *Lussegasquen*, which is connected with St. Lucy's Day, please refer to Chapter 2.

raiders to a quick sled race in a stairwell. The dispute was not resolved, however, and Fahlström was taken back to Västgöta as a hostage. Partially in remembrance of the song book feud, I was kept as a hostage by Gotlands. Thus, as Bjälesjö stated, many relationships are confirmed and situated in place and time, even if they are simple notes in the spaces of a song book.

Proper Context – An Order to All Things

The Division of Schnapps – A Time for Quick, Simultaneous Consumption

Although almost every selection contained within nation song books is connected with alcohol consumption, *snapsvisor* [schnapps songs] are the most rigidly controlled and regulated. Each sip has its own name, which is sometimes found printed in a list. According to V-Dala's 2004 release, they are:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. Helan | 1. The whole |
| 2. Halvan | 2. The half |
| 3. Tersen | 3. The third |
| 4. Kvarten | 4. The fourth |
| 5. Kvinten | 5. The fifth |
| 6. Sexten | 6. The sixth |
| 7. Septen | 7. The seventh |
| 8. Rivan | 8. The fall |
| 9. Rafflan | 9. The thrill |
| 10. Rännan | 10. The gutter |
| 11. Smuttan | 11. The sip |
| 12. Smuttans unge | 12. The sip's child |
| 13. Femton droppar | 13. Fifteen drops |
| 14. Lilla Manasse | 14. Little Manasse |
| 15. Lilla Manasses broder | 15. Little Manasse's brother |
| 16. Klämtaren | 16. The bell-ringer |
| 17. Kreaturens uppståndelse | 17. The Creator's resurrection |
| 18. Bleka dödens minut | 18. Pale Death's minute |

En sup är ingen sup.

Två supar äro en halv sup.

Två halva äro en sup.

Två hela äro en kyrksup.

Två kyrksupar äro en kronsup.

A sip is no sip.

Two sips are a half sip.

Two halves are a sip.

Two wholes are a church sip.

Two church sips are a crown sip.

As mentioned earlier, etiquette requires that every member at table drink schnapps at the same time.

Additionally, each shot glass should last exactly three songs, according to customs observed today. This division into thirds helps explain how the names are arranged, especially in the higher numbers. For example, the thirteenth sip is the beginning of the glass that will ultimately end with fifteen separate mouthfuls, hence its name. Why then are the first two sips referred to as the whole and the half?

The history behind the division of schnapps consumption in Sweden stretches back centuries—at least as far as 1582 concerning the “whole” and “half”—but the combination of glasses that measure their current volume and the long list of names appears to have taken form around 1850:

Efter 1850 blev spetsglaset det självklara glaset för snapsen. Med en rymd på omkring 6 cl var glaset lagom för en sup att tömma i ett drag. Det minsta rymdmålet för flytande varor var förr annars en "halvjumfru", som i det gamla systemet motsvarade 4,1 cl. Förvisso heter det i ett vismanuskript från 1760-talet: "Gjut brännvin i din strupa / half Jungfru eller hel / ell ideliga supa." (Mattsson 2002:84)

After 1850, the shot glass with a thin neck became the natural glass for schnapps. With a capacity of roughly 6 cl, the glass was sufficient for a shot to be emptied in one swig. The minimum volume measure for liquid goods was formerly known as a “half virgin,” which in the old system corresponded to 4.1 cl. Certainly, it is called such in a song manuscript from the 1760s: “Pour aquavit into your throat / a half Virgin or a whole / both ideal drinks.”

It appears the simplest explanation is that one must be aware of a now archaic measurement. The first song or swig refers to a single unit of completion—a whole *jumfru*. Whether one drank the entire unit in one gulp or divided it, the sources show evidence of both. During my first year abroad, in 2003/2004, it was customary to drink the entire shot after singing *Helan går* at Västgöta during a *gasque*, followed by dividing the subsequent two shots into thirds. This practice was no longer the case during 2010/2011, when two shots divided into thirds prevailed.

The naming of sips is still evidenced in a number of drinking song selections, and the most well-known among them is *Helan går*. The prevalence of this song has been so thoroughly embedded in Swedish culture that August Strindberg described it as the second national anthem at least twice in writing, which even had commercial ramifications during the same time as Christina Mattsson found:

“Nu när brännvinsglaset fyllas och monarken stammer upp nationalsången ‘Helan går’—vilket betyder första glaset brännvin – som upprepas i kör, börja andarna och glädjen leva upp på allvar.” Detta skrevs ursprungligen på franska och publicerades också i Frankrike 1886. Det var samma år som de svenska smörgåsborden kunde prydas med brännvinskaraffer som spelade “Helan går” enligt en annons i Erik Lindorms bokfilm. (2002: 13)

“Now when the aquavit glasses are filled and the monarch strikes up the national anthem, *Helan går*—which means the first glass of aquavit—which is repeated in chorus, spirits and happiness begin to seriously liven up.” Such was originally written in French and

published in France in 1886. It was the same year as when the Swedish smorgasboards were adorned with aquavit caraffs that played *Helan går*, according to an advertisement in Erik Lindorm's feature film.

The long-standing popularity of the song has led to its absence in printed forms, and many song archives simply do not have much written proof of its existence. Printed lyrics are simply not necessary.

The popular and sometimes nebulous written nature of the song is certainly reflected in the student nations of Uppsala. Nearly every formal and semi-formal dinner begins with *Helan går*. Even when absent, it is conspicuously so. When Västgöta's *Kulturgasque* omitted *Helan går* as the lead *snapsvisa*, the song leader's introductory remarks made certain to explain that although *Helan går* is culturally appropriate, for the sake of an event dedicated to culture, it would simply step aside for a brief instance. Humorously, the replacement was *Imse vimse spindel* [The Itsy Bitsy Spider]. Additionally, the song's intricately embedded nature is sufficiently strong that it has never needed to be printed in the entire century of Gotlands nation's song book releases, though a selection highlighting what English speakers might think it sounds like, *Hell and Gore*, was printed in 2009.

Additional order-specific melodies have their place in nation life. Västgöta generally prefers the second and third songs be *Järnvägsbommor* and *Hej bonnapöjka*, whereas Gotlands is not nearly as set on specifics. *Takk för supen* [Thanks for the sip], however, is meant to be sung either third or preferably sixth, when the specific glass or formal serving of schnaps reaches its end. Regardless of which song is selected, the general trend is to sing quickly, so the social lubricant may be all the faster put to its purpose. *Protestters* [Protest third] specifically highlights this trend through its lamenting lyrics:

Vad jag avskyr när till tredje supen
någon stämmer upp en manskörsång!
Länge nog jag velat svalka strupen,
nu blott hoppas det tar slut nå'n gång.
Men jag hör ju redan slutet på versen,
skall jag nu få stilla mina begär?
Äntligen få ro att avnjuta tersen?
Nej, ack nej, det slutar inte här!

How I hate it when for the third sip
Someone strikes up a men's choir song!
Long enough, I [have] wanted to refresh my throat,
Now [I] merely hope it ends at some point.
But I already hear the end of the verse
Shall I now be able to quiet my desires?
Finally have peace to enjoy the third sip?
No, oh no, it doesn't end here!

A second verse continues the lament, but the point has already been made. Although longer songs that are more serious in tone are not befitting the time when schnapps is consumed, they do exist and are employed nonetheless at other opportune periods, most notably during the middle of the dinner when beer and wine are served. The crescendo of silliness must be maintained within manageable levels—respect for speakers, performers, and others still need be shown in addition to behavior that befits the beverage currently served. Before considering how a *gasque* comes to a close, let us now consider how one particular *sexa* played out.

A Single *Sexa*'s Song List – Ethnographic Context

Although the formal *gasque* follows a set structure, individual *sexor* tend to perform more songs on average. To illustrate how a particularly lyrical *sexa* can develop over the course of an evening, I will now describe what unfolded at Gotlands nation on October 26, 2010. Below is the list of songs that were sung that evening:

- | | |
|------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) Helan går | 15) Mera brännvin i glasen |
| 2) Här jär gudagutt att varä | 16) Dansen går på Svinsta skär |
| 3) Protestters | 17) Dansen går upp (not in book) |
| 4) Järnvägsbommar | 18) Somliga går med trasiga skor |
| 5) Vardesväisu | 19) När kaffet är serverat |
| 6) Vadsbro skvadrons visa | 20) Smedsvisa |
| 7) Astu dass | 21) Hej bonnapôjka |
| 8) Takk för supen | 22) Djungelpunsch |
| 9) Dom som är nyktra | 23) Kärringdjävel |
| 10) Bordeaux, Bordeaux | 24) Telefon till himmelen |
| 11) Ryssar i rymden | 25) Paråde de Mustäsch |
| 12) Marlikkos Vendla | 26) Gunatt siv gutt |
| 13) Sång till Gotland | 27) Auld lang syne |
| 14) Senil | |

Following the conclusion of a business meeting that involved electing the upcoming 1Q and 3Q positions, nation members were expected to wait outside the banquet hall briefly while the personnel set up two tables. Members were then asked to line up alphabetically by their town of birth before entering the hall two by two: one male and female student linking arms before they took a seat. This practice of

lining up changes for each event and may be particular to Gotlands nation. Västgöta does not engage in this custom. After everyone had taken their place at table, the current IQ raised his schnapps glass and led everyone in *Helan går* before “sending the song⁶²,” or the power of selection in a more literal sense, to the first curator electus. The practice of “sending the song” continued immediately after each song ended throughout the entire evening. In order to finish off the first shot of schnapps, two additional, quick, high-spirited selections followed. The second song is a dialectal variant of *Här är gudagott att vara*, and the third song is an appropriate selection for the third sip, *tersen*.

A second round was poured for those who wished to purchase it, which was dispatched in a similar manner. The performance of *Järnvägsbommor* early in the evening was likely due to the fact that Karl Fahlström, the first curator electus, has a cousin who is an avid member of Västgöta nation. Usually, the songs of other nations are only performed when their members are visiting. The fifth and sixth songs were similarly high-spirited with quick tempos; however, their multiple verses are often considered a bit long to be used as *snapsvisor*.

Following the consumption of the two rounds of schnapps, the main course was served buffet style. Singing ceased briefly as nation members filled their plates and returned to table. Beer and wine were then consumed, though the seventh and eight lyrical selections are typically considered schnapps songs. *Takk för supen* should have been sixth, a fact which one member pointed out explicitly. The content, gestures, and voices associated with the songs that followed became increasingly silly. *Dom som är nyktra*, for example, begins slowly and sadly. A few students even pretended to weep for the poor students who are sober and only have responsibilities. However, the general pace intensified as the singers rejoice that drunken people mostly have fun. *Ryssar i rymden* has many verses, each of which contains another group that should simply stay wherever they are. There is no true hostility, and multiple

⁶² During *sexor* at both Västgöta and Gotlands nation, it is customary for a single member to choose which song is sung. Typically, the *Inspektor* or IQ makes the first selection, but the power is then passed by saying: “*Jag skickar sången till [namn]*.” “I send the song to [name].” A brief reason may be given, but this element is optional.

members were even preparing for a semester in Moscow. An upbeat mood is maintained through the twelfth song, after which dessert is ready.

The greater portion of songs was sung once all the food had been consumed. Additional bottles of beer or wine were bought and shared between members, which led to a greater desire to sing. The ability to carry tunes, however, was slowly diminishing. Around this point, a *gasque* would typically progress to songs connected with *punsch*, but the absence of such liquor from the *sexa* resulted instead in individuals choosing whichever song suited their mood. Songs with more bawdy lyrics, such as *Senil* as well as a lesser and greater modified version of *Dansen går på Svinsta skär*, reveal a more relaxed atmosphere, when less polite subject matter can easily be expressed and enjoyed. By the twenty-first song, visiting members of Västgöta's men's choir, following Axel Grenabo, the aforementioned cousin, arrived and suggested *Järnvägsbommor* only to hear it had already been sung. *Hej bonnapôjke* sufficed instead.

As the hours reached farther into the night, a few members expressed their intention to go home. *Gunatt siv gutt* [Good night! Sleep well!] and *Auld lang syne* were considered appropriate songs to close out an evening of communal song and company. Although communal singing finished, increasingly smaller subgroups of students chose to perform their own selections without the consent of the assembled whole. Unable to keep up with many simultaneous titles and cheerfully drunken students who desired my participation, I was simply forced to surrender my documentation for the evening.

***O gamla klang- och jubeltid* – Transitioning from Festivity to Everyday Life**

All good things must come to an end. Just as *Helan går* serves to open formal events, *O gamla klang- och jubeltid* is used to close them. Originally composed in Germany in 1825 under the title, *O alte Burschenherrlichkeit*, the relatively lengthy composition brings together all students and reorients them to the task ahead. Academia is about knowledge and work, despite the festivities intended to ease the experience as a whole.

The lyrics provide a poetic look at the students' world. The first two verses begin by lamenting the return to normal life, away from mutual celebration:

O, gamla klang- och jubeltid,
ditt minne skall förbliva
och än åt livets bistra strid
ett rosigt skimmer giva.
Snart tystnar all vårt yra skämt,
vår sång blir stum, vårt glam förstämt,
o, Jerum, Jerum, Jerum,
o, quae mutatio rerum.

O, old ringing and jubilee time,
Your memory shall remain
And yet to life's bitter struggle
A rosy shimmer give.
Soon, all our dizzy jokes are silenced
Our song becomes mute, our uproar quiet,
O, Jerum, Jerum, Jerum,
O, quae mutatio rerum.

Var äro de som kunde allt,
blott ej sin ära svika,
som voro män av äkta halt
och världens herrar lika?
De drogo bort från vin och sång
till vardagslivets tråk och tvång,
o, Jerum, Jerum, Jerum,
o, quae mutatio rerum.

Where are they who know everything,
Without betraying his honor,
Who are men of true caliber
And the world's masters alike?
They drew away from wine and song
To everyday life's boredom and coercion,
O, Jerum, Jerum, Jerum,
O, quae mutatio rerum.

Thus, students are painfully aware of their situation. Although students are often accused of living in a fantasy world apart from reality, these verses act much like the concept of *momento mori*—a reminder that as good as a situation may now be, it simply cannot remain so forever.

Fortunately, the song rallies students together and reminds them that the joy of the festivities will indeed persist and aid them later when troubles once again confront them. Certainly one would not want to leave drunk, tired students on a depressed note late at night! And so, the final three verses continue:

Filosof: Den ene vetenskap och vett
in i scholares mänger,
Jurister: den andre i sitt anlets svett
på paragrafer vränger.
Teologer: En plåstrar själen som är skral
Medicinare: en lappar hop dess trasiga fodral,
Alla: o, Jerum, Jerum, Jerum,
o, quae mutatio rerum.

Philosophers: The one with knowledge and sense
Associates with scholars,
Lawyers: The other in his face's sweat
Distorts the paragraphs.
Theologians: One dresses the soul, which is meager
Doctors: One patches together its broken case.
All: o, Jerum, Jerum, Jerum,
o, quae mutatio rerum.

Det gamla skalet brustit har,
men kärnan finnes frisk dock kvar,
och vad han än må mista,
den skall dock aldrig brista.

The old shell has burst,
But the core is still healthy nevertheless,
And what he may yet do without,
It shall still not break.

Så sluten, bröder, fast vår krets
till glädjens värn och ära!
Trots allt vi tryggt och väl tillfreds
vår vänskap trohet svära.
Lyft bägarn högt och klinga, vän,
de gamla gudar leva än
/: bland skålar och pokaler :/

So close, brothers, firmly our circle
For joy's defense and honor!
Despite it all, we safely and well at ease
Swear allegiance to our friendship.
Lift the cup high and ring it, friend,
The old gods yet live
/: Among toasts and goblets :/

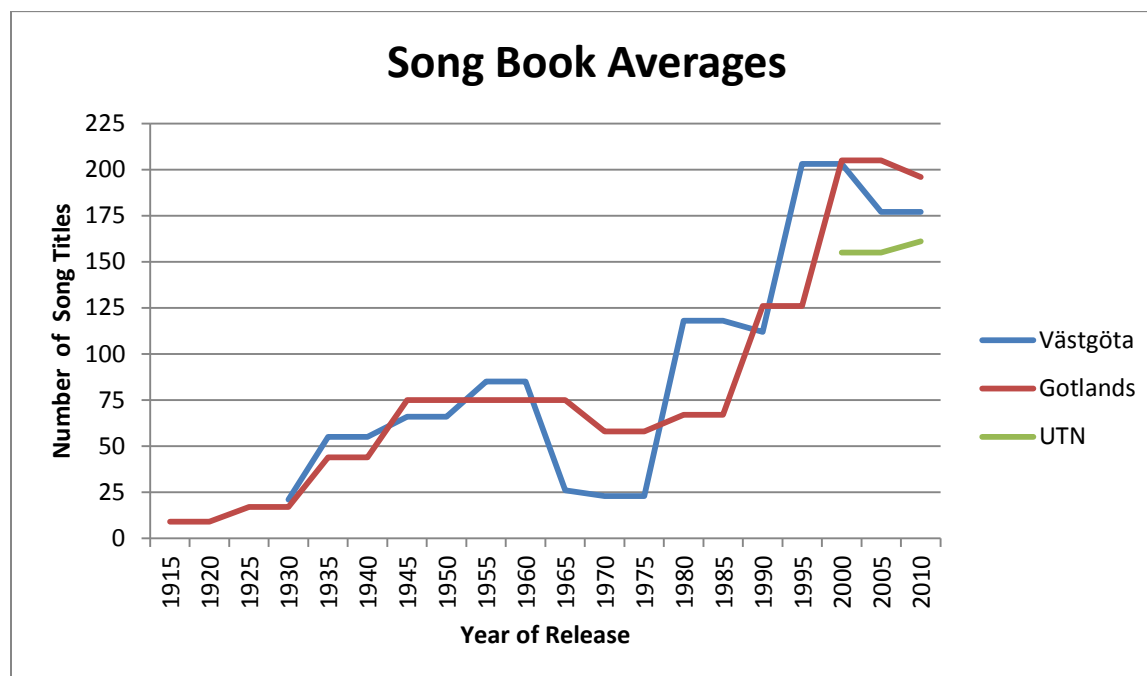
The third verse is meant to combine all students together, but the four medieval disciplines have become less representative of the current distribution of academic paths. Although philosophy acts as a catch-all, natural scientists and engineers often feel distinct from a term often considered more suited to the humanities. Although variations exist, I only heard the traditional divisions performed. Additionally, it is sometimes difficult to find theologians or medical students, though their lines are more often sung quietly rather than left completely silent. In any case, once reunited for the fourth verse, a more optimistic view of the future is constructed. Students will transform and take new shape as they progress through academia, much like a seed sprouts as it develops into a plant, but the essence of their being shall remain intact. Finally, ending on a high and somber note, students usually stand upon their chairs and ring their glasses together for one final toast and emptying of their glass during the final verse before officially ending the festivities. However, they are not quite done.

Though the *gasque* has now ended, there is still a procedure for properly exiting the banquet hall that differs between nations. In the case of Västgöta, students sit down after the final toast. The song, *Lämner gemaken*, with an immensely cheerful tone and lyrics, is sung to accompany a gradual, physical transition from the banquet hall to the world outside. The first verse is performed while seated. Members then stand up for the second verse and process out of the hall during the third. Should anyone remain in the hall after the third verse, the melody is simply repeated without words until all have exited. Gotlands, on the other hand, follows a different tradition. To sit down after *O gamla klang- och jubeltid* is seen as a cause of bad luck. More specifically, one risks never passing their final exams or graduating at the end of their studies. They do, however, wait until the second verse before exiting.

Conclusion

The song culture of the student nations is rich, both keeping old traditions strong while evolving to fit ever-changing circumstances. The geographic roots of the student nations run deep, which is reflected by their dynamic relationships with Sweden, their home district, or even the city of Uppsala. However, the student nations are also in the process of adapting to change, branching out to new frontiers as their members continue to diversify, whether it concerns sex, gender, religion, food preferences, or the many other possibilities certain to come with time.

If numbers concerning past developments are a predictor of future trends, the future of song culture with the nations—and even newer groups on the scene, such as UTN—is bright. Looking at the number of titles appearing in formal song books from Gotlands and Västgöta nation, totals have increased roughly tenfold in the span of a century. Even new organizations still in the process of becoming established attempt to keep pace with the nations, as can be seen with UTN in the chart below:



Although one should be initially suspicious of a link between what is printed and what is actually performed, song data collected during my year of fieldwork is equally impressive. Unable to attend every

event at each target group due to scheduling overlap, I nevertheless encountered a great deal of singing and variety. The sheer numbers are as follows:

	Total Number of Songs	Number of Distinct Titles
Gotlands Nation	241	110
Västgöta Nation	207	109
UTN	118	52

Songs counted in these tallies do not correlate completely with what is found in the canonized song books, such as *Ärga kockens rätt- och felvisa* as discussed earlier in the chapter, but the vast majority is nevertheless found in them. Ignoring the fact that a small portion of songs originated in evening-specific song pamphlets or were suggested by song leaders or participants on a whim, these numbers show that roughly 50% of the content of current nation songs books is sung in the course of a year. The number is closer to 33% with regards to UTN, but my experience with the sections was mainly with natural scientists and the engineers are unfortunately unrepresented. Thus, their number is most certainly higher than my data shows.

Student song culture is certainly worthy of future research. The long-term effects of the student nations' loss of funding through the abolishment of mandatory membership in 2010 are yet to be seen. However, having survived a century with two world wars as well as various economic and cultural upheavals, the nations are likely to continue in one way or another for a long time to come, their song culture evolving alongside other developments. As Bohlman has written:

Old cultural cores wore down and new communities arose; contact with the external world became a physical reality, which in turn made cultural boundaries and differences more visible. Folk music has not, however, diminished in its symbolic role of distilling and representing a community's social basis; rather, it has responded to a changing social basis by changing itself, absorbing different repertoires, and reflecting a stylistic congeries. (1988:57)

Student music will persevere as long as there are students. Which new forms they shall take is merely a question of time.

Chapter 4 – Clothing Culture

Try to imagine yourself in the following situation: It is nearly five o' clock in the late afternoon in Uppsala. You decided to go for a walk with your Swedish friend, and the two of you are now passing the old graveyard as you approach the city center. Hearing a bicycle's bell ringing, you glance over your shoulder to see a student in a yellowish coverall, wearing a brown cap with a black tassel and three orange beads dangling in the wind. As the cyclist passes you, red cuffs and a gray pant leg are made visible. You are surprised and delighted by the colors, myriad patches, and general festive nature of this passerby, but how much would you be able to learn about this one soul? You decide to ask your friend about that interestingly clothed individual.

“Ah, he must be on his third year studying engineering physics. It appears he's desperate for a girl, and if I saw those other colors correctly, his friends are chemists and an energy systems engineer. Judging by all those patches, he has been to a lot of parties and met lots of other coverall culture people.” Your friend's answer gave more information than you expected. Apparently, there is quite the system connected with these garments, and to the trained eye, a list of information is readily at hand.

Introduction and General Theoretical Framework

Clothing is an essential part of the human experience. When it comes to matters of survival, one often thinks of three vital needs: food, clothing, and shelter. In addition to providing for our physical continuation, clothing is often central to our sense of self, both in individual and group settings. This connection to identity has been studied and commented upon by many scholars. Laurel Horton and Paul Jordan-Smith compare the folkloristic approach to other disciplines:

Anthropologists are willing to accept the everyday dress of other cultures as costume. Scholars in most other disciplines treat clothes as expressions of cultural values at particular times (historical studies), as expressions of group values (sociological studies), or as expressions of the personality (psychological studies). A specifically folkloristic approach regards clothes in terms of model-based everyday communication that negotiates between the innovative self and the traditions of a group. (2004: 436)

Festive student clothing in Uppsala, especially among the science and engineering students, most definitely evidences a wide array of communicative properties that stems from norms emerging from collective practice and also individual efforts to make the clothing one's own. In order to understand this constant struggle, one must be aware of how communication is accomplished and the inherent pitfalls associated with the process. First, one must attempt to understand which rule sets exist.

A close focus on the specific details of any article of clothing benefits from the study of semiotics, which attempts to decode the constituent parts of a greater whole. Returning to Horton and Jordan-Smith's work:

In sociological terms, a "dress code" is a normative set of rules that defines the way people are expected to dress, together with implications and sanctions for following or not following the rules. In semiotics, a code is a system whose elements—in this case, articles of clothing—function as message-conveying symbols with conventional meanings, subject to interpretation. In one classical model, semiotic systems—codes—are characterized by paradigmatic and syntagmatic features. Paradigms reflect the range of choices among the system's elements available to its users. The syntagmatic feature of a system consists of the rules by which chosen elements may be combined to form a message.

...

We don individual garments according to semiotic, as well as normative, rules, and each garment functions as part of an ensemble, or outfit, the whole of which conveys one or

more messages, simple or complex, about ourselves. And when we go forth, clothed in messages, other people evaluate our self-definitions unconsciously and consciously, as we do theirs. (2004: 419)

Horton and Jordan-Smith go on to underscore their points by quoting Eicher:

Dress is a coded sensory system of non-verbal communication that aids human interaction in space and time. The codes of dress include visual as well as other sensory modifications (taste, smell, sound, and feel) and supplements (garments, jewelry, and accessories) to the body which set off either or both cognitive and affective processes that result in recognition or lack of recognition by the viewer. As a system, dressing the body by modifications and supplements often does facilitate or hinder consequent verbal or other communication. (2004: 420)

Though constrained by certain limitations set by their culture, individuals still find many ways to make choices about how to use what is available to them. Additionally, the creative impulse is strong. Though miscommunication is always a risk, many people are more than happy to tell their story given a friendly, non-threatening approach.

Greatly analogous to the choice of a clothing ensemble is the arrangement of photo albums, which may also function as gateways between the private and public realms with their own chosen stories:

Through their photographs, these spaces become Fred and Susan's intimate places. By subsequently placing these photographs in the carefully constructed photo albums that tell the complete narrative of their trips, Fred and Susan expose this intimacy as an important part of their travel experience. Following Bakhtinian principles, this public expression of intimacy gives it a reality, by engaging Fred, Susan, and anyone who views their albums in a dialogue about its existence. Again, as Berlant says, intimacy can have a public as well as private dimension. (Harrison 2003: 85)

The arrangement of photos into a personal narrative parallels what many informants told me about their decorated coveralls. Festive student garments and photo albums present one's experiences to the world in a visual manner.

Exerting control over one's chosen narrative is facing new challenges in the digital age. With the great popularity of Facebook, many people share their photos online. One need no longer be physically present to observe the displays. However, concerns about levels of privacy that recur as the website changes clearly show poignant awareness of how far one is comfortable with the intersections of public

and private spheres. Especially important is the sense of control concerning how one presents oneself to the world at large or whichever faction is deemed appropriate, which leads to the issue of semiotics in context.

The most recognizable symbol of students in Sweden is the *studentmössa* or student cap. A quick look at temporal context shows great contrast. Lars Jenner, who conducted fieldwork in Umeå in the north of Sweden and drew upon work by Jonas Frykman, noticed generational trends concerning the celebration of Valborg, perhaps the most celebrated spring festival by students across the country. He found clothing and attitudes intersect, though in different ways:

[S]tudents who were born in the 1960s to parents who lived for individualism, free choice, creative liberty through antiritualism, have reformed Valborg. Student caps, extravagant dresses, tuxedos, champagne breakfasts have returned in full splendor. The idea seems to be that one should live the good life in public, if only by play-acting, as an expression of success and well-being in everyday life. (Jenner 1999: 68)

Though the “trappings of wealth and status” were scorned by one generation, their immediate successors took these same objects and continued to rework them in a fashion that contributed to their own sense of well-being.

This refashioning process has been commented on by Jack Santino, who has written upon the issue at length in regards to the celebration of American holidays: “To investigate the holidays fully and correctly, I believe, we need to think of them as dynamic processes of human behavior and look at the ways people create them by regularly recreating traditional symbols and actions” (1994: xvi). The same mindset may easily be applied to clothing, and one should be careful not to overlook the role and importance such actions have on people’s lives. In fact, the repurposing of existing elements allows not only for easier creation of new forms but it also creates a meaningful bridge between the two:

“... we still need what myth and religion and festivals and holidays provide. But today, in our secular society, we have to construct—or reconstruct—our meanings from the ground up. Rather than passively accept the dogmas and creeds and liturgies, people use these as the raw materials from which to build acts and symbols that are meaningful to themselves and their friends, companions, and neighbors.” (Santino 1994: 32)

Festive occupational student clothing has undergone many phases of refashioning over the past century, utilizing elements that the students themselves appear to both emulate and critique. Inversions of how garments are intended to be worn will be especially important to consider later in the chapter.

Pereception and interpretation are thus important aspects to which we should turn our attention.

Written from a feminist perspective, Joan Radner and Susan Lanser find the tenuous question of interpretation fundamental, especially when dealing with groups that feel unable to openly discuss their opinions⁶³:

Like Sternberg, we acknowledge all interpretation to be uncertain, but we assume that plausible, if provisional, meanings can be inferred through an understanding of the situation in which they have been produced. As we are using *intentionality*, then, we mean assumptions inferable from the performance-in-context, which includes what we know of the performer and her circumstances but does not rely on the performer's own word for its guarantee.

This insistence on intention-as-contextually-realized still leaves us with troubling questions. What conventions are operant in any given performance, and who identifies them? What is the 'communicative context as a whole' and for whom does it have to make 'sense'? (1993: 7)

Much like the concerns about Facebook privacy mentioned previously, every message has an intended audience. Though it is impossible to ever fully know what another person truly wishes to communicate, the task is neither futile nor unimportant. A list of strategies provided by Radner and Lanser is as follows: Appropriation, Juxtaposition, Distraction, Indirection, Trivialization, and Incompetence. A few of these terms will be revisited later, when they are useful for direct analysis.

Additionally, one must not get carried away by concerns for context to the exclusion of base-level semiotics. Though Horton and Jordan-Smith combine the two concepts, they come dangerously close to overemphasizing context's role: "In itself, clothing does not constitute a sign system. The context of the human body and the contexts in which the body acts give garments the potential for conveying meaning" (2004: 420). It is indeed crucial to see how context changes meaning, but without the base meaning itself,

⁶³ For more discussion about power and perception, see Bettie 2003.

nothing can be changed. In my experience, semiotics and context are intricately linked and unable to be fully separated.

Indeed, the sheer importance of context is stated powerfully by Jack Santino, who argues that it is not only necessary to consider specific meanings, but it is tantamount to the very essence of humanity itself:

We should not be fooled by the comic and joyous nature of so many of these, or by their ephemerality, or by the fact that, outside of proper context, the customs and festive objects may appear silly and worthless. Where we find elaborated symbol and ritual we find issues and events that are of central importance to human beings. (1994: 16)

The task at hand is both daunting and worthwhile. Festive student clothing in Uppsala has much to offer, despite a sometimes worthless or even negative appearance in the minds of those who do not participate in the subculture.

In this spirit, it is now time to consider what one can truly learn from such expressive culture. To accomplish this goal, this chapter has been subdivided in order to address how different articles of clothing have contributed to the question of student identity. First, the *studentmössa*—the universally accepted symbol of students in Uppsala—along with its close relative, the *teknologmössa*, will be analyzed as part of a continual discussion, perhaps even a heated argument, of where students fit within greater society. Second, the *studentoverall*—a form of festive occupational clothing—and its successors will be considered in depth. The historical evolution of general designs will illustrate a growing desire to be identified in increasingly narrow future occupational realms. Modifications to the garments themselves illustrate a network of interpersonal relationships across these boundaries and also how individuals can remain differentiated from the collective. The arrangement of patches on these garments, which may appear nearly chaotic to the untrained eye, will demonstrate how student life is recorded and identities are shaped. Finally, brief conclusions of how this microcosm fits into Swedish society will be made. Let us now turn our attention to student caps and begin to see how identity is constructed from many components and appears to form “from the ground up.”

The *Studentmössa* and Other Academic Headgear

Historical Development

Although well-defined and normalized today, Swedish *studentmössor*—student caps—have quite a turbulent history, with students and academic authorities consistently looking both within and outside their own borders while in the process of development. Traces of French, German, and other Nordic influence have certainly made their contributions over the past two centuries.



Fig. 22 – A standard student cap, Uppsala model.

Considering the student cap is a symbol of identity, it is rather unsurprising that the Scandinavian origin appears to be found in early 19th century Norway, which had quickly passed from Danish to Swedish control following the Napoleonic Wars in 1814. Such shall provide a suitable starting point for an examination of its spread to Sweden.

Norwegian students, much like the country of Norway itself, faced the serious question of which identity they wished to display and to what extent they would truly be able to do so. From 1814-1905, the Swedish king served as the figurehead of authority, though Norwegians were able to enjoy a certain extent of domestic rule. Clothing quickly became a way for students to begin the contested negotiation of who they were and how they fit into society.

Alltsedan medeltiden ingick i akademiernas privilegier att de hade egen jurisdiktion och i den nyblivna lilla huvudstaden Kristiania ansåg synbarligen studenterna att de behövde markera sin särställning och 1820 fick de kunglig resolution på en studentuniform. Denna bestod av en svart frack med gröna broderier på sammetskragen, och svarta långbyxor med likaså svarta sammetrevärer samt en tvåkantig "Napoleonhatt". Denna uniform påminde mycket om den eleverna vid L'Ecole polytechnique i Paris hade, fränsett att dessa dessutom bar värja. Orsaken kan gott vara att kungen, Karl Johan, var den tidigare marskalken Bernadotte.

En sådan uniform blev naturligtvis ganska dyr, och den kom heller inte i allmänt bruk. Det blev egentligen endast byxorna som användes, och efter 1830 såg man inte dem heller mera. (Gadd 1986: 101-102)

Ever since the Middle Ages, it was included in universities' privileges that they had their own jurisdiction, and in the new little capital city Christiania [Oslo], students apparently felt that they needed to mark their special status, and in 1820, they got the royal resolution for a student uniform. It consisted of a black *frack* [tail coat] with green embroidery on a velvet collar, and black trousers with equally black velvet stripes together with a bicorne "Napoleon hat." This uniform greatly resembled the one students at *L'Ecole polytechnique* in Paris had, except they wore a rapier. The reason could very well be that the king, Karl XIV Johan, was the former field marshal Bernadotte.

Such a uniform was naturally quite expensive, and it did not come into general use. Only the trousers were really used, and after 1830, one did not see them any more either.

Despite receiving support from the highest authority to create a uniform, students and university administrators were not content with the development, for quite different reasons. Examining the development of Norwegian student caps from the early 1800s until the 1970s through contemporary sources that include paintings, newspaper articles, and published memories, Astrid Oxaal found a great deal of thought and energy has been given to the headgear. In fact, the shape of the cap itself was a point of contention:

There had been extensive discussion of the student uniform beforehand, both internally among the students and the university board. The board did not want the students to wear a uniform, but the king, Karl Johan, sanctioned the students' wishes. The bicorne, however, did not appeal to the students, who preferred to wear a cap with the uniform. [...] It is probable that the romantic and patriotic enthusiasm of the German student (*Urbursch*) for "altdeutsche Tracht" [traditional German costume] was a source of inspiration when the first Norwegian cap was designed in the 1820s. (Oxaal 2004: 34)

Administrators were especially opposed to the creation of distinctive student attire, because they hoped students would quickly integrate into adult society and also ensure their own safety in a changing world. The administrators' concerns about students' well-being intensified two decades later as Europe became increasingly violent towards the old societal system and moved toward more revolutionary forms:

The *duskelue*, a student cap with a large tassel, goes back to when the editor of the handwritten *Samfundsbladet*, in the issue of 1 May 1852, encouraged members of the Norwegian Student Association to debate whether the students should procure identical caps in which to welcome the students from Uppsala who would be visiting Christiania in the summer.

[...]

In the debate that followed, one voice in particular stood out: that of Ole Richter, later the Norwegian prime minister in Stockholm (Norway and Sweden were united at this time). Richter claimed that it was unfortunate and dangerous during the 1848 revolutions in

Europe for students to have outward signs or symbols which isolated them from other classes of citizens. The students' task was instead to become a part of the people.

[...]

According to the minutes of the meeting, later that day a petition was circulated about the private acquisition of "caps of the latest model", and 80 people signed it the same evening. The tasseled cap was thus not adopted by the Norwegian Student Association, but it nevertheless became popular at once. (Oxaal 2004: 36-37)

It is amusing to note that Richter also wished to dissuade students by pointing out how difficult it would be for such caps to only be worn by students. In any case, this debate separated the headgear from official groups and quite possibly lent the caps more credibility as a purely student-supported affair. With such open effort/passion displayed, one must really wonder why students were so keen to have such caps.

To don the *studentmössa* in the 1800s was a ritual act that signified not only one's admittance to the university but also a promising personal future. The importance of the cap was recognized incredibly early, which is evidenced in the writings from the earlier and later half of the century:

There are few sources which say anything about how the students themselves viewed the use of the student cap. In 1831, however, the future lawyer Peter Jonas Collett (1813-1851) wrote in his diary that:

Now the artium is finished, and my head is anointed to receive the student crown; I do not intend, however, to don it immediately, even though I have been given a student cap by my cousin Johan. [...] It seems a little foppish to me to wear such external insignia straight away.

(Collett 1934:12)

Collett describes it as a ritual act to put the cap on one's head and thus manifest one's new status as a student. From having been an *arbiturient*, that is to say, a candidate for the *examen artium*, Collett had now become a student. He was a freshman or *russ* according to the contemporary definition of the term. (Oxaal 2004: 34-35)

As Oxaal notes, the future lawyer can already envision his passage into an upper class. His future is secure, but he is wary of differentiating himself too quickly. The administrators would have approved of his actions. However, as the century continued, other members of society also wished to gain the power this cap represented, which was not always easy:

For peasant students, the social difference was a separate study with which they grappled. The author Arne Garborg (1851-1924), who was himself a peasant student from 1875, describes via the character Daniel Braut in the novel *Bondestudentar* ("Peasant Students") how difficult it was to put on the tasseled cap for the first time.

Matriculation day came. Daniel Braut pulled on his black clothes and ceremonially placed the tasseled cap on his head. He was now a student.

With pounding heart he went to stand in front of the mirror. Now he had reached his great goal; now he wanted to see himself. He expected to see a metamorphosis. (Garborg 1962:97)

Garborg describes how Daniel Braut tried to put on the cap in every possible way, without success; it simply did not fit his head. The other clothes did not fit either: he did not look like a student, he was not a student, he was in reality a peasant in disguise (ibid.). The desired metamorphosis was a change of class which few mastered without feeling inferior. (Oxaal 2004: 39)

Transformation from class boundaries to national concerns was also expected to move beyond the personal into the international political arena for a time⁶⁴. In the middle of the century, students from around Scandinavia met together amid great fanfare and public display, hoping to bring their countries closer together:

År 1843 reste danska studenter till det första "nordiska" studentmötet i Uppsala, där visserligen inga norrmän var med, men fem finländare, som alla därför blev relegerade efter hemkomsten. Två år senare hölls ett verkligt stort möte i Köpenhamn med 1377 deltagare, från Finland kom ingen denna gång. I Malmö möttes 150 norrmän, som hade svarta mössor "med sin vackra röd-vit-blå nationskokard", med lika många uppsaliensare med svart-vita skärmmössor med blå-gul kokard. Från Lund kom 250 studenter som möjligen hade blå mössor med ett vitt band i skarven mellan kant och kulle. Med säkerhet vet man att de hade och delade ut till de andra vita band med texten "Skandinavien" i blått, avsedda att fästa i knapphållet. Under färden över Sundet delade danska representanter dessutom ut till samtliga deltagare en rund pappmedaljong i blått band med ett gyllene Minervahuvud på röd botten och omskriften "Det skandinaviske Studentermøde i Kjøbenhavn 1845". Ungefär 800 danska studenter mötte i Köpenhamns hamn, de var klädda i ljusa byxor och svarta rockar, men hade inga speciella huvudbonader. Mötet varade flera dagar och en stor bankett hölls i manegen till Christianborgs slott, där alla fick plats. (Gadd 1986: 97)

In 1843, Danish students traveled to the first "Nordic" student meeting in Uppsala, where admittedly there were no Norwegians but five Finns, all of whom were expelled after returning home. Two years later, a really big meeting was held in Copenhagen with 1377 participants, none came from Finland that time. In Malmö, 150 Norwegians, who had black caps "with their beautiful red-white-blue national cockades," met as many Uppsala students with black-white visor caps with blue-gold cockades. From Lund came 250 students who possibly had blue caps with a white ribbon in the seam between the band and the crown. With certainty, one knows that they had and distributed to others white ribbons with the text "Scandinavia" in blue, designed to fasten in a buttonhole. During the journey across the strait, the Danish representatives also distributed to the same participants a round paper medal of blue ribbon with a golden Minerva head on a red

⁶⁴ Similar tensions are certainly felt today. The Occupy Wall Street protests in New York City are perhaps the most visible in the United States. The Occupy Movement has certainly spread across the world in various forms. One of the most recent groups is Occupy Taksim, which began in Istanbul and has spread across Turkey. At the time of writing this dissertation, students in Ankara have protested in marches as well as clashes with riot police.

background and the text "The Scandinavian Student Meeting in Copenhagen 1845." Roughly 800 Danish students met in Copenhagen's harbor; they were dressed in light trousers and black coats, but had no special headgear. The meeting lasted several days and a large banquet was held in the arena at Christianborg Palace, where everyone had a place.

The attempts to bring the Scandinavian countries together certainly did not succeed, but the student meetings did lead directly to the continued development of student caps, each country and certain institutions further designing them to function as symbols of recognition. Student caps fared quite differently in the century to come.

The 20th century was not entirely kind to the tradition of wearing *studentmössor*. As more and more people were able to earn them, their appeal as a true status symbol began to wane. However, the caps continued to find ways to creep back into the public or student sphere when the time was right:

Ungefär 1930 tyckte man att studentmössor inte behövdes, då det blivit så vanligt att taga examen. Men under andra världskriget, då tyskarna höll Danmark besatt från 1940 till 1945 blev de vanliga igen. Alla som kunde bar dem som en nationell symbol och protest mot tyskarna [...] Vad Studentföreningens seniorer år 1856 inte tyckte om för att det var alltför tyskt blev en populär patriotisk symbol! Livet har sina ironier. (Gadd 1986: 99)

Around 1930, one thought that student caps were not needed as it became so common to take the exam. But during the Second World War, when the Germans occupied Denmark from 1940 to 1945, they became common again. All who could wore them as a national symbol and protest against the Germans... What the Student Association's seniors in 1856 did not like because they were all too German became a popular patriotic symbol! Life has its ironies.

Despite performing a patriotic duty during the war, the caps would soon face their own conflict. As student radicalism during the late 1960s and early '70s escalated, the *studentmössa* would instead find itself in the role of an enemy to be vanquished:

"Studentrevolten" som år 1968 svepte över hela västvärlden var fientligt inställd till gamla och "borgarbrackiga" traditioner, varför även studentmössorna praktiskt taget försvann. Även ungdomens moderna vana att gå barhuvad gjorde naturligtvis sitt till. Men nu på 80-talet har en ny nostalgisk riktning gjort att även gamla, före detta studenter plockar fram sina mössor och går med dem på den traditionsenliga promenaden "på Kastelsvolden" på aftonen av den specifikt danska helgdagen Store Bededag, 4 veckor efter långfredagen. (Gadd 1986: 100)

“The Student Revolt” which, in 1968, swept over the entire Western World was hostile to old and “petty bourgeois” traditions, which is why even student caps virtually disappeared. Even the youth’s fashion habits of going bareheaded naturally did its part. But now in the 1980s, a new nostalgic tendency has made it so even old alumni take out their caps and go with them on then traditional walk “*på Kastelsvolden*” on the evening of the specifically Danish holiday, *Store Bededag*, four weeks after Good Friday.

Though Gadd mentions that “even old alumni” were able to look back on their caps with joy given time, a far more rebellious picture of the same time period is provided by Lars Jenner when describing how Uppsala students decided to treat their caps:

They held in great distrust everything that had to do with the establishment. And this included rituals like Valborg. The late 1960s witnessed disruption of the annual ritual. The symbol of status in their parents’ generation, the white student cap, became a despised and powerful object for protest. Large groups of students gathered to burn their student caps and make speeches about the dangers of perpetuating ritual of any kind because it was the instrument of a corrupt and misguided Sweden. But we should note here the strange persistence of tradition. Even protest, the usage of symbols to reach an encompassing and abstract message difficult or impossible to express in words, is ritualistic. (Jenner 1999: 68)

Fortunately, at least for folklorists and fans of *studentikos* culture alike, the white caps continue to exist within the Nordic countries. However, we will now focus our attention on Uppsala.

Current Usage

Nowadays, Swedish *studentmössor* have three areas in which they are commonly used. First and foremost, they have transformed from symbolizing eligibility to enter university, previously granted only after passing entrance exams, to signifying successful completion of high school. Second, they continue to be used during the spring celebration of Valborg [April 30] every year, which reaches beyond the immediate student body, providing a time for alumni to also fondly remember days gone by. Last but not least, they continue to play a minor role in the universities, although they have mostly become ceremonial attire for student officials and often a beloved sign of membership in student choirs. Let us begin by focusing on how the caps are attained by the youth of the present.

As high school students approach their graduation date, they will no doubt think about student caps. However, the reason for such consideration may come as much or more from vendors than from nearing a transitional point in their lives. This issue has been discussed in many articles of *Uppsala Nya Tidning*, a local newspaper, and the ever expanding practice of celebrating graduation—*att ta studenten*—is considered an industry in itself:

Framför de bärbara datorerna som studentmössföretaget ABC ställt upp i klassrummet trängs eleverna. Här designar man sin egen mössa genom att välja mössmodell, skärmkvalitet, kokarder, mössinitialer, brodyr och band. Sedan väljer man kvalitet: ekologisk, lyx, diamant, standard och brilliant. En färdig mössa kan kosta allt från ett par hundra till tusen kronor. Trots att det är åtta månader kvar till studenten måste eleverna redan börja prova ut sina mössor.

– De måste hinna produceras. Det finns 116 000 studenter i Sverige, och vi levererar mössor till 110 000 av dem, säger Mikaela Gillberg. Hon är informatör på ABC-gruppen som säljer studentmössor, studentprylar och skoltröjor. Förra året omsatte företaget 62 miljoner kronor, för tre år sedan 41 miljoner. Det är en industri som växer.

T-shirts⁶⁵, trosor, skor, kepsar, slipsar, klockor och kondomer. Det är bara några av de saker med studenttryck som finns att välja på i samband med valet av mössa. Det amerikanska fenomenet med avslutningsböcker med bilder och minnestexter är nästa grej. I Danmark är det redan en tradition. (Möller 2010: par. 5-7)

In front of the portable computers, which the student cap company—ABC—set up, students are crowded. Here, one can design one's own cap by choosing the cap model, visor quality, cockade, cap initials, embroidery and band. Then one chooses the quality: ecological, luxury, diamond, standard, and brilliant. A finished cap can cost anywhere from a few hundred to a thousand crowns [~\$50-150]. Even though there are eight months until graduation, students must already try out their caps.

“They must be produced in time. There are 116,000 students in Sweden, and we deliver caps to 110,000 of them,” says Mikaela Gillberg. She is an information officer with the ABC group, which sells student caps, student trinkets, and school sweatshirts. Last year, the company had sales of 62 million crowns [~\$9.26 million]; three years ago, 41 million [~\$6.12 million]. It is a growing industry.

T-shirts, sweatshirts, shoes, hats, ties, watches and condoms. They are only a few of the things with student prints available for selection in connection with the choice of cap. The American phenomenon of yearbooks with photos and memorable text are the next thing. In Denmark, it is already a tradition.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of how T-shirts, Timberland boots, army fatigues, and other clothing items are used to communicate individual and group identities of Cape Verdean youth around Boston, see Saucier 2011.

Rather than directly symbolizing a secure future through higher education, it appears the caps now celebrate successful completion of secondary education and a transitional moment to be enjoyed to the fullest in the present. Although the proliferation of choices and modifications allow for more individuality, the cap accessories are not without criticism from parents and even soon-to-be graduates:

Erik Eckersten, naturprogrammet, Rosendalsgymnasiet i Uppsala:

- Jag betalade 350 kronor för min studentmössa. Den heter Global och är ekologisk. Jag är väldigt nöjd med den, säger Erik Eckersten.

[...]

- Studenten är värd att fira. Men det har blivit så hetsigt och väldigt konsumtionsfixerat. Personligen klarar jag mig utan allt det extra men annars är vi studenter lättköpta offer, de flesta blir ju påverkade av gruppsycket. Jag tycker också att studentfirandet kommit att bli en exkluderande företeelse. Alla har inte råd och de som egentligen inte har råd kanske tvingas till en del utgifter ändå för att inte skilja sig från mängden, säger Erik Eckersten. (Hellberg 2012: par. 9 & 12)

Erik Eckersten, natural science program, Rosendalsgymnasiet in Uppsala:

“I paid 350 crowns [~\$52] for my student cap. It is called Global and is ecological. I am very pleased with it,” says Erik Eckersten.

[...]

“Graduation is worth celebrating. However, it has become so hectic and fixed on consumerism. Personally, I can do without all the extras, but otherwise we students are easy victims, the majority of whom are certainly influenced by peer pressure. I also think that graduation celebrations have become an exclusive phenomenon. Not everyone can afford it, and those who truly cannot are possibly forced to pay a portion of expenses to avoid separating themselves from the crowd,” says Erik Eckersten.

Despite the possible disparity in cap quality, the symbol itself still reaches a really broad audience. Simply considering the numbers put forth by the ABC company, almost 95% of high school graduates order a cap through them alone. Additionally, despite the many other trinkets that might accompany them, caps are still the focal point, which is often evidenced in Facebook profile photos. To the right, one can see such a photo, which incorporates a blue band to represent the IB diploma program. A fancier-than-standard cockade is visible,



Fig. 23 – Disa Bäckström’s Facebook profile photo, 30 April 2008.

and this particular cap cost roughly 300 crowns [\$52]. Impressively enough, this widespread audience becomes even larger and more visible, especially in Uppsala, when Swedes from around the country gather at the end of April.

Many events are celebrated during *Valborgsmässoafton*—often shortened to Valborg—on the 30th of April, but one of the most well-known is the *mösspåtagnig*—the donning of the caps. This act has been codified as an official university ritual since 1955, though it predates such formalization by about a century. At exactly 3:00pm in the afternoon, the *Rector Magnificus*⁶⁶ waves his student cap from the balcony of Carolina Rediviva—the main academic library—and all others follow suit. Only then may one officially begin to wear the student cap for the summer season. This event continues to grow. The university shares official panorama pictures on Facebook, distributes commemorative pins⁶⁷ near the library immediately prior to 3:00pm, and actively attempts to build up the excitement in the days leading up to the event. Student nations send flag bearers to stand at the entrance of the library. *Wijkmanska blecket*, the student orchestra of Norrlands nation, performs music leading up to the donning of the caps. Students in festive coveralls and lab coats can be seen blending in with other individual students in *frack* or, more likely, in casual clothing.

Although *studentmössor* are not ubiquitous on this holiday, they are certainly in good company. To the right, a special top hat, signifying the completion of PhD-level studies, mingles easily with currently enrolled students and various observers alike. Even the strict observance of donning one's cap at the proper time can lead to humorous interactions between students, as *Upsala Nya Tidning* found out in 2009:



Fig. 24 – A woman dons her *doktorshatt* amid other students in Uppsala, Valborg 2011

⁶⁶ A position somewhat akin to an American university's president.

⁶⁷ The distribution of pins began in 2011, and they are advertised online in advance. It appears the university is making a self-conscious effort to brand itself as an experience in addition to its educational role. As some of my American friends pointed out, the photos I shared gave a sense that I was in a kind of “real world Hogwarts.”

- Det här är den viktigaste dagen på året, säger Karin Cambronerio som var beredd med studentmössan strax före kl 15.

I backen syntes också tre killar som redan hade tagit på sina studentmössor - trots att en koll på klockan visade att det faktiskt var tio minuter kvar till det magiska klockslaget då mössorna ska tas på. Det är väl inte rätt?

- Vi har mössorna på för att vi just har sjungit med *Ultunae Drängar*, förklarar Martin Rappe George.

[...]

Snart skymtade universitetsrektor Anders Hallberg med sällskap på Carolina Redivivas balkong och de vita mössorna längst upp i backen höjdes mot skyn. De flesta hade dock kommit till Carolinabacken utan studentmössa och verkade mest njuta av solen och värmen, många på picknickfiltar i gräset. (Åberg par. 1 & 3)

“This is the most important day of the year,” says Karin Cambronerio, who was ready with her student cap just before 3:00pm.

On the hill, there are also three guys who have already donned their student caps—despite a glance at the clock showing that there are actually ten minutes left until the magical time when caps will be donned. That is certainly not right?

“We have caps on because we have just sung with *Ultunae Drängar*,” explains Martin Rappe George.

[...]

Soon, the university rector, Andres Hallberg, is spotted with company on the Carolina Rediviva balcony, and the white caps highest on the hill are raised to the sky. Most people, however, have come to Carolina Hill without student caps and mainly enjoy the sun and warmth, many on picnic blankets in the grass.

The presence of many sunbathers does not detract from the feeling and lingering symbolism of donning white student caps in the spring. In addition to the visual display of students’ special headgear for the first time of the calendar year, a specific song is also vocalized by attendees nearly simultaneously.

Studentsången praises both the promise of youth and spring, which both appear to be one and the same. One simply cannot miss the sheer joy and merry anticipation when the lyrics ring through the air or appear in the 2006 Västgota songbook:

Sjung om studentens lyckliga dag,
låt oss fröjdas i ungdomens vår!
Än klappar hjärtat med friska slag
och den ljusnande framtid är vår. (Rudbjer 14)

Sing of the student’s happy day,
let us rejoice in youth’s spring!
The heart claps with healthy beats
and the bright future is ours.

These lyrics are complemented with the sketch of a smiling student, holding his cap high in the air as if waving toward Carolina Rediviva directly. An additional bit of information also adds to the strong connection between this song and event. The music was composed by Prince Gustaf, whose statue stands

near the entrance of the library. Upon the pedestal, one panel bears the words “*Sjungom studentens lyckliga dag*” along with the depiction of four men: two wear the student cap, one holds it in his hand, and the fourth wears a top hat. At any given time of day or night, student hats—though part of a metallic panel—are holding vigil at the proper place in Uppsala.

It may thus also seem somewhat poetic that caps on living students are most often found with choirs. *Studentmössor* often play a prominent role in the costume of student choirs, both male and female alike. When student nations celebrate a *gasque*—a formal dinner party—it is customary to have entertainment spread throughout the evening, and a short performance by one’s own or a visiting choir is usual. VGMK—the male choir of Västgöta—specifically delights in wearing *frack* decorated with many medals along with a *studentmössa* upon their head. Part of the choir’s appeal is a specific desire to give off a 19th century aura, which certainly fits into historical trends:

The tasseled cap as a mark of the male-voice choir, the Norwegian Students’ Choral Society (1845), and later the Female Students’ Choral Society (1895) has not been very controversial. It is not clear whether the students at the first appearance of the Students’ Choral Society – at Henrik Wergeland’s funeral in 1845 – wore caps of the first type. On the other hand, there is good reason to assume that the choir agreed about the wearing of the tasseled cap from the beginning, because the man employed to conduct the choir, Johan Diderek Behrens, was a member of the Student Association’s cap committee in 1852. The members of the Female Students’ Choral Society were also regular cap wearers. (Oxaal 2004: 40)

A choir need not aim for a specifically old-time feel in order to employ the student cap to full advantage. Due to the otherwise near absence of student caps, simply wearing them can effectively differentiate small groups within the nations, whether choir members, curators, or flag bearers. However, a quite different cap is employed by engineering students, who wished to further set themselves apart.

The *Teknologmössa*

The engineering cap, though far less common than the standard student cap, also has quite a history, very much paralleling its predecessor. The exact origin of the *teknologmössa* is unclear, much the same as other articles of engineering student clothing. However, unlike engineering coveralls, which

will be discussed in the next section of this chapter, it appears that the development did not arise exclusively in Stockholm:

Att teknologmössans ursprung är den vanliga studentmössan torde vara helt säkerställt. Däremot går uppgifterna isär vad beträffar uppkomsten. De flesta menar att den togs fram av Chalmersstudenter år 1878 på grund av att den vanliga studentmössan förlorat sin akademiska betydelse sedan studentexamen år 1864 börjat avläggas vid läroverken i stället för universiteten. Mössans utdragning på höger sida till en plös, med vidhängande tofs på snöre, ska ha berott på inspiration från en norsk tofsprydd studentmössa – under unionstiden fanns många norska teknologer vid KTH och Chalmers. (“Teknologmössa” 2012: par. 3)

That the engineering cap’s origin is in the common student cap should be completely certain. However, information diverges regarding its emergence. Most believe it was developed by Chalmers students in 1878 because the normal student cap lost its academic significance in 1864 after the university entrance exam began to be taken at secondary schools rather than universities. The cap’s downward slant on the right side to a tongue, with an attached tassel on a string, must have been due to inspiration from a Norwegian tassel-decorated student cap—during the Union Period there were many Norwegian engineers at KTH and Chalmers.

Much the same as the normal student cap, the real impetus for the engineering cap’s creation and continued life appears to be student-driven. Even so, it would be almost a full century before engineering caps would appear in Uppsala, corresponding with the emerging engineering physics group, FUTF.

In addition to standing out from the student body at large, further elements in the engineering cap allowed the wearers to communicate a broader amount of semiotic information. According to *Stortuppens vingslag*—a collection of FUTF protocols—engineering caps were first ordered in 1975 (Bohlin 1987: 4).

Presumably, they were colored as they are today: brown crowns, black tassels, black sides with a thin golden stripe near the seam of the crown, and a black visor. The color of the crown is one way various universities are able to differentiate from one another. KTH in Stockholm uses gray, for example. Color soon came to play a role of differentiation within Uppsala’s student body as well.

As the engineering programs expanded at Uppsala University, a need was felt to demonstrate one’s disciplinary allegiance. Johannes Wolff explains how thread-beads on the cord above the tassel have the potential to express a great deal of information:

The *spegater* signify the program of engineering which I'm studying by color. Orange is engineering physics and blue is *system i teknik och samhälle*, and [there are] a lot of different colors. A black one is if you study something else than engineering; you wear one of those to signify you're not studying at all or something that doesn't count. The amount of them signifies the amount of years started, so actually, I should have six on here because I'm starting my sixth year, but I haven't had time to buy one. There are also versions if you're studying at half speed. You can have one that's orange with one black thread inside it so it's half-black, half-orange and you can also combine different kinds. If you do a PhD in an area, you can have one with a golden thread inside it for every year of PhD [studies].

Returning to *Stortuppens vingslag*, these cloth beads are first mentioned in 1978. The color orange was specifically introduced to avoid confusion with chemistry, which used yellow (Bohlin 5). To the right, one may see an example of an engineering cap with blue *spegater* representing the sociotechnical systems engineering program. Not only do the *spegater* identify which program, level, and how much time has been spent in the discipline but they also signify relationship status.

In 2010, incoming students were taught how to determine possible dating prospects by paying close attention to the placement of *spegater* on a fellow student's tassel. Although the following citation appears rather straightforward and serious, it was delivered in an intentionally comical style:

Ett tips. För att kolla upp någons civilstatus bör man spana in teknologmössan och nivån på dess så kallade spegater. Om spegaten är längst ned på tofsen är personen väldigt upptagen. Är spegaten i mitten är personen singel. Är spegaten i topp är personen fullständigt desperat. Om personen skulle ha spegaterna så här bör man se upp. Det kan nämligen vara varning för en multipel personlighetsstörning. (Reccefilmen 2011)

A tip. To look up someone's marital status, one should check out the engineering cap and level of the so-called *spegater*. If the *spegat* is all the way down the tassel, the person is really occupied. If the *spegat* is in the middle, the person is single. If the *spegat* is at the top, the person is completely desperate. If the person should have the *spegater* like this [up and down], one should watch out. It may be a warning for a multiple personality disorder.



Fig. 25 – Gabriella Hammarin poses with her *teknologmössa* with STS *spegater*.

This lesson was part of a larger initiation, which is explained in the chapter about the yearly round. At this point, it is simply worth mentioning that the conveyers of such knowledge were older, active students, who participated in this demanding activity mostly for the sheer enjoyment of the experience and the *studentikos* prestige, despite working with other formal frameworks. Other practices relating to a sensual nature can also be observed regarding a special *spogat*, which even other universities mention to their curious student bodies, as one periodical from Chalmers University explains:

I Uppsala får en vit *spogat* endast bäras av den som vid midnatt och fullmåne har kysst en blond oskuld på domkyrkotrappen inför två vittnen. Det finns med andra ord inte så många vita *spogater* i Uppsala. (Flodström 2009: 15)

In Uppsala, a white *spogat* may only be worn by one who, at midnight during a full moon, has kissed a blonde virgin on the steps of the cathedral before two witnesses. There are, in other words, not so many white *spogater* in Uppsala.

The white *spogat* was often mentioned after science and engineering parties, especially when the moon was rather full. It was considered a nearly impossible task, however, because of another qualification: the blond virgin⁶⁸ must also be unaware of the tradition. According to legend, one man in the 19th century is said to have earned two, though the details were not incredibly forthcoming. Though the *spogater* have semiotic importance, one must not forget about the tassel itself.

Tassels in and of themselves have often been used to draw attention and allude to matters of seduction. Certain scholars believe the custom is nearly as old as human culture itself:

Elizabeth Barber argues that the string skirts found in Eastern European bridal clothing as recently as the 20th century are a continuation of a 25,000-year-old tradition. Patricia Anawalt claims the tradition can be traced all the way from the Paleolithic era to the present day. Tassels and fringe hold the quality of sexual promise, even today. Amazigh brides are dressed in belts with hanging tassels, and Hope brides carry sashes with long fringes that move gracefully and allude to life-giving rain (fecundity). Examples of sexual strings can be seen in contemporary Western culture as well: G-strings worn by exotic dancers, for example, and the tasseled ‘pasties’ that might swing from their nipples. (Gordon 2011: 122)

⁶⁸ Virgin lore at American universities is common. When I attended the University of Maryland, College Park [UMCP], it was said that the bronze terrapin in front of McKeldin Library would leap off of its concrete pedestal to fly three times around the administration building if a virgin ever graduated. For even more examples, see Bronner 1990, especially pages 179-185.

The long, flowing strings may be somewhat akin to long hair, which often signified whether or not a woman was married. In many cultures, including Scandinavian, married women wore their hair up or covered. Returning to the *teknologmössa*, this “sexual promise” is played out through a modification that requires interaction between two students. Johannes Wolff explains:

There is also a tradition regarding these threads on the end [of the tassel]. If you have a girlfriend or even just in general, you can [let] another one tie these ropes with a kiss in exchange. If I would give someone a kiss, that person would make a knot so it won't [fray]. If you cannot find someone willing to kiss you, there's another way. The tradition is that you dip the threads in *punsch*.

Thus, these specialized hats are certainly more complex than meets the untrained eye. Although *teknologmössor* have evolved in many ways to become more complicated than the *studentmössa*, one aspect has recently reversed that trend.

Of all the additional modifications, the detail that sits front and center has currently returned to the general student standard: the cockade. Older caps, a handful of which are still in active service, display a metallic badge, which consists of a rooster surrounded by a laurel wreath. Within the last decade, this rooster has become more and more the symbol of the engineering physicists alone, and in order to more accurately include the other sections, the national cockade of the *studentmössa* was selected as the current replacement. However, further developments are currently underway. Early in 2013, a new cap—called the *UTN-mössan*—was designed and sold in limited quantities. Its shape is the same as its predecessor, but the color scheme was changed to dark blue with a silver band, which is an attempt to appeal to students in the natural science *sektioner*. According to information from my informants on Facebook, a metallic cockade is currently being designed. The UTN goat shall replace FUTF's rooster, and the cockade should be finished in time for the fall 2013 semester. With this greater focus from the general student populace to the engineers, it is now appropriate to turn our attention toward other developments in student clothing, focusing on both engineers and the natural scientists.

Festive Occupational Clothing

Elevating A Working Class Outfit: Student Coveralls

To appreciate the current state of Uppsalian festive clothing that signifies a student's intended future career, a quick look at how the multiple forms of such garments have developed is necessary. Although the general history of contemporary garments in Uppsala appears relatively clear, details concerning the origins of the earlier iterations before they reached Uppsala are nebulous. Most of my informants are aware that engineering coveralls are the standard model from which many other forms took inspiration, but even the coverall owes its existence to an older and more formal garment with an even more elusive past: *B-frack*.

As far as many students in Uppsala are concerned, all information regarding the predecessor of coveralls is limited to what they can access on the Internet. While browsing for information, it became evident that little firm history is available and what is appears to be shared between various institutions—nearly word for word at times, forming part of students' digital culture. Discussion boards, for example, are active with new and old students sharing what they know. Information from the *Systemvetenskap* section at Linköping, considered a strong campus for coverall culture by my informants, is as follows:

Overallen har egentligen sina rötter i en frack. På den gamla goda tiden – på 20 och 30-talen ungefär – bar studenterna frack vid alla festliga tillfällen och drack då inget annat än punch (tänk dig den bakfyllan). För att kunna vara riktigt elegant vid viktigare tillfällen som bröllop och promoveringar hade de flesta förutom sin frack dessutom en s. k. spyfrack, som användes vid firanden när rännstensbesök kunde befaras. (Pettersson 2012: par. 1)

Coveralls actually have their roots in *frack*. In the good old days—in the 1920s and '30s roughly—students wore *frack* at all festive occasions and drank nothing other than *punch* (think of the hangover). In order to be truly elegant at more important occasions, such as weddings and conferment ceremonies, most had in addition to their *frack* a so-called *spyfrack*, which was used at celebrations when a visit to the gutters could be feared.

At this point, the two main terms for festive *frack* can be understood. *B-frack* indicates a garment in addition to another suited for high formality, whereas *spyfrack*—literally “vomit jacket”—ties closely

with the idea that such a risk came naturally from behavior expected while wearing it. Additionally, the need for a pair of jackets illustrates two ways in which this behavior appears to be encoded.

First, the very need for a secondary *frack* provides firm evidence of an inversion. According to Barbara Babcock:

“Symbolic inversion” may be broadly defined as any act of expressive behavior which inverts, contradicts, abrogates, or in some fashion presents an alternative to commonly held cultural codes, values, and norms be they linguistic, literary or artistic, religious, or social and political. (qtd. in Radner & Lanser 1993: 25)

Figure 26 illustrates the proper wearing of *frack* in a formal setting. The wearer is clean, assuming good posture, and is within a university aula. *Spyfrack*, on the other hand, is meant to become dirty, be roughly handled, and ultimately end up in a gutter or other place of ill repute.

Second, even though the early owners of *B-frack* may have also owned a proper jacket, this fact does not detract from the observation that an encoded behavior has been enacted.

Using Radner and Lanser’s terminology, it appears a form of juxtaposition is also in play:

Because interpretation is a contextual activity, the ironic arrangement of texts, artifacts, or performances can constitute a powerful strategy for coding. An item that in one environment seems unremarkable or unambiguous may develop quite tendentious levels of meaning in another. (1993: 13)

What might the students be communicating through such an inverted and juxtaposed usage of formal attire? Perhaps the students, although dutifully embracing formal attire when need be, are rebelling against the constraints of society and the clothing itself, which does not allow for free movement.

Perhaps, despite their upward climb in society, there is still the fear of failure and its consequences.



Fig. 26 – A student official during the reception of new nation members in the Uppsala university aula, 2010.

Perhaps they question whether the serious, high culture aims of formal attire are really the best of what life has to offer. To whom do these unspoken ideas belong, and who is their primary audience?

When considering who exactly wore this jacket, the student union website for *Högskolan Väst* suggests the following, compiled by a member of *VästSex* [a party committee]:

Denna utstyrsel bars oberoende av kön, och först och främst av Teknologer (Som Studerade vid Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan), under 40-50 år för att sedan på 70-talet bytas ut mot laborationsbeklädnad. (Westerlund 2012: par. 1)

This outfit was worn regardless of gender, and first and foremost by engineers (who studied at the Royal Institute for Technology), for 40-50 years until the 1970s, when they were replaced by laboratory clothing.

It is questionable how many women had the opportunity to wear *spyfrack* until the final quarter of the 20th century due to enrollment numbers and gender-specific considerations of garment selection, but certainly many sources emphasize that KTH engineers were the primary users. A point of contention between sources, though, is how active this clothing tradition truly was. Some note a very probable hiatus preceding a revival. According to *Härnösands Studentkårs Phaestmaesteri*:

När studenterna vid universitet och högskolor efter 60- 70-tales period av förnekelse av sitt ursprung ville de återknyta kontakten med sina ärorika rötter ville man självklart återuppta denna sed. Men eftersom frackarna var så dyra, var det någon vid Chalmers eller KTH som kom på den ljusa idén att ersätta spyfracken med en overall. (“Overallen” 2012: par. 4)

When students at universities and colleges, after the 1960s and ‘70s period of denial of their origins, wanted to reconnect with their glorious roots, one would obviously want to resume this custom. However, because *frack* was so expensive, it was someone at Chalmers or KTH who came up with the bright idea to replace *spyfrack* with an overall.

This cessation during the 1960s, followed by a revival in the ‘70s, seems plausible. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, Jenner and Frykman noted a generational shift from anti-ritualism to a resurgence of formal attire, even if only by “play acting” during this period. Additionally, the combination of a revival and a new format fits well into a model for how cultural identities are formed.

Drawing on ideas put forth by Fløistad, Randi Storaas suggests a four-step process to creating a suitable alternative to the status quo:

Crisis: People sense that circumstances are not as they should be. They feel a need for something new.

Idea: They get an idea of how conditions can be improved.

Motivation: They speak enthusiastically about the idea and try to convince others.

Symbols of Solidarity: Symbols are created which express their ideas. These reinforce intra-group solidarity and contribute toward legitimizing their ideas. The symbols also show other people that they are confronted with an ideological fellowship. Here a revitalization process may arise.

This model has a content aspect and an expressive aspect. The ideas belong to the content aspect; they are thoughts which form part of an ideology. These thoughts must also be expressed; this can be done through language, through symbols (such as clothing), and through ritual techniques (slogans, naming magic and rituals).

In addition to the completion of the four points above, it is also important that the “alternative must appear at least as good as the status quo” (1986: 149). In regards to student occupational clothing in the 1970s, two crises arose. First, a loss was felt regarding a break in tradition. Much like folk costume for ethnic groups, which the upper classes appropriated and codified in the 19th century, *spyfrack* was something to be taken back and given new life—here, in the non-academic ends of the university. However, with student enrollment numbers reaching ever upward, a second crisis was realized: there was simply not enough supply—cheap, used *frack* jackets—to fill the demand.

One nagging question remains in regards to *B-frack*. When did the jacket make the transition from simply being a garment that could acceptably receive stains to a more individualistic and expressive clothing item, such as in Figure 27? One possible explanation was provided by a Wikipedia article as of October 4, 2012:



Fig. 27 – A student wearing *spyfrack* during *Valborg* in Uppsala, 2011.

Märkestraditionen har förmodligen sitt ursprung i Lund där musikkårer på 1940-talet reste landet runt och bytte märken på olika lärosäten. (“Studentoverall” par. 2)

The patch tradition probably has its origin in Lund, where bands in the 1940s traveled around the country and traded patches at various universities.

Another possibility is that the revival attempt of the 1970s, which spurred the creation of festive coveralls that are closely linked with patches and displaying one’s name prominently. For now, this answer must remain uncertain. However, with the attempted revival of *B-frack* in the 1970s came an interesting twist in festive clothing’s orientation.

The shift to coveralls entails a marked inversion of festive student clothing in its own right. Whereas *spyfrack* lowered an upper class garment from its intended context, student coveralls instead elevated a working class outfit. One word that highlights both the collective history and inversions of festive student attire is the term *finkläder*—formal attire—which is often used to describe the entirety of the student overall subculture. The survival of this term appears to mimic a point made by Randi Storaas, who noted that positive labeling played an important role in the Norwegianness movement at the turn of the 20th century, which sought to portray regional costume in the most positive light and downplay the greyness of emerging industrial clothing standards (1986: 153). Indeed, this encouragement was highly necessary, as the third step of her model—motivation—illustrates. Yet the success and spread of student coveralls is based upon many other factors.

First and foremost, practicality was a major part of the decision. In addition to the fact that supplies of cheap *frack* were increasingly unavailable, engineering students also realized their festive actions were hard on such garments. Fortunately for them,



Fig. 28 – Students wearing festive coveralls during Quarnevalen 2011, outside the KTH campus, Stockholm

the solution was under their nose. Coveralls were used as protective clothing during dirty labor and for workplace visits. Although sources differ on the exact origin, consensus appears to settle on the Royal Institute of Technology in Stockholm. Two contemporary students from that campus are illustrated on the previous page. In addition to providing an economical and durable alternative, the use of modified work clothing intersected with a newer, more specialized level of authority and recognition.

Jennifer Craik notes that work clothing can quickly and easily communicate multiple aspects of both personal and group identity to a large audience:

Function and form (protection, specialism, status, membership, authority) have shaped the genre of work uniforms. Protective uniforms include overalls, coveralls, aprons, helmets and lab coats. These serve a practical function yet become a distinctive element in themselves. Specialist uniforms denote a particular occupational skill or role such as the apron of a “master” craftsman or tradesperson (butcher, blacksmith, baker) or specialist profession (e.g. medical roles such as surgeon, anaesthetist, physiotherapist or neurologist). (2005: 108)

No longer simply reflecting a means to an end—climbing the social ladder to join the upper economic tiers, represented by formal *frack*—engineering students could now show society how they intended to do so through specialized skills and labor, the recognizable garb which was already at hand. With this seeming perfect confluence of factors all coming together at once, student coverall culture was poised to spread quickly, and so it did.

Colored coveralls spread across Sweden and even into Finland. In Uppsala, according to *Stortuppens vingslag*—a collection of protocols from FUTF, an engineering physicist group—yellow coveralls were first produced in 1979 (Bohlin 1988: 5). That same year, engineering physicists from KTH visited the University of Technology in Espoo, Finland. Enough of an impression was made that, by the fall of 1982, Finnish students were purchasing coveralls through their student union (Heikkilä 2003: par. 1). It was only a matter of time before the subculture became a widespread phenomenon. By 2010, at least twelve separate colors could be found in Uppsala. According to my informants, UTN *sektioner* order batches of coveralls from various private companies to save money for each individual student. Due to new orders each year, the hue of colors often differs somewhat each time an order has

been placed. Additionally, according to a student wiki created by and for individuals interested in *studentikos* culture [<http://studentwikin.se>], twenty-nine higher education campuses across Sweden currently use varying combinations of color-coded coveralls, though not all colors belong to engineering students as is mostly the case in Uppsala (“Lista” 2012).

This spread beyond the original constituency is a common occurrence, which Craik has also noted in the culture of uniforms: “[I]ndividuals acquire the attributes of the persona by prestigious imitation and the acquisition of a repertoire of body techniques. Clothing and modes of dress are important devices in acquiring specific trainings” (2005: 52). Beyond the immediately visually pleasing appearance of bright colored coveralls and multiple patches, what really pulled the uninitiated into the subculture? Quite simply, the practitioners of coverall culture knew how to have a good time. These events need not always be high key, as one remembrance by Love Forsberg relates:

There has been an old tradition with overalls in Moebius. It was almost completely dead when I came. It was, as far as I can remember, one girl that had and used one, and she used it at the *F-bullfika* [engineering physicists’ cinnamon bun hour], which is once every month or so and they have their overalls there. It was black, and we saw it.

Möbius—the mathematics student group—is not the only natural sciences program to utilize coveralls. FysKam reportedly has a single, unique coverall that members may borrow on occasion, but the computer science students are quite active, each owning their own coverall, and closely linked to engineers, especially during the two initiation weeks. Imitation need not be total, and the past decade has seen multiple variations.

One of the earliest, enduring attempts to imitate the festive attire of the engineers on another group’s own terms in Uppsala was conducted by a coalition of chemists, geologists, and biologists—the so-called KGB, using Swedish initials. Nils Lenngren experienced the transformation first-hand:

When I got mine back in 2004, that was actually when they just introduced the [party] lab coat. Before that, people had been wearing the white lab coat to analysis parties and stuff like that. The KGB had watched the engineers and thought, “Well, the boiler suit is... it looks like they are having fun in that, but we are scientists. We are not engineers so we can’t do exactly the same thing as engineers.”

Important to note is that occupational clothing—lab coats, in this case—directly crossed the line between the practical and festive realms at first. However, prestigious imitation of the coveralls followed, and party lab coats came into existence. Once this new form arrived, the practical link was lost immediately. Sandra Olsson explains the break thusly:

I think it's funny, since we're chemists, that the [party] lab coat isn't actually chemistry standard. It's totally synthetic, and it will melt near fire. It will lose color if it gets wet, and it's protection against nothing at all, actually, in real life. I think that's kind of amusing somehow.

The significance of a lab coat as symbol is highlighted all the more when the garment is simply no longer viable for its original purpose, as Olsson's remarks indicate.

Further developments in festive occupational clothing removed the serious element completely and instead adopted a humorous slant to represent the subculture.

Within two years following the adoption of party lab coats—by 2006 at the latest—some mathematicians of Moebius took it upon themselves to move away from coveralls and create their own special garment. Jonne Mickelin remembers the transition:

So, Moebius had one overall that everyone could borrow if they wanted to go as a Möbius representative at parties. And then, other people started buying their own overalls. And some thought that “Hey, we don't want to be like the engineers, so we'll start our own tradition.” The engineers had their overalls and the other natural scientists had lab coats, so they both had clothing they would work in. And mathematicians obviously work in, yeah, a dressing gown.



Fig. 29 – Disa Bäckström and Andreas Eriksson show off their biology party lab coats.

The choice of a bathrobe specifically relates to a commonly circulated joke that the only work requirement for mathematicians is to wake up and get dressed. A bathrobe is known as *morgonrock*—literally “morning gown”—in Swedish, so this garment directly refers to the humor but also allows for an incredibly relaxed outfit, which parallels the atmosphere of the group itself. Though they are associated with the coverall subculture, Möbius bathrobes for the most part do not display patches. Interest for coveralls has not died, so it may be interesting to watch this group in the future to see how long their distinctive clothing continues to develop.



Fig. 30 – A member of Möbius wears his bathrobe at a student nation.

The most recent iteration of festive student clothing—the first examples were finished in December of 2011—also follows the humorous twist employed by the mathematicians: *Skamkappor*—literally “shame cloaks.” The prefix was taken from the *section* name, FysKam, and has no further significance. Jojo Rogvall, who is the proud owner of an exemplar from the first batch, explains the garment thus:

Skamkappa is a cape that is designed after the Jedi cape from Star Wars, and it’s the official ceremonial clothing for the organization of physics at Uppsala University, called FysKam, which is in Swedish *Fysikums Kamratförening*. In English, it would be something like “The Physicists’ Association of Friends.”

Though Moebius based their bathrobes solely on occupational humor, FysKam added an element of popular culture by referencing a well-known science fiction movie. With a single term—Force—the physicists are able to reference an important formula in their field—Newton’s Second Law of Motion ($F=ma$)—and create humor by referencing the Jedi of the *Star Wars* universe, in which the term *force* has a different, more mystical meaning. Though physicists and

mathematicians intermingle often at Uppsala University, the engineering coveralls still proved an important impetus for the *skamkappa*, as Jojo Rogvall relates:

So, we really didn't want to have something that was associated with the engineers, like the overalls are. So, no one was interested in buying the overalls, and that's why it really started that we should have these capes instead. If we hadn't had this old overall hanging there and reminding us, it might have taken an even longer time before we had gotten anywhere with the idea of the capes.

Although specifically wishing to avoid direct imitation of the engineering coveralls, the physicists were nevertheless inspired by them. It is also worth noting that the physicist coverall is a light blue, whereas the shame cloaks are a dark blue. Even though the form changed dramatically, a certain



Fig. 31 – Jojo Rogvall proudly displays her *skamkappa*.

level of continuity remained. Neither the bathrobes nor the shame cloaks have yet undergone widespread modification in the way that has become somewhat codified in student use of coveralls and lab coats. In the following section, we turn our attention to the modifications made of coveralls and lab coats in particular.

Fabric Modifications: Displays of Friendship, Intimacy, Practicality, and Fun

Though festive student clothing is able to bring a varied group of students together, it is also a way to maintain one's distinctiveness in the larger collective. Students seek to balance these potentially conflicting goals in order to both differentiate group identity—such as a particular academic discipline or committee—and to clarify an individual's personal identity, manifested particularly through the use of colors, swaths of swapped fabric, wearing of patches, or various other modifications. In order for the non-verbal communication of clothing to function well, some symbols must be agreed upon within a

certain context. Jennifer Craik has noted that these rules can sometimes cause as much trouble as they seek to avoid:

[T]here can be complex forces at work in the performance of uniform codes and opportunities for misunderstandings and incomplete interpretations. The rationale of uniforms is highly specific to an institution, organization or group because it embodies precise calculations designed to distinguish members of that uniformed group by their acquisition of distinctive body techniques. (2005: 11)

Two major points need to be analyzed concerning festive student clothing: Which components both help and hinder the ability of observers to understand group and individual differentiation? Which body techniques are expected and by whom? We shall examine each of these questions in turn.

Groups representing specific academic disciplines are separated visibly through the use of two characteristics—logos and colors—both of which are potentially misinterpreted due to overlap or similarities between the practices of different student groups. Logos are images displayed prominently on the back of a student coverall or party lab coat. As of spring 2011, all three lab coat varieties displayed the logo of the group representing their own respective field of study. Engineering coveralls had started the same way. However, around 2006, they had standardized the displayed logo to a single representation of a goat, representing UTN—the Uppsala Union of Engineering and Science Students, an organization that had been formed four years earlier in 2002.

This development again parallels patterns noted by Randi Storaas: “Regional dress signified an alternative. It was adapted to fit the values held in esteem by the Norwegianness movement. This readily led to a standardization, since similar costumes were visible manifestations of solidarity to a greater extent than dissimilar ones” (1986: 156). The call for more visible manifestations of solidarity is likely one strategy employed by UTN to gain greater acceptance for the organization among its members. Externally, the union had been actively engaged in ongoing attempts to be recognized as a formal union alongside *Uppsala Studentkår*—The Uppsala Student Union. One article, published in the October 2012 edition of *Ergo*—the newspaper of *Uppsala Studentkår*—expressed UTN’s frustration with such a slow process:

Frågan om UTN:s framtida status verkar bortglömd av den nya kårstyrelsen, tycker organisationens fullmäktige.

I tio år har Uppsala teknolog- och naturvetarkår (UTN) organiserat studentinflytandet på den teknisk-naturvetenskapliga fakulteten och i praktisk mening burit det ansvar som det innebär att vara studentkår. ("Uppsala studentkår par. 1-2)

The issue of UTN's future status appears forgotten by the new student union board, according to the organization's council.

For ten years, the Uppsala Union of Engineering and Science Students has exercised student influence on the faculty of engineering and natural sciences and, in a practical sense, has undertaken the duties involved in being a student union.

As of February 2013, UTN received official recognition as a student union from the university. An additional visual manifestation of solidarity, which had been in planning for roughly a year prior to this point, is the *UTN-mössa* as mentioned earlier in the chapter. UTN's status as an official student union is granted on a probationary period of three years. It will be interesting to see how the overall subculture develops when the status becomes permanent or is revoked at the end of the probation. Regarding the logos, it is worth noting that only the engineering students bear UTN's goat on their backs. Computer scientists, who *sektion* is part of UTN, continued to display their own logo, two boxes with arrows representing pointers in programming language, as of 2011. Colors, however, remain a discipline-specific marker for every group.

In Uppsala, as is the case with many other institutions, single-colored festive clothing is the norm. Due to a relatively low number of disciplines that actually make use of coveralls or lab coats, the resulting color scheme functions well as an indicator of group membership. One can easily and with great certainty differentiate those students who wear party lab coats from each other: wine red designates chemistry; black, geology; dark green, biology. When considering coveralls, on the other hand, problems arise. Twelve colors were in use as of 2011, but even this small number had an instance of overlap and one questionable labeling. Black is shared by mathematics and STS—sociotechnical systems engineering. However, a more humorous issue of confusion is associated with the engineering physicists, who wear one color but refer to it as another. Johannes Wolff explains:

Anyway, this orange [fabric] signifies engineering physics and it's somewhat debated if this color is actually orange. I think this originates—I don't know when exactly—at some point, FUTF ordered overalls from Germany. And they ordered orange ones, and they got overalls colored somewhat like this. Then they wrote back to them, and they sent back a piece of an overall and said, “Look, you sent yellow ones. This is not orange.” Then the Germans just replied, “Yes it is.” [snickers] So, from then on, we had a board decision from FUTF that this color is orange. And since then, this has been known as orange.

Although initially an error beyond the group's control, the mistake was turned into a part of engineering physics lore that adds another layer to what would have otherwise been a straight-forward signifier.

These two color issues may seem trivial, but they have had continued significance, as will become clearer as more personalized uses are considered below.

In addition to delighting the eyes, coverall colors as markers of group identity may also grace one's ears. Two sections are represented in verse in both the 2002 and 2012 editions of the UTN song book. The computer scientists boast of their ability to imbibe, inviting onlookers to pay extra attention in a single verse of many such forms of self-praise:

Se vackra datalogen
i sin röda overall,
alltid lika glad i hågen
dricker mer än vad ni tål.

See the beautiful computer scientists
in their red coveralls,
always in a happy state of mind
drink more than what you tolerate.

Students from *X sektion*—molecular biotechnology engineering—sing instead about how their color parallels more ordinary objects before moving to their specialty:

Grön är spenaten
grön är brysselkål,
grön är spegaten
och grön vår overall.

Green is spinach
green are Brussels sprouts,
green are *spegaten*⁶⁹
and green our coverall.

Grönt lyser ljuset när man kör
och i vår kör, som är förför
är grön mole-kulör,
är grön molekylär!

Green shines the light when one drives
and in our choir, which is seductive
are green mole-color
are green molecular!

Why should one even know the colors, considering other hints should help identify the wearer's discipline? The simple answer is that pieces of these dyed fabrics often migrate and intermingle.

⁶⁹ The cloth beads which hang from the engineering student cap's tassel.

Color also serves a purpose on the distinctly individual level. Drawing on observations made by Finnish ethnology students, Bo Lönnqvist noted this straddling of identities: “[A]t the same time as the boiler suit vigorously strengthens group identity it never loses sight of individuality, precisely because of the outfits in various colours and unique boiler suit patches” (2007: 92). The issue of patches will soon be considered in more depth, but one element that did not appear in Lönnqvist’s analysis is the swapping of fabric swaths. Perhaps this practice did not exist in his region at the time he wrote, but such is certainly not the case in Sweden. In fact, rules concerning the significance of certain pieces have been codified at many institutions. Previously spread primarily by word of mouth, rules about swapping fabric swaths were printed prominently on page eight of the 2012 edition of the UTN song book:

Overallens och labrockens kroppsdelar

Ärmar – Byter du med vänner.

Ficka – Byter du med person du hånglat med när ni båda var iförda overall/labrock.

Krage – Byter du med person du har utbytt kroppsvätskor med.

Saliv är ingen kroppsvätska

Overallens kroppsdelar

Ben – Delar av benen kan du byta med nära vänner. På vänster ben skriver du ditt overallnamn, det kan vara ditt namn eller smeknamn.

Coverall and Lab Coat Body Parts

Sleeves – You trade with friends.

Pocket – You trade with a person you’ve made out with when you both wore coveralls/lab coat.

Collar – You trade with a person you have exchanged bodily fluids with.

Saliva is not a bodily fluid

Coveralls Body Parts

Legs – You can trade pieces of the legs with close friends. On the left leg, you write your coverall-name; it can be your name or nickname.

This short list of rules uses rather interesting and mixed vocabulary, which appears to be directly related to the level of exchange. All of the fabric pieces are collectively referred to as *kroppsdelar*—literally, “body parts.” However, particular pieces of fabric do not bear the name of a body part but rather retain their sartorial nature. Whether or not a fabric swath is named after a body part appears to be related to the level of intimacy required in order to legitimately trade it with another student.

The least intimate swap—representing an intangible bond between friends—does not require any transfer of the physical body. The terminology, however, more closely resembles human limbs than

sartorial segments. *Ben* translates directly as “leg.” Should one wish to specifically describe a pant leg, *byxben* would be a more appropriate choice. *Ärmar*, on the other hand, is somewhat problematic. It translates directly as “sleeves,” but without the umlaut on the initial letter, it would instead read “arms” as was commonly heard when students spoke about the practice. By far the most represented of fabric exchanges, students have approached the practice in various ways.

Though the rules apply to general segments of one’s coverall, how exactly one goes about the task is open to interpretation. Gabriella Hammarin departed from the norm and enjoyed the interplay of colors on her coverall’s legs:

I have a lot of friends from F [section]—the *teknisk fysik* program—so I’m starting to look like a tiger with yellow stripes on a black overall.

[...]

[E]very stripe is a new person, and I could have more stripes, but it’s quite tricky to... it’s a lot of work to cut it and sew it and make arrangements. And this vertical stripe is because Simon, one of the F-students. He thought it was fun to make something different than the usual horizontal stripe. And these [others] are not horizontal; they’re diagonal.

Perhaps due to the intangibility of friendship, this rule is considered very lax. One need not even trade fabric with a friend but rather accomplish a sense of aesthetic satisfaction. Disa Bäckström explains how she decided to do both:

I traded [for a] light green arm. It’s the X-program, biochemical students and it’s from a friend named Sara. She or someone else also drew a DNA helix on it—very nice. And then a purple piece on the other arm. I don’t remember which section it is, but it’s purple and I traded it with a person not because I knew him, but because it was purple. [laughs]

Many other stories follow similar lines. However, the other two exchanges are far more rigid.

More intimate swaps—representing escalating levels of interpersonal relationships—require the exchange of bodily fluids. Having already shared part of their physical selves, the fabric exchange is merely a public display. Additionally, pockets and collars are far more limited items, often traded in their entirety. Thus, although one may have more than one sexual encounter, trading collars is more of a public acknowledgment of a serious relationship than sexual conquest. One master’s-level student from

Germany, Svenja, was kind enough to share the details behind her collar trade, which has rather extraordinary circumstances behind it:

I exchanged some of my arm with Sarah. She's a chemist also from Germany, so we were good friends and that's why we traded arms. And I traded a piece of the collar with my boyfriend, who is an economics student. That's why it took some while to trade, 'cause we're scientists prejudiced against economic students, so you have to be sure it's a real relationship. [laughs]

Economists are often the recipients of the most scorn when scientists and engineers gather to drink, sing, and otherwise mingle.⁷⁰ However, two economists were said to have made their own white coveralls, and they became quite involved in the subculture, as the above example partially illustrates. Once again, prestigious imitation manifests itself. It is also worth noting that traded collars do not strictly follow the heterosexual norm. One lesbian couple engaged in the practice, but the subject of sex lives was otherwise one that many students considered best left off the official record. Though these three forms of exchange have become codified, the practice itself continues to evolve to fit the desires of the practitioners.

Deviations from the norm often tend to be connected with students most actively involved in the overall subculture. For instance, they may have simply run out of ample space in the usual areas, or they may simply want to do something different, as Sandra Olsson relates:

But I traded... actually, we had a sewing night, a few of us, and it was raining really heavily, so only a few people showed up. It was at Love's place, and among the people was also Zwolff. He didn't have a trade with a chemist, I think. He really wanted to trade with a chemist, but he didn't have any ordinary parts to trade. And I don't trade arms anyway, because I always have the sleeves rolled up, so there's no point—it wouldn't show. So, we just said, "Whatever, we can trade another part. We can just cut out a square and put that square on the overall and sew it on. Fine, no problem." So, we did.
[...]

⁷⁰ Research hierarchies certainly exist in the minds of students at many universities, ranking disciplines by perceived levels of objectivity and mathematically quantifiable data. The terms, "hard" and "soft science," reflect this concept, especially from the perspective of the natural sciences. An oft-circulated webcomic in both the USA and Sweden, ranks academic fields from least to most pure: sociology, psychology, biology, chemistry, physics, mathematics. It may be found at <<http://xkcd.com/435/>>. Students of business and economics are sometimes regarded with a certain level of contempt by students of the sciences and humanities. The latter group often perceives the former's disciplines to be of lower rigor. Future economic prospects may play as large a role as subcultural differences in the present.

I traded [with Love Forsberg] at the same time. That's an ellipse, right on the shoulder. And yeah, that works fine as well. I think he also had his arms and legs covered, or he just wanted another shape. I don't remember.

These unorthodox exchanges are usually considered to be at the level of friendship and simply add to the story should one ask. All of the swapped fabric swaths so far have been relatively simple shapes, which facilitate sewing through straight lines. One engineer, Petter Eklund, has taken the practice to a new aesthetic level, which combines the intangible bond of friendship and commemorates a shared experience with the outline of a comical creature:

Then I went duck hunting with a friend—the rubber ducks for this lottery. They dump craploads of ducks into the river and the first duck to reach some barrier won first prize. So we were two guys in overalls that had a profile duck cut out from his overall. We traded in memory of that event.

This lottery is part of *Valborg* celebrations in Uppsala that raises money for a local charity. With all the preceding information in mind, the system of identification can appear confusing. Looking further afield to other campuses only adds to the complications, but such information lies beyond the scope of this project. We turn our attention instead to body techniques, and how the wearers of such garments are expected to behave.

One of the greatest expectations regarding behaviors performed while wearing festive dress has to do with alcohol consumption. Certainly, many students drink excessively, but even this behavior is contested within the realm of festive clothing, which Johannes Wolff explains through a common belt accoutrement, the bar towel:

The original reason for having a towel—according to tradition, you're supposed to steal a towel from a bar at a nation from around the time they had the towels lying on the bar; there was beer advertising on the towels, if you know what I mean, you were supposed to steal those.

And you used them for a game called “cups,” which is a drinking game, where you sit around on the floor in a circle, and each person has a glass of beer in the center. You throw the cap from the bottles into each other's glasses and they have to drink. You then bring lots of caps for yourself to use in the game, and you put these on the towels so they soak up the beer if you remove them from the glass and drink. So it's wet with beer and that's why you have the towel originally.

I'm not that much into drinking games, and I'm much more into *The Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy*, so one of the reasons to wear a towel is from that book: it's useful for interstellar hitchhiking. So that's that.

Jägermeister towels, which are sometimes distributed as promotional goods by the company at student events, are bright orange, another reason engineering physicists in particular enjoy them. Other students have related stories about how the general public expects similar alcohol-related paraphernalia. For example, Nils Lengrenn was once asked for a bottle opener while walking in the city, but the pedestrian was shocked at the lab coat's lack thereof. Nils added one later, though he uses it for soda bottles.

Engineers are often expected to be able to fix broken items quickly and efficiently. Another common belt accessory is a roll of duct tape. Stories about items created solely using this material or heavily incorporating it abound. Returning to Johannes Wolff, one can even see emergency clothing:

And, of course, gaffer tape can be used for everything. I've used this to make shoes for someone who lost them during a party. I used cardboard box and gaffer tape to fix stuff. And if something falls off your bike, you just gaff it back.

Displays of quick wit and prowess with tape have inspired natural scientists as well. Though duct tape creations are temporary by nature, they have inspired more permanent fixtures in lab coats. Michael Nordlund describes one such transformation:

You know we use Falcon tubes for beverages at the parties, which are convenient with the lock and everything. I actually saw Andreas do an ammunition belt out of duct tape, where he stored five or six of those. I thought it was a neat idea, but it didn't look as nice as I wanted it to. [laughs] So I, once again during some weekend or vacation, bought some fabric of the right color—wine red—and sewed together an ammunition [holster] for Falcon tubes.

This detachable holster for plastic canisters, loosely resembling classic glass test tubes in laboratories, has gained Michael prestige and admiration from both scientists and engineers alike. It also highlights the friendly practice of one-upmanship.

Although group-oriented clothing helps with cohesion between individuals, competition also helps to keep the practice fresh and alive. For some of the most active students, eventually a need for

extensions is felt—perhaps the student’s clothing has simply too many patches to add more. However, practicality can also be involved. Michael Nordlund explains his addition:

Since I still had some fabric left, I made a hood half a year ago, something like that—a few months back. It’s also detachable, because quite frankly, it’s not as convenient. [laughs] It looks good though. So now I have a lab coat with some rain protection as well.

Why carry an umbrella that one might lose after an evening of drinking when a hood attached to one’s clothing is less likely to be forgotten? With many observers, however, it can be assumed that others will eventually emulate and build upon a good idea. Sometimes, certain occasions are particularly conducive to competitive imitation and improvement, as Sandra Olsson relates in regards to hoods:

No, he actually made his a good deal before mine, I think. I think that was also just a cool thing to make. Then, some of us were going to watch *Red Riding Hood*, and he had a red hood. And me and Randi were going as well, so we decided we would also make red hoods. So, we started out. She got something in-between and never finished hers. The pieces were cut and everything, but she didn’t finish it. But I did, so I have a hood and it’s almost the same color. And it has a bell. [Jingles it] It’s really cute. And mini-handcuffs hold it together. It’s like a medieval cut, because it was like a medieval story, so I wanted it to fit with the theme.

Each of the examples above has at least some form of practical use. However, the common thread that runs through them all is their connection to simply having fun. Let us now look at one final accessory that embodies this festive spirit without any need for being useful: the overall pet.

The practice of wearing stuffed animals on one’s festive clothing is not an old tradition in Uppsala, according to Johannes Wolff, but it has certainly caught on. Disa Bäckström wears both a small, plush Pikachu and a yellow duck:

[The duck is] a gift from a friend from a long time ago, and it seemed very fitting because of the rafting competition. So that’s why I have it, and also it’s very cute. I was inspired by another member of BÄR, who has a parrot on his shoulder—a stuffed parrot plushy.

In addition to imitating other students’ pets, which are considered popular, Disa’s duck also illustrates a phenomenon that often makes items more valuable: the fact that the wearer never bought them. Whether stolen, given as a gift, or simply found, circumstances beyond shopping are almost always considered positive in regards to coverall accessories. Andreas Eriksson’s plush bunny is one such example:

I also, in my left pocket, have a rabbit that I've kept for two years now. It's a memory from my first year as a *fadder* for the freshmen. Anyway, it's a one-eyed rabbit. It's missing its left eye. I found it by some strange circumstance in one of the [bathrooms] at Geocentrum. And I thought, "Ok, I will keep this one, put him in my left pocket, and it has stayed there since then." And also I attached it by sewing it to my lab coat.

Upon learning such information, one might not want to interact closely with this plush toy, but the concept of toy animals is one that many people enjoy in general. It likely helps them reconnect with their inner child, who must often behave more professionally much of the time in the adult or semi-adult world. Svenja has had many encounters, both with other students and the broader public, when onlookers wish to supplement their visual sense with the tactile:

And I have a really large lab rat, actually, that everybody is touching. Also, I get asked by people on the street "Can I touch it?" Yeah, people play with its tail, so it's like really awesome for everyone else, but I stole the idea from other people, who had a smaller lab mouse, but I have a huge rat on my shoulder.

Similar to Nils' bottle opener experience, it appears students dressed in such festive attire are expected to be open and interactive with others on the streets, which certainly goes against the standard Swedish behavior of keeping to oneself. Although not every wearer of festive clothing modifies their garment with the concepts explored thus far, they all are engaged in wearing patches, a practice filled with its own complexities and nuance.

The Use of Patches

Patches are easily sorted into three main categories: program, party, and personal. Following their own symbolism, much like traded fabric swaths, these cloth badges can communicate a variety of messages and define an individual or group in multiple ways—perhaps causing confusion to outsiders. According to Bo Lönnqvist: "The boiler suits negate other 'classical' differences such as social class, gender, age, language, and regional origin" (2007: 92). When the garment is fresh and new, this statement is completely true. However, it quickly loses validity as students customize their outfits, as will be shown below, particularly once the discussion moves to the personal.

Beginning with questions of group identity, program patches, often the most sought after for trading purposes, are used to represent group lore and convey a bit of their character. When creating these symbols, groups must decide to what extent they wish to straddle the line between insider and outsider elements. Using commonly beloved images is certainly a productive way to conduct patch trading outside one's section. Yet, on the other hand, incorporating a lot of in-jokes or stories helps promote the group's pride. To illustrate how program patches can fit within the extremes or attempt to mix the two, three examples will be considered: one from the W-section, and two from the chemists.



Fig. 32 – Program patch for Environmental and Water Engineering.

The patch to the right integrates a great number of symbols that would be easily recognized by students at Uppsala University.

It is almost as if a snapshot was taken near the center of the city. A bike path along the River Fyris overlooks two iconic buildings: the cathedral and palace. Student pride in the city is evidenced in many other program patches, often outlining the same two buildings. However, this section also incorporates well-known symbols of the environmental movement: a bicycle, which is often hailed as the alternative to personal automobiles; a polar bear, symbol of global climate change and melting ice caps; and, of course, trees and water, for nature itself is part of the city. No explanation should be necessary, especially for students at the same campus. The patch's popularity has been incredible, according to my informants. Its polar opposite can be found in the recently retired chemistry badge.

Although commonly found on many student coveralls and lab coats, the camel patch of the chemists completely defies comprehension without some knowledge of the group's history, whether in the mythical realm or the not-so-distant past. As related by Nils Lenngren, considered a legend or group elder in his own right by other members of IUPAK, there is both a true story and a legend connected with the camel:

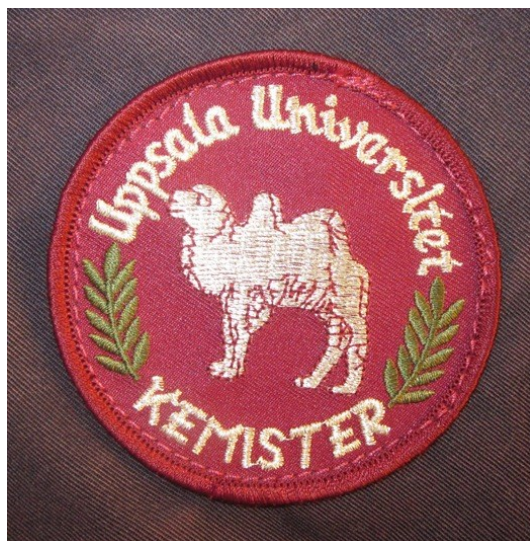


Fig. 33 – Chemistry program patch, before Valborg 2011.

The legend is about how the alchemist was sitting at the beginning of time, and then he hit his right knee, and three wise chemists came riding on camels from the knee. Those then started the chemistry program in Uppsala. This legend is said to be written down on camel-skin parchment that are treated with beaver fat⁷¹ and stored in the catacombs below the old chemistry building.

This fictional origin gives the chemists a good story to rally around, and the exotic animal has become something to be celebrated. One celebration is known as *Kamelens dag*—The Day of the Camel—during which, among other

things, students often sew patches onto lab coats. A more direct link to people in the not-so-distant past is also maintained through the other tale, also told by Nils Lengrenn:

Then the true story... One of the old chemistry students, who was vice president of the student council in 2005/2006, he actually tried to investigate this. So he talked to people who had been taking chemistry in the '70s and '80s and he found out that apparently the root of this tradition is that at the old chemistry building, there was no alcohol. That made it a desert. When the chemistry students are walking around in their white lab coats, they look like Bedouins. Somewhere there, they realized Bedouins have camels so then they should have a camel as well.

Within both of these stories, two important elements may be noticed, relating to place and people. An affinity for the old building—*Gamla Kemikum*—is apparent. In their pseudo-mythology, it is the resting place for a sacred relic. However, it is also the location of a form of student oppression. The ban on alcohol led to its description as a desert. However, these stories also emphasize the scientists who came before and were involved in acts of creativity. The mythological chemists of old founded the very program, just as the alcohol-thirsty chemists of the more recent past created an enduring symbol that speaks to decades of students.

⁷¹ *Bävert*, a stuffed beaver, is the mascot of the biology students, friendly rivals of the chemists.



Fig. 34 – Chemistry program patch, 2011.

from around the entire country converge on the city. Sandra Olsson, who designed the patch, describes it thus:

There's a lot of symbols on that one, I think. The motto of IUPAK is "*IUPAK ser dig*"—IUPAK sees you—IUPAK is watching you! So it's based in this pyramid with the eye, kind of. It actually has a hidden message—IUPAK's motto in Latin—hidden in the silver background. And the pyramid, of course, has this chemical flask and two of the holy camels: Tengil and Tryggve. They are standing guard, kind of nicely. Tengil is the camel with three hats.

Just as Valborg is a celebration of student life, the current patch is a celebration of IUPAK—the chemistry group—and its traditions in a less serious manner. The motto has been reinforced with a masonic-like eye at the top of a pyramid; the symbol of the camel has been expanded; and an easily recognizable piece of glassware—an Erlenmeyer flask—has been incorporated so that even the uninitiated would recognize that a small portion of the display relates to chemistry.

So, once a student finds a program patch they like, how do they acquire it and where should they wear it? The majority of rules surrounding the practice of exchanging and wearing patches remain in the realm of oral transmission. For example, one is only supposed to be able to buy the badge of the program to which one belongs. All others should be traded. Two well-adhered practices have made the jump to print, sharing page eight of the 2012 UTN songbook with traded fabric swaths:

Overallens och labrockens kroppsdelar

Rumpan – Här sätter du tygmärken till sådant du ogillar.

Vänster hjärta – Här sätter du ditt viktigaste tygmärke, exempelvis ett sektionsmärke.

Coveralls and Lab Coat Body Parts

The Rump – Here, you place cloth patches for things that you dislike.

Left heart – Here, you place your most important patch, for example, a section patch.

Based on observations in the field, the practice of wearing a program patch on the left breast pocket appears nearly ubiquitous. Placement of patches on one's derriere is a personal decision to which we will return in reference to personal choices, below.

Party patches—as the name implies—serve to commemorate an event and may often straddle elements of individual and group spheres. This mixture of spheres is unsurprising as the logistics of ordering a single design require both an initial monetary investment and a quantity of patches that easily goes beyond a single person's desire in most cases. Love Forsberg explains how he took it upon himself to create one:

[The Bacon Party] was so awesome that after the first party, I decided that we needed a patch. I'm not too sure it was a smart idea because it cost 1,000 *kronor* [~\$150] and gave me fifty patches, and I still have 25-30 left. [laughs] But it was worth it, and the second bacon party was in part to trade/sell more of these. It is a king and he has a large bacon [strip/cape] wrapped around his shoulders, and he is standing on top of a half-eaten pig. [...] And the background is hideous, hideous, hideous green, which is supposed to represent the feeling you have after you've been at a bacon party... like the first 24 hours after the bacon party.

Figure 35 illustrates the design, which incorporates multiple comic inversions. Bacon is a cheap and easily procured meat, but it enrobes a king as if a fine and costly material. Additionally, as Love stated, the nauseating background color was intentionally chosen to highlight the contrast of joyful gluttony and remorseful atonement. Fortunately for Love, his patch investment paid off when trading during Valborg in the spring, when a wider audience than the mathematicians showed interest in procuring their own exemplar. This need for a sufficiently large group is most likely the primary reason that most festive patches are connected with bigger events hosted by a single group but promoted to multiple.

Since 2005, two natural science sections have worked in tandem so that one major science party per semester may be conducted with the guarantee of a patch. In the fall, IUPAK hosts *Analysfesten*, whereas BÄR is responsible for *Selektionsfesten* in the spring. Although not every patch even makes the pretense of including discipline-specific elements—*Analysfesten* 2007 is an image of David Hasselhoff in a Baywatch pose—most at least hint at the host group’s lore or course of study. In regard to the biologists, one historical figure is pivotal: Charles Darwin. Both his name and most famous ideas are reflected in many details surrounding the event. Looking at Figure 36, two influences are



Fig. 36 – A Selection Party patch.

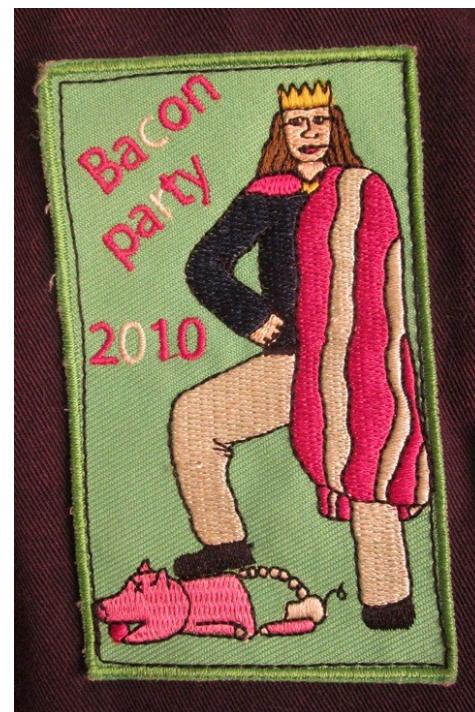


Fig. 35 – Möbius Bacon party patch obvious: Darwin himself appears in comical form; and the name of the party references the concept of natural selection. This humorous pairing will not likely result in a viable hybrid. Additional tributes lie just behind the surface. Elected every year, two students are responsible for the organization of the event. Their titles are *Sir Darwin* and *Darwinfink*—the latter referring to multiple bird species found on the Galapagos Islands. When the party is held at the EBC—the Evolutionary Biology Centre—it appears one simply cannot escape the legacy of this great scientist.

The practice of displaying party patches was still quite loose and evolving at the time of fieldwork. However, two basic rules appeared to be in effect as far as I could tell. Just as with program patches, one should only buy badges representing events one has attended. All others should be traded. Unlike program patches, however, there are no secondary means of discerning the patch’s validity. A chemist may wear the camel, but the color of one’s lab coat will indicate the wearer’s discipline. How is

one to differentiate participation or lack thereof in event patches? Michael Nordlund explains how this tradition is new and growing:

I didn't have many party patches from parties I did not attend, but the few of them I had were right-side-up. There are different versions of this tradition, so some put them upside-down, some don't. Now that I've seen most of my friends put theirs upside-down, I've decided to turn mine as well.

Participation and attendance are not necessarily in binary opposition. Petter Eklund explains how a student might not be the intended recipient of a patch but still feels at least partially represented:

It's a patch from *Forsränningen* 2009, and I actually was on the river that day, first as a *målvoltär*—helping at the goal of the *forsränning*, rowing about in a boat. I had to build it myself though, but still I was on the river that day and hauled people to shore. [...] The patch was originally supposed [to be] for those who did the river rafting, but I was on the river. I was quite involved in the events. I think I can wear it sideways at least. I shouldn't have to turn it upside-down.

Often, party patches display the year prominently. Onlookers may be able to guess the relative age of the wearer.

However, when practitioners add patches outside of the *studentikos* realm, they often resort to the very “classical differences” Lönnqvist believes coveralls negate: social class, gender, and regional origin. Personal patches allow individuals to add whatever meaning or aesthetic touch they see fit. Group rules no longer apply, though one is usually expected to have a short story or, at the very least, not overshadow⁷² the *studentikos* factor of the other patches or modifications.

Swedish state websites directed towards prospective workers from abroad during the period of my fieldwork proclaim Swedish unanimity and equality:

Equality is a cornerstone in Swedish society. Sweden has, in effect, an almost single-class society. [...] Equality is such a big part of Swedish society that there are two specific words for it in Swedish: *jämställdhet*, for gender equality, and *jämlikhet*, for equality in general. (Sweden.se 2012: par. 1-2)

⁷² The concept of *Jantelagen* is an aspect of Swedish culture that is closely related to the concept of *lagom*. Svensson describes the two concepts thus: “Swedes talk about the *Jante* Law, which, although it is not the law of the land, counsels people to not boast or try to lift themselves above others” (2000: 51). For further discussion of how *Jantelagen* fits into student life, see Chapter 5.

As lofty and seemingly appealing as this goal is, however, student dress performance indicates that there is not complete support for the notion of one's identity being "neutral." Though Sweden is often hailed as one of the most equal societies in the world, its students still wrestle with the question of how they will fit into such a society. Occupational clothing can go beyond skill sets, and occasionally a hierarchy will form. American students of the early 2010s occasionally asked "Do you want fries with that?" as a way of designating fields of study that they regard as useless. To a certain extent, this same concept is argued on the fabric of overalls, as Love Forsberg explains:

One [patch] is from the engineers' programs. "I will get a better job than you." It was the first thing to go on my ass [...] because I really dislike that attitude. In my opinion, you should get as good a job as you like. There's no point getting one better than anybody else.

Socio-economic status is also proclaimed in a similar patch that reads: "I will get a better salary than you." The comparative statement goes most against a sense of equality, and was more often identified by my informants as problematic than statements that deal with other topics of interest at that time, such as modifying one's festive clothing to more openly display the wearer's gender.

Sweden's stance on gender equality is one that has undertaken a great deal of resources and effort. Debate continues even today with the pronoun *hen* as a replacement for *han/hon* [he/she]. Festive occupational clothing, though worn by both sexes and people of varying sexual orientations, does not appear on the path to become genderless like the word, *hen*. However, it has shown itself to be adaptable and takes on the characteristics of whatever gender attributes the wearer wishes to display. Sarah Steimer explains how she made her lab coat more feminine: "Even the small ones are very *unförmig* [unshapely]—they are not particularly nice looking on the figure of female people. So I did some re-sewing. I made it fit a bit better by putting some small patches on the back to make it a bit tighter." A similar strategy was employed by Disa Bäckström, and Sandra Olsson instead tightened the waist to avoid "looking like a square." Square, in this context, refers to the geometric shape. Each of these sartorial

modifications was undertaken at the wearer's own initiative and does not necessarily challenge other students' identities.

Finally, regional identities are not a thing of the past, but they are certainly more fluid and, in certain contexts, reserved. Sweden has become quite cosmopolitan, but its inhabitants are still proud of their own country and regions. Although active participants in festive occupational clothing are not likely to be as active with the student nations—originally built around regional identity—such does not mean that their connections to geographic places are forgotten. Andreas Eriksson has combined the places of his birth and educational training for a sense of spatial belonging at the national, regional, and local levels:

For example, on my right arm at the top, I have the Swedish flag, then I have the coat of arms of my home republic of Jämtland. Below that one, I have two patches: one is for Uppland, which is the province where I study in Uppsala, and the other one is from Åre—a ski resort, where I grew up. It's just my insignia—where I'm from, more or less.

He is not alone in this interest in displaying regional origin. Terese Olander has combined the Swedish flag with a tourist patch of her home province of Gotland. Nils Lenngren wears a pin bearing the coat of arms of his home municipality (a gift from his father) and the crossed flags of Sweden and Canada bought before he studied abroad.

With this plethora of examples and information about student clothing customs that still does not do full justice to the diversity of practitioners in Uppsala, what conclusions can be drawn?

Conclusion

Student festive dress traditions in Uppsala are very much alive and evolving to fit the needs and desires of the student bodies that choose to make use of them. The continued success and viability of this expressive culture appear to be linked to five major concepts or trends: student-driven culture, the increasingly communicative nature of the garments and their symbolism, levels of meaning promoting greater interaction, an almost paradoxical inclusivity despite division, and a testing ground for acceptable limits between conformity and individuality. Let us now consider each of these items separately, though they are closely linked.

First and foremost, whether the article of clothing is a student cap or festive lab coat, the greatest appeal is from student-driven culture. The origins of the *studentmössa* throughout the Nordic countries attest to great debate and a very active process of determining how one will proclaim his or her status to the surrounding world. The answers have certainly varied during the past two centuries, as have the details of cap style. Astrid Oxaal noted the following about student caps in general:

The student cap was perceived as a fraternity sign for newly recruited citizens of academe, with its classical and national emblems, which primarily represented ideals of knowledge from a humanist classical education. At the same time, it signaled an academic community which ensured the wearer's future, and for a very long period it became a symbol of hope in the future. (2004: 33)

Each of her verbs uses the past tense, almost as if student caps no longer signal these ideas. They most certainly continue to do so in Uppsala, especially hope in the future and cross-generational participation in academia, though perhaps not always with the greatest of emphasis. Occupational student clothing, on the other hand, is a much newer form of expressive culture, at least when one considers student coveralls and its younger siblings. Their short histories place them in circumstances similar to 19th century *studentmössor*, allowing for fruitful debate and experimentation before certain forms begin to truly solidify, as is evidenced by their continued predominance in the informal realm, despite codifications slowly appearing.

However, student culture has greatly expanded since the 1800s, which leads us to the next point. In order to keep pace with an ever-expanding academic community, student clothing has adopted additional details to allow for a greater level of communication. At a time when every student took the same exam to qualify for university study, a single symbol of collective merit was sufficient. Nowadays, students enter the ivory towers with greater expertise that takes many forms. Bands around *studentmössor* proclaim the initial specialization a student brings to the table, but even once across the threshold, new forms are employed. The engineering cap not only functions as a symbol of solidarity, it also allows for program and personal expression through the use of *spigater*. Moving from the head to the body, occupational student clothing accomplishes similar goals, but it does so with the possibility of far more detail. Combining cloth badges and other paraphernalia is certainly not new:

Victorian ‘crazy’ quilts incorporated fabric novelties that came from garments—pieces of dress silks, neckties, even hair ribbons. Some made great use of the silk badges that were then ubiquitous (they were printed for events ranging from fraternal meetings to Sunday School conventions to holiday parties). The badges were saved as personal mementos, and when put together into a quilt, they too functioned as family scrapbooks. (Gordon 2011: 119)

However, when connected with the first point, these forms of student clothing communication are all the more appropriate for the practitioners, which may very well facilitate easier verbal interaction, drawing us to the next point. Along with an enhanced level of communication through clothing comes an even easier ability for individuals to strike up conversation. It is no secret that Swedes are often a reserved and quiet people. In fact, one book aimed at informing the general English-speaking public states:

The quiet Swedes is a very common stereotype, and often a very valid one. Naturally you will meet many gregarious and talkative Swedes, but you are unlikely to have many problems getting a word in edgewise at a meeting or dinner party. Swedes sometimes say that every conversation lasts seven minutes; after that it peters out until a new one starts. Sometimes the new one begins immediately but often there is a companionable silence before the next one. (Svensson 2000: 40)

Though it is true that alcohol can function as the social lubricant at many gatherings, hopefully details from the analysis of coverall items—such as the towel hanging from a belt, as discussed earlier—also

show that interesting stories easily originate directly from clothing articles or accessories. In fact, the very multi-layered format of occupational clothing functions at multiple distances. First, one may observe from afar the academic discipline of a practitioner through color and general design. Second, by nearing the wearer, patches and other items will become visible, providing more detailed information about friends and events, among other things. Finally, by beginning to ask questions and becoming engaged directly, an observer may learn many things that would have otherwise completely eluded interpretation had the questions never been posed in the first place.

This facilitation of interaction also facilitates incorporation, leading directly to the fourth point. Festive student clothing does not simply beckon others to take a look, but it can also call them to take part in the subculture itself. This concept has been used by an uncountable number of groups throughout history around the world. One of the most striking uses today corresponds with military service:

Clothes are not just body covering and adornments, nor can they be understood only as metaphors of power and authority, nor as symbols; in many cases, clothes literally *are* authority... Authority is literally part of the body of those who possess it. It can be transferred from person to person through acts of incorporation, which not only create followers or subordinates, but a body of companions of the ruler who have shared some of his substance. (qtd. in Craik 2005: 41)

The balance of interaction between exemplars of student clothing tends to be far more equal, evidenced especially through swapped fabric swaths indicating levels of interpersonal relationships. Though certain disciplines may be ridiculed, they too are able to break into the practice, as is demonstrated by Svenja's partially traded collar. International students also explain that these clothing traditions aided integration, as experienced by Daniel Pelikan, originally from Germany:

The overall actually took me to Stockholm, there in a bar meeting with overall people, who I have never met before. I went with my friends from Umeå to Finland for partying. [laughs] But this was all possible only with the overall. Without the overall, this would never have happened. So, it was a kind of door opener.

Even the *studentmössa* with its long history can be used by foreign students to appeal to the native Swedes, which I experienced in 2003. After purchasing my own cap and wearing it to a *gasque* at

Västgöta nation, I received positive feedback from many student members, including the curators. The international secretary even teased me for breaking the rules despite accepting my action:

Fusk! Man får bara ha studentmössa om man tagit studenten i Sverige. ☺ Good luck, Chris. /Sonya

Cheat! One only gets to have a student cap if one graduated high school in Sweden. ☺ Good luck, Chris. /Sonya

She mentioned two other pre-requisites: one needed to study at a Swedish university and one's friends should have written messages inside the cap. I was able to accomplish the latter of the two customs immediately after being challenged, asking the curators to sign the interior lining of my *studentmössa*.

This regard for the rules and how strictly they must be followed is connected with the fifth and final point. Swedish culture on the whole is most often associated with the need for conformity and consensus, something with which many Swedish students must grapple during their transitional state between childhood and adulthood. As Svensson notes in her attempt to explain Swedish culture to outsiders:

Respectability and a quiet life are very important to most Swedes, even though they may rebel against this in their youth. Swedes themselves often joke about this; as soon as you have acquired the trappings of respectability and being settled (a terraced house, two children, a dog and a red Volvo estate car) you are called a 'Real Svensson' and fit right in! (Svensson 37)

[...]

Another discouragement comes through the concept of *Jantelagen*, or *Jante* Law. Swedes share with the Brits and the Australians a dislike for 'tall poppies' or high achievers, and the view that '*lagom* is best' accentuates this. While Australians talk of cutting down their tall poppies, Swedes talk about the *Jante* Law, which, although it is not the law of the land, counsels people to not boast or try to lift themselves above others. (2000: 51)

Put into more tangible terms, I was informed that I had broken *Jantelagen* one day while ordering pizza with members of Gotlands nation. Each Swedish student made their selection from a single cost-bracket. Desiring an additional topping on my pizza, I ordered from a price range that cost an additional five *kronor*—less than one US dollar extra. Their exclamation was quick and possibly half-ironic: "Oh my God! You just broke *Jantelagen*!" This tension is best evidenced by student clothing, especially the

festive occupation forms, which by their very nature attempt to both conform to a group standard and allow for personal innovation. As one student informally spoke, “We do not wish to get rid of *Jantelagen* entirely, but we’re trying to figure out how to best apply it.” Only time will tell the results of their efforts. However, if student clothing acts as a measure for prediction, it appears such attitudes may continue for a long time to come, though certainly with modifications as the need arises.

Chapter 5 – The Big Picture and Further Developments

When considering how Uppsalian student life functions on the whole, three major concepts are particularly useful: identity, group, and tradition. Each of these terms builds upon the other, and they are linked by performance. Let us now consider these ideas one at a time, drawing upon aspects discussed in the previous three chapters.

Expressions of Identity

The question of identity is one with which many entities must grapple. Roger Abrahams, attempting to provide a suitable definition for an academic audience, describes the term thus:

Identity has become the encompassing term for cultural, social, and spiritual wholeness. It also emerges in discussions of territorial integrity, often as a rhetorical ploy in struggles for establishing and maintaining domain. As such, it references many of the most central fictions of our time. Such fictions invite questions, not only of their truth value but of their usefulness. *Identity* invokes a conception of individual and social life that has become ubiquitous but that causes more confusion and confrontation than it designates meaningful social states of being.

The term presumes the uniqueness of each named whole (Köstlin 1997) even as it draws on typical, even stereotypical, patterns that compromise its value as a descriptive or analytic concept. Yet there is no more important key term in the vocabulary of cultural discussions... (2003: 198)

Abrahams' negative view of identity is one that I do not fully share. While it is true that a great deal of confusion and confrontation may emerge from questions of identity, the nebulous nature of the concept can serve as one of its greatest strengths and the impetus for further development. One need only consider how Nils Lenngren explained the advent of party lab coats, derived from colorful coveralls: "We are not engineers so we can't do exactly the same thing as engineers." Additionally, the human desire to create and refashion its own self-image is the foundation of culture itself.

The creative process and expression of identity need not be taken too seriously, in contradiction to what Abrahams has written: "Identity seems to be built on notions of an ideal life-plan or an archetypal map of the actual world. No sense of play is manifested in discussions of identity, nor is there any

recognition of the historical ironies that hover around deliberations of national, social, or individual identities” (2003: 199). As I hope I have been able to show throughout my dissertation, play is central to student life in Uppsala, whether it is a procession of chemists with glow sticks, a song that complains semi-ironically about preparing food for diners with allergies, or physicists wearing hooded cloaks. The members of Möbius, for example, state that every tradition has existed from the beginning. Not a single one of them, however, believes this statement. The explanation, often accompanied by laughter, is that they want to confuse government bureaucrats (or other particular outsiders).

Stereotypes, although often cause for much frustration, sometimes function as raw material for building identity, typically through inversion. Previously derogatory terms are transformed instead into humorous labels that are worn with pride. In Wisconsin, for example, “cheesehead” will more likely result in laughter than scorn. In fact, the term served as inspiration for the creation of a yellow, foam hat shaped like a cheese wedge, which can easily be found in stores. These foam hats have proven sufficiently popular to warrant other forms, such as trucker caps or cowboy hats. Similarly, members of Gotlands nation are able to sing about how one should “not be terrified / [because] everybody is related / so for a *Gute*, everything is perfect” in *Jubileumslåt*. A mathematician, on the other hand, wears a bathrobe with pride; after all, the ability to work simply by waking up is not such a bad thing.

At the individual level, identity is negotiated through choices regarding which expressions one believes are most appropriate. Klara Björnander Rahimi, for example, changed majors from geology to engineering physics with materials science. She has not, however, made the transition from a party lab coat to her new *sektion* coveralls. During a formal interview, conducted on May 14, 2011, Klara stated:



Fig. 37 – Klara displays her lab coat. Her coveralls rest on a chair.

That's a really hard decision. I'm not sure what to do, 'cause I really, really like the coat. I think I like it more than an overall. I don't know. I like the coat. It's a bit hard core, but I can still wear my own clothes underneath it. I'm not sure what I want to do with it, but I definitely want to mix it up a bit, 'cause the overall for my program is colored purple. Either way, if I decide to go with the overall, I'm going to take parts from that to make the collar or the sleeve or something like that... I'm not sure. It's a big problem.
[laughs]

Nearly a full year later, she continues to wrestle with the idea. However, it appears that she is beginning to identify more with the Q-section. In a private conversation conducted on Facebook on June 1, 2013, Klara stated: "Lab coats are superior in several ways, but I do need to fix my overalls. I'm starting to feel more like an engineer. I need an identity."

Klara's identity crisis regarding festive clothing and affiliation is closely tied to the next concept, group, to which we now turn our attention.

Expressions of Group

Group is also a nebulous term, one which must be used with caution, as Dorothy Noyes has found:

We prove the reality of a group by demonstrating that it has a culture, unified within and differentiable without (Handler 1988). In documenting, “preserving,” and synthesizing this culture into canonical forms—the Kalevala, the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, the Catalan sardana, the open-air museum, the American ethnic festival—we diffuse and generalize it among that group’s potential members, thus improving the isomorphy of group and culture (Klusen 1986 [1967]).

And yet, working ethnographically, we are aware of the fragility of the group concept put to the test. We learn in interaction of the status differences within a group that may make men public, and women private, performers; we discover the creative individual whose influence galvanizes and directs performance in a particular milieu; we find that a festival declared by all to be a celebration of unity is in fact animated by vigorous factionalism; we discover the complex networks of contacts and influences feeding into and emerging from an apparently bounded community. (2003: 7-8)

I could not agree more with her definition. Figure 38 provides a quick visualization of unity and factionalism displayed during the *reccemottagning*, an event discussed in Chapter 2.

The fragility of the group concept put to the test pertains very well to my fieldwork and observations of general trends in Uppsala’s student life: firstly, student nations are slowly gravitating towards subcultural as well as regional focus; and secondly, the rise of social groups focusing on academic disciplines illustrates a shift in social priorities. Let us briefly consider each trend in turn.

The subcultural commonalities associated with each student nation are a matter of common discussion among Uppsalian students. Robin Dingwell, a member of Västgöta nation, had an entire list of attributes for each of the thirteen nations in an interview conducted on October 15, 2010, a small portion of which is below:



Fig. 38 – Banners of multiple UTN *sektioner* identify many subgroups during the initiation weeks in 2010.

Then we have V-Dala [nation] because at V-Dala all the pretentious hipsters hang out. As you clearly can tell from my behavior on this recording, I'm not a hipster. I'm a lot better than that.

Then I put Kalmars [nation] 'cause that's where all the rebellious quote-unquote "emo kids" hang out and whine about life.

Robin's perspective is certainly external, and he admits to never attending another nation's *gasque*, but his classification of nations lines up well with other students. Disa Bäckström, for example, also mentioned similar perceptions when explaining why she did not join Stockholms nation despite her geographical origins:

They seem quite condescending and yeah, I would not fit in since I'm more of a hippy than a brat. But Kalmars, I saw their theater group and I was looking for a theater group, and they were extremely cool, so I wanted to join them and I got to know the people, and everything was so nice: the food and their approach and their clubs. Then I switched over to them.

When asked to describe the differences between her UTN *sektion* and Kalmars nation, Disa highlighted a sense of belonging and further emphasized a common subculture:

Both are groups with very strong feelings of belonging, like the lab coats in BÄR and during the rafting. You feel like "Yeah, I'm a member of BÄR. We're in this together." Very nice. At the nation, the only thing we have in common is really "We're in this nation," but still since we are, everyone is your friend.

I think the main difference is that at Kalmars, all the people are much more different than in BÄR, where everyone studies the same [subject]. But I think maybe attitudes towards politics are quite similar among the members of Kalmars.

The regional affiliations of each nation nevertheless continue to play a role, but with the fall of *kårobligatoriet*—mandatory membership fees, student nations will need to be even more careful to attract new members. A subcultural niche is certainly one possible way to branch out to new students.

The rise of the UTN *sektioner* highlights an ongoing debate about the value of academia, especially the role of STEM disciplines—major courses of study focusing on Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics. This debate is occurring worldwide. For example, Rodney Adkins, the senior vice president of IBM's Systems and Technologies Group and member of the national board of the

Smithsonian Institution, argues that the United States has a great need to train more students in the STEM fields:

There is no doubt that to advance our economy and our society we need to create the next great technology innovations, not just consume them. That's why there is such urgency for the U.S. to develop a stronger workforce of experts in science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM). After all, according to the U.S. Department of Labor, only 5% of U.S. workers are employed in fields related to science and engineering, yet they are responsible for more than 50% of our sustained economic expansion.

STEM-related disciplines are responsible for many of the societal innovations that make our world better. Last week, for example, IBM's Sequoia supercomputer at the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory set a world record in computing speed by breaking the 16 petaflop barrier. That represents an astounding 16,000 trillion calculations per second. What could be done with that kind of computing power? Sequoia could run a simulation of how the human heart reacts to new medicine in two days instead of two years. It could provide a 40-fold improvement in the prediction of earthquakes to help provide safer evacuation routes. Sequoia is a powerful example of what American ingenuity in STEM-related disciplines can mean for the betterment of society. (2012: pars. 1-2)

Adkins advocates encouraging students to study these fields and to partner businesses and schools towards this end. Similar partnerships can already be found at Uppsala University at the graduate degree level. One of my informants, for example, studied computer science and wrote her thesis in conjunction with work at SAAB. Companies also donate money to aspects of student life connected with UTN. For example, the 2002 songbook was sponsored by Sandvik, which describes itself as "an engineering group in tooling, materials technology, mining and construction."⁷³ The 2012 songbook was sponsored by Xylem, which describes itself as a leader in "the development of sustainable technique for the pumping, cleansing, and circulation of water" directly on the songbook sponsor page.

The involvement of the UTN *sektioner* in student life plays a role in keeping students motivated with both career and entertainment-oriented activities, and their bid for official recognition from the university administration appears to have gone hand-in-hand with the rise of STEM disciplines in external discourse. Numbers are certainly in the favor of UTN, which draws upon an increasingly larger pool of students each year, many of whom participate to varying extents in the union's social life, especially the

⁷³ <http://www.sandvik.com/en/> -- Accessed June 11, 2013.

initiation weeks. According to the student-led production crew of the 2010 initiation film, 1,500 students participated: 900 new students, 400 *faddrar*, and 200 volunteers.

However, each *sektion*—much like the each student nation—maintains their own subgroup to which students often feel greater alliance than to UTN as a whole. Utilizing the “Texas Approach” as demonstrated by Richard Bauman, Dorothy Noyes noted:

[M]uch folklore in fact takes place in regular interaction between people belonging to different social categories and plays upon this fact of difference. Boasting, competition, denigration, hospitality, teasing: all depend on and highlight the difference in social location between performer and addressee. (2003: 12)

This interaction and friendly rivalry was manifested clearly at *Naturvetarfesten*, a *gasque*-like *sittning* hosted by the natural science sections, in October of 2010. Once everyone had found their seat, the event began with the host identifying the various groups in attendance. Engineers received the majority of friendly harassment, but my presence was also one that caused initial derision: “One of us is not even a scientist! Well, he is in the social sciences...”

Temporary umbrella groups within the UTN *sektioner* also serve to highlight which groups are connected to which in everyday interactions. Such ties are certainly subject to shift, according to Social Network Theory:

The performance that constructs the community ideologically and emotionally also strengthens or changes the shape of networks by promoting interaction; it may even have the effect of breaking up a network by redrawing the boundaries within it. The community of the social imaginary coexists in a dialectical tension with the empirical world of day-to-day network contacts. The imagined community offers a focus for comparison and desire, and, at the same time, is itself subject to re-visionings in the light of everyday experience. This productive tension is the complex object we denote with the word *group*. (Noyes 2003: 33)

Turning our attention to the natural science *sektioner*, I witnessed IUPAK’s realignment from the KGB to MI:Fy\{ve} in the middle of my fieldwork year. The reasoning was simple. After the initiation, chemists most often found themselves at *Ångström* among mathematicians and physicists rather than near the Evolutionary Biology Centre or *Geocentrum* with the biologists and geologists.

Let us now turn our attention to the third and final term, tradition.

Expressions of Tradition

Tradition is a more straight-forward term than the previous two, so long as one considers it more closely tied with a process than a result. Henry Glassie explains it thus:

Accept, to begin, that tradition is the creation of the future out of the past. A continuous process situated in the nothingness of the present, linking the vanished with the unknown, tradition is stopped, parceled, and codified by thinkers who fix upon this aspect or that, in accord with their needs or preoccupations, and leave us with a scatter of apparently contradictory yet cogent definitions. (2003: 176)

Similar to the idea of play mentioned earlier in this chapter, I hope the entirety of my dissertation has touched upon and elucidated Glassie's conceptualization of tradition with examples from portions of Uppsala's student life, whether they be songbooks taking new form each decade over the past century, the UTN cap that draws upon a century and a half of refashioned significance across the Nordic countries while situated firmly in the present, or even the ritualized consumption of half-lamb-skulls preceded by a quick visit to a pizza parlor.

A key aspect to tradition is choice, and students continually make choices about how they wish to create the future with what has been provided by the past. Reaching beyond the *studentikost* realm, even larger cultural concepts like *Jantelagen* are subject to the same forces that decide the fate of clothing, music, or celebrations. As mentioned in the conclusion of Chapter 4, students do not wish to break entirely with cultural norms, but they do wish to learn how best to apply them. Let us now consider how these rules have been bent and also adhered to simultaneously.

Viewed as a list of statements, *Jantelagen* becomes easier to comprehend and discuss:

1. You shall not believe that you are somebody.
 2. You shall not believe that you are as good as we are.
 3. You shall not believe that you are smarter than we are.
 4. You shall not think that you are better than we are.
 5. You shall not believe that you know more than we do.
 6. You shall not believe that you are superior to us.
 7. You shall not believe that you are good enough.
 8. You shall not laugh at us.
 9. You shall not believe that anyone cares about you.
 10. You shall not believe that you can teach us anything.
- (Svensson 2000:52)

Each of the statements reinforces a single concept: the group is superior to the individual in every way. To the American psyche, generally raised and taught to value individuality and self-sufficiency, the list sounds like an oppressive form of conformity that reinforces the status quo and prevents any form of progress. To the Swedish psyche, taught the value of *lagom*—just enough, not too much—and consensus, the list is instead a way to maintain harmony.

The maintenance of harmony is precisely why a *gasque* employs a *sånganförare*—song leader—which is considered just as fair as passing the song from person to person during a *sexa*. Although discussed previously in Chapter 3 to differentiate Uppsala from Lund, Annali Lindström’s explanation of the song leader also helps to explain how *Jantelagen* functions:

Varför framkallar spontansången en sådan fasa hos sånganföraren? Svaret på detta är inte att sånganföraren anser sig ha ensamrätt till det glädjespridande som sången medför. Nej, svaret är detta: Sånganföraren, liksom nationsmarskalken, sitter med en minutiöst gjord tågordning som talar om när saker och ting bör ske för att middagen skall vara klar på utsatt tid. Om då någon glad, men förvirrad, gäst spontant ställer sig upp och talar om att han eller hon hemskt gärna skulle vilja sjunga denna fem versers visa nu på stört så kommer säkerligen alla glatt att stämma in. Denna till synes harmlösa handling kan framkalla lätt panik hos dem som sitter med tågordningen och ser att inspektors tal nu kommer att bli försenat, vilket innebär att andra vinbjudet blir försenat, vilket innebär att gästerna kommer att sitta med tomma glas! Ni förstår var jag vill komma med detta. Samtidigt måste erkännas att allt detta egentligen inte spelar någon roll, så länge gästerna har trevligt är ju målet uppnått. (2006: 117)

Why does spontaneous singing evoke horror in the song leader? The answer to this question is not that the song leader claims exclusive rights to the spreading of joy that singing conveys. No, the answer is this: the song leader, just like the nation’s marshal, sits with a meticulously designed schedule that says when things should happen so that the dinner shall be ready at the appointed time. Then, if a happy, yet confused, guest spontaneously stands up and talks about how he or she would terribly like to sing this five-verse song right now, then everyone would most likely join in gladly. This seemingly harmless occurrence can evoke slight panic in those who sit with the schedule and see that the *Inspektor*’s speech will now be delayed, which means the second wine serving will be delayed, which means that the guests will sit with empty glasses! You see where I’m going with this. At the same time, it must be recognized that all this doesn’t really matter; as long as the guests have fun, the goal is reached.

Many of the rules are simultaneously called to mind and ignored, which is both “contradictory yet cogent” as Glassie mentioned in his definition of tradition. First, the justification of a song leader is questioned. Evoking Rules 4 and 6, Lindström asks what the readers may be asking. Her response is to

provide more information, which calls to mind Rule 5, and she asks for understanding regarding the harmony of others involved in the *gasque*, once again evoking Rules 4 and 6. However, should etiquette be transgressed, harmony shall be maintained. Attendees will “most likely” join in the song, fulfilling Rule 8. After all, the confused student may be one of them. Despite the harsh implication of Rule 9, students do often care. In the end, however, the rules are all considered null and void so long as the guests have fun. Yet even that statement appears to assume a form of consensus.

Further examples require even less explanation when highlighting a sense of egalitarianism and avoidance of conflict among Uppsalian students. During the UTN freshmen weeks, *reccar* are challenged to earn as many points on their *samvete* as possible. Should a grid be filled completely upon earning enough points, the lucky student will earn a golden *samvete*. The near total absence of such status symbols may be seen as an attempt to keep the field level for all involved as well as preventing the idea that incoming students know more than those with more experience. Additionally, when engineers or scientists qualify for festive coveralls or party lab coats, they once again find themselves on equal footing with plain, undecorated fabric. If further study is conducted on this subculture, it would be interesting to see at what point a new group gains the “critical mass” needed to be recognized as equals. Although I traced the development of festive clothing, I do not know at what point newer developments were accepted by the broader whole.

Let us now turn our attention to a few developments I noticed in the time following my year of fieldwork.

2013 Developments and Future Predictions

In the two years that have passed since I conducted fieldwork, *studentikos* culture in the realm of Uppsala continues to flourish, despite the worries that accompanied the fall of *kårobligatoriet*. Student nations continue to host *gasques*; songs still fill the banquet halls; and the natural science and engineering students still wear their distinctive clothing. However, perhaps the most intriguing observations have come in 2013, as the university administrative officials take greater part in student activities directly rather than officiate ceremonially, and the practice of the *gasque* is utilized to reach alumni outside of Sweden. Let us now take a brief glimpse at the continuity and change of student life as it enters the unknown future.

Celebrations of the yearly round continue to play a vital role, and upper level administrators are playing a more visible and actively engaged role. No longer confined to the balcony of the library Carolina Rediviva, waving her cap, the Rectrix Magnifica nearly led the way on the River Fyris as well. Decorated as the main administrative building, the second raft to navigate the watery route of *forsränningen*, was



Fig. 38 – The Rectrix Magnifica captains a raft during Valborg 2013.

crewed by four administrators. Acting as captain, the Rectrix Magnifica took the opportunity to see and be seen with students while central Uppsala rejoiced in the coming of spring. A few of my informants commented positively, and many students lined up along the banks of the river waved and cheered. An additional event is already in the planning stages, and on May 29, the *Uppsala Studentlopp* [Uppsala Student Race] page on Facebook announced:

Vad ska Uppsala universitets rektor, prorektor och universitetsdirektör göra lördagen den 5 oktober 2013? De ska såklart delta i Uppsala Studentlopp! Plocka fram löparskorna och anmäl dig du också! Du kan välja mellan att springa, jogga eller gå 5 km eller 10 km. Anmälan görs på www.uppsalastudentlopp.se. Förra årets 500 studenter kan inte ha fel, missa inte årets händelse! Och glöm inte – att springa själv är stort, att springa Uppsala Studentlopp är större!

What will Uppsala University's rector, prorector, and director do on Saturday, the 5th of October 2013? They will, of course, take part in the Uppsala Student Race! Take out your running shoes and register yourself also! You can choose between running, jogging, or walking 5 km or 10 km. Registration is done via www.uppsalastudentlopp.se. Last year's 500 students can't be wrong; don't miss the event of the year! And don't forget – to run by yourself is great, to run the Uppsala Student Race is greater!

In addition to participating physically, the administrators also utilize the main university building as part of their own brand. *Universitetshuset* is easily seen depicted as a raft in Figure 38, but its reference in the race advertisement is a modified version of the motto above the main entrance to the aula: *Tänka fritt är stort men tänka rätt är större* [Thinking freely is great, but thinking correctly is greater]. Discussion and debate about what the motto truly means continue to this day, but the provocative words are certainly linked with the building and those who tread within.

Similar to the perseverance of student nations despite the recent funding threat, festive student clothing appears relatively stable and continues to evolve. For example, although the Moebius bathrobe strongly resisted the practice of sewing on patches during my year of fieldwork, it has certainly begun to take up the practice today. In 2011, a few informants expressed their concern that *sektion*-oriented clothing was on the wane, threatened primarily by the rise of home-made costumes intended for a single event. For now, through photos uploaded to Facebook and occasional reports from informants that continue to be active in overall events, it appears the phenomenon of occupational festive garments will continue to survive into the near future.

Future observations of student culture in Uppsala, and in many other countries for that matter, will need to take into account the ever-increasing digital aspects of folklore. These new media forms will certainly require fresh thinking and an eye for different forms of expressive culture:



Fig. 39 – A mathematician displays patches sewn onto her bathrobe.

Netlore, then, is not oral, is not communicated face-to-face, is not passed from generation to generation, and does not exhibit much variation. It is nevertheless folklore because as expressive behavior it is a form of subversive play, circulating in an underground communicative universe that runs parallel to and often parodies, mocks, or comments mordantly on “official” channels of communication such as the mass media.
(Frank 2011: 9)

Much literature has already been devoted to digital culture⁷⁴, and the interaction of human groups both on and offline is certain to yield interesting results⁷⁵. Norrlands nation in Uppsala, for example, released a digital songbook for download on iTunes earlier this year. The use of an expensive, fragile phone at an event that risks its destruction through spillage of alcohol, crushing during table pounding, or another semi-drunken behavior is not likely to catch on quickly. However, as the prices of electronics drop, perhaps they too will become a more common part of student festivities.

Finally, it appears Uppsalian student life is starting to reach beyond the university and even the borders of Sweden. As Uppsala University seeks to strengthen its ties with alumni abroad, aspects of student nation life are spreading with the development of foreign chapters. For example, “The First New York Fall *Gasque*” was held in New York City on November 27, 2012. Further events are also in the planning stages, and the *gasque* was a central topic of discussion by alumni gathered in San Francisco during the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study’s 2013 conference:

Entusiasmen var stor kring borden för att bilda ett Uppsalanätverk på den amerikanska västkusten, och idéerna var många om vad man skulle tänka sig vilja bidra och arbeta med. Högst på önskelistan stod en gemensam *gasque* (!) följd av allt från seminarier med besökande Uppsalaforskare; introduktioner för de många amerikanska studenter på Västkusten som är på väg till Uppsala på utbytesår; samtalsgrupper för att hålla igång kunskaperna i svenska; ”ambassadörsprogram” och marknadsföring av Uppsala universitet i Kalifornien; stipendier/fundraising; erbjudande av praktikplatser i Kalifornien till Uppsalastudenter; besöksprogram till Silicon Valley liksom Kalifornien/entreprenörsdagar i Uppsala med deltagande av alumner på västkusten!
(Wetterqvist 2013: par. 4)

⁷⁴ For more information about how the fields of folklore and genre studies have looked at digital culture, see Blank 2009, Frank 2011, and Giltrow 2009.

⁷⁵ Lynne McNeill writes of the “digital native generation, people born close to 1980 who are all ‘native speakers’ of the digital language of computers, video games and the Internet” (In Blank 2009: 80). University students today were born a full decade later and have had even greater exposure to digital media.

Enthusiasm was great around the table to create an Uppsala network on the American West Coast, and there were many ideas about what one wished to contribute and work with. Highest on the wish list stood a shared *gasque* (!) followed by everything from seminars with visiting researchers from Uppsala; introductions for the many American students on the West Coast who are on the way to Uppsala for exchange years; conversation groups to maintain Swedish language abilities; “Ambassador programs” and marketing of Uppsala University in California; scholarships/fundraising; offering internships in California to Uppsala students; visiting programs to Silicon Valley as well as California/entrepreneur days in Uppsala with participation of alumni on the West Coast!

Despite an impressive list of academic and business-oriented ideas, Uppsala University was most surprised to see the sheer enthusiasm for a *gasque* to be held on the West Coast of the United States.

Only time will tell what truly develops, but lessons learned from student life will likely play their role in whatever future positions await students after their time in university.

Returning to the concept of tradition, Henry Glassie’s words describe how even the little things hold their own importance and lead to even greater things:

Spanning from the routine to the inventive, tradition is characterized diversely as a result of scholarly interest and—and this is more important—as a result of differences among cultures. In different situations, traditions can be identified with the products, whether casual or canonical, of historical action, or as the historical axis within creative acts, or as the style of historical construction peculiar to a culture. As resource and process, as wish for stability, progress, or revitalization, tradition—or something like it with another name—is the inbuilt motive force for culture. History need not be seen as circumstantial to culture, as an external power that causes changes in synchronic states. It can be seen as an integral component of culture, its adaptive urge to becoming. Nor must history and culture be ranged beyond the reach of men and women. The big patterns are the yield of small acts. History, culture, and the human actor meet in tradition. (2003: 192-193)

Onward to the unknown!

Appendix 1 – Songs Recorded at *Gasques, Sexor, or Other Formal Sittningar*

The song titles listed below were sung by all students in attendance or by student groups acting as official entertainment for the evening. Unique, event-specific songs composed and performed by the kitchen staff at Västgöta nation, which customarily numbered two per night, are sadly not included in this tally due to insufficient field recordings. To those student workers who took part in such songs, I apologize. Particular titles are followed by additional information. Numbers refer to the amount of times I was able to record performances of the title on my audio device. An asterix (*) denotes an event-specific, unique song, which may range from brief changes in lyrics to entirely new lyrics set to a newly composed melody.

Västgöta nation

207 recorded song titles in total

- 1) Absolutist? – Nej då!
- 2) Arga kockens rätt- och felvisa
- 3) Att fela är mänskligt (x2)
- 4) Avundsjuk visa
- 5) Barnen och herdarna
- 6) Bergen I (x2)
- 7) Bergen II
- 8) Bordeaux, Bordeaux
- 9) Bordvisa enligt Biskop Franzén
- 10) Bort allt vad oro gör (x3)
- 11) Bruce's philosopher's song
- 12) Calmarevisan
- 13) Crambamboli (x4)
- 14) Darling och Murray (x2)
- 15) Dom som är nyktra (x4)
- 16) Dåne liksom åskan bröder
- 17) En björn lig över en kulle
- 18) Feta fransyskor (x2)
- 19) [Finland är Finland]
- 20) Fredmans sång nr. 21 (x5)
- 21) Fritjof och Carmencita
- 22) Främling (x2)
- 23) Gøtt å leva
- 24) Grannens skithus (x2)
- 25) Groggens mening
- 26) Gul

- 27) Gyttjan (x3)
- 28) Gäddan och spriten
- 29) Ha'nt vi nå brännvin
- 30) Hej bonnapöjke (x6)
- 31) Hej tomtegubbar
- 32) Helan går (x4)
- 33) Hell and gore
- 34) Hur länge skall på bordet
- 35) Hymn till Västergötland (x4)
- 36) Hålet
- 37) Här är gudagott att vara
- 38) Härjarevisan (x6)
- 39) Imbelupet
- 40) Indianerna
- 41) Infanteriet (x7)
- 42) Inse vines spindel
- 43) Iverts sång (*)
- 44) Jag har aldrig vart på snusen (x2)
- 45) Jag tänker sälja min dromedary
- 46) Jaktsupen
- 47) [John 14:15-17]
- 48) Julgransjuice
- 49) Järnvägsbommor (x7)
- 50) [Karl XII, poem by Tegnér]
- 51) Kristallen den fina
- 52) Kräftan blinker
- 53) Kulturens soldat
- 54) Kö-sång
- 55) Lady in Red
- 56) Levern
- 57) Lyft ditt välförsedda glas
- 58) Långt ner i Småland
- 59) Lämner gemaken (x4)
- 60) Länge leve livet
- 61) Längtan till landet
- 62) Massa jästen (x2)
- 63) Mera brännvin i glasen (x3)
- 64) Min gode vän Joel (x2)
- 65) Min häst den har gula öron
- 66) Min pilsner
- 67) Min svärmor
- 68) Motocross å valross (x7)
- 69) Måsen (x4)
- 70) Nu är det jul igen
- 71) Nu är det nu igen
- 72) När Helan man tagit
- 73) När jag är fuller (x3)
- 74) Ofvandahls (x2)
- 75) O gamla klang- och jubeltid (x6)

- 76) Om cykling (x3)
- 77) Punschen kommer
- 78) Ris Jerk
- 79) Råven raska röva riset
- 80) Röda havet (x3)
- 81) Sadistvisa
- 82) Sibboborna (x3)
- 83) Sila i Vänern
- 84) Skomakarn [Anderssons kärring]
- 85) Sommarland med Lidköpingsbandet Rörstrangd (*)
- 86) Snålskål
- 87) Sov lilla Totte
- 88) Spegelvisa
- 89) Spritbolaget
- 90) Studentsången
- 91) Svordomsvisan
- 92) Svärmor (x8)
- 93) Så bister kall sveper nordanvinden
- 94) Till Österland
- 95) Toj hemtegubbar
- 96) Ukraina
- 97) Utvandrarern (x3)
- 98) Vadsbo skvadrons visa (x4)
- 99) Vem kan segla
- 100) Vikingen (x5)
- 101) Vinvisa
- 102) Vi som oss för att glupa satt (x2)
- 103) Vodka, vodka
- 104) Västgöten på kräftkalas (*)
- 105) West Gothlander of cancer attack (*)
- 106) Wiinwiisa
- 107) Än en gång därän (x2)
- 108) Öl, öl, öl i glass (x2)
- 109) Ölvisan

Gotlands nation

241 recorded song titles in total

- 1) 1, 12, 75, 6, 7
- 2) Absolutist? -- Nej då! (x3)
- 3) Aje di, aje die dittan
- 4) Archivarians visa (x3)
- 5) Astu dass (x5)
- 6) Baklängessnapsen
- 7) Balladen om herr Fredrik Åkare och den söta fröken Cecilia Lind (x2)
- 8) Be be vitamin
- 9) Bordeaux, Bordeaux (x3)

- 10) Bort allt vad oro gör
- 11) Buller och trätor
- 12) Båtlåt
- 13) Cockles and mussels (x2)
- 14) Crambamboli (x4)
- 15) Dala Stark
- 16) Dansen går på Svinsta skär (x3)
- 17) De brevitae vitae (x2)
- 18) Den blomstertid (x2)
- 19) Djungelpunsch
- 20) Dom som är nyktra (x4)
- 21) Dromedaren
- 22) Du gamla, Du fria
- 23) En Värmlandspöjk
- 24) Fantomens brallor
- 25) Fest'n kan gynne (x2)
- 26) Feta fransyskor (x2)
- 27) [Finland är Finland]
- 28) Fredmans epistel nr. 9 (x3)
- 29) Fredmans epistel nr. 82
- 30) Fredmans sång nr 10 (x2)
- 31) Fredmans sång nr. 21
- 32) Fritiof och Carmencita
- 33) Fru Svensången (x2)
- 34) Förslösardrycken
- 35) [GH-OP]
- 36) Gotlandsdrikku
- 37) Gotländsk kyrkoramsa
- 38) Gotländsk sommarnatt
- 39) Gunatt siv gutt
- 40) Gutasagan (*)
- 41) Gute Nacht (x4)
- 42) Hej bonnapöjka (*VG "invaders"! x2)
- 43) Helan går (x11)
- 44) Helan rasat ner i våra magar
- 45) Hur tar du lilla supen? (x2)
- 46) Hur tar du lilla ringen (*)
- 47) Här jär gudagutt att varä (x3)
- 48) Här är gudagott att vara
- 49) Härjarevisan (x3)
- 50) Imbelupet
- 51) Jag gillar ringar (*)
- 52) Ja må hon leva (x2)
- 53) Jag var full en gang (x2)
- 54) Jubileumslåt (x2)
- 55) Kom du ljuva hjärtevän (x4)
- 56) Kors i allsinn dar
- 57) Kärringdjävel
- 58) Marlikkos Vendla (x3)

- 59) Massgaisten väinar
- 60) Mera brännvin i glasen (x6)
- 61) Mera ringar i glasen (*)
- 62) Min gode vän Joel (x4)
- 63) Måsen (x4)
- 64) Nikolajev (x4)
- 65) Nu grönska det (x2)
- 66) När kaffet är serverat
- 67) Ofvandahls (x2)
- 68) O gamla klang- och jubeltid (x7)
- 69) Om cycling (x4)
- 70) Om ringning med mera (*)
- 71) Paråde de Mustásch (x4)
- 72) Protestters
- 73) Punschen kommer
- 74) Pärleporten (x3)
- 75) Ris Jerk
- 76) Rituell elddans (x3)
- 77) Rune ifrån Rone (x6)
- 78) Ryssar i rymden (x2)
- 79) Senil
- 80) Silla (* mostly Göteborgs members)
- 81) Skomaker Anderssons kärring
- 82) Smedsvisa (x3)
- 83) Soli gynnar hällä
- 84) Somliga går med trasiga skor
- 85) Studentsången (x3)
- 86) Summan kummar (x3)
- 87) Svärmor (x3)
- 88) Sång till Gotland (x3)
- 89) Sångarhyllning (x3)
- 90) Takk för supen (x11)
- 91) T-E-F-A-T (* x2)
- 92) Tefatsvisa (* x2)
- 93) Telefon till himmelen (x4)
- 94) Tersvisa
- 95) Till Österland (x3)
- 96) Trink, trink
- 97) Tänk om jag hade (*)
- 98) Tänk om jag hade en sabel
- 99) Tänk om jag hade en sabel (*)
- 100) Vadsbro skvadrons visa (x2)
- 101) Vardesväisu (x5)
- 102) Vem kan plöje
- 103) Vem kan segla
- 104) Vem kan ringa (*)
- 105) Vinvisa (with Smålands/Göteborgs)
- 106) Våran kräfte
- 107) What shall we do with a drunken sailor

- 108) Än en gång därän (x5)
- 109) Äta lammskallar det bör man
- 110) Ögonvisan

Science/Engineering Sections

118 recorded song titles in total

- 1) 8 peaks of GC (x4)
- 2) Balladen om Kemikum (x4)
- 3) Bordeaux, bordeaux (x2)
- 4) Du gamla, Du fria
- 5) Elektronvisan (x3)
- 6) En analykemist (x4)
- 7) En Kulen MatNat-natt
- 8) Fantastisk häst
- 9) Fransk vinvisa [Feta Fransyskor] (x3)
- 10) Festsång till UTN
- 11) Fredmans sång nr. 21
- 12) Glädjetåren
- 13) Happy birthday
- 14) Helan går (x3)
- 15) Härjarvisan (x3)
- 16) Ja må han leva
- 17) Jag har aldrig vart på snusen (x5)
- 18) Jag skall festa (x3)
- 19) Jag vill ut och gasqua
- 20) Kemisternas julnatt
- 21) Kemistsången
- 22) [Klubb Starr] (* x2)
- 23) Kungsbacon
- 24) Labben (x2)
- 25) Laser time (x4)
- 26) LDH-labben (x3)
- 27) Materials
- 28) Mera brännvin
- 29) Mitt lilla lån
- 30) Må saften vara med er (x5)
- 31) Måsen
- 32) Möbius nationalsång
- 33) Nikolajev (x3)
- 34) O gamla klang- och jubeltid (x4)
- 35) O hemska labb
- 36) O Kemikum (x5)
- 37) Planksaft
- 38) Portos visa (x4)
- 39) Punschen kommer (x2)
- 40) Rosa på bal

- 41) Sankta Chemia (x10)
- 42) Schottis på Valhall
- 43) Silent Labs (x5)
- 44) Sjösala vals
- 45) Smedsvisan
- 46) Spritbolaget (x2)
- 47) Studentsången
- 48) Système International d'Unites
- 49) Takk för supen
- 50) Under en filt i Moebius
- 51) Vikingen
- 52) White Crystals (x5)

Appendix 2 – Songbook Surveys

This appendix is meant to give an overview of when song titles appeared in the canonical songbooks and for how long they remained. Preceding each group is a short list of the editions to which I had access. Västgöta nation certainly must have released songbooks prior to 1930. Unfortunately, I was unable to find a copy of them, either at the student nation's archive or in many used bookstores.

Västgöta Nation

Years of Release:

- 1930
- 1936
- 1943
- 1954
- 1966
- 1971
- 1980 – Joint release with Östgöta Nation
- 1988
- 1996
- 2006

Total Number of Titles: 420

Song Title	Year(s) of Appearance
Absolutist? - Nej då!	2006
Ack, om jag bodde på en krog!	1954
Afskedet på Flottsund	1954
Albertina	1930, 1936, 1943
Alla kan ju inte älska alla här i världen	1996
Alouette	1943, 1954, 1966, 1980, 1996
An den Mond	1954
And I gave you kiss one	1954
Angorakatten	1988
Att angöra en brygga	1996
Auld lang syne	1954, 1966, 1980, 1988, 2006
Auprès de ma blonde	1943, 1954
Balladen om Herr Fredrik Åkare och den...	1996
Balladen om herr Rosenbloms spelemän	1980
Bandysången	2006
Barnen och herdarna, tätt följd av Björnen...	2006

Beatrice-Aurore	1954
Bergen I	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Bergen II	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Blommig Falukorv	1996
Blå Stetsonhatt	1996
Bordeaux, bordeaux	1988, 1996, 2006
Bordsvisa från VG Nations majmiddag 1944	1988
Bordsvisa vid VG nations vårbal 1934	1936
Bordsvisa vid VG Nations Majmiddag 1938	1943, 1954
Bort allt vad oro gör	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Borås, Borås	1996, 2006
Brev från kolonien	1996
Bruce's philosopher's song	1996, 2006
Brudvals	1954
Brännvin	1996
Brännö brygga (De' ä' dans på...)	1980, 1988, 1996
Buller och trätor	1996, 2006
Bullfest	1980
Båd sommar och vinter	1980
Båkländets vackra Maja	1954
Båtlåt	1996
Calmarevisan	2006
Cavalle och Potta	1954
Chevaliers de la Table ronde	1996
Clementine	1954
Crambamboli	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Darling och Murray	1980, 1988, 1996
De brevitae vitae (Gaudeamus igitur)	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Deidres Samba	1996
Den förste friarn kommer	1930, 1936, 1943
Den förste gång (jag ser dig)	1936, 1943, 1954, 1980, 1996, 2006
Den törstiga kamelen	1988
Der er et yndigt Land	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966
Det är våren	1980
Dityramb i morgonglans	1954, 1980
Djungelpunsch	1996, 2006
Dom som är nyktra	1996, 2006
Drinken knappast hunnit sjunka	1980

Drinking song	2006
Dryckessång	1936, 1943, 1954
Dryckesvisa	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Dryckesvisa om veckans dagar	2006
Du gamla, du fria	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Du halva	1954
Du skall ta gitarren med dig när du dör	1980
Dålig självkänedom?	2006
Efter kameral-examen	1954
Ekeby	1980
Ekor'n satt i tallen	1996
Elvira Madigan	1954
En ballad om franske kungens spelmän	1943, 1954, 1980
En borde inte sova	1954
En glad calypso om våren	1980, 1988
En månskensnatt på slottsbacken	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
En sjöman älskar havets våg	1936, 1943
En sån karl	1996, 2006
En vårvisa från Lidköping	1996, 2006
En värmlandspöjk	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Engelska flottan	1980, 1988
Eskimåvisan	1936, 1943
Falleravisan	1954
FestU:s punschvisa	1988, 1996
Feta fransyskor	2006
Fix idé	1996
Fjärran han dröjer	1954
Flicka från Backafall	1954
Flickan vid min sida	1996, 2006
Flugan	1996
Fordom odla man	1980
Fredmans epistel N:o 2	1980, 1988, 1996
Fredmans epistel nr 9	1996, 2006
Fredmans epistel nr 48	1988, 1996
Fredmans epistel N:o 82	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Fredmans sång N:o 11	1936, 1943
Fredmans sång nr 17	2006
Fredmans sång nr 21	1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006

Fredmans sång nr 28	2006
Fredmans sång nr 35	1996, 2006
Fredmans sång N:o 64	1936, 1943
Frida i vårstädningen	1996, 2006
Frihetssång	1966
Fritiof Anderssons paradmarsch	1971, 1980, 1988, 1996
Fritiof i Arkadien	1943
Fritiof och Carmencita	1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Från England till Skottland	1936, 1943
Främling	1996, 2006
Full och galen	1980, 1988
Fysiken	1980
Får jag lämna några blommor	1954
För brännvin ä jäkla gott	1980
Glad blir jag alltid	2006
Glad som en viking	1988
Glad såsom fågeln (Vårsång)	1954, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Gluntens Vigilance	1954
Godtemplarversion (Mjolk, mjolk)	1980
Gött å leva	1996, 2006
Grannens skithus	1996, 2006
Greensleeves	1996
Grodan	1980
Gul	1988, 1996, 2006
Gyttjan	1996, 2006
Gånglåt (Vi gå över daggstänkta berg)	1936, 1943
Gåsvisa (Gåsen har lagts uppå våra fat)	1988
Gåsvisa (Det satt en gås på en slaktarbänk)	2006
Gäddan (och spriten)	1988, 1996, 2006
Gäss te dej	1996, 2006
Gökarvisa	1996, 2006
Gökvals	1996
Halvan (Hej bonnapôjka)	1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Handen är villig	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Han't vi nå brännvin	2006
Hej dunkom!	1943, 1954
Hej tomtegubbar (... slå i glasen)	1996
Hej tomtegubbar II (... lyft på luvan)	1996
Hej tomtegubbar (... vrid på gasen)	2006

Helan (Helan går)	1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Helan (Längre version / Helan-medley)	1988, 1996
Helan gick i vänstra foten	1980
Hell and Gore	2006
Hertigen av York	1936, 1943
Huldas Karin	1954
Hur länge skall på bordet	1980, 1988, 2006
Huru Gluntens svårmod, på Äplet, skingras...	1954
Husarvisa	1943
Hyfsvisa	1988, 1996, 2006
Hymn till Västergötland	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Hålet	1996, 2006
Härjavisan (Härjarevisan)	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Hörapparat	1996
I anledning av Magisterns och Gluntens...	1954
I den skönaste stad Barcelona	1936, 1943
I djupa källarvalvet	1954
I like the snaps	1980, 2006
I låga ryttartorpet	1996, 2006
I Norrland (växer det)	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
I väntan på halvan	1988
Indianerna	2006
Infanteriet	2006
Ingela	1996
Ingen ordning	1996
Inkontinentas lovsång	1996, 2006
Inre dialog	2006
Inspektorspunsch	1996
Invalidvisa	1996
Isabella	1954
Ja, vi elsker	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966
Jag gör så att blommorna blommar	1996
Jag har bott vid en landsväg	1996
Jag såg mamma stycka tomten	2006
Jag vill bo i rymden	1996, 2006
Jag vill smaka	2006
Jag är en främling	1930
Jaktsång	1936, 1943

Jamaica Farewell	1996
Jerico	1988
Joachim uti Babylon (Fredmans s. 41)	1954
Jone havsfärd	1943
Ju mera öl vi dricker	2006
Jungman Jansson	1936, 1943, 1954, 1980, 1988, 1996
Jägarevisa	1930, 1936, 1943
Järnvägsbommar	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Kaffe, kaffe	2006
Kaffevisa	1988
Kalle Schevens vals (Calle Schewens vals)	1980, 1988
Karlsborgsvisan	1996, 2006
Katjosja	1996
Knallhatens väl	2006
Knô daj in	1996, 2006
Kokosnöten	1988
Kors i allsin dar	1980
Korset på Idas grav	1930, 1936, 1943
Korta versionen (Fritiof och Carmencita)	1996
Kostervalsen	1980, 1996
Kovboj istat Esteban	1996
Kristalen den fina	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Kräftan (blinkar)	1996, 2006
Kräftan raskar	2006
Kräftan är ett läckert djur	2006
Kräftklon	1996
Kräftvisa	1996, 2006
Kullerullvisan	1980
Kulturens soldat	2006
Kung Karl	1930
Kungssången	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Kvarten (Imbelupet)	1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Lejonbruden	1936, 1943, 1954
Levern	2006
Lili Marleen	1996, 2006
Lilla Paris	1954
Lilla Punschvisan	2006
Lingonben	1996, 2006
Linnéa eller en tit i sjökistan	1943
Liten barnvisa	1996, 2006

Livet (är härligt)	1988, 1996, 2006
Love me tender	1996
Lusse lelle	1996
Lyft ditt välförsedda glas	1988, 1996, 2006
Långt ner i Småland	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Låt oss nu säga skål	1980
Länge har jag tänkt (Lilla punschvisan)	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Längtan till Italien	1936, 1943, 1954, 1980, 2006
Längtan till landet	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Majsång	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1980, 1988
Man borde inte sova	1980
Massa jästen	2006
Med lingonröda näsor	1980
Mellbom	1980
Mera brännvin i glasen	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Mera män	2006
Min gode vän Joel	2006
Min lilla ponny	1996
Min pilsner	1996, 2006
Min svärmor	1996, 2006
Mina studier	1936
Mitt lilla fejs och jag	1996, 2006
Molltoner från Norrland	1954
Molly Malone	1996
Morsgrisar	1996
Motocross å valross	1996, 2006
My Bonnie	1954
My father	1988
Månen og studenten	1996
Måsen	1988, 1996, 2006
Nanna Ninni	1996
Nekrofilen	2006
Nu grönskar det	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Nu hoppar laxen	1980
Nu klinger igjennem den gamle stad	1943
Nu ska vi klämma	1980, 1988, 1996
Nubben, en nordisk hjältedryck	1980
Nya Älvsborgsvisan	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966
Nylänningarnas marsch	1936, 1943, 1954
Någonting att äta	1996

När helan man tagit	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
När jag kom hem	1980, 1988
När jag var en ung caballiero	1954
När jag är fuller	1996, 2006
När skämtet tar ordet (Bordsvisa enl. Biskop...)	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
När skönheten kom till byn	1943
O gamla klang- och jubeltid	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Ó, guð vors lands	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966
O, hur härligt majsol ler	1954
O Tannenbaum	1996, 2006
Och våra bockar	1988, 1996, 2006
Ofvandahls	1988, 1996, 2006
Olof Silverlod	1936, 1943, 1954
Om cykling	1988, 1996, 2006
Ont i huvet	1996
Opp, Amaryllis (Fredmans s. 31)	1954
Pastifastacus lov enligt Don Polly	2006
Pierina	1954
Polska	1936
Punsch eller cognac	1988, 1996, 2006
Punsch, punsch	1980
Punschen kommer	1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Punschen vi radat	1988
Punschhymn	1996, 2006
Punschvisa	1996, 2006
På Arendorffs tid	1980, 1996
På en liten smutsig bakgård	1996
På Richelieus tid	1936, 1943, 1954
Ranunculi	2006
Ratata	1988
Ren calad (Fredmans ep. 42)	1954
Rhenvinets lov	1930, 1943, 1954
Riddare kring runda bordet	1954, 1966, 1980, 1988
Risjerk	1988, 1996, 2006
Rosa på bal	1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Rosen	1988
Rumba i Balders hage	1954
Rumba i Engelska parken	1996

Rädes ej	1980, 1996, 2006
Röda havet	1988, 2006
Sadistvisa	1996, 2006
Sancta Lucia	1943, 1954
Schottis på Valhall	1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Se halvan väntar i glaset	1980
Se vår världsbild	1980
Sentimental Journey	1996
Ser du stjärnan i det blå	1980, 1988
Serenaden i Prästgatan, Kvarteret Venus	1980
Sibboborna	1988, 1996, 2006
Sila i Vänern	1996, 2006
Silla	1988
Sista punschvisan	1988, 1996
Sit on my face	1996
Sjungom students lyckliga dag (Studentsången)	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Sjömansvisa	1936, 1943
Sjösala vals	1980, 1988, 1996
Skinn på snapsen	2006
Skomakaren	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Skridskor	1980
Skål! (Kamrater! Hev nu glaset)	1936, 1943
Skål alla glada pensionärer	1996, 2006
Skånska nationernas madavisa	1996
Sköna maj	1954
Skönheten och odjuret	1996, 2006
Släpp fångarne loss!	2006
Smakprov av himlen	1996
Smedsvisa	1996, 2006
Smiskvisan	1988, 1996, 2006
Sommarsången	1996, 2006
Sommerkvetter	1954
Sov lilla Totte	1996
Spelmansvisa	1936, 1943
Spriten är vår bästa vän	1996, 2006
Stopp	1996
Stridssång	1996
Stråmans på VG	1996, 2006

Studentsången in transpiranto	1988
Studiemedelsrondo	1988, 1996, 2006
Styrman Karlssons äventyr med porslinspjäsen	1996, 2006
Svalkande punsch	1996, 2006
Svarte Rudolf	1930, 1936, 1943, 1980
Svinsta skär (Dansen den går uppå...)	1980, 1996, 2006
Svärmor	1996, 2006
Så länge skutan kan gå	1980
Sång till Västergötland	1930, 1936, 1943
Sånt e livet	1996, 2006
Takk för supen	1988, 1996, 2006
Tersen (Ob, Jenisej)	1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Till Gåsen själv	1996, 2006
Till kräftklon	2006
Till nubben så (tager man en sill)	1980
Till Svartsoppan	1996, 2006
Till Österland	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Tim-ta-ra-ra	1980, 1988, 1996
Tomtarna på loftet	1996
Tre pepparkaksgubbar	2006
Tre små harar	1996
Tre sniglar	1988
Treo-comp	1996, 2006
Trink, trink!	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 2006
Trinken wir ein Tröpfchen	1936
Träd fram (Fredmans s. 32)	1954
Turistens klagan	1996
Två vindögda segel	1996
Tänk om (jag hade lilla nubben)	1996
Töntarnas Julnatt	1996
Törsten rasar	1980, 1988
U-båt till salu	1980, 1988
Ud efter Øl (Der var en skikkelig Bondemand)	1971
Ukraina	2006
Undan ur vägen (Fredmans ep. 38)	1954
Under en filt i Madrid	1996, 2006
Under rönn och syren	1996
Underbart är kort	2006
Uplandssång	1996

Uppsala är bäst	1954
Ur "Gluntarna" (Här är gudagott att vara)	1930, 1936, 1943, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Ur "Huruledes månen intresserar sig för..." (Nu tror jag det kan vara tid)	1936, 1943, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Ur Västgötaspexet "Napoleon"	1930
Uschiameja	1996, 2006
Uti vår hage	1936, 1943, 1954
Uti vår mage	1980, 1988
Utvandraren	2006
Vad ger dig din sisu? (Finska punschvisan)	1980, 1988, 1996
Vad ser vi på bordet	1980
Vad säger svenska folket	1996
Vadsbo skvadrons visa	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Valborg vid Fyris	1980
Vandringssång	1936, 1943
Vattuvisa	2006
Vem sade ordet	1980, 1988
VGIF sången	2006
Vi klarar oss nog ändå	1996
Vi som oss för att glupa satt	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Vi vill ha punsch	1988, 1996, 2006
Vi åker skridsko	1996
Vi älskar öl	1996, 2006
Vid brasan på Magisterns kammare, efter...	1954
Vid middagens slut	1996, 2006
Vid vakten	1943
Vikingen	1996, 2006
Vinden drar, skeppet far	1936, 1943
Vinet det vita	1996
Vinvisa	1996, 2006
Visa vid midsommartid	1954
Visan om skrädaregesällen	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954
Vodka, ach vodka	1954, 1966
Våra gossar	1996, 2006
Vårliga vindar draga	1954
Vårsång (Lämner gemaken)	1930, 1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Vårt land	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966
Vårvindar friska	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006

Västgötasång (T. Rantzén)	1936, 1943
Västgötasång (I. Widéen & P. Nilsson)	1936, 1943, 1954, 1966, 1971, 1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Warum bist du so ferne	1980, 1988
What shall we do with the drunken sailor	1980, 1988
Wiinwiisa	1996, 2006
Åh, Uplands nation	2006
Ål av mig	1996
Ångbåt	1980, 1988
Älgarna	1996
Än en gång därän	1980, 1988, 1996, 2006
Än går det vå(gor)	1980, 1988
Änglamark	1980
Öl	1996
Öl, öl, öl i glas	2006
Ölvisan	2006
Öppna ditt hölster	2006
Östgötasång	1980
Östgötsk bordvisa	1980

Gotlands Nation

Years of Release:

- 1913
- 1923
- 1934
- 1944
- 1971
- 1982
- 1990
- 1998
- 2009

Total Number of Titles: 373

Song Title	Year(s) of Appearance
1, 12, 75, 6, 7	1998, 2009
Á sprengisandi	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Absolutist? - Nejdå!	1998, 2009
Að lífið sé skjálfandi	1982
Aje di, aje die dittan	1998, 2009

Allt under himmelens fäste	1934, 1944
Alouette	1944
Arkivariens visa	2009
Aspåkerspolska	1944
Astu dass	2009
Att hålla opp	1998
Att vara gotlänning	1990
Auf der Lüneburger Heide	1944
Auld lang syne	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Auprès de ma blonde	1944
Baklängessnapsen	1998
Balladen om den kaxiga myran	2009
Baloo's Sång (The Bare Necessities/Var nöjd...)	1990, 1998, 2009
Barndom	2009
Beatles potpuri	1990
Beväringsvisa	1913, 1923, 1934
BM Traktortider	2009
Bordeaux, bordeaux	1990, 1998, 2009
Borsten	1990
Bort allt vad oro gör	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Brev från kolonien	1990
Brännö brücke	1990, 1998
Brännö brygga	1998
Buller och trätor	1998, 2009
Båklandets vackra Maja	1944
Båtlåt	1990, 1998
Böifärdi (Böiraisu)	1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990
Calle Schewens vals	1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998
Calypso pervers	1990
Carina, Carina	2009
Carry me back to Old Virginny	1944
Cockles and mussels	1990, 1998, 2009
Cramboli	1934, 1944, 1982, 1990, 2009
Crassus vinsång	1982
Dala Stark	2009
Dans på Vejby ängar	2009
Dansen går på Svinsta skär	2009
Das Königslied	1990, 1998
De värmländska brukstraditioner	1998, 2009
Den blomster tid nu kommer	1998, 2009

Den första gång	1944
Den levnadsglade punschionären	1998
Den lille mand	2009
Den sköna Helén (Flickan i Peru)	1944
Der er et yndigt Land	1944
Der var en skikkelig Bondeman (en go gammel)	1944, 1998
Det hänger på bredden	1990
Det var dans bort i vägen	1990, 1998, 2009
Det var en gång en fin angorakatt	1944, 1971
Djungelpunsch	1990, 1998, 2009
Dom som är nyktra	1998, 2009
Dromedaren	2009
Du gamla, du fria (Sveriges nationalsång)	1944, 1998, 2009
Dä bor an man pa Fårö	1998
Ein altes Jüngferlein	1944
Ekornn satt i tallen	1990
En ballad om franske kungens spelmän	1944, 1971
En glad calypso om våren	1990
En leiten sårk	2009
En månskens natt på Slottsbacken	1971, 1998, 2009
En sjöman älskar havets våg	1944, 1990, 1998, 2009
Erik Olssons halve	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998
Fader Abraham	1998
Fantomens brallor	1998, 2009
Far far fare mikke	2009
Fattig bonddräng	2009
Finlandssvensk snapsvisa	1998
Fester utan punsch	1998, 2009
Fest'n kan gynne	1990, 1998, 2009
Feta fransyskor (Fransk vinvisa)	1998, 2009
Fix idé	1990
Fjäriln vingad syns på Haga (Fredmans s. 64)	1934, 1944, 1998, 2009
Fordom odlade man vindruvsranka	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Fredmans epistel nr 1	1998
Fredmans Epistel n:o 2 (Nå skruva fiolen)	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Fredmans epistel nr 9	1998, 2009
Fredmans sång nr 10	1998
Fredmans sång nr 16	1998, 2009
Fredmans sång nr 17	1998

Fredmans sång nr 28	1998, 2009
Fredmans sång nr 35	1998
(Balladen om) Fredrik Åkare och Cecilia Lind	1990, 1998, 2009
Fritiof Anderssons paradmarsch	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998
Fritiof i Arkadien	1998
Fritiof och Carmencita	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Fru Svensången	1998, 2009
Från England till Skottland	1971
Före supen	1971
Förlösardrycken	1998, 2009
Gamblä Valu	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Gaudeamus igitur (De brevitae vitae)	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Glad såsom fågeln (Vårsong)	1990, 1998, 2009
Glunten på föreläsning	1971
Glädsorg	1998
Gorka-visan	1990
Gotland min längtan	1934, 1944, 1990, 1998, 2009
Gotlandsdrikku	1990, 1998, 2009
Gotlandsmarsch	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944
Gotlandssång	1934
Gotlandsvisa	1923, 1934, 1944
Gotländsk eldarevals	2009
Gotländsk kyrkoramsa	1990, 1998, 2009
Gotländsk sommarnatt	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Gul lyser solen	1998
Guldkrogen	1998
Gunatt siv gutt	2009
Gutalagen	1934, 1944
Gute Nacht	2009
Gångsång (Gånglåt)	1913, 1923, 1934
Gäddor och möss	1998, 2009
Gällivarevisan	1990, 1998
Haile garden har ja säupe upp	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Hallvi vävar	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Ha'nt vi nå brännvin	1998, 2009
Hej alle töisar	1990, 1998, 2009
Hej, Bacchus upp (Sång i ett dryckeslag)	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982
Helan rasat ner i våra magar	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009

Helangårakatt	1990, 1998
Heldigt, heldigt er studentens kald	1934, 1944
Hell and gore	2009
Himlanektarn	2009
Hul pa sukken	2009
Hur länge skall på bordet	2009
Hur tar du lilla supen	1998, 2009
Hyfsvisa	1998
Hägvaldars låt	1990, 1998
Här är gudagott att vara	1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Hästen	1990
Hönan Agda	2009
Höstvisa	1982
I den skönaste stad Barcelona	1934, 1944, 1971
I Norrland växer det	1998
I Studentstaden	1998, 2009
Imbelu (Imbelupet glaset står...)	1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Indiansången	2009
Ingen ordning	1990
Inre dialog	1998
Ja, vi elsker	1944
Jag gillar punschen	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Jag har aldrig vart på snusen	1990, 1998, 2009
Jag var full en gång	1998, 2009
Jag väntar	1971
Jag är en främling	1944
Jamaica farewell	1990, 1998
Jazzgossen	2009
Joachim uti Babylon (Fredmans s. 41)	1971, 1998
Jubileumslåt	2009
Jungman Jansson	1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998
Järnvägsbommar	1998, 2009
Kalmar nations stridssång	1998, 2009
Kamrater! Hev nu glaset!	1934, 1944
Kamratsvisa	1934
Kas ei baken	1990, 1998
Kavallerivisan	1998
Kom du ljuva hjärtevän	2009

Kors i allsin dar	1990, 1998
Kort haimifran	1990
Kräfter kräva dessa drycker	1998, 2009
Kubblåten	2009
Kullerullvisan	1944
Kung Louis Sång (I Wan'na Be Like You)	1990, 1998
Kungssången (Ur svenska hjärtans djup...)	1998, 2009
Kvarteret Klostret	1971
Kärringdjävel	2009
Käut-veisu (Käutaväisan)	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Kökshjälp	2009
Ladingen	2009
Lasse går tunga fjät	1998, 2009
Lingonben	1998, 2009
Liten barnvisa	1998, 2009
Livet är härligt	1998, 2009
Ljuvliga Gotland	1990
Loch Lomond	1982, 1990
Lucia	1998
Lunsens väisu	1944, 1971, 1982
Lyft ditt välförsedda glas	1998
Långt ner i Småland	1998, 2009
Låt oss liksom munkarna	1990, 1998
Låtom oss hylla punschen	1998, 2009
Längtan till landet	1990, 1998, 2009
Majsång	2009
MarLickos Vendla	1990, 1998, 2009
Marsgaisten	1944, 1971
Marteboljuset	2009
Massgaisten väinar	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Mera brännvin i glasen	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Mera järn	1998
Merimaskun herrojen laulu	1944
Min gode vän Joel	1998, 2009
Minnnet	2009
Miramar-valsén	1982, 1990, 1998
Mitt liv är en våg	1934
Mitt studielån	2009
Mjölk, mjölk	2009
Mussäpussen	1990, 1998, 2009

My Bonnie	1944
My old Kentucky home	1944
Måsen	1971, 1990, 1998, 2009
Märta med träbenet	1990, 1998, 2009
Mördarsnigel	2009
Nationssången	2009
Nattmarschen i Sankt Eriks gränd	1971
Nikolajev	2009
Nota från värdshuset	1971
Nu drickom, goda vänner, skål gutår!	1944
Nu grönskar det	1990, 1998, 2009
Nu hoppar laxen	1998
Nu ska vi ut och härja (Härjarevisan)	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Nu tror jag det kan vara tid	1934, 1944, 1971
Nubbevisa (Mel. ur "Gotlandstoner")	1934, 1944, 1971
Nubbevisa (Melodi Fjäriln vingad)	1934
Nå singlar vör (Här jär gudagutt att varä)	1990, 1998, 2009
Någonting fruktansvärt	1990
När det strålar uti salen	1990
När helan man tagit	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
När kaffet är serverat	2009
När skämtet tar ordet (Biskop Franzéns...)	1934, 1944, 1998, 2009
O, Alpe uschundherrlichkeit	2009
O, gamla klang- och jubeltid!	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
O Gerum O Gerum	2009
Ó, guð vors lands	1944
O.P. Andersson	1998, 2009
Och våra bockar	1998
Och än går det vågor	1971, 1982
Ode till ölet	1998, 2009
Ofvandahls	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Oh boy oh boy (Engelska flottan)	1990
Om cykling	1998, 2009
Ombjudsvisa	1998, 2009
Ont i huvudet	1998
Paråde de Mustäsch	2009
Pelle-Jöns	1998
Pomp and circumstance	1998, 2009
Portos visa	1990

Protestters	2009
Punsch eller cognac	1998
Punschen glimmar	1998, 2009
Punschen kommer	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Punsch punsch filibom	1998
Punschens lov	2009
Punschmedley	2009
Punschvisa	1982, 1990
På lingonröda tuvor (Flickorna i Småland)	1944, 1982, 1990
Pärleporten	2009
Raska räven	1998
Recentiorsvisan	1982, 1990
Reklamfinansierad vinvisa	1998
Ren krögarns tunna	1944, 1971
Resan till Spanien	1934, 1944
Rhenvinets lof	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944, 1971
Riddarna kring runda bordet	1944
Ris Jerk	2009
Rituell elddans	1998, 2009
Rosa på bal	1998, 2009
Rosen	1990, 1998
Rune ifrån Rone	1998, 2009
Ryssar i rymden	2009
Rädes ej	1998
Röda havet	2009
Rödvinvisa	1990, 1998
Sagväisu	1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Sancta Lucia	1944
Schottis på Valhall	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998
Senil	1998, 2009
Septen	1990, 1998
Ser du stjärnan i den blå	1982, 1990
Silla	1998, 2009
Sista punschvisan	1998, 2009
Sjömansvisa	1934
Sjösala vals	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Skallgångssång	2009
Skomakar Anderssons kärring	1998, 2009
Smedsvisa	1998, 2009
Smiss=Jaken	1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982

Små fåglarna	1990, 1998
Snabbköpskassörskan	1998, 2009
Sockiplast	1998
Sola den går upp och ner	1998, 2009
Soli gynnar hållä	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Somliga går med trasiga skor	2009
Staffansritten	1971
Staffansvisan	1944
Staingylpen	1934, 1944
Strid med turken	1990
Studentsången (Sjungom...)	1998, 2009
Studiemedelsrondo	1998
Styrman Karlsson	1998, 2009
Summan kummar	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Svarta Rudolf	1944, 1971, 1982, 1990
Sveriges flagga	1998, 2009
Svärmor	1998, 2009
Så lunka vi så småningom (Fremans s. 21)	1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Så skimrande var aldrig havet	2009
Sång för Gotlands nation	1934, 1944
Sång till Gotland	1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Sång till gutarnas ö	1934, 1944
Tack för supen (Takk för supen)	1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Telefon till Himmelen	1998, 2009
Tersvisa	1998, 2009
Tersvisa till jul	1998, 2009
Till en kräfte	1998
Till hembygden	1923, 1934, 1944
Till Stockholm för Heppeneppepp	1944
Till supen så tager man en sill	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Till Österland	2009
Tjo och tjim och inget annat	1971, 1982
Tomtar på loftet	1982
Tomtarnas punschvisa	1998, 2009
Torsken han går i havet	1990
Torskvisan	1982, 1990, 1998
Traktorhjulen	2009
Tre komma fjorton	2009

Tre små harar	1998
Treo	1998, 2009
Trink, trink, Brüderlein, trink!	1934, 1944, 1982, 1990, 1998
Tårtan	1998
Tänk om jag hade	1990, 1998, 2009
Tänk om jag hade en sabel	2009
Tänker du, att jag förlorader är	1923, 1934, 1944, 1971
Uppsala är bäst	1971, 2009
Usch, usch	1998
Uschiameja	1998, 2009
Uti vår hage	1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Vackra flickor	1990, 1998, 2009
Vadsbo skvadrons visa	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Vaim singlar	1990, 1998, 2009
Var redo	1998, 2009
Vardesväisu	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Vem kan plöje	1998
Vem kan segla	1998, 2009
Vem kan svepa	1998, 2009
Vem kan åka	1998
Versen om vinet	1990
Vi kom' från Norrland	2009
Vi som oss för att glupa satt	1998
Vi älskar vår ö	1934, 1944
Vibbledårar	2009
Vila vid denna källa! (Fredmans e. 82)	1934, 1944, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Viljen I veta	1990
Vill du ha fysiken fin	1998
Vin i glasen	1990
Vinden drar, skeppet far	1990, 1998
Vinet är ett märkligt ting	1990, 1998, 2009
Vintarn kummar	1990, 1998, 2009
Visa med system	1998
Vit vecka	2009
Vårbalsvisa	1998
Våran kräfte	1998, 2009
Vårsång (Lämner gemaken)	1913, 1923, 1934, 1944, 1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Vårt land	1944

Vårvisa	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Vädorpumpen	1998, 2009
Vägen till Fardhem	2009
Värt att veta om Valdemars vildhavre...	1998
We are sailing	2009
What shall we do (with a drunken sailor)	1990, 1998, 2009
Wracplundhrarglädhje	1971, 1982
Ålänningens sång	1990, 1998, 2009
Ångbåt	1998
Ä du mä på dä	1982
Äckelvisa	1990
Älgarna	1998
Än en gång därän	1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Änglamark	1990
Äugläväisu	1923, 1934, 1944
Ögonvisan	1971, 1982, 1990, 1998, 2009
Öppna landskap	2009
Þórsmerkurljóð	1982

Uppsala Teknolog- och Naturvetarkår

Years of Release:

- 2002
- 2012

Total Number of Titles: 215

Song Title	Year(s) of Appearance
1515	2002, 2012
Á Sprengisandi	2002
Always Look on the Bright Side of Life	2012
Bacchi Ordenskapitel XIV (Bort allt hvad oro gör)	2002, 2012
Bacon i mitt hjärta	2012
Baileysvisan	2012
Balladen om herr Fredrik Åkare och den söta...	2012
Biologsången	2002, 2012
BMC-visan	2002, 2012
Bordeaux, bordeaux	2002, 2012
Botten upp	2002, 2012

Busslåt	2012
Byssan lull	2002
Båtlåt	2002
Bär ner mig till sjön	2002
Calle Schewens vals	2002, 2012
Civerth	2002, 2012
Crambamboli	2002
Danse Macabre	2002, 2012
Dansen går på Svinsta skär	2012
Dansk snapsvisa	2002, 2012
De brevitae vitæ (Gaudeamus igitur)	2002, 2012
Denna thaft	2002, 2012
Det naturliga urvalet	2012
Det var dans bort i vägen	2002
Det var länge sen	2012
Dityramb i morgonglans	2012
Djungelpunsch	2002, 2012
Djurisk snapsvisa	2012
Domkyrkan	2012
Dryckesvisa om veckans dagar	2002
Du gamla, Du fria	2002, 2012
Dummare kan	2002
$E = mc^2$	2012
En kungens man	2012
En matematiker	2012
En månskensnatt på Slottsbacken	2002
Etanolhymnen	2012
Ett glas öl	2002, 2012
Fans hämnd	2002
Fantastisk häst	2012
Far, jag kan inte få upp min kokosnöt	2002, 2012
Festsång till UTN	2002, 2012
FestU:s punschvisa	2002
Finsk snapsvisa	2002, 2012
Fiskaren	2002
Fiskvisan	2012
Flottarkärlek	2002, 2012
Fransk vinvisa	2002, 2012
Fredmans epistel No 2	2012
Fredmans epistel No 9	2012

Fredmans epistel No 48	2002
Fredmans epistel No 82	2002, 2012
Fredmans sång No 10	2002, 2012
Fredmans sång No 17	2002
Fredmans sång No 21	2002, 2012
Fredmans sång No 28	2002, 2012
Fredmans sång No 35	2002
Fredmans sång No 64	2002
Fritiof och Carmencita	2002
Fuulvisan	2002, 2012
Getingen	2012
Glad som en viking	2002, 2012
Glädjetåren	2002, 2012
Grannens skithus	2002, 2012
Gravölsvisa från Rengsjö	2012
Grisen i säcken	2002
Groggen	2002, 2012
Groggens mening	2012
Gudars konjaksvisa	2012
Gul lyser solen	2002
Guling, guling	2002, 2012
Gustafs skål!	2002
Halvan (Hur länge skall på borden)	2002, 2012
Ha'nt vi nå brännvin	2002
Hej hå	2002, 2012
Helan går	2002, 2012
Helangårakatten	2002, 2012
Hell and gore	2002, 2012
Hyfsvisa	2002, 2012
Här är gudagott att vara	2002, 2012
Härjavisan	2002, 2012
I den magiska tårtan	2002
I ett hus	2002, 2012
I Got Skills	2012
I Will Derive	2012
Igelkottaskinnet	2002, 2012
Imbelupet	2002, 2012
Ismaskinen	2012
IT-marschen	2012
Jag dricker brännvin	2002

Jag har aldrig vart på snusen	2002, 2012
Jag har en cykel	2002, 2012
Jag skall festa	2002, 2012
Jag var full en gång	2012
Kamelen på kanelen	2002, 2012
Kom och skåla i vinet	2002
Korta Solen	2012
Kristallen den fina	2002, 2012
Kungssången	2002
Labben	2002, 2012
Laser time	2012
Lille Olle	2012
Lingonben	2002
Livet är härligt	2002, 2012
Luring	2012
Lyft ditt välförsedda glas	2002
Längtan till landet	2002, 2012
Längtan till vinet	2002
Madrigal	2002
Majsång	2002, 2012
Man cyklar för lite	2002, 2012
Mannens kläder	2012
MATLAB	2002, 2012
Med lingonröda näsor	2002
Mein kleiner grüner Kaktus	2002
Mein Schnaps	2002, 2012
Mera brännvin	2002, 2012
Mersmak	2002
Min gode vän Joel	2012
Min pilsner	2002, 2012
Minnets	2002, 2012
Mitt lilla lån	2002, 2012
Mjölksång	2012
Mobiltelefonen	2012
Molekylären	2002, 2012
Må saften vara med er	2002, 2012
Månen	2012
Måsen	2002, 2012
Nikolajev	2002, 2012
Nu grönskar det	2002, 2012

NuskaviklämmaSepten	2002, 2012
Nykterhetsprovet	2012
När jag är fuller	2002, 2012
När je kom hem från Gärde	2002
O gamla klang- och jubeltid	2002, 2012
O hemska lab	2002, 2012
Ode till ølet	2002, 2012
Ofvandahls	2002, 2012
Okända djur	2002
Oppochnervisan	2002
Pellejöns	2002, 2012
Pensionärens snapsvisa	2002, 2012
Pensionärsvisa	2012
Plancksaft	2012
Planksaft	2002, 2012
Portos visa	2002, 2012
Programförklaring	2002, 2012
Punkatröst	2012
Punschen glimmar	2012
Punschen kommer	2002, 2012
Punschens lov	2012
På Arendorffs tid	2012
Ratataa	2012
Reglerteknik på bal	2002, 2012
Riktigt korta solen	2012
Ris Jerk	2002
Röda havet	2002
Schottis på Valhall	2002
Sjung om fru Svenssons lyckliga karl	2002, 2012
Sjösala vals	2002, 2012
Skål här vid bordet	2002
Smedsvisa	2002, 2012
Snapsen var klar och kall	2012
Solen den går upp och ner	2002, 2012
Somliga går med trasiga skor	2012
Sov lilla Totte	2002
Spritbolaget	2012
Spritromantik	2002, 2012
Staten och kapitalet	2012
Studentsången	2002, 2012

Styrman Karlssons äventyr med porslinspjäsen	2002, 2012
Sveriges flagga	2002
Svordomsvisan	2002, 2012
Svärmor (den första)	2002, 2012
Svärmor, den tredje	2012
Système International d'Unités	2002, 2012
Så länge skutan kan gå	2002
Tacksamma visan	2012
Teknologen och Ekonomen	2012
The BASIC Song	2012
Till vinet	2012
Till Österland	2002
Tjogo år sen ungefär	2012
Trollkarlen från Indialand	2002
Tuppars tungor	2002, 2012
Turistens klagan	2012
Tänk om jag inte var så tråkig	2002, 2012
Törsten rasar	2002, 2012
Ud efter øl	2002
Under en filt i Madrid	2002
Under Svea Banér	2002, 2012
Uppsala är bäst	2002, 2012
Varför är där ingen is till punschen?	2002
Varför är där ingen is till punschen? (Förkortad)	2012
Vi gå över ån	2002, 2012
Vi skålar för våra vänner	2012
Vi som oss för att supa glatt	2002, 2012
Vi äro små humlor	2002, 2012
Vi äro studenter av jord	2012
Vikingen	2002, 2012
Vinet i glasen	2002
Vinvisa	2002
Visa vid midsommartid	2002
Visa vid vindens ängar	2012
Vit vecka	2012
Vommar, vommar, vommar	2002, 2012
Vårsång (Glad såsom fågeln)	2002, 2012
Vårvindar friska	2002, 2012
What shall we do with the drunken sailor	2002, 2012
Write in C	2002, 2012

Ångbåten	2012
Än en gång därän	2002, 2012
Änglamark	2002, 2012
Öluppsdrickarvisa-visan	2012

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