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In this volume we decided to approach the ideas of multilayered, lived space through the notion of home, and to discuss home as a spatially open structure that changes over time instead of as a spatially demarcated and fixed structure. To these discussions we invited scholars, whom we have met in various seminars and conferences and who share our interest in rethinking home in spatial terms.

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INTRODUCTION

Ambivalent Home

Hanna Johansson and Kirsi Saarikangas

Si je passe devant l'immeuble dans lequel je demeure, je peux dire 'j'habite là' ou, plus précisément, 'j'habite au premier, au fond de la cour'; et si je souhaite donner un tour plus administratif à cette assertion, je peux dire 'j'habite au fond de la cour; escalier C, porte face'.

Si je suis dans ma rue, je peux dire 'j'habite là-bas, au 13' ou 'j'habite à l'autre bout de la rue' ou 'j'habite à côté de la pizzeria'. (– –)
'j'habite la planète Terre.' Aurais-je un jour l'occasion de dire cela à quelqu'un? si c'est un '3^e type' descendu dans notre bas monde, il le saurait déjà.¹

Home and dwelling are closely connected with each other. Dwellings are transformed into homes by the acts of inhabiting. Depending on the context, home and the sense of being at home stretch outside the physical borders of dwelling to the staircase, street, neighbourhood, region, country and even further to the other side of the world. In the chapter 'Quelques modes d'emploi du verbe habiter' quoted above, Georges Perec presents different modes of using the verb 'to live' (*habiter*). Starting from the close and exact perspective in front of his home building in Paris, precisely here, he moves further away through France and Europe, ending up on the planet earth. The depiction touches the notion of location as well as the definition and boundaries of home. It raises questions concerning the permanence and transformation, closeness and distance, leaving and returning, as well as habitation, moving and belonging – the central topics of this book.

Home is an ambiguous and fluid notion. It can be paradoxically approached both as a place-bounded anchor and a spatially open structure that changes over time. It is a meeting place of inhabitants, building, culture, past and present – a multidimensional spatial and temporal intersection. Always stretching beyond the physical borders of home as geographer Doreen Massey writes, home is constructed out of movement, communication, and social relations.² Moreover, inhabitants constantly leave and return to their homes. In these processes both inhabitants and homes change.

To discuss inhabiting is to discuss homes and houses. The concepts of home and house are closely linked with each other and the activities of habitation. As John Burnett puts it in the context of the social history of housing; ‘Houses are physical structures, homes are social, economic and cultural institutions.’³ The notion of home is charged with emotional and cultural values. Besides the physical space, home consists of objects, furniture, atmosphere, and inhabitants with their social and emotional relations and histories. Dwellings and houses provide material bases for living, and although emotionally possibly less charged than home, they too evoke affective sensations. Houses and dwellings are transformed into homes through the acts of habitation and home-making, as well as through the sense of belonging created in these processes.

The relationship between inhabitants and their dwelling space is reciprocal. Inhabitants, as corporeal subjects, spatialize a building in using it and acting in it, and hence shape the meanings of home. This works also vice versa: home and its spatial organization and cultural significations articulate social relations between inhabitants.⁴ Feminist political philosopher Iris Marion Young argues that houses or dwellings are made into homes through the active and affective ‘home work’ embedded in the concrete materialities of rooms, objects, routines, habits, and personal histories; through ‘performing basic activities of life’.⁵ While a house can be conceptualized as a physical structure, a home can be approached both as a material site and the spatially fluid locus of the everyday life of its occupants laden with memories and emotional meanings.⁶ Despite the conceptual differences, the notion of home as a site of belonging often overlaps with the notion of house as a physical construction for human habitation, and dwelling as an act of inhabiting.

Homes can not be discussed without discussing borders and bounda-

ries. To enter or leave home signifies the crossing of several visible or invisible boundaries. The door, staircase, porch, threshold, and entrance mark visual boundaries between the spaces of home and the outside world. Also inside the home there are various visual or mental boundaries between its different spaces. The mental passage from home to work and back is less clear-cut, often also confusing. Moreover, the boundaries of home move and are constantly re-made. Home is not an enclosed and clearly demarcated private space – although often conceptualized as such – instead it is in continuous interaction with the outside world and its cultural and shared meanings, agreements, and habits. At the turn of the twenty-first century, the intimate domestic sphere has increasingly become a part of public space. Meanwhile the rules of the public world extend to home for example in the form of normative housing ideals and expert knowledge. Inventions such as the telephone, radio, and television transferred the boundaries of home by bringing the outside world into the domestic space. The new information and communication technologies not only connect different public and private spaces with each other, but also transfer parts of home to shared public spaces such as work, streets, and public transportation.

Home exists in relation to the public and social world, its norms and agreements, although it has been often approached as the scene of a person's private life, 'one's own corner in the world' (*notre coin du monde, notre premier univers*) as Gaston Bachelard has described from the phenomenological point of view.⁷ Home is habitually understood as a private and secure space. It is a nest, or a universe in itself, where inhabitants can escape the disciplinary practices of the outside world.⁸ However, the meanings of home and its spatial organization and practices of housing are deeply influenced by the social, economic, and cultural factors. For example, the layout of home space and domestic ideals are often connected with the historical ideals of family life. The modern home in particular has been regarded as the site of nuclear and heterosexual family, consisting of mother, father, and children.⁹

Within the domestic space the most intimate and global dimensions of meaning intersect, and inhabitants' unique everyday life and personal histories meet the shared cultural meanings and norms. The borders between private and public undergo a constant negotiation and dwelling is closely connected to the question of power. The social and cultural

order is not left behind when inhabitants cross the threshold of their home and close the door. Instead, the conceptions of how people should organize their home life follow inhabitants into their homes and influence manners of habitation.¹⁰ Hence home can be approached as an array of social relations and an intersection between the micro and macro levels of power – a network of power in Foucauldian terms. In housing, the capillary forms of power reach the mentality of people, touch their bodies, and insert into their actions, gestures and attitudes.¹¹ Both homes and people, who move in them, exist in relation to and through broader cultural order, agreements, and habits. The walls of home demarcate a space where habitation can occur, which involves not just a domestic building but also people functioning inside. This also involves a system of control and discipline produced by discursive and normative practices, as well as the notions of virtuous living focused upon inhabitants by and through habitation and its cultural meanings. The difficulties of analysing the meanings articulated within home, dwelling, and habitation lie precisely in their multiplicity and ambiguity: in the constant encounter of private and communal and their multiple layers of meaning.

RETHINKING HOME AND GENDER

As a space of both social relations and privacy, home is utterly connected with the questions of gender, sexuality, identity, and agency. It is a deeply gendered and gendering, sexualized, and sexualizing space. Despite, or maybe due to its obvious links to gender, the analysis of home has been a particularly challenging task for feminist research, even its blind spot, as Young and feminist cultural critic bell hooks have stated.¹² In critical approaches, the ideas currently connected with home are taken for granted. Home has been conceived as a stable and intimate hearth, a site of preservation and security, and a location of emotional and physical well-being, and loving and caring social relations.¹³

Simone de Beauvoir's influential analysis of women's historical situation and her utterly negative depiction of women's housework have deeply affected feminist critical approaches to home. She describes housework as repetitive maintenance work lacking any creative aspects.

Through endless domestic labour women are confined to home and unchanged immanence, whereas men exist as transcendence.¹⁴ In the existentialist framework in which Beauvoir operates, transcendence is the future orientated expression of individual subjectivity.¹⁵ Following Beauvoir, feminist critics have seen home as a key site of women's oppression. Furthermore, the notion of home carries strong feminine connotations and historically women and homes have been intimately linked with each other, to the extreme that woman and home have been almost interchangeable concepts.

In her search of space, time and subjectivity for women, the feminist philosopher Luce Irigaray has relied heavily on spatial metaphors such as place, building, dwelling, and home.¹⁶ According to Irigaray, in the Western thinking women as mothers have traditionally represented places for men. By offering a base for men's existence, women have been contained in place and home. The equation between women and home has meant that in a strange way women have become homeless and placeless.¹⁷ Instead of having a room of her own (at home), woman *is* the home.¹⁸ Irigaray underlines that in order to make it possible to live and think through sexual difference, the whole problem of space and time must be reconsidered.¹⁹ This is true also in terms of home. In her writings about architecture and women Elizabeth Grosz, another feminist philosopher, agrees with Irigaray. She argues that the 'ways in which space has been historically conceived have always functioned to either contain women or to obliterate them'.²⁰ However, Irigaray's notion of women as simultaneously placeless and as places for men, and the concomitant view of home, are affected by the historical idea of bourgeois and middle class home, where the creation and maintenance of home and homeliness (for the well-being of husband and children) are women's tasks. Furthermore, the very idea of home as fixed place is not a universal but a historical concept.

As a consequence of the historical burden of the concept of home many feminist critics have abandoned the notion of home altogether and denied the values of home.²¹ The current emphasis on nomadic and split subjectivity has shifted attention to movement and transformation. Identity is detached from a particular place, situated instead in several places, such as in-between zones, and the public spaces of transit.²² However, the emphasis on travel and movement has left the notion of

home more or less untouched. It has been approached as a fixed location of belonging. Nomadic lifestyle has often been regarded in diagonal opposition to the features connected to home, such as permanence, location, and bounded place. However, home can not be reduced to a location or a habitat. A sense of being at home might be situated outside the dwelling, to social meeting places for example. Travel and movement are not detached from home: homes of nomads may move with them, and coming home is a part of travelling. Moreover, there is a difference between a nomad's chosen homelessness – a choice to leave and possibly to return home – and the position of an exile or a migrant. Nomadism and home are interrelated instead of being polar opposites of openness and closure, movement and permanence, leaving and staying.²³

Homes in Transformation. Dwelling, Moving, Belonging suggests the rethinking of home instead of its abandonment. We ask what happens if the matter of home is considered differently? By approaching home as a multilayered and dynamic space we challenge the common idea of home as a fixed place for living. Home extends from a material location and landscape to cultural meanings, social relations, emotions, and memories. Due to its multiple meanings home is a vague and indefinable concept. The essays in this book move in the tensed area between home as a dynamic space with leaking boundaries and a stable, intimate, and secure shelter of one's own. Inhabiting is both private and simultaneously touched by broader, worldwide, economic, and social processes. Thus home links the most intimate and global dimensions of life together.

These chapters examine the transforming meanings of home. They address a range of arenas from art to the Internet and everyday spaces where issues of dwelling, moving, and belonging are negotiated. The book brings together a diversity of approaches and subject matters. Authors analyse the emergence and transformations of the modern, gendered, and sexualized notion of home and the material home spaces. They analyse the interrelations of home, economy, consumption, and technology; the philosophical and artistic ideas of home; the domestic metaphors in immaterial, virtual spaces, as well as the specific processes of home making. By focusing on particular cases of Bosnian, Dutch, Estonian, Finnish, and French dwelling from the late nineteenth-century to the early twenty-first-century authors offer tools for the re-conceptualization of home.

Homes in Transformation is rethinking home in dialogue with a variety of researchers and research topics across disciplines: they address home as a historical, social, cultural, material, emotional, technological, gendered, and sexualized space. The writings of feminist scholars bell hooks and Iris Marion Young in particular offer important insights into the re-evaluation of home. While they seek the positive meanings of home, they are critical towards the uniform notion of home and the equation between women and home. hooks argues that as a site of dignity, resistance, and belonging home can have empowering dimensions and political meanings. She claims that having a home is currently a privilege, and the values of home should be discussed rather than rejected. hooks emphasizes the comfort and soothing provided by home as a precondition for the ability to resist dominating social structures. For her home place as safe visionary space is a site of belonging.²⁴ Iris Marion Young underlines the limitations of the current notion of home that has largely attached women to identity-support of children and men. According to Young, house and home are ambivalent values. Instead of rejecting the idea of home, she is revaluing it and pointing out the active and creative aspects in homemaking.²⁵ Doreen Massey argues that home is an open and dynamic process of social relations instead of spatially limited and static structure. It is constructed of interrelations elsewhere and is continuously re-produced.²⁶

Home requires much care and work, which has historically mostly been the field of women. The denial of home equates the denial of a large sector of women's physical and affective labour. Culturally women, especially as the mothers of small children, have been located at home, but simultaneously they shape and construct their environment and create homes.²⁷ However, the border is vague between undoing and redoing the myths and thoughts associated with home. The emphasis on the active and creative aspects in homemaking might also further reinforce the connection between women and home. Moreover, while pointing out women's active work at home, this point of view still leaves men outside of the home space.

Having a home is not – nor has it been historically – self-evident, instead it is a privilege. bell hooks has pointed out the importance of home in the history of African American people and emphasized the work of black women in the creation of home places. She writes against

the mainstream Western, white, and middle class feminist critique of home. According to her home was not outside politics, but it was the place where important things took place. By offering a shelter and comfort, home became an empowering space and a site of resistance for African American people. This was very much due to the daily work of women.²⁸ hooks writes of home as a renewal force and by shifting the prism, she opens a new angle to the scrutiny of home, where both home and the relations between private and public, intimate and political, appear in a new light. From a static place home transforms into a dynamic space. Women as active agents at home become the agents of change. hooks therefore challenges the notion of home as a static place existing primarily for men, as Luce Irigaray has stated, and shows that gendered meanings of home are deeply historical and attached to the questions of race and social class among other markers.

UNHOMELY AT HOME

Home is a strange concept: on the one hand it can reflect a safety place of one's own, or a place of shared belonging demarcated by walls; on the other hand, it can be marked by ongoing contestation and even violence. Home, moving, and belonging are not detached from their reverse sides: homelessness, staying, and not belonging. Also, 'homeless' people may have different kinds of domiciles in the woods, idle land, streets, and subway stations. Thus their sense of home is not necessarily fixed with the comfort and security of stable material structure.

Culturally the notion of home evokes thoughts of familiarity, security and permanence, but to refer to Sigmund Freud, *unheimlich*, strange, unhomely, or uncanny elements are built in the structures of home. Freud traces the etymology of *heimlich*, secret, and *unheimlich*, unhomely or uncanny in his famous analysis of E. T. A. Hoffmann's story, 'The Sand-Man' ('Der Sandmann', 1816). Both *heimlich* and *unheimlich* have their etymological roots in the home (*Heim*).²⁹ According to Freud, 'uncanny is in reality nothing new or alien, but something which is familiar and established long ago in the mind, and which has become alienated from it only through the process of repression'.³⁰ It is an uneasy sense of the unfamiliar within the familiar, the unhomely within

the home. Elaborating on Freud's notion of uncanny, Julia Kristeva argued in her influential book *Strangers to Ourselves* (*L'Étrangère à nous-mêmes*) that homelessness of immigrants makes visible the strangeness within all familiar and also within the home. According to her, the uncanny is located precisely within a subject's unconscious. Consequently, the threatening outside can be found inside the home and inside each subject.³¹

Therefore, home-building involves not only the creation of security and comfort, but also the distinguishing of familiar elements from strange ones and establishing borders between 'us' and 'others', 'we' and 'them', those who belong or do not belong. For example, the emergence of the modern notion of home has meant the separation of security, comfort, and cleanliness of home from the outside world full of dangers. The separations are realized in distinctions between home and work, family members and lodgers, home and flat. Still, the ideas of privacy and security associated with home do not necessarily mean having privacy or safety at home.³² Home can be a site of tensions and conflicts between genders and generations. The idea of home as a site of withdrawal and as a part of the inhabitants' identity, almost like another skin, makes insecurity and fear at home particularly painful. *Homes in Transformation* addresses these ambivalences and brings up the strangely familiar at home. Unfamiliar and familiar aspects, the sense of being at home or not at home, are both inherent in the concept of home. However, as Irene Cieraad has stated, it has been more common to detect unfamiliar features in 'other' cultures and their exotic domestic spaces, rather than to focus the anthropological gaze on the Western homes.³³

Dwelling, moving, and belonging are closely tied together. *Homes in Transformation* brings forth the mutual existence of mobility and belonging within home; home is never 'either or', but always 'both and'. Moving is not the counter opposite of dwelling but belongs to dwelling. Homes are formed in relationship to movement. Current modes of Western housing often include various modes of movement from one place to another: People move between home and a temporary home, such as a summer cottage or a holiday apartment; people's work might involve the practice of two homes and commuting between them; or children might have alternate homes with their divorced parents.

Contributors in the recent collection *Uprootings/Regroundings* have

discussed both home and migration in terms of plurality and openness. They argued that transnational movements of images, objects, and people have transformed the experiences and meanings of home associated with locality.³⁴ Migration and movement are not isolated from the questions of rooted belonging and vice versa; movement and fluidity are not separated from home. Home is a site of belonging, but it is also a place of leaving and returning. However, home is not a permanently fixed place and during a lifetime people might have a series of homes. Home can hence be regarded both as a destination and an origin.³⁵ Moreover, movement is not limited to movement between homes, but homes also move on. According to Massey, the imagination of going home often means going back to familiar things. However, one can not simply return to home, because home also changes.³⁶ In due course even childhood homes change after children have grown up and left them. Home is multiple. Therefore the rethinking of home implies that it is approached as a multilayered space of movement, diversities, and tensions.

Home has wider meanings than a house or a building. It means as much, or even more: the social relations, memories, surrounding environment, landscape, nature, and language. In her recent book *Belonging. A Culture of Place* (2007) bell hooks writes about the importance of home place and belonging. Home allows a space to be vulnerable; it is 'a place where the soul can rest'.³⁷ The sense of being at home means a sense of belonging to a place or community that is deeply informed by the geography of place, and tied to the land, homefolk, and vernacular speech which inscribe on the body, mind, and soul.³⁸ Longing, homesickness, and nostalgia are part of the meanings of home. The movement between belonging, leaving, and returning is inherent in the term 'nostalgia' that combines *nastos* (Greek), 'return home' and *algos*, 'pain'.³⁹

The relation between home and language is intimate. Martin Heidegger has even stated that 'language is a house of Being. In its home man dwells'.⁴⁰ Postcolonial feminist literary theorist Sneja Gunew has discussed the complex question of language as a home of corporeal subject within the context of migration. She locates home within language and points out how languages with their intonations and rhythms remind us of home in palpable ways. 'It is the meanings we first encounter in a specific language that structure our later lives

psychically and physically', she argues.⁴¹ As Finnish-Swedish poet Gösta Ågren puts it, language is a place that exists everywhere and is in that sense limitless.⁴² Language makes the position of a migrant audible and points elsewhere. The location of home in language habitually refers to the mother tongue, but according to Gunew it can also refer to the existence of many parallel languages and movement between them.⁴³ There are linguistic sites which everyone takes as her or his starting points, as Rosi Braidotti suggests. She points out that the idea of a mother tongue with the notion of a steady origin is problematic from the point of view that subjects are split. Braidotti reminds that according to Jacques Lacan all tongues carry the name of the father and are defined by the cultural symbolic orders.⁴⁴

Cultural classifications and hierarchies are visible in the vocabulary related to homes, for example in expressions such as 'staying' and 'being at home'. Staying and being are undervalued in comparison to leaving, doing, and moving. Because of this those who 'stay at home' are made to be the bystanders of their life, while real life happens somewhere else.⁴⁵ This collection seeks to undo this hierarchy: on the one hand, it points out the active aspects in home and homework; on the other hand, it discusses homes as another skin of the inhabitants and asks if inhabitants are their homes.

MULTILAYERED LIVED SPACE

Homemaking is an ongoing spatial and temporal process; it is an active and affective work that takes time. Homes are constantly made and remade and their meanings re-negotiated; home does not have an essential meaning, in advance of its making.⁴⁶ The multidimensional, lived space of home is shaped and created through inhabiting; in the corporeal encounters between dwelling and inhabitants, and in the users' utterances and 'ways of doing'; in the constant cycle of production and reproduction of home space, and its meanings in its everyday use.⁴⁷ According to cultural historian Michel de Certeau spatial meanings are formed in the movement and everyday use of space, through even random perceptions and sensations. He underlines the meanings that arise from moving, practicing and inhabiting built space.⁴⁸ Phenomeno-

logical philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty has stated that “there are as many spaces as there are distinct spatial experiences”.⁴⁹ In the daily use of space, divergent, even mutually contradictory meanings emerge. Accordingly, the lived space of home is not unambiguously one space but rather several spaces. As a dynamic process, home is not a container of social processes; it is a social process.

Iris Marion Young pointed out that habitation and homemaking take place in repetitious routines. The spatial arrangement of home, its furniture and things provide pathways for inhabitants’ practices, movements, and bodily habits.⁵⁰ The personal meanings and history of home are layered into inhabitants’ acts, gestures, customs, sensations, and perceptions. Inhabitants, spatial arrangements, furniture, personal and cultural memories, and histories and cultural order together turn home into a multilayered lived space. In this space time and inhabitants, stable things at home, and movement in its space intertwine with each other.

Young distinguishes the routines of household work – the cleaning and tidying – from the creation of homely milieu and atmosphere, which she in particular considers creative activity.⁵¹ Bachelard, and after him feminist literary scholar Rita Felski, have emphasized creativity also in daily actions and repetitious routines.⁵² Felski states that repetition and creation are not opposites; rather, inventiveness and creativeness are made possible by distracted, dull, everyday rhythms and routines performed at home among others.⁵³ According to Felski, everyday life is above all a temporal term connected with a specific sense of time (repetition) and does not convey a particular sense of space. However, home has often been regarded as the privileged symbol for everyday life. Home is both a site of the everyday and a metaphor.⁵⁴ One is at home in the everyday, but the everyday can be found outside of the home too.⁵⁵

The notions of home and dwelling have played an essential role in the later works of Edmund Husserl, who is often understood as the founder of phenomenology. The concept of home became particularly significant in his considerations of the concrete lifeworld,⁵⁶ which means the world as situational, familiar, and homely (*heimisch*) in a wide sense. For humans, the world is typically a world which they want to or would like to shape as home. In Husserl’s thinking home becomes a geo-historical horizon, which is inter-subjective already from the start.⁵⁷ Because home is constituted in its nature, it means that it necessarily is

a demarcation, which always limits what is home and what is its outside.

Martin Heidegger favoured home-related vocabulary using it in a metaphorical way to express his philosophical ideas.⁵⁸ In his essay 'Bauen Wohnen Denken' ('Building Dwelling Thinking') Heidegger writes poetically about dwelling as 'the manner in which humans *are* on the earth'.⁵⁹ According to him being, dwelling and building stand in a circular relation: to be is to dwell, and to dwell means to build. He distinguishes two modes of building which are 'both comprised within genuine building, that is, dwelling': the concrete construction and the cultivation. Building in a sense of preservation and cultivation is not making anything, whereas building in a sense of constructing means to put up edifices.⁶⁰

Iris Marion Young has criticized Heidegger for focusing on construction. According to Young, after introducing the duality of building Heidegger's text leaves the cultivation and preservation and focuses on construction. Moreover, his distinction between two aspects of building and dwelling (preserving and constructing) is implicitly gendered, because meanings connected with preservation have culturally been defined as feminine, whereas the concrete construction has been defined as a masculine task.⁶¹

Also Jacques Derrida has pointed out some critical moments in Heidegger's way of using metaphors of dwelling and building. By using architectural rhetoric Heidegger tries to disentangle the longstanding tradition of space within philosophy, but in the end, Derrida states, Heidegger's rhetoric sustains the very tradition it is deployed to displace.⁶²

Derrida argues that Heidegger is confirming rather than revoking several deep-rooted binary oppositions of Western thinking. Those are for example oppositions between intelligible and sensible, being and becoming, the ideal and the material, divine and mortal, and the structure and decoration.⁶³ In several texts, Derrida has elaborated on the notions of house, space, and architecture, as well as analysed philosophy's place in architecture and spatial division.⁶⁴ For him architecture is the major and tangible operation of demarcation between inside and outside at the different levels: at the levels of visual representation, language, politics, justice, gender. One of the main figures of Derrida's deconstructive architectural work tying the above mentioned areas together is an interior space of home, known as a domestic enclosure. He com-

pare it with the metaphysical endeavour to presence and proper.⁶⁵ According to Derrida the tradition that privileges presence and rejects the 'other' is sustained by taking 'shelter in the most familial of dwellings'.⁶⁶

Derrida's deconstructive work within the field of architecture, home, and domesticity pursues to exceed the problem of binary oppositions. He aims to rethink the relationships between house, household, property, and domination. Derrida stresses the constitutive character of the notion of home when he addresses the vicinity between the words home, economy and law. He reminds his readers that the etymology of the word 'economy' is derived from the Greek *oikos*, which means home, house, residence and dwelling, and *nomos*, which means law.⁶⁷

Derrida's spatial and domestic articulation brings domestic space and women, or the feminine, close to each other. In the essay *Khōra* Derrida considers the concept's connection to the feminine.⁶⁸ Derrida emphasizes that women are seen as a representation and ornament that is both necessary and violent to the patriarchal system and structure. This is why women or the feminine must be arrested and domesticated, and closed inside the home. Women appear here as a double figure: the paradigm of nature when domesticated in the house, and the paradigm of the alienation from the nature when outside the house.⁶⁹ Architectural historian Mark Wigley has pointed out that Derrida defines metaphysics as a determination of place that aims to domesticate the other, women, or even more: to 'rendering whatever it domesticates "feminine" by placing it'.⁷⁰

As is clear by now the rethinking of home means to rethink the history of home and the relations between home and gender. These relations need to be thought in a variety of fields and with different empirical and theoretical materials.

HOME: A HISTORICALLY SHAPED NOTION

There is no traditional home and it is not possible to say that this or that is the nucleus of home. The meanings of homes are actualized in particular historical and social contexts. The current almost unquestioned idea of home as an intimate and peaceful family space closed from the outside world is not universal but deeply historical. It is a predominantly

Western, middle-class, and white idea of home that is closely connected with the European bourgeois conception of home, which emerged in the nineteenth century. This ideal has largely defined the current research and criticism of home.

Home has been a key space in the formation of modern society and has been discussed eagerly since the nineteenth century in aesthetic, social, and medical debates among others. Witold Rybczynski has detected the emergence of home as an intimate space to the seventeenth-century Holland. He outlined the historical and cultural connections between home, domesticity, and intimacy in his influential book *Home: A Short History of an Idea*.⁷¹ Since the late nineteenth-century home has been understood as a private realm of security and rest, especially by men working outside the home. At the same time, the union between home and women has been keenly built. Home was an object of eager aesthetic, medical and social discussions. In contrast to the constantly changing outside world, home offered peace and stability. Ideally, it offered space for both withdrawal and renewal. Walter Benjamin depicted home as an envelope (*Futteral*), inside which inhabitants could close themselves.⁷² Home emerged as an important part of the identity of its inhabitants, a kind of continuation of one's personality. Home also represented its inhabitants, being a scene of self-expression.

Yet, home became increasingly private although it was simultaneously a site of social entertainment. It was often also a place of work and social encounters for both men and women. Bourgeois dwelling often included a working room for the husband, emphasizing the semi-public nature of dwelling as well as the husband's professional activities as a part of home. Women's philanthropic societies mostly gathered in private homes. Heavy household work was the duty of the wife, the mistress of the house, and domestic servants. According to its different activities, bourgeois dwelling was separated between public or semi-public, private and household sections. Hence, the separation of private and public existed inside the dwelling space.⁷³

The moving and crossable boundaries of home can be partly located in the changes between the private and the public. During the twentieth century the privacy of home increased, particularly in the context of modern dwelling and habitation. Although domestic privacy increased, the home was not an unambiguous and enclosed private space with

fixed meanings, but its meanings were formed in the interaction with the world outside, as well as its normative strategies, cultural, and social agreements, habits and customs. Dwelling increased in importance as an instrument for organizing everyday life, particularly the lives of mothers and children. The concerns for the very smallest details of everyday lives were linked to dwelling, or turning the private realm of the home into a public matter. The public affair of the private can be regarded as a distinguishing feature of the modern dwelling. The privacy of the modern home was connected to an increased regulation on habitation by legislation, recommendations, guidance, and shared conceptions. Furthermore, in the creation of a new society, the home became the very centre of politics.⁷⁴

It can be argued that the very idea of intimate domesticity is connected to modernism. However, there has been a certain antagonism towards home in the modern nineteenth-century and twentieth-century avant-garde architecture and art as Christopher Reed argues.⁷⁵ Or, as Felski states: “The vocabulary of modernity is a vocabulary of anti-home.”⁷⁶ Home has been both a key space of modernity and at the same time, it has been confined into its margins.

CONTRIBUTING ESSAYS

Instead of trying to define what home is, the essays in this book explore home both as an idea and location in a variety of contexts. *Homes in Transformation* focuses on home as a site of daily familial life – although the understanding and combinations of family vary. Each chapter addresses the transformations of home and its meanings through a particular combination of materials, methods, and theoretical definitions. Chapters bring forth the inseparability of belonging and moving in the processes of homing. From different angles, they analyse how homes and their meanings are formed in representations, thoughts, social and emotional relations, daily routines, habits, gestures, and movements from material to immaterial spaces. While all chapters are voices in one discussion, and the lines of connection between different chapters might have been drawn in a number of ways, our choice has been to group them according to four themes: the ideals and meanings of home shaped

by and through representations (part I), processes of and the agency in homemaking (part II), familiar and unfamiliar elements at home (part III), and negotiation of the boundaries of home (part IV).

In the first part, 'Representing and Constructing Home and Domesticity', contributors focus on the constituting nature of home in different visual and textual representations and discourses. By analysing Finnish interior decoration and popular magazines, insurance advertisements, furniture, and other home items essays here explore Western domestic ideals from the late nineteenth-century to the early twenty-first-century. Both the middle-class home ideal based on the heterosexual nuclear family model, and the separation of private and public reached their peaks during the 1950s and early 1960s. Having the analysis of the nuclear family ideal as their starting point, these essays explore the genealogy of the nuclear family model as a unit of habitation. They also analyse the ideologies of home-making since the late nineteenth-century bourgeois society. In addition, these essays explore the disentanglement of the nuclear family ideal by analysing the shift from the active housewife ideal to the wage labour motherhood of the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the representations of queer families at the turn of the twenty-first century. Writers examine how the ideas and practices of home, homemaking, and domesticity are constructed both by the repetitions of representations and by silences and invisibilities, the things that are left hidden.

In the first chapter of this part, 'Representations of Finnish Homes in the Interior Decoration Magazines of the 1960s and 1970s', Minna Sarantola-Weiss analyses both how modern life came to be materialized in the Finnish home and how it was narrated through the texts and visual imagery. She builds her arguments against the background of nineteenth-century bourgeois homes, on which the modern home interior should be reflected. According to her the period after the mid-twentieth century, was still governed by modern ideology but aimed already towards the liberation and diversification of the potentialities and ideals of home and everyday life.

In 'The Insured Home as the Foundation of Society. Private Insurance and Everyday Economics in Finland during the 1950s', Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen explores promotional material for home insurance that was distributed by insurance companies in the 1950s. The advertisements

transmitted the ideals and norms of life, which constructed the material conditions and needs for good, loving, and respected life. Simultaneously they also constructed its reverse side. Lehtonen argues that insurance promotion was used as a tool for controlling the habits, values, and practices of economic homemaking. Although insurance was promoted as a way to control and govern the border between private and public life, safety and danger, home insurance tied private and public spheres reciprocally together. In Finland the 1950s was largely characterized by the reconstruction effort after the Second World War, but it was also when the welfare state gained a foothold and the new economic, that is, consumer subject was born.

Anna Moring reads articles that concern people living in queer relationships in 'Domestication into Heteronormativity. Figurations of the Queer-Inhabited Home in Finnish Magazines and Papers between 2002 and 2005'. Homosexuality was decriminalized in Finland as late as in 1971. At the beginning of the twenty-first century queer homes were discussed more openly, albeit the viewpoints of heteronormative nuclear families still governed the discussion. From the viewpoint of lgbtiq⁷⁷ subjects Moring seeks different kinds of figures of home from her research material. She approaches three different subjects that emerge: 'queer at home', 'home despite the queer', and 'queer(ing) homeland'.

In the second part of this collection, 'Homing, Moving, Belonging', contributors analyse the processes of home-making and belonging. They outline the complex meanings of home and home place by exploring the movement between homes in time and place. They also juxtapose the points of view of different agents, such as suburban inhabitants and outside experts, the partners of young couples, and children and adults. These chapters raise questions concerning the agency and the active and creative aspects of homemaking.

In "Life in the Suburbs Is Mere Residing." Home, Moving and Belonging in the Suburbs of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area from the 1950s to the 1970s', Kirsi Saarikangas explores the lived suburban spaces by analysing inhabitants' written remembrances alongside the public debate and the visual features of suburban environment. She analyses how suburbs have turned into multilayered and meaningful home places – a feature that has been rarely connected with suburbs – as well as the role that women and children played in the creation of social networks

in the new environment and in the processes of homing. In the written memories home is a slippery notion extending outside the walls of the 'new heavenly dwelling' to the nearby environment and nature. The viewpoint challenges the dichotomy between the active production of space by planners and its passive consumption by users, arguing that inhabitants, too, are creators of their environment and its meanings.

In 'The Couple's Romance and its Spatial Setting. Heterosexual Home-Making', Monique Eleb explores how heterosexual couples in France negotiate between each other's different conceptions of home and interior decoration, when they are establishing a common home. She approaches home as a prism which allows the observation of the inhabitants' relationship to the world as well as their values, dreams and aspirations. The negotiations and tensions between differing tastes and one's own space at home are connected with the couples' personal histories, social and cultural backgrounds or *habitus*. The couples often have such different conceptions of home that it seems as if mentally they do not inhabit the same space, Eleb argues. However, according to her, home is both a place to affirm one's identity and to slowly transform it.

In 'Four Corners. Stories of Movement, Sound and Silence at Home by Children in Two Villages', artist Lea Kantonen depicts cultural encounters in the art workshops that she conducted together with her husband Pekka Kantonen. The children who took part in the workshop in the late 1990s were from two regions: Mäntsälä in Finland, and the Seto region in Estonia, near the Russian border. Kantonen asks what kind of meanings and values children from different cultural backgrounds attach to home, and how the spatial practices, cultural meanings, and representations of home encounter in children's narratives.

In 'Undoing and Redoing Home. The Bosnian War and Diasporic Home-Making', Laura Huttunen discusses the meanings of diasporic home through ethnographic fieldwork carried out among Bosnian refugees living in Finland. She shows the tensions in the current conceptualization of home as a place of belonging, rootedness, and permanence. This conception emphasizes movement and transnational connectedness, therefore pathologizing rootedness. She states that the Bosnian refugees' notion of home might be best described by their relationship to multiple homes and houses. The ruined and later reconstructed family houses in Bosnia are homes in the symbolic sense

of belonging. Simultaneously, refugees have established a homelike relationship to their new apartments which provide the contexts of daily life in new home countries. Home is not one but scattered in many places, argues Huttunen.

Discussions on homes have often emphasized that home is a space where one can be safe and rest. This modern understanding of home means that home is a spatially well-demarcated entity that exists outside of public life and at home the demands of society are temporarily suspended. Our aim in this book is to undo the unilateral concept of home, open it up, and reflect on the unpleasant or 'other' side of it. We also argue that since home is not given but historically formed, it necessarily always has its outside, an alien world. Home and its outside are to be regarded as co-constituted and delimited from one another.

Contributions in the third part, 'Strangely Familiar Homes', consider homes as contradictory places where meanings are not fixed beforehand, but are constantly negotiated. As the essays in this part incisively show the border is seldom clear between home and its outside, or between privacy and publicity. Home as a safe retreat, as a space of belonging, can suddenly turn out to be ominous, dangerous, and full of violent moments and acts, which engender strange oscillation between belonging and unfamiliarity. Home, its borders, meanings, and structures are constantly in a state of constituting, changing, and becoming. Here home seems to be rather a verb than a noun. The essays discuss the gendered tradition of home along with its roots in the history of domestic space in Europe, as well as with the Western philosophical tradition of spatiality, dwelling, and home.

In 'Dynamic Domestic Space. Violence and the Art of Home-Making', Minna Ruckenstein considers everyday homemaking and violence against women at Finnish homes by analysing interviews with the victims of domestic violence. She focuses on the processes and moments that disrupt, rearrange, and reject the continuous spatial meanings of domestic space. Ruckenstein argues that the notion of home as a private, nostalgic, identity-defining space actually naturalizes gendered domestic violence, as well as the power relation between genders.

In 'Moving, Inscribing, Constructing. Dwelling as Building an Emptiness', Hanna Johansson approaches the gendered notion of home and

spatiality by analysing the oeuvre of the Finnish artist Outi Heiskanen (1938–). In Heiskanen's works the notion of dwelling is continually present. They put into question several long-termed binaries like matter and form, ground and structure, inside and outside, presentation and representation, art and life, nature and language, feminine and masculine; all concepts that have served Western metaphysics. According to Johansson Heiskanen's works radicalize the relation between home, house, and body, suggesting an airy and open foundation for dwelling.

In 'Ambiguities in the Locus of Home. Exilic Life and the Space of Belonging' James Tuedio connects the different intellectual paths that have opened up the conceptualization of home and discerns some practical consequences that they can offer. He sees both home and homelessness as central philosophical motifs and essential concepts in the intellectual debate of the late-twentieth-century Critical Studies movements. Tuedio starts with the idea of home as a shelter and draws the reader eventually into the uncanny and exilic dimensions of home and identity.

The borders and meanings of home are constantly negotiated. Finally, in the fourth part, 'Moving Boundaries of Home', contributors discuss the transformations of the ideals of home at the turn of the twenty-first century and the blurring of the boundaries between home and work, the shifting inside and outside of home, and gendered meanings of these changes. These essays challenge the notion of home as fixed and stable structure demarcated by walls, and explore home as a moving and dynamic process. Computers and new information and communication technologies in general form a point where the changes and the blurring of the public/private relations converge. Simultaneously, the borderline between private home space and public space is eagerly protected in the practices of daily life. Computers and laptops have also changed the meanings of home and helped to create new rooms of one's own, spaces within spaces. 'It gathers and connects', as one student talked about his laptop in Irene Cieraad's investigation while the other one compared it with 'the umbilical cord connecting her to the far away parental home'. Contributors show that while being seemingly immaterial, new virtual spaces are not detached from affective and corporeal dimensions.

In '@Home? Students' Visions of Home as Future trends in Home-

Making', Irene Cieraad explores the ruptures and continuities in the notion of home. Cieraad compares domestic ideals of the late 1960s and early 1970s radical student generation to those of their offspring at the turn of the twenty-first century. In contrast to their parents' rural ideals, the current student generation prefers a city apartment as their near future home. However, when it comes to ideals for their later future homes, most students imagine themselves as part of a heterosexual family with children, living in the countryside. In their ideals, they make temporal distinctions between different future homes, and instead of one home, talk about a series of homes.

In 'Immaterial Homes, Personal Spaces and the Internet as Rhetorical Terrain', Susanna Paasonen considers the domestication and familiarization of the Internet, which is most clearly visible in the terminology such as home pages, guest books, and virtual homes. In addition to the spatial metaphors of travel and the analogies with the settlers, the figure of home is central on the Internet. Home is present on the Internet beginning from the visual idiom, such as the single family house icon for a home page, to the ideas of home pages as self-presentations, and computers as spaces of one's own. Besides the forums of self-presentation, online communities such as Facebook, IRC Galleria and MySpace offer sites of belonging, locations to be left and returned to.

In the final chapter 'Home, Work and Affects in the Fourth Shift', Eeva Jokinen examines how computers and the Internet re-arrange homes and even generate new spaces of one's own and new common public places. According to her, mobile phones have changed the logic of security and engendered constant border crossing between home and the world outside. While domestic space is still most often considered and idealized as a secure and private space, the demands of being constantly available, and the constant stretching between intimacy and publicity, define both home and work spaces. Through mobile phones and the Internet, inhabitants are within the reach of work life even at home, and domestic world insinuates into work places.

While the process of the separation of home and work has continued since the nineteenth century, at the beginning of the twenty-first century work and home are intermingling. It appears as if the leaking boundaries between private and public, home and work in the fourth shift, might impact the daily lives of women even more than men. Somehow, it is

still most often a mother – as one of Jokinen’s interviewees – who answers the phone call of her child at the work place and gives permission to ‘eat this banana’.

NOTES

- 1 Perec 1985, pp. 13–15.
- 2 Massey 1994, p. 171.
- 3 Burnett 1985, p. 3.
- 4 Certeau 1980, pp. 173–175.
- 5 Young 1997, p. 162.
- 6 Douglas 1991.
- 7 Bachelard 1984, p. 24.
- 8 Johnston and Valentine 1995, p. 99.
- 9 Saarikangas 1993, pp. 341–345; Saarikangas 2002, pp. 256–257.
- 10 Certeau, Giard et Mayol 1994, pp. 205–210; Massey 1994, p. 169.
- 11 Foucault 1980, p. 39.
- 12 Young 1997, pp. 156–160; hooks 1990, pp. 41–49; hooks 2007.
- 13 See e.g. Johnston and Valentine 1999, p. 100.
- 14 Beauvoir 1949, pp. 226–227
- 15 Young 1997, p. 148.
- 16 See also Grosz 1995, pp. 120–121.
- 17 Irigaray 1984, pp. 17–19.
- 18 *Ibid.* p. 41.
- 19 *Ibid.* p. 15.
- 20 Grosz 1995, p. 120.
- 21 Young 1997, p. 156.
- 22 Braidotti 1994, pp. 15–20.
- 23 Massey 2005, pp. 173–175.
- 24 hooks 1990, p. 48.
- 25 Young 1997, pp. 134–136.
- 26 Massey 1994, pp. 167–171
- 27 Jokinen 1996, pp. 95–100; Saarikangas 2006, p. 169.
- 28 hooks 1990, pp. 41–49.
- 29 Freud 1988/1919, pp. 342–345.
- 30 Freud 1988/1919, pp. 363–364.
- 31 Kristeva 1988, pp. 269–274. See also Gunew 2003, pp. 47–48.
- 32 Johnston and Valentine 1995, p.100.
- 33 Cieraad 1999, p. 2.
- 34 Ahmed et al. 2003.
- 35 Fortier 2003, p. 118.
- 36 Massey 2005, p. 124.
- 37 hooks 2007, p. 143.
- 38 *Ibid.* p. 24.
- 39 Gunew 2003, p. 47.
- 40 Heidegger 1977, p. 193.

- 41 Gunew 2003, pp. 41–42.
- 42 ...We dare
to love only the limit-
less: native place and mother tongue,
the only place that exists
everywhere, the only language everyone speaks.
Ågren 1992.
- 43 Gunew 2003, p. 42.
- 44 Braidotti 1994, pp. 11–15.
- 45 Jokinen 1996, pp. 86–87.
- 46 Ahmed et al. 2003, p. 8.
- 47 Certeau 1990, 173.
- 48 Ibid. pp. 139–142.
- 49 Merleau-Ponty 1993/1945, p. 291.
- 50 Young 1997, p. 150.
- 51 Young 1997, pp. 149–151.
- 52 Bachelard 1957/1984, pp. 73–74; Felski 2000.
- 53 Felski 2000, p. 28.
- 54 Ibid. pp. 18–23.
- 55 Jokinen 2005, p. 27.
- 56 Lifeworld (*Lebenswelt*) consists of different levels but basically it has world-horizon as one limit and earth-ground as another limit. Husserl uses also a world territory, which defines the way human are in the world. See Husserl 1970/1962.
- 57 Steinbock 1995, pp. 187–188.
- 58 Especially in his 'late' work Heidegger favoured the metaphor of house and dwelling of which 'Bauen Wohnen Denken' (1951) is a good example.
- 59 Heidegger 1971, p. 147.
- 60 Ibidem.
- 61 Young 1997, pp. 136–138.
- 62 Derrida 1982, pp. 29–68, 109–136.
- 63 See for example Derrida 1978; Derrida 1990.
- 64 One can argue that to dismantle or undo the structure of binary oppositions in the history of Western thinking is Derrida's main endeavour throughout his oeuvre.
- 65 It is worth noting that both interior domestic space, which is feminine, as well as a proper or presence are violent concepts for Derrida so far that they cannot be controlled.
- 66 Bass 1982, p. xvii.
- 67 Derrida 1993.
- 68 Ibid. pp. 32–33.
- 69 Derrida 1967, pp. 250–255.
- 70 Wigley 1997, p. 136.
- 71 Rybczynski 1986.
- 72 Benjamin 1980, p. 291. Op. cit. Sarantola-Weiss 2003, p. 67.
- 73 Saarikangas 2002, pp. 146–163.
- 74 Saarikangas 2002, pp. 65–71. On publicity of private, see also Colomina 1994, p. 9.
- 75 Reed 1996, pp. 7–11.
- 76 Felski 2000, p. 23.
- 77 The abbreviation "lgbtiq" means for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, intersexual and queer.

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I

REPRESENTING
AND CONSTRUCTING
HOME AND
DOMESTICITY

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FINNISH HOME IN THE INTERIOR DECORATION MAGAZINES OF THE 1960S AND 1970S

Minna Sarantola-Weiss

In an interview given to the interior decoration magazine *Avotakka* in 1978, the artist Kaija Aarikka shares her views on the importance of domestic interior decoration and comfort for people's well-being: 'Kaija Aarikka considers our attachment to the things we have in our home to be quite natural and by no means the sign of shameful materialism it is sometimes described as.'¹ Domestic interior decoration forms a part of the twentieth-century middle class consumer culture. In Finland it transformed into a mass phenomenon in the 1960s and 1970s. Even the oil crisis of the mid-1970s had only a temporary impact on interior decoration habits and furniture sales; the climate of economic uncertainty in fact serving to emphasize the role of the family and the act of home making.

The birth of the domestic interior decoration culture tends to be linked to increases in real household incomes and living space. In Finland these developments took place in the 1960s and 1970s. Between the 1950s and the 1970s private consumption tripled and there was now enough money to go round for household appliances, three-piece suites, and foreign travel.² Between 1965 and 1975, half a million new properties were built in Finland. This was a lot for a country, which then had a population of only four and a half million. In the early 1960s a typical family home comprised two rooms and a kitchen, but by the 1970s most families had gained a third room, the living room.³ Despite the

active house-building programme, housing was to a large extent perceived as a problem in Finland. Particular issues included the lack of rented properties, the high cost of living and especially in the 1970s, the fact that people saw the suburbs as a failing living environment.

The domestic interior decoration debate carried out in Finland in the course of the twentieth century can be roughly divided into three time periods. The first came under way in the early 1900s, mirroring developments elsewhere in Europe. It was characterized by a departure away from the bourgeois interior decoration ideals and a new focus on hygiene and the functionality of housing. The modernization of the home in the 1920s and the professionalization of the work carried out by housewives were important building blocks in the construction of the newly independent Finland and its national identity. After the Second World War the focus remained firmly on the home. The 1950s saw a breakthrough of the celebrated school of modernist domestic architecture and the Finnish industrial art. The home was a project reserved for the educated classes and the experts, producing living and consumption practices that permeated all of the Finnish society. The 1960s in Finland came to be a time of mass production and mass consumption. The myriad interior decoration practices of the new middle class undermined and soon sidelined and replaced the hegemony of the bourgeois domestic interior decoration ideas.

My aim in this chapter is to analyse the idea of the modern home interior in Finland in the late 1960s and 1970s. The analysis draws on two interior magazines: *Kaunis koti* (1948–1971)⁴ and *Avotakka* (1967–)⁵ and their home features, more specifically. I focus on the many ways in which Finnish homes materialized modern life.

THE INTERIOR DECORATION DISCOURSE

There are many social factors participating in domestic interior decoration, generating narratives, actions, and power. They include the experts, the arbiters of good taste and best practice, whose opinions dominate the press and industry exhibitions. Professional designers also fall into this group. They are joined by the furniture industry and retail sector, participating in the discourse through their products and

advertising. Further participants are the consumers, making their opinions heard through their purchase choices. All these groups create the discourse on domestic interior decoration, which is then crystallized on the pages of interior decoration guides and magazines. They in turn create the surface on which the participants in the discourse, the market forces, the taste elite, the users, and the products themselves encounter one another.⁶ The discourse constitutes a space, not just texts or speech, and can therefore encompass three-dimensional objects such as interior decoration items. The items and their order reflect and generate the prevalent practices and value judgements.⁷ A chair commands the interpersonal relationships, hierarchies and body language of those sharing a room with it, just as a plastic Disney plate chooses its user. These perspectives have found different expressions in the course of the twentieth century; the debate, the market mechanisms, and everyday practices weaving the participants into a dynamic interaction with one another.

By the early 1960s an increasing number of directions generated the impulses governing consumer behaviour against the backdrop of rising media influence. Rural-urban migration led to both consumers and the media taking a keen interest in domestic interior decoration, which expanded the scope of the Finnish domestic interior decoration discourse considerably. The newspapers, whose writing until then had been largely limited to industrial art, increased their coverage of interior decoration issues. Interest from television followed. The number of women's magazines increased and they began to include interior decoration issues in their content.

Domestic interior decoration had of course already been an important topic for some time, the home and its decorative items having been key fields for Finnish design and architecture during the post-war years of reconstruction and throughout the 1950s.⁸ Still in the 1950s writing on interior decoration remained in the domain of the taste elite and was characterized by nationalism and an educationalist ethos that aimed at the creation of a modern and rational society. On the one hand, writing tended to focus on the promotion of industrial art; on the other hand, on rational decorating practices. Interiors were to be functional, light and hygienic. The consumer/home decorator was addressed from a position of expert authority. As the reconstruction effort was gradually

completed, new competitors began to emerge alongside Rationalism and Modernism. From the 1960s onwards, the voice of the industry began to dominate the discourse through the sheer volume of advertising and other writing it generated.

Design and interior decoration publications form an important part of the publicity that in the latter half of the nineteenth century built up around the field of domestic interior decoration. When one corner of Europe began to lead on the design debate, a magazine was invariably involved in disseminating the new ideas. *The Studio* (launched in 1893), *Innendekoration* (1896) and *Mir Iskusstva* (1899) were proponents of modernization, with the Dutch *De Stijl* (1917) and the French *L'Esprit Nouveau* (1920) propagandizing the post-war shift. From the 1950s onwards the Italian *Domus* (1928) and *Casabella* (1953) established their position as international design leaders.

Generating its own publicity was also important for the design industry in Finland. Publicity was useful in raising the industry's profile and served to increase demand for the professionals and their work. At the same time, the debate helped the actors in the industry to define their own professional identities. The early years of the twentieth century saw the launch of several magazines in Finland. They all proved to be short-lived as the country's transition to independence, the civil war, and the economic crises that followed commanded the attention and sapped the enthusiasm of what small readership they might have hoped to establish. *Domus* succeeded in remaining in print for some years during the 1930s, counting Finland's best-known artists, designers and architects among its contributors.⁹

In the post-war Europe domestic interior decorating became a part of the reconstruction effort and its ideological significance grew. This was a time when the middle class was on the move, building and decorating. The desire for everyday aesthetics, stylish living, and home wares now united the industrialized world; everyday items coming to be seen as engines of economic growth. As the communicators of values and information, magazines played an important role in this process. The Norwegian *Bo Nytt* was established already in 1941, the Dutch *Goed Wonen* in 1951, the German *Schöner Wohnen* in 1960 and the Danish *Bo Bedre* in 1961. Industry's own internal actors and debates were given a high profile in these magazines although they also aimed

to offer practical advice on interior decoration. *Kaunis koti*, established in 1948, was part of this new wave and the first genuine interior decoration magazine in Finland.

During the shortages of the post-war years, people had no option but to learn to see the beauty in austerity and simplicity. The 1960s by comparison, was a time distinguished by the sheer volume of consumer goods available. Shortages turned into abundance and there was now a need to offer guidance to consumers on how to make the most appropriate purchasing choices.

Together with the high number of young families at the turn of the 1960s and 1970s, the migratory movement and house building activity generated demand for magazines dealing with topics such as home and family. *Avotakka* was established in 1967 to tap into this new mood and to compete with *Kaunis koti*. Finland was becoming more affluent and cultural radicalism was heating up the housing and home decoration debate. *Avotakka* was the first in this new wave of magazines and turned out to have the most staying power, despite facing competition from other home and décor magazines in the 1970s. Many magazines were unable to retain a sufficient readership when the building boom finally petered out towards the end of the decade, the downturn forcing *Avotakka* as well, to adjust its editorial policy. It initially tried to link into a sense of the 1960s radicalism and the fashionable new hedonistic lifestyle in an effort to gain a competitive edge over the rationally modernist *Kaunis koti*. But Finland proved too small for this aspiration. The *Avotakka* of the 1970s is already much more clearly aimed towards a home-saving, non-professional audience

Interior decoration magazines are part of the commodification of culture, a genre essentially built up around the making, doing, repairing, and re-arranging of things. These magazines constantly convey to the reader new messages about products on the market. They create expectations and provide suggestions for use. Reading the magazine in itself is a form of visual consumption. The sociologist Colin Campbell has noted that the act of purchasing in itself is not necessary for the consummation of the act of consumption. Looking at an object or viewing an image or text describing it, is already in itself an act of consumption; the process of making the item meaningful for the self.¹⁰

THE HOME FEATURE GENRE

If light reading is a form of escapism, something to take the reader's mind away from the cares and stresses of the everyday life, then readers of interior decoration magazines can also reasonably expect to be provided with similar distraction. The magazines invariably cover real-life stories from the private sphere, typical of women's magazines, with the exception that here the focus is on the home, not on the individual. This was also the case with Finnish magazines from the first issue onwards. In 1948 Rut Bryk and Tapio Wirkkala, leading figures of the Finnish industrial art scene, opened their home for the first issue of *Kaunis koti*.¹¹ Theirs was a small three-room flat in an unnamed new suburb. These were the years of the housing shortage in a country where evacuations and air raids had destroyed much private property and where little was available to replace it. Bryk's and Wirkkala's three rooms and the modern and carefully considered décor for the sole use of two adults and one baby would have been considered an unattainable luxury by many readers.

Personification has long been used by magazines. One of the biggest changes in magazine publishing has been the increased use of features, dating back to the early 1900s. The increase has been particularly rapid since the 1960s. In an interior decoration magazine a home feature is the equivalent of an interview. It deals primarily with the interviewee's home and the decoration process. The feature is the pre-text under which the interviewee is prepared to open the door to their home. It is almost as a by-product that the reader gains information about the interviewee's career, family relationships and glimpses into their daily life. The article on Bryk and Wirkkala, too, contains both private and professional information. One caption reads: 'a new challenge for Bryk: little Wirkkala demands her share'.

A reader's ability better to grasp complex issues and causalities when they are presented through the figure of a real-life person has been used as an explanation for the huge popularity of features on private people. The reader is invited to join their idol's intimate inner circle, to participate in their family life, their furniture preferences, and consumption habits; thus a personal contact, an emotional bond even, is created between the reader and the subject. This process of identification is also central to communication through advertising. In home features the relationship

is built through the furniture and other items found in the home. They relate stories of house moves, travels, and family relationships thereby become intertwined with the personal history of the interviewee. The home feature genre brings to mind Richard Sennett's concept of the ideology of intimacy as characteristic of the present time. He suggests that by the 1970s the public had lost its meaning, while the private and the personal gained all genuine significance. Magazines now sought after this new authenticity in people and in inanimate objects.¹²

Interior decoration magazines form their own public interface whose celebrities, architects, designers, and other notables are not particularly well-known outside their own sphere. In the Finland of the 1970s Alvar Aalto is likely to have been the only one known by the general public but even his private life was not featured on the pages of women's magazines. Until the early 1970s the featured homeowners in the interior decoration magazines were from among these arbiters of good taste. The features presented people from among the ranks of the university educated bourgeoisie, the so-called chattering classes, who had traditionally been ideologically touched by and were in possession of the financial means to engage in home decoration. The homes may have been decorated in the radical spirit of the 1960s design shift but the inhabitants were still the interior decoration specialists, furniture sellers, designers and the educated middle class.

The sociologist Leo Lowenthal has spoken about the secularization of the magazine world and the shift from production to consumption. According to his theory, representatives of the political and cultural sectors were the idols of production, while representatives of the entertainment and sports sectors were the idols of consumption.¹³ The latter gradually began to dominate the media. This phenomenon, first identified by Lowenthal in the 1940s, was visible in the Finnish interior decoration magazines as late as in the 1970s. It was then that well-known Finnish designers began to feature as home decorators among many others and were joined by athletes, actors, and entertainers. The reading public was drawn to the thrills they offered and consequently took an interest in their private lives and living arrangements. On the one hand, magazines cast these celebrities in the role of everyman and on the other hand, depicted them as living the dream. The celebrities represented new lifestyles and patterns of consumption.

Magazine representations became not only more entertainment-oriented, but also more diverse. Some of the featured people could no longer even be defined as idols of consumption. As in keeping with the socially aware spirit of the time, the coverage now included ‘real people’; nurses, bank workers, and beauticians. Magazines featured them to depict the everyday life of the home savers in the suburbs. Employed in the myriad new functions created by the welfare state and in the service sector, a new middle class was emerging alongside the traditional ‘educated class’ and bourgeoisie. The new middle class was used by the magazines to offer new figures for identification and to attract new readers.

RURAL VS. URBAN

The home features in the decoration magazines were not an entirely accurate representation of the Finnish living. The 1960s and 1970s were the years of the tenement building boom. In the 1960s tenements in Finland’s forest suburbs were still the solution to the housing problems in the old urban centres. The new suburbs offered everyone the opportunity to live close to nature. Conversely, by the end of the 1970s an idealization of single-family housing typified the discourse. Tenement suburbs became a problem, a place where people lived by necessity rather than by choice.¹⁴ Single-family homes offered a more natural, human-scale form of housing. From the mid-1970s onwards, construction activity focused on single-family and terraced housing.¹⁵ Building one’s own home was also a sign of the rising standard of living. The magazine *Kodin Kuvalehti* wrote in 1979: ‘When these incomers get their foot on the ladder and are able to choose, they pack their things and leave the concrete jungle for a more humane environment; a detached house, a terrace or a smaller tenement.’¹⁶

Home features of the decoration magazines did not reflect this shift. A great majority continued to present homes in houses or terraced properties during the whole period. Terraced housing in particular was rare rather than typical in Finland at the time. Proximity to nature was particularly valued in magazine representations. In the 1970s magazines began to call for a genuine urban culture; the debate finding its *loci* in the city centre stone tenements and Finland’s traditional forest suburbs.

This paradox speaks of the problematic role suburbs played in the housing debate; they were an inauthentic transitional space between 'genuine' urban and rural living. It should be noted that only the first generation garden suburbs from the 1950s, especially Tapiola, qualified as high-quality housing milieus. The more recent 1960s concrete suburbs were ignored by the magazines almost entirely.

Rural living enjoyed barely any coverage at all. The countryside usually featured in Christmas issues only, as a reminiscence of the sights and sounds of childhood Christmases, or in conjunction with articles on summer living. The magazines presented the country side as an arcadia, not as a place where real life was lived. This representation was in stark contrast with the Finland of abandoned smallholdings and it served to highlight the role of the magazines as producers of modernity and dreams. The coverage was also very Helsinki-centred. In the course of the 1970s, the coverage broadened to encompass more of Finland but rural living still failed to make the grade, while urban areas continued to be the places where 'real people' lived. They were soon joined by those for whom rural living was a lifestyle choice. The interior decoration magazines saw the university educated classes' move back to the country as a parallel development to the renewed interest in old urban townhouses. According to the magazines both ways of living facilitated unique and individualistic dwelling better than the suburbs. This phenomenon is a part of the architectural discourse of the time as it links with the rise of the building conservation ethos.

Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture (1966) by Robert Venturi highlighted the significance of a temporally and stylistically complex living environment, as a reaction to functionalism and the one-dimensionality of modernism. Interior decoration magazines reflected this change in attitudes with their coverage of the unusual living solutions offered by old properties and their renovation. The market in antiques revived slowly in the course of the 1970s.

THE LEGACY OF FAMILISM

Alongside individualism and a belief in progression, familism was a value on which the European bourgeoisie built their perception of

themselves. The family was a constant that the community could rely on in a rapidly changing world. The home represented innocence and peace in contrast to the coldness of the world. It was to be a place of rest and refuge, especially for the man participating in public life. Both emotionally and as expressions of consumer culture, the home features, perhaps more so than other content in the magazines, hark back to the bourgeois home decoration ideals and the notion of familism. They emphasize the home as a sanctuary, a retreat from the world outside. This theme remains with these features throughout the nineteenth century, until the 1970s and into the twenty-first century. They often depict a transition that the inhabitants use to create distance between the outside world and the home. This journey is made by car, train or bus and can also be a spiritual one. Individuals seek particular distance between work and home.

The nineteenth-century bourgeois culture generated a wealth of material relationships that created and maintained identities, social hierarchies, and gender roles. This is also the relationship between today's domestic decorator and their objects. Seen from this perspective, domestic interior decoration is not a mere arranging of furniture, but the process by which dumb objects are made into speaking symbols. These symbols speak to their owners, who piece together their view of the world and their identity through them. Individual items are extensions of the personalities and professional identities of the inhabitants,¹⁷ as Monique Eleb points out elsewhere in this volume. The beauty of the home and the personalities of the inhabitants become intertwined on the pages of the magazines, as in *The Studio* in 1893: 'As the value of a picture consists in the expression of an artist's mind and is an index of its owner's artistic sympathies, so is a beautiful house the manifestation of the refinement of its owners' artistic temperament.'¹⁸

This idea lives on in a feature of two Finnish architects in *Kaunis Koti* in 1965; a terraced house of 169 square meters, located in the affluent island community of Kaskisaari in western Helsinki:

The living room is furnished with the classics: an Aalto chair that Lauri Silvennoinen was given as a present when he worked for Aalto, the Egg chair and two Barcelona chairs side-by-side. [...] the relief on the wall is a copy of the Parthenon Frieze the couple bought in Paris.¹⁹



The good taste and modernism played a major role in the home features until the cultural shift of the 1960s. The home of architect Lauri Silvennoinen in *Kaunis koti 1*/1965. Photograph Tuovi Nousiainen/SKOY.

The well-known pieces of furniture connect the architects to their professional tradition, while the artefacts also help in illustrating their personas. The spirit of the inhabitant lives on in the property even after their death, imbued in the objects, colours and arrangements. This is also the allure of home museums.

Familism is based on a gender contract by which the man is the breadwinner outside the home, while the woman maintains the home and the emotional relationships within it. Interior decoration was a part of the lifestyle of bourgeois women. The home was a moral project geared towards raising happy and upstanding members of society. The beauty of the home reflected a serious commitment to these goals. That is why interior decoration was also a highly personal undertaking. Relying on outside expertise would have meant transgressing the boundary between the public and private.²⁰ In practice, professional interior decorators have existed since the late nineteenth-century and home decorators have sought after outside advice from both literature

and the press. The key was to ensure that the advice was carefully blended to achieve the desired end product; a home that reflected the personality of its inhabitants. This required good taste and the ability to creatively combine the different styles on offer. Good taste was considered an innate quality but by the late nineteenth-century fashion was already dictating what was in good taste at any one time. Home decoration was closely linked to prevailing customs, meaning rococo for the sitting room and baroque for the dining room. Acquiring the right taste was essential for the expression of class distinctions.²¹ Taste played the same distinctive role in the lives of the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie as it was to play later in the lives of the middle classes of the 1970s France, observed by Bourdieu.

Changes to family relations and gender roles were key themes of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Familism, however, remained alive and well in the home features of the 1970s. Magazines presented mostly family homes, and the family with its emotional ties was an important part of the feature. Typically, the articles end with the family gathering together to eat, socialize, do homework or listen to music. These were familiar situations dating back through the history of the familistic family. The sofa had a key role to play. At the very heart of the home, the sofa was the very place where the parents of a family or the co-habiting couple gathered to pose and express their unity. In the features the meaning of the sofa is often conveyed through images but can also be highlighted in a caption: 'Mona-Lisa, 24, and Pauli Pursiainen, 26, gaze into each other's eyes snuggled up on the sofa in their cosy little flat. There is no need to ask how married life is treating them.'²² Similarly, the sitting room of a model and a politician is 'romantic and atmospheric, as befits newlyweds.' The dining table also has a comparable uniting role. The reader is thus directed to associate certain emotions with certain objects and groups of objects, which are used to create the spirit of home.

Singles with an interest in interior decorating were often students or otherwise young people who could still be expected to make the transition to a family phase. At the beginning of the 1970s, the two-person home emerged as an alternative to family life. Family relationships began to undergo a cultural shift and the romantic relationship replaced the family unit as the central content of women's magazines. A romantic relationship no longer equalled marriage. In 1969 twelve per cent of

couples lived together prior to marriage, but the number rose to sixty-five per cent by 1979.²³ This development was also echoed in the home features of magazines. The first home together was no longer set up after getting married; a beauty queen might just choose to ‘move in together with her man’.²⁴

The range of family relationships featured in the 1970s did not yet reach beyond the heterosexual norm. Although visible in the international show business world,²⁵ homosexuality did not yet quite make it onto the pages of family magazines. This is in some way obvious as it was not until 1971 that homosexuality was decriminalized in Finland. Without exception, the family and the romantic relationship comprised a man and a woman. Indeed, it is only recently that the first openly homosexual home decorators have featured in Finnish interior decoration magazines. These articles have focused on the material and aesthetic side of the home and not the family, thus seemingly reinforcing the stereotype of homosexuals as particularly artistic people. Alternatively, they have been assigned the role of collector, another typical perspective on the male consumer.

The shift in family culture required a redistribution of housework. Women’s magazines liked to highlight stories of fathers taking on their share of the cooking and childcare responsibilities. In practice, women usually continued to bear most of the responsibility, although the majority of mothers including even those with small children were by now in employment.²⁶ The actress wife of a musical conductor who had ‘made her own choice’ and given up regular theatre work was starting to be the exception to the rule.²⁷ Working mothers were much more common. A professional dancer comes home from work ‘chats, asks how the day went, starts to prepare a meal for Saana, Tuulaleena from next door and herself, wondering whether Okko has already managed to eat’.²⁸

Interior decoration continued to be the particular responsibility of a woman. She designed the curtains, chose the colours, and picked the furniture. Ornaments, candles and other decorative items especially, remained firmly in the feminine domain. A woman’s touch made the house a home. Magazines continued to present all structural and do-it-yourself work (DIY) as man’s work, although it should be noted that women took part in demolition work when renovating old properties.

Do-it-yourself was a big trend in the 1970s. Magazines were full of



The home, its decoration and its habitants become intertwined in a home feature. The 1960s and 1970s saw an increasing number of home features. The cover of *Avotakka* 10/1974 shows the romantic home of Okko Kamu, a well-known conductor.

knitting patterns and woodwork ideas. The home features presented the new figure of the handyman decorator, whose interior decoration features could not be bought from shops. Do-it-yourself was in line with the familistic ideal, reminiscent of the early twentieth-century reform debate. In the spirit of the Arts and Crafts movement, the debate

sought to renew bourgeois domestic culture. Things made by hand were more valuable than industrially produced goods, which were inauthentic and soulless. Like in the early twentieth-century, DIY was also associated with an anti-urban sentiment and the rise in the popularity of the one-family home during the 1970s. Just like their early twentieth-century suburbanite counterpart, the 1970s house-owner wanted to move away from the spoilt city and closer to nature, to an environment considered more authentic. These pioneers believed that in their own house in the countryside they could reform their own lives and through that, all of society.²⁹ The heroic handyman of the 1970s home features therefore washed the weathered log walls of his home by hand using Spick&Span powder and erected handy shelve arrangements. In 1975 an author described her life after the move back to the country: ‘we work from half past six until nine at night and then collapse totally brain dead into bed. At times all we wanted to do was cry but little by little it all started to come together.’ A well-known Finnish model was also feeling tearful in the middle of redecorating her home.³⁰ In the magazine features tears raise the value of the home and highlight the strong emotional bond to it.

The DIY-culture and single-family housing both served as excellent means of re-integrating the male back into the family. From the male perspective, the move into the suburbs had also meant the transfer of domestic authority to the woman. This had left him seemingly stranded in no man’s land in the emergent housing and family arrangements. The wife remained responsible for housework but there was little to replace the outdoor work traditionally carried out by the husband. The local pub thus became the stage where men acted out their masculinity.³¹ In contrast the single-family house was a life-long project that entailed more than interior decoration, which was still perceived a feminine or effeminate activity. Life had new meaning. A construction engineer noted in a 1975 edition of *Talo ja koti*, a guide targeted to people building their own homes:

Designing your own home is one of life’s highlights. It can be the fulfilment of many hopes and dreams and is also a fascinating technical challenge. [...] The garden and any other land you may have will be an integral part of your much longed-for home and therefore needs to be carefully planned and executed.³²

The notion of good taste, too, continued to figure in the home features of the 1960s. In the bourgeois tradition, they described interior decoration as an activity requiring expertise and good taste. In 1964 a magazine described the home of a young couple of doctors as follows:

Good taste and an interest in decoration mean that this home dazzles you with its stylish modesty – without a hint of ostentation. [...] What it takes is knowing how to make use of what is available with care consideration and a willingness to experiment.³³

Many featured homes had been decorated by a professional. In the 1970s however, the magazines put more emphasis on the choices of the home decorators themselves. Until then Ersatz antiques had not yet made it into the canon of good taste, but by 1977 a familiar news-reader could proudly present a department-store bought neoclassical English mahogany desk when ‘the antique shops simply did not offer the roll top desk I was after.’³⁴

THE MODERN, RATIONAL HOME

Rationalism, modernity, and change were the guiding principles for the home decoration experts and the education discourse of the 1960s and 1970s. They had become ideals in the debate carried out already in the 1920s and were revised in the 1950s. In the 1920s the debate had been the sole domain of the specialist elite. In the 1950s the ideals were embodied on a completely new scale, in the form of buildings and objects. The emphasis on change was the decade’s particular contribution to the debate. Flexibility and independent decision-making now represented rationality and modernity.

In effect, this meant that each individual’s own choices and lifestyles now replaced commercial trends and historic styles as the norms guiding domestic interior decoration. The home had to also accommodate the expression of one’s personality. Whereas the nineteenth-century bourgeois housewife had expressed her family’s individuality through opulent furnishings, the ideal modern home decorator now purged their property of anything extraneous so as to leave room for their own distinct

persona. The principle of change meant that the home remained an unfinished project, its decoration in a permanent state of flux: 'We don't at all mind our home having a kind of half-finished feel to it because it so handily adapts to our changing circumstances and requirements – and isn't that precisely what a real home is all about?'³⁵

The 1950s interior decoration ideal had mirrored the economy of the time. The taste for simplicity and austerity had been born out of necessity. The ideal had been family-centred and, to a large extent, right-wing and anti-commercial. The debate had been dominated by the university educated middle-class. By the 1960s there was a desire to subvert all this. The new participants to the debate belonged to the same educated middle-class as the previous generation, but they had adopted the ideals of cultural radicalism. The home and the family now became sites where bourgeois patriarchal stuffiness and nonsense festered at their worst. Strong colours expressed a sense of radicalism, as did rejecting traditional pieces of furniture such as beds and sofas. This contradictory era generated many new ideals and started the unravelling of the monolithic home decoration discourse. New commercial actors emerged beside the educators and the taste elite, just as new notions arose alongside rationality. Later I will discuss these in more detail.

Rationality continued to prevail in the sphere of enlightenment debate. The notion of equality gave a new perspective to rationality. It became the dominant ideal of the time and interior decoration, too, had to adhere to it both in terms of gender and age. The ideal home of the 1970s catered particularly to children. They had to have access to the whole property and the freedom to jump around on the sofa should it occur to them. Rationality, adaptability and easy-care materials were all key interior decoration concepts of the 1970s.

Magazines and advertisements allocated a particular status to the home of young people, referred to as the 'young home'. There were many 'young homes', this being the time when the baby boomer generation was setting up their own homes. In 1975 they would have been between the ages of twenty-five and thirty.³⁶ Small income and creative ideas were characteristic of the new homes featured in magazines in the late 1960s. The 'New' materialized in the temporary furniture solutions for example with strong colours and textiles, entirely in keeping with the radical and modern ideal.

At least when it came to the interface created by the interior decoration magazines, the modern was everything that was new, protean, practical, and young. By the late 1960s, there were myriad manifestations of the modern and the concept itself was, in a sense, beginning to disintegrate. The modernist idiom of the 1950s was already outdated and was now being replaced with the plastic aesthetic and pop art inspired colours and designs. The modern also often equalled Finnish, as not much furniture, with the exception of the international design classics, was imported into Finland at the time. Still, smaller articles such as Spanish wicker chairs and Greek shag pile rugs were of course already available to the Finns.

A good example of the dominance exerted by the notions of modernity, rationality and equality, was the Finnish president's official residence, featured in *Avotakka* in 1974. Exceptionally, the Finnish Parliament had in 1973 passed a law to allow Kekkonen to be re-elected for a fourth term of presidency. He had become the mythical *pater patrie*, whose fondness for sports and hunting, strong head for drink and general vitality, had by then become the stuff of national folklore. The public was naturally curious about the president's living arrangements, which also presented the perfect opportunity to showcase contemporary Finnish styles to the public. Tamminiemi, the official residence of the president dating back to 1940, was located in the Meilahti area of Helsinki. The residence was renovated between 1973 and 1974 to make it more modern and comfortable. Tamminiemi has been open to the public since December 1978 when the Urho Kekkonen Museum was first opened. The interior was designed by Timo Sarpaneva and Marja Karsikko. The outdated 1950s interior design justified the upgrade. *Avotakka* described the old furniture as 'drab to an eye accustomed to the glories of 1970s Finnish design'.³⁷ Following the 1970s style, Tamminiemi now had Yrjö Kukkapuro's leather Ateljee sofas and Saturnus easy chairs. The bathroom took black tiles and the hallway a brown carpet. Still, all antique furniture and ornaments that belonged to the original interior decoration stayed. According to the magazine, the president himself had been prepared for more radical changes. It was a part of Kekkonen's public image to be an advocate of contemporary culture and he took a benign view of the cultural radicalism of the time. He represented the new ascending middle class that did not wish

to identify with the old elite and its values but instead wanted to create something new in its place. That this ascending class was also his key political support base reflected on his interior design tastes.³⁸ According to the magazine, the president had been prepared to ‘chuck the old Tamminiemi antique furniture at those who have use for it’. The new décor, despite the antique furniture, was notably ascetic and in line with the prevailing Finnish design ethos of the time. The house and its furnishings did not exude luxury or power. It should of course be acknowledged that Kukkapuro’s furniture did at the time represent the best in contemporary Finnish design and was by no means cheap. However, rather than being symbols of wealth or class, these new interior design elements were in fact a reflection of how from the 1950s onwards, Modernism had become the prevailing style of Finnish public buildings and interiors.

RADICALISM IN SOFT FOCUS

Asceticism and hedonism are both useful words in examining the discourse on consumption. So far, the discussion has focused on an ascetic decoration ideal that found its inspiration in everyday practical necessities. However, it should be pointed out that hedonistic, decorative and formal entertainment-oriented interior design practices, against which the rationalist rhetoric was directed, had always existed alongside. Decorative style always represented a particular stumbling block for the reformers of interior design. It was not considered authentic and pure by the avant-gardes, but instead they saw it as something commercial and even immoral of which the home interior should be purged. Decorative style was also always assigned a gender in the debate. The debate here reverts back to the late nineteenth-century. At the birth of Art Nouveau in the 1890s, decorative style was linked to commercialism and the industrial production of consumer goods. The department store and the home, both feminine spheres, were where the decorative style, industrial production, and commercialism met. The goods themselves came to be gender-specific. The furniture and knick-knacks of the bourgeois middle-class housewife were described as light and delicate, whilst male belongings were perceived as sturdy and comfortable. Home deco-

ration was an activity reserved for the woman, the man instead preferring to relax in his easy chair.³⁹

In the avant-garde tradition the 1950s Modernism resisted everything that was decorative, insisting instead that interior design be governed by the values of clarity and functionality. The same functionality and asceticism also marked the revolutionary ideology adopted by some of the same elite in the 1960s. The cultural radicals of the time were opposed to the home, the family, and the comforts they represented. Where traditionalism equalled housewives and conventional gender roles, their new ideas signified women's liberation and opportunities for self-fulfilment. The cultural radicals branded interior decorating a frivolous activity, which women were to renounce in order to be free to assume more important tasks. The opposition to interior design and decorative style can therefore be interpreted as a material practice of the 1960s concept of equality.

Cultural radicalism rejected the decorative style. The utopian interior decoration schemes of the 1960s, however, continued to be characterized by a feature derived from the bourgeois home. By this I am referring to the softness and luxurious comfort typical of the utopian furniture, and visions brought about by this new trend in the history of design. This intertwining of the hard technological mode of production and soft tactility is distinctive of the high-profile interior design utopias of the 1960s. Examples include the plastic and fibre-glass made, yet, thoroughly upholstered living spaces and furniture, such as the *Visiona 69* installation by Joe Colombo, Verner Panton's polyurethane seating system from 1970, Gaetano Pesce's *Up* or the *Sacco* seating unit by Cesare Paolini and Franco Teodoro.

The concept of softness initially harks back the same bourgeois home the utopians were so keen to escape. However, technical advances meant that the new softness was of a different kind than in the earlier generations of furniture. In the nineteenth-century homes softness was created through an abundance of pillows and textiles. In the 1960s this was done through the use of foam plastic, which allowed the creation of furniture that was seemingly severe and upholstered in the distinctive Pop Art-inspired colours of the moment. The materials could nevertheless be extremely soft, indeed softer than the nineteenth-century furniture ever had been. Gender and the question of gender attributes

problematizes this design approach quite extensively. Softness, in this context, has been described as a decidedly feminine quality. A common feature of nineteenth-century art was a woman reclining against soft pillows on a bed or a sofa. Art historian Irene Nierhaus has sought to interpret this soft abundance of textile through the concept of feminization.⁴⁰ The comfort, privacy, idleness and eroticism associated with fabric converge in the figure of the woman. The reclining, often female figures associated with the 1960s utopian interior design style are in fact startlingly reminiscent of this cosily nestled woman. Images of Joe Colombo's *Visiona 69* utopia, for example, often depict a woman in repose. The same imagery continually appears in advertisement of the 2000s.

Softness and abundance are typical of the interior decoration schemes of the 1960s and the 1970s. Both soft black and white leather sofas breathe hedonistic luxury. Shag pile rugs and carpets cover sitting room floors. The idea of comfort as the guiding interior design principle derives from the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment persuasion that comfort reflected the enlightened human beings' ability to shape their own environment. To curl up in oneself and one's emotions has later been seen as a sentimental tendency characteristic of the era. Comfort provided a material framework for this act of curling up in oneself. A similar romantic sentimentality is a feature in the 1960s counter culture, especially the hippy movement. It has sometimes even been described as a form of collective regression, a return to the womb, in stark contrast with the techno-utopias of the time.⁴¹ A good Finnish example of this is Eero Aarnio's *Ball chair*, combining sentimental cosiness with the latest furniture technology. Or as art historian Harri Kalha puts it: 'the masculine dynamism of the plastic ball envelops a feminine inside.'⁴² Seen from this perspective, the utopian design of the *Ball chair* does not represent a new gender neutral, de-sexualised standard. Instead it makes visible another trend of the 1960s, the talk of sexual liberation. Other interior design ideals of the time, too, were encapsulated in the *Ball chair*. It was made of plastic, the material of the future, its colours and shapes were new, and it heralded a change in the body's relationship to furniture and the wider physical environment. The new body language spoke of a break away from the shackles of tradition and the old guard. Good posture spoke of a middle-class mindset, a laid back slouch of

individuality and liberation.⁴³ Curling up inside the womb-like organic softness and rounded shapes shut out the rest of the world.

No great interior design visions and only a few examples of utopian furniture are in evidence in the features covering Finnish homes. Instead the use of colour and the emphasis on informality reflect the breaking of tradition. The features tell of relaxed get-togethers and speak disapprovingly of the home as a place of formal entertaining. This is not to say that the interiors were not stylish. In 1969, one furniture manufacturer's 'stylish and serene home' combined bright orange sofas with otherwise completely white furniture.⁴⁴ Trendy decorators shunned stand-alone furniture. The home features showed fixed seating, shelving and modular furniture, where seating and storage were typically combined through the use of different types of chests. The dismantling of internal walls created open and flowing spaces, and served to highlight the totality of the change underway. An engineer began renovating by selling all the contents of his house; a bank worker cleared away all her old things to make room for a new open plan home.⁴⁵ The use of carpets emphasized the sense of flow. At the turn of the 1970s, yellow and orange were the colours of choice. By the mid-1970s, decorators had increasingly turned to warm brown and fresh green hues.

Naturally more radical styles also featured, but were confined to the turn of the 1970s and the homes of the trendsetters. A student at the Helsinki University of Art and Design decorated his home with strong colours and minimal furniture. One host liked to entertain his friends on a shag pile rug spread on the floor. Large-scale art works given by friends, well-stocked bookcases and a stereo set all emphasized the intellectual and unconventional atmosphere. The host's Afghan hound added to the laid-back furriness.⁴⁶ The utopian design ideal is most clearly visible in the individual furniture choices, repeated from home to home and from magazine issue to magazine issue. Artek furniture, Yrjö Kukkapuro's Karuselli and Saturnus chairs and Eero Saarinen's Tulip chair and table with its variations, were signs through which the reader was taught to recognise the modern interior. This same function was performed by Marimekko textiles.

THE MODERN UNCOVERED AS HEDONISM

The form of radical design hedonism I described above was by nature too utopian to be useful for application in everyday life. The turn of the 1970s was nevertheless the age of hedonism. This was an era that glorified freedom and all kinds of pleasures.

In the 1960s, Finns were more affluent than ever before, the development continuing through the 1970s. Purchasing power improved and became more evenly distributed thanks to progressive taxation and wage policies based on solidarity. Differences in purchasing power between the urban and rural areas began to level off.⁴⁷ Another significant development was the huge increase in supply and marketing activity. Consumption became the phenomenon that interested sociologists and cultural researchers of the time. Many cultural critics, among them Jean Baudrillard, Pierre Bourdieu and Herbert Blumer, who published their writing on consumption and fashion in the 1960s and 1970s, are classics at the beginning of the twenty-first century. So are the critics of consumer culture, the first among them the American Vance Packard, who launched the debate on disposable culture as early as 1961.

Being part of the new consumer culture was no longer an ascetic necessity but increasingly a playful enjoyment of things that for previous generations had been unthinkable luxurious. Luxury has always been associated with physical pleasure, fullness, warmth, comfort and idleness. Luxury is usually difficult to attain, it requires wealth and social standing, and a place where it can be practiced and enjoyed. Luxury is by nature elusive; once achieved, it loses its novelty value.⁴⁸ In the 1970s Finland luxury continued to be a novelty for many. Such pioneers as the package holiday magnate Kalevi Keihänen, furniture seller Tauno Korhonen, and direct marketing guru Kalle Anttila lead Finns into a new age of consumerism.

Magazine features from the era suggest that hedonism in the Finnish home found its culmination in the swimming pool and the pool-side bar. The Finnish pool boom can perhaps best be described as shallow, since the oil crisis of 1973 soon made the swimming pool unfashionable. Pools appeared in interior decoration magazines at the turn of the 1970s, the first advertisement appearing in *Kaunis koti* in 1966. A home with a pool was an adult holiday paradise, complete with a pool-side bar and

palm tree wallpaper, perfect for drinks and perhaps a game of billiard or table tennis. This ideal was imported from the USA where pools had acquired a strong image as luxury products. It was seized by *Avotakka*, who used the pool motif for its launch. Its first issue in 1967 featured a Swedish home with a swimming pool fitted in the living room. The magazine cover portrayed the owner's daughters happily splashing around in the water.⁴⁹ Domestic examples were somewhat more difficult to find but by 1969 the readers were already able to acquaint themselves with a couple of detached and terraced house homes with basement pools. The features emphasized the poolroom as an area where both adults and children came to enjoy themselves. The portrayals of grown-ups playing and splashing around subverted the serious and responsible adult norm. No reference was made to the pool as a luxury, despite a 92 square meter sauna being a rarity in Finland at the time. This choice of topic was a clear departure from the sensible home decorating line taken by the editors of *Kaunis koti*. Faced with competition, however, even *Kaunis koti* had to give in to the hedonist temptation and so it presented the swimming pool to the readers as a modern source of recreation in 1970. As part of her essay on Swedish swimming pools, the ethnologist Gunilla Kjellman has spoken of the necessity of presenting luxury as an essential in order to have expensive products become part of the middle class lifestyle.⁵⁰ This explains why the health benefits and general recreational opportunities offered by swimming were emphasized in the marketing, rather than the luxury status of the pool itself. Pure hedonistic enjoyment was not morally acceptable. In line with this tradition, *Kaunis koti* wrote in 1970:

Regular bathing and, more specifically, swimming is not just enjoyable and valuable but often important for our health. Thanks to the buoyancy of our bodies, all our organs are made lighter when we are immersed in water and many ailments have been known to vanish within a short time. [...] A swimming pool can no longer be considered a luxury and should these days be seen as a source of health and refreshment. Often public swimming facilities may not be available or local waterways may suffer from pollution, making swimming an unpleasant experience indeed. Despite our many lakes and extensive shoreline, the opportunities for swimming in our country are often very limited.⁵¹

The magazines now presented swimming pools with pool-side bars in apartments as well as in detached and semi-detached houses. Pool-side bars formed their own distinct field of social interaction that departed from the traditional bourgeois forms of socializing. The bar was relaxed and easy-going but not at all radical. If anything, it belongs to the same sphere of luxury as the swimming pool. In the Finnish context a dead pine bar was the height of luxury. It did not refer to American casinos or Parisian nightclubs, but Lapland and its untamed wilderness.⁵² A dead pine bar represented sturdy, masculine luxury. The magazine features tended to show the host, mixing drinks for his gathered guests. In many homes in the 1970s the bar became a part of the kitchen in an act of domestication.

Modernity had an uneasy relationship with luxury. On the one hand, efficient production methods and recognition of the needs of the individual were both part of the modern ideal, bringing luxury within the reach of many. On the other hand, the enjoyment and sedentary lifestyle associated with luxury were the opposites of modern efficiency and rationality. In Finland traditional values of thrift and hard work, added to the criticism as they were incompatible with the notion of consumption for pleasure.⁵³ For the political left, consumption was inextricably linked to criticism of the bourgeois lifestyle and the capitalist production system. After all, the modern also implied fashion and commercialism. In the modern world fashion and change are givens everyone must keep up with. Fashion replaced good taste as a decision-making tool. The concept of fashion broadened both socially and in terms of its content. Once preserved for the upper classes, fashion now belonged to the many, gradually spreading to more walks of life. Being fashionable was no longer a guarantee of distinction as being distinctive came to be a function within fashion. The continual improvements to the production processes of consumer goods and improved income levels meant that fashion was available in a range of prices simultaneously. The democratization of fashion meant that when it came to taste, power was beginning to transfer from the elite to the masses. This was reflected, in part, by the critical voices heard in the debate on consumerism. Words such as commercial, inauthentic, pretentious, and disposable were in public use to describe consumer culture, and following fashion betrayed a lack of discernment. The elite



At the end of the 1960s, the hedonism of Finnish home culminated in a swimming pool. Hedonism and luxury were not commonly accepted consumer models, though. Health aspects and the innocent joy of children were easier to feature. The basement pool in a terraced house in Jyväskylä. The recently launched Blow chair was a very popular object in the interior magazines of the year: *Avotakka* 8/1969.

considered the masses and the upstarts, who were just beginning to develop a taste for consumerism, to be guilty of this type of consumption. Package holidays and dead pine bars were the targets of the withering scorn of the elite. This line of thinking, of course, presumed an existence of the enlightened elite, engaging in consumption on the basis of careful deliberation and good taste. Journalist Mirja Sassi offered the following criticism on consumer culture in *Helsingin Sanomat* at the end of 1971:

Luckily, it now looks as though people's social consciences are waking up to and turning against our reckless desire for material possessions. Those who are most honest are prepared to admit that the shopping frenzy is merely a substitute used to disguise an inner sense of insecurity and inability to make contact with those around them. [...] None of this is to say that the middle class consumer masses, still firm in their wide-eyed belief that material things really will bring them happiness, or the nouveau riche upstarts, just beginning to get a taste for them, won't still dance to the tune of commercialism and advertising; their goal being the so-called higher living standard, their role models those they have always been accustomed to looking up to.⁵⁴

It is of course true to say that the cultural and social shift of the 1960s and 1970s brought about changes to the make-up of the elite, the homogenous educated elite and its concept of good taste both ceasing to exist. Changes to the Finnish educational system meant that the new middle class, often with rural and working class roots, no longer automatically assimilated into the old elite or assumed its values, but created new ones instead. Through its consumption habits the working class assumed more middle class characteristics. The significance of popular culture as a source of role models increased.

HEDONISM IN EVERY HOME

Luxury had arrived in the Finnish horizon of expectation and was quickly becoming a mass phenomenon. In reality many were left out. Finland in the 1970s was a land of home savers, where children wore their siblings' hand-me-downs and herring and offal were popular everyday cooking ingredients. This meant that Finland's own particular brand of

hedonism took on very modest forms. It relied on the modern consumer goods industry for its comforts. The tens of thousands of sofa suites that were carried into the newly acquired sitting rooms were a genuine form of everyday hedonism. Their raw materials and production processes bore a close relation to the soft utopian furniture, but their softness had assumed a more bourgeois form. Traditional and bourgeois styles equalled luxury for many, particularly as the radical 1960s began to dip beyond the horizon. The home decoration market expanded and Finns could afford to buy more and more furniture and other decoration items. Styles ranged from modern to nostalgia, a particularly popular style in the 1970s.

The home features in interior design magazines provided a rich line of impulses. The homes told of comfort and cosiness at their best. The magazines were usually somewhat ahead of their time in keeping with the media's own operational logic. Domestic appliances, bathroom suites and colour schemes were upgraded much faster than in homes of the readers. The featured homes were fitted with things like stereos, freezers, saunas and carpets; all luxuries in the 1970s Finland. In 1971, seven in every hundred homes had a freezer and a dishwasher was owned by only one per cent of households. The freezer was fast becoming more commonplace, due mostly to the educational line assumed also by the home features. Almost all new kitchens featured by the magazines in the 1970s boasted a freezer and, indeed, by 1976 already forty per cent of all households had one. A dishwasher was not publically represented as a similar necessity. By 1976, still only five per cent of households had one.⁵⁵ The television and the sofa, by now an inseparable two-some, had already confirmed their position as essential comforts. This received little coverage in the magazines, however. The educated classes had misgivings about the television and in 1966 *Kaunis koti* still featured an article titled 'How best to deal with your ugly television set'. Homes featured in the magazines in the 1960s often had the TV positioned away from the sitting room, in the private quarters such as the library or the family room.⁵⁶ By the 1970s, however, the television had established its position in people's everyday, even the home features now displaying it in the sitting room bookcase, often side-by-side with the stereo.⁵⁷ The featured family could now comfortably gather round the TV in the sitting room.

The ethnologist Orvar Löfgren and sociologist Mike Featherstone have spoken of the aesthetization of the everyday, which assigns increasing value to material goods, their quality and the order in which they are presented. In the home, this signified an increase in the activities aimed at the domestic environment such as renovating, decorating, and even collecting. The interior decoration magazines had their share in promoting it by communicating interior decoration as a natural and self-evident part of life. A reader of home features was constantly able to compare representations of their own life against representations of the lives of others. Elsewhere in the magazine they were given tips on improvements and upgrades. Critics of consumption saw this as manipulation. The ethnologist Åke Daun has critically argued that commercial interfaces reinforce the illusion of the home and home decorating activity as representing opportunities for the expression of individual freedom. Löfgren offers a multi-faceted analysis, pointing out that the rise of the domestic culture cannot be directly attributed to the enlightenment debate of the twentieth century. In this ideal the home is seen at the very core of society or the penetration of commercialism, but Löfgren sees it instead as the opening up of a whole new set of experiences for people who had previously lacked the necessary mental and financial resources to enjoy them.⁵⁸ Comfort, luxury, and a beautiful home began to exert a powerful pull and the commercial sector, with the product providers, were swift in their response.

In architecture and design the postmodern breakdown of the Great Narratives began in the 1970s. Similar developments were also taking place in fashion. The concept of one fashion for all age groups and social classes vanished in the course of the 1960s and the 1970s. Clothes became a means to expressing one's personality.⁵⁹ The home decoration narrative also unravelled, its disintegration visible in the homes featured on the pages of the interior design magazines. The magazines no longer offered glimpses into the homes of the taste experts and the university educated middle classes, instead turning to stewardesses, the acting professionals and ad agency copywriters. The magazines no longer served the old elite, but a new group of consumers, both Bourdieu and Featherstone have characterized as the core of the new consumer citizens.⁶⁰ This group was engaged in the production of symbols in

domains producing and interpreting a world superseding the modern rational project.

The use of celebrities led to more complex portrayals of the home and the home decoration ideals. Many of the homes were opulent, ornamental, and nostalgic; but the ideals of rationality and informality also continued to be communicated. Individual items and the effort that had gone into securing them were particularly highlighted. The effort engendered a sense of ownership and affection for the objects. A newly crowned beauty queen decorated her home sensibly and calmly; one of the home's key features being a pair of cheap and cheerful lamps she had gone into a lot of effort to find. An MP festooned his home with large-patterned wallpaper in gold; the centrepiece of the home was a display of family photographs. A couple of writers underlined their unconventional lifestyle by declaring their love of all things kitsch. A sense of emerging internationalism emanated from the home of a travel agency director, where the most spectacular pieces had been acquired on travels abroad. The home of a furniture seller expressed a new sense of luxury, the only sour note the bar that had taken so long in arriving that the whole idea had begun to seem boring.

The homes of actors, TV stars and beauty queens featured chandeliers, retro wallpaper, baroque pieces, ruched net curtains and brass beds, in breach of both good taste and the modernist ideal. These interiors were no longer subjected to the educational approach. Home decoration objects and materials now formed a backdrop to the featured celebrity. Topics like record deals, recent book releases and relationships were all covered alongside. Despite these changes the home remained centre stage. One feature after another emphasized the home's importance to its inhabitants and the trouble that had gone into ensuring that its décor reflected them, their hopes and dreams. Individuality, although always valued in home decoration, now became an ideal more important than either functionality or beauty. As the featured homes and personalities grew more diverse, so did their expressions. The uniform ideal was replaced by the freedom to choose the individual, the unusual, and even the luxurious.

Translation: Käännös-Aazet Oy/Liisa Muinonen-Martin

NOTES

- 1 'Kaija Aarikka asuu auringon puolella' [Kaija Aarikka – Life on the Sunny Side], *Avotakka* 3/1978.
- 2 Tennilä 1999, p. 203.
- 3 Juntto 1990, p. 263, p. 410. Seen from an international perspective, Finland's transition to industrial and urban lifestyles took place late and very rapidly. In 1950, approximately fifty per cent of the population made their living from agriculture. The corresponding figure for England was five per cent and for Sweden twenty-one per cent. In 1975 only twelve per cent of Finns made their living from forestry and agriculture (Alestalo 1980, table 3.2.)
- 4 Translates as Beautiful Home.
- 5 Translates as Home Hearth.
- 6 Sarantola-Weiss 2003. See also Åker 1998, p. 27; Livingstone 1996, p. 320, Blumler & Gurevitch 1996, p. 122. Muthesius 2005.
- 7 Foremost Foucault 1972; Certau 1984 and Baudrillard 1996. For a discussion on the discourse of French furniture markets, see Auslander 1996. For Finnish discourse see Sarantola-Weiss 2003.
- 8 *Heroism and the every day* 1994; Saarikangas 2002.
- 9 For a discussion on Finnish interior decoration magazine history, see Sarantola-Weiss 2003.
- 10 Campbell 1987, pp. 91, 92; Barrell et al. 1988; Larsson 1989; Åker 1998; *The Journal of Design History* in 2005 dedicated a whole issue (1/2005) to early twentieth-century home magazines and their means of communication.
- 11 'Rut Brykin ja Tapio Wirkkalan koti' [Home of Rut Bryk and Tapio Wirkkala], *Kaunis koti* 1b/1948.
- 12 Lowenthal 1984, pp. 225–226; Sennett 1977, pp. 259–260.
- 13 Lowenthal 1984, pp. 206–208.
- 14 On the suburban problem in Finland, Roivainen 1999.
- 15 Juntto 1990, Fig. 22.
- 16 *Kodin Kuvalehti*, editorial 13–14/1979.
- 17 This idea of objects and the way in which their order relates to the surrounding world dominates today's research on consumer culture. It is based on the work of Theodor Adorno, Walter Benjamin, Gaston Bachelard, Michel de Certau, Jean Baudrillard, Roland Barthes and Daniel Miller.
- 18 Gibson 1893, p. 215.
- 19 'Talo Silvennoinen' [Silvennoinen House], *Kaunis koti* 5/1965.
- 20 Brown 1990, p. 15, p. 41, p. 43; Tiersten 1996, p. 18.
- 21 Gronow 1997, p. 101; Campbell 1987, pp. 153–160; Auslander 1996, pp. 183–187, p. 195.
- 22 'Mona-Lisa ja Pauli Pursiainen' [Mona-Lisa and Pauli Pursiainen], *Avotakka* 8/75. Mona-Lisa Pursiainen was a well-known Finnish athlete.
- 23 *Utrio* 2003, p. 211.
- 24 'Ei verhoja maiseman eteen' [Uninterrupted Views], *Avotakka* 3/1976.
- 25 Soanes 2006.
- 26 Jallinoja 1980, pp. 230–233; Julkunen 1994, p. 200.
- 27 'Pakoon kaupungista' [An Escape from the City], *Avotakka* 11/71.
- 28 'Katto korkealla' [The Highlife], *Avotakka* 10/1974.

- 29 For Finland, see e.g. Kolbe 1988.
- 30 'Maipissa on rakentajan vikaa' [Maippi Discovers Her Inner Builder], *Avotakka* 6/77; 'Me maalaiset' [Us Country Pumpkins], *Avotakka* 10/1975; 'The Fantastic Home of Actress Anna-Liisa Ruotsi from the film Katapultti', *Avotakka* 6/1971.
- 31 Kortteinen 1982; Jokinen and Saaristo 2002, pp. 174–177.
- 32 *Talo ja koti* p. 2, p. 3.
- 33 'Pitkän tähtäimen koti' [Home for the Long Haul], *Kaunis koti* 2/1964.
- 34 Sarantola-Weiss 2003; 'Leena Rousekin toivekoti' [Leena Rousek's Dream Home], *Avotakka* 9/1977.
- 35 Mäenpää and Mäenpää 1953, p. 204.
- 36 Karisto 2005, p. 14.
- 37 'Miltä Tamminiemessä nyt näyttää' [A New Look for Tamminiemi], *Avotakka* 10/1974.
- 38 Relander 2004, p. 154.
- 39 For an extensive discussion on femininity and consumption see de Grazia and Furlough 1996; On decorativity Troy 1996, p. 116.
- 40 Nierhaus 1999; Kalha 2003.
- 41 Möller 1981; Sembach et al. 1990, Chapter 3. See also Campbell 1987 on sentimentality.
- 42 Kalha 2003.
- 43 Featherstone 1991; Bourdieu 1984, p. 370.
- 44 'Rauhallinen ja kodikas' [Calm and cosy], *Avotakka* 8/1969.
- 45 'Talo Merimatti' [Merimatti House], *Avotakka* 2/1971; '29 tarkoin käytettyä neliötä' [Great use of 29m²], *Avotakka* 6/1977.
- 46 'Vanhassa talossa Katajanokalla' [At an old house in Katajanokka], *Avotakka* 3/1967.
- 47 For a discussion on everyday life and consumer culture in the 1960s Finland see Peltonen et al. 2003.
- 48 Berry 1994, Chapter 1.
- 49 *Avotakka* 1/1967.
- 50 For a discussion on the rise of the private pool in Sweden see Kjellman 1993 and Svensson 2002.
- 51 'Yksityisen uima-altaan suunnittelu ja rakentaminen' [Planning and building your own private pool], *Kaunis koti* 3/1970.
- 52 'Missä kasakka lepää' [Where the Cossack rests], *Avotakka* 2/1974.
- 53 Heinonen 1998.
- 54 'Muistosanat huonolle maulle' [Eulogy to bad taste], *Helsingin Sanomat* 6.2.1972.
- 55 Tennilä 1995; Pantzar 2000.
- 56 'Koti, jolla on kahdet kasvot ja monta ilmettä' [A home with two faces and many guises]; *Kaunis koti* 8/67; 'Rauhallinen ja kodikas' [Homely and calm], *Avotakka* 9/69.
- 57 'Me maalaiset' [Us country pumpkins], *Avotakka* 10/1975; 'Ammattikalustajallakin on sisustuspulmia' [Even the professionals have problems with decoration], *Avotakka* 2/1975; 'Kotimme on keskivertokoti' [Our home is average], *Avotakka* 4/72.
- 58 Löfgren 1993, p. 61, p. 62; Featherstone 1991, chap. 5; Daun 1980, p. 265.
- 59 Hiesinger ym 1993, p. 277; Woodham 1997, p. 1911; Breward 1995, p. 194, p. 195; Featherstone pp. 32–34.
- 60 Bourdieu 1984, pp. 354–371; Featherstone 1991, Chapter 5.

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INSURED HOME AS THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY

Private Insurance and Everyday Economics in Finland
during the 1950s

Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen

In the contemporary West the idealized picture of the domestic sphere relates home to love, safety and a harmonious life. Bad things and dangers lie in the world outside: stress at the workplace, traffic accidents, or the fear of being robbed on a street at night, worries of unemployment, not to mention climate change, or nuclear war. As long as one stays within the four walls of the house, one is safe. The idealized family home is a 'haven in a heartless world'. In the same vein, life at home is presumed to be without the need for continuous calculation: it is based on informality, routines, trust, and affectual bonds. In contrast, public life is characterized by the need for formal agreements, standardized measurements of achievements, and the omnipresent monetary valuation in general.

Of course, in practice it is characteristic of the capitalist mode of life that a household is related to the market sphere in multiple ways. Not only is it the norm that at least one of the family members actively participates in the workforce and thus creates economic value, but in addition, the private or intimate sphere outside of the public life of work or politics is maintained by consumption. As Daniel Miller has argued, much of everyday consumption is about reproducing intimate relationships: through consumption, we are able to show our devotion to the ones we love.¹

In this context, what makes private insurance interesting is that it relativizes the ideal distinction between the public and the private spheres. It helps to commodify things that are otherwise not deemed to belong to the market sphere: life, health, death, responsibility, and the value of individual possessions. Insurance renders visible the monetary value of the things and relationships at home which are primarily seen as singular and not exchangeable; these are connected to population level averages and calculations of value. As an economic technology, insurance has an ambivalent position somewhere between production and consumption. It does not produce any new objects, and instead of being directly related to using or acquiring new things, it is first of all a means of preserving things as they are. Furthermore, while insurance protects the economic value that is at risk, in addition and as importantly, it is a means to increasing this value, to improving a household's economic future.

In the following I analyse the promotion of private insurance in Finland during the 1950s. During this period welfare ideals started to gain a foothold in Finland, while at the same time a full-fledged consumer culture began to take shape. Related to both factors, the logic behind and the reasons for insuring oneself took form as early as the 1950s in a way that did not change markedly later on. This chapter focuses on promotional materials – advertisements, customer magazines, brochures and leaflets – distributed by insurance companies in the 1950s.² The data can help to identify different rationalities and justifications behind economic conduct. My main interest is in how insurance was presented in the advertisements as a tool for governing private economies, and how people were encouraged to become engaged in voluntary forms of insurance. Homes played a central role in various ways. Firstly, the physical spaces of home and the objects there were themselves worth insuring. Secondly, when insurance was promoted as an efficient form of saving, purchasing a privately-owned house was often depicted as the ultimate material goal. Most importantly, homes physically framed loving and responsible relationships between family members, and it was these relationships that were worth insuring more than anything else.

I am not primarily interested in the semiotic aspects of representing homes. Of course descriptions of homes and families in the advertisements showed what ways of living were normal or ideal. At the same time, the adverts also normalized the objects of dreams, which they

presented. Nonetheless, it is important to see the texts and pictures in the insurance company brochures also as performative tools for mobilizing the economic subjects and activating them.³ Activating in what sense? Not only should the potential customers buy the marketed product, but in addition they should adopt the specific mode of managing private lives and of being productive that was promoted in the brochures. In order to be able to live in a prudent and rational way, people should actively reflect upon who they are as individuals and as economic actors. In this way they would gain understanding concerning what their responsibilities are in regard to their family and the community at large.

Some of the advertisers were joint-stock companies; others mutual insurance companies. However, the difference between these types had surprisingly little effect on the contents of their advertising brochures. Of course, the mutual companies who had their primary support in the countryside and were epitomized by Aura, tended to emphasize rural questions. Of the more urban companies Kansa was a characteristically working class mutual insurance company that had its backing in the labour movement; whereas a company such as Pohjola, targeted a more middle class audience. Still, the contents of the different company campaigns varied little in regard to the role of the home and family.

As a rule, the advertisements played with contrasts: instead of only talking about either happiness or threat, they introduced both themes at the same time. The underlying assumption was that things are good now, and one seeks to keep them that way. The readers were addressed as individuals who know what they want and can achieve it. An insured future was also presented with a general aura of carefree and happy existence, with unproblematic human relations within the family: a smiling mother with children playing games around her; sometimes the father was visible as well, perhaps reading a newspaper in an armchair, or sitting with a baby on his lap. In contrast, potential dangers became visible in pictures of adults in a sickbed or sad looking children. The pictures were not only of realistic situations of illness; sometimes the threatening forces were presented with metaphors such as dark shadows around the house, or with images of power that one should guard against, such as volcanoes. With insurance the policyholders could secure their economy and, ultimately, make their dreams come true. The general public's desires were also specified in pictures representing privately

owned family houses and education for children. The sense of security that was available could be also exemplified by a modern, independent woman sitting relaxed in an easy chair and reading a novel.

INSURANCE AND WELFARE IN FINLAND AFTER THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The key components in motivating people to use the strictly financial tool of insurance were loving relationships between spouses, children, and family members, which normally are not thought of in terms of economic value. But it is not only the monetary mediation with insurance that linked the sphere of home with the public life. In Finland of the 1950s, love for one's family implied responsible management of private economy. According to the insurers, insurance was the perfect tool for this management. What is more, it was also a tool that connected the concern for national welfare to private household's aspirations to good life.

In Western Europe, especially the Nordic countries, the rise of the welfare state significantly affected the forms of economic subjectivity after the Second World War. The aim of social security institutions was to develop positive preconditions for happiness. The institutions would guarantee basic security for each and every citizen, and simultaneously, aim to activate these citizens so that they produce economic value.⁴ Money has been the basic tool of measuring welfare: traditionally, the amount of welfare has been judged by measuring disposable capital, along with the level of education, mortality rates, and other health indicators. Both the stated ends and the means of the private insurance business and those of the social security system were quite similar. Thus it should probably not come as a surprise that the rapid development of social insurance in Finland from the late 1950s onwards did not hamper the parallel success of the private insurance business, which has continually grown until the 2000s.

In the 1950s Finland was still a predominantly rural but rapidly modernizing nation. Only a few of the institutional arrangements that later came to characterize the Finnish version of Nordic welfare thinking were in place. Up until the 1960s the Finnish social security system

lagged far behind other Western European and especially Scandinavian countries. This was changing fast: in 1956 the Parliament passed a new law regarding national pensions, which for the first time made it possible for the unemployed or the retired to live on payments they received from the state.⁵ The growth of social security was most intensive during the 1960s and 1970s: ‘calculated in real value, in Finland, the welfare expenditure per capita rose nine-fold between 1950 and 1980.’⁶

THE INSURANCE AGENT

In principle, a private insurance is a contract between a person and the other policyholders who are represented by the insurance company. In practice, to have insurance in the 1950s meant not only an abstract arrangement with other people, but usually it implied an actual mediation by the insurance agents, who in the promotional material were always men. These men went from door to door, trying to persuade people to insure themselves. They distributed the insurance company brochures so that people could have a closer look at the details in their own time. The leaflets should be seen in this practical context: they contained the same information the agent delivered orally. Whereas the agent could introduce the product marketed, the brochure for its part explained what the agent was talking about. Each acted as support for the other. Of course, the good-looking brochures in part helped to make the agent seem respectable, as a representative of a well-established company. In addition, sometimes the pictures in the leaflets themselves emphasized the steady foundations of the insurance companies by showing the imposing buildings that were their headquarters.

Assessing the everyday expenses of a family was difficult. Therefore the agent was supposed to help to measure what was worth insuring in the household and to evaluate the real need for money, either for the main wage earner or the rest of the family. The agent identified different risks and possibilities for each household member. Usually in the final pages of the brochure there was a passage on ‘what should be calculated with the insurance agent’ In a leaflet by Suomi-yhtiö the following estimations were recommended: firstly, how much money the family needs for daily necessities, a calculation that should be done separately for

each family member; secondly, how much income the already earned capital will guarantee; and thirdly, how the remaining and lacking amount can be assured with life insurance.⁷

The contents of the leaflets themselves make it clear that the customers did not find the importance of the insurance agent's work self-evident. In many brochures there were separate motivational sections telling why one should receive the agent. For instance, a leaflet by the company Pohja made it a point to emphasize that the agent is not an intruder but a guest offering his services. 'He comes to help you to prepare an evaluation of how much money is needed during a time of illness or how great the expenses would be for your loved ones, if in time you passed.'⁸ In another leaflet the same company talked about economic planning and the advertisement ended with a plea in italics: *'Please let our company's agent help you to prepare your budget.'*⁹

Obviously, the intervention by the insurance agent and the brochures constituted a set of trials¹⁰ and breaks in routines. The consultation formed a new understanding of the household as an economic unit. Moreover, each family member's current and future incomes and expenses were planned during the consultation. Thus the insurance agent made the policyholders 'speak the truth' about themselves. The trial did not only concern the family because the agent's ability to enter was also put to the test: he had to attract the family's interest and gain their trust. As a reward for passing the trial of selling insurance, the agent would earn his living. In the end the insurance itself was tested: could it be of any use?

The ambivalence of the insurance agent's role is clear. On the one hand, he appeared to be giving a helping hand in making the future of the family more secure, and thus should have been regarded as a welcome guest. On the other hand, he was an intruder who demanded money for the company he represented. Through logic reminiscent of what Michel Serres describes as parasitic,¹¹ the roles of the host and the guest and the attitudes of hospitality and hostility became intertwined. Was the agent just trying to fool poor people into giving their money away for nothing? Or was he beginning a positive circle where the agent helps the families to help themselves, and thus he helps himself to earn a living; while simultaneously helping the company to make a profit, which in turn makes the price of insurance go down, which again helps the family?¹²

THREATS AT HOME: FIRE, ACCIDENTS AND THEFT

What then were the things and events that the household should insure? With the relatively undeveloped welfare system of the 1950s Finland, health was the predominant economic concern. Nonetheless, homes and possessions would also be protected by insurance against theft or fire. In the words of a Pohjola advertisement: 'Responsible housekeeping implies in every household, securing the property from the dangers that threaten it.'¹³

Insurance reconstituted the home as an economic space. Long after they had been bought as commodities, now furniture, appliances, and even household animals were looked at through the lenses of monetary measurement. In addition, it was in homes that most accidents would take place. When the leaflets addressed homes as spaces, they talked about imminent dangers in everyday life. For instance, faulty stoves, flues, apparatuses used for oil heating, or forgotten flat-irons could trigger a fire. Electric devices could cause accidents. The kitchen with all its appliances appeared dangerous in the brochures, not only to women but especially to children and 'the clumsy heads of the family'.¹⁴ It was also possible to fall down and hurt oneself because of folds in carpets or slippery floors, or because instead of using a stepladder one uses a chair to reach high places. The most exposed of all were children, who could pour boiling water on themselves or play with matches, or be careless in traffic or get their hands on forbidden medicament.

Going outside of the home was also dangerous according to the insurance adverts. Not only was insurance necessary for a traveller and his luggage, but normal everyday life could also cause plenty of unforeseen trouble according to the advertisements for liability insurance. Most adverts for them consisted of lengthy lists of threatening situations and relations. Thus, in addition to reminding their readers of the economic importance of property, insurance advertisements tried to bring about a heightened awareness of the possible unintended consequences of individual actions:

Danger lurks everywhere. The possibility of damaging events is always and everywhere present both for a family and a private person. For

example, one can cause damage to other people when travelling, when on holiday, when visiting friends or shopping etc.¹⁵

In general, the promotion of private insurance operated with a double motive. On the one hand, it was clearly the aim to create and sustain a heightened sense of insecurity, thus creating a need for insurance products; on the other hand, the insurance companies offered a means by which the hazards of the fundamentally insecure world could be controlled to an extent. Potential customers were to understand that there is a commercial product with which something can be done both to minimize the costs of possible change and to create new surplus value. The result would be a new sense of security: life would be in control, notwithstanding the fact that dangers lurk everywhere.

THE MOST VALUABLE PROPERTY YOU HAVE

Even more important than possessions and physical property was the way health was represented by the adverts as a question of happiness, risk, and economics. In the relatively poor Finnish society of the 1950s the ability to work was valuable to people. The leaflets were directed at people who were dependent on being part of the workforce and therefore dependent on their health. Even an economically independent person would need assistance if faced with disease, accident, or unemployment.

The insurance company Aura stated in an advertisement: 'A healthy person does not often come to reflect on the fact that the ability to work is his or her most valuable property. Also you have the treasure of health.' Of course, the point of saying this was to underscore the dangers that threaten this form of property and to highlight the fact that with the Aura life insurance, one 'finds security right away'.¹⁶ Similarly, in many adverts all through the 1950s, Suomi-yhtiö talked about health as capital, with only slightly differing articulations. One handout began in the following manner: 'The ability to work is the most valuable capital a human being has, and most often it forms an absolutely necessary foundation for his or her livelihood.'¹⁷ In 1956 the same message was stated more bluntly: 'The ability to work is our most valuable property.

For most people, *the ability to work* is also the only property that has significant economic value.' Thus, it is a 'great responsibility' to manage this capital with foresight: 'One has to prepare oneself for the dangers against the ability to work.'¹⁸ In another advertisement, the same point was made with a slightly different nuance regarding young adults:

In an economic sense, every student's quantity of knowledge and skill represents a certain capital. [...] This capital has to be diligently taken care of. It needs to be increased, so that its returns, the future work performances, will be as good as possible.¹⁹

Significantly, the ability to work was pure potential, not necessarily related to any concrete tasks. It was a case of seeing the human being as a source of value, of pure life that through insurance became pure capital. Consequently, insuring oneself became a duty in an elementary economic sense of taking care of wealth.²⁰

FAMILY, CHILDREN, AND THE NATION

Because insurance oriented towards future possibilities, its promotion talked about things and events that did not exist, and perhaps never would. Nonetheless, with the insurance technology, these future occurrences attained a presence in the here and now. The possible occurrences were technically defined as *risks*: they were calculable, they were related to a collective and not to an individual separated from a population, and they were seen as capital.²¹ The promotional material could not, however, use the purified language of insurance mathematics and probability calculus. Instead, the advertisements needed to show the benefits of insurance in actual communicable cases that made it possible to imagine the significance of insurance for the future. Here, the different ways a woman and a man could and were supposed to be present in a family were thematized.

By the middle of the twentieth century, the Nordic ideal of private life had focused on the shared space and the togetherness of the family core.²² The heteronormative standard family presented in the pictures of the advertising leaflets had two children, most often a boy and a girl.

In the advertisements family members became economic entities, and as a technology insurance helped to individualize and analyse their potentials one by one. As a rule, it was the man, as the head of the family, who was supposed to take care of the household's monetary flows. The father's importance was underlined, while at the same time the dependence of children was stressed. In 1959 Fennia-Patria showed young children playing with their father stating the following:

The children in this age have a really enviable position. They live a life of carelessness, hubris and perhaps future dreams. What does a person of that age know of worries and trouble? They are unheard of. They are something that daddy can take care of. Perhaps you yourself have several boys or girls. For their sake we hope that you are not as careless as they are and that you have in good time taken care of securing their future in some way or another.²³

In general, children were prominently featured in the brochures, for at least four reasons: Firstly, of course, they were the ones who would benefit from their parents' willingness to take the insurance. Thus, showing pictures of cute babies or children reading books and playing was meant to enhance the parental sense of responsibility. Secondly, children made visual the very core of thinking behind the insurance ideology because they embody future potential. A further reason for showing young people was that they themselves could be insured. Finally, taking care of the children's education and potential was a contribution to the nation's wealth. For instance, an advertisement by Pohja claimed that the product it marketed, called *The Future Capital*, 'will guarantee that your child will develop into a good citizen.'²⁴ Similarly, in an advert by Kaleva a very young child is building a tower of blocks and the text wonders whether the child is going to become a doctor, engineer, technician, judge, teacher, economist, architect or an agronomist. In the end it declares that 'your aim is to secure your child a place as a citizen who gets along well and who benefits society with his or her labour.'²⁵

Obviously, when it was said to benefit society, private insurance was not only a private issue. In the 1950s, the institutional planning of commercial activities such as bank saving²⁶ or housing²⁷ emphasized the future of families. Behind the concern for families was a more general

1958

KESKINÄINEN
VAKUUTUSYHTIÖ
KALEVA

lääkäri
insinööri
teknikko
tuomari
opettaja
maisteri
ekonomi
arkkihtti
metsänhoitaja
farmaseutti
agronomi

... niin mitä kirjoitatte hänen nimensä eeen 20 vuoden kuluttua

Advertisement by Kaleva Company 1958.

concern for the nation, which became evident in both theoretical and more political writings of the time.²⁸ In the post-war Finland national interest was stressed by private companies. For instance, Pohja explicitly talked about the way insurance money can be spent in ‘the work that constructs our society’:

Insurance institutions are important not only for private households. Namely, national insurance companies are significant financial institutions who invest capital to serve industrial life. In 1950, all investments amounted to approximately 20,000 million [Finnish] marks. In this way both the nation and the people become prosperous – and consequently, so do private citizens.

People have learned to see health insurance also as one of the important pillars of society. For instance, in dispersed families it strengthens a sense of home and responsibility. And of course, the home is the foundation of society.²⁹

Whereas children embodied potential, adults were the ones who were productive presently and needed to be responsible. In addition to thinking about their children, they were encouraged to think about their transformed selves in the future: possibly unemployed, disabled because of an accident, or just elderly. It is worth noticing how the adjectives used for small children, carefree and happy, were also frequently used in reference to the projected old age of the ones who had insured themselves. In a sense, a child's life free of responsibility was a paradise lost by the adults burdened with duties. However, if adults took care of their savings and insured themselves, they could be as carefree as children in their senior years, with no need to carry the responsibility for others' well-being or to be productive anymore.

PRESENCE AND ABSENCE

Private insurance provided a way of acting on the future in the present instead of passively waiting for what fate will bring. This is clear, for example, in the text of a Kansa advertisement that was directed at people living on their own:

Now when you are young [...] you are independent and you get along by your own means – it is *now* that you are in the best position to guarantee sunny days for old age. The evening of your life will be pleasant, if you are independent of others – you can arrange to live in comfort [...].³⁰



'Daddy please don't go..!' Advertisement by Kansa Company 1950s.

The idea of controlling time is also evident in a dramatic leaflet by insurance company Suomi. Contrary to the vast majority of the adverts, this leaflet addressed women. On the front cover a mother looks into a living room. Her husband is sitting in an easy chair in the middle of a modern room, and their son and daughter are playing alongside him



'IF.' Advertisement by Suomi Company 1958.

while he reads the newspaper.³¹ Despite the cosy setting, the text attached begins menacingly with 'IF.', two dots meaning that something invisible should be taken into account. What is not present is the potential absence revealed in the next picture on the following page: now the armchair is empty. The children are still playing and the mother is watching, but the centre is not occupied. The text on the second page is lengthened and now it fulfils the menacing message in tandem with the picture: 'IF. we were left alone.'³²

Another advertisement from the year 1958 by the same company, showed in a slightly surprising manner what would happen if the family actually was left alone. This picture shows a happy mother, surrounded by playing children. The absent husband has taken care of the insurance, and the economic well-being of the family is guaranteed even in his absence. What is more, his absence now allows the centre of the home, the armchair, to be occupied by the content wife. This time the presumed reader was a man, as the brochure asked: 'What will you leave behind for them?'³³



'If.. we were left alone'. Advertisement by Suomi Company 1958.

Insurance company Salama had a similar campaign representing the family through the potential presence and absence of the father. The advert pictured a family waiting for the father to come home from work. One headline read 'The most important moment of the day' while another said 'They are waiting for you...' In the latter, the text described life in factory communities where once the factory whistles have blown, wives and children anxiously expect the father to come home. But 'sometimes it happens that not *everyone* is among those who return...' How will the family arrange its economy, if it happens to them? The practical answer was given on the next page where a story of a fictional worker named Kalle Koivunen was told. This passage reveals some of the hopes and dreams that were deemed important by the insurance companies:

Kalle Koivunen was a skilled labourer and he had a good salary. But he also had a family – a wife and two children, and more could be coming. He did not have blind faith concerning the future. He knew that his family's future depended on his thrifty ways and his capability to run his business. Kalle Koivunen had plans. He wanted a small detached house, and he and his wife agreed that the children had to be educated. This required that Kalle Koivunen would remain healthy and be able to earn in his current manner for the next twenty years, at least. Of this he could not be sure. Therefore, he consulted an agent from Salama, and asked him to prepare an insurance plan that would match his situation and aims exactly.³⁴



'What will you leave behind for them?' Advertisement by Suomi Company 1958.

The adverts thematized many modes of relating to possible future occurrences: the waiting for the absent father to come home; making the future dreams present in the activities here and now; and of course, claiming that with insurance one can control the movement between presence and absence. The texts and pictures appealed to the parental

sense of responsibility and helped to constitute it. This is underscored in an advertisement directed at housewives:

Has your husband got a life insurance? Acquiring one is doubtlessly one of the duties that he has to fulfil for you and your children. But your duty is to make sure that he really has done this. After all, this is part of a natural and necessary sense of duty. Do not consider this question intruding, and do not let any false discretion prevent you from finding out. Love is not the only requirement in marriage, *another precondition for happiness is a jointly planned, secured future*. In addition, you should remember that you do not pose this question only because of yourself, but above all, because of your children, the little ones who you love the most in the world and in whose fragile hands the future of this country is.³⁵

In an illuminating way this advertisement shows how different types of responsibilities could be fulfilled with insurance:³⁶ the man's duty was to secure the economic well-being of the family, but it was the wife who had to make sure he does this. Furthermore one did not only need to take care of oneself, the children, or the marriage, but also the future of the country. In the text that followed, it was emphasized that no one can foresee their time of death. Yet, with the insurance indemnities, the future of the wife and the children would be secured. 'How many a poor working woman has blessed the vigour and solicitude of her partner, when she with the children has been able to enjoy the husband's tender care, even after his death.'³⁷

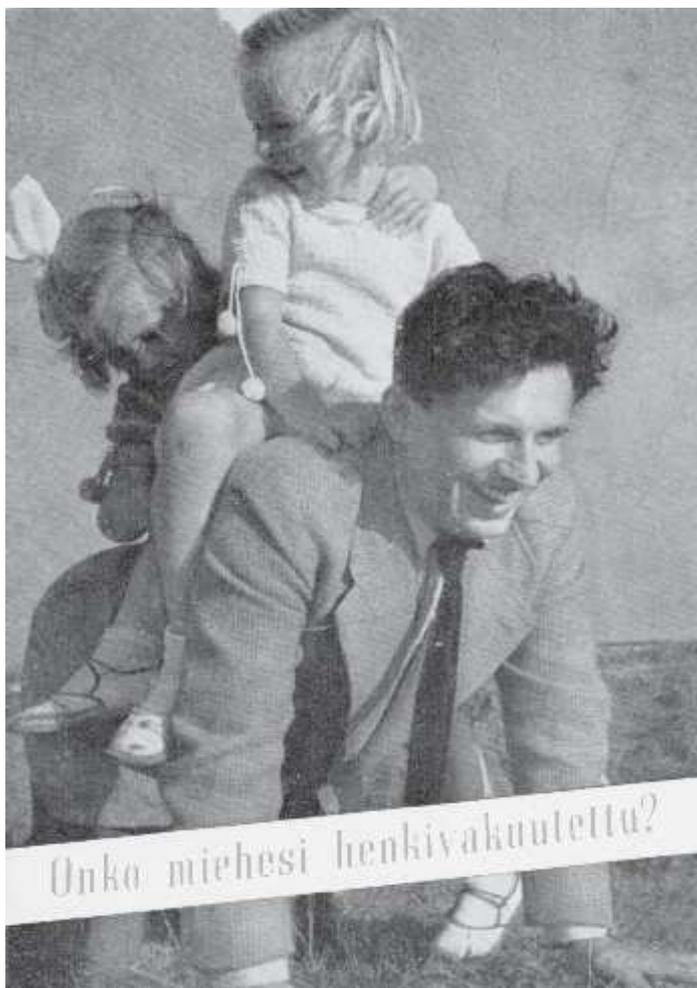
These examples encapsulate some tensions inherent in the 1950s insurance advertisements. Only one of the parents could occupy the central place of the home at a time. And the father as the main breadwinner had the right to take it first. The woman could occupy the position only if her partner was away. Of course, the absence of the husband was the worst possible scenario. Nevertheless, the situation was complicated by the fact that with the help of insurance, the man could make himself completely unneeded. Being responsible by taking care of the family with insurance meant that the future was no longer financially dependent on him even in the case of his death.

Here, the technological character of insurance is underscored. As a tool, insurance consists of 'many delegated actions':³⁸ the head of the



'They are waiting for You...!' Advertisement by Suomi Company 1950.

family can be substituted with an abstract contract and the mediation of an insurance company. In this way, insurance is '*congealed* labor', it is a way to 'encounter hundreds, even thousands, of absent makers who are remote in time and space yet simultaneously active and present'.³⁹



'Has your husband got a life insurance?' Advertisement by Suomi company 1950.

More generally, insurance was presented as a tool with which to *share* responsibility. This idea was emphasized in many slogans: 'Economic security is within the reach of You too, if you only transfer your responsibility to us.'⁴⁰ 'Your children's future occupies your thoughts. They are a big responsibility for you. Of this responsibility, Suomi-yhtiö is

willing to carry a part!⁴¹ The promotional material tried to educate people to think that it is responsible conduct to transfer one's responsibilities to the insurance company.

Private insurance enabled people to *show* their responsibility by way of *diminishing* their responsibility: insuring oneself, the family and possessions was thus a moral act, a way of demonstrating care. At the same time, it was a transfer of responsibility to other policyholders; a transfer mediated by the insurance industry. All at once, insurance was both about creating possibilities for responsibility and about socializing responsibility.⁴²

CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that educating the public in relation to the ideals of well-being has not been the privilege of state institutions. Private insurance companies tried also to engage private individuals, families, and homes as agents of welfare. Studying the promotion of private insurance has also revealed the sense of anxiety, threat, and precariousness, which held sway during the 1950s in Finland. This sense of insecurity has since then been successfully reduced by the welfare state.

Right after the Second World War when the social security system was still relatively weak in Finland, most advertisements and promotional publications for private insurance companies emphasized questions of health. Their tone was set by the threats to life and the fear of poverty. Over the following forty years, with the expansion of the social security system, the risks that threaten life became more extensively insured by the welfare state, and in the promotional material their role diminished subsequently. By the 1980s private insurance would guarantee surplus security, and it was no longer primarily marketed for survival. Towards the end of the twentieth century the asset emphasized by advertisements was 'made-to-measure' insurances.⁴³ Increasingly, the promotion underscored insurance as a form of investment instead of merely a means to controlling risks.⁴⁴ Now, as an investment, insurance was also about *embracing* risks,⁴⁵ even when the insurance companies claimed to offer a secure way of investing money.

All in all, the material I studied here participated in the popular education of the consumers. The ways in which insurance companies marketed their products were only slightly different from those of non-market organizations.⁴⁶ The promotional message of the 1950s insurance companies was both educational and practical: they identified a part of everyday activities that should be paid more attention to, and they also gave practical tips on how to tend to this part. They gave content to the ethos of economic life, while at the same time offering grounds for criticizing current practices. Now people knew how and why to properly plan their economies. Moreover, the messages of the adverts identified many levels on which knowledge could be acquired of oneself as an economic actor: as a money user, as a wage earner and as someone who is responsible for the family's future but also for one's own old age, not to mention the role as a contributor to the national economy.

Basic emotions such as fear and longing for happiness were mobilized by the advertisements to spur activity. This is interesting from the point of view of a general history of economic subjectivity. As Albert Hirschman has shown, the juxtaposition of passions and interests has been central in the birth of the theories of the market.⁴⁷ In trying to mobilize people to insure themselves, the promotion of insurance appealed both to the emotion of feeling insecure and to the interest in taking care of the home economics. Private interests were not played against passions; interests and passions were made to work in the same direction. Significantly, insuring the home was not only a question of self-interest; a sense of responsibility to others was equally important. Of course, this is what the tradition drawing on Max Weber has stressed: economic activities and rationalities cannot be understood without seeing the influence of the basic practical moral orientations that guide them. Markets presuppose morals.⁴⁸

While trying to appeal to pre-existing values, the promotion of private insurance simultaneously reinforced and transformed them: the aim was to give potential customers a new understanding of how a family's economic life is securable against potential hazards and how its consumer dreams could come true. At the same time, the adverts created and stabilized risks and potentialities as objects of concern. Most importantly, the promotional material helped to shape the understanding of the

possible ways of being economically active in regard to the potential customers' own and their families' futures. From the point of view of homes, it is important to note that, evidently, talking about the pure potential that money offered did not suffice for marketing private insurance. Rather, it had to be actualized and located within the family house and the caring relationships between family members. According to the promotion of private insurance in the 1950s, these constituted the foundation for Finnish society.

In Finland of the post-war years concern for the nation-state was an important part of the moral landscape. It was a 'good' that justified various activities both for the insurance companies and for their potential customers. It is interesting that while in the campaigns of the 1950s private insurance was explicitly linked to the national good, in contrast, in the early twenty-first-century, the promotion of private insurance rarely mentions that the insurance companies have a national and global impact. Yet, now more than ever insurance companies are instrumental in making private interests matter on a global scale.⁴⁹

NOTES

- 1 Miller 1998.
- 2 The promotional materials have been located primarily in the archives of the Federation of Finnish Insurance Companies and the Helsinki University Library. In the bibliography there is a list of the insurance companies whose advertisements have been used in the study. The original archive work was done by Mianna Meskus; see also Meskus 2002; Lehtonen and Meskus 2004.
In the analyses I indicate the advertisement or brochure that I refer to in the conventional manner of academic citation, for example 'Suomi 1958'. Some of the advertisements found in the archives do not, however, have indications of the exact year of publication, but as they are grouped by decade in the archives, their approximate time of publication is known, hence markings such as 'Kansa, no date'.
- 3 Miller and Rose 1997.
- 4 For influential programmes which have affected Finnish welfare thinking, see e.g. Kekkonen 1952; Kuusi 1961; Myrdal and Myrdal 1934. See also Helén 2006.
The convergence of private and social insurance hints at a problematic which, unfortunately, cannot be examined in detail in the context of this article. On the differences between private and social insurance in the Finnish context, see Lehtonen and Liukko 2007.
- 5 Häggman 1997, p. 83.
- 6 Häggman 1997, p. 188.
- 7 Suomi 1958.

- 8 Pohja, no date.
- 9 Pohja 1951.
- 10 Lehtonen 2003.
- 11 Serres 1980.
- 12 On the ambivalent role of the insurance agent in the nineteenth century and early twentieth-century in the USA, see Zelizer 1983/1979, pp. 119–147; and in the UK, see McFall 2007.
- 13 Pohjola 1953.
- 14 Fennia-Patria 1953.
- 15 Louhi 1955.
- 16 Aura 1951.
- 17 Suomi-yhtiö 1950.
- 18 Suomi-yhtiö 1956.
- 19 Suomi-yhtiö 1956.
- 20 Ewald 1996, pp. 145–146.
- 21 Ewald 1996, pp. 137–143.
- 22 Frykman and Löfgren 1979; Saarikangas 2002, p. 257.
- 23 Fennia-Patria 1959.
- 24 Pohja, no date.
- 25 Kaleva 1958.
- 26 Lehtonen and Pantzar 2002.
- 27 Saarikangas 2002.
- 28 Kekkonen 1952; Myrdal and Myrdal 1934; see also Pantzar 2000.
- 29 Pohja 1952.
- 30 Kansa, no date.
- 31 It is not by accident that the man is relaxing. The general planning ideal of the time was that outside the home, the man was expected to be active, but the assumption was that at home he would only rest. Saarikangas 1993.
- 32 Suomi-yhtiö 1958.
- 33 Suomi-yhtiö 1958.
- 34 Salama 1950.
- 35 Suomi-yhtiö 1950.
- 36 On the different forms of responsibilities involved in insurance, see Liukko 2005.
- 37 Suomi-yhtiö 1950.
- 38 Latour 1999, p. 189.
- 39 Latour 1999, p. 189. Latour's idea is that a specific technological object, such as a hammer or a car or a PC, always holds together; folded in it, action from many actants that are not contemporary to the event where one is using it: 'it keeps folded heterogeneous temporalities', and similarly, it 'holds in place quite heterogeneous spaces'; Latour 2002, p. 249.
- 40 Aura 1951.
- 41 Suomi-yhtiö 1955.
- 42 See Baker 2002, pp. 33–34.
- 43 See Meskus 2002; Lehtonen and Liukko 2007.
- 44 Lehtonen and Liukko 2007.
- 45 Baker and Simon 2002.
- 46 See Heinonen 1998; 2001; Kuusterä 1995, Ollila 1993, Pantzar 2000, Saarikangas 2002.
- 47 Hirschman 1977.
- 48 Weber 1970. Viviana Zelizer summarizes what she calls the 'inescapable dilemma' of

the insurance industry thus: '[...] in order to survive as a business life insurance was compelled to maximize profits, but profits alone remained a justification too sordid for an institution of its kind. The contradictory trends in its historical development reflect the industry's inner tensions caused by the uneven demands of market and morals.' Zelizer 1983/1979, p. 117.

49 Clark 2000, Miller 2002.

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Keskinäinen Henkivakuutusyhtiö Salama
Keskinäinen Vakuutusyhtiö Kaleva
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DOMESTICATION INTO HETERONORMATIVITY

Figurations of the Queer-Inhabited Home in Finnish
Magazines and Papers between 2002 and 2005

Anna Moring

What happens to the privacy and assumed heterosexuality of the home space when it is portrayed in a magazine as inhabited by lgbtiq¹ subjects? How are lgbtiq-inhabited homes represented in terms of public and private, intimacy and sexuality? Can figurations of the home be used to domesticate² queer subjectivities, and if so, with what consequences, or are the terms queer and home simply irreconcilable?

This essay will focus on representations of lgbtiq-inhabited homes in Finnish popular magazines and papers between 2002 and 2005. I will ask how figurations of the home function in these texts. By figuration I mean the metaphorical use of a concept, in this case the home, which ties it to a specific discourse or set of meanings – an image through which the text is metaphorically able to unite certain discourses or ideals.³ How, for example, is the (heterosexualized) ideal of home (re-)negotiated in the texts? Further, what happens to the queer subject when it is portrayed as being and dwelling at home?

I gathered the research material from the archives of Seta (*Seksuaalinen tasavertaisuus*, Sexual Equality), the main Finnish national lgbtiq organization.⁴ The source material includes 403 articles from 136 magazines. These articles are of varying length, ranging from one paragraph to nine pages. I included only pronounced or named representations of lgbtiq lifestyles (see endnote 4). The selection is limited to texts that

mention explicit identity categories, medical diagnoses or the organization Seta, thus potentially leaving out much of the queer⁵, as well as many articles that describe queer lifestyles but do not categorize them in terms of identity or otherwise use any of the key words. Thus this essay will explain how the home figures in texts that explicitly mention some lgbtiq category, with the reservation that the material excludes other, less articulate or less identity-bound representations of queer subjectivities or cultures.

I will focus on three themes and three quite different sets of discourses that arise from the material. First, I will look at the presence of the home as a background or setting for an article about lgbtiq subjects. Second, I will consider a very specific debate taking place within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland since 2001 and visible in most religious or church-related journals. The debate concerns the consequences of the legalization of domestic partnerships of same-sex couples (so-called registered partnerships) in 2001, and curiously has become centred on the ceremony of blessing a (lgbtiq-inhabited) home. Finally, I will discuss figurations of the home that are not directly related to the home space, but focus on the politics of 'queer(ing) homeland'.

The chapter will ask how different figurations of the home function in the texts. What, for example, is the function of certain home figurations in the Evangelical Lutheran debate, and are they somehow different from functions of figurations found in stories of same-sex parents with children or single homosexual men? Before engaging the texts themselves, however, I will briefly discuss the concept of the home and its connections to heteronormativity, the public/private dichotomy and the heterosexual family ideal.

HOME, PRIVATE SPACE AND HETERONORMATIVITY

Lynda Johnston and Gill Valentine⁶ have noted that the word home is 'often presented as being synonymous with the heterosexual "family" and the ideal of family life'. They analyse the different meanings home acquires in lesbian lives and practices, and describe the various ways in which heteronormativity affects lesbian home-making and being-at-

home, in both the parental home and the so-called lesbian home inhabited by lesbian subjects.

For Johnston and Valentine, home space is never as private as it is thought to be. Being at home and acting out one's identity is always under scrutiny, if not by parents in the parental home, then by neighbours, flatmates, partners, children, or even visiting relatives. In some cases, because of fear of homophobia, the lesbian home must be 'de-dyked', stripped of any indications to the sexual orientation of its dwellers.⁷ Home is a place where 'we struggle to reconcile conflicting and contradictory performances of the self',⁸ but especially the lesbian home can also be a venue for new practices, new ways of relating and remaking home space.⁹

Paula Kuosmanen¹⁰ criticizes Johnston and Valentine for assuming an 'authentic lesbian self' that could, and necessarily would, express herself as lesbian at least at home when no guests are present. Kuosmanen, who has studied lesbian mothers and their homes, points out that the home of two women does not become a lesbian home until its functions and practices can be interpreted through lesbian meanings, for example symbolically through lesbian signs: pictures, books, music or objects.¹¹ The homes of her interviewees, for example, appeared to be typical family spaces rather than specifically lesbian ones.¹²

Based on interviews with fifteen gay men Teppo Heikkinen¹³ claims that the childhood homes of the men, and also the homes his interviewees have found and furnished themselves, were constructed in a heteronormative framework. According to Heikkinen, practices of 'de-gaying'¹⁴ were common; for example the sexuality of some of the men was not known to their children or ex-wives, thus they and their partners had to keep separate beds in different rooms in order to conceal the status of their relationship. Heikkinen also notes that the problems of de-gaying and home alteration were most pressing for gay men living together – single men rarely encountered these kinds of problems.¹⁵ In his account, as in Johnston and Valentine's, the home is a semi-public space, constantly under the scrutiny of guests, relatives or (ex-)family members.

What becomes evident in the above accounts is that the word home always bears a tone of conflict. It is something to be re-made by the lesbian subject, something not quite comfortable for the queer to inhabit

as it is. Home is a concept constantly under negotiation. Anne-Marie Fortier, however, points out that these negotiations are never singular or one-directional and do not leave the notion of home intact and heterosexualized.¹⁶ Rather, queer subjects are able to 're-member' their childhood home, for example, in ways that make visible the fact that it never was true to the ideal of a complete, heteronormative, familial space.¹⁷

Figurations of the home are strongly related to the division between public and private, but both this division and its relation to home figurations are complex and plural. Queer scholars Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner link the public/private dichotomy to the concept of heteronormativity¹⁸ and provocingly claim that 'there is nothing more public than privacy'.¹⁹ Echoing Johnston and Valentine, Berlant and Warner argue that the assumed privacy of intimacy and sexuality in fact only concerns certain heterosexual privacies, and that spheres of intimacy act as spheres of normativity, shaming citizens for 'any divergence between their lives and the intimate sphere that is alleged to be simple personhood'.²⁰

According to Berlant and Warner, a heteronormative form of intimacy and familialism²¹ is produced through, for example, love, romance, forms and arrangements of social life, nationality, the state and law, and even structures of narrativity.²² It is further solidified through representations of sex in public, where public discussions on sex and sexuality claim to 'protect the zone of heterosexual privacy'.²³ Paula Kuosmanen takes this claim even further and states that 'modern liberal society works through, and is mediated by, heteronormative media publicity'.²⁴ She also suggests²⁵ that cultural models and media imagery seem to have replaced open public discussion, and thus have narrowed the possibilities of (civil) movements to influence political decision-making and take part in politics.²⁶

In these accounts, then, the home is a contested entity between public and private, where heteronormativity works to simultaneously deprivatize non-heterosexual home space,²⁷ and privatize normative heterosexual intimacy.²⁸ Media publicity and imagery is named as a main factor contributing to the maintenance of this normative structure and to the narrowing of the scope of discussion and politics.²⁹

Indeed, the journal and magazine articles in my material respond

readily to readings from the perspective of the public/private division and heteronormativity. They also provide interesting figurations of the home that open up places for non-normative readings and practices. I will return to these in the last part of this chapter, but first I will discuss figurations of the home that most closely resemble the above-described structures of (hetero)normativity.

QUEER AT HOME

When I first considered my material from the perspective of domesticity and the home, I found to my surprise that articles focussing on the home as a space, or even mentioning the home, were quite rare in the material. In fact, most references to lgbtiq-inhabited homes occurred in the context of the debate within the church. There are, however, a number of other ways that homes of lgbtiq people figured in the material, and these figurations and their functions in the texts are the focus of this part of the chapter.

Three specific contexts of mentioning the home as an actual dwelling space emerged from the material. The first of these was using the home as a mark of independence from parents or relatives. In *Exil*³⁰ magazine, 'Riina' describes how the thought of marriage with a man and 'traditional family life' troubled her. She was interested in 'anything else but that'. Riina revealed her sexuality to her mother when she moved to her own flat and found a job, both represented as markers of independence. Now Riina states that 'it feels wonderful to think that I can create exactly the kind of family I want with my beloved'. However, when it comes to practical solutions this 'other' kind of family appears quite compatible with the traditional model that Riina wanted to escape from in the first place; she and her (female) lover are currently planning their wedding, and they want to have children when the time is ripe. Independence from the parental home and rebellion against traditional values turned out to result in quite conventional choices – marriage and children – only with a same-sex partner.

Another common figuration is that of the home as property. This is often tied to discussions of financial security/insecurity, inheritance taxes (specifically in relation to the law on registered partnerships) and

prosperity. An interview in *Amisi*,³¹ for example, centres on a lesbian couple who move from the house of one partner's parents to their own home but must postpone their wedding because of the financial burden of their mortgage. Another story in *Apu*³² describes Kari, a man who loses his job and must move out of a (heterosexual) family home when his family and employer discover that he is homosexual. Kari moves to a 'small one-room flat with only a mattress and a phone'. He manages, however, to put his life together, starts his own company and is now living in a 'beautiful, spacious home in the centre of Helsinki, he has a warm long-term relationship, wonderful children, many good friends and an interesting job.'

In the story of Kari brief descriptions of his three homes; the family home he loses; the one-room flat he is forced to move to; and the present home where his life is prospering, are represented as symbols of the turns his life has taken. Discourses of class, wealth, and a 'good life' are tied to the figuration of the home to produce a coherent narrative with a happy end. In the case of the lesbian couple, however, the desire for a home of their own (and thus, the reader assumes, privacy and independence from the other partner's parents) is more valuable than their desire to get married. But it is specifically the home as property; property not yet paid for and thus not yet owned, that causes the juxtaposition between home and marriage in the first place.

A third figuration, and the one that I initially would have expected to be the most prominent but that turned out to be quite marginal, is the home as a background for everyday life. This is almost exclusively present in articles on same-sex couples or same-sex parents with children. In these stories the description of the home space is commonly used to instil a warm and domestic atmosphere in the text. For example in *Kyrkpressen*³³ Marina Furubacka and Leena Saarela, a newlywed couple from Alaveteli in Ostrobothnia, are described 'sitting at their kitchen table after a workday. The understanding between them is palpable, as is the joy of being able to exchange rings and share a home.' They have also had a Christian blessing ceremony of their home, the story adds.

What is most evident in these types of articles is the use of the home and everyday life as figurations of normalization, as evidence of the conventionality and respectability of the families portrayed. Controversially, it is precisely the need to justify and normalize that places the

subjects of the articles on the borders of normality and intelligibility. If there was nothing strange, or queer, about same-sex couples and their families, there would be no need to explain their normality. This normalization also makes evident the kind of readership assumed by the articles. The reader is given the position of a curious, open-minded and liberal person not very familiar with other than heterosexual practices and cultures.

For example, an article in *Me Naiset* describes a lesbian couple, Tuula and Anne, from a perspective that is best described as curious exoticism. The article uses very positive wording to describe the relationship between the two women, their home and even how they quarrel about domestic chores. Interestingly, this enthusiastic tone is achieved through the strong presence of the reporter's voice in the text. Initially the reporter is depicted (along with her readers, it is assumed) as a middle-aged lady next door who has never before met openly lesbian people. She is uncertain about the proper ways to behave and is afraid of offending her interviewees by using the word lesbian incorrectly. Eventually the anxiety of the reporter is relieved as the exotic Others turn out to be quite normal, and the reader is assumed to relax with the writer: "There was no need to be nervous: these women have a good sense of humour, they are nice and sociable. And you can freely use the word "lesbian" about them."³⁴

What the text achieves is a curious effect of simultaneous distancing from and nearing to heteronormativity. This happens through an initial othering of the lesbians by describing the insecurities and prejudices of the reporter, but then focussing on the similarities and what is recognizable in the couple's life from a heteronormative perspective. This perspective culminates in the headline of the article: 'An Ordinary Love Story'.

In her book *In a Queer Time and Place*, Judith Halberstam³⁵ makes the claim that 'queer uses of time and space develop, at least in part, in opposition to the institutions of family, heterosexuality and reproduction'. According to Halberstam, dwellers in a queer time/space 'opt to live outside of reproductive and familial time as well as on the edges of logics of labour and production'.³⁶ This also often places them outside the logic of capital accumulation. Some examples Halberstam gives are ravers, HIV-positive barebackers³⁷, sex worker, and homeless people.

Halberstam suggests that these people could be called ‘queer subjects’ because of how they live – in times and spaces that others have abandoned – and the way some of them deliberately destabilize the normative values that make others feel safe, but also live without financial safety nets, without homes, jobs and so on.³⁸

In articles that represent lgbtiq-inhabited homes, the subjects and their ways of life are represented as being very far from Halberstam’s ‘queer subjects’, queer temporalities or spatialities.³⁹ On the contrary, even in articles where the home is not directly mentioned, such as those describing the effects of the law on registered partnership, the ability to inherit shared property (and often the mutual home is used as a specific example of this kind of property) is one of the central improvements that the law brings. Thus in the articles the home figuration becomes closely tied to both reproductive familial time and the logic of capital accumulation.

Through specific figurations of the home, where they are explicitly present in the material representations of lgbtiq-inhabited homes become central tools for normalizing the queer subject, for bringing him [sic] into the realm of prosperity, longevity, safety, and inheritance. But can this normative use of the home figuration simultaneously question the claimed heterosexuality of the ideal of the home? The question is central in the next part of this essay, where I discuss the debate within the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Finland on same-sex civil unions and the blessing of lgbtiq-inhabited homes.

HOME AS QUEER

Since the law on registered partnerships was passed in Finland in September 2001, a fierce debate has taken place in journals related to the Evangelical Lutheran Church⁴⁰ on how the church should officially handle the matter of same-sex partners in general and homosexual employees in particular.⁴¹ The debate, though most vigorous during 2002 and 2003, still continues. The latest example is from the summer of 2008 when a retired minister publicly consecrated a registered same-sex partnership in a chapel. It is the first time this kind of ceremony is known to have taken place in a sacral space.

Between 2002 and 2005, the debate centred less on actual performed ceremonies, but rather on two contradictory motions presented to the church assembly in 2002: One motion was to approve an official ceremony of consecrating the registered partnership of a same-sex couple and blessing their home.⁴² The other motion was to ban people living in registered partnerships from applying for jobs within the church, and people working for the church from registering their partnerships (including, for example, janitors, youth camp leaders, ministers or office staff).

Although the bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church have not been unanimous on the matter, a practical compromise has been reached, where both of the above-mentioned suggestions were discarded and a special committee was set up to investigate the matter of registered partnerships and the church.⁴³ Upon the initiative of this committee, the discussion has continued within the church in the form of different seminars and other events, and critics say that the church will eventually have to take a clear position in relation to same-sex couples, registered partnerships, and homosexuality as a whole. This debate forms a clear and separate discursive entity in my material, one that is not directly related to the home as a space or dwelling place. I find the debate interesting, however, specifically in the context of mapping the borders of normalization, as well as the limits of the dichotomy between public and private space.

The question of blessing the home of a same-sex couple is specifically interesting in regard to figurations of the home. Even more so, as blessing homes is not a typical procedure in the Finnish Evangelical-Lutheran tradition and would not be commonly discussed for example in relation to heterosexual couples or families, although the church does have an official formula for the purpose.⁴⁴ The issue arose as part of the motion of consecrating a registered partnership, but later became a distinct controversy of its own.

All bishops of the Evangelical Lutheran Church have agreed that they would be willing to bless a home inhabited by a same-sex couple and allow the ministers of their parishes to do the same. However, as archbishop Jukka Paarma put it in *Sanansaattaja*,⁴⁵ for example: '[...]the blessing of a home should not be understood to include a blessing of the lifestyle associated with homosexuality'. Significantly, no voices were

raised against applying the ceremony for blessing lgbtiq-inhabited homes. Rather, the discussion centred on the significance of this ceremony in relation to the consecration of a heterosexual marriage, for example.

If it is not a blessing of the partnership, or a blessing of a lifestyle, then what would be the function of this blessing of homes? Why would same-sex couples want it? And why would it be easier for the church (or at least its general assembly and its bishops) to accept this than consecrating registered partnerships? Possible answers to these questions might be found through a closer look at the home figuration in the argumentation.

A curious duplicity exists in the use of the home as a figuration. Whereas those opposed to consecrating registered partnerships, such as Archbishop Paarma quoted above, see the home as deprived of any symbolic function in relation to the couple to be blessed or a homosexual lifestyle, those who support the consecration of partnerships view the blessing of a queer-inhabited home as a step toward a more inclusive politics, and the ceremony as a symbolic approval of the couple whose home is blessed.⁴⁶ Also the fact that the argumentation focuses on registered same-sex couples – and never, for example, on a person living alone or the home of any type of collective or ‘chosen family’⁴⁷ – would point toward a greater metaphoric value of the home as a figuration specifically related to the conception of (assumed to be monogamous) institutionalized partnerships.

According to Lee Edelman,⁴⁸ conservatives⁴⁹ are more likely than liberals to acknowledge the radical potential of queerness, and ‘conservatism preemptively imagines the wholesale rupturing of the social fabric, whereas liberalism conservatively clings to a faith in its limitless elasticity’. Marja Kaskisaari⁵⁰ made a similar point in her analysis of newspaper debate concerning the law on registered partnerships for same-sex couples. Kaskisaari claims that the writers opposing registered partnerships made a clear distinction between marriage and same-sex partnerships. The latter was to be strictly disapproved of, whereas those who supported registered partnerships argued that homosexual and heterosexual love relationships are essentially similar and that registered partnerships would not threaten the institution of marriage in any way. A similar duality emerges in the church debate, and specifically in the different uses of the figuration of the home.

In the debate the liberals, those in favour of blessing partnerships, use arguments like ‘why would we not bless a union of two people who love each other and are committed to each other’.⁵¹ Or as Reverend Antti Kylliäinen puts it:

It is very difficult for me to understand how consecrating a partnership would crumble the Christian conception of marriage. Rather it is the other way around. If homosexuals want their relationships to have parallel status to marriage, with all its consecrations etc. it only signals that the institution of marriage is alive and well.⁵²

The statement by Kylliäinen is a perfect example of Edelman’s description of liberal thinking: he believes that the institution of marriage will indeed be further strengthened, not crumbled, by the fact that same-sex couples want to embrace it. A similar form of liberal discourse is one where inclusion in the institution of marriage and consecration of partnerships encourages same-sex couples to lead a monogamous and ethical lifestyle.

Another line of the liberal argument is to bring forward the fact that heterosexual married relationships are not without problems either. An interview with Bishop Wille Riekkinen provides a good example when he claims: ‘Statistically, it is hard to claim that heterosexuality would save people from sexual problems. Maturity and responsibility need to be part of all sexual behaviour.’⁵³ Here Riekkinen calls into question the image of heterosexuality as a purified ideal by pointing to divorce statistics, statistics that of course in the spring of 2002 did not yet include same-sex registered partnerships.⁵⁴ In this thinking homosexuality is inherently less ethical than heterosexuality, but by leading a ‘mature and responsible’ life, some homosexuals may achieve the same ethical level as some heterosexuals, or an even higher one.

Liberals usually do not even discuss blessing homes; their argumentation is centred on the consecration of partnerships. For them blessing a home is not enough in terms of recognition of registered partnerships, but significantly, it was a suggestion made by the liberals that brought this possibility forward. This happened in a context where there were strong indications that consecration of partnerships would not gain enough support to be approved as an official church ceremony. In a

sense, the liberals introduced the blessing of lgbtiq-inhabited homes as a milder version of the consecration of partnerships; a small step toward some sort of recognition.

The conservatives, in turn, argue that the consecration of registered partnerships is against the ethics of the church, and that blessing a home is not to be interpreted as related to the partnership of the inhabitants. They use expressions such as ‘the church is not planning to introduce any ceremony that *in any way could be interpreted as* a consecration or affirmation of a homosexual partnership’.⁵⁵ Bishop Eero Huovinen discusses the meaning of blessing in this context in an interesting way, as an excerpt from an article in *Vantaan Lauri* reveals:

‘We have not thought enough about what blessing means. According to old Christian tradition, the church should bless only those intentions, deeds and occasions that have to do with a special promise, command, task or biblical example given by God’, Huovinen remarks. According to Huovinen, marriage between a man and a woman is this kind of matter, while a partnership between two people of the same sex is not. In relation to the blessing of a home, however, the bishop remains undecided. Blessing a home and the people who live there does not mean blessing their attitudes, deeds or relationships. ‘In practice this difference can be hard to make’, Huovinen explains. This is why Huovinen thinks that the best solution is a private prayer vigil with the couple. Praying with a person who requests it is the duty of every Christian.⁵⁶

Here Bishop Huovinen recognizes the dilemma, and places the limit of recognition at the ritual of blessing a new home. However, he also notes that in practice blessing a home might, in some interpretations, acquire the meaning of blessing ‘attitudes, deeds or relationships’, which makes him recommend against doing it. This makes explicit the fact that, for Huovinen, homosexuality and same-sex partnerships are not to be approved of, and the church and its ministers should refrain from rituals that might be interpreted as a positive gesture.

In these accounts, both liberal and conservative, the figuration of the home has become the crux of the matter of church recognition of same-sex partnerships. But what, then, is the home’s function in this debate and why has it become so significant in it?

First of all, blessing a home is clearly viewed as a private ceremony and this impression is further strengthened by the fact that it always takes place at home and not in public spaces such as church, chapel, magistrate's office or other possible venue for a public partnership registration ceremony.⁵⁷ Thus the ceremony of blessing a home, while becoming a 'sort-of-wedding ritual' for same-sex couples, confirms the dichotomy between public space as heteronormatively marked and private home-space as the only sanctuary for non-heteronormative sexuality (and non-heterosexual couples).⁵⁸ However, the way it is discussed, and the clear distinction between blessing a home and blessing the lifestyle of its inhabitants, consolidates the supremacy of monogamous marital heterosexuality and the non-recognition of other practices or relationships in the official politics of the church.

Secondly, blessing a home is a compromise solution in a situation where the discussion of the limits of church recognition of same-sex relationships is in a deadlock. The home, and specifically the ceremonial blessing of it, becomes a significant symbol: it has enough to do with the partnership to be a sufficient signal for some same-sex couples; but distant enough from, for example, the consecration of a civil marriage so as not to upset conservatives or be in conflict with the official policy of the church. Sari Charpentier⁵⁹ has studied letters to editors that relate to the law on registered partnerships, and notes that while rituals such as marriage are significant in the process of sanctifying something, they should not be seen as 'communication with divinity', but as events producing and maintaining a 'sacred order'. In the case of blessing a home, the significant question becomes what this sacred order is. For those who emphasize the difference between consecrating a (heterosexual) partnership and blessing a home, the border of sacredness is drawn where the order of heterosexuality is threatened. For those in favour of also consecrating same-sex partnerships, the sacred order would seem to be that of a (monogamous) committed partnership. Both sides agree that blessing a (lgbtiq-inhabited) home would have some potential to intrude on the normative heterosexual order, but neither is willing to – or at least is not suggesting to – let this intrusion go as far as consecrating relationships that would be outside the conceptions of monogamous, committed partnerships. This is further emphasized by the fact that this discussion has surfaced specifically in

relation to registered partnerships, that is, same-sex couples institutionally as close to being married as they can get.

In these discussions then, the home becomes a space and symbol that can be blessed despite the non-normative subjects who inhabit it. The figuration of the home does, within strict limits, allow a queer presence in the official ceremonial life of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. For some same-sex couples the ceremony of blessing their home may be meaningful as recognition of their existence and way of life, and this is recognized in the debate. The church debate on consecrating a registered partnership, or blessing homes of registered partners, presents home figuration as in some sense straightened and queered at the same time. The home becomes a site of resistance against the heteronormativity of the church, when it functions as a vessel of carrying blessing to same-sex partnerships. Yet, simultaneously the signification of the home as private space and the official detachment of the ceremony of blessing a home from any connections to blessing the lifestyle or partnership of its inhabitants, makes the ceremony a site of marginalization of non-heterosexual partnerships and non-recognition of homosexual or queer practices.

In the two sections above I have discussed how figurations of the home function in relation to specifically described lgbtiq-inhabited homes, and symbolically in relation to the recognition of same-sex partnerships within the church. The third and final part of this chapter will concentrate on the more abstract ways that home figured in the research material.

QUEER(ING) HOMELAND

Here I take a closer look at texts that mention the home, but do not deal with it in the sense of a space or symbol of domesticity. As I have no comparative material of similar articles written on (assumedly) heterosexual subjects, I cannot make claims as to how, if at all, lgbtiq subjects are represented differently from heterosexual ones. However, I will note some significant themes that arise from the material and focus on the ways in which the home figures, or does not figure, in them.

One significant theme in the material is that of gay and lesbian

‘subcultures’, lgbtiq organizations and lgbtiq lifestyles (excluding articles on families, dealt with earlier). Articles describing NGOs (non-governmental organizations) and other more or less organized forms of lgbtiq activity, or volunteer activists in these organizations, are usually not related to the home or home space. If they are, home figures as a background setting for an interview, for example. This applies also to stories focussing on homosexuality as a phenomenon, such as, for example, ‘Ylpeästi oma itsensä’ (Proud to be myself)⁶⁰ or ‘Sateenkaaren täällä puolen’ (On this side of the rainbow)⁶¹. The purpose of these kinds of articles is to describe the life of ‘quite normal’ homo- and bisexuals or transgendered people, or to describe the gay culture and lifestyle.

Still, in a specific category within the material in articles describing gay culture or gay people related to specific areas, another figuration of the home emerges; that of ‘home-as-origin’. Anne-Marie Fortier⁶² describes how in relation to gay and lesbian subcultures, some narratives of the home have reversed what she calls the ‘diasporization narrative’, the narrative of queer subjects emigrating from the heterosexual home. In these reversals home is not described as the origin of departure, but the always becoming, always unreachable destination. Fortier describes how these narratives conjure up stories of exile, abandonment and loss of the childhood home where the queer is a stranger that does not fit in. ‘[...] The assumption is that one has to leave “home” in order to realize oneself in *another* place, outside of the “original” home.’⁶³ Fortier links this other place to gay and lesbian subcultures and the model of ‘home-as-familiarity’, the assumption being that gay and lesbian subcultures offer a ‘new home’ for those queer subjects who do not fit into their original environments.⁶⁴

In my material, several articles on lgbtiq-activists describe the interviewees’ relation to a place of origin. Most of these texts depict how the interviewee has moved away from the town or village she/he grew up in to a larger city, hoping that the city will provide a more liberal and tolerant environment. Often the places of origin are described as conservative and prejudiced environments. However, some articles also describe how the interviewee has to some extent become reconciled with the (assumed) homophobia of the place of origin if he/she has chosen to stay. The word home is not used in these articles to describe the old environment (or the new one) but origin or home town is strongly

implied. However, in contrast to Fortier's account, homosexual sub-cultures are not portrayed in terms of domesticity or the home. Instead they are described with terms like the 'circles' or 'gay culture',⁶⁵ or are just explained in the way that Kimmo does in an excerpt from an article in *Mix*:

I have settled well here (in Turku) and found a circle of friends. This city fits outgoing and active people such as me. I have all types of hobbies', Kimmo describes. In the North (where he lived his childhood) Kimmo was quite a lonely youth. The few good friends he had in his childhood have stayed with him. 'The North was a beautiful place to live, and peaceful, but too peaceful for me! I did not enjoy the small social circles, life in the south is more my thing.'⁶⁶

When describing the places of origin of the interviewees, the articles make references to family members, school friends, members of the (town or village) community, or, as Kimmo above, to natural scenery or atmosphere. The articles rarely describe the new environment in similar terms; rather they present it as the place where a new life can be started. In comparisons between the original and new environments, the place of origin is often treated nostalgically, for example by describing its peacefulness or beautiful natural surroundings; yet simultaneously as a place of oppression, an environment where one could not be oneself. Heikkinen puts it well: "The other" lives elsewhere, not in our home.⁶⁷

The new, again, is filled with positive possibilities and action. To borrow Fortier's thought, the new seems to be in a constant state of becoming. However, domestication into 'the circles' is not always represented as easy or even desired: "Only repulsive hens go to gay bars", snorts [Kimmo] a 21-year-old gay boy.⁶⁸ Kimmo also describes the atmosphere in gay bars and happenings as 'shallow' and 'superficial' – according to him one can enjoy gay culture as long as one is willing to forgive people for their superficiality.⁶⁹ These accounts reveal a distance from the subculture, which in no sense is described in domestic terms. They show that culture and belonging are constantly contested and under negotiation, even if one would identify oneself as gay in quite an unproblematic sense of the word.

Instead of creating a dichotomy between original and new environments, some articles describe how a queer subject has actually started

to fit into his/her present environment. For example, in the article ‘Elämä miehenä’ (Life as a man)⁷⁰ Kristian Konttinen, a FtM (female to male) transsexual singer-songwriter, praises the city he lives in: ‘In Lappeenranta I’m so proud of the fact that I have been given peace. Many times I have wondered when the morning will come that I wake up and find that the limit is reached; people trample over me and force me to move away. The day has never come.’

Similarly, Kaj Heino, a gay male teacher from Vaasa in Ostrobothnia enjoys the city he lives in: ‘Kaj is happy in Vaasa and does not want to move to a bigger city because of a man. – It is up to us Ostrobothnians to organize the kind of activity we like, but it is true that for example the capital region has gay bars and better opportunities to get to know people.’⁷¹

*Kaleva*⁷² interviews Ville Huhtala from Rovaniemi, in the north of Finland, who works for a project aiming to ‘improve the possibilities to continue to live in one’s home area and gain acceptance of one’s own way of life’. Unfortunately, according to Ville, of the twenty or so municipalities contacted, only one had shown interest in the project. Here the liveability of the home area is considered important, while the tendency of lgbtiq- people to immigrate to bigger cities is recognized. Similarly *Koulurauha*⁷³ describes another gay male teacher from Ostrobothnia, Carl-Oscar Granberg, who has stayed in his childhood environment in Swedish-speaking Ostrobothnia: ‘Of course I have thought about it too, moving to some big city such as Helsinki or Stockholm, like most gays still do. But I want to be here now, close to my children.’⁷⁴ Granberg had two children from a marriage with a woman. He was in the process of divorcing when the story was published, but was seeing his sons (who live with their mother) almost every day. Here the liveability of the area from a gay perspective is lacking, but the issue is viewed secondary to parenting responsibilities. Tellingly, the subtitle to the part of the story describing Granberg’s private life is ‘Gays can live in the countryside too’ – a statement somewhat problematized by the interviewee pondering the idea of moving to a bigger city.

There is no trace in these texts of the ‘re-membling’ of childhood home or environment that Fortier describes,⁷⁵ where the heterosexuality of the childhood home would become deconstructed. Instead, the priorities and choices that liveability consists of are put under scrutiny.

Some people have the will and opportunity to immigrate to more liveable areas, while others again simply do not. Or they may have other reasons to stay (such as family, work or friends), and these people may be willing to work to improve the liveability of their original place of residence.

Judith Butler discusses the terms of liveability in several chapters of *Undoing Gender*.⁷⁶ According to her, the injustice opposed by the work of reconstituting what is liveable, the agenda behind resisting the bringing of gay and lesbian lives into the realm of the liveable, is the following: “To be called unreal and to have that call [...] institutionalized as a form of differential treatment, is to become the other against whom (or against which) the human is made.”⁷⁷ To be something opposed to the liveable is not to be oppressed because in order to be oppressed one already must exist as a subject of some kind. It is rather a state of fundamental unintelligibility, a state where the ‘laws of culture and of language find you to be an impossibility’.⁷⁸ Or as Heikkinen puts it: to be ‘the other’, always elsewhere, never in ‘our’ home.⁷⁹ In *Antigone’s Claim*,⁸⁰ Butler argues that when we accept norms – structures of language and culture that deprive certain lives of their sense of ontological certainty – as coextensive with cultural intelligibility, what emerges is ‘a melancholia that attends living and loving outside the liveable and outside the field of love’.⁸¹ This melancholia is overcome, at least partly, when the ‘unspeakable nevertheless makes itself heard through borrowing and exploiting the very terms that are meant to enforce its silence’.⁸²

In the articles cited above, liveability and intelligibility are negotiated in several ways. Through appearing in media, being publicized and discussing there the limits of the liveability of one’s home, the subjects indeed borrow and exploit the specific systems that usually render them unintelligible.⁸³ As to strategies portrayed in the interviews, moving to a larger city can be seen as an attempt by the subject to change his/her environment toward a more liveable one; one where the possibility to become intelligible at least within something like a ‘gay subculture’ would exist. Both publicly founded projects against discrimination (such as the one in the North to increase opportunities to stay in one’s home region) and interviewees’ own strategies and choices, attempt to produce liveability in areas where life as an lgbtiq-person is not perceived possible. The articles show how different areas, cities and countries are conceived in different terms of liveability, signified by the (un)willingness to discuss

or face the existence of gay or lesbian lives. Still, aspects of the interviewees' lives that are not connected to their sexuality or gender identity, such as their hobbies,⁸⁴ their parenthood,⁸⁵ and their musical careers⁸⁶ are represented as increasing the liveability of heteronormative environments.

What becomes evident here is a deconstruction of the public/private distinction quite in Gill Valentine's vein: sexuality is private only as long as it is heterosexuality; when it is something else it suddenly becomes an issue of liveability, and an issue potentially made public by coming out of the closet. Similarly, Leena-Majja Rossi⁸⁷ points out how especially 'soft-core' pornified representations of heterosexuality, female femininity, as well as male masculinity are certainly present in the public space; whereas other sexualities and genders are not. In my material, of course, non-heterosexual identifications or transsexuality are made very public by the act of appearing in a magazine, but again, in these public representations the emphasis is on the sexuality or gender identity of the interviewee – the possibility to 'borrow and exploit' is dependent on a coming out, a willingness to discuss one's sexuality or gender identity in public.⁸⁸

Thus the figuration of home-as-origin and the significations it acquires are dependent on a complex interplay of public and private. They also depend on notions of liveability, and fear of unintelligibility, leading to abandoning the place of origin and heading toward something new, and possibly more liveable. However, the new here is not entirely spatial or environmental; it can also be a fantasy of change or increased liveability in one's own region of origin, or a gratefulness of the fact that this liveability already exists, as in Kristian's case.⁸⁹ But what then remains in the realm of the unintelligible, the never mentionable, the unspeakable (to use Butler's words)? What are the most notable silences in the material, the subjects or themes that are discussed, but only in some ways, or are never discussed at all? Who is excluded, and where are the limits of intelligibility and liveability?

SILENCES

One theme absent from the source material is the gendered structure of home and family,⁹⁰ discussed by Eeva Jokinen elsewhere in this book.

In material consisting mostly of descriptions of homosexual people or couples it is not very surprising that a heteronormative gendered division of labour between the couples would remain absent. However, gender and the home seems not to be a topic at all related to homosexuality. Any specifically gendered descriptions of the home in the research material relate to the (heterosexual) family of origin, not to the present homes.⁹¹ This silence does not come unaccompanied: for example the discussion of sexual and other violence in partnerships has taken place much in the context of gendered power structures, and one could claim that the absence of discussions of power and gender in relation to same-sex partners relates to the silence surrounding violence in these partnerships.⁹²

Another significant silence exists in relation to the subjects' family forms. The material completely lacks descriptions of residence patterns outside what Sasha Roseneil calls the 'heteronormative conjugal couple model, which determines the sexual/love relationship to be co-residential (if no longer married), the primary (if not exclusive) space of intimacy, and to be moving in this direction, if not yet achieved.'⁹³ This model is well represented, and so are single lifestyles, but references to roommates, chosen families, communal forms of dwelling and polyamorous or non-committed relationships, for example, are missing completely. Home and nuclear family seem to belong together in the precise form that Roseneil proposes: 'moving in that direction, if not yet achieved'. Thus the material affirms, in a sense, the claim by Paula Kuosmanen⁹⁴ that while during the first years of the twenty-first century lgbtiq families have 'broken the cultural closet' for good through their fight for the right to assisted insemination and to form families, in the process intimate gay and lesbian relationships have been reduced to the recognizable (and heteronormative) nuclear family form.

This was evident even though several articles, for example 'Raini ja Annikki, sittenkin totta!⁹⁵ or 'Aamupuuro keitetään myös kahden äidin perheessä',⁹⁶ actually describe stepfamilies or families with more than two parents. In these articles, too, home and family were described as belonging to the core family, two mothers and their children. This structure renders unintelligible the forms of living and of the family that do not conform to the nuclear family ideal. So, not surprisingly, the figuration of the home and the ideal of the nuclear family are closely

tied together. However, articles actually describing this knot are few in the material, which is actually very complex and quite seldom focuses on the home or any of its figurations. Thus I would claim it not possible to draw the conclusion (which Kuosmanen hints at) that other than familialist⁹⁷ (family centred and heteronormative) ways of life are not present in the public discussion. However, one could well claim that when home and families are discussed, the nuclear family form goes uncontested, both through its own presence and the silence concerning all other forms.

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NOTES

- 1 In this text the abbreviation 'lgbtiq' (for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, intersexual and queer) is used to refer to the individuals or groups represented in the material; whereas the term queer, used both as a verb and as an adjective, refers to representations or practices that denaturalize and challenge heteronormativity.
- 2 Domesticate (*transitive verb*): 1: to bring into domestic use; adopt, 2: to adapt (an animal or plant) to life in intimate association with and to the advantage of humans, 3: to make domestic; fit for domestic life, 4: to bring to the level of ordinary people. (From *Merriam-Webster online dictionary*)
- 3 For a similar use of the concepts of figuration and configuration in relation to romance literature see Soikkeli 1998.
- 4 Seta's archive consists of newspaper and magazine clips as well as reports of TV and radio coverage gathered by the Observer / Cision press service. This service surveys the media visibility of organizations or companies through a search of key words. It covers all significant newspapers, magazines, and TV and radio channels operating in Finland. For my research I have gathered all paper and magazine articles, from papers or magazines that are published weekly or less frequently. The key words used are: homosexuality, lesbianism, transsexuality, bisexuality, transvestism, Seksuaalinen tasavertaisuus ry, Seta ry, aids and HIV (until 29 November 2000), Z-lehti (the magazine Z, from 23 November 2004 onwards), and transgender (from 1 September 2005 onwards). On 1 September 2005 the contract between Seta and Cision was altered so as to mostly focus on the daily press and to not include most of the common magazines. Thus my material from 2005 is partly limited. (Source: phone conversation with Cision

- client service 18 April 2008, media lists provided via email.)
- 5 Here queer is understood to oppose rigid identity categories and often also to refuse to use the terminology related to identity politics.
 - 6 Lynda Johnston and Gill Valentine 1995, p. 99.
 - 7 *Ibid.* 100, 105.
 - 8 *Ibid.* 111.
 - 9 *Ibid.* 105.
 - 10 Kuosmanen 2000, p. 92.
 - 11 *Ibidem.*
 - 12 *Ibid.* 100.
 - 13 Heikkinen 1999.
 - 14 'De-gaying' is not a concept Heikkinen uses himself, but the practices he describes are very similar to the practices that Johnson and Valentine (1995, 100) call 'de-dyking'.
 - 15 Heikkinen 1999, p. 136.
 - 16 Fortier 2003, p. 131.
 - 17 *Ibid.* 124.
 - 18 Berlant and Warner define heteronormativity as 'a sense of rightness produced in contradictory manifestations – often unconscious, immanent to practice or to institutions' (Berlant and Warner 2003, p. 180, n2).
 - 19 *Ibid.* 170.
 - 20 *Ibid.* 171–173.
 - 21 See Kuosmanen 2007a, pp. v–vi.
 - 22 Berlant and Warner 2003, p. 173.
 - 23 *Ibid.* 171.
 - 24 Kuosmanen 2007a, p. vii.
 - 25 Here she refers to Habermas's theory of transformation of the public sphere. Kuosmanen 2007a, p. vii.
 - 26 I assume that Kuosmanen's latter claim refers to the Finnish context, where NGOs and other organizations are quite commonly included in processes of legislative change and other official public discussions, for example.
 - 27 Johnston and Valentine.
 - 28 Berlant and Warner 2003.
 - 29 Kuosmanen 2007a.
 - 30 *Exit* 4/2002.
 - 31 *Aviisi* 4/2002.
 - 32 *Apu* 25/2004.
 - 33 *Kyrkpressen* 15/2002.
 - 34 *Me Naiset* 19/2002.
 - 35 Halberstam 2005, p. 1.
 - 36 Halberstam 2005, p. 10.
 - 37 People who know they are infected by HIV and despite this engage in unprotected sexual practices.
 - 38 Halberstam 2005, p. 10.
 - 39 One possible exception is a text on George Michael's and Kenny Goss's chateau in 7 päivää 27/2004, where the couple also reveals that their partnership is non-monogamous.
 - 40 The main arena for the debate is papers and magazines that have a direct and outspoken Christian background such as *Kotimaa*, *Uusi Tie*, *Ristin Voitto*, *Kirkko ja Kaupunki* or *Kyrkpressen* (in Swedish), but other, more mainstream publications have occasionally reported on the debate as well.

- 41 It should be noted that the Evangelical Lutheran Church is by far the largest and most influential church in Finland, the second being the Orthodox Church. Approximately 80% of Finns belong to the Lutheran Church, 2–3% to the Orthodox and the rest are either members of other churches or religious communities or not members of any. The Evangelical Lutheran Church has a strong official position, which means that it has a powerful role in many public discussions in Finland. However, conflicting opinions and quite different practices exist within the church. Lately this has become evident in questions relating to the possibility of women working as ministers and same-sex couples, and these two discussions are said to be bringing the dormant conflict between the 'liberal' and 'conservative' flanks of the church to a head.
- 42 Formally the latter ceremony is called 'blessing of a new home' and it is listed in the Book of Ceremonies in the category of prayer vigils. I have translated the word *siunata* in this context as 'bless', to point out the difference between this and the more official ceremony of consecrating a marriage. However, in relation to registered partnerships the ceremony is equal in formality to that of consecrating marriage, and thus it seems appropriate to use the same verb. The formula of blessing a new home can be found in Finnish in the Evangelical Lutheran Church's Book of Ceremonies (see bibliography).
- 43 However, some Lutheran ministers have been blessing the partnerships of same-sex couples despite the lack of approval from the bishops.
- 44 The ceremony itself is quite free, but the recommended formula includes asking blessing for 'this home and all those who live here or visit it', as well as stating that '[i]n the home we want to live safely and be accepted'. Nothing, however, at least in the recommended formula would indicate blessing the partnership or relationship of people living in the home.
- 45 *Sanansaattaja* 8/2004.
- 46 Also, the fact that Paarma needs to assert and specify that blessing a home does not mean blessing a partnership or a lifestyle would indeed indicate that the ceremony carries at least some sort of connotation in that direction.
- 47 See Weston 1997.
- 48 Edelman 2005, p. 14.
- 49 Edelman makes a polemical divide of political agents into conservatives and liberals. This divide is far too general for more specific use, but Edelman's description of how conservatives and liberals reason is well represented in the specific debate considered here.
- 50 Kaskisaari 1997, pp. 234–237.
- 51 Reverend Leena Heinonen in *Espoon Seurakuntasanomat* 17/2002.
- 52 *Vihreä Lanka* 12/2002.
- 53 *Apu* 18/2002.
- 54 The first partnerships could be registered on 8 March 2002, and even if theoretically a couple would have filed for divorce immediately, the divorce would have become final on 8 September the earliest. When writing this, six years later, the divorce rate of registered partnerships is slowly climbing toward that of heterosexual marriages. See 'Avioliittoja enemmän, avioerojen määrä ennallaan' 2008.
- 55 Stig Kankkonen in *Kyrkpressen* 11/2002, italics AM.
- 56 *Vantaan Lauri* 7/2007.
- 57 This is also one reason for the strong reaction to a minister consecrating a registered partnership in a sacral space in 2008. For a description of the act and following commentaries (in Finnish) see Toivanen 2008.
- 58 Valentine 1993, p. 399.

- 59 Charpentier 2001, pp. 85–88.
- 60 Kaleva, *PeTo* 15 July 2004.
- 61 *Aamulehti, Valo* 30 July 2004.
- 62 Fortier 2003, p. 118.
- 63 Ibidem.
- 64 Ibidem.
- 65 *Aamulehti* 30 July 2004.
- 66 *Mix* 6/2002.
- 67 Heikkinen 1999, p. 126.
- 68 *City* 20/2002.
- 69 *Mix* 6/2002.
- 70 *Kouvolan Sanomat, Seepra*, 24 April 2002.
- 71 *Vaasan Ikkuna* 9 May 2002.
- 72 15 July 2004.
- 73 *Koulurauha* 6/2004.
- 74 *Koulurauha* 6/2004.
- 75 Fortier 2003, p. 124.
- 76 Butler 2004.
- 77 Butler 2004, p. 30.
- 78 Ibid. 30.
- 79 Heikkinen 1999, p. 126. However, Heikkinen 1999, pp. 127–128, also points out that even though homosexuality is described as ‘otherness’, only to know that other homosexuals exist has been significant for some interviewees.
- 80 Butler 2000.
- 81 Ibid. 78.
- 82 Ibidem. Butler does not discuss whether different ‘levels’ of liveability exist, or whether liveability is an on-off dichotomy – yes or no, liveable or unintelligible. I have interpreted this concept here through the idea that intelligibility, and liveability, can in some circumstances be negotiated, for example by ‘borrowing and exploiting’ (Butler 2000, p. 78), and thus there can be different states of intelligibility and liveability.
- 83 Of course, this ‘borrowing’ or ‘exploiting’ does not happen fully according to the terms of the subject, and neither does the borrowing of exploiting language, or ‘the symbolic’ in Butler’s account. The act of borrowing (and exploiting) something (language, a medium, or even sugar) is always already entwined in a complex set of power structures that are never one-directional, or predictable.
- 84 *Mix* 6/2002.
- 85 *Koulurauha!* 6/2004.
- 86 *Kouvolan Sanomat* 24 April 2002.
- 87 Rossi 2007, pp. 128–129.
- 88 In relation to transsexuality, the public/private -dichotomy is still more problematic. Gender; and masculinity and femininity, are public in the sense of being constantly present regardless of the environment. A transsexual person, such as Kristian quoted above, cannot hide his transition process from friends and family, or from public workers who are responsible for medical treatments or deal with official documents such as driver’s licenses, passports, etc. Also, a trace of the process is left in the person’s medical records and other data, and marks and scars are left on his body. Thus transsexuality is, at least momentarily, a more compulsory public process than a non-heterosexual identity. On the other hand, after the transition a transsexual person can (if the treatment is relatively successful and the person so wishes) pass as a heterosexual/homosexual/

- bisexual/queer person living a life quite like other similarly gendered people with a similar identity/disidentity.
- 89 *Kouvola Sanomat* 24 April 2002.
- 90 See for example Saarikangas 1993.
- 91 A significant exception are stories about the TV series 'Sillä silmällä' (the Finnish version of *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*), where five gay men refurbish the home of a heterosexual man and restyle him as well.
- 92 Girschick 2002, pp. 9–30.
- 93 Roseneil 2007, pp. 93–94.
- 94 Kuosmanen 2007a, VI.
- 95 *Anna* 15/2002.
- 96 *Kaks Plus* 1/2003.
- 97 For an account of the 'familialist turn' of Finnish lgbtqi culture, see Kuosmanen 2007b, pp. 37–44.

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II

HOMING, MOVING, BELONGING

‘LIFE IN THE SUBURBS IS MERE RESIDING’

Home, Moving and Belonging in the Suburbs of the
Helsinki Metropolitan Area from the 1950s to the 1970s

Kirsi Saarikangas

‘A sugar cube out in the forest. The suburb is a junction between the countryside and city where life is mere residing’, wrote *Helsingin Sanomat*, the biggest Finnish newspaper in 1982.¹ Whereas a woman, who moved to Herttoniemi suburb in eastern Helsinki as a young mother in 1955, wrote in 1995: ‘Having lived in Herttoniemi for over 20 years, it has turned into a home region, where there was our own yard with its children and its neighbours.’² At the same time, another woman recollected her childhood suburb Soukka in Espoo, where she moved as a baby in 1970: ‘As a child I never wanted to leave our yard. There was everything one could want: rocks, trees, bushes, crocuses, sandboxes, swings, playhouse, slide, and greens. The greens were climbing frames.’³

The approach to suburbs and the notions of home and habitation in the newspaper quotation and inhabitants’ accounts are in apparent tension with each other. Whereas the newspaper article underestimates habitation ‘as mere residing’ devaluing both suburbs and habitation, inhabitants describe suburbs as home regions and point out the meaningful aspects of suburban living. Suburbs are transformed into home districts through the acts of habitation. These examples position a meta-narrative of the ‘dormitory suburbs’ in the media and the counter narrative of multilayered suburban space told by inhabitants’. Within a closer examination there are several overlapping and even contradictory meta-narratives on the post-war suburban habitation present both in

public discussions and inhabitants' written memories. Since the 1950s suburbs were eagerly discussed in the newspapers and magazines.⁴ With their new town planning ideals and dwellings equipped with the modern conveniences suburbs embodied the post-war welfare thinking and social utopia. After a decade, the suburban milieu became more mundane, and the discussion got more and more critical tones. On the one hand, suburbs were discussed as the failures of social planning and the sites of alienation. On the other hand, suburban architecture was condemned as aesthetically monotonous and ugly. The problem-oriented approach to suburbs as residential places of rootless people dominated discussion in the Finnish media from the mid-1960s onwards.⁵

The public image of suburbs does not quite match up with the remembrances of the inhabitants. In contrast, they give a more complex and positive picture of suburban living emphasizing the experiential aspects of suburban habitation. Written memories that depict suburban habitation in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area from the 1950s to the 1970s were collected by the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* and other instances between the years 1995 and 2000. In total, there are some 300 narratives.⁶ They focus on daily experiences and the sensory aspects of lived suburban environments. The multilayered and heterogeneous suburban space lives and breaths in these accounts and new housing areas are described sensuously and affectively. The same story unfolds again and again, a story both collective and deeply personal with sensuous individual memories and corporeal experiences.

The positive meanings attached to suburban habitation in the accounts of the inhabitants obviously challenge the construction of suburbs as problems in public discussions. However, my aim is not to claim that either inhabitants or the public opinion was right or wrong. Neither position is innocent; they are both engaged to the point of view of either the inhabitant or the outside expert. Through these contrasting notions on suburban habitation I wish to analyse the notions of home and home place in the specific and located context of the lived and inhabited suburban spaces in Helsinki area from the 1950s to the 1970s. This requires a shifting of perspective from the outside and above observant to the level of inhabitants and their everyday practices, as cultural historian Michel de Certeau has emphasized.⁷ Moreover, as feminist philosopher of science Donna Haraway has pointed out,



Pihlajamäki, Helsinki. Photograph Volker von Bonin 1965. Helsinki City Museum.

knowledge is always located and partial and the viewpoint affects what is seen. This entails the recognition of partiality and situatedness of one's viewpoint; to 'see where to see from'.⁸

In what follows, I concentrate on the Finnish post-war suburban lived spaces. Lived space is formed in the encounters between inhabitants and their environment. It is in a way a constantly transforming in-between space which is more than the sum of the buildings and users together.⁹ Therefore my analysis opens broader perspectives to the consideration of the gendered questions of home and homeplace. Having inhabitants' recollections as my point of departure, I explore how suburbs were turned into meaningful spaces and sites of belonging. Further, I wish to portray a more nuanced and dynamic picture of the Finnish suburbs by focusing on the tension between the public image of suburbs as the sites of alienation, and the depictions of the processes of homing and attachment in the written memories. Moreover, I address the ambiguities concerning the notion of home in the recollections. While home is soothing and offers a safe and familiar space from where to confront the outside world, its meanings and boundaries are simultaneously fluid and moving. It is hence hard to pinpoint where the home begins and where it ends. Finally, I bring forth the complex relation

between gender and suburban habitation by focusing on the agency of inhabitants and by analysing how the mundane habits and practices of suburban habitation were gendered.¹⁰

BUILT AND NARRATED SUBURBAN SPACES

To provide a framework for my analysis, I briefly outline the planning of the Finnish suburbs as well as the media discussion on suburbs. By the 1980s, suburbs had become homes for a vast amount of Finns. From the 1950s onwards Finnish housing construction on the whole was directed outside the previous urban fabric to the new forest suburbs, where contemporary aesthetics and social ideals found embodiment. The construction of suburbs occurred simultaneously with the swift and rapid industrialization and urbanization of the Finnish society that began after the Second World War. The process of urbanization visibly changed the landscape and housing customs. In fact, urbanization meant the suburbanization of Finnish habitation. People moved into the new suburbs from the inadequate dwellings of the city centre, which was considered an unhealthy place for living. Since the 1960s inhabitants also increasingly moved directly from the countryside to the suburbs.¹¹

The construction of new housing estates was connected to the ideal of comprehensive planning and the aim of building in a single stage. As a result of this process, the urban space as a whole was reorganized: dense urban layout was replaced with houses freely arranged in the landscape of pristine natural settings. While the suburbs constructed during the 1950s combined low and high multi-storey buildings with terraced houses and one-family houses, the suburbs of the 1960s and early 1970s consisted mainly of multi-storey buildings. With their spaciousness, suburbs differed from the traditional dense urban fabric. With their multi-family houses they were also different from the rural habitation based on the detached houses of single households, and the closeness of work and habitation. The new urban space close to nature was neither city nor countryside, but something else.¹² The combination of freely arranged 'blocks of flats' and forestry landscape is indeed a distinctive Finnish feature of international Modernism – the new housing estates were even called forest suburbs. The habitation relied

on public transport and services. In this respect, the Finnish suburbs differed from Anglo-American ones where habitation was largely based on detached houses and the use of private cars. My analysis focuses on common features shared by inhabitants of different suburbs in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. Despite the similarities in styles of inhabiting and the relatively homogeneous suburban architectural layout, suburbs also had distinctive local features. While some suburbs were built on unused virgin land, some were located in cultivated land with nearby manors, farmsteads and remnants of previous buildings.

In at least two senses the construction of suburbs involved physical movement: their construction changed the landscape visibly and vast amounts of people relocated into the new suburban dwellings. In Finland, the period of the most intense urbanization occurred between 1965 and 1975 – called the years of the great migration.¹³ It was then that suburban living became an essential aspect of urban living. There was a strong migration flow into the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and southern population centres; more housing had to be built fast. During the period 500,000 new apartments were built, mostly in the new suburbs.¹⁴ Moving is indeed a crucial feature of modern habitation: both in the form of relocation and moving between different spots of the city. This movement takes place either by public transportation or from the 1960s onwards increasingly by private cars. The modernist principle of spatial differentiation extended from the detailed arrangement within the dwelling to town planning. Housing areas were separated from areas of work and industry. Due to the increased leisure-time, the number of summer cottages grew and the practice of two homes reached all social classes. This meant increased movement between (sub)urban home and the countryside.

As a result of the urbanization process, the housing estates or new suburbs became home to a majority of the population in the metropolitan area. By 1975, half a million people, which was one-eighth of the total Finnish population, lived in the post-war residential areas of the Helsinki region. In a half century, the ratio of Finns who live in rural area and cities has been turned on its head. At the end of the Second World War 70 per cent of Finns lived in the countryside, but by the end of the 1990s, 80 per cent lived in the cities or other population centres, and only 10 per cent were directly employed in agriculture and forestry.¹⁵

The construction of forest suburbs during the 1950s and early 1960s was accompanied by optimism and enthusiastic publicity in the media. Towards the end of the 1960s, increased criticism was levelled at the suburbs. Journalists, architects and politicians stigmatized suburbs as ‘dormitory’ or ‘bedroom towns, where ‘life is only residing’. In her analysis of the social construction of the suburb in the Finnish media discussion between the years 1955 and 1993 Irene Roivainen states that the viewpoint of public discourse on suburbs shifted from the idea of heroic planning and urban opportunity during the 1950s and early 1960s, to the problem-oriented writings and the outside perspective of experts towards the end of the 1960s. Concentrating on problems dominated the public discourse until the mid-1990s.¹⁶ Although the critical approach pointed out important features of suburbs, it covered only a part of suburban habitation and did not reach the embodied experiences of inhabitants. This was related both to the perspective of researchers and to the framing of questions. The problem-oriented approach of the outside observer produced problems also as its results.¹⁷ I suggest that the underestimation of the notions of habitation and suburbs themselves was inscribed into the problem-oriented approach to suburbs. And moreover, this underestimation was deeply gendered. The notions of home, dwelling, and suburb all carry cultural associations with women and features regarded as feminine.

Since the mid-1990s, there has been a breaking away from the single-voiced understanding of suburban habitation both in fiction, media, and research; the collection of the written memories of living in the suburbs is an example of an increased interest towards the experiences of the inhabitants. The accounts of inhabitants propose a multifaceted picture of suburbs – the key spaces of Finnish post-war modernity – and suburban habitation. What particularly strikes me is their overall positive tone, which is in apparent contrast with the representations of suburban habitation in the media. Although the accounts call for attention to the drawbacks and rough sides of suburban habitation, too, the vast majority is positive and even nostalgic in tone. It might be that the writers are those whose memories are on the positive side. Moreover, the memory is selective and obliterates many things from the past while it sheds light on other things. For the functioning of memory, ‘forgetting is just as vital as remembering’, as the Egyptologist

Jan Assmann writes drawing on Maurice Halbwachs' widely discussed and also criticized ideas on memory as social phenomenon.¹⁸ In addition, people tend to remember and narrate about the same things in different ways in the different contexts or phases of their life.¹⁹

I propose that even if people's recollections can be read as nostalgic reconstructions of the past, they are written by those who have populated the suburbs. Hence the recollections give a voice to suburban inhabitants and their heterogeneous, embodied memories. Suburbs are described as home places and home districts – features rarely connected with them in public discussions. 'Jakomäki feels like a home district as I have lived there most of my life', wrote a woman who moved to Jakomäki in northern Helsinki as a two-year-old child in 1968.²⁰ In due course suburbs have become people's homes: experienced and socially produced spaces that emerge in the coming together of built environment, surrounding nature, and human beings; spaces that are dynamic, multi-layered, and contradictory.

MOVING INTO A SUBURB

The new suburbs were socially mixed environments following the ideals of the welfare state. Most of those who moved to the up-to-date suburban apartments were young middle class and working class families with children. New apartments were not only equipped with modern conveniences, but the average apartment was also bigger than a decade ago.²¹ Besides offering affordable housing to young families, suburbs were represented as the best possible housing solution for families with children. The age distribution of new suburbs was quite homogeneous: mostly young mothers, fathers, and small children. The majority of narrators, too, recall either the time of their childhood and youth, or life as young mothers and fathers.²² Hence they return to the important and formative years of their lives, like a man who moved to Vuosaari suburb in 1965 as a young father summarized: 'These were my memories of the years of my best working age in Vuosaari. It was the best phase of my life.'²³ As the generations have grown up, suburbs have transformed from richly populated new housing areas to home districts of ageing people with a decreased number of inhabitants.

The criticism towards suburbs voiced confusion in front of the new and strange environment manifested in newspaper titles such as ‘How it is to live in the remotest edges of the city’,²⁴ or ‘I have heard of a city over there’.²⁵ Whereas inhabitants articulated their own experiences and even counter narratives: ‘I don’t find the suburb of my generation from the suburb surveys’, wrote a woman who moved to Karakallio suburb in Espoo as five-year-old child in 1968.²⁶ Suburban habitation is surrounded by a range of cultural meta-narratives and framings which echo as inter texts or counter texts in the recollections of the inhabitants.²⁷ Narrators write out their memories within the context of a wider web of cultural meanings, constructing and reconstructing their historical past. Recollections are shaped by both individual and collective significations and memories, the experienced and layered past. The lived and narrative dimensions of remembering interact and overlap in the recollected.²⁸ For example, narrators retell and reformulate the widely shared ideal of suburban habitation near nature as the ideal mode of living for families with children, while they are critical towards the notion of rootless inhabitants of ‘dormitory towns’.

Although it is possible to read certain willingness to tell the insider’s truth about suburban living from the accounts,²⁹ by the shift of perspective narratives also offer embodied, situated approaches to the suburban life and the transforming meanings of home and belonging. Instead of the view from above and from the outside of the lived suburban spaces, the written accounts of inhabitants present the views of the insiders. They depict the various processes through which new residential areas were turned into home districts. Consequently, recollections challenge the uniform idea of suburban living.

Moving from the city centre to the new suburb as a child in the mid-1960s is also part of my personal housing history. Although each suburb has its own distinct features, I share my memories with generations who moved into the new suburbs as children from the 1950s to the 1970s. Suburban environment has significantly shaped my relations to spaces, places and landscapes; the suburb is an elementary part of my lived spaces marked by the corporeal and affective memories. I, too, have felt an odd uneasiness in front of the single-voiced and critical descriptions of suburban life by outside experts. Likewise many narrators, I recognize only a narrow side of my suburban childhood



Pohjois-Haaga, Helsinki. Photograph Jorma Harju 1961. Helsinki City Museum.

and youth from this problem-oriented discourse. My position as a participant overtly demands me to acknowledge the partiality of my viewpoint, my situated knowledge.³⁰ While my experiences may help me to perceive different features of suburban habitation from what the outside experts have observed, they simultaneously veil others. Therefore, instead of writing about inhabitants' recollections I am writing with them, to refer to Irit Rogoff's ideas of 'writing with art'; the recollections become my interlocutors and vice versa.³¹

RELOCATION AS AN OPPORTUNITY

Moving into the new suburbs was a necessity for some people while it was a choice promising a better future for others. In the housing shortage resulting from the Second World War, new suburbs offered decent and affordable housing to numerous young families. Against a longstanding idea of suburbs as the residential places of migrants from the country-

side, during the 1950s and early 1960s people moved into suburbs mostly from the cramped and technically outdated apartments of the city centre.

A woman recalls moving and settling into her new home as a seven-year-old child from an inner-city flat in 1966:

We moved to Kontula from Mannerheimintie Street, in Töölö. It was like reaching the heaven. In the new communal rental flat water came and went, warm and cold. There was space, even bathroom and toilet inside the flat. Everything was white and clean. In Mannerheimintie Street we lived in a single room in an old wooden house where all modern conveniences were unknown.³²

The before-and-after structure is clear in her account, as she contrasts the wonders of a new home with the inadequacies of the previous one. Many narrators made similarly clear distinctions between their former outdated apartments and the new ‘heavenly’ suburban homes.

Modern conveniences and the new spatial order of the modernist suburban apartments entailed great changes in daily life and affected space, time, and the bodies of the inhabitants. In addition to comfort, new dwellings contained unfamiliar and even strange features as well. In many cases people had to literally learn how to live in the new dwellings. ‘I was scared of sounds and voices which could be heard through the walls. Bumps, dragging, mumbling. Somebody was walking above. In the staircases, doors were closing’, wrote a woman who moved from a wooden courtyard cottage to a brand new apartment block in Pihlajamäki as an eight-year old child in 1965.³³ She emphasized the strangeness of living in an apartment instead of a house. Her depiction is layered with multisensory, embodied memories.³⁴

In the recollections, narrators return repeatedly to the places of the history of their suburban lives, and to the memories of ‘what used to be there.’ Memories are closely tied with perceptions and corporeal sensations of spaces and places. Although suburban spaces and landscapes have been changed and previous places have disappeared or transformed, the traces of previous spatial experiences and sensations are stratified to the suburban space and landscape as ‘accumulated times that can be unfolded’, to quote Michel de Certeau.³⁵ For many writers, the act of remembering momentarily evokes memories of previous experiences and suburban space is depicted as a palimpsest of invisible

things that are no longer there. 'In the place of the current school building, there used to be a farmhouse and cattle in the field', recalled a woman who moved to Pihlajamäki in 1962 as a young mother.³⁶ The absent becomes present when writers re-live previous spatial experiences and corporeal memories. Within their narration the lived, corporeal, and narrative dimensions intertwine.³⁷

Space and time interweave in the recollections of the suburbanites. In the narratives the experienced and affective levels of the past and present overlap, and the narration oscillates between different temporalities: the past of the old dwellings which is left behind, the present of the new sought-after suburban homes, and the present of the narration. When accounts describe moving to a new home in the past, they create the present of the then new suburban home – a kind of present in the past – as well as the past of the previous dwelling.³⁸ Narratives also move towards the future. On the one hand, they depict with affection the promises of a better future that was attainable through the new living environment, and on the other hand they depict the processes of attachment into the new environment. They hence evoke a sense of 'the future in the past', the future that was then.³⁹ Movement towards the future embodies the optimism that frames the narratives both on the level of personal and collective history. The creation of the new suburban neighbourhoods in the 1950s and 1960s was accompanied by the programme of modern social planning that was distinctively utopian and future-oriented. The new housing environment was seen as an instrument of improving people's lives: a rational design of society and housing was meant to create the best possible life for the greatest possible number of people.

On the whole, the accounts are written from the present-day perspective. They cover both the personal history of the narrator and the general history of suburbanization, as well as the transformation of suburban environment. In the narratives the present self encounters the remembered self. Experiences of the past and present intertwine and the lived memories overlap with the shared collective ones.⁴⁰ Narration in the recollections is thick, and often a whole life history is told in a few pages. Descriptions of the new suburban homes carry the memories of several homes with them. Narratives move in time and space, and homes are described as the processes of leaving, moving,

arriving, belonging, and attachment. The idea of home is dispersed into the past, present, and future homes, which often intertwine with each other. In that respect, instead of one home, it is possible to speak a concept of multiple homes.⁴¹ In the space of the current home previous homes echo as well. People carry memories of their previous homes in their mentalities and in their corporeal practices. Homes are hence broadened beyond their demarcated, physical borders. However, also homes – both past and present – change. The meanings of built environments emerge in due time in their use, but also in narrating and memorizing them. This means that built spaces like homes are never complete and finished, but their meanings change over time. Suburban space is therefore in the process of being made in the narratives.⁴²

SITES OF INTEGRITY

For the town dwellers, relocating to the suburbs often meant moving closer to nature. For those coming from the countryside, the suburb meant a more urban environment. In most cases moving signified more spacious accommodation, or at least dwellings that were considered better and more modern than the previous ones. Inhabitants repeatedly emphasized the spaciousness, cosiness, and modern conveniences of their new dwellings.

A new home was not self-evident, but often required hard labour and saving, even struggle. ‘By eating soup, father and mother saved for a state-subsidised Arava home from Kontula. The studio flat changed into a three-room apartment’, wrote a woman who moved to the suburbs from the central Helsinki as a five-year-old child in 1965.⁴³ Many residents visited the construction sites and followed the process of construction of their new homes. ‘Already in the previous summer we went to see the new home under construction. Moving into a new home was a festive moment. It was our first own dwelling’, recalled a woman who moved to Kontula in 1965.⁴⁴ Moving into a new home was connected with the feeling of arrival and joy. Home was hence a destination while it simultaneously formed a link in the series of homes.⁴⁵

For many residents, the sought-after suburban homes were sites of integrity and dignity, and they even had the effect of empowerment.

This reminds me of what the feminist cultural critic bell hooks had written on the construction of home place in the context of African-American history. She advocates for the re-evaluation of the notion of home and emphasizes both the soothing and political aspects of home and the activity of homemaking. According to her, the existence of home constructed by black women was the precondition for political influencing and confronting the world outside the home. Through the security and consolation home becomes a renewing force while at the same time, it is a place in which important things happen.⁴⁶

In the recollections of the suburban inhabitants having a new suburban home felt like a privilege. Moving into the new home had empowering dimensions. A woman who moved to Kontula from the inner-city in 1969 declared: 'And people moved into these suburbs with joy if they only could.'⁴⁷ Rather than describing themselves as passive victims, inhabitants of the new suburbs emphasized the active aspects of relocation and depicted their new dwellings as achievements. A woman who moved from the inner-city to Länsimäki in 1971 expressed this clearly: 'We didn't experience ourselves as mere tools in the hands of politicians, planners, and civil servants, a weak-willed, movable cattle herd, as the later analyses have confirmed suburban inhabitants to be.'⁴⁸ She directly commented on the meta-narrative of suburban inhabitants as victims and pointed towards the agency of inhabitants.⁴⁹

On the basis of the narrated accounts, mothers and children in particular appreciated the luxuries of everyday life in the modern suburbs. The existence of kitchens and bathrooms symbolized the change. Bathrooms were praised in particular by those who were children when relocating, to the extreme that they have been named as bathtub generations.⁵⁰ 'For us children, the highlight was the bathtub, which we did not have previously. We even fought about bath turns and I remember that we all went to the bath already on the first day', recalled a woman who moved to Kontula suburb as an 11-year-old girl in 1966.⁵¹ Many women, in particular, considered the modern apartment and housing environment a daily miracle. It had collective services like laundry rooms, and kindergartens, as well as practical kitchens, running water, bathrooms, and toilets. From women's perspective, the modern housing environment was indeed a true blessing in daily life. 'The first morning in our own kitchen where I could for the first time have warm water

from my own tap is unforgettable. It was no more needed to draw water from a frozen well. Such happiness', stated a woman recalling her new home in Herttoniemi in 1955.⁵²

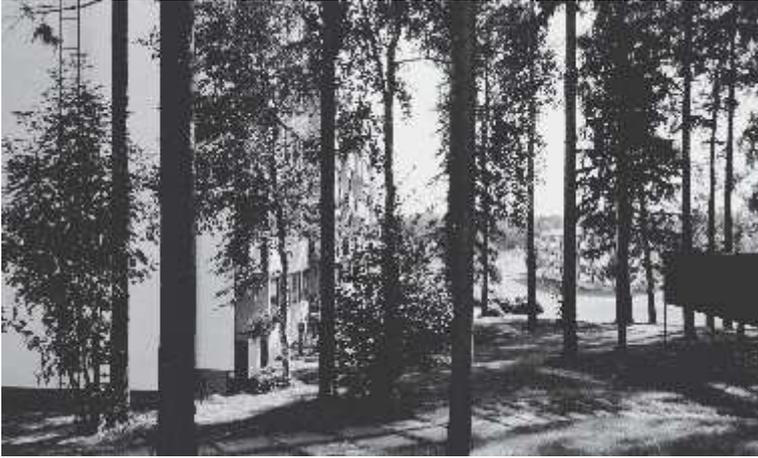
The new up-to-date dwellings with modern conveniences and rationalized, fitted kitchens embodied the optimism and promises of the better future intimately connected with the new suburban ideal. Evidently they played a key role in the process of homing and rooting in the new housing district. The comfort of the new home provided support for confronting the outside world.⁵³

FROM RESIDENTIAL PLACES TO HOME REGIONS

The new apartments were a precondition for the processes in which suburbs emerged as home regions. However, it strikes me that while the cosiness of the new homes was repeatedly praised most attention in the recollections was paid to the life outside the dwellings. The sense of home and being at home were attached wider – or even primarily – to the suburban neighbourhood, landscape, nearby nature, social relations, personal and shared history. The daily life in the suburbs and social networks were mostly located outside the homes, often literally outdoors in sandboxes, playgrounds, forests, shopping centres, and sporting grounds. For many, the surrounding nature had a crucial role in the process of homing. It provided space both for secrecies and comfort, safety and soothing. 'There was a complete chaos in the yard. The closest store was in the neighbouring suburb where my job was also. But we did have a FOREST!' states a woman who moved to Kontula in 1966 as a young mother.⁵⁴

Nature was omnipresent in habitation. Trees and sky could be seen from the windows and one could easily walk into the forest and to the unconstructed idle land. Moreover, nature compensated the inconsistencies of the uncompleted environment.

Many narrators felt 'at home' in the woods and idle land, and stressed the importance of the nearby nature.⁵⁵ The relationship between the settled and unsettled, built and not-yet-built land was a key feature in suburban habitation. Suburbs combined comprehensive architectural planning with unconstructed strips on the borders, or right in the middle



Vuosaari, Helsinki. Photograph Simo Rista 1970. Helsinki City Museum.

of housing areas. For generations who have grown up in the suburbs, the meanings of the environment were essentially formed in the relationships and encounters between the constructed and the unconstructed, and the constant crossing of borders. The woods were secret hiding-places and spaces to settle and to make one's own. The woods were particularly important for children and young people. For those who moved from the countryside to a suburb, nature facilitated the attachment to the new home district. 'Moving into the capital district would hardly have been permanent for me if my apartment had not been located as near nature as it was', recalled a man who moved to Kontula as a young father in 1965.⁵⁶

Narrators write extensively about the importance of the surrounding nature. However, the notion of nature is loose and undefined; it ranges from trees, birds, and animals to the woods. It is something non-human and in diametrical opposition with the built environment made by human beings. Through its location close to the nature and its architectural solutions, such as large picture windows, modern architecture simultaneously facilitated the interaction between housing and nature. Moreover, nature provided a space to make ones' own, and it had also homely features: inhabitants felt at home in the midst of the woods. The sense of belonging was deeply informed by the suburban landscape.⁵⁷

As nature, so also the notion of home is fluid and escapes strict definitions in the recollections. Instead of a static place demarcated by walls, home is experienced as a spatially unlimited structure which stretches outside its visible boundaries to the nearby environment. The borders of home move: the inside and outside of home are not clearly separated, but the interior of home and the surrounding environment interact with each other. The sense of home and homeliness ranges from a dwelling to the neighbourhood, social relations, shared and personal histories, and corporeal memories and sensations. Homes are simultaneously intimate and social spaces. The meanings of home are negotiated in the movement between the inside and outside, in the interaction of inhabitants' private everyday life and shared cultural meanings and habits.⁵⁸

Without defining the notions of home or home district, or directly writing about the home, writers touch widely on the meanings associated with home. They often explicitly recall their attachment to the new living environment and the importance of new dwelling with modern conveniences, the nearby environment, as well as the social relations and networks in these processes. Their accounts tell about multilayered processes of homing in which new residential districts were transformed into home regions. Homing and attachment are processes that happen little by little. Through habitation, suburbs have become home districts and mental landscapes for those who have lived and grown up in them. A woman who moved to Kontula in 1965 as a young mother wrote: 'However, the best thing here is that we Kontula-people grew up here with the settlement. We saw how this suburb was built up almost out of blue and each new building and service point was like a personal gift.'⁵⁹ Whereas the history of suburban habitation has been framed by the discourses of suburbs as the sites of rootless migrants from the countryside,⁶⁰ the recollections of suburban living markedly emphasize the notion of suburbs as home regions. In their daily activities, movements, and gestures people have inhabited suburbs and added their own multiple levels of meaning and memories into their environment, producing meaningful spaces.⁶¹

Narrators create a spirit of we-ness of suburban inhabitants and the sense of togetherness of suburban generations, by linking their own experiences with parallel experiences of other suburban inhabitants.

'Espoo became my home town, not just one of its suburbs. I learned to love the multiplicity of Espoo, its different suburbs and the diversity of atmospheres and landscapes. Indeed, I think that people in their thirties who grew up in the suburbs feel the same way', wrote a woman who moved to Karakallio as a five-year-old child in 1968.⁶² The process of remembering in narratives creates the sense of shared past and community among suburban inhabitants and strengthens social ties among them.

The homogeneous age structure of the inhabitants made the process of settling into the new environment smoother. Majority of the inhabitants had many people of the same age and stage of life for company. A woman who moved to Kontula in 1967 recalled: 'A good feature in suburbs is that lots of families of the same age move to them and families get to know each other through children. Homing goes off by itself.'⁶³ There were only a few residents who were already living in the areas that were being newly built. People moved to the suburbs from different parts of city or countryside and shared the experience of being newcomer. 'A common feature for all the residents of the house was that we all moved in from different quarters of the city. Mostly families with children', wrote a woman who moved to Myllypuro in 1965.⁶⁴ Most of the suburban inhabitants were young families with children and likewise, most of over 300 narratives depicted the life of families with children.⁶⁵ The nuclear and, by definition, heterosexual family lay also at the core of suburban ideology and social politics of the 1950s. The basis for the housing planning and construction was the welfare of the family and the planning of good family dwellings fulfilling the minimal requirements of healthy housing near nature. Most of the housing was planned with the average inhabitant in mind, which is the nuclear heterosexual family. In this respect, the construction of the new suburbs can be characterized as a huge production of middle class hetero health.⁶⁶

The recollections reinforce and reproduce the public image of suburbs as spaces of young families. In the narratives, suburbs and particularly suburban out-door life with the abundance of children emerges as a children's paradise. 'You never felt lonely. When you entered the yard, somebody always saw you from the window and came out', wrote a woman who was born in Puotinharju in 1962.⁶⁷ Especially

from the children's point of view, the social life and friends outside of the family apartment were important. 'Our yard' structured the suburban life. Although playing spread outside the yard, it formed a world of its own. Or as the woman I quoted in the beginning stated: 'As a child I never wanted to leave our yard. There was everything one could want.'⁶⁸ The yard was a familiar, homelike heart from which to perceive and map out the surrounding suburban environment.

In their accounts, many narrators return to their childhood landscape which is both familiar and decisively transformed. Not only landscapes but also narrators have changed. Narrators emphasize both the positive sensuous and corporeal meanings attached to the childhood environment and the feeling of homecoming and nostalgia. Their recollections of themselves and the places where they lived may be markedly positive.⁶⁹ Sensuous memories, scents, and voices are inscribed into the physical places and details of the childhood landscape. Narrators also carry with them the corporeal memories of previous spatial experiences that actualize in the process of memorizing. In an interview the Finnish film director, Kaisa Rastimo, explained her return to the childhood suburb Tapiola precisely with this detail: 'The scent of roses persuaded me to return. Scents and smells inscribe on the unconsciousness, and in my childhood roses smelled.'⁷⁰

A kind of settler spirit is typical for the written accounts. They share a sense of being part of the emergence of something new through the construction of the new housing environment. 'It was as if the construction enthusiasm had affected all suburban residents. People's whole beings seemed to express the hope of a better future', wrote a man who moved to Paloheinä as a child in 1950.⁷¹ Aspirations towards a better future through suburban habitation were both personal, and deeply embedded in the suburban ideology. It was believed that everyday environment had an immediate effect on people's mental and physical well-being.⁷²

The incompleteness of the environment was a crucial feature of suburban habitation. In the early stages of building, suburbs were places of constant change. The environment and landscape were constantly in motion and new buildings sprouted extra floors in the blink of an eye. A sense of living in the middle of a construction site and waiting for future services is tangible in many accounts. They remind settler



Construction of Kontula 1964, Helsinki. Helsinki City Museum.

stories and like this woman who moved to Kontula in 1965 as a young mother, many narrators compared themselves to settlers: ‘We felt like settlers. The environment and services were still incomplete, but I don’t remember it ever bothering us. We adjusted our lives according to that. This was indeed only an interim phase.’²⁷³

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE AGENCY OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Many writers point out how crucial the social relations and networks were for the formation of a sense of belonging to the new home place. Emphasis on the neighbourliness in the accounts is particularly notable, as the lack of social relations was repeatedly brought up in the criticism as a focal point of suburban living. Several writers opposed the negative views on suburban life in general and the scarcity of its social life in

particular. A woman who moved to Mellunmäki in 1968, as a six-year-old child wrote:

My childhood in Mellunmäki is no longer there. Suburbs are always described negatively, nobody knows anyone else, and lonely families huddled around their TV sets at home. But a child's memory sees it differently. When I was a child Mellunmäki was a wonderful place, and I would not have wanted to move away from there.⁷⁴

The sense of community and the importance of neighbours – together with the surrounding nature – facilitated attachment to the new neighbourhood. A woman who moved to Kontula in 1969 as a young mother wrote: 'In due time it emerged as a kind of agreement of mutual friendship and assistance, which gave everyone joy and benefit. It never became a burden. This was indeed a miracle, because in the inner-city, my husband and I didn't even know our neighbour on the same floor.'⁷⁵

In fact, in the suburban ideology and public opinion, the demand for the neighbourliness and the sense of community was much stronger than in the traditional city blocks.⁷⁶ From the point of view of the recollections, it seems that the notion of the absence of the sense of community in suburbs was almost an obsession, and prevented the recognition of suburban social relations. 'From a child's point of view, life in the new suburb was marvellous. A steady stream of new families moved in and there were plenty of play mates and later school mates', told a woman who moved to Siltamäki in 1969 as a five-year-old child⁷⁷, whereas a woman who moved to Pihlajamäki as an eight-year-old child in 1965 wrote: 'In the food store mother got to know people who were always somebody's mother or farther.'⁷⁸ In her account mother had a key role in the intermediation of social relations and networks. Adults got to know other adults primarily through their same-age children.

Public criticism therefore contrasted with the experiences of residents. The enclosed environment had great significance in the daily lives of women and children. They both played an important role in the creation and maintenance of social networks in the suburbs as well as in the formation of multiple, informal everyday meanings. Instead of the absence of social relations, suburbs formed small communities and various looser or tighter networks existed of mutual friendship and neighbour help. Those networks were, however, largely based on social

relations among women and children. While the suburbs were criticized for lacking social relations, this was mainly done from the point of view of the outside – and often masculine – observer, whereas no attention was paid to the suburban daily life, or informal relations between and among women and children.

Ideologically at all levels of housing planning, and in the daily practices of habitation, the notions of suburban habitation and home were clearly gendered. In the planning of the housing environment and society as a whole, the mothers of small children were placed in the home and its immediate surroundings, in a ‘small world’.⁷⁹ It is evident that the planning of suburbs was based on a limited and narrow view of domesticity and genders. However, I suggest the shift of focus from the macro perspective of the external observer, which puts the emphasis on vision and seeing, to the ground level of users, following the ideas of Michel de Certeau. He has distinguished the meanings that are formed in the distant observation of cities from those that arose in the use of space and daily activities.⁸⁰ This may also give room for women’s heterogeneous experiences and corporeal spatial practices in suburban habitation.

The point of view of the external observer valued expert knowledge and regarded inhabitants as victims in a passive position in their lives. While in the Finnish sociological research on suburban living in the late 1970s and early 1980s men were regarded as lacking their own space, women were seen as useless housewives sitting beside the sandboxes. This criticism devalued the agency of women, and women were seen as prisoners of space. Social relations among and between women and children were put in a secondary position, compared to the couple relations or the relations between men.⁸¹ Already in the late 1960s attention was paid to the problems of bored, unoccupied and isolated suburban housewives labeled ‘green widows’, and portrayed in the Finnish film *Vihreä leski* (Green widow) by Jaakko Pakkasvirta (1968). Following the film, newspapers focused their critical gaze towards suburban housewives. Criticism raised an enthusiastic discussion in which women defended both the active aspects of their lifestyle and suburban habitation in general or argued that the problems of the mothers of small children were not related precisely to the mode of habitation either in the suburb or in the city centre.⁸² In the early 1970s,

Finnish women's magazines, too, voiced criticism towards women staying at home, as Eeva Jokinen points out elsewhere in this volume. Public discussions moved away from the active housewife discourse of the post-war decades towards the working mother and just-a-housewife discourse. The discussion established a hierarchical relationship between women and devalued the activities of housewives. Instead of making homes, women only stayed at home.⁸³ Housewifery was regarded as passive and uncreative, whereas active action was taken outside the home. Moving, leaving, and doing were not only valued more than staying at home, but were also detached from the activities at home. Hence home was regarded as an immobile place lacking all dimensions of creativity and activity.⁸⁴

For many women the new homes and the suburban environment were spaces for both work and leisure. Women were active agents in the actual use of new the dwellings and the suburban space, while the new domestic environment simultaneously affected space, time, and the bodies of the inhabitants. Women both shaped their domestic environment and were shaped by it.⁸⁵ Through their daily activities, women infused multiple levels of meaning into their homes, producing meaningful spaces. In her exploration of the meanings of home, the feminist philosopher Iris Marion Young has emphasized the activities of inhabitants in the emergence of spatial meanings. Dwellings are made into homes through the active and affective 'home work' embedded in the materiality of rooms, objects, routines, habits, and personal histories, through 'performing basic activities of life'.⁸⁶ This underlines the creative aspects of habitation and homemaking.⁸⁷ The spatial order of the suburban home and its surroundings supported – or interfered with – routines by providing 'pathways for habits'.⁸⁸ For women, suburban homes were sites of numerous acts, which they constantly shaped and reshaped as their own through their corporeal habits, actions and routines, and in turn were shaped by their arrangements.

It seems that men, who were often absent from the suburbs at day-time, became attached to the new environment slower than most women and children – both girls and boys. Women and children settled into the suburban space in their use of space, in recurrent daily routines and habits. They constructed their relationship with the environment and, through that, created 'their' spaces. The suburban daily life consisted



Shopping centre in Herttoniemi. Photograph S. Salokangas 1957. Helsinki City Museum.

of habitual and contingent gendered acts. In her study on gender, habits and everyday life Eeva Jokinen has analysed genders as habits and lived relations. According to her, gendered habits are silent knowledge and histories that are stratified into the body, and formed in relation to cultural and social structures. Acting like a man or like a woman is a crucial element in the construction of complementary, hetero-like gender relations. They are available for the use of people but they are not features of individuals.⁸⁹ In the inhabitants' accounts of suburban living it is possible to read how gender-like habits defined suburban daily life as embodied practices and the horizon of cultural expectations. It seems that suburban life and daily spatial practices opened more possibilities for the agency of women and children, than for men. Both the domestic

space and its nearby environment was culturally, as well as in housing practices, defined as a women's sphere of action.⁹⁰ This is of course a generalization, which does not necessarily hold on the level of individual suburban inhabitants. The suburban daily life was more complex. Many women were working outside homes, many had part-time jobs or did various statistically invisible jobs, such as child care, sewing, typing, and cleaning at homes. Sports fields and voluntary work offered spaces for men too, and during the early years construction workers were omnipresent in suburbs. Moreover, it also seems that the emphasis on the idea of men as outsiders or visitors in the domestic space, as portrayed in research, might further reinforce the connection between women and home, and even produce the idea of men as victims in the domestic space.

HABITATION: A PRIMARY FEATURE OF SUBURBS

For many middle-aged Helsinki residents, the suburb is the primary landscape of their childhood and youth, replete with personal recollections of places and spatial experiences. With their activities, inhabitants have shaped their environment and created meaningful spaces, and a sense of continuity of personal and shared histories. Instead of passive consumers, inhabitants are creators of their environment, and its meanings in particular. Habitation has turned suburbs into own and familiar home places. A mother who moved to Maunula in 1962 recalled that after living there ten years: 'After the summer holiday, I began to sense the warm feeling when I sat on the bus and approached Mäkelänkatu Street. This is my hometown.'⁹¹ The attachment to a new environment was often a slow process and took place through active 'home work'.

However, suburban habitation included tensions and contradictions too. Many inhabitants began to feel at home in the new suburbs, but others felt themselves more like strangers in their new environment. Their relationship to the new housing district was characterized by the sense of unhomeliness, even mental homelessness. In some accounts the notions of suburb and homeplace appear as the polar opposites. A woman who moved to Myyrmäki in 1971 as a 10-year-old child

crystallized her sense of not-belonging and the idea of suburb as not-place: ‘The greatest trauma in my life is the non-city of Vantaa. Nobody came from there and I didn’t come from there. I have to come from no-where, because that place was no-where.’⁹²

For many, the suburb was a living environment among others, one possible place to live. It contained more opportunities than problems. As a woman who moved as a young mother to Kontula in 1967 from another suburb expressed, most narrators felt that living in a suburb was more a choice than obligation: ‘Kontula is a good place to live in. A home district!’⁹³ Or to quote a woman who moved to Matinkylä in 1970 as a young mother: ‘I am a suburban person.’⁹⁴

In good and bad, inhabiting can be regarded as the primary feature of suburbs: above all people inhabit them. However, instead of ‘mere residing’, living is an active and creative process. If Martin Heidegger’s idea of dwelling as the human manner of being on the earth is taken seriously, it sets strong demands for respecting inhabitants both in the planning and analysis of housing milieu,⁹⁵ as discussed by Hanna Johansson and James Tuedio elsewhere in this volume. Heidegger distinguishes between two aspects of building: constructing and cultivating, both present in dwelling. However, in his analysis, Heidegger concentrates on the different modes of construction, omitting cultivation and preservation. Iris Marion Young argues that while valuing the construction more than cultivation, Heidegger implicitly supports gendered settings, in which the construction is culturally regarded as men’s field of activity and nurturance and maintenance are connected with women and the home. Moreover, the construction is valued as an active and creative establishing of the world, whereas cultivation and preservation are passive aspects of building and dwelling.⁹⁶

In the context of suburbs, the questions of habitation, maintenance, femininity, and home are even more complex. Public discussions on suburbs created an image of suburbs as spaces of women and children and hence reinforced the connection between women and suburban home. Living in the suburbs was regarded as a passive quality. It was claimed that habitation in the suburbs centred around the dwellings, which, however, were understood more as safety-boxes than homes with multilayered meanings.⁹⁷ It seems that the discussion placed suburbs on the periphery of culture and created and supported the dichotomy

between the active city life (or rural lifestyle) and passive suburban habitation, and their masculine and feminine cultural connotations.⁹⁸

The analysis of written accounts and suburban space side by side opens a multifaceted angle to suburban living. Home and dwelling are not something, which suburban space as a container just receives. The acts and events of habitation formed and created the lived suburban spaces, homes, and home districts. In due course inhabitants became familiar with their new environment and knew how to move and behave in it, thus making sense of it. The meanings of home and home district, as well as the attachment to the home district happens through habitation; through the construction and making of home place in daily doings, in the preservation and care, in the arrangement of furniture and things, in corporeal habits and gestures, in the use of environment and in the social relations, as inhabitants' written memories point out.⁹⁹ These activities are not passive, but the creation and maintaining of home are interconnected and ongoing processes.

From the perspective of the inhabitants, the new housing areas may be regarded as multilayered lived spaces and the sites of various activities. Life in the suburbs was not 'only residing'. Instead, by their embodied acts, by inhabiting, inhabitants continuously shaped suburbs to their home districts. They were active agents in the actual use of the suburban space and new dwellings, in the acts of habitation, through which they inhabited their environment.

Women played a crucial role in these activities through which suburbs were emerging as home places. Without fixing the connection between women and homes, and without romanticizing the often invisible and unnoticed work of women at home, I point out the everyday agency of women. Homes and the sense of home were shaped and reshaped through material, emotional, and social homework. In the rethinking of home, there are always dangers of re-domesticating women and re-creating another 'feminine mystique'.¹⁰⁰ Despite that, and instead of overlooking and devaluing the lives of many women in the new suburban domestic environment, I would like to suggest that one can also consider women's lived suburban spaces to include multiple and even contradictory meanings. The point of view goes beyond the idea that inhabitants also learn to live with what they have, making 'the best of their situation'. While the attention given to the active and creative aspects

of homemaking may celebrate women's domestic work and redo the connection of women and home, the denial of home may by turn lead to the devaluing of home, suburban living, and women's agency in suburban habitation. Instead of bystanders in their life, inhabitants were constantly shaping their suburban environment, turning it into meaningful spaces.

NOTES

- 1 Helsingin Sanomat 7 February 1982. 'Sokeripala metsän keskellä. Lähiö on maaseudun ja kaupungin taitekohta, jossa elämä on pelkkää asumista.'
- 2 Helsinki City Archives, HS 8. 'Asumisen aloittaminen Herttoniemessä ja eläminen siellä yli 20 vuotta teki siitä kotiseudun, jossa oli oma pihapiiri talon lapsineen ja naapureineen.'
- 3 Helsinki City Archives, HS Espoo 38. 'Lapsena minä en koskaan halunnut lähteä pois meidän pihalta. Siellä oli kaikkea mitä voi kaivata: kallioita, puita, pensaita, krookuksia, hiekkalaatikoita, keinoja, leikkimökkejä, liukumäki ja vihreät. Vihreät olivat kiipeilytelineet.'
- 4 The new suburban environment was also the topic on radio, television, films and fiction.
- 5 Roivainen 1999, p. 134.
- 6 The largest collection *Life in the suburbs (Elämää lähiöissä)* was collected by the newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat* between 1995 and 1996 (Helsinki City Archives). It contains over 200 stories over 40 different suburbs and is partly published in Astikainen et al. 1997. The Folklore Archives of the Finnish Literature Society has two collections describing habitation in Kontula (33 accounts) and Siilitie (49 accounts) collected in 1999–2000. They are partly published in Kokkonen 2002 and Kesänen 2002. In addition, I have used 23 accounts describing suburban habitation in the collection Helsinki as a living environment (*Helsinki elämänympäristönä*) collected by ethnologist Anna-Maria Åström in 1995.
- 7 Certeau 1990, pp. 139–142.
- 8 Haraway 1991, p. 194.
- 9 Saarikangas 2006, pp. 36–42. See also Certeau 1990, pp. 173–174; Lefebvre 1974, p. 42–55; Merleau-Ponty 1993, p. 337.
- 10 The historical and cultural interlinking of women, homes and habitation that is continued in suburbs provides the starting point for my analysis.
- 11 Saarikangas 1999, p. 203.
- 12 See Bhabha 1990; Bhabha 1994, pp. 28–29.
- 13 The years from 1965 to 1975 saw the heaviest migration from the countryside to the city, as well as to Sweden; this period is called the years of the great migration.
- 14 Juntto 1990, p. 263.
- 15 At the beginning of 2000, people change both home and work place a lot. The volume of migration from sparsely populated areas to the growth centres and inside growth centres is comparable with the years of the 'great migration'.
- 16 Roivainen 1999, pp. 39–40, 56–61.
- 17 Snellman 2003, pp. 22–23.
- 18 Assmann 2006, p. 3; see also Halbwachs 1992.

- 19 Knuuttila 1994, p. 60.
- 20 Helsinki City Archives, HS 111. 'Se tuntuu niin kuin kotiseudulta, kun siellä on suurimman osan elämästään elänyt.'The public image of Jakomäki has been particularly negative.
- 21 Increased dwelling space, growing wealth and the mass-production of furniture made home interior decoration an object of interest for larger amounts of people than before, as Minna Sarantola-Weiss shows in her contribution in this book. In the recollections, however, only little attention is paid to the aesthetics or detailed furnishing of home. Most attention is paid to the overall joy of modern conveniences and the nearby environment.
- 22 Slightly more than half of the narrators depict the years of their childhood and youth and slightly less than half the life of young families with children. Three quarters of narrators are female and one quarter is men.
- 23 Helsinki City Archives, HS 93. 'Tässä olivat minun muistelmani parhaimman työikäni ajasta Vuosaaressa. Se oli elämäni paras kausi.'
- 24 'Mitä on elää pääkaupunkiseudun äärimmäisissä nurkissa', *Helsingin Sanomat* 26 October 1975.
- 25 'Olen kuullut on kaupunki tuolla', *Helsingin Sanomat* 9 November 1975. The title of newspaper article inverted the longing towards heaven in the popular spiritual song from the late 1940s to the description of monotonous and unfamiliar suburban neighbourhoods about which writers have only heard.
- 26 Helsinki City Archives, HS Espoo 5. "'Lähiötutkielmista" en löydä oman sukupolveni lähiötä.'
- 27 Koivunen 2003, pp. 27–28.
- 28 Tuomaala 2009; Leydesdorff 1999, pp. 597–601.
- 29 See Latvala 2006, pp. 179–181.
- 30 Haraway 1991, pp. 193–194.
- 31 Rogoff 2003, pp. 133–134.
- 32 Helsinki City Archives, HS 75. 'Me muutimme Kontulaan Töölöstä, Mannerheimintieltä. Tuntui kuin olisi taivaaseen päässyt: uudessa kaupungin vuokrataksiossa vesi tuli ja meni, oli tilaa – kylpyhuonekin, ja sisäveesa – ja kaikki oli valkoista ja puhdasta. Mannerheimintiellä olimme asuneet vanhassa puutalossa, 20 neliön hellahuoneessa, missä kaikki mukavuudet olivat tuntemattomia.'
- 33 Helsinki City Archives, HS 41. 'Minua pelottivat äänet, joita kuului seinien takaa. Kolahduksia, laahausta, mutinaa. Yläpuolella käveli joku. Rapussa kävi ovi.'
- 34 See e.g. Tuomaala 2009.
- 35 Certeau 1984, p. 108; Certeau 1990, p. 163.
- 36 Helsinki City Archives, HS 40. 'Nykyisten koulurakennusten paikalla oli maatalo, jonka laiturilla oli mm. nautakarjaa.'
- 37 Saarikangas 2007, p. 106–108.
- 38 Knuuttila 1994, pp. 11–12.
- 39 Koivunen 2007, p. 145.
- 40 See e.g. Tuomaala 2009.
- 41 Vilko 2007, p. 19.
- 42 See e.g. Massey 2005, p. 9, 124.
- 43 Helsinki City Archives, HS 72. 'Soppaa syöden isä ja äiti säästivät arava-asunnon Kontulasta. Yksiö vaihtui kolmioon.'
- 44 Helsinki City Archives, HS 69. 'Jo edellisenä kesänä oli käyty katsomassa rakenteilla olevaa uutta kotia. Uuteen kotiin muutto oli juhlahetki. Se oli ensimmäinen oma asunto.'
- 45 Fortier 2003, pp. 129–131.

- 46 hooks 1990, pp. 41–49.
- 47 Helsinki City Archives, HS 76. 'Kyllä niihin lähiöihin riemulla muutettiin, kuka vain pääsi.'
- 48 Helsinki City Archives, HS Vantaa 70. '[E]mmekä kokeneet itseämme sellaiseksi poliitikkojen, suunnittelijoiden ja virkamiesten ilman omaa tahtoa liikuteltavaksi karjalauman osaseksi, jollaiseksi myöhemmät analyysit ovat lähiöasukkaat todistaneet.'
- 49 Vuosaari was incorporated to Helsinki in 1966, a few years after its construction has started. However, with the exception of Vuosaari suburb in the eastern border of Helsinki inhabitants were not involved in the planning process. In Vuosaari they actively participated in the construction work which was largely based on volunteer work.
- 50 Kesänen 2002, pp. 12–13.
- 51 Finnish Literature Society, Kontula collection, 135. 'Meidän lasten mielestä kohokohta oli kylpyamme, jollaista meillä ei aikaisemmin ollut. Suorastaan tappelimme kuka pääsee ensimmäisenä kylpyyn ja taisimme jokainen kylpeä jo ensimmäisenä päivänä.'
- 52 Helsinki City Archives, HS 8. 'Mieleen jäävä oli ensimmäinen aamu omassa keittiössä, jossa ensimmäisen kerran sai laskea käsille lämmintä vettä 'omasta' kraanasta, ei tarvinnut vintata (nostaa) ämpärillä jäätyneestä kaivosta. Sitä onnea!' See also Lilja 1999, 45–46.
- 53 hooks 1990, p. 42.
- 54 Helsinki City Archives, HS 80. 'Pihaluueella vallitsi vielä kaaos, koska taloyhtiöön kuuluvia toisia taloja vielä rakennettiin. Lähin kauppa oli Myllypurossa, jossa oli myös työpaikkani. Mutta mitä noista! Olihan meillä METSÄ.' On suburban nature, see Saarikangas 2005.
- 55 More detailed analysis of the role of nature in suburban habitation Saarikangas 2005, pp. 214–216.
- 56 Finnish Literature Society, Kontula 56. 'Muutto pääkaupunkiseudulle tuskin kohdaltani olisi jäänyt pysyväksi, jos ei asuntolani olisi sijainniltaan niin lähellä luontoa.'
- 57 hooks 2007, p. 9.
- 58 Certeau, Giard et Mayol 1994 pp. 205–210; Massey 1994, p. 169.
- 59 Helsinki City Archives, HS 67. 'Parasta täällä on kuitenkin se, että me kontulalaiset kasvoimme tänne asutuksen myötä. Me näimme kuinka tämä lähiö rakentui kuin melkein tyhjästä, ja jokainen uusi talo ja palvelupiste valmistuttuaan oli kuin henkilökohtainen lahja.'
- 60 See Roivainen 1999, 60, Saarikangas 2002, pp. 495–496.
- 61 Young 1997, p. 150; Certeau 1990, p. 173.
- 62 Helsinki City Archives, HS Espoo 5. 'Espoosta tuli minun kotikaupunkini, ei pelkästään yhdestä lähiöstä. Opin rakastamaan Espoon monimuotoisuutta, erilaisia lähiöitä, erilaisia tunnelmia, erilaisia maisemia. Luulenpa, että muutkin kolmekymppiset lähiöissä kasvaneet tuntevat samoin.'
- 63 Helsinki City Archives, HS 73. 'Lähiön hyvänä puolena on, että sinne muuttaa paljon samanikäisiä perheitä, jotka tutustuvat lasten kautta toisiinsa. Kotiutuminen sujuu luonnostaan.'
- 64 Helsinki City Archives, HS 65. 'Yhteistä kaikille talon asukkaalle oli se, että muutimme eri puolelta kaupunkia. Etupäässä lapsiperheitä.'
- 65 The few exceptions were an elderly single lady who was over 60 when she moved in and two childless couples. In addition, few narrators lived in families that deviated from the normative nuclear family model. They had families of divorced mothers with children, siblings and children or three generation households. In few cases domestic workers also lived in the family dwelling.
- 66 See Saarikangas 2002, pp. 404–405.

- 67 Helsinki City Archives, HS 52. 'Koskaan ei tarvinnut olla yksin. Aina kun meni pihalle, näki joku kaveri ikkunasta ja tuli ulos.'
- 68 Helsinki City Archives, HS Espoo 38. 'Lapsena minä en koskaan halunnut lähteä pois meidän pihalta.'
- 69 Knuutila 1994, pp. 9–11.
- 70 Ruusun tuoksu houkutteli Kaisa Rastimon Tapiolaan. *Helsingin Sanomat* 25 September 2003.
- 71 Helsinki City Archives, HS 16. 'Ihmisten koko olemus tuntui ilmaisevan toivetta paremmasta huomisesta.'
- 72 Saarikangas 2002, pp. 390–393.
- 73 Helsinki City Archives, HS 69. 'Tunsimme itsemme uudisasukkaiksi. Kaikki oli uutta; ympäristö ja palvelut vielä keskeneräisiä, mutta en muista sen koskaan haitanneen. Elämä mukautettiin sen mukaan. Tämähän oli vain välivaihe.'
- 74 Helsinki City Archives, HS 119. 'Lähiöistä annetaan aina aika ankea kuva, kukaan ei tunne toisiaan ja perheet kököttävät yksinäisinä kotona telkkaria töllöttämässä. Lapsen muistoissa asia oli aivan toisin. Minun lapsuuteni Mellunmäki oli ihana paikka, josta en olisi millään halunnut muuttaa pois.'
- 75 Helsinki City Archives, HS 76. 'Kehkeytyi ajan oloon sellainen ystävyys ja avunantosuhde, josta kaikille oli iloa ja hyötyä. Koskaan se ei muodostunut rasitukseksi. Tämä oli meistä varsinainen ihme, koskapa mieheni ja minä emme kantakaupungissa asuessamme tunteet edes kerrosnaapuriamme.'
- 76 Lilja 1999, pp. 116–118; Nikula 2003, p. 125.
- 77 Helsinki City Archives, HS 117. 'Elämä uudessa lähiössä oli lapsen silmin katsottuna suurenmoista. Uusia perheitä muutti liukuhihnalta lähiöön ja samanikäisiä leikki- ja myöhemmin koulukavereita oli paljon.'
- 78 Helsinki City Archives, HS 41. 'Kaupassa äiti tutustui ihmisiin, jotka olivat aina jonkun äiti tai isä.'
- 79 Hirdman 1989, p. 96.
- 80 Certeau 1990, pp. 139–142.
- 81 Jokinen 1996, p. 183. The critical approach to suburbs is crystallized in Kortteinen 1982.
- 82 On the newspaper discussion see Roivainen 1999, pp. 80–83, 134. At the time, full-time suburban housewives were often called 'Green widows' for example in the Netherlands as Irene Cieraad writes elsewhere in this volume.
- 83 See also Matthews 1987.
- 84 See Young 1997. Criticism hence echoed the feminist ideas of Simone de Beauvoir and her distinction towards passive, maintaining housework and active, creative work, immanence and transcendence.
- 85 Foucault 1976, p. 81; see also Llewellyn 2004.
- 86 Young 1997, p. 162.
- 87 Young 1997, pp. 149–150, see also Ahmed et al. 2003, p. 9.
- 88 Young 1997, p. 150.
- 89 Jokinen 2005, pp. 50–51; see also Veijola and Jokinen 2008, p. 169.
- 90 See also Jokinen 2005, p. 15.
- 91 Kesäloman jälkeen se lämmin tunne sai valtaansa, kun bussissa istuin ja jo Mäkelänkadun puistokadulle tultaessa tuntui hyvältä. Tämä on kotikaupunkini. Helsinki as a living environment. I: 134, p. 5.
- 92 Helsinki City Archives, HS Vantaa 79. 'Minun elämäni suurin trauma on Vantaan kaltainen epäkaupunki, josta kukaan ei ollut kotoisin ja josta minä en ollut kotoisin. Oli pakko olla kotoisin ei-mistään, koska se paikka on ei-mikään.'

- 93 Helsinki City Archives, HS 77. 'Kontula on hyvä paikka asua. Kotipaikkakunta!'
 94 Helsinki City Archives, HS Espoo 30. 'Olen lähiöihminen.'
 95 Heidegger 1971, p. 147.
 96 Young 1997, pp. 136–138.
 97 See e.g. Puolen miljoonan ihmisen koko elämä, *Helsingin Sanomat* 1 November 1975.
 98 Saegert 1980, pp. S96–98; Shields 1991, p. 3.
 99 Young 1997, p. 162.
 100 See Friedan 1963.

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THE COUPLE'S ROMANCE AND ITS SPATIAL SETTING

Heterosexual Home-Making

Monique Eleb

It seems that setting up home together as a couple under one roof plays a determining role in the rest of our lives.¹ When a couple moves in together, each partner goes through a stage of rearranging their identity, with the home underpinning the process. A genuine labour of reassessment takes place; values are readjusted, as are previously acquired habits, ways of life, and modes of behaviour. Each partner then experiences an acceleration of the process of self-learning, and becoming aware of their own characteristics just as they are discovering those of the other. Character traits and the importance of social identity emerge and they both take full measure thereof. Thus both partners are forced by the situation to revisit themselves, and to confirm or discard the choices which guided their former ways of life. It is while this readjustment takes place that the style of the relationship, the couple's *modus vivendi*, is moulded. Thus, as each of them is literally restructured, the couple itself begins to take shape. A discovery here, a slight adaptation there, and each of them carves out their niche or finds it alongside the other. Four hands together start to pen the couple's 'romance'.

The domestic space is therefore part and parcel of this process. It is common knowledge that how the accommodation is laid out in spatial terms also reflects cultural identity. Pierre Francastel even goes so far as to describe furniture and utensils as 'objects of civilization', which allow the behaviour of an entire era to be understood.² Spatial lay-out

also allows the area allotted to each partner to be studied in terms of their masculine or feminine roles,³ private, agreed or disputed territory.⁴

SHAPING AN IDENTITY: FROM AN INDIVIDUAL TO A COUPLE

My doctoral thesis *Se construire et habiter* (Developing ones Personality and Inhabiting) from 1980 analysed identity and space from a clinical psycho-social point of view.⁵ More than twenty years on as part of my work on setting up home, I interviewed nine French heterosexual couples who were very different in terms of their geographical and social background, their connection with work, and also the age of their partners.⁶

The theme of my survey was demanding because it involved asking people to talk about something quite intimate and private. Therefore I had to be introduced by someone the potential interviewees knew and trusted, and still some refused to take part. The interviewees had to talk about and show the inside of their home. They had to accept my proposal with confidence, because I needed to penetrate their private space and to analyze it.

At home we reveal signs of our personality, which are read by the other. The fear of transparency is one of the common-places in psychological research, and here it is made more pronounced by the fact that the scene of our private life is full of signs of a person's identity, which potentially increases the fear of being transparent. Some of a person's characteristics can only be analysed by observing the living space, without anything actually being said about it. But it was essential for us to talk in these surroundings if we were to understand certain home-making practices, the multiple meanings of which cannot be deciphered simply by looking.

Before the interview I took photographs of the home, which in some cases had been tidied up before I got there, and in others not. I took more pictures after the interview to take account of the inhabitants' views about their space and their favourite viewpoints within the home.

The interviewed couples, who had recently set up home together, come from different social backgrounds and live in types of accommodation in towns or districts with their own specific living conditions.

The interviewees came from various work situations and the age of their partners ranged between 24 and 40. But within any one category the standard of living, education, and financial investments always take on their own specific shape. This is linked to shared values and ideologies, even if the couple only implicitly refer to them through gestures and in the way they make their home. These are elements which will emerge at the start of life as a couple and will be reflected in the choice of furniture, decor, pace of life, relationships with friends, sharing of household duties, and conception of roles. So these couples differ through the nature of their 'association'. Therefore I spoke with couples from very different social backgrounds and walks of life, and with couples from the same social class, who had even studied the same subject.

That the interviewed couples are so heterogeneous is deliberate and was planned for: they are not representative of French society in the statistical sense of the term, but I tried to meet couples who would give me a relatively broad overview of the various social situations.

Both members of each of the nine couples were interviewed separately, because more often than not their perception and assessment of choices made together are very different. It is usual to realize that even though partners are living together, mentally they do not inhabit the same space. Each of them also had to feel free and independent of the other during the interview. Had they been interviewed together, they would have tried to find a common position on certain subjects or might have been taken aback by the thoughts their partner expressed, sometimes with astounding sincerity.

The clinical interview method used thus made it possible to understand certain complex phenomena and to transcend everyday attitudes or practices.⁷ Of course, interview dynamics also need to be taken into account. We should bear in mind that highlighting social roles initially allows a person to protect herself and resist the interview, until she gets into the game and decides that she actually wants to get to the bottom of some of her habits or views. So the interview becomes a discourse constructed by the person being interviewed, who reveals her ideas about herself and the world.

In the home interview, linking words with actions *in situ*, gestures and all, allows the interviewer to move well beyond plain observation or a simple interview taken in isolation. From a lead-in question 'Under

what circumstances did you arrive here?', the interview then continues with previous homes (including parental homes), an assessment of the current one, and future plans. Here the home is a sort of prism for observing contacts with the world, values, and the inhabitants' dreams and aspirations. This enables understanding on how masculine and feminine roles and status are perceived and lived; it also sheds some light on how upbringing is conceived and the manipulated 'classification' signs,⁸ as well as taste and consumer attitudes.

TALKING ABOUT HOME

When talking about home at length, what the inhabitants relate will quickly begin to focus around two poles: their emotional and their social history. It is as if it would be impossible to understand what they do at home without taking the history of their evolution and development into account. We rarely ask ourselves why we opted for a given set-up or question our spatial behaviour; we think it just happens. So it is difficult to talk about. Everything about a person that is directly expressed in a relationship to space, gestures, behaviour, and taste for tidiness for example, defies verbal expression: 'it's obvious', 'that's how it was always done', so there is nothing to talk about. But if in the course of an interview you nonetheless try to squeeze something out about this relationship; the inhabitant will come up with an image of themselves based on their own past. And the past they put to us is of course 'a construction of reality (which) comes across as a perception'.⁹

The dwelling place may be a shelter, a place for shared emotions, but it is also a place where the inhabitant can be with himself, surrounded by objects he has chosen. Without actually talking, purely by their manner of inhabiting, the occupant talks about himself. His actions are not purely for the benefit of others, they also tell him about what he is, about every step along his path. Fitting out and transforming home allows the inhabitant to fit out and transform himself.¹⁰ It is a way for him to get to know and to discover himself, to establish an identity, to differentiate from others, and sometimes to display his social status as also Irene Cieraad discusses elsewhere in this volume.

The importance we attach to our home appears to boil down to the

desire to back-up the self-image of ourselves which we all create, and which is substantiated by the objects we pick or how we organize our living space. This self-image, the psychoanalysts' ego ideal, which is built up through a whole series of experiences is, of course, related to the past. But it is at the same time also malleable, it takes all current experiences and also takes account of what the subject would like to be, which is not stress-free when there is the fear of not achieving this ideal, particularly in the house. Without the inhabitant necessarily being aware of it, the daily living space is therefore used to construct and substantiate this constantly evolving self-image. It is a question of finding and affirming ones identity, but also of gradually transforming it. And this would seem to be rooted in the two qualities of the living space most often mooted by the inhabitant: the permanence of its spatial layout, but also the possibility of changing it under the inhabitant's control. A person builds his personality by inhabiting.¹¹ So what happens with this personal experience when two people move in together for the first time within a stable relationship?

Living together as a couple means having the courage to confront 'the other side' of a relationship with the other; to pass through the looking glass to see the person who gives pleasure, and to also be someone who makes repeated, trivial, and necessary actions simply in order to live. Living together therefore means agreeing to move from the pleasure principle of an incidental relationship to the reality principle,¹² where all the contingencies of daily life will have to be confronted, in full view of the often idealized other. Building a home together, decorating and furnishing it, will allow an element of play to be brought into the situation, where the fear of being brutally exposed to the other is to some degree present: 'Isn't he [she] going to discover all my faults, the real me?'

In this particular situation, any apparently insignificant choice ends up becoming a general motif which marks the other's way of being. Building a common space means building a place for the relationship while at the same time building the relationship itself. How the couple behaves as such under one roof is established as the 'Us' takes shape.

As soon as a couple starts to live together, its ways of thinking and acting, habits and cultural models, which are the norm for one person, are brought into question in the face of what is the norm for the other:

'Why do you do things like that when for me it's normal to do them some other way?' Sometimes, comparing the customs and 'little habits' of the co-inhabitants' two families will just be downright funny. But it will be no laughing matter when it ends up with one asking the other: 'Why do you find great what I think is just OK?'

The notion of *habitus*,¹³ taken up by Pierre Bourdieu¹⁴ accounts for the way in which we interiorize the lessons we learn early in life (getting washed, walking, learning the gestures and techniques which belong to our culture), which instil us with values and mark us physically. This notion enables us here to understand the mass of habits and social conventions introduced by parents and which leave a lasting impression on children, even though this may well change to the extent which our culture allows. So each member of a couple arrives with their own *habitus* and their own history; these elements always produce the mixture of co-habiting.

THE COUPLE'S PRIVATE STORY

Living together allows characteristics, differentiated abilities and points of complementarities to emerge. Thus, the couple's private story of sorts is gradually written. This notion brings Freud's family romance to mind, but I raise it rather on the social than on the psychological level. We are not talking here about the couple's fabricated story of their relations with their parents, but rather the story which each couple writes about him/herself, the past and future, which are just as mythical, but are built upon objective facts and features. François de Singly suggests calling this phenomenon of change prompted by the couple living together in the same space 'socialization by friction',¹⁵ which clearly extends and transforms the influence of parental models. This story is composed of more or less shared mental representations of the couple they wish to become, which structure their behaviour and give rise to expectations.

In this scenario which takes shape along the way, each person has a place and a role, defined character traits, spheres of competence and recognized talents. Some territories are reserved for one person or the other. So, whether adopted or not, whether accepted with pleasure or

not, the couple ascribes and shares roles. This story, or plot, is constantly being woven and it keeps evolving. The arrival of a child restructures the roles, revealing further abilities and sensitivities. But this scenario is also built on the past and on each person sharing the family history of the other, their representations as a child. An ideal, often tacit, representation of the couple's future is also built up, and will guide the couple's development. Constructing the decor for this life, its shared interior, in other words, is part and parcel of this building process, since space substantiates and supports these phenomena by giving them material expression. Marking one's territory is a sign thereof, as is the atmosphere created, the choice of décor and the choice of furniture. The self-withdrawal which is often observed during the setting-up stage is in fact a reaction to the tricky internal task which is being conducted. The notion of task is important because this is a task which each person carries out, and which is based upon the everyday gestures and choices which are going to reveal their identity, the identity they would like to acquire, and at the same time the identity of the other.

The setting-up stage is a time when ideals are questioned. Some people reject parental models only to realize that their own actions are actually guided by some of them. Others think they are following them and then discover that they have interpreted them to the point of making them unrecognisable and are starting to discard them. Others again discover just how much these models are a part of them. Interviewees often learn this from tracks left in space or modes of behaviour, and sometimes they become aware of it during the interview when they start questioning things that have always been taken for granted. The slow job of marking the arena of everyday life therefore enables us to realize who we are and what we want, either in agreement with the other or in conflict with her/him. The domestic space represents one scene in the couple's story.

Discussions about the style of objects and type of set-up are revealing and allow the couple to take shape. At the same time as they are establishing it they also reveal what their particular style of negotiation will generally be. At the home of one of the couples I interviewed, for example, it looks as though the woman's opinion dominates, she being the one who buys the objects or furniture. But in the representation they have constructed together her spouse is actually 'the one in the

know', who has a better grasp of aesthetic codes than she does. So the decision was mulled over and negotiated at length before the purchase was actually made.

Thus, a new story is gradually written. Some people are aware of the risk of retreating into the house, the couple, and the child. Once the task of shaping the couple is well underway, it must make way for another stage which makes it possible to open up to others in order to avoid the withdrawal which, albeit comfortable, may in the long run become suffocating if not deforming.

SLOWLY WORKING ON IDENTITY

So setting up home allows one to discover and define oneself. Identity is always the issue with home-making. This activity, which for some is unremitting, I understand as a task of self-definition, the search for a meaning and stabilization of the identity, which involves short-lived choices, regrets, about-turns, and rectification. As an activity it is characterized by the inter-play of symbols between subject and object, an inter-play which is based on the transfer of meaning, allowing the inhabitant to assimilate and even claim for him/herself (to introject) the symbolic meaning he has noted in the features of his living environment or furniture: 'It's mobile, I'm modern', one of them says.

For some, opposite this 'good object', the home, a 'bad object' appears, against which they protect themselves at home. The 'bad object' is the outside world, the social environment, the world of work. These people stress the need to 'remedy' the tricky aspects of their relationship to the outside world through their life at home. Comfort for them is to be found at home. My first survey on this issue revealed this trend amongst the working classes,¹⁶ a trend which has become increasingly marked as the relationship to work has become casualized.

The struggle against what is perceived as a difficult world is often seen in feminine decoration, cosy comfort interiors, custom built for regression. As often came out explicitly in the interviews, the point is to create a haven of peace, albeit artificial but effective because it allows existential fears to be fought whilst for a few moments the protective shell donned to go out to work can be shed.

MEN AND WOMEN, DIFFERENT WAYS OF CONSTRUCTING HOME

A question to be asked is, is it still the woman's job to set up the home? Do women still have more of a say in how the home is decorated, as was the case in the nineteenth century, when they were expected to adorn it with myriads of 'trinkets' to make it warm and unique? This is a legitimate question, bearing in mind the importance which some men attach to the issue, particularly when they decorate on their own, dubbing themselves 'house husbands'. Just like some women, some of them even go so far as to make it of difficult adoption for their partner.

Some of the other men, who were interviewed, albeit less active, are also at particular pains to ensure that the decor is not overly feminine: they resist excessive numbers of trinkets and family photos and try to impose a more sober style. A taste for 'emptiness', 'unclutteredness' and 'bareness' would appear to be represented as masculine, and in certain cases can be seen as a rejection of maternal behaviour, on occasion even going as far as hatred for the domestic sphere and the refusal to properly set up home. Revealing ones home and the choices made there implies not being afraid of transparency. This fear often seems to be more marked in some men and triggers a process of avoidance, reflected in a lack of investment in the domestic sphere, and the refusal to buy objects or furniture. From this point of view the assumption could be one of masculine retention, but that would need to be verified.

What is the explanation for the mistrust which several of the men interviewed displayed in their relationship with objects? Fear of defining themselves, of being defined by themselves? Fear of getting involved or getting it wrong, or some men's refusal to become too settled? It is as if their choice of objects or fittings defined them too much and for too long, as if the definitive dimension of a choice or purchase left them undecided. Men and women alike talk about how men find it hard to choose, take their time, delay decisions, shilly-shally to avoid taking any, and often end up accepting the other's choice. Is this really masculine in our culture? It warrants verification.

Given this same fear of exposure, many women apparently have a tendency to accumulate, which is another way of concealing themselves.

Indeed, accumulating what are often conventional or trendy objects is a similarly effective way of not really revealing oneself. Thus, these two types of behaviour (masculine retention and feminine accumulation), at first sight so contradictory, are actually the inverse effects of the same fear. Not making important choices and amassing objects allows the inhabitant to elude the issue of an object which defines her too far in terms of her own character or social class. It also gives the inhabitant the time to get to know oneself. During the setting-up stage, salvaging furniture because you cannot afford otherwise, thus not actually having to choose it, can also be an easy way of granting oneself the time to define oneself.

This question also picks up on a debate which runs through the twentieth century on the modern nature of 'unclutteredness' and the traditional nature of 'decoration' and ornamentation.¹⁷ However, some people no longer interpret an interest in decorating or furnishing one's home as a gendered activity. Instead it is a passion, a way of life and a domestic activity which makes inhabitants happy because it reveals or relaxes them, and both men and women can indulge.

In many of these home-making stories, women seem to have more of a need than men to mark relatedness and to render the creation of a family explicit. In many of their homes, the space taken up by photos of the extended family or memorabilia and the struggle they sometimes have to get their partner to accept them, shows that this is not purely an issue of decor or fashion.

MAKING ONES 'HOME': BETWEEN WELL-BEING AND SELF-THERAPY

Several of these couples employ the metaphor of opening and change and enact it in their home. They are often fascinated by wide-open spaces, but also by the symbolism of open-mindedness which they read into them. Most couples become disenchanted after the first few months of living together or when their first child is born, complaining of a lack of privacy. It is not rare to witness a switch from 'openness' to 'open-mindedness'; from spatial qualities to moral ones. These projections take on a multitude of forms. One takes on the qualities of one's space,

another projects an image of oneself onto it and if we are to feel good the house must resemble us or at least make us feel that it does. But leaving aside the trend for lofts, which has a lot to do with this, the desire for all-out de-compartmentalization demonstrates first and foremost the permanence of an illusion. When a couple is deeply in love, they think they want to and indeed can experience everything together. Then gradually couples discover that to get on well together, they sometimes also have to be alone. And the other has to understand this without any need for justification. Doors, corridors and places to be alone are therefore just as important as the areas designed together for communal life. Quite often women take the initiative to set up the other's withdrawal and/or working space.

The task of achieving ones personal ideal, the ego ideal, the model with which the subject is striving to conform, is partly carried out through the home. It can be carried out with the aim of correcting a 'personal destiny' which does not seem to match up to what one wishes to become. One of the couples interviewed chose a way of life which broke totally away from that of their parents who were city-dwellers. Therefore the couple chose to live in the country; while their parents had accepted the second-rate social conditions created for them, this couple will try and take their future in their own hands. And in order to achieve their ideal of an alternative life, rather than living in a run-of-the-mill place they will live in two rooms of a ruined house, which they will carefully restore.

Many of the interviewees mention the calming power of the living space which they have helped to create. One of them paints to reduce stress and realizes that his way of getting through difficult times is by redecorating the home. Someone else has established stress reducing rituals at home. This is all absolutely normal, it is not a matter of being ill or in good health, because for everyone the point of this relationship with ones home is also about understanding oneself in order to conquer ones fears and therefore instigate a process of change.

CREATING AT HOME, CREATING ONES HOME, CREATING ONESELF

Changes in the person and the home create attachment and rootedness. The passage of time which enables changes to the person to be assessed is seen as the trail of a story which can be a sign of progress. Several interviewees stressed the need to transform the home in line with internal changes in character. For them, the home should never be finalized at risk of also seeing themselves as such.

Although an outsider would be hard-pushed to notice the existence of organizational or affectational strata, the inhabitant is well aware of them. Sometimes this strata takes the form of marker objects which often clash with the decor, which have resisted every move, and which cannot be thrown away because they are tied up with memories.

Whilst for some people putting down roots is a necessity, for others moving house is a way of life, making them feel dynamic, adaptable and alive.¹⁸ More often than not, however, a move is needed in order to keep in step with changes in identity: a given space no longer reflects the inhabitant and he needs to rebuild his home in order to feel that he still exists, to once again enjoy discovering a new relationship with space, himself and those around him.

The house is a narcissistic place, since it allows one to consolidate and express oneself: 'I think this house says something about me. I think that somewhere a bit of me is expressed', says one of the interviewees. For all of them it is an expression of identity, but one of them goes so far as to call himself the 'author of his house'.¹⁹

DIY culture (do-it-yourself) and home-making provide the opportunity for a spot of creative play, whether the person is aware of it and experiences it as such or not.²⁰ Most of the inhabitants clearly enjoy this pleasure of creating at home, which merges with the creation of ones own home. Sometimes home-making becomes a joint task for the couple, the latter also taking shape by identifying with what it has created together. Such activities would appear to be closely related to the need for creative play, just as in childhood, as a means of self discovery, to find out who one is. In *Playing and Reality*, Winnicott shows the extent to which the private space, which sets markers, can become a place

which, through creative play, allows the construction of oneself and of autonomy.²¹

The set up within the house is a sort of ‘metaphorical representation’ or spatial metaphor of the relationships within the couple and the family, and each person’s place therein. I have borrowed this expression from Michèle Huguët, who uses it in relation to the high-rise estate, ‘which provides [...] the most appropriate elements for the “metaphorical representation” of nervous disorders’.²² The living space comprises favourite places, private corners, places to seek refuge from other people, and it bears the marks of the system of roles and status, the fruit of silent dealings, of wordless adjustments or of sometimes conflicting demands.²³

Thus I can see the arena of everyday life a site for transactions, which provides reasonably faithful insight into the way in which a couple ‘operates’ (support, solidarity, compromise, latent conflict, blatant struggle). The living arena is used as a dynamic element in a process of evolution and it bears marks of the times of wondering, when one no longer knows who one is or would like to be.

The living space regulates inter-individual relationships to the extent that means of behaviour acceptable to the other emerge, and become the ‘right’ way to behave both physically and mentally; they constitute the couple’s way of being. The setting up stage is one of life’s great moments of passage, which will leave a lasting impression in space, body and memory, and will be passed on to better perpetuate the family story.

Much as home is a site for transactions, this arena for private life also comes across as a unique middle ground, a place between the ‘private’ and the ‘public’, social and instinctual life, which is neither everyone’s inner stage, nor the body. Better than anywhere else, this place allows the identity to be worked on, to the extent that the constantly changing subject draws on the cycles and development it goes through to achieve greater internal autonomy. The home marks and transforms it in order to change, just as the small child uses its transitional object (its comfort blanket) to achieve autonomy, mediatising its independence, winning it through an object which symbolizes the love object. But, and this is crucially important, he/she creates it him/herself, if possible involving the other in the process, in order to create a stage which allows two to play out the chosen family romance.

CASE STUDY: BÉATRICE AND ALAIN, DESIGNER LAMP AND FRILLY TABLE

Married for two years, Béatrice, 28, and Alain, 32, have a four-month old daughter at the time of the interview. Their three-roomed home is on the fourth floor of an apartment block on the outskirts of Aix-en-Provence, over-looking a yard and garden in a quiet, green district, with nothing to block the open view over the mountain.

Having completed higher studies in tourism, Béatrice is the administrative director of an association and works part-time. Her father is a landowner and a farmer, he also trades in wine. Before the divorce of Béatrice's parents her mother bred horses. During the interview Béatrice will state: 'I'm actually from the nobility [...]. Well, we've always stayed very close to aristocratic circles.'

Alain has a professional dental technician's diploma and has been working for a few years. His father is a retired nurse and his mother didn't work. The issue of their material, cultural and social heritage, and assets or liability are very present in their story.

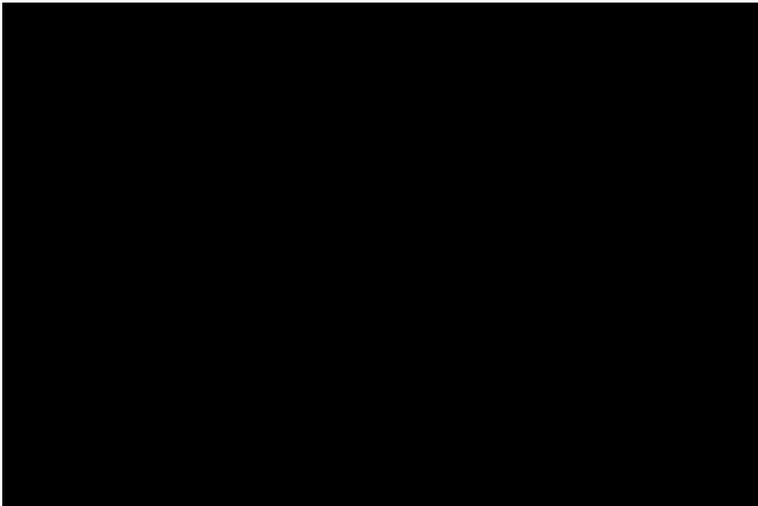
The bright white décor in the living room and dining room, further accentuated by the sofa, which is also white, have been a choice. However, from the very start of the interview, Alain will refer to the colours in their previous apartment: 'With much livelier decor, warmer... I liked it.' But we chose white, Béatrice tells us, both for the atmosphere it creates and because it's practical and adaptable if you move. It's in the living room that Alain feels most at home in this apartment. He sits on the sofa, facing the light. She only rarely sits here and 'nearer the door. So I can jump up if the baby cries [...] I'm restless, I'm constantly up and down', she says with a laugh. She prefers to read in her room.

The tapa, a hanging from Tahiti, reminds Alain that he spent some of his childhood there: 'The tapa is mine.' And he comes back to it later: 'What resembles me in here? The tapa on the wall, I like to have the odd touch, things that are a bit personal.' Béatrice respects the tapa, because it's Alain's personal keepsake, but she doesn't really like it.

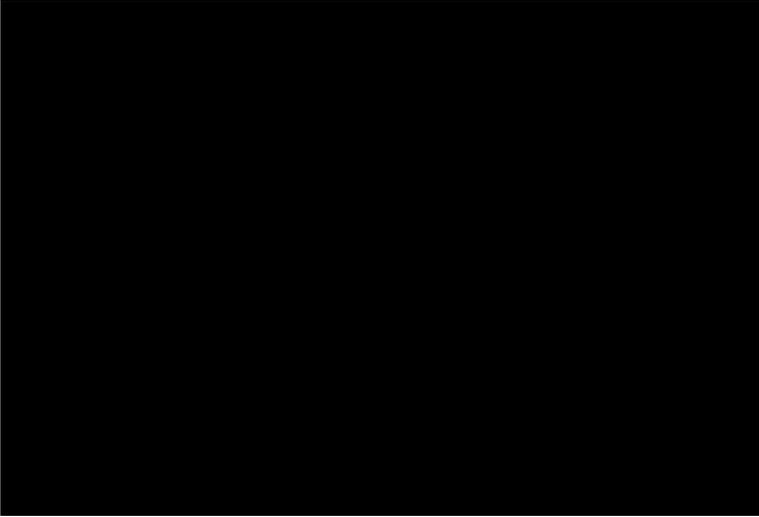
The shelves and tables which take up an entire wall in the dining room sum up their ill-assorted choices, revealing also their values and their efforts to reconcile their tastes. They are a jumbled mess of bunches of dried flowers, various boxes, a blue Chinese vase, and a cast-iron



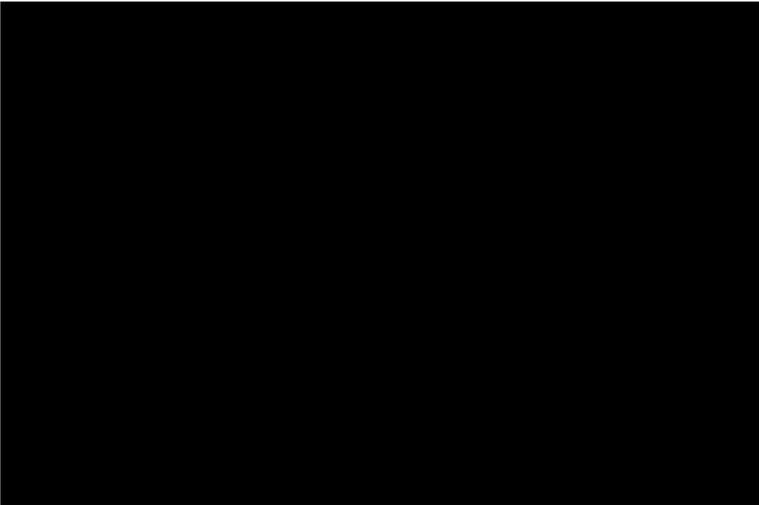
The dining room of Béatrice and Alain. Photograph Monique Eleb 2000.



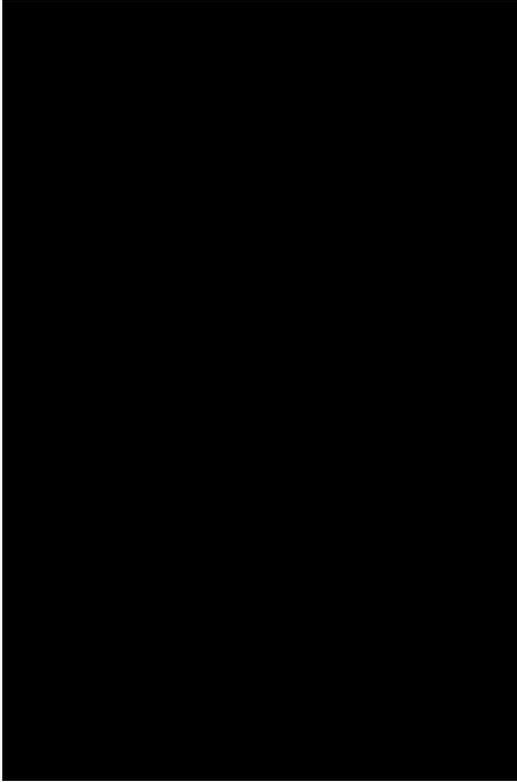
The living room of Béatrice and Alain. Photograph Monique Eleb 2000.



The tapa on the living room wall. Photograph Monique Eleb 2000.



The shelf in the dining room. Photograph Monique Eleb 2000.



Small tables and the
bonsai. Photograph
Monique Eleb 2000.

duck.²⁴ On a speaker to the side, a ‘designer’ lamp which makes bubbles and looks a bit like a rocket, in steel and blue glass, of which Béatrice states in no uncertain terms: ‘I’d never have bought that lamp’, although she accepts it because he likes it.

And although Alain puts up with her old tea service – ‘her grandfather gave her the cups from some great-aunt or a grandmother’ – he ends up saying in exasperation because he doesn’t want to be swamped by ‘stuff’: ‘All that can go!’ He says that he feels swamped by the knick-knacks she has chosen, claiming that he wouldn’t have had any if he had decorated his apartment on his own. In answer to my question: ‘Don’t you like knick-knacks?’, he produces a vehement: ‘That’s not the point. Yes, but not that much!’

Right next to the shelves which are ecumenical when all is said and done, Alain has a small personal setup which marks his presence, comprising a nest of tables in see-through moulded plastic, with a bonsai standing on the top: 'That's me. I like designer stuff. Chinese stuff too. And I like Japanese art. Same goes for bonsais.'

The couple's story co-habits on a small table in the living room, covered in photos, which Alain only half likes: 'Putting them on display like that when there are people coming round...! It's maybe a bit of a laugh when they're photos of babies or from trips. But if you ask me, photos should be in an album. Otherwise, no.' But the photos are still on display. Béatrice is greatly attached to them because she enjoys identifying herself as one of a line and establishing her place in family relations: 'I like it. And I'd like to put out even more photos, of my grandparents when they were young [...] entire walls with photos well, frames, I love it.' And Béatrice would love to have a bigger, round table, covered with a flounced tablecloth, all frilly, to display their story on...

In the bedroom on two glass shelves supported by metal risers there is a mixture of books, cartoons and a bluish coloured Chinese tobacco jar. On the edge, in front of a book on bonsais (its title clearly visible), stands a cedar bonsai in its blue ceramic pot, a further sign of Alain's passion for Asiatic lands. But there are also boxes, china cats and dogs, more of a reflection of Béatrice's world. Pointing at the shelves, she insists that the bedroom is a shared space.

The representations at play here are created by the language and marks left by the multiple experiences in a society where everyone has their own particular place. All these elements therefore constitute a person's own story and it is not easy to change. Their own self-representation shows that Béatrice and Alain have reassessed their own family romance, taking account of change, past developments, but also a forward vision of their future. This representation is built up through primary identification processes (assimilating and adapting the properties of another) followed by the distancing of parental images, but always relating in a particular way to their current social and cultural belonging and that of their parents.

The impressions and ways of behaving learnt in early childhood are actually not just simple functional gestures. When Freud writes in his essay on 'Das Ich und das Es' ('The Ego and the Id') that 'the ego is



Shelves in the bedroom. Photograph Monique Eleb 2000.

first and foremost a bodily ego',²⁵ in other words that the Ego actually stems from bodily sensations, he is trying to stress the importance of sensory and perceptive experiences in shaping ones being. But the social dimension also needs to be introduced here, as a result of which, during early childhood the parents will shape these experiences, allowing or prohibiting certain types of behaviour, if only because they come across as 'the ones in the know'. Right away these types of behaviour become the sign of belonging to a community, to a social class with its rules, its codes and its values. Thus the little girl's process of identifying with her mother also involves identifying with ways of doing the everyday activities and ways of moving in space.

Alain's and Béatrice's social origins mean that their way of behaving, their body language, and the underlying values are different. And they both undoubtedly show courage in confronting this issue and striving to agree between one another to create a mass of daily behaviour which is acceptable to both of them. For the time being they have managed to trivialize their two value systems, reducing them to a matter of taste (she is 'classical', he is 'modern'). But these differences are seen as an

asset: ‘That’s the way we like each other. That’s how we feel good.... We tried to do the couple thing on the déco’, concludes Alain.

So they are both cautious and tolerant, both of them sensing the potential risk in this issue of social background. One which, even if it can be denied through egalitarian ideology, can nonetheless rear its head with a vengeance for some seemingly trivial matter, small everyday things, for example, which when it comes down to it are actually fundamental, since they shape a person.

Translated by Pro Kontext / Jenny Fearnside-Bitsios

NOTES

- 1 This article is based on research published in Eleb 2002.
- 2 Francastel 1967, p. 75.
- 3 Eleb and Debarre 1989.
- 4 Eleb 1980; Eleb 1996; Eleb and Châtelet 1997.
- 5 Eleb 1980.
- 6 Eleb 2002.
- 7 Eleb 1980; Eleb 1996.
- 8 Even if they are not fully aware of it, for each person both the choice of objects and ways of behaving express their belonging to the social class to which they aspire.
- 9 Herzlich 1972.
- 10 Eleb 1980.
- 11 Eleb 1980.
- 12 Freud 1984/1920.
- 13 Mauss 1936.
- 14 Bourdieu 1972.
- 15 Singly 2000, pp. 33–48.
- 16 Eleb 1980.
- 17 La mort du bibelot 1934. This text echoes that of Le Corbusier (1925), who pleads for asceticism.
- 18 Desjeux 1998.
- 19 Martine Segalen and Béatrix Le Wita (1993) reflect upon the notion of family creation in the editorial of an issue of *Autrement* magazine. The survey mentioned here, as well as the one conducted between 1976 and 1980, confirm the hypothesis which underlies this reflection.
- 20 Winnicott 2005/1971.
- 21 Winnicott 2005/1971.
- 22 Huguet 1971.
- 23 Jean Claude Kaufmann writes in *La trame conjugale* (The conjugal Web) (1992) that ‘Silence, indeed the non-representation of problems, plays a highly formative role in conjugality’. But he immediately qualifies his words, dissociating the ‘older generations,

who set up home together in socially pre-defined domestic roles (and who) had little to negotiate (...) Whereas younger couples or those from the middle classes are in a position to decide thousands of things, and therefore, in theory, to negotiate much more'. Kaufmann 1992, p. 143.

- 24 In the 1980s and 1990s, duck collections were one of the traditional middle classes' favourite ornaments (Le Wita, 1988).
- 25 Freud 1984/1923, p. 364.

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FOUR CORNERS. STORIES OF MOVEMENT, SOUND, AND SILENCE AT HOME BY CHILDREN IN TWO VILLAGES

Lea Kantonen

Hi Eduard! We have three cats. We have lots of flies. We have a tractor.
My name is Jaakko.

Hi Jaakko! My name is Eduard. I am nine years old. I am in second
grade. I have a brother. How old are you? What grade are you in? We
have two cars and one tractor. We still have three dogs and a cat. In the
summer time I play in the forest and go swimming. In winter I make
snowmen. (Correspondence between Jaakko and Eduard in the *Four
Corners* installation)¹

In this chapter I examine the notion of home through children's narratives of two rural villages. For more than ten years my husband Pekka Kantonen and I have been conducting art workshops with children and young people. The results of the communal art projects have been exhibited in schools, community centres, and art museums. For five years we conducted a joint art project for children in our home village of Hermanonkima in Mäntsälä, Finland, and our neighbouring village of Sääksjärvi, as well as the village of Obinita in Estonia. Obinita is inhabited by the Seto, a small minority group living on the border of Estonia and Russia.² Working with the children, we charted the meaningful places of their home environments using a variety of methods. The children exchanged letters and sent photos and stories to each other.

The Four Corners (2000) installation was built up gradually in the course of five years as a result of the co-operation with children in Obinita

and Sääksjärvi. The material for the work consisted of all the things children used in communication: photographs, letters, drawings, studies, interviews, sounds, and songs. The photographic series made with the children, called *My Favourite Place* (2002–2006), examines the relationship of children and young people with places in their home environment. *The Living Room* (2005) and *Wagtail's Nest* (2005) installations explored the meanings of the different rooms in a home.

Our works together with the children and young people from Sääksjärvi and Obinita were made within the frameworks of public engaged art and site-specific art. The works created and exhibited in schools in Obinita and Sääksjärvi were public art. Importantly, the home is perceived as a private place and telling about it in an art workshop at school by taking photographs or by singing links the private to the public.

In recent years the process of making public art has acquired the additional aims of dialogue and engagement:³ artists make art in a public space together with the individuals and communities who use the space. The participants take an active role in ascribing meaning to the works instead of merely realizing plans drawn up by an artist. The works refer both to the process of their making and to the collective discussions specific to the time and place that they are a part of. At the same time the artworks performatively produce community identities.

The communal processes of the workshop involved children and young people from two communities. Works produced during the workshops contain site-specific references to the homes and villages of the children, but above all to the space between the two villages. Communication among the children, and between them and us, created various levels of meaning. As artists we were not able, nor did we seek to control these levels entirely. Our role was to serve as interpreters between the two communities during the children's correspondence and meetings. In this chapter I will present a retrospective account of the communication processes in the workshops. I will also see what works of art tell us about the space of homes and villages, and about the sounds, movements and silences of those spaces.

The workshops I discuss here have been special for us because one of the objects of study has been my family's own village and the village-school of our own children. Our family is presented as an object of

study together with other families. Our children have been studying the history of our house, conducting fieldwork, documenting our daily life, making interviews, and comparing our answers to the answers of other parents.

HOME IN THE COUNTRY

I have lived here all my life. I play a lot of tag in the summer with Laripekka. I'd like to stay here, because the lake is near and it is peaceful. There are lots of fields and woods around my home. (Tarmo Marjala from Sääksjärvi in a study of his home region, in *The Four Corners* installation)⁴

Inhabitation represents a special blending of the private and the public, identity and the representation of identity. When a boy living in Sääksjärvi tells us how peaceful a lake is or takes a photo where the lake can be seen behind a girl raking leaves, the meanings of the space and the situation are simultaneously his and his family's own, as well as shared, collective meanings of all families in his time. The act of representing a home by telling about it, or by taking a photograph of it, connects the private and the public spheres together. Children do not merely ape adult notions; they have not yet internalised their ethnicity for example, or the dramaturgy of the cultural narratives⁵ about home. Children's stories often contain surprising combinations that are in conflict with prevailing cultural narratives. It was these unexpected perspectives that inspired us to compile *The Four Corners* installation.

Home in the Finnish countryside had special connotations throughout the twentieth century. The emotional charge it carried had its origins in the nineteenth-century Finnish nationalist ideology and its idealization of rural life. The countryside was considered the most suitable and healthiest environment for a family with children. The idea was that living in a single-family house in the midst of nature would strengthen familial ties and instil a love for the home in children.⁶

In both Obinita and Sääksjärvi houses in the centre of the village stand close together, while on the periphery they are farther apart. Houses and villages are separated by fields and woods, which nowadays are usually owned by the families and are in productive use. Also, the

uncultivated forests constitute a shared space in the sense that people can freely move in the private woods or pick berries and mushrooms there.

The dwellings in our home village of Hermanonkimaa and in our neighbouring village, Sääksjärvi, all follow the ideas of spatial organisation prevalent at the time of their construction. As late as the early twentieth-century rural houses generally only had two rooms: a multi-purpose main room and one smaller bedroom. Large houses often had a parlour (*sali* in Finnish) as well. The family and servants worked, cooked, ate, and slept in the same space. Some members of the family slept in the bedroom, if there was one. The parlour was used on Sundays and holidays, it was where guests were entertained.⁷

After the Second World War, the Finnish countryside was reconstructed with standardized houses for war veterans. The layout of these houses designed by architects was based on the idea of spatial segregation. The houses had different spaces for cooking, sleeping, and togetherness. Rooms on the ground floor were grouped around a central chimney. Designers based the standardized floor plans on the notion that all people have the same basic needs in dwelling. There was no room for individual furnishing ideas.⁸ The nuclear family also became the prevalent housing unit in the countryside. From the 1950s onwards a more open layout began to gain ground with interconnected spaces and large windows that opened up towards the outdoor space. The kitchen, dining room, and living room made up a spatial continuum. The idea of a separate public space, the so-called 'better room', was abandoned and everyday life was put on display.⁹ From the 1990s open-plan kitchen/living rooms have continued to reduce spatial segregation, reintegrating areas for the family's togetherness, cooking and dining.

In the childhood of the grandparents and great-grandparents of the children who participated in our workshops in Obinitsa, typical Seto houses had a large multi-purpose main room, or two on both sides of a large unheated entrance space. Some houses had a separate bedroom at the back of the main room.¹⁰ A large family or even several related families might live in the same house, often in the same room. The four corners of the room were named after their designated use: the stove corner heated the house and was used for cooking; the living corner was where the family ate and spent time together; the sleeping corner

was used for sleeping; and the sacred corner was used for quiet moments of prayer or meditation.¹¹

In Soviet Estonia collective togetherness was emphasized in inhabitation instead of privacy. In this line of thinking studying was considered important, while resting or sleeping late were considered signs of laziness. Sexuality was never even mentioned. Consequently, spaces reserved for studying had a prominent status in the home, whereas sleeping spaces were considered less important. In Soviet ideology, useful and beautiful objects were good companions in the home. In actual practice, however, there were no objects to be had, as there was a continual shortage of supplies. Nevertheless, people tried to get hold of new furniture and household goods, trying to keep their homes in as good a condition as possible, given the lack of proper equipment.¹² The practice of religion was considered reactionary and active practising could lead to difficulties at work, for example. This explains why icons disappeared from the sacred corners of working people's homes in the Seto region.

In the Soviet era adults in Obinitsa worked on a *kollehoze*, a collective farm. Children spent their days in the *kollehoze* kindergarten. Dwellings were cramped. In the early 1980s the *kollehoze* built modern apartments for new workers with two or three rooms and a kitchen, running water and a sewer system. During the *perestroika* farms were returned to their original owners and families started modernizing old houses. After Estonia regained independence, renovation continued. In contemporary Estonia, people are encouraged to furnish their homes with luxury goods, as spending money on luxuries or pleasures is no longer frowned upon. Bedrooms and bathrooms are an increasingly important part of dwelling.¹³ New trends in home decoration have been adopted also in the Seto region, but in moderation. Icons and decorated icon stoles have been reintroduced in their former place in the sacred corner of the house.

Global urbanization during the twentieth century was perhaps the greatest single geographic change in the history of the world. At the beginning of the twentieth century ten per cent of the population of the world lived in cities; by the end of the century it was fifty per cent. Urbanization is expected to continue in the future, forcing the structure of rural communities to change as rural workforce moves to the cities. Still, migration is bi-directional and rural areas will also attract new

residents and new professions. Lifestyles are also changing: On the one hand, lifestyles can no longer be divided spatially into urban and rural; people may well live in a fairly similar way in cities, suburbs and the countryside. On the other hand, lifestyles within any one region may be quite heterogeneous. Subcultures and values will become increasingly important in determining lifestyles instead of geographic location.¹⁴

In literature and the mass media representations of urban space carry associations of mobility, artificiality and alienation, while rural areas represent stagnation, introversion, silence, authenticity and communality. In recent years conditions in the countryside in particular have changed so much that traditional representations no longer correspond to the perceptions of rural children of their own living environment.

Ever fewer families in Sääksjärvi and Obinitsa earn their livelihood solely from farming. In increasing numbers at least one parent works outside of the home. Structural economic changes revolutionize the traditional notion of rural homes, their impacts ranging from mobility to family structure, sexual relations and the spatial use of dwellings. It is not uncommon in either village these days that the farmer/father does chores at home, while the mother is out working for money, sometimes quite far away. All kinds of small enterprises have been established in conjunction with farms, run by members of the family individually or together. Divorce, patchwork families, and children staying alternate weeks with father and mother are common arrangements in rural areas as well, at least in Finland. Children tell quite openly about their two homes and the arrangements between them.

Within the globalized economy of Europe, Sääksjärvi and Obinitsa occupy very different positions. Sääksjärvi is a fairly affluent area of positive net migration, whereas Obinitsa is losing its population. People in Obinitsa see the accession of Estonia to the EU with hopeful eyes. They believe that the EU will be more understanding and supportive than Estonia of the preservation of local cultural features and their development.¹⁵

HISTORY OF THE HOME VILLAGE

My father's grandfather bought the house in 1925. This house has a long and winding history. A lot of people lived here in the so-called Russian era (the time when my great-grandfather and great-grandmother were taken to Siberia). My parents did not live here. My father lived in the house next door. We moved into this house in the summer of 1989. (Teet Tarros from Obinitsa, study of the history of his home, in the *Four Corners* installation)¹⁶

By the time we asked the children to study the history of their house, asking parents and grandparents also to participate, we had already noticed that subjects involving history were sensitive in both Sääksjärvi and Obinitsa. In both villages adults were reluctant to talk about the past, making only short and generalized comments on past events.

In the Finnish Civil War independent peasant farmers from Sääksjärvi and Hermanonkimaa fought with the Whites, while the farmhands and crofters from the nearby village of Numminen fought with the Reds.¹⁷ In the Mäntsälä uprising of 1932 there were many people from Sääksjärvi among the right-wing activists.¹⁸ After the Second World War a great number of evacuees from Karelia were settled in and around Mäntsälä. After the war the population of Mäntsälä grew by nearly fifty per cent.¹⁹ In one way or another, the events of the war touched all families in the area and they still influence social interaction. In any case, we perceived the history of dwelling to be a neutral enough subject that avoided violent historical events and did not seem too difficult to take up in children's art workshops.

War times and hardship are historically much closer in Obinitsa than in Sääksjärvi. In the Soviet era farms were expropriated to the *kollehozes*, whose workers included immigrants from other parts of Estonia and the Soviet Union. In the 1930s and 1940s Seto landowners were deported to prison camps in Siberia. *Kollehozes* were discontinued in the 1980s and farms were gradually returned to the heirs of their former owners. Today it has become virtually impossible to run small farms and farmers' children are migrating to towns.

History and family background affect social interaction in Obinitsa as well. The Seto themselves consider their culture distinct from Estonian culture. Departing markedly from the Lutheran faith of the majority

of Estonians, the Seto have their own language, customs, and a form of religion that combines Greek Orthodox Christianity with pre-Christian folk beliefs in spirits of the nature and the deceased.²⁰ Most farm owners are Setos, while people living in multi-storey houses in the village centre are Estonians or Russians. Seto and Estonian children attend the same schools. In the Soviet era, schools and other state institutions upheld the image of a uniform Soviet Estonia to construct a notion of a unified nation. Ethnic differences were over-looked in silence. Seto culture was not mentioned, nor could Seto songs be sung in public. Standard Estonian was taught in schools, and Seto expressions were considered incorrect usage. The teachers and the Estonian headmaster who worked in the school in Obinitsa during our project had all received their education in the Soviet era. Even after independence they did not want the school to teach anything that had to do with Seto culture. Later a Seto headmaster was appointed to the school.

ON TALKING AND NOT TALKING ABOUT AIMS

In Obinitsa I talked many times about the aims of our project with teachers and other professionals in the field of culture. The local Seto museum director Liidia Sillaots participated from the start in the planning of the project and acted as a guide during the Seto children's visit to the local museum. *Four Corners* was selected as the umbrella theme for the project in order to encourage children to study local culture and their home. According to Sillaots, interest shown by non-Seto people might also kindle an appreciation of their own culture in the Seto. She therefore wanted to give all possible support to the meetings between the Seto and the people from Sääksjärvi. Many teachers would welcome the spread of Seto culture from village communities to schools.

The expressed aim of the workshop held in Sääksjärvi was to learn to know children from other nations and cultures. A home-related theme also suited the Parents' Association with their aim of bringing homes and the school community closer together.²¹ Our tacit goal was also to deconstruct the standard-of-living related pressures on dwelling and to help children question the notion of what is considered normal living in rural areas. Discussing aims with the parents and teachers of the

children in Sääksjärvi never seemed quite natural. In meetings with the Parents' Association, I at first tried to talk seriously and thoroughly about the workshops. The others listened politely to what I had to say and then moved on to discussing other matters. I later noticed that joking and silence were manners of dealing with many other important matters as well. If a contribution was met with silence, the jokes that were told afterwards revealed indirectly whether the silence had been affirmative or negative. In the case of the workshop, the silence seemed to me decidedly positive. Throughout the project I had a feeling that the members of the Parents' Association, and other parents as well, approved of the project and were prepared to support it in practice. It was never difficult to find parents to help with cooking for the guests and housing them.

Literature on participatory methods in art and in research emphasizes the importance of discussing common goals.²² The negotiation and discussion based method for producing art has come to be called dialogical aesthetics or public engaged art.²³ For example Grant Kester writes about artistic processes based on 'creative orchestration of collaborative encounters and conversations'.²⁴ However, methods based on verbal exchange can be very difficult to apply in communities where indirect communication and an appreciation of silence are an integral part of the communication culture.

In ancient magical Baltic-Finnish talking about happiness or fortune was considered a limited good. Silence was one way to hide one's happiness from envious neighbours, who might use evil magic to ruin or to steal it.²⁵ Talking about important matters might lead to losing them. According to the Estonian art historian, Heie Treier, contemporary Estonians still find it hard to talk about the most important things in their life, such as loving or appreciating someone, although they are trying to learn to be more talkative and socially outgoing. Moreover, in Soviet Estonia, silence was often vital for personal safety.²⁶ Similarly, glossing over the Civil War and the Mäntsälä uprising in silence has served the purpose of personal protection in Sääksjärvi. The writer of the local history of Mäntsälä describes Sääksjärvi as 'a village of silent unanimity'.²⁷

It seemed important for us to discuss the rules and aims of our work with the participants in both Obinita and Sääksjärvi, while also

wanting to respect the characteristic discursive practices of the communities. The way people in Sääksjärvi shun all talk about principles, emphasizing practical action instead, seemed to us a reasonable and practical approach. Probing deeper might have brought up conflicts arising from the past and differences of opinion regarding education. By contrast, shared effort created a sense of togetherness and a trust that bridged differences of opinion. Ambivalence and balancing between extremes, in this case between direct discussion and silence or joking, is characteristic of participatory research and dialogical art.²⁸

In literature on public and dialogical art, it is often considered ethically preferable that the artist works in his or her own community rather than in a foreign social setting. The argument is that in his or her native community the artist is already committed to its collective aims, and therefore finds it easy to win people's trust and to collect information for the project.²⁹ In our case, however, we found it easier to collect information about inhabitation in Obinitsa than in Sääksjärvi where our own children go to school. Adults in Obinitsa actively discussed the project with us and also let us know which topics were sensitive. In Sääksjärvi, we were expected to know what things were best not talked about.

DISCUSSIONS ABOUT THE MEANINGS OF HOME

What have you learned [during the project]?

I have learned to communicate with foreigners. (A girl from Sääksjärvi in the project feedback form)³⁰

In attending the workshops and completing related assignments, school children from Sääksjärvi and Obinitsa talked about the meanings of home among themselves and with artists, teachers, family members, aged relatives, experts on local culture and heritage, as well as with children from another country. To encourage and steer the discussion we used many different tools including interviews, floor plans, and study assignments, as well as such artistic methods as photography, folk singing, and dramatic improvisation.

The lengthy duration was an important part of the project. Work in

the project was punctuated by the anticipation of letters arriving, reading them and looking at photos sent from the other school as well as writing answers back. The children got used to the collective methods; they analysed photos in groups and presented them to other pupils. In Sääksjärvi, I visited the school regularly for two years to supervise the work. In Obinitsa I conducted two workshops lasting a few days each, at other times giving feedback on the pictures via letters. In both schools Pekka Kantonen gave practical instruction on photography.

In May 2000 pupils from the third and fourth grades in Obinitsa came to visit Sääksjärvi. They spent two days at a school camp in the nearby Hermanonkimaa training centre, together with pupils from the third and fourth grades in Sääksjärvi. The programme for the visit included sports, drama, and music. The most popular activity was collective dancing to the accompaniment of the accordion of Ain Raal, a folk musician from Setoland. One night we attended a small concert organised by the Tuglas Society with performances by our guests from Obinitsa.

The meaning of home was best discussed in the guise of dramatic improvisation. Children from Obinitsa demonstrated Seto customs to the children in Sääksjärvi and vice versa. In the absence of a common language, gestures from the ritual of visiting – opening doors, inviting to come in, offering food and drink, inviting people to sit down, turning on the TV set, making the bed for the guest – were used to create the space on stage. The Seto children staged a traditional Seto funeral, with the body placed on a board and family and guests gathering around to cry and bow three times to the deceased. Without explanation the play would have been utterly inexplicable to the Finnish children. After the camp, spatial practices were put to use in real situations as the guests from Obinitsa spent two days in the homes of their pen pals from Sääksjärvi.

Our correspondence with the children continued also after the school camp. At a later stage, a youth choir called *Tsibihärbläseq* was founded with children and young people from Obinitsa, who had participated in the project. In the past few years more young people have joined the choir, not only Seto people but also Estonians who live in Setoland or regularly visit it.

WONDERFUL HOME

Trees were growing candy, siidi liidi,
The sun was an orange, siidi liidi,
A chocolate bunny sat on the sill, siidi liidi,
A pumpernickel man stood in the yard, siidi liidi.
They talked with each other, siidi liidi,
About the beauty of the world, siidi liidi,
A girl sat in the bedroom, siidi liidi,
Knitting a red jacket for her mother, siidi liidi.
Small stars in the ceiling, siidi liidi,
A star shone over the girl, siidi liidi,
The boy was in the yard, siidi liidi,
Making a coffin for his father, siidi liidi.
(Fragment from lyrics to the song ‘Wonderful Home’ by children from Sääksjärvi school)³¹

Four Corners is an installation we built together with children from Obinita and Sääksjärvi. It is a house you can enter made of photographs and children’s correspondence and study assignments packed in transparent plastic pockets. On the soundtrack playing in the background, children can be heard asking each other and their parents about things that have to do with home, as well as singing the song ‘Wonderful Home’, which they wrote and rehearsed in the music workshop.

It was never difficult to get the children in Obinita and Sääksjärvi to talk and interview each other. However, the culture of silence could be observed in the avoidance of certain positions and topics. For instance, there was no mention of strong conflict or of positive feelings towards other people, such as love and appreciation between family members or neighbours. Yet, it was possible to speak of love towards places, natural elements, toys, and animals.³²

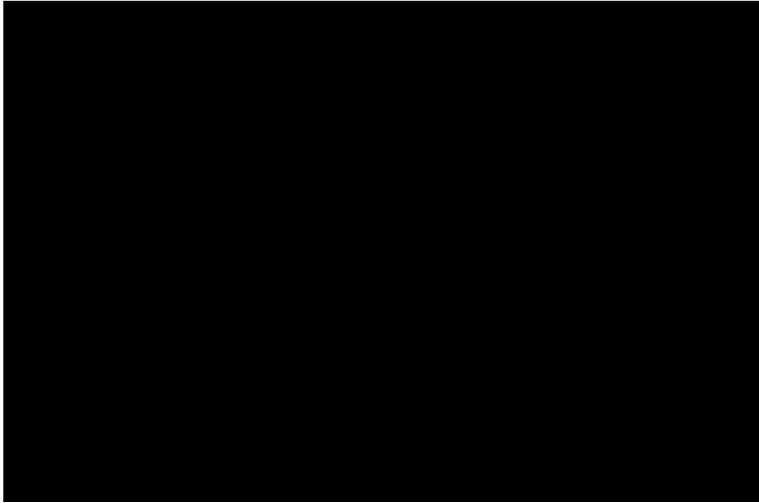
Children’s attitudes towards silence in Sääksjärvi were indirectly dealt with when the children learned to know Seto culture by putting their own lyrics to a Seto folk song.³³ I prepared the ground by telling about songs and singing in Seto culture. Singing is an integral part of Seto social life. The lead singer, or caller, sings a line and others repeat it. The lead singer can vary lines or invent new ones. In Seto culture women sing and perform in public functions such as weddings and funerals,

while the men tend to sing at more informal occasions. In the past, girls had to learn many songs before they got married and men appraised women by their singing.³⁴ In contrast, the singing of young men has been likened to the roaring of bulls.³⁵ Seto songs are sung loudly and without any restraint, because they can be used to express emotions and thoughts that are regarded incommunicable otherwise.³⁶

From the start the girls from Sääksjärvi were eager to perform as lead singers before the class, but it was not until I told about the comparison with bulls that I managed to encourage some boys to lead the singing. Boys were usually shy to take the leading role, so at first they led in pairs, then later alone. I encouraged them to express powerful feelings that had to do with the lyrics of the song. The boys began showing off their singing voice, and in later workshops they actually competed for the lead singer's place. Quiet boys seemed to find a special pleasure in inventing lyrics and singing loudly. They seemed to understand the idea of Seto songs: through singing you can speak with exaggerated loudness about emotions and things that are usually not spoken about. In the lyrics, the children addressed indirectly or with humour such things as relationships within the family or death. One group of boys made a song where the son was making a coffin for his father,³⁷ while in the story of another group the protagonist ended up being eaten by what the children called 'poop trolls'.³⁸

THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE HOME

I live in a yellow farmhouse. This house was built by my great-grandfather and my great-great-grandfather. This house is ninety-three years old. My grandfather renovated it. My father and my grandparents lived there together and my mother moved there in 1988. We heat the house with a stove. The stove is made of stone. The house was heated with a stove before, too. Our kitchen has changed. We brought in old furniture. I sleep in the main room. People used to sleep there before too. We also have a sacred corner at home. There is a white cloth, an icon and candles. I think the most beautiful place in my home is the paddock on top of the hill. In my home, you are not allowed to be noisy in the sacred corner. When I want to be alone, I go to the paddock. (Maaria Hörn in the *Four Corners*)³⁹



Photograph installation *Four Corners* at Kluuvi gallery in Helsinki 2000. Photo: Sakari Viika.

The façade of the installation house that we built with the children stands facing the entrance to the gallery. The front is made of pictures of the façades of houses in Sääksjärvi and Obinitsa, most of which are painted yellow ochre. The other exterior walls show pictures of houses and outbuildings in Obinitsa and Sääksjärvi at different times of the year, while the interior walls show pictures of the interiors of the children's homes, arranged in the corners by topic. The corners of a traditional Seto house represent the meanings of the home as a place of warmth, safety, food, resting, and togetherness. The pictures in the installation are mostly taken by children, although there are also a few photos taken by teachers, the children's parents or by us, the leaders of the workshops. Interspersed with the photos there are letters, study assignments, and other texts written by the children.

During the project we discussed the meaning of the four corners many times with the children, comparing them with spaces in a modern home. The meanings of the first three corners were obvious to the children: the purpose of the stove corner is to heat the house, and its parallel in modern dwellings is the sauna and the fireplace, but also boiler rooms and radiators; the sleeping corner is meant for sleeping,

and its parallel in a modern apartment is the bedroom; the living corner is for eating and spending time with the family, its corresponding places in a modern dwelling are the living room, kitchen, dining room, and the open plan multi-purpose rooms. The stove corner and the living corner are close to the door and comprise the space of action in the home, while the sleeping corner and the sacred corner at the back are a more peaceful area. Being brought up in a Lutheran culture, the Finnish children at first found it difficult to understand the meaning of the sacred corner. Nevertheless, after they had looked at pictures taken by their pen pals in Obinita, they were soon discussing the meaning of sacred, quiet, and peaceful places.

The French philosopher Gaston Bachelard has demonstrated the significance of corners as places of safety, but also of solitude and dreaming. Places where as children we sit alone, bored, or wait for sleep to come are places where we learn to dream and to imagine. These places influence the outlines of our imagination ever after. Corners are especially suitable for idle daydreaming because they offer a safe nest, a kind of half-a-box, the other invisible half of which one can imagine around one self. Imagining is a motionless activity only on the surface. Its direction is towards movement and it anticipates a shift away from the self.⁴⁰

Bachelard focuses especially on the primeval meaning of the house as a safe place, examining the poetic similes of a nest and a shell used for houses. He analyses the meaning of the various constituent parts of houses, such as basements, attics, corners, and cupboards in particular.⁴¹ For Bachelard, a house drawn by a child, just like all 'great, simple images', expresses its author's state of mind.⁴² Adults, too, dream of the spaces of their childhood home. These charged images have to do with memories that pre-date language, before the child has learned the concept of home and before the child has become a speaking subject.⁴³

Bachelard's term for the analysis of mental images associated with spaces is 'topoanalysis'. In topoanalysis the four elements air, water, earth, and fire play an important role. The elements in the form of wind, rain, the cold dampness of the cellar, open fire, and smoke rising from the chimney sometimes create a sense of static safety in a house. At other times they create a sense of homely activity and movement

relating to dwelling, although the elements can also test the durability of the house itself.⁴⁴ By taking photos for the four corners of the installation and by replying to the questions asked by their pen pals, the children conducted their own topoanalysis, listing and grouping spaces in their own homes and associating them with personal meanings.

The children started to make observations of changes in everyday practices in different times and different cultures by interviewing their relatives about the earlier uses of the spaces and how they have changed, and by looking at the pictures sent by their pen pals. I asked the children what they learned from the pictures about the homes and family of their pen pals whom they had never visited. Discussing the pictures made the children aware that they, too, in taking pictures, were constructing stories and presentations of their homes ones that the pupils in the other group would then interpret from their own perspective. Thus the lived space of the home gradually became perceivable and conceivable.⁴⁵

STOVE CORNER, SLEEPING CORNER AND LIVING CORNER

Miro: Like, every normal home has, you know, a kind of, like, clothes give off this special smell.

Pekka: Is it like, err, some deodorant or some kind of perfume?

Miro: It's just like dishwasher liquid.

Pyry-Pekka: Fairy! Something like that.

Pyry-Pekka: Or then it smells, you know, clean.

(A conversation taped in our home during the workshop on 12 June 2002)⁴⁶

Stepping into the photo house/installation, the first corner on the left-hand side is the stove corner. The children have taken photographs of the stoves in their homes and other fireplaces or sources of heat. Apart from old brick stoves, there are also tile stoves, open fireplaces, radiators, and sauna stoves in the pictures. In some pictures a child or an adult is lighting the stove or adding firewood to it. The hearths and stoves in the stove corner seem homely and safe, but they also contain an implicit element of danger. Small children should not be allowed to handle fire.



Jaakko Koskela, a student in the fourth grade of Mäntsälä's Sääksjärvi school, is making a fire. Hermanonkimaa 2000.

A photo of a child lighting the stove is thus a document of growing up and the responsibility that goes with it.

The left-hand back corner in the installation is the sleeping corner. In the pictures and stories you find in that corner, Finnish children are sleeping in their own rooms or nurseries. The Seto children sleep in nurseries, together with their grandmother in a bedroom, or in the sleeping corner of the main room. The Finnish children each sleep in their own bed; some of the Seto children sleep together in one bed. In their study assignments the children in Obinitsa generally did not indicate who had slept in which rooms at different times. The lack of attention towards sleeping may reflect the fact that sleeping was not considered important in the discourse on dwelling during the Soviet era. In the children's texts, sleeping arrangements seemed irrelevant or temporary; Riin for one reported that she slept in different places from night to night.

As late as in the 1970s and the 1980s it was common in Seto homes that the entire family, which sometimes also included the grandparents, slept together in the main room. Separate bedrooms are a fairly new

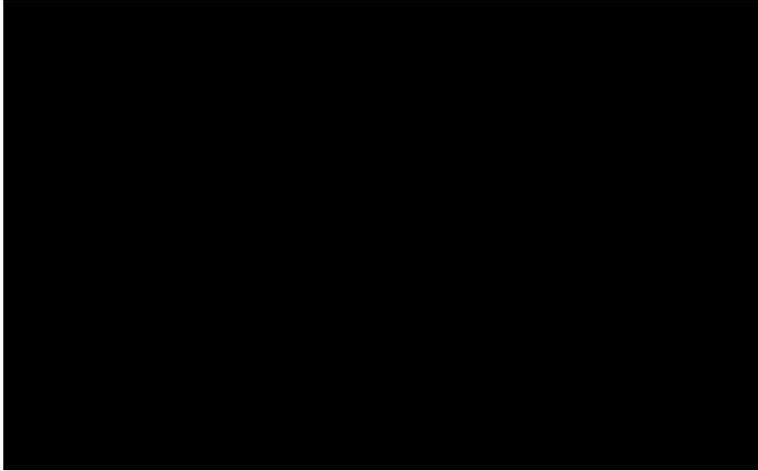
phenomenon in Finnish homes, too.⁴⁷ Today farmhouses in Obinitsa generally have one or two bedrooms in addition to the multi-purpose main room or living room. In Finnish homes separate bedrooms are considered almost a standard feature.⁴⁸

The first right-hand corner of the installation represented the living corner. The material in it depicted kitchens, living rooms, and dining rooms with their dining tables and dishes.⁴⁹ The children were very interested in the foods of the other culture and asked their pen pals to send them close-ups of meals and dishes. There were rows upon rows of such photos in the installation.

In the traditional Seto main rooms the living corner was a place for eating and working, and the long table flanked by benches extended almost all the way to the sacred corner.⁵⁰ In Finnish farmhouses, too, the dining table was not only where the family had their meals, it was also where they spent time together and did all kinds of handicrafts. Even today, eating and togetherness are associated spatially in many main rooms or open-plan kitchens in both Obinitsa and Sääksjärvi. Of course in some homes these activities are separated, with eating taking place in the kitchen or dining room, and time spent together in a separate living room.

Pictures in the living corner of the installation seem to depart more from ordinary family album snapshots than pictures in the other corners, perhaps because of the large number of close-ups there are, and because family snapshots are seldom taken in the kitchen. Pictures of the kitchen usually show either the dining table with people just having sat down for a meal, or an empty table with the dishes and all other signs of the meal cleaned away. Objects and spaces associated with the body and with cleaning are usually excluded from the photos.⁵¹

Family snapshots generally reinforce stereotypical gender roles, where the mother tends to the home and the father is responsible for technical appliances. More often than not, it is the father who is behind the camera taking pictures of the mother and children who pose in an ideal home. In effect the mother's caring role in the home is idealized and normalized.⁵² Although the photos in the *Four Corners* installation were taken by children instead of fathers, the general impression of the homes tends to be rather idealized in them as well.⁵³ Problems or conflicts in the home are not shown. The pictures adhere in part to normative



Ville Parma, Mäntsälä's Sääksjärvi school, third grade: Viivi is wiping the table. Mäntsälä, Sääksjärvi 1997.

representations of home and the family, but not entirely. The children seemed to be quite conscious of the kinds of home spaces that are regarded normal and desirable, especially when depicting kitchens and living rooms. In the discussion quoted above, our son Pyry-Pekka and his friend Miro agreed that a normal home should smell clean.⁵⁴

In the photos and stories from Sääksjärvi as well as Obinitsa, people's behaviour seems to follow the traditional gender roles: girls and mothers are shown washing the dishes, cleaning up, watering plants, knitting and sewing; boys and fathers are chopping firewood, doing carpentry and fixing cars. All family members are shown warming the sauna and mowing the lawn. Chores may well be allocated or carried out differently in the not depicted everyday life, but at least in the photos and stories children have wanted to portray their families as keeping within the so-called normal gender confines. For example, there is not a single photo that would show a boy or a man cleaning up.

Many photos in the living corner of the installation have captured the moment between two different stages: an object is not in use nor is it in its own place, but rather in an intermediate state, momentarily put down and waiting to be picked up again. Ville Parma from Sääksjärvi has taken a photo of his sister Viivi wiping a table with a rag, while on

the table there is a newspaper, some mail, a bread bag, and breadcrumbs. Pari Orre from Hermanonkimaa has taken a photo of a metal basket next to the front door, with objects that one might need going out: earmuffs, a child's car seat, a helmet, a dog's leash. Our son Ukko Kantonen has taken a photo of an apron with orange flowers hanging over the freezer door.

Home appliances are generally excluded from family snapshots. By contrast, the pictures in *The Four Corners* show washing machines and refrigerators on equal status with other furniture. In the photo taken by Tanel Kunnas, a boy is proudly showing off a large refrigerator. These inclusions of dishrags, earmuffs, refrigerators, and aprons described above show us objects that involve the bodily dimension and are used in homes, but are usually left outside the frame or cleared away before taking a photograph.

THE SACRED CORNER

The icon corner has disappeared from the Seto main room. Now the corner is occupied by a television set. There may be an icon still on top of the set, but no longer in younger families. I remember how my grandmother went to the sacred corner every morning, knelt down and prayed, asking for food and health for the children, happiness for the family. She spoke there by herself for a moment. It was a place of wishing. Today people wish things for each other, but in the past people also were alone by themselves for a moment. We would occasionally need such moments. We have become careless in our relations with other people. We say bad things to each other. I want today to tell children why there is a sacred corner in the room, and what it can be used for. (Liidia Sillaots, founder of the Obinita Local History Museum, oral report 1997)⁵⁵

Riku: What is the nicest room in your house?

Jaakko: The wardrobe.

Riku: What do you do there?

Jaakko: I am.

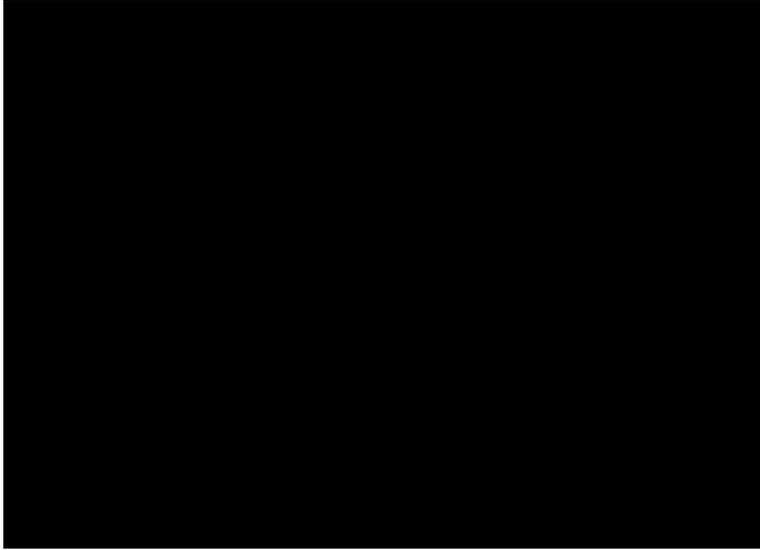
(Riku and Jaakko talking on the soundtrack of the *Four Corners* installation)⁵⁶

In the photos exhibited in the sacred corner of the installation children from Obinitsa have depicted the icon corner of their homes. There is an icon in the home of only two of the children, but they are all familiar with the icon corner through the homes of their relatives and museums. Finnish children have each interpreted the sacred corner in their own way. Two of the children have taken a picture with an angel in it. A sacred place for Sini is the bookshelf where trophies are kept; for Marianne it is the corner where framed photos of the family stand; for Linda it is the corner where old pink baby dresses and shoes are kept hanging.

Both in the interviews with adults conducted by children and in children's own accounts, natural sites, and woods in particular were an important part of the experience of home. The quiet, peaceful places mentioned by children were usually places in nature. They were the favourite places of children and had a special function in their everyday life, even though they did not necessarily regard other places as restless or unholy. The quiet spaces described by children were different from the sacred place described by Sillaots in that instead of motionless meditation, they usually involved movement; walking, running, or climbing. The photographic series *My Favourite Place* looks closer at the meaning of the peaceful places chosen by the children.⁵⁷

Spaces can be discerned in children's stories that could be called *heterotopias*, a term used by the French philosopher and historian Michel Foucault. Heterotopias for Foucault are spaces that deviate from ordinary everyday practices or disturb them, where social power relations can turn upside down. One of the characteristics of a heterotopia is that it stands in some clearly definable relationship to the external space, perceived as 'normal' in terms of power. A heterotopia may represent an inversion of external space or be similar to it, but in a condensed way.⁵⁸

According to Foucault, the spatial thinking of the modern man contains traces of ancient sacral spaces.⁵⁹ Kirsi Saarikangas who has researched Finnish homes from a spatial perspective associates Foucault's heterotopia with dual meaning: On the one hand, the term refers to the 'better rooms' and living rooms that were only used on Sundays and holidays and were isolated from the ordinariness of other rooms.⁶⁰ On the other hand, the term points to the undeveloped areas, woods and



The favorite place of Kadri Kõivik. Photo: Pekka Kantonen, Obinita 2003.

brownfields in modern suburbs that involve a certain inversion and discontinuity with the built environment,⁶¹ as she also discusses elsewhere in this volume. Both the not structured spaces of nature and the rooms used for important functions, such as entertaining visitors and celebrating, can be conceptualized with the notion of sacred space. Even today these spaces can provide a venue for cutting loose from the everyday life. This experience is akin to a religious one; the experiencing of something sacred.⁶²

The children described all kinds of spaces and situations that are regarded as silent. For instance, among the Finnish children noise is not allowed at the dining table in Marianne's home. In an interview conducted by Jaakko, the children were forbidden to make noise in the parents' bedroom on Sunday mornings. Jaakko's favourite place was the wardrobe, where he could be by himself. In the stories of children from Obinita, places where it is forbidden to make noise included the sacred corner in Maarja's home, the kitchen in Kerli's home, and the living room in Virgo's home. In the homes of Triin and Madis no noisy playing was allowed indoors at all.

The frequent presence of a bookcase in the photos depicting the sacred corner made me concur with the children's idea that a bookcase in the living room is a kind contemporary home altar, where the family's meaningful objects are displayed. A bookcase is a heterotopia in the sense that its content gives a succinct indication of the identity and aesthetic preferences of the family. Apart from books, the shelves are used to display objects that do not usually have an everyday utility or function. Such objects include framed photos, trophies, valuable tableware, mementoes, and gifts. In *The Living Room* installation we wanted to further explore the meanings of the bookcase, and we asked Seto and Finnish children to build their own rendering of a bookcase. In the bookcase filled by the *Tsibihärbäläseq* choir, objects from Seto culture, musical instruments, handicrafts and the Seto flag, shared the shelves with furry toys and mementoes, bringing meanings of ethnicity and childhood into very close proximity within the installation.

RURAL SPACE, THE SPACE OF MOTION

In our home you can play and romp, sing and make noise, because neighbours live far away. I like climbing trees and that's why I go to a tree when I am sad and want to be alone. Sometimes I go for a walk with the dog in the forest, or build a hut. And when I sing, all sorrows depart from my mind. (Krislin Pikalev from Obinita in her study of the history of her home in the *Four Corners* installation)⁶³

The children's topoanalysis combines daydreaming emphasized by Bachelard with activity emphasized by the French social scientist Henri Lefebvre⁶⁴ and the French cultural historian Michel de Certeau.⁶⁵ Even in places they themselves regard as quiet and sacred, children are in motion. Triin, Madis, Maaria, Ingrid and Kerli went walking in their quiet favourite places, in the yard, a flowering meadow, a grove, a paddock, to the woods, and by a lake. Maria rode, Pasi bicycled and Krislin climbed a tree in her favourite place. Children presented their homes primarily from the perspective of action, assessing spaces in terms of how well they suited various activities. For example, Anne's room was big enough to play in, and the best room for Joonas was the room with the hearth, because that was where the game consoles were.

Similarly, the children were interested in the spatial practices of the homes of other children.⁶⁶ In an interview Marianne and Anne asked each other where they feed their pets and where they hang up wet clothes to dry. At first, the questions seem odd to adults. In talking about the space in the home adults might not, unlike Marianne and Anne, come to think of the place where pets are fed. Children assess familiar rooms, routes, and objects according to their needs, in a different manner to adults, whose interests and care focus partly on different things.

The opportunities for motion and activity both inside and outside of the homes of children living in rural areas seemed endless. In their letters the children asked each other: 'What do you like to do?' Apart from the fun activities already mentioned, their activities included being with animals; building a raft, a snow castle, snowmen or a tent; camping; climbing; collecting animal bones, scraps, pictures of mist, feathers or stamps; cooking; dancing; doing crossword puzzles; sports; all kinds of work; gymnastics; drawing; embroidering; fishing; German jumps; hopscotch; horseback riding; ice skating; making bouquets of flowers; moulding things from clay; painting; performing tricks; picking berries or mushrooms in the forest; piling up firewood; play-acting; playing at being animals; playing music, pranks, soccer, ice hockey, dice, baseball, field hockey or computer games; playing tag and T tag; playing with cats or dolls, with a ball or skipping rope; running; sailing; sewing; shooting at targets; singing; sitting round an open fire at night; skiing; sleeping late; sliding downhill on a sled or toboggan; snowball fighting; swimming; swinging; using a cash register; walking around; watching television; whittling wood; writing.

In order to not over-romanticize the life of rural children, I want to draw attention to the rapidly encroaching uniformity in behaviour. In the course of the project independent activity among children decreased, in particular in Sääksjärvi. This is probably not only a question of upbringing, education and changing interests, but also a result of the rapid changes in lifestyle, as differences between urban and rural areas are levelling out.⁶⁷ More and more rural children, our own children included, are exercising under guidance and at fixed times, paralleled by a decrease in the time spent at Bachelard's idle daydreaming or spontaneous sports and playing with peers. In contrast to this development, children in towns are involved in activities related to nature.

The seeds for a hegemonic way of representing space have been planted in children's texts and visual representations.⁶⁸ Children are still in the process of learning the mode of knowing that separates the observer from the observed. They are not in a dominant position and do not regard space from a position of power. They do not even think that they might know the truth about things they describe. Children describe an environment where they are participants and which they through their continuous actions are also changing. However, on the level of representation, we can already discern the uniform idea of space. Children have learned partially to recognize the kind of space that is acceptable, desirable or normal, as well as which things relating to home may be talked about in public. This made some of the children's stories oddly contradictory. For instance, in their correspondence some boys from Sääksjärvi and Obinita almost began to compete with the number of rooms in their home and the amount of cattle, vehicles or electronic gadgets that their family owned. They understood in part what types of things are used to demonstrate wealth, yet they had not entirely grasped that it is generally regarded improper to boast the wealth of one's family.

Children produce space by moving simultaneously on all levels of space: tangible, social and representational.⁶⁹ Applying the idea of both/and space⁷⁰ to these children's studies of their home, we see that in addition to transcending conventional oppositions in material space, there is also a transcending of contradictory states of mind. Children approach difficult and suppressed things using exaggeration and humour. A child can be simultaneously wild and calm, active and quiet. A state of boisterous activity is not necessarily the opposite of a state of mental concentration. In the presentations by the children both/and is a creative state of mind that discovers a new perspective in the order of home and school. This perspective can sometimes be captured in movement and sound, other times in silence and daydreaming. It transforms ordinary everyday space into something else, much more fun. It is swinging or running in a sacred place; it is meditating in a wardrobe; it is the state of dance, where the Seto and the Finns romp around together making their heads wonderfully dizzy; or it is the state of giggling where the best interview questions are invented; it can be seen in photos taken as a joke, where boys are playing with Barbie dolls;

the mess on the breakfast table constructs an order for the day; ‘poop trolls’ create a mysterious intimation of death; and the quietest boy in the class becomes the boisterous hero of song.

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Translated by Tomi Snellman

NOTES

- 1 'Hei Eduard! Meillä on 3 kissaa. Meillä on paljon kärpäsiä. Meillä on traktori. Minun nimeni on Jaakko.'
'Hei Jaakko! Nimeni on Eduard. Olen yhdeksän vuotta. Olen toisella luokalla. Minulla on veli. Minkä ikäinen sinä olet? Millä luokalla sinä olet? Meillä on kaksi autoa ja yksi traktori. Meillä on vielä kolme koiraa ja yksi kissa. Kesällä käyn metsässä ja uimassa. Talvella teen lumiukkoja.'
- 2 Seto people have been studied by many scholars, e.g. Paul Hagu 2004, Külli Eichbaum 1998, 2001 and Aune Valk 2000, have written about seto identity, Karl Pajusalu 1999; Eichenbaum and Pajusalu 2001 and Seppo Suhonen 2003, have studied the Seto language, Vaike Sarv 2000 has studied Seto folk music, Paul Hagu 1999 and Leea Virtanen 1981, 1987, Seto folklore. Öie Sarv (1995, 2001) has written about contemporary Seto issues.
- 3 See e.g. Bhabha 1998, Chu and Koh 2002, Kantonen 2005, Kester 2004, Kwon 2002, Lind 2004.
- 4 'Olen asunut täällä koko ikäni. leikin paljon hippaa kesällä Laripekan kanssa. Haluaisin jäädä tänne siksi kun on järvi lähellä ja on rauhallista. Kotini ympärillä on paljon peltoja ja metsää.'
- 5 On cultural narratives, see e.g. Hänninen 2000.
- 6 Saarikangas 2002, pp. 352–355.
- 7 Saarikangas 1993, pp. 157–159.
- 8 Ibid. 305–321.
- 9 Saarikangas 2002, 433–439. 'In the beginning of 20th century it was familiar among working class to turn the other room of the dwelling into a 'better room', a parlour, in confirmation with the housing practices of the upper classes. Editor's note.
- 10 Manninen 1925–26: p. 58, pp. 62–63.
- 11 Kantonen and Kantonen 1999, p. 46.
- 12 Paulus 2002.
- 13 Ibid. 2002.
- 14 Finnish semiotician Harri Veivo in a lecture *From the Lived Space to the Semiosphere*, 21

- January 2002, in the lecture series *Semiotics of Space and Place* arranged by University of Art and Design Helsinki and the University of Helsinki.
- 15 Aare Hörn, Town Manager of Meremäe, oral report 15 August 1997.
 - 16 'Minu isa vanaisa otis selle talu 1925. aastal. Selle maja ajalugu on pikk ja keeruline. Siin on elanud nn. Vene ajal (siis, kui vanavanaisa ja vanavanaema Siberisse saadetud olid) väga palju inimes. Minu vanemad selles majas ei elanud. Isa kasvas üles naabermajas. Meie kolisime majja 1989. aasta suvel.'
 - 17 Keravuori 1997, p. 45.
 - 18 In 1930 right-wing activists from Sääksjärvi kidnapped four leftist politicians, who were then taken to the other side of the Soviet border or left alone in wilderness. In 1932 several hundred activists occupied the Workers' Hall in the village of Mäntsälä threatening with more kidnappings and violence. Keravuori 1997, pp. 71–137.
 - 19 Oksanen 1997, p. 249.
 - 20 Ö Sarv 1995, pp. 6–8.
 - 21 Minutes of the meetings of the Parents' Association of the Sääksjärvi school in Mäntsälä 1997.
 - 22 See e.g. Eskola and Suoranta 1996, p. 97; Kuula 1999, pp. 92–93; Chu and Koh 1992, pp. 39–41; Pillai 1992; pp. 158–160.
 - 23 Kester 2004.
 - 24 Kester 2004, p. 1.
 - 25 Other means of protection were for example amulets, incantations and private rituals. Stark-Arola 1998 pp. 116–117, 169.
 - 26 Treier 2000.
 - 27 Keravuori 1997, p. 135.
 - 28 Cf. Kuula 1999, p. 120; Tan 2002.
 - 29 The problematic relationship of artists with the community they represent has been researched in closer detail by e.g. Lippard 1997, p. 37; Kester 2004, pp. 130–131; Kwon 2002, pp. 130–135.
 - 30 'Mitä olet oppinut [projektin aikana]?
Olen oppinut kommonikoimaan vierasmaalaisten kanssa.'
 - 31 Puiasa kasvoi pastilleja, siidi liidi,
Aurinko oli appelsiini, siidi liidi,
Ikkunalla istui suklaapupu siidi liidi,
Pihalla seisoj pipariukko, siidi liidi.
Puhelivat toisillensa, siidi liidi,
maailman kauneudesta, siidi liidi.
Tytttö kutoi kamarissa, siidi liidi
punaista takkia äidillensä, siidi liidi.
Pieniä tähtiä katossa, siidi liidi,
Tähti loisti tytön yllä, siidi liidi.
Poika veisti pihalla, siidi liidi,
kaunista arkkua isällensä, siidi liidi.
 - 32 Nor did the participants of other workshops we ran for Finnish children and young people tell verbally about their emotions towards other family members. By contrast, Mexican, Swedish and Saami children and adolescents told much more about their feelings. See Kantonen 2005, p. 129.
 - 33 I chose the song from the collection by Vaike Sarv 1995.
 - 34 Virtanen 1981, pp. 31–32, 1987, p. 190.

- 35 Vaike Sarv, researcher of folk music, oral report 8 October 1991.
- 36 Virtanen 1987, p. 169.
- 37 The boy who had written the lyrics was reluctant to sing them in the spring gala, where his parents were present. He was afraid that his family would not understand that he was singing or joking about the death of a fictitious father – not that of his own living father: He was very conscious of the sensitivity of his topic.
- 38 'Poop trolls' or *kakkapeikat* in Finnish, were characters in a song that the children made up.
- 39 'Ma elan kollases talumajas. See maja on ehitatud minu vanavanaisal ja vanavanavanaisal. See maja on 93 a. vana. Remontis selle maja vanaisa. Minu isa ja vanavanemad elasid seal varem ka aga ema kolis 1988-aastal. Meil on ahjuküte. Ahi on kivist. Varem soojentati seda maja samuti ahjuküttega. Meie köök on muutunud. Me tõstime sinna vanu mööbli. Mina magan suures toas. Seal toas magas ka varem inimesi maganud. Kodu on ka püha nurk. Seal on valge käterätt, ikoon ja küünlaid. Minu meelest on kodu kõige ilusam paik hobusekoplis mäeotsas. Minu kodus ei saa pühas nurgas mürada. Kui ma tahan ükski, olla lähen ma koplisse.'
- 40 Bachelard 1994, p. 137.
- 41 Although Bachelard in his poetic text aspired to universality, it still clearly shows the influence of gender and social class. Bachelard writes very little about the spaces controlled by women and servants, or those associated with the body, such as kitchens, bathrooms or bedrooms. His perspective is emphatically that of a man and a boy child. For example, he regards cleaning 'insignificant' and humble or demeaning when performed by a boy; see Bachelard 1994, p. 71.
- 42 Ibid. 72.
- 43 Ibid. 7; pp. 57–58.
- 44 Ibid. 38–73.
- 45 See Lefebvre 1991, pp. 39–40.
- 46 Miro: 'Siis joka normaalis kodis on semmonen niinku semmonen niinku vaatteist lähtee semmonen tietty tuoksu.'
 Pekka: 'Onkse niin joku öö joku dödö tai semmonen hajuste siis?'
 Miro: 'Siis niin just joku astianpesuaine.'
 Pyry-Pekka: 'Fair! Joku semmonen pesuaine.'
 Pyry-Pekka: 'Tai silleen haisee puhtaalle'; V-PVÄK-DV 109.
- 47 Saarikangas 2002, p. 82.
- 48 We continued to explore the meanings of home with children from Obinita in later art projects. The members of the *Tsibihärbläseq* (Wagtails) youth choir furnished the smaller gallery in the Lönnström Art Museum as a sleeping corner, which they named *Wagtail's Nest* (2005). They filled the corner with furniture, handicrafts, books, photos and videos carrying strong ethnic meanings.
- 49 In the data produced by the children the living room seems to be the most common place for a computer; though there are computers in other rooms as well. In a drawing in the ABC-book for Seto children a computer can be found from the working corner of the multipurpose main room. ABC kiräoppus, 9.
- 50 Manninen 1925–1926.
- 51 Holland 1991.
- 52 Ibid. 1991.
- 53 The installation made by young people from the town of Rauma under our guidance, also named *The Living Room* (Lönnström Art Museum, 2005) was different from the other; idealized home-related installations in that one of its themes was domestic violence,

- dealt with through references to splatter movies. The television set was broken, there were shards of glass in the bookcase, and in the photographs the floor rugs had been coloured red with imaging software, as if they had been drenched in blood.
- 54 Woman's role in cleaning and sanitation, and the link between home and the woman's body has been studied by Saarikangas 2002 and Solheim 1995.
- 55 Liidia Sillaots, oral information, May 1997.
- 56 Riku: 'Mikä on kivin huone teidän talossa?'
Jaakko: 'Vaatekomero.'
Riku: 'Mitä sä siellä teet?'
Jaakko: 'Oon.'
- 57 For the photographic series *My Favourite Place*, we re-photographed the quiet places photographed for the *Four Corners* installation when the children had grown into young adults. Krislin had moved away from the pond, Kadri was using the sand pit for sunning instead of playing, Triin was no longer climbing in the trees by the lake, but Maarja's favourite place was still the paddock.
- 58 Foucault 1986, p. 27.
- 59 Foucault 1986, p. 23.
- 60 Saarikangas 2002, pp. 147–148.
- 61 Ibid. p. 494.
- 62 Ibid. p. 251. The forest as a sacral area in Finnish and Karelian folklore has been studied e.g. by Lotte Tarkka 1998.
- 63 'Mei kodus saab mängida ja mürada, laulda, ning ka kisada, sest naabrid elavad kaugel. Mulle meeldib väga puu otsas ronida ja sellepärast lähen ma puu otsa, kui mul on mure või kui ma tahan üksi olla. Vahepeal lähen ka koeraga metsa jalutama, või teen onni. Ja kui ma laulan, lähevad mul kõik mured meelest ära.'
- 64 According to Lefebvre, space can be examined simultaneously on three levels that are in interaction: spatial practices, representations of space and representational space. Spatial practices involve the social meanings of space studied by social scientists, representations of space refers to the abstract way space is depicted in town planning or architecture as maps, drawings, scale models or numbers, and representational space refers to the personal and aesthetic meanings of space that come about as a result of everyday life. In children's stories, such as Maarja's study, the three levels of looking at space are constantly moving into and over each other. Lefebvre 1991, pp. 38–39.
- 65 Children's accounts of their homes can be compared with de Certeau's study of stories told by New Yorkers. Certeau's distinction between maps and trajectories can be likened to the difference between the floor plan of an apartment and the routes that people take when they walk in the apartment. The size of rooms and their order in relation to each other favour certain postures, movements and bodily encounters, and discourage others. The home space distinguishes the members of the family from outsiders and suggests for them different postures and trajectories than for the family. Certeau 1984, pp. 91–110, Saarikangas 2002, pp. 22–30.
- 66 Certeau's notion of space is active, whereas place implies stability. 'In short: space is a practiced place'. Certeau 1984, p. 117. In contrast, many other writers connect space with something abstract; a place with meaningful dynamics. For example in the writing of ethnographers Akhil Gupta and James Ferguson place is connected with active meanings and space can be activated by place-making. Gupta and Ferguson 1997, p. 8. In the writings of British geographer Doreen Massey 1994 and 2003, both terms are active. See also Casey 1997.
- 67 Lefebvre blames global capitalism from spreading uniform consumption habits, levelling

- differences between city and the countryside and ignoring local histories. Lefebvre 1991, pp. 49–53.
- 68 Homogenic representations of space tend to examine space as an object of contemplation, using abstract, quantitative expressions and ignoring the production of space carried out by the observer/researcher and the users of space. Certeau 1984, p. 93; Foucault 1986, p. 23; Lefebvre 1991, p. 11; Saarikangas 2002, p. 278.
- 69 A conceptual triad offers a more dynamic way of looking at space than traditional dualities. The analyses of space by Lefebvre and Foucault go beyond dualistic distinctions, thereby opening an interesting perspective on children's spatial stories. They open up for us a space of both/and where the material and symbolic levels of the space are in constant interaction. Soja 1996, pp. 74–81.
- 70 Ibid. p. 1996.

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UNDOING AND REDOING HOME

The Bosnian War and Diasporic Home-Making

Laura Huttunen

This chapter is an exploration of the radical and often violent transformations of homes that followed the devastating war in Bosnia-Herzegovina between 1992 and 1995. This enquiry is prompted by my puzzlement in front of the vast amount of destroyed houses that I encountered during my first visit to Bosnia in 2001. According to one estimate 85,000 houses were destroyed or damaged during, or soon after the war. Since then a lot of the houses have been rebuilt: some of them are now permanently inhabited, while others are regularly visited by their owners who live in diaspora around the world. Still, others stay empty, at least for most of the time. How should we understand such dramatic transformations of houses, or homes?¹

There are two different modes of conceptualizing homes in academic discourses: on the one hand, there are essentializing discourses of rootedness, interconnectedness of place, culture, and belonging; on the other hand, there is enthusiastic embracement of movement, mobility, and transnational connectedness to the point of making rootedness pathological.² I wish to negotiate between these two extremes in order to grasp some of the ambiguities towards homes expressed and experienced by the exiled Bosnians. There are also powerful political discourses that have worked to fix the Bosnian refugees' homes in certain locations: The Finnish integration policies concerning immigrants, exclusionary popular discourses in Finland (and elsewhere), as well as programmes for repatriating exiled people back to Bosnia, all carry



A family house in northern Bosnia-Herzegovina in 2001, destroyed during the war in Bosnia between 1992–1995. Photograph Laura Huttunen.

implication concerning the so-called proper home of Bosnians. I will look at the ways in which the Bosnian refugees themselves negotiate between these discourses, and practices produced by them.

HOMES AND HOUSES

Homes and houses are overlapping but not synonymous concepts. Homes are more than houses, and houses are more than homes. Houses have to be transformed into homes by specific practices. To be at home in a certain place is an intimate bodily practice of dwelling, through which a specific relationship to that place is created. Houses are also more than homes. They are material and architectonic structures, in a sociological and anthropological sense they are *loci* of material and social reproduction. Individuals belonging to the same house are engaged in maintaining the house both as a social and as a material entity.³ Houses may be understood as socially constituted groupings, members of a

house are committed to a common wellbeing.⁴ In this sense the meanings of a house and a family move towards each other.

Homes and houses are usually characterized as private places, or symbolic spaces for a private life. But homes and houses are always embedded in public spaces, and their privacy is produced in relation to the public. There are different cultural understandings of the boundary between the private and the public realms. An important element of the privacy of homes is the inhabitants' ability to control the entrances to and exits from one's home. This boundary and the ability to control it are at issue in the violent transformations of homes that I talk about in this chapter.

Moreover, we talk about home tracts and home countries; the public space in a certain place is also understood to be a home for some people, but not for all. The classification of people to those rightfully at home in a certain place, and those alien to it, brings about the politicization of the concept of home. The lived experience of being at home is produced at the intersection of the private and the public, of the personal and the political.⁵ Homes are, of course, also gendered spaces. The violence, destruction, and reconstruction of homes discussed in this essay have reorganized gender relations within families as well as in the public.⁶ I will make some preliminary remarks on this complicated issue.

This essay is an examination of the ways in which homes and houses converge and diverge in a specific context, the war in Bosnia and the post-war Bosnian diaspora. Simultaneously, this chapter explores the politicization of homes in that particular context. I provide a reading of the transformation of homes through the dramatic transformations of family houses as physical structures.

Since 2001 I have carried out periodic ethnographic fieldwork among people with a Bosnian refugee background living in Finland.⁷ As a social anthropologist interested in transnational ways of living and forms of belonging, I soon realized that I cannot restrict my research field to Finland. In order to understand the lives of my informants I had to understand what is happening in other places of their lives as well, especially in Bosnia. This essay is a part of that larger project of understanding life in the Bosnian diaspora.

The current Bosnian diaspora is a consequence of the violent war in Bosnia that took place between 1992 and 1995.⁸ The outbreak of the

war was connected to the dissolution of Yugoslavia, and the ensuing struggles over the future of the area. The conflict turned violent in other parts of ex-Yugoslavia as well, notably in Croatia and Kosovo, but in Bosnia the full-blown conflict was most protracted. The reasons for the war and extreme forms of violence are complicated, and beyond the scope of this article. It is significant, however, to understand that the diaspora in question was created in connection to a war that was fought in the name of ethnicity and nationality.⁹

TWO SNAPSHOTS: FROM RUINED HOUSES TO A REBUILT GHOST TOWN

My exploration began at a particular moment late in the year of 2001. I had travelled to Bosnia with a group of Bosnian refugees living in Finland, in order to visit their former places of residence. As we travelled through northern and eastern parts of Bosnia, I was overwhelmed by the multitude of ruined houses that littered the beautiful mountainous landscape. Now we were visiting a small rural town in northern Bosnia, in the area that currently falls under Serbian rule, the so-called Serbian Republic (*Republika Srpska*) of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We stood in what looked like a meadow, now covered by vegetation that was withering in the cool winter weather. Some grey stones were protruding from the vegetation, and as I started to look more closely, I could discern the contours of a large rectangle formed by the stones. 'This is my house', said one of the Bosnian men in our group. 'It has to be rebuilt.' The house and practically the whole town were destroyed nine years earlier in a campaign of ethnic cleansing that swept across northern Bosnia, killing thousands of people and driving the rest of the Muslim population, including this man, into exile. The man had lived in Finland for nine years. He had married another Bosnian while living in Finland, and their children were born there. I had visited his home in a neatly kept and carefully furnished apartment in a suburb of southern Finland. I tried to decipher the relationship between the hardly distinguishable ruins and the cosy apartment back in Finland. What else is there besides nostalgia for the past in the man's stubborn aim to rebuild the house?

Almost five years later in October 2006, I visited the town once

more. By then the man's house was indeed rebuilt, as were many others in this area. The town and surrounding villages had lived through a busy period of reconstruction, but only a few families had returned permanently. Between 2001 and 2006 I had visited that particular rural town twice. Both visits had taken place during the summer months and I had witnessed busy rebuilding activities, as well as a bustle of summer visitors. These were all Bosnians originally from the town, now living all over the world as refugees, but coming to spend their holidays at this location.¹⁰ During these five years the whole town had been transformed beyond recognition: new houses were erected on the ruins, and a couple of new or rebuilt restaurants and bars had opened in the centre, especially to cater to the needs of the moneyed summer visitors.

In October 2006, I visited the village well after the summer holiday season was over. Another man who was originally from the town but permanently living in Finland wanted to show me around the town, so I would see its phoenix-like ascent from the ashes. The day was a peculiar experience: we stopped to admire a house after the other, noticing their handsome facades, and comparing them to the earlier memories of ruins. Many houses were now bigger and more conspicuous than before the war, as people had invested their money earned abroad into the reconstruction. Soon I learned to interpret the signs that my host was very accustomed to reading: no laundry in the courtyard and the curtains drawn in the windows meant that the owner of the house had travelled abroad. It turned out that most of the houses were empty and the town began to feel like a ghost town.

My host was acutely aware of who had rebuilt the house with his or her own money, and who had been financially helped by one of the array of reconstruction projects funded by foreign donors. We ended our day of sightseeing at a night club in the centre of the town with my host's wife and another visiting Finn. The night club had seating for almost a hundred people, but now the four of us were the only customers in the huge, dimly lit hall. I learned from the bartender that we were the only customers he had served in a week. This was a stark contrast to the crowds that frequented the night club during the summer months, as my host commented. It appears as though a radical transformation of houses as physical structures has occurred in the Bosnian village. First family houses were ruined, and then ruins were transformed into

beautiful, reconstructed houses. But what happened to homes in this cycle of transformations? What sort of politicization of homes, or certain homes, is there to be traced behind this development?

THE DESTRUCTION OF HOUSES: MATERIAL AND SYMBOLIC WARFARE

Both the academic literature¹¹ and the stories of my informants¹² attest to the fact that in pre-war rural Bosnia family houses were the embodiments of the wealth and joint effort of the families. Houses were the symbolic *loci* of belonging to families and family groupings. Houses were homes because they were the sites of dwelling, the 'places where the to and fro of everyday life unfolded'.¹³ Yet, houses were also houses in the sociological and anthropological sense of being the nodal points of social, material and symbolic reproduction. In rural Bosnia households combined income from wage labour, agriculture, and animal husbandry. There was also an established tradition of working abroad and bringing at least some of the money earned back to the house in Bosnia. The Bosnians living in diaspora usually invested their extra income in the enlargement and improvement of the family house.¹⁴ The meanings of homes and houses converged.

In practice houses were mostly transferred from fathers to sons. When married, women moved to live in their husbands' houses. Such practices produce households as gendered social units: the relationship of both men and women to the physical house, and to the kin group connected to the house, are different from each other from the beginning. The private homes or houses were embedded in a public home space inhabited by the three main ethnic or national groups: the Serbs, the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims, or Bosniaks, as they are increasingly called.¹⁵ None of these groups constituted a majority in Bosnia as a whole; neither were there any pure ethnic areas within the country. Instead the different groups lived in mixed areas, but were unevenly distributed in different parts of the country. In some areas the Muslim-Serb mixture was predominant, whereas elsewhere the Muslim-Croat mixture was more common.¹⁶ While the urban centres were mixed, in rural areas people were more aware of their neighbour's

ethnic or national belonging. They were usually able to classify actual houses as Serb, Croat or Muslim. Most of the time acknowledging the ethnic differences did not mean enmities, while the classifications did have some bearing on people's behaviour, such as their choice of partners in marriage.

The aggressive nationalism that arose within ex-Yugoslavia led to the desire to create pure national homelands for different nationalities and ethnicities. Within Bosnia this meant that certain areas were to be 'croatianized', made pure Croatian and possibly annexed to Croatia. Other areas were to be 'serbianized' and annexed to Serbia. Such an interpretation of the connection between space and belonging meant that physical houses were read in an ominous light, as signs of the presence of the national 'Other'.

During the Bosnian war, a systematic destruction of rural family houses was one of the strategies of aggressive nationalism and ethnic cleansing. As the hostility in the war was articulated in ethnic or nationalistic terms, it was the houses of the 'Other' that were destroyed. In northern Bosnia, where the rural town discussed above is situated, the Serbian aggression started in 1992 and it meant large-scale destruction of the houses of Muslim and Croat families.¹⁷

In the strategies of ethnicized warfare family houses carried multiple meanings. In a sense the actual, material houses were transformed into symbols of the presence of the 'Other' or the enemy in the landscape. After the members of the enemy group were killed or pushed out of the cleansed area, the houses were destroyed, as if their symbolic presence was wiped out by that act. Alternatively, the houses that were not actually destroyed were taken over by members of the occupying ethnic or national group coming from other parts of ex-Yugoslavia. The previous presence of the 'Other' was thus overwritten by the presence of the new occupying group.

But houses do not operate merely as symbols. They provide a material base for living. By destroying the houses, the aggressors were also destroying the concrete anchorage in the landscape for the ethnically demarcated group, as well as the *loci* where their everyday lives could go on. When the houses were seized and occupied by members of another ethnic group, they became the material bases for the everyday life of the new occupants. Materially houses were transformed into homes for

these newcomers, and symbolically they were transformed to represent the presence of this occupying group. Through these acts the sense of being at home in the landscape was effectively destroyed for the violated group. The cruel irony of the situation is that those who came to occupy the houses of the expelled families were themselves mostly expelled from other parts of ex-Yugoslavia because they were of the persecuted ethnicity in that area.

The destruction of family houses made visible and palpable the vulnerability and porousness of the private. Divisions that were politicized in the public intruded violently into the private space of family houses; or to put it differently, the political intruded violently into the private. From the perspective of the inhabitants houses lost their essential characteristics as homes when they lost their function as shelters. Inhabitants were no longer able to control the entrances and exits of their houses. Simultaneously, the vulnerability of the houses could be interpreted as a symbol for the vulnerability of the inhabitants and their bodies.¹⁸ The destruction of human beings and the destruction of houses were closely linked to each other in the strategies of the ethnicized warfare.¹⁹ The actual violence and ensuing debates in Bosnia have touched men and women differently. Systematic rape and other violations of women's bodies gendered the strategies of ethnicized warfare. In the subsequent debates women became the objects of protection; again violations of actual bodies were linked to violations of home spaces. Such gendered debates have remoulded the post-war public home space in Bosnia in many ways.²⁰

THE CREATION OF DIASPORAS

The violence and warfare in Bosnia created a diaspora of refugees that spread all over the world. Bosnians who had lost their houses and their homes were located in different countries, where they settled down. Family groupings that were tied together by belonging to a common house, or a cluster of houses in Bosnia, were often separated and dispersed to different countries. Sometimes they could be unified through family unification programmes, at other times not, as the legislation in different receiving countries defines families often as

comprising only the nuclear family with two parents and their under aged children.

It is quite common for refugees, who are forced to leave their home countries and who end up in places they did not choose themselves, to consider for a long time their original place of residence as their true home. This was the case with the Bosnians as well, especially with those who left during the early phase of the conflict. They hoped for a quick return, expecting the situation in Bosnia to calm down. But the conflict was protracted, and when the peace agreement was finally concluded it did not meet the expectations of many refugees living in diaspora. According to the peace agreement the country was divided into two entities, the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, or *Republika Srpska*, and the so-called Federation of Muslims and Croats. This division did not follow the pre-war residence patterns. For the Muslim refugees coming from northern Bosnia, from the area that fell under Serbian rule, the peace agreement meant that the violent appropriation of the public space was officially acknowledged. Also the Bosnian economy has recovered slowly from the devastation caused by the war. Especially during the first years after the formal peace agreement, returning back to Bosnia from the diaspora was slow due to both political and economic factors.

As it was not easy to move back to Bosnia, people started to rebuild their lives in their new countries of settlement. It is obvious that many Bosnian refugees have created home-like relationships to their new places of residence, in the case of this study, to Finland. New apartments in the Finnish suburbs have become the focal points of daily reproduction.²¹ Sometimes the new countries of settlement have been able to provide the basic economic and political security that has been lacking in post-war Bosnia, different forms of security being fundamental elements of the sense of home.²²

The Dayton Agreement of peace guaranteed all Bosnians the right to reclaim the property that they had owned when the war started. Houses and apartments were the most important form of property owned.²³ Most people took the opportunity, even those who state that they do not have any plans to return to Bosnia. By reclaiming their property rights, refugees were able to recreate a concrete bond with Bosnia while living in diaspora. If the houses had not been destroyed,

reclaiming the property was a political act: it disqualified the rights of the intruders and occupants who had seized the houses during the campaigns of ethnic cleansing.

Gradually large-scale Bosnian reconstruction projects were set in motion. Different international organizations as well as countless non-governmental organizations used donor money to reconstruct roads, bridges, public buildings and private family houses. As public programmes were slow and selective, some Bosnians living in diaspora started to invest their own money in rebuilding their family houses in Bosnia. In the late 1990s the political situation even within *Republika Srpska* eased to the extent that Muslim refugees started to visit the area and to rebuild their houses there. Visiting Bosnia became possible and later rather easy, but the economically and politically unsettled situation did not encourage moving back and settling down permanently. Many Bosnians gradually created a lifestyle of living between two places: many found work in Finland, but started to spend their holidays in Bosnia. Others who are dependent on the welfare system in Finland for their subsistence, still find ways to travel to Bosnia every now and then. Such transnational lifestyles are not unique to the Bosnian diaspora, quite the contrary. Living between two or more places seems to be a viable option for many groups in the twenty-first century, as the research literature attests.²⁴

Travelling through Bosnia during the first years of the 2000s meant encountering countless building sites or newly reconstructed houses. Many programmes funded by donor money made an explicit claim of opposing the politics of ethnic cleansing, and thus they favoured ‘minority returns’²⁵, which refers to Muslims and Croats returning to *Republika Srpska*, and Serbs returning to the Federation. These programmes entailed in most cases a requirement that the families, for whom the house was rebuilt, return permanently to Bosnia within a certain time period. Reconstruction programmes fixed these homes cum houses back to their pre-war locations in the landscape. While these programmes required people to return exactly to their pre-war locations in order to ‘counter the logic of ethnic cleansing’, private people and households were required to do something that the potent negotiators in Dayton were not able to do, namely counter the logic of aggressive nationalism. As the war dispersed many family groupings into different countries,



Rebuilding a family house in central Bosnia in 2003. Photograph Laura Huttunen.

the reconstructed family houses have become the meeting points for these families. During the summer months family groups gather there. Simultaneously, local rural communities were recreated after the devastation of the war. Of course, the communities are not the same as they were before the war: many people have died; some people will never come back; and all social relations are profoundly changed by the tragic events. Some rural communities, and to a certain extent all of Bosnia, live according to a new cycle: Bosnians from the diaspora come to the country for a visit in large numbers during the summer months, but during mid-winter many villages are empty.

There is a certain ambiguity in the Finnish policy concerning immigrants in general and the Bosnians in particular. The general integration policy of the Finnish welfare state aims at fixing the incoming immigrants, including the Bosnians, within the nation-state space of Finland, and turning them into as ordinary Finnish citizens as possible.²⁶ Alternatively, the Bosnians in Finland have been encouraged to return permanently back to Bosnia through the state-sponsored repatriation programmes. In repatriation they lose all their rights as residents of Finland. There are also some exclusionary popular discourses and

practices in the Finnish society that aim at restricting the amount of immigrants. In those discourses the true home and rightful place of all immigrant groups is the place where they come from, or at least a place outside of Finland. As white Europeans the Bosnians have had a rather privileged position in these negotiations, although as predominantly Muslim, they have been forced to negotiate with the Finnish understanding of gender equality. The Finnish public discourse has often equalled Muslims as the antithesis to the Nordic gender equality.²⁷ What happens to people's conceptions of home in such a diasporic situation? Unlike some other diasporas²⁸ the Bosnian diaspora does not organize itself around political projects for changing the original homeland. Life in the Bosnian diaspora is rather characterized by what Marita Eastmond has called 'family welfare projects'.²⁹ In one way or another, recreating secure homes for one's family in the insecurities of transnational life may be seen as the leading principle guiding the Bosnians' choices in diaspora.

TRAVELLING IMAGES: REMEMBERED HOUSES, REBUILT HOUSES

During an early phase of my research project, a Bosnian man whom I encountered at the annual meeting of Bosnians in Finland told me that he had some interesting video material about Bosnia. He kindly invited me to his place to watch it. I gladly accepted the invitation and travelled to visit him in another Finnish town. To my amazement I found myself spending the evening watching several hours of dimly lit video footage that recorded minute details of a couple of rebuilt family houses in a northern part of rural Bosnia. The camera was almost caressing the glittering surfaces of the bathroom; the carpeting in the still empty, unfurnished living room was explored inch by inch. One of the houses was this man's own family house that he had started to rebuild in Bosnia, the other one was his cousin's house. Both him and his cousin lived in Finland now and were permanently employed. Still, both visited Bosnia regularly, and had invested their Finnish salaries in rebuilding the family houses in Bosnia. The video tapes were like keepsakes or mementos, something concrete to have back in Finland to remind them of the

materiality of the rebuilt houses. At the same time they were something to show the others, to prove that the family house was back where it used to be. Also, it was important to show the quality of the building work, and through it, the affluence of the house owner.

I soon learned that these video tapes were not unusual. There were lots of pictures of houses, both of ruins and of building work at different stages, circulating in the diaspora.³⁰ People who had established new homes and new lives in new locations after the war were very eager to have pictures of their former homes. Especially during the first years after the war it was rather difficult to travel to some areas in Bosnia. At those times pictures of the locations of destroyed homes were cherished as rare treasures. When I travelled for the first time to Bosnia in 2001, many of my co-travellers were asked to photograph the remains of houses for those Bosnians who could not travel themselves. Later, when travelling became easier and reconstruction started, pictures of the resurrection of houses were circulated among Bosnians in the diaspora. While new homes were established in new host countries, old homes, and pictures of them, provided another anchorage in space. Homes as providers of the contexts of everyday lives were more and more stabilized in new home countries, while homes in the symbolic sense of belonging, were maintained in Bosnia. Simultaneously, houses as social groupings, or families that were dispersed around the world by the war, are kept together by these symbolic homes. It is in Bosnia, in these locations of old homes, that people gather during summer months to meet each other. Photographs and video tapes provide material touching stones to the houses or homes that are absent for most of the year while living in diaspora. They are mementos, but they are also statements to others, something to show, tools in making claims of belonging to the politicized home-space of Bosnia.

The materiality of pictures and videos seems to have many functions in the war-torn ex-Yugoslavian countries. Steff Jansen tells a story from the Croatian Krajina, the part of Croatia that was worst affected by the war in the country. In the Krajina region it was the Serbs who were expelled from the country,³¹ and whose houses were either destroyed or occupied by Croats coming from Bosnia and elsewhere. Jansen tells about a Croat man from Bosnia who escaped the war there and came to Krajina, occupying a forsaken house that was partly destroyed. The

man rebuilt and restored the house; he also documented each step of his restoration work, as if to prove his right to occupancy. By showing the work that he had invested in the house, he substantiated a claim on the house as his new home.³² Similarly, pictures circulating in diaspora that document the work invested in the restoration and rebuilding of former family houses, as well as the materials used, recreate the family houses as the embodiments of a family's' wealth and joint effort. In this new diasporic situation families have other homes and other investments as well. Still, the symbolic value of the original family house as the centre of the dispersed family is strong.

TRANSNATIONAL LIVES, DIVIDED HOMES

Many Bosnians in post-war diaspora have established a way of living in relation to two or more important places, for example Finland and Bosnia. How should one decipher the relationship between homes and houses in their lives? Houses, or more typically apartments in Finland and other new countries of settlement in diaspora, have become homes in the sense of being the principal sites of everyday life. They are the principal sites of daily social and material reproduction. Finland as a public home space may provide certain homely dimensions of security that are lacking in present-day Bosnia, such as good healthcare, good opportunities to obtain education for children and basic economic security through the welfare system. Especially women from rural areas emphasize the importance of such practical matters when making the decision between staying and leaving, whereas men tend to yearn more for their lost status in pre-war communities in Bosnia.³³ Of course, living as many as fourteen years in Finland has produced relationships to the country that may result in feelings of being at home.

Relationships with Bosnia have other homely dimensions. Bosnia is, quite naturally, for many a remembered true home, a site of important memories and lived communal belonging that is now dispersed.³⁴ Experiences of strangeness, exclusion or failure in the new country of settlement are assessed in relation to the often nostalgic memories of life in communities in pre-war Bosnia. The physical houses are important as material points of anchorage to that community, and hence it is

important to reconstruct them. To a large extent, private houses gain their meaning from their relationship to the public sphere. Reconstructing the former family house back in Bosnia has become an important way of regaining one's position within the dispersed local community that gathers there during holiday periods. Especially men seem to invest symbolically in the process of reconstruction in order to regain their status in the local community. For many it is also the first step in the putative future return. Membership in that ephemeral community is still crucially important while living in diaspora, and probably the most compelling single reason for reconstruction. The act of rebuilding there has also a political meaning: it is an act of countering the logic of ethnic cleansing, of writing oneself back into the public sphere and the landscape of the previous homeland. The newly built houses are often bigger and more conspicuous than the pre-war ones. In Janet Carsten and Stephen Hugh-Jones' words, 'houses serve as much to reveal and display as they do to hide and protect'.³⁵ These houses lost their capacity to hide and protect, but now they are put up to serve another function, to show and reveal. They are showing to the neighbours the material success of the owner and to the enemy that the politics of ethnic cleansing did not work. The message is that the house owner's group is not destroyed or wiped out of the landscape. Physical houses in Bosnia are also centres for the social houses or family groupings dispersed by the war. They are real spaces where dispersed families come together from different corners of the diaspora.

Diasporic living means that home is not a single unambiguous location, but rather, several places that carry some dimensions of home. Individuals and groups negotiate for the best possible homes for themselves and their families in the insecurities of diasporic life. As people who have once lost everything – their houses, their positions in local communities and often also their loved ones – the knowledge of that insecurity is very personal and rooted deeply. Aspirations of individuals for good homes are embedded in public spaces where the right to be at home may be contested by others. Such contestations range from the violence of ethnic cleansing to mundane acts of exclusion in the new homelands.

Physical houses have become important tools in negotiations over the location of homes of the Bosnian refugees. The perpetrators of



A newly reconstructed family house, 2006. Photograph Laura Huttunen.

ethnic cleansing in Bosnia during the war wished to destroy their homes there, while certain agents who fund repatriation programmes have wished to fix their homes back into the landscape. Bosnian refugees themselves seek a space for negotiating the best possible homes within the diasporic space. At least for the time being, it seems to mean dividing home between two or more places.

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NOTES

- 1 See Stefansson 2004 for an interesting discussion of homes in the context of refugees returning to Sarajevo. While Stefansson is depicting the lives of those Bosnians who have actually returned to Bosnia and his context is markedly urban, in this article I focus on rural contexts and the lives of those Bosnians who lead transnational lives. See also Jansen 2007 for a critical discussion of the foreign intervention in the context of refugee return. Jansen's arguments concerning the insecurities of life in post-war and post-socialist Bosnia-Herzegovina illuminate also the conditions of putative return discussed in this article.
- 2 Cf. Stefansson 2004.
- 3 See e.g. Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995b; Herzfeld 2001, pp. 112–117.
- 4 'Houses are socially constituted groups which engage in material transactions' (Nurit Bird-David, cited in Herzfeld 2001, p. 113). Some scholars, inspired by Lévi-Strauss, have claimed that houses play a specifically important role in so called 'house-based societies', see Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995a. Rural Bosnia may be seen as a version of 'house-based societies', due to the importance of family houses as focal points for the reproduction of kin groupings.
- 5 Huttunen 2005.
- 6 Helms 2003.
- 7 See Huttunen 2005; 2006; 2007; 2009. Practically all Bosnians in Finland came to the country as refugees during, or soon after the war in Bosnia, and most of them are either Bosnian Muslims, Bosniaks or with mixed background. They constitute a rather small community, about two thousand people, dispersed to different localities in Finland.

- Even if there are also people with urban background, from Sarajevo, Banja Luka and Tuzla, the majority of Bosnians in Finland comes from the countryside, from small villages or rural towns. Thus, my focus in this chapter is pronouncedly rural.
- 8 There is also a pre-war labour diaspora, i.e. Bosnians who went to work in the Western European countries, mainly to Austria, Germany and Sweden. This previous diaspora merged with the war diaspora, but there are tensions within the receiving countries between those who came before the war and the war refugees. The current refugee diaspora widened the scope of the countries of destination. In Finland, however; there were practically no Bosnian immigrants before the war.
 - 9 Local terminology (*narod, nardonost, nacija*) referring to cultural-religious divisions have been translated both as ethnicity and as nationality in English. For a discussion of the terminology see Bringa 1995, pp. 20–36. In this article I use ethnic and national alternatively as synonyms to each other; while remaining aware of the difference between these terms. According to my understanding there is a slipping of the terms into each other in the ex-Yugoslavian context. Some writers use the combination term ethno-national for similar reasons.
 - 10 Huttunen 2006.
 - 11 See Bringa 1995. There is a long history of *zadruga*, meaning family house, ownership as the primary investment both in rural and suburban environments. After the transition from socialism to market economy notions of ownership are renegotiated in a new social and political environment.
 - 12 There are lots of stories of houses in Bosnia as true homes, both in written life story material that I have analyzed, and in interview material; see Huttunen 2002, pp. 186–207; 2005; 2007.
 - 13 Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, p. 1.
 - 14 Bringa 1995.
 - 15 For discussion of the flexible and often ambiguous nature of ethnicity in ex-Yugoslavia, see e.g. Bringa 1995; Halpern and Kideckel 2000; Jansen 2006a and b.
 - 16 Indispensable part of nationalistic discourses, see Jansen 2006a.
 - 17 The strategies of warfare in urban areas were different from those in rural areas. In urban areas there were no such large-scale campaigns of destroying houses.
 - 18 cf. Carsten and Hugh-Jones 1995, p. 2.
 - 19 For journalistic accounts of the events, see e.g. Maass 1995; Silber and Little 1996.
 - 20 For an excellent discussion of gender in post-war Bosnia, see Helms 2003.
 - 21 Most Bosnian refugees seem to live in rented apartments in Finland, but there are also exceptions, Bosnians who have invested money and bought houses or apartments also in Finland. I have no information of the practices of renting and buying houses or apartments in other new homelands.
 - 22 Different receiving countries adopted different policies in relation to Bosnian refugees. For example the Nordic countries ended up in most cases giving permanent residence to Bosnian refugees, whereas Germany, which received the largest number of Bosnians during the war, forcefully repatriated a great number of reluctant refugees after the signing of the peace agreement.
 - 23 Acquiring a house or a flat of one's own in socialist Yugoslavia, used to be a process of many years. Compared to that, many people in post-war Bosnia have been astonished over the relative easiness of acquiring a house or an apartment in post-war Bosnia. Such easiness is connected to the way in which private ownership is prioritized now, in comparison to many other social rights.
 - 24 See Bryceson and Vuorela 2002; Cohen and Vertovec 1999 ; Isotalo 2005; Ong 1999.

- 25 To talk about minorities in this context is a rather dubious practice since very often these groups are minorities only after the campaigns of ethnic cleansing and the ethnically motivated population engineering that accompanied the warfare, cf. Jansen 2006a.
- 26 There is a regulated 'right to one's own culture', but culture in this context is understood as something restricted to the private realm, to family life and to semi-private gatherings during certain festivities. Such an apolitical understanding of culture is in stark contrast to the deep politicization of cultural identities in post-war Bosnia.
- 27 Huttunen 2009.
- 28 See e.g. Fabos 2002; Fuglerud 1996; Isotalo 2005; Wahlbeck 1999.
- 29 Eastmond 2006.
- 30 For an interesting discussion on the meaning of photography in a different diasporic context see Margold 2004.
- 31 In the area there were two campaigns of ethnic cleaning, first in 1991 the Serbs expelled the Croats from the area, then in 1995 the Croats expelled the Serbs, see e.g. Jansen 2002.
- 32 Jansen 2006b, p. 440 note 9.
- 33 Among the Bosnians that I have interviewed, urban women with good education and professional history in Yugoslavia mourn their lost positions as much as men do. Cf. Al-Ali 2002a&b.
- 34 Huttunen 2005; 2007.
- 35 Carsten & Hugh-Jones 1995, p. 2.

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III

STRANGELY
FAMILIAR HOMES

DYNAMIC DOMESTIC SPACE

Violence and the Art of Home-Making

Minna Ruckenstein

In recent years various forced or voluntary movements of people have renewed interest in questions concerning the construction and reconstruction of homes, and the experiences of either homelessness or being at home in the world. My perspective on these issues is grounded in the everyday homemaking in Finnish kitchens, living rooms, and bedrooms. Using ethnographic material I argue that the routine tasks taking place in the privacy of homes are perhaps not as marginal as they appear for understanding the contemporary period. The examples I present derive from my earlier study on violence against women in Finland.¹

By focusing on violence at home I pay attention to the regularity of violence within domestic settings. Comparing statistics from different countries is difficult, because of the disparate methods of data collection, but it is fair to claim that the prevalence of domestic violence appears exceptionally high in Finland in comparison to many other countries.² A national survey³ of women's experiences of violence reveals that every fifth Finnish woman in an intimate relationship reports that she has been abused or intimidated by her male partner. And perhaps an even more striking figure tells us that one out of every two divorced or separated women has been harassed or intimidated by her ex-partner.⁴ Rather than presenting more evidence of trajectories of violence, my aim is to explore how modern homemaking generates gendered tensions and violence. A significant aspect of violence against women is that most men who behave violently towards their female partners do so

only at home or very close to home, in staircases, gardens, or courtyards. This means that the meaning of day-to-day social relations must be a generative source of power struggle. Thus in the case of domestic violence, it is the home that needs to be analysed, because violence derives its meanings from the ways in which everyday lives in domestic spaces are defined and arranged.

Analytically the home can be treated as a concept-metaphor, which opens up opportunities to explore how homes either connect people or disconnect them from their identity-forming communities. According to the anthropologist Henrietta Moore⁵ concept-metaphors 'are not foundational, but partial,' they 'open up spaces in which their meaning – in daily practice, in local discourses and in academic theorizing – can be interrogated.' Thus the aim here is to expose ways in which socially shared meanings of homes arrange notions of daily lives, and consequently, notions of disruptions and transformations of everyday social relations.

Since everyday arrangements made at home are characteristically spatial, this brings up another concept-metaphor, space. Ethnographic studies have repeatedly paid attention to the dynamic nature of space: material places are socially inhabited and practiced in countless ways.⁶ These studies have typically focused on the analysis of the integration of people in place. Many of them draw on Bourdieu's⁷ seminal study of the Kabyle household that describes the house as the principal locus for the objectification of the culturally and socially meaningful systems of classification. Bourdieu argues that it is largely via everyday practices within the domestic space that a tacit, embodied understanding of social relations and local worldviews is acquired. The organization of the Kabyle house reflects and reproduces structural principles, such as age or gender.

Exploration of the everyday uses of space reminds us of the very concrete nature of homemaking: homes are made homes through embodied routines and practices.⁸ Bodily interactions organize spatial relations; amidst violent conflicts embodied practices expose ways in which spatial meanings are used for social purposes. In addition to the work of symbolic reproduction, it is thus useful to focus on the processes that disrupt, rearrange and reject spatial meanings.⁹ Regardless of the idealized notions that present the home in the spirit of 'poetics of

space¹⁰ as ‘the haven in a heartless world’, domestic spaces frequently transform into settings of persistent violence and abuse.¹¹ Finnish women, for instance, are much more likely to be killed in their homes than in the streets.¹²

Despite the regularity of violence within domestic settings, this form of violence is poorly recognized as a source of social disorder. In collective imageries violence is typically located in the unknown, in narrow streets and dark alleys. This article argues against such representations of violence as ‘stranger danger’ and follows the example of ethnographic studies that have focused on the social, cultural, spatial, and bodily dimensions of practices of violence. These studies emphasize that acts of violence take place in local contexts, and between subjects tied to each other by various kinds of inequalities.¹³ The careful analysis of contexts of violence also reveals the symbolic meanings given to tensions that trigger violence. Domestic violence is not something external that randomly happens to people. The social interactions at home produce tensions that men, in particular, attempt to resolve through controlling and violent behaviour. Thus the ethnographic examples emphasize ways in which the processes of homemaking are generative for violence and underline the domesticity of violence.

IMAGINED AND PRACTICED HOMES

Within anthropology the analytical interest in the construct of home intensified as part of a critique of methods, in particular fieldwork as a spatially bounded or restricted practice.¹⁴ This critique is founded on an urgency to come to terms with the global mobility of people. Anthropologists Nigel Rapport and Andrew Dawson argue that ‘the image of socio-cultural “places” rests on a conceptualization of time and space that, it is widely held, contemporary movement in the world now overwhelms and relativizes.’¹⁵ They maintain that mass media of communication, global economy and politics, mobile technologies, travel, fashion, and entertainment create a world where individuals continuously enter and leave spaces. As a result, firmly settled people have transformed into ‘migrants of identity’. Home is no longer a spatially circumscribed unit, but it is found in a routine set of practices that take place irrespective

of material spaces. People feel at home in a repetition of individual encounters on the Internet, on the mobile phone, in memories and narratives.

The repeated criticism of this move towards a new globalism is that it is theoretically ungrounded. The main problem is that it individualizes transnational movements and practices, thus undermining the historical, cultural, social, and economic contexts. Ethnographic studies emphasize that there is no reason to exaggerate the global and transient character of life. Even if people might perceive or imagine themselves as citizens or consumers of the global village, the way in which physical places are corporeally practiced still plays a crucial role in the processes of home-making. Migration and movement are counterbalanced by various attachments to places. Accordingly, both fixed places and global networks of social relations play a part in local arrangements of dwelling and belonging.¹⁶

The anthropologist Jukka Siikala¹⁷ adds to the debate by arguing that the critique of fieldwork fails to profoundly challenge the anthropological project. Different societies continue to distribute their people differently, and as such, the relationships to homes and other identity-forming communities are always manifold. The understanding of this variety requires the application, not abandonment, of locally conducted and detailed ethnographic work. No matter how restless or mobile people are, fieldwork is still a technique to capture the concrete ways in which places are entered and left behind. Among other things, ethnographic fieldwork can reveal the very different meanings of dwelling and travelling. Pacific Islanders, for instance, can stay in place when they sail the sea. Sailing is simply 'one of their ways of dwelling in the world.'¹⁸

In the Western world notions of dwelling and belonging typically intertwine with housing arrangements. In its idealized form home is a physical setting for intimate relationships. The shared dwelling defines a sphere of domesticity that belongs to a particular group of people. Through co-residence and everyday usage of rooms and objects members of a particular household are identified.¹⁹ According to Mary Douglas²⁰ home is a symbolic space that ties together different aspects of everyday lives, such as, the cosmological, economic, spatial, temporal, and emotional. For Douglas home is located in space, but the space of

home is not necessarily fixed in place. Homes can be made in caravans, boats or movable tents through the work of reproduction, such as cooking, cleaning, or taking care of the children. Since these practices have a structure in time as well as in space, the time spent at home is regulated with the very practices by which the space is controlled. Through this control familiar spaces and objects in those spaces have the power to include as well as exclude; homes and everyday objects can connect and disconnect people.

Rapport and Dawson²¹ claim that the definition of home, which Douglas introduced, is too static for an analysis of the conceptualization of home in the time of globalization. They treat the home as a conceptual space of personal search for identity and insist on the fluidity of the concept of home. In doing so, they overlook the constraining and structuring nature of symbolically shared meanings evident in the context of domestic violence. Symbolic meanings are not only openly and freely negotiated, but they are also incorporated and practiced, typically in an unreflective manner. As Moore puts it ‘we must acknowledge that no one can ever be fully aware of the conditions of their construction.’²²

PROTECTING HOMES

In Finland, as in many other countries, domestic violence is legally sanctioned. In 1993, the United Nations announced the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women, and soon after that significant changes took place in the Finnish criminal law. The protection of women intensified: marital rape was criminalised in 1994 and the changes in the legislation on domestic assault were designed to be more effective on preventing violence against women. Since 1995, an increasing number of cases with severe forms of wife battering have been publicly prosecuted. If a case comes to the attention of the police, the state is the prosecutor instead of the victim. These recent changes in legislation are an important political agenda, because the modern system of criminal law defines and clarifies the activities threatening the social body. When marital rape is criminalized, it is no longer perceived as socially acceptable from the perspective of the state, instead

the state now attempts to protect women in the most familiar and intimate spaces, in kitchens and bedrooms.²³

Despite legislation, the merging and blurring of the categories of violence and non-violence, of normality and deviance, continue to shape perceptions and understandings of violence. Violence against women is repeatedly domesticated and not treated as real violence. Everyday lives operate with a very different logic than the juridical discourse; the reproduction of sociality lacks the consistency and transparency, which the juridical power aims at. Michel Foucault argues that the juridical power only has 'the power of the negative on its side'.²⁴ It is a form of power, which points out the limits of existing practices. As such, juridical power is never capable of social production that would compose and originate new practices; laws can only mimic existing practices and point out deviations. Consequently, new legislation on domestic violence does not change or influence behaviour of people in any straightforward manner. For instance, it is well known that victims of domestic violence do not necessarily act according to the expectations of law enforcement. Women can turn to a variety of agencies for help, but help and interference of outsiders is also often avoided by the victims. 'We have laws to protect women, but they do not want to protect themselves,' one of the police officers I interviewed complained. He explained how bruises, cuts, or hair missing from the back of a victim's head are evidence that makes the legal recognition of acts of violence easier, but women can treat this evidence in a completely different manner than he would expect. Instead of making the evidence visible, women hide it.²⁵

Victims of domestic violence who want to keep their experiences of violence to themselves have internalized the notion of a separate and private domestic space. This notion is rooted in Western categorizations. The anthropologist Irene Cieraad²⁶ points out that the concept of domestic space can be traced back to seventeenth-century Europe and its history of rising urbanism. Since then the separation between the domestic space and its conceptual counterpart, public space, has influenced modern ideologies and identities in various ways. In all modern societies the private home is treated as an important, if not the most important, identity-forming social entity. In Finland, for instance, it is often considered desirable to keep the homes and intimate relationships intact from public interference. From this perspective it is

understandable that victims of violence are not willing to share their experiences with outsiders. The careful protection of a violent relationship can also work as a refusal to be staged as a dysfunctional couple or a family. The rejection of outside help is also a refusal to be objectified, to let outsiders define one's private affairs. In other words, it can be easier to keep one's mouth shut and doors closed, because it appears to be a more active and self-determined choice than seeking help from the authorities. The control of knowledge about domestic violence is central for identity work, because with that control one has a home, which is not tainted by the presence of outsiders, neighbours or professionals.²⁷

From the perspective of domestic violence, the home can appear as a miniature society constantly seeking equilibrium and permanence. After violent encounters everyday lives are characterized by repair work aiming at restabilising the domestic order. Women who have been targets of men's violent behaviour continue to work for the permanence of their homes: they cook, vacuum and take care of others. Men who have behaved violently repeatedly promise to change their behaviour, and respect the notion of home as a 'safe haven'.²⁸ The active processes of the domestication of violence seem to imply that once faced with tensions, people might be convinced that if they just keep on doing their everyday chores, eventually they will be able to clean the tensions away from their lives. A shared home is a desire that overcomes the conflicting desires of the two. Yet, the tensions at home do not disappear with dusting and vacuuming, if the very practices of everyday life generate them.

THE HOME AS A GENDERED SOCIAL PROCESS

The practical aspects of homemaking are significant from the perspective of domestic violence; they explain how tensions are triggered, but also repeatedly resolved. Violent relationships typically consist of periods of violence and non-violence. Non-violent times are characterized by everyday routines, since despite violence home remains a social process that requires continuous work. Homes are made homes through everyday practices. Meanings given to domestic spaces are invoked through daily activities. There is no domestic space that would exist

irrespective of the people who produce the social structures essential for the maintenance of domestic order via their daily actions and movements.²⁹ The social interactions and everyday routines make people 'feel settled at home'. As the philosopher Iris Marion Young puts it: 'The things and their arrangement [at home] bear witness to the sedimentation of lives lived there. The home is an extension of and mirror for the living body in its everyday activity.'³⁰

The everyday work done for the reproduction of home is often gendered. This fact is one of the obvious sources of tension and power struggle. Although the home is treated as a private domain where people perceive themselves as separate or protected from the rest of the world, privacy is forcefully shaped by gendered social and cultural orders and ideologies. In Finland, the modernist ideologies promoted a separation of sexes in respect to the domestic sphere. This ideology not only perceived domesticity as private, but interpreted it to be symbolically feminine. The modern housing ideology of the 1940s attached the notion of home to the ideals of womanhood: mother became a category synonymous with home. In contrast, father was primarily the provider; a disconnected creature rarely even mentioned when domestic issues were discussed. At home the man was regarded more or less as a visitor, but unlike in another prominent version of modern gender ideology he was not seen as a middle-class absent father who builds his career irrespective of his family. The Finnish ideology reinforced blue-collar and agrarian ideals of masculinity that represented men as practical and handy homebuilders.³¹

The modernization of Finnish family dwelling was based on ideals aimed at separating the sexes and domesticating women while solidifying the borders of female domestic space.³² Yet, ideologically Finnish women have never been solely occupied with the domestic sphere. They have also been represented as resourceful reproducers of the community, and these virtues have consistently been promoted within the welfare society context. Rather than being confined to the domestic sphere, Finnish women have actively worked for the benefit of the public sphere and the strength and endurance of women has been reinforced by gendered social policies that have consistently rested on the model of two breadwinners.³³ Thus Finnish women have had an active role on both fronts: the domestic and the public. This at least partly explains

the merging of the gender boundaries in the Finnish society, where various possibilities exist for negotiating the interaction between men and women. People in Finland can and do arrange their everyday lives in ways that defy any rigid understanding of gender stereotypes. Men can behave in a feminine manner and women can come forward as masculine.³⁴

When violence against women is discussed in public, this multiplicity of gender representations is typically absent. Studies on violence against women are grounded on the separation of the sexes and they often lack the reflexivity of studies on gender in other contexts.³⁵ Focusing on men's violence against women produces a gender dichotomy that reinforces commonly shared notions of victims and perpetrators of violence. This gender dichotomy is crucial in defining the ways in which violence can be discussed. Domestic violence touches the most intimate aspects of people's lives and it is extremely hard to talk about. Typically the remembering and telling about violence follows collectively accepted style and structure; stories of violence tell us how the victims' positions are carved out and made intelligible in particular contexts.³⁶ Violence against women makes no exception and the stories of Finnish domestic violence are highly patterned, victims telling stories that tend to resemble each other. Finnish women's attitudes to experiences of domestic violence are typically characterized by unwillingness to adopt the role of a victim. The women are represented and represent themselves as strong women, as survivors who fight their way out of the violent relationship. In these stories the relationship has already ended and the desired home has transformed into an unliveable dwelling, which is blemished with insecurity, instability and violence. The home is no longer symbolically feminine, but it is tainted by the presence of a man, who is unable to produce moral categories pivotal for the continuation of everyday life. Thus the end of the relationship transforms the home that was once comforting and restorative into a space that needs to be escaped from.³⁷

In contrast, women who still share their lives with violent men struggle with an inability to tell a story with a clear closure. These women continue to maintain their homes despite experiences of violence and the routine practices of homemaking still give support to their gender identities.³⁸ They occupy the kitchen, vacuum the floors, clean the toilet,

make the beds, and take care of the children. Sociologist Tony Chapman³⁹ notes that much of men's domestic labour is seasonal. Men might paint the kitchen walls, sand the hardwood floors or build shelves for the garage. These tasks consume a lot of time, but since they are irregular, choices can be made about their timing. This is the opposite of housework, which is repetitious and daily. If the members of a family agree on everyday tasks at home, the everyday life is reproduced routinely, without reflection. The home appears as a bounded unit, which is arranged and controlled by predictable gendered practices that create the feeling of continuity crucial for desired everyday lives. The inhabitants do not interpret the home spaces as invested with disturbing meanings attached to the difference between the sexes. Instead they experience the home as gender neutral.⁴⁰ Everyday practices naturalize power inequalities between men and women, thus the gendered division of labour is not treated as a source of inequality.

At times of conflict gender becomes contested and the naturalization of power relations is brought into question by the inhabitants. In general, tensions and conflicts tend to overthrow and problematize socially shared meanings and values.⁴¹ Stories of domestic violence describe how men transgress or disrupt the order that women have created at homes. Men come and go as they please, interrupting the familiar arrangements of home. Symbolically the man is contesting the domestic space as her domain and imprinting it with his order. In other words, if there are no tensions and conflicts within the relationship, the inhabitants do not typically interpret the spaces of home as carriers of disturbing meanings attached to the difference between the sexes. Only when the permanence of home is at stake momentarily or more permanently does the gendered nature of domestic spaces transform into an obvious source of tension. Gender conflicts bring to the fore both how domestic spaces become meaningful, and how these spaces are used for different social purposes and aims. Symbolic meanings not only trigger gendered conflicts, but also powerfully shape trajectories and interpretations of violence against women.

BODIES IN DIFFERENT ORDERS

Iris Marion Young describes women's commitment to homes as meaningful historical work: through their social relations and precious objects around them, women create worlds they feel grounded in. The home needs to be 'protected from the constant threat of disorganization. [Meaningful objects] must be cleaned, dusted, repaired, restored; the stories of their founding and continued meaningful use must be told and retold, interpreted and reinterpreted.'⁴² In the context of violence against women a gendered interaction is often apparent: the woman is in charge of the social reproduction and she maintains and makes the home, while the man repeatedly contests and disrupts the order she has created. While women prepare the meals, do the majority of washing, ironing, shopping and cleaning, men might oversee, criticize and judge this work; for instance, the content, preparation and timing of meals, being a typical source of conflict. Men can set standards that are impossible to achieve and when women 'fail' in their tasks men punish them for the failure.⁴³

In violent relationships this kind of control over women's chores tends to be repetitious and routine, like everyday household tasks. One does not seek power over the other, but power is, as Foucault describes it, 'a modest power, which functions as a calculated, but permanent economy.'⁴⁴ Any failure or observable change in a woman's daily routine can trigger tensions and intensify men's control of women. A change in the colour of lipstick, a particularly good mood, coming home later than expected, talking to a man, or disinterest in sex – all of these were listed by men I interviewed as changes that could heighten or trigger their controlling behaviour.⁴⁵

From the perspective of the domesticity of violence, it is particularly significant that men's controlling behaviour might energize the symbolic connection between the domestic space and the female body. In this discourse the female body, as well as the home, are both constructed as objects in need of control and protection by men. While women create worlds at home, men want to make sure that women stay within those worlds. Men want women to have restricted social contacts with outsiders and to only move in places that men perceive as safe.⁴⁶ The reasoning given by male interviewees is that outside the home, in restaurants, bars

or on the street, women are no longer protected. Moving away from the everyday domestic order arouses controlling and disciplinary behaviour.

After women have left their violent relationships behind them, they repeatedly use the metaphor of prison for describing their lives together with a violent partner. This metaphor tells about the repetitious nature of control, the techniques of discipline fundamental for prisons⁴⁷ are replicated in the privacy of home. Women are socially excluded and isolated and their use of time is regulated through time tables. Judith Herman⁴⁸ a psychiatrist, talks about 'domestic captivity' as a defining feature of domestic violence. She compares battered women with hostages, political prisoners, and slaves, and argues that violence at home isolates women from the rest of the world. Although few Finnish women are treated like captives or slaves by their partners, the privacy of home makes that kind of treatment possible. The home can be transformed into a confined place of discipline, where the isolated nature of a violent relationship is underlined and secured by spatial closure.⁴⁹

The Finnish trajectories of domestic violence do not, however, only tell about the protection and control of women. As resourceful reproducers of the community, Finnish women are also symbolically the pillars of the society, and are expected to protect themselves and take financial and practical responsibility for their household. From the perspective of domestic violence, women's role in the reproduction of everyday domestic order is significant, because it gives women spatial confidence that makes them feel grounded and rooted in their homes. The processes of homemaking affirm women's personal and cultural identities.⁵⁰ From this view point, tensions at home can look quite different. Since women have the responsibility of domestic tasks, they create the order of everyday life, and it is their task to tame men to that order. Consequently, women can act as gatekeepers and try to keep men at home. By locking the doors, hiding the keys or the man's shoes, women attempt to stop their men from disappearing to the pub with their friends. But men may leave anyway, using physical force. In such situations, men justify their violent behaviour by claiming that 'she did not let him leave the house'.⁵¹

These examples underline the dynamic nature of symbolic meanings given to domestic spaces. Spaces are used for various kinds of social

aims; selves and homes are constituted by relations with other social entities. In the context of domestic violence, the use of space is creative with the purpose to include and to exclude. Women are isolated by men, they try to keep men at home, or alternatively, men remove and exclude women from the spaces of home. Women in violent relationships are also repeatedly forced to leave their homes and spend hours in the sauna, on the balcony, or at their friends or relatives' homes. With practices of exclusion the man carves out his personal space, erasing her from the home while imprinting the material spaces with his own order.⁵² Similar reclaiming of space can also take place while women are at home. Women I interviewed described how men march around at home, from kitchen to living room and back. They turn on the radio, television, the music, so loudly that women can hardly hear their own thoughts. Men yell humiliating insults, keep changing the television channels. Every one of these acts has the purpose of marking and controlling space. If women let men invade the spaces of home, there is no open conflict. She may already know that the more she tries to set boundaries, the more he will protest; so she lets him reign by physically and verbally invading the space.⁵³

Overall, the exploration of domestic violence reveals that spatial divisions and arrangements at home contribute in a very concrete manner to the trajectories of violence. Finnish men tend to behave violently in kitchens, living rooms, and bedrooms while other spaces at home, such as, the sauna or the children's bedrooms, do not appear to be suitable places for physical violence. One of the men I interviewed described his violent behaviour with the term 'Bedroom quarrels'. Since the bedroom of the adults is the room charged with sexuality, it is most likely the room where violent encounters triggered by sexual tensions take place. Similarly, any other meanings attached to particular rooms can trigger interpersonal conflicts. A woman tells how one of their ongoing fights concerned the use of the bathroom. Her husband did not want her to lock the door behind her, because he interpreted her quest for privacy as offensive. She, in contrast, insisted that she had the right to privacy. With no agreement, every time she locked the bathroom, the same tension emerged.⁵⁴

The symbolic meanings given to material places typically remain unconscious; rooms and objects appear as still and silent. Only when

social relations are at stake or disrupted do the meanings given to spaces gain a new kind of visibility. One of the interviewed men described how he entered his home for the first time after his wife had left him. He explained how he saw his daughter's room, her books and clothes gone. Then he wandered aimlessly in the other rooms, the curtains and carpets were still there, but the rooms felt hollow. The place was empty, because his wife and daughter were no longer there to invoke the spatial meanings, to make a home.⁵⁵ Examples such as this one remind us that the symbolic meanings given to spaces, or bodies moving in those spaces, are always intimately tied to social relations. When social relations alter their course, new interpretations of rooms and objects emerge.

Although violence is rarely celebrated as a creative or innovative social activity, the uses and interpretations of homes and spaces repeatedly testify to the curiously imaginative aspects of domestic violence. The inventive uses of space bear witness to the meaning-making capabilities of victims and perpetrators of violence. The victims and perpetrators alike no longer experience the spaces at home as a neutral background for everyday activities, but space repeatedly transforms into an object of control. The purpose of treating the space as an object is to possess it. The material space is used for marking one's power over other. Thus in the midst of conflicts and violent encounters the familiar spaces are treated differently than otherwise, the meanings of homes, spaces, bodies, and objects are reworked. When men in violent relationships are faced with the end of the relationship, their violent behaviour typically becomes more extreme and brutal.⁵⁶ In such situations the aim of violence is to disrupt or even destroy categories, which customarily maintain the continuity of everyday lives. He is no longer interested in marking rooms, reclaiming them as his, but violently rejects them. Any object at home, a piece of furniture, a picture on the wall, a telephone, a photograph, can be transformed into an undesired object to be destroyed and torn apart.⁵⁷ Men who have been rejected by their partners no longer aim at protecting and controlling the domestic space or the body of the woman. The goal of his behaviour is to humiliate and insult. Thus the controlling behaviour might work as a practice that aims at silently subjecting the woman to his order, or it can transform into a punishing practice thoroughly violent in its goals, when the only aim left is the creation of inequality and forceful subordination.

THE INSTABILITY OF SPATIAL MEANINGS

Conceptualizations of concept-metaphors, such as home or space, have emphasized the open and dynamic nature of socially shared meanings. The aim of telecommunications, for instance, is to erase the limitations set by place. People use technologies, such as the Internet or the mobile phones to reshape and re-imagine their material context. The individual experience of space is represented as a complex, mediated encounter. From the perspective of violence, spatial meanings appear no less dynamic. Yet, the reshaping and re-imagining of the material context can also purposefully aim at limiting or constraining the space of the other. The domestic space is interpreted and used by its inhabitants in ways that emphasize strict spatial rules rather than their erasure. In such a context, even a mobile phone can transform into a device of control, providing an opportunity to continuously check on the movements of the other. A phone can become a surveillance tool, for repetitious and routine-like surveillance. After all, one of the famously common phrases in mobile phone conversations is ‘where are you?’⁵⁸

While it is important to be attentive to the various experiences of spatial erasure, the understanding of the spatial character of tensions in homemaking also seems to be particularly significant today. There is evidence suggesting that the contemporary era is generating an increase in domestic antagonism against women.⁵⁹ One of the reasons for this is that the more secluded nature of domesticity is changing everyday lives all over the world. In all modern societies domesticity operates as a social space allowing people to intensify their personal relationships in a very particular manner. Domesticity calls for intimacy, which is defined by self-referential communication. Within intimacy people can communicate to the selected other much of what they believe to be most intimately theirs.⁶⁰ Yet, from the perspective of violence against women, it is precisely the private and intimate character of relationships that can intensify the abuse. Thus not only the separate space of domesticity, but also the intimate nature of it can intensify the abuse of women.⁶¹

This essay has described the spatiality of home through practices of domestic violence. In addition to more permanent spatial meanings attached to home or everyday objects, new interpretations of space

continuously emerge. Homes are not only neatly reproduced, but also fiercely struggled over or lost forever. The uses of power at home take advantage of the ways rooms and objects are commonly defined, arranged and managed. These usual arrangements make homes feel home-like. Thus, the paradox lies in the everyday routines that can trigger, maintain, and produce tensions at home, but also make the home a more permanent and stable unit.

As a location of violence home remains a truly exceptional place. Violence that would be perceived as threatening or dangerous in any other location is repeatedly 'domesticated'. Notions of home naturalize violent encounters and uses of power, but despite violence homes are cherished and treated with nostalgia. The spatial analysis of trajectories of violence reaches beyond idealized notions of homes and points towards the very concrete aspects of homemaking that contribute to the trajectories of violence. Violence is grounded on the spatial permanence and isolation of the modern home. If in contrast, the home was truly found in a routine set of practices taking place irrespective of material spaces, as Rapport and Dawson⁶² suggest, the practices of control and discipline would look spatially quite different. Spatial relations would still actively participate in maintaining and transforming social reality, but a similar kind of spatial control of women would no longer be possible.

NOTES

- 1 Lahti 2001a. The research data was collected between 1997 and 1998 and consisted of 40 stories about domestic violence as written by women, interviews with 17 male informants, meetings and interviews with 20 female informants, and several interviews with health-care workers, social workers and the police.
- 2 See, Heise 1995: pp. 114–116 for a table of the prevalence of wife abuse in selected countries.
- 3 See Heiskanen and Piispa 1998.
- 4 *Ibid.* 4.
- 5 Moore 1999, p. 16.
- 6 See for instance Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zuñiga 1999.
- 7 Bourdieu 1977.
- 8 Douglas 1991.
- 9 Lock 1993; Moore 1994.
- 10 Bachelard 1994.
- 11 Goldsack 1999.

- 12 Kivivuori 1999.
- 13 For example Feldman 1991; Green 1995; Scheper-Hughes 1992, 1997.
- 14 Gupta and Ferguson 1997.
- 15 Rapport and Dawson 1998, p. 4.
- 16 Fog Olwig 1997; Siikala 2001a.
- 17 Siikala 2001a
- 18 Siikala 2001b, p. 34.
- 19 Birdwell-Pheasant and Lawrence-Zúñiga 1999, pp. 3–4.
- 20 Douglas 1991.
- 21 Rapport and Dawson 1998.
- 22 Moore 1994, p. 53.
- 23 Pohjonen 1994.
- 24 Foucault 1990, p. 85.
- 25 Lahti 2001a, p. 48.
- 26 Cieraad 1999, p. 3.
- 27 Lahti 2001a, p. 155.
- 28 Keskinen 1996; Lahti 2001a, p. 221.
- 29 Bourdieu 1977; Moore 1994, pp. 71–85.
- 30 Young 1997, p. 150.
- 31 Saarikangas 1993.
- 32 Saarikangas 1993.
- 33 In Sweden and Finland the social policies have rested on the model of two breadwinners, while in Germany and the Netherlands, for instance, they have relied on only one breadwinner: Julkunen 1999, p. 82.
- 34 Julkunen 1999; Nätkin 1997; Rossi 2003, pp. 58–86.
- 35 Dobash and Dobash 1998a.
- 36 Van der Veer 1997.
- 37 Lahti 2001a.
- 38 Young 1997, p. 151.
- 39 Chapman 1999, p. 178.
- 40 Lahti 2001a, p. 58.
- 41 Moore 1994, p. 76.
- 42 Young 1997, p. 153.
- 43 Dobash and Dobash 1998b, p. 146.
- 44 Foucault 1995, p. 170.
- 45 Lahti 2001a, p. 180.
- 46 Dobash and Dobash 1998b, pp. 150–151.
- 47 Foucault 1995.
- 48 Herman 1997, pp. 74–95.
- 49 Lahti 2001a, p. 178.
- 50 Young 1997, p. 154.
- 51 Lahti 2001a, p. 164.
- 52 Lahti 2001a, p. 201.
- 53 Lahti 2001a, p. 164.
- 54 Lahti 2001a, pp. 155–158.
- 55 Lahti 2001a, p. 161.
- 56 Heiskanen and Piispa 1998, p. 30.
- 57 Lahti 2001b.
- 58 Lahti 2001a, p. 173.

- 59 Knauff 1999, p. 179.
 60 Luhman 1986, p. 12; Barthes 1978, p. 139.
 61 Goldsack 1999.
 62 Rapport and Dawson 1998, p. 4.

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MOVING, INSCRIBING, CONSTRUCTING

Dwelling as Building an Emptiness

Hanna Johansson

Circulating between visibility and invisibility, one is always bound for the interior of which one's home, one's corner, one's tent, or one's cave is the vestibule. The primordial function of the home does not consist in orienting being by the architecture of the building and in discovering a site, but in breaking the plenum, of the element, in opening in it the utopia in which the 'I' recollects itself in dwelling at home with itself.¹

This chapter is about the works of the Finnish artist Outi Heiskanen (1937–) and the notion of home constituted in her art practice. My primary aim is to use the notion of home alongside reflections on Outi Heiskanen's art works and art practice. That is to say that I do not Heiskanen's art within the context of art history or the theory of art, but focus primarily on it's potentiality as a reworking of the idea of home.

Heiskanen has worked as an artist since the early 1970s. She is mainly known as a graphic artist but in addition to graphic works she has put into practice different kinds of presentations and constructed installations in and out of museums. Often these installations and process-based works also involve graphic images as one element of the work.

Since the 1970s Heiskanen has also been active in the experimental artists group *Record Singers* (active mostly between 1972 and 1993) and she has been the leading member of the artist group *Bellini Academy*. The works of these groups have covered a large area of activities from spontaneous happenings and theatrical set ups, to experimental films and other intermedia works.

Heiskanen's art is a mixture of drawings, graphic images, installations, and happenings, which all circulate around the same themes. In the context of this article it is relevant to elaborate especially on two intertwining aspects of Heiskanen's oeuvre. First I want to concentrate on her graphic drawings and their iconographical details. Later I will move from the intimate small-scale graphic images to the broader scale of installations, happenings, and process-based works.

I argue that Heiskanen's works are above all about dwelling. Her art can be seen as a continuous and lifelong process of dwelling making. Within this longstanding process I distinguish two distinct ways of treating the subject, which however infiltrate one another. On the one hand, her art is about dwelling – and especially her own way of dwelling – in a real sense of the word. She is repetitively afflicting, making and constituting her way of being in the temporal, spatial, and material world; the processes of her activity result in constructions that are counted as her art works. On the other hand, the works are about representations of dwelling. By talking about representation here, I refer to the subjects of the images, which do not have any obvious connection to real life. These two different aspects of her art intertwine in a fascinating way so that the border between them is constantly blurring. I argue that her works are to be seen both as presentation and representation of her way of being, as well as making and unfolding of the way of being.²

As said, I regard Heiskanen's oeuvre to be dwelling making. From this perspective dwelling, constructing of a home, and the way of being must all be understood as concepts close to each other. This way of understanding dwelling and building compares to what the German philosopher Martin Heidegger writes on dwelling in his essay 'Building Dwelling Thinking': 'The way in which you are and I am, the manner in which we humans *are* on the earth, is *Buan*, dwelling.'³ Even though Heidegger's elaborations of dwelling are relevant alongside Heiskanen's work, I argue that her art practice also seeks to deconstruct the Heideggerian understanding of being and dwelling. In the last part of this chapter I will suggest some alternative readings of homemaking, dwelling, and their connections to the temporal structure of being that Heiskanen's art practice opens up. I argue that while constructing her art practice she also deconstructs the very notion of home and dwelling.

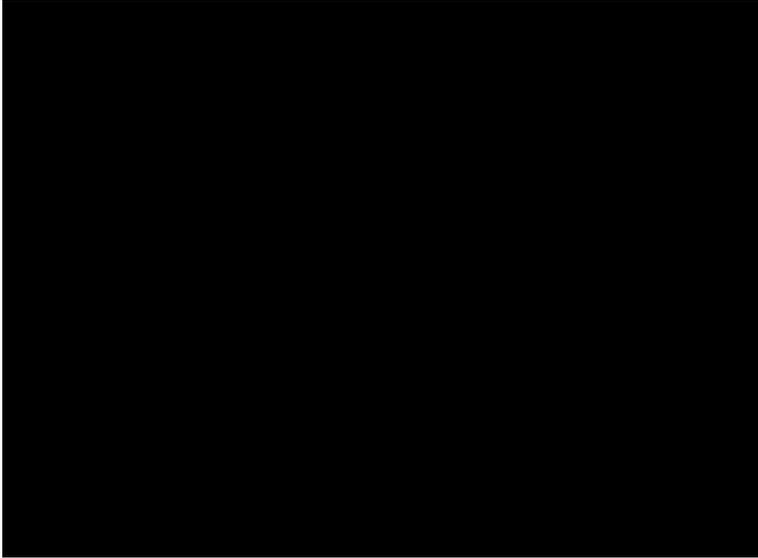
BUSH WIND PEOPLE, DRAWING AND THE VOLATILE CASTLES

Since the early 1970s the so-called *Bush Wind People* have appeared in Heiskanen's works. These little pygmy-like creatures belong to the artist's own mythology. She depicts these creatures in her drawings and also tells about them in her writings.⁴ According to the artist these little people live almost invisibly in bushes and only the sound of the wind makes them appear to others. Drawings and graphic images show the *Bush Wind People* in different positions: moving from one place to another; fetching and carrying things in their villages, huts, tents, houses, or other kinds of dwellings; or just surrounded by light or smoke.

Furthermore, in the images these creatures seem to have an ability to transform themselves into animals and to partly disappear. They are also nomads, continually settling down in a place, erecting their movable dwellings and then again moving to another place. In some of the graphic images the houses have lost their stable walls and they resemble lighthouses, or more precisely light-castles without material walls. Sometimes they even appear as transparent light-images of castles, as if they were supposed to enclose something. But according to the images they enclose nothing, because there seems to be no correspondence between the light castle and the image around it. As a whole her images have lost their cohesiveness and consistency, or as she says, her art is born from 'emptiness and error'.⁵ I suggest that error is just how these drawings are to be understood.

It is possible to call this error a 'failing' or even a 'disaster', which the draftsman is necessarily suffering while her pointed hand moves across the canvas and inscribes without actually seeing the trace that is impressed on the canvas.⁶ In order to understand this failing or disaster better, I want to elaborate on it a little bit further. First of all the way I am using the term error approaches the notions of blindness and invisibility alike.⁷ Therefore it includes the very origin of drawing itself.

In his book *Memoirs of the Blind* (1993) Jacques Derrida tries to follow drawing to its very beginning. He cherishes not only drawing but the very act of drawing; the moment when a draftsman's pointed hand cuts across the canvas. For Derrida, this moment is always enfolded by blindness, which engenders the error or failing into the image. According



Outi Heiskanen, *Little head III*, 1990. Variation, combination, etching, aquatint. In the foreground of the image is the white Lojsta Castle.

to Derrida, blindness occurs in the moment of drawing; when the hand is inscribing the empty space, actually without seeing what she is inscribing. But this wandering hand, this blind bodily gesture is already drawing. This is why, if we follow Derrida, the drafts person can only draw from memory or from faith, and almost without eyes.⁸ The images that remain are of ruins or wreckage of the invisible in the visible. As in Derrida's thinking in general, in his account of drawing there is a paradox. The error or failing is caused by the blindness or spread of invisibility, which the drafts person is necessarily suffering in order to draw.⁹ In other words, there would be no drawing without blindness, which means that drawing is a kind of constitutive act.

EMPTINESS

One graphic image by Heiskanen from 1989 is named *Lojsta Castle*. Heiskanen describes the image by saying:

The experiences of your own body expand into a contact with your environment. When you lay down on the grass on a balmy summer day, you may see how air winds in cyclical movements in the clouds. In the greyness you may feel a double spiral, ascending and descending, contracting and expanding simultaneously. Such an experience was the seed of the castle in the air. When I went to see the *Lojsta castle* in Gotland in 1989, the castle in the air received a new layer. The signpost by the road said Lojsta Castle, but when I climbed the hill where the castle was supposed to be, there was nothing there.¹⁰

Elsewhere she notices: ‘Lojsta castle, non-existent *Castle in the Air*, [...] is about dissolution and disappearance’.¹¹

The anecdote of Lojsta Castle and the references to emptiness and disappearance is possible to see as a part of the artist’s fondness of Buddhism and its ‘yantra’ images. Yantra images are gradually supposed to disappear during meditation so that in the end the meditator does not see anything but emptiness; also the castles refer to spaces, which allow the experience of emptiness to appear. The shapes of the castles resemble the Buddhist stupa’s – enclosed bottle-like buildings, which alongside other simple houses have influenced Heiskanen’s spatial conceptions.

In Finnish a castle in the air is called *pilvilinna*, which literally means a castle of cloud. *Pilvilinna* refers to a place of dreams or mental images; a shelter or a hiding-place from everyday life. It seems to be something that belongs to immaterial mental life, but the artist’s description, however, says that it is related to bodily experiences of her environment.

After the experience in Gotland, Heiskanen has continued to work with the topic in various ways: from small graphic images to large installations. In her graphic images the castle often appears over the head of the person; many of the castles are transparent and their shape may also vary. In addition, they do not need to have a shape of a castle but can consist of only a simple supporting wall or a halo around the head of a person. In her writings Heiskanen has described her idea of these small creatures that occur in the images. She thinks that the pygmies are looking from a kind of intermediate space both to the non-existent and to the visible. She has depicted them in a place where there is nothing, but at the same time they get nutriment or bodies from the visible world.

Also *Castles in the air* seem to be contradictory places. They are lit-up spaces but at the same time as they brighten up their dwellers, they also indicate absence, disappearance, and becoming empty. But the absence or void appears through the agency of matter that permits the appearance of immateriality or emptiness. Heiskanen has explained that for her the matter is almost invisible: ‘Matter is so rare and so sensitive that nobody could have seen it...’¹²

I conclude now that emptiness in this context seems to be somehow tied to materiality. For Heiskanen emptiness does not mean the same as nothingness, rather it should be understood as a condition of potentiality. In the case of the *Castles in the Air*, like in her cloud observations, this potentiality seems to be situated between emptiness and materiality.

Through a long account of Aristoteles’ theory of matter, the Italian philosopher Giorgio Agamben approaches emptiness as a potentiality in his essays ‘Pardes: The Writing of Potentiality’. He suggests that Derrida’s concept of ‘trace’, which is not a concept but ‘a non-name’ and is working against the primacy of ‘form’, is renewing the Aristotelian paradox of potentiality: the gesture of the writer (or of the draftsman) when she is dipping her pencil to the thinking and writing only the potentiality of writing. Agamben suggests that the derridean ‘trace’ should be understood as the potentiality in materiality itself. He writes: ‘The trace is the passion of thought and matter; far from being the inert substratum of a form, it is, on the contrary, the result of a process of materialization.’¹³

Agamben compared the ‘event of matter’ to the eye that does not see anything in the dark and is blinded, but is still affected by its own incapacity to see. It perceives its own lack of seeing that marks the place between the experience of something and the experience of nothing, which according to Agamben is the experience of matter as potentiality.¹⁴ In the same paragraph Agamben insists that Plato already gave us a model of the experience of matter which works like a trace: ‘neither perceptible nor imperceptible’, but pure taking-place. ‘Khōra’, the untranslatable concept in Plato’s *Timaeus*, is a place and a location situated between what cannot be perceived and what can be perceived.¹⁵ It is a space before any concrete spatiality. It is *receptacle*; a third category or a ‘third genus’ between binary oppositions that have marked the character of Western thought. In his essay on Khōra Derrida writes:

'Khōra is not a subject; it is not a support... But if Timaeus names it as receptacle (dekhomenon) or place (khōra), these names do not designate an essence, the stable being of an eidos.¹⁶ Although we cannot name khōra like we cannot name 'trace', except declare with the verbs *to receive* and *to give*, it is anything but a support or a subject. This paradoxical concept of khōra opens up a kind of abyssal chasm. At the same time as khōra opens a place in which everything would come to take place, khōra itself refuses to exist or to take place in existence.¹⁷

If khōra is to be understood as a principal spatiality where everything else is to be born, it does not mean, however, the same as to say that it is the origin of spatiality. It is more, as Agamben says, like Derrida's trace that means non-original trace, 'the re-marked place of a mark', or as he says of khōra, 'the perception of an imperception'. They are both like the experience of an intelligible matter.¹⁸ Neither nothing nor yet something, somehow, in a 'puzzling way' it participates in intelligibility and is connected to materiality without being intelligible. Agamben argues that khōra is the condition for the genesis of the material world.

The emptiness Heiskanen is seeking seems to be connected to a kind of attempt to reach the ultimate, almost impalpable and invisible matter (matter as potentiality). Matter in her drawings is reduced to almost nothing and, yet, it is something. The French art historian Henri Focillon has pointed out that a special kind of bond exists between drawing and emptiness. He has paid attention to the material 'lightness' or volatility of drawing; and as a consequence it is easy to carry out. Only a matter that leaves a trace through the act of man, imprint, or leftover is needed. But Focillon argues that although the matter of drawing is very thin it is still matter and 'by virtue of being controlled, compressed, and divided on the paper – which it instantly brings to life – it acquires a special power'.¹⁹ Focillon thinks that because drawing appears in an almost totally volatile matter, the conventional division between form and matter can be overcome.²⁰

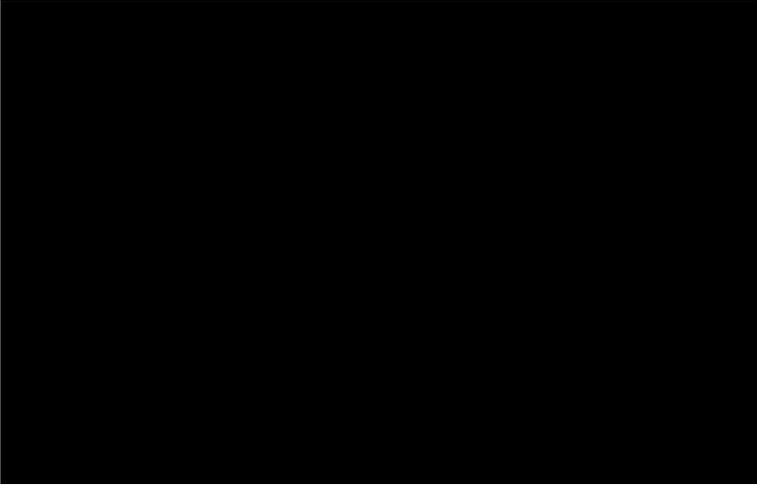
From this perspective it would be tempting to say that Heiskanen's art happens in a blurred space between emptiness and matter. Her works consider the emptiness of their subject matter that manifests itself in and through an image, or a trace, whose materiality is almost volatile. But by virtue of the volatile materiality they override the persistent division between matter and form.

HOUSES OF DWELLING

If these works by Heiskanen open up emptiness as the possibility of matter, how is this matter as emptiness and its connection to spatiality and dwelling to be approached? I start by examining the subjects of Heiskanen's works and their spatial conditions. The castles or shelters often resemble real houses. Sometimes, however, the outlines of the buildings are invisible and only some tiny marks give indication to their existence. Here Heiskanen intentionally constructs emptiness between two images in the closed installation spaces; when there is 'nothing' in the space between the images. In these installations a 'castle' or a space is based on the relationship between images and the space between them. Some of the *Castles* are made in the environment as installations. Heiskanen's castles can be both fleeting and small, sometimes also 'larger than *Colosseum* and taller than the *Eiffel tower*', as she has herself described. In the last example the castle has been demarcated in the landscape through a thin string, on which the artist has fastened 'Castle in the Air' -signs in different languages.

The same intention to move from the small-scale to large-scale is visible in Heiskanen's other artistic activities. The subjects of her graphic works appear and continue in her installations and performative actions. She has mixed up the representation and presentation even so far that many of her installations are dwellings for these imaginary *Bush Wind People*, while she also counts herself as a member of the *Bush wind* tribe. Her performances and private actions include the same topics. During the years Heiskanen has realized several outdoor exhibitions with huts made of brushes and twigs, some of them also made as teamwork with friends. Heiskanen herself has construed that groups of huts (*Brushwood dwellings*) made of twigs in landscapes are meant to be dwellings for the *Bush Wind People*. The artist has used herself as the measurement for the size of the huts.

An early example of how she has played with the same subjects in different media – intermingling fact and fiction – is a black-and-white 16mm film made by the *Record Singers* in the summer of 1978 titled *The Bellini Academy's Scientific Expedition to the Steam Caves of Par-Kish and Par-Iskmeny*. The members of the group acted in the film. It was filmed in the Finnish backwoods and it was supposedly documenting the primitive



Outi Heiskanen, *Castle in the Air*, Meilahti, 1996. Photograph Outi Heiskanen.

customs and rites of a previously unknown tribe discovered in the remote backwoods of Russia. In many features the tribe resembles the *Bush Wind People*.

At the beginning of the film a group of scientists set off to investigate a strange tribe. In the wilderness of the forest they discover a tribe of primitive cave-dwellers. The film follows how two cave people gradually adapt to the civilized world through a wedding ceremony. The story culminates in an episode in which the bride is dressed for the wedding ceremony. After the dressing rite she is placed inside a hut, which is shrouded by a veil so that one cannot really see through the veil but light moves freely into the hut.²¹ Heiskanen has used the same kind of veil-like hut in other works and installations such as *Summernight* (1986) and *The Hut of Delusion* (2002) where she has used a thin cloth to form a dwelling place for herself. One can recognize the same primitive shelters (for example: *Dream Play: Fleeting Virginity*, 1984) in her drawings.

So far it has become axiomatic that the empty materiality goes together with dwelling; dwelling is another theme that bonds these works together. Dwelling is a repeated subject both in Heiskanen's graphic drawings and in her installations, but I argue that it is also the way of her own being. In that last case dwelling does not necessarily need a

house, although to be in the world often necessitates a kind of shelter, or at least a ‘castle in the air’. Next I elaborate more precisely on the idea of dwelling as a way of being.

DWELLING AND BEING: A PHILOSOPHICAL ROUTE

According to Martin Heidegger dwelling is a man’s way of being.²² Dwelling is the way human beings, i.e. mortals²³, are in the world – it is a being’s basic character.²⁴ Heidegger even says that ‘only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build’.²⁵ For that reason dwelling must be understood as a possibility, which requires both the ability to build and to think. To build means already to dwell and to dwell means respectively already to build. According to Heidegger the nature of dwelling manifests itself in language. The old English and High German word for building, *buan*, means to dwell. The verb literally signifies remaining and staying in a place. Heidegger proceeds to listen to old languages and finds out that ‘The fundamental character of dwelling is this sparing and preserving’.²⁶ But for Heidegger to dwell also requires a special relation to the earth: its preserving, protecting, caring, and cherishing. Because dwelling is the way a man is in the world, dwelling is identified with being, with existence, with *Da-sein*.

Heidegger develops a metaphorical architectural rhetoric that gathers around words such as dwelling, building, and a house. The rhetoric Heidegger uses implicates a division between inner secure shelter, presence, and home. In the essay ‘Building Dwelling Thinking’ Heidegger repeatedly says that dwelling and building in the form of saving and preserving also means to free things into presence; ‘to set something free into its own presence’ with things.²⁷

Within the tradition of Western metaphysics this ‘being’ as presence has often been compared to a dwelling or a house erected on secure foundations, where the spatial division between inside and outside resembles that between presentation and representation. The ambition has been to restore a secure foundation, to prepare and locate the ground. Whether the ground is called *logos*, *ratio*, *arche*, or just a ground it has always designated ‘being’ understood as presence.²⁸ Derrida

explains how the tradition of Western metaphysics since Plato and Parmenides has grounded itself on the idea of being as presence.²⁹ The figure of a house has been a kind of emblem of presence and the proper.³⁰ Western philosophy has identified the truth and proper with the interior space of a house or a home and distinguished it from the outer world of representation. It is this structure of thinking that Derrida takes notice of when he draws the association between the old Greek concepts of household (oikos) and the proper (oikeios).³¹

Although Derrida acknowledges that Heidegger is dismantling the basic structure of this metaphysical tradition, he says that Heidegger brought the dismantling only halfway. While writing on Heidegger's *Being and Time* Derrida notes: 'At a certain point, then, the destruction of metaphysics remains within metaphysics, only making explicit its principles'.³² In other words Derrida suggests that Heidegger pursued to dismantle the metaphysical tradition of presence, but he could never really break it down. Derrida is taking that task further. He wants to open the secure space of house and home, which also means to open the shelter that guards the metaphysics of presence towards its outside.

The American historian of architecture Mark Wigley has summed up the difference between Heidegger's and Derrida's thinking about house and the division between interior and exterior in the following way: 'Derrida departs from Heidegger by tacitly locating a violation within the structure of the house that is repressed by the systematic domestic violence that is itself in turn concealed by the apparent structure of the house'.³³ In other words, Wigley submits that Derrida deconstructs the metaphysical tradition of shelter by contaminating the pure interior space of home with traces of the outside. Derrida opens the space of home to the stranger and difference. As in so many times during his oeuvre in general, he insists that there is no way to separate the inside from the outside; the outside always invades the inside.

It is not only Heidegger who has been fond of the architectural vocabulary, and it is not only Heidegger's texts Derrida is rereading. As Mark Wigley wants to show, it is the metaphysical tradition of philosophy as such that has presupposed the separation between inside and outside, between pure and impure, and representation and being. He found this idea also in Immanuel Kant, whose use of architectural and spatial rhetoric Heidegger embraced.

In his essay on Khōra, as well as in his other writings on architecture, Derrida puts into question this metaphysical understanding of architecture and spatiality. Derrida is not trying to construct a theory of architecture but to read the tradition of it in a new way. He wants to read architecture with a different *economy*; in a manner that breaks the preconceptions it has.³⁴

In Derrida's thinking the relationship between the structure and the ornament descends into crisis because he shows how the outside always contaminates the inside, the proper space. In other words the structure, ground or proper is inseparable from the outside, from representation, from fallacy and from ornament. In the Derridean project their relationship is more complicated, as Wigley demonstrates: 'The economy of representation is seen to structure the interior as such. The sense of interior is actually an effect of representation'.³⁵

My task here is not to consider Derrida's theory of spatiality as such, but to show how it is relevant to Heiskanen's art. The metaphysical discourse discussed above has often rotated around the metaphor of simple house, which actually culminates in the figure of the primitive hut or in the idea of a 'first house'. This discussion is easily applicable to Heiskanen's dwellings that are simple shelters, or even non-existent, half-imaginary spaces. The dwellings invite an exploration of them from the perspective of the primitive architecture of the 'first house'.³⁶

In his book *On Adam's house* the architect and scholar of architecture Adam Rykwert examines several partly contradictory ways of thinking about the origin of architecture. What these different approaches share is an attempt to restore the relationship between human and dwelling into the simple and primitive hut, which protects the human against unorganized nature. In the same way that Heiskanen's huts are situated between representation and real, Rykwert's descriptions of the primitive architecture also wells partly from the real, empirical examples and partly from the metaphorical level of imagination, tales and truisms.³⁷ All over again the discussions about primitive architecture consist of the dualistic separation between ground contra structure, real contra ornament, metaphor and representation. Rykwert argues for example that Jean-Jacques Rousseau's immaculate simple hut, liable not to be contaminated by civilization, situates between the real and the metaphorical. For him a hut is not architecture but only a kind of a

simple house, whose task it is to demarcate the interior space the exterior, and to offer a place in between nature and language.³⁸

The division between nature and language, as well as that between the inside and the outside is also a division of gender. Before turning back to Heiskanen's artistic material I will examine the place of gender, and especially the feminine in philosophical tradition. Gender is heavily inscribed in spatial thinking in general and it is expressed in the various ways of how space is structured, understood, and lived. That is to say indications of gender differences are implanted into the spatial planning, architecture, as well as in the representation of architecture. But as Kirsi Saarikangas points out in her text in this volume, gender difference can also be found on the level of everyday routines and spatial practices. First and foremost gender appears in the spatial organization and the use of domestic space, which is strongly associated with women. On a more general level there is a connection between the interior space of home and the metaphorical linking of a woman's body and interior space, container, cave, and receptacle,³⁹ discussed also by Minna Ruckenstein elsewhere in this volume.

Feminist thinkers have criticized the ways in which space has been historically conceived as either containing women or obliterating them. Critical utterances have also reached the Heideggerian thinking that privileges the activity of building as an active world-founding project of the subject. According to various feminist thinkers, in this spatial division man has the ability to construct an edifice and move from inside out and vice versa, whereas woman has been located inside the house without the ability to make a space of her own. This is why metaphysics has been defined as a determination of place that attempts to domesticate the other, rendering whatever it domesticates 'feminine' by placing it. The feminine is that which is placed.⁴⁰ As Iris Marion Young puts it, 'on the whole, women do not build.'⁴¹

The spaces that Heiskanen has constructed resemble the cave-like spaces associated with women. She is not an architect, however, and her spaces cannot be seen as architecture. Rather, the relationship between visual art and primitive architecture support each other. In this distribution of work her semi-finished spatial constructions are luring forth the potentiality of other kinds of spaces and places. Heiskanen's works cannot be called architecture, yet they are not real houses

either. I argue that her works take part in the discussion about home space and dwelling, as well as in the discourse on the separation between the inside and the outside.

The dwellings made by Heiskanen are partly open so that the border between interior and exterior is very thin and often transparent. Furthermore, the relationship between ornament or representation, and structure or ground is invisible. In other words, bushes with leaves or graphic images on the paper are both at the same time part of the structure and ornament.

On the whole Heiskanen's housing projects can be characterized as distinctively frail, fragile, and always in the state of decomposition. Although she sometimes even sleeps in her shelters, they are not qualified for real housing.

During the years 1991 to 1994 Heiskanen made a hut of leaves and twigs. Her intention was to model a hut for winter dwelling according to the example of indigenous people. The working process was long and difficult: She began the work by tracing the sunken imprint of her body and then dug a hole in the ground, which she gradually expanded to serve as a floor of the hut. She continued working on the hut year after year, from one season to the next. In spite of a prolonged attempt she never succeeded and the hut functions only as an art project. The process was videotaped by a friend of Heiskanen's, Anders Lund, and it has been shown as a thirty-minute documentary in various exhibitions.

Heiskanen's dwellings, huts, and houses continually change position between ornamentation, metaphor, representation, proper and real. Precisely because they are oscillating between these categories the dwellings and primitive buildings take part in the deconstruction task. They do not only deconstruct building and dwelling, but also the meaning of home, and especially the gendered and gendering role of housing.

REMAKING OF HOME AND DWELLING

I suggest that Heiskanen's works participate in the feminist discussion about the meanings of home. Her works offer alternative models and understanding of the notions of home without abandoning the idea



Outi Heiskanen, *Constructing a Hut*, Gotland 1991–94, freeze-shot from the video. Video: Anders Lund, Freeze-shot. Finnish National Gallery, Central Art Archives.

of shelter or home, which has been the motivation of several feminist thinkers. According to Iris Marion Young many feminists have criticized the notion of home because it carries within it a masculine tradition, where women's possibilities and juridical rights to contribute to the social life are denied. To the critics home expresses a limited and safe space, which is based on the inequality of sexes. These feminists demand women to be more open towards the world, so that the existing multiple identities are preserved and can affect communities. They argue that it is not possible to situate these manifold identities inside the borders of home, where differences are always returned back to a single identity.

There are also those feminists who defend the home space. For example Iris Marion Young wants to argue for a home that is open and not necessarily a strictly limited and solid place. Young suggests that home can also be a space for rest, which functions like an anchor in the material world and allows the transition of identities. bell hooks sees that home is a prerequisite for political influencing. It is not, however,

inside the home place, but in an interaction between the interior of home and the public life outside of it that the resistance takes place.⁴²

I am not arguing that Heiskanen's works take part in the political struggle of home place, but I want to insist that they engage in a re-evaluation and a reconstruction of home. This happens through the ways in which her dwellings are both questioning the task of home and establishing its meanings. The works of Heiskanen continue a tendency within feminist philosophy, which criticizes the metaphysical tradition for the settling down of a place, and for demobilizing and domesticating the feminine. However, she never sets herself against home but rather tries to transform the understanding and constitution of inhabitation.

There are some feminist philosophers who have read Derrida alongside feminist ideas of spatiality and home.⁴³ For example Luce Irigaray argues that the idea of home consists of a masculine nostalgic tendency to find a secure, solid and permanent place. According to Irigaray it is a maternal space, where man is arising toward light. Man builds to make himself a home, on the basis of the materiality of women. Even if she agrees with Heidegger on some points, Irigaray has mostly criticized his idea of dwelling, constructing, and building for producing patriarchal culture, and his metaphysics of presence for its phallogocentric oblivion to the gift owed to the maternal body.⁴⁴

Irigaray's critique comes close to some of Derrida's arguments against Heidegger, and more extensively his arguments against the Western philosophical tradition. The feminist philosopher Elizabeth Grosz finds a prolific dialogue between Derrida's contribution to architecture and Luce Irigaray's gendered reading of space and spatiality, both of which also relate to the notion of *khōra* that is known through Plato's *Timaeus*.⁴⁵

Since Plato, *khōra* has been treated as a mythological bridge between, 'the (perfect) world of reason and the (imperfect) material world.'⁴⁶ That is why *khōra* is described as a third term (triton genus), and it has a status of an intermediary or a receptacle but without any specific attributes or qualities. It is invisible and formless and 'khōra must not receive for her own sake, so she must not receive, merely let herself be lent the properties (of that) which she receives'. Grosz describes it as 'the mother of all qualities, without itself having any – except its capacity to take on, to nurture, to bring into existence any other kind of being'.⁴⁷ Due to its permeability and open status *khōra* has often been identified

with the nurse, womb, incubator, and Plato himself used comparisons or metaphors such as mother, nurse, receptacle, and imprint-bearer to describe it.⁴⁸

At the beginning of this chapter I spoke of khōra as a condition for the genesis of the material world, and compared it to Derrida's concept of trace. Here returning back to it, I want to emphasize its spatial character, which is also accentuated by Grosz. As a word khōra has a spatial dimension and it can be translated as 'place', 'location', 'region', and 'country'.⁴⁹ According to Grosz a feminist reading of khōra may re-appropriate the maternal dimension implied by the term. She even argues that it can remould the manners in which space is conceived, lived and used.⁵⁰ However, she wants to counterpoise the reading of khōra with the feminine approach of space by Luce Irigaray, which in many places comes very close to the evocations of it. Irigaray's thoughts about inhabitation are based on a critical account of the Western philosophers. She uses metaphors like grave, ruin, temple, home, cave, and prison to describe dwelling. Her explicate intention is to find a viable way for women to dwell in time and place:

The transition to a new age requires a change in our perception and conception of *space-time*, the *inhabiting of places* and of *containers*, or envelopes of identity. It assumes and entails an evolution or a transformation of forms, of the relations of matter and of the interval between: the trilogy of the constitution of place.⁵¹

These transformations require that both the body and the question of body must be rethought. Woman would have to re-envelop herself with herself, she says. But she should do this at least twice: as a woman and as a mother. And that would presuppose a change in the whole economy of space-time.⁵²

Irigaray insists that the masculine forms of thinking have erased the gift of maternity, the place which is the precondition of the birth of every subject. This erased place refers straight to a womb⁵³ but it also means the space offered by the body, or the lived bodily space. Irigaray argues that this space is excluded and denied from our culture by masculine thinking and with its theoretical structures, which aim to logocentric thinking. A woman represents place; she serves as an

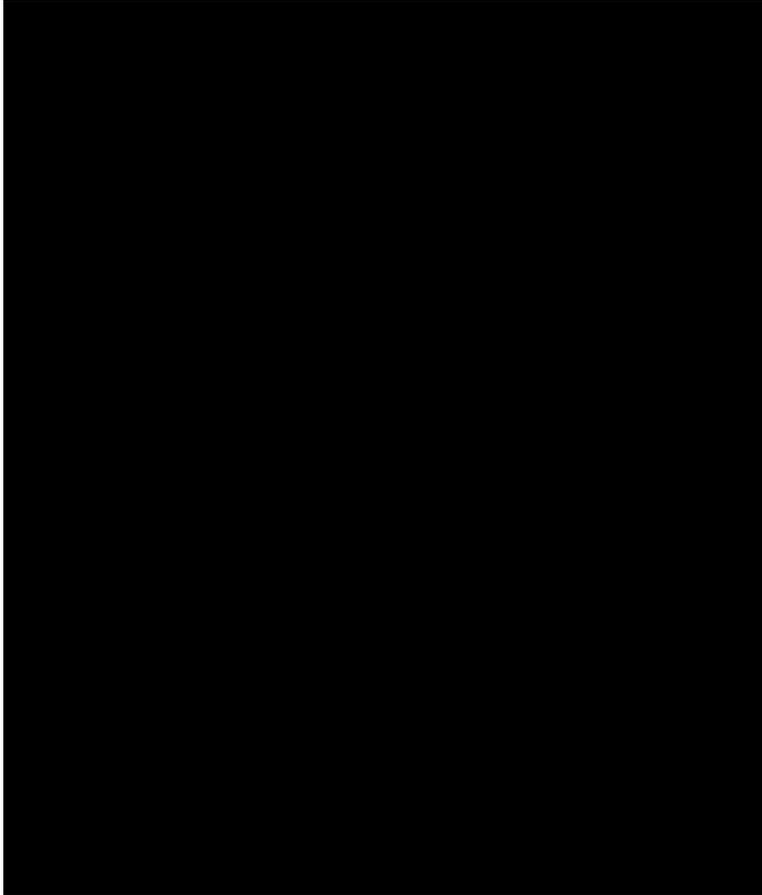
envelope, a container and a receptacle for the Other, for man; and at the same time she lacks a 'proper' place.⁵⁴

In Heiskanen's huts, tents, and shelters the interior and exterior permeate each other and air streams through. Her dwellings are nomadic places that are easy to put up and to take down. They are not attached to the ground and for this reason they are not homes in a traditional sense. The constructs of emptiness and the putting up of temporary dwellings break up the place of the woman inside of the home, and situate her at the border of inside and outside, as a continual decorator and constructor. In my view Heiskanen's drawings of dwellings and rigging up of shelters for herself, as well as for the *Bush Wind People* transfer the meanings of dwelling as such to another level. She suggests that the feeling of being at home does not require a robust house leaning on a strong and durable basement, but can also unfold in the slow and open processes that do not contain a woman or exclude her.

In a graphic print named *Tuft* (1974), a young girl is carrying a tuft of wool on her back. The tuft is warm when it covers the body and so light that it can be carried along. It functions like a permanent home always moving with the dweller. During the early 1970s Heiskanen fulfilled one of her fantasies: She enveloped a net around a tuft of wool that kept the wool together. This simple *Tuft*, which she made for herself was easy to carry and in a trice it could be opened as a shelter around the body. In *Constructing a Hut* (1991–1994), as well as in *Tuft*, the spatial conditions were reduced to a minimum – for the place containing one's body, and the place itself was made by the body that it contained and carried while wandering. These shelters resemble transient crusts or moulds between the body and the world.

At the time when Irigaray prepared the lectures on *An Ethics of Sexual Difference* she prepared another book, where she wanted to find a way of living for women and a way of rereading the great Western philosophers. *The Forgetting of Air in Martin Heidegger* (1999) belongs to Irigaray's series of elemental readings, where she repeatedly argues that metaphysics means the forgetting of elements. In *The Forgetting of Air in Martin Heidegger* she rereads basic tenets of Western metaphysics through Heidegger's emphasis on the element of earth, and furthermore his notions of dwelling, spatiality, habitation and metaphysics of presence.

Irigaray begins her book with a citation from Heidegger where he



Outi Heiskanen, *Turf*, 1974, etching, aquatint.

proposed that instead of naming his book *Sein und Zeit* (Being and Time) its title could be *Lichtung and Anwesenheit* (Clearing and Presence).⁵⁵ In *Being and Time*, as in his essay on dwelling and building, Heidegger describes *Lichtung*, a clearing in the forest as the place of entry into presence. But according to Irigaray a clearing that has been opened for presence and being, nevertheless remains un-thought, unquestionable, and forgotten. The problem for Irigaray is that Western ‘metaphysics

always supposes, in some manner, a solid crust from which to raise a construction'.⁵⁶ This means that Heidegger cannot leave this foundation of metaphysics as long as he does not leave the 'earth', which is the crust that is phenomenological, always solid. She continues by noticing that 'the metaphysical is written neither on/in water, nor on/in air, nor on/in fire. Its *ek-sistance* is founded on the solid.'⁵⁷

In her working through Heidegger, Irigaray returns to his metaphor of dwelling as being. She is worried that something remains outside of thought in the idea that dwelling is the fundamental trait of man's condition. Something remains unsaid, hidden in language, which only expresses it in silence. And this hidden or forgotten element that Irigaray is looking for can entail a true crisis in dwelling.⁵⁸

At the beginning of the book Irigaray already gives a hint about this element when she asks 'the clearing of the opening "of what" can this be?'⁵⁹ And she gives a response some pages later:

To designate it as the unique that is beyond, or is this side of, all the significations it gathers and binds together in its Whole, this unthinkable designates without ever being able to name itself. This unthinkable that exceeds all declaration, all saying. Or posing, phenomenon, or form. While remaining the condition of possibility, the resource, the groundless ground. Of what [is] this *is*? Of air.⁶⁰

Irigaray seeks the forgotten ground of metaphysics and finds it in the element of air. Air is the groundless ground, the forgotten material mediation of logos. It escapes mastery but is forever there, invisibly, impalpably, as the condition for all appearance. She describes the element of air as space before it is situated in any location. It is not possible to close up into a circle the clearing, where presence appears according to Heidegger, but nevertheless it is a foundation or a basis. Air is impossible to restore as a constitution of wholeness. It thwarts all posed categories. It eludes both the sensible and the intelligible and for this reason Irigaray says, it would be arch-mediation, but without ever being able to be constituted as origin. Air escapes from being origin because 'of its mediating qualities and because it is a permanent necessity for the immediate subsistence of man'.⁶¹

Irigaray turns around the Heideggerian idea of dwelling as a way of being, by reading it through the element of air, the silent space of

speech. For her air is a condition of dwelling. It is in air where everything takes place without air itself offering a place or location. She restores air from oblivion and gives it the place of a nurse, a mother, and maternal dimension. Air would be the condition of life without ever entering into presence, 'air never takes place in the mode of an "entry into presence" – except in wind?'⁶² Air manifests itself only through wind.

According to Heiskanen the invisible *Bush Wind People* vanished from the world when oil digging started on the earth. After that they have only partly reappeared as the breath of wind can make them visible.

Castles in the Air drawings represent dwellings in the air; they are transparent spaces, hovering in air. These are castles, which never come to the present, except in the draftsman's hand when it gropes through canvas inscribing a trace without seeing it; acknowledging that she does not know what she is inscribing because the trace is not yet visible. This present is not presence but rather absence, a non-coincidence at the heart of the draftsman's sight or perception; that which gives place to drawing. Is it because of this blindness, this incomplete reversibility that she constructs these castles in landscapes by delimiting air with string? But she knows that it is not possible to delimit air and she makes this visible exactly by delimiting air; making infinite houses without an interior or an exterior. In my mind these works refer repeatedly towards the ground that is *abgrund*, abyss; towards the acknowledgment of dwelling that does not base on, but leans on an empty matter, to air.

NOTES

- 1 Lévinas 1969, p. 156.
- 2 What I mean with 'making and unfolding of the way of being' see for example Grosz, 2005 passim., especially p. 134.
- 3 Heidegger 1971, p. 147.
- 4 See Heiskanen 1980; 1984; 1999; 2000.
- 5 Karjalainen 1996, p. 24.
- 6 Vallier 1997, p. 193.
- 7 The words invisibility and blindness are two different ways to approach the questions of failing within the twentieth-century French philosophy. Invisibility grows from the phenomenology and Maurice Merleau-Ponty's reflections on visibility, which is tied to perception; whereas blindness is related to deconstruction and in this article especially to Jacques Derrida's way of speaking about the obscurity in sight, and his doubt about perception in general. But these two concepts are deeply interrelated. In the core of

both notions there is an abyssal element: *punctum caecum*, a perceptual blindness at the heart of sight. Two thinkers generate the concepts from their own perspectives; Merleau-Ponty about thirty years earlier than Derrida. But today the terms seem to have more in common than was previously thought. A very good explanation on the subject is an article by Robert Vallier, 'Blindness and Invisibility: The Ruins of Self-Portraiture (Derrida's Re-reading of Merleau-Ponty)'. See also Merleau-Ponty's *Visible and invisible*; Derrida's *Memoirs of the Blind: the Self-Portrait and Other Ruins*.

- 8 I say almost without eyes, because Derrida as well as Merleau-Ponty have insisted that the painter or draftsman is drawing or painting because he/she has at least once seen something. For Derrida it can even only be the potentiality of seeing, whereas for Merleau-Ponty 'he (painter) paints, in any case, because he has seen, because the world has at least once emblazoned in him the ciphers of the visible.' Johnson, Galen A. 1993, p. 128.
- 9 Derrida 1993, pp. 53–56.
- 10 Heiskanen 1996, p. 28.
- 11 Heiskanen 2000, p. 151.
- 12 Central Art Archives, Helsinki. Heiskanen 1976, Lyra, 1976 lokakuun ensimmäinen numero. The papers of the Porkkana Association's documentation project.
- 13 Agamben 1999, p. 219.
- 14 Agamben 1999, p. 217.
- 15 Agamben 1999, p. 218.
- 16 Derrida 1995, p. 95.
- 17 Derrida 1995, pp. 95–103.
- 18 Agamben 1999, p. 218.
- 19 Focillon 1992, p. 100; 1947, p. 55.
- 20 Focillon 1947, p. 55.
- 21 The film is based on a dramatized contract between nature and civilization. And as the film progresses, the contrast seemingly diminishes. One sign of this assimilation of the wild and the tame is the wedding ceremony. Through it the bride is stepping from the untamed state of nature towards the symbolic exchange of civilization. The bride's hut respectively separates her from the primordial state of the forest and places her within a civilized closure inside the forest. See Johansson 1999, p. 168.
- 22 In Western philosophy Heidegger is not the first thinker who sees the connection between being and dwelling. On the contrary it has been a quite common way to compare being metaphorically to dwelling. But Heidegger has done it very literally. See Heidegger 1971.
- 23 For Heidegger this means that only human beings are mortals, which meant that only they can die. 'To die means to be capable of death as death.' Heidegger 1971, p. 150.
- 24 Heidegger 1971, p. 148.
- 25 Heidegger 1971, p. 160.
- 26 Heidegger 1971, p. 149.
- 27 Heidegger 1971, pp. 152, p. 153.
- 28 Wigley 1997, pp. 7–8.
- 29 Derrida 1982, see especially p. 34.
- 30 Here the word proper comes close to the words identity, interiority, coincidence and presence. It can be described simply as a house. Derrida emphasizes that it was in Heidegger's writing that the themes of the house and the proper was brought together. The division between interiority and exteriority follows a general opposition between an inner world of presence and an outer world of representation. Derrida points out

- also the closeness of the world proper with the words property, propriety, one's own. Wigley p. 73, p. 92, p. 102.
- 31 Derrida 1982; Wigley 1997, pp. 101–102.
- 32 Derrida 1982, pp. 29–68, p. 48.
- 33 Wigley 1997, p. 107.
- 34 See for instance Derrida 1986.
- 35 Wigley 1997, p. 107.
- 36 see Rykwert 1972.
- 37 Rykwert emphasizes the double-faced nature of his topic, because on the one hand we cannot know anything about the first house, and on the other hand he is still searching for information and facts from real sources and archives about 'the first hut'. See Rykwert 1972.
- 38 Rykwert 1972, pp. 13–17; pp. 46–48.
- 39 Young 1997, p. 134.
- 40 Wigley 1997, p. 136.
- 41 Young 1997, p. 137.
- 42 hooks 1990, pp. 41–49. In her book *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics* one chapter is dedicated to home. As the name of the chapter *Homeplace: a site of resistance* indicates hooks approach the space of home through her own childhood experience of home as a place of resistance. She writes: 'We could not learn to love or respect ourselves in the culture of white supremacy, on the outside; it was there on the inside, in that "homeplace", most often created and kept by black women, that we had the opportunity to grow and develop, to nurture our spirits.' hooks 1990, p. 42.
- 43 For a more general account of Derrida's philosophy and feminism see Holland, 1997.
- 44 See Irigaray 1995, p. 105; 148; Grosz 1997, p. 121.
- 45 Irigaray is not speaking about khôra and her accounting for spatiality and feminine is made through reading of Aristoteles Physics IV. Her 'reading of Plato' concentrates on 'Diotima's Speech. Irigaray 1993.
- 46 Grosz 1997, p. 112.
- 47 Grosz 1997, p. 114.
- 48 Grosz 1997, pp. 114–115; Derrida 1995, p. 93.
- 49 Derrida 1995, p. 93.
- 50 Grosz 1997, p. 120.
- 51 Irigaray 1993, pp. 7–8.
- 52 Irigaray 1993, p. 11.
- 53 Irigaray 1993, p. 49.
- 54 Irigaray 1993, pp. 10–11.
- 55 Irigaray 1999, p. 1.
- 56 Irigaray 1999, p. 2.
- 57 Irigaray modifies here Heidegger's term ek-sistence into *ek-sistance*. Irigaray's variant stresses ek-sisting or ek-sistent sense in ek-sistence. Irigaray 1999, p. 2, see also note 4, p. 182.
- 58 Irigaray 1999, p. 67.
- 59 Irigaray 1999, p. 3.
- 60 Irigaray 1999, p. 5.
- 61 Irigaray 1999, p. 12.
- 62 Irigaray, 1999, p. 9.

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AMBIGUITIES IN THE LOCUS OF HOME

Exilic Life and the Space of Belonging

James Tuedio

There is a tension built into the very dynamic of being human upon this earth, ever in the world, yet never of it. The problem is not just that we are alienated dwellers, but that we are irreducibly both dwellers and wayfarers [...]. Home is not a place; it is a posture, willing to be at home, whose forms in this life are never final and forever.¹

There is something oddly difficult about the concept of home. As a species of 'lived space', home appears to be an inherently ambiguous phenomenon. For starters, home can reflect a context of dwelling that is dependent on walls, but it can also reflect a context of experience completely free of physical determinations, as when we speak of home in reference to a state of mind. On another level, home space can reflect a place of one's own, or a place of shared belonging. As a place of one's own, it can provide a retreat from estrangement, or a base-camp for life-affirming adventures. Home can be the place we have to leave if we are ever to find ourselves.² Or it might reflect an ideal we yearn for but never seem to realize. Home space can be a safe and secure comfort zone, or a place of abuse and disruption. Home can be lodged in our subjective life as a place of memories; it can emanate from the place '...where the heart is'. Or perhaps it radiates from a place where the warm hearth of belonging welcomes us. For some people, home is a fortress or sanctuary whose protection requires constant vigilance. For others, home is a place where the human soul is drawn, or where we feel emotional links to a greater community. In some cases, home is a

place of unconditional love where we are accepted for who we are; in less desirable cases, home is the place where the expectations of others expose our most disturbing vulnerabilities or dependencies.

Despite the common assumption that home space represents a comfort zone for living a safe and secure existence, home is often a place of ongoing contestation. It is also commonly a place where we learn to dance a fine line between domestication and innovation. While home can be a place of emotional attunement, it is often a place of anxiety. Home is often comprised of relations of power that sustain a context for interpersonal dynamics that are both within and beyond our control. Even so, our home space can offer us a private domain for preparation, withdrawal or resistance; it can also offer a shared field of experience held together by strategic alliances. Home can offer us a context for struggling with disruptions in our identity formation. It can also provide a context for opening ourselves to heterogeneous forces. Home can provide a place to escape from tensions or conflicts in our life, or it can serve as a place to visit when we need to 'find' ourselves, or reclaim a sense of being 'at one' with ourselves. And of course there are now homesites we can log onto, as well as a veritable avalanche of public spaces of home where we can feel free to drop in unannounced and disappear into the anonymous flow of the modern labyrinth.

Yet despite all of these ambiguities, every sense of home would seem to manifest in some way a 'lived space' that gathers us within a field of experience. What is the nature of this gathering force of home, and what sense can we make of the field of experience into which we are gathered by our relation to home? What is missing from a life that longs for home?

The longing for home is a dominant motif, not only with respect to the increasing numbers of displaced people in the world, but just as frequently in the lives of people who would appear on the surface to experience the greatest privileges of home. The menace of the unhomey strikes at all walks of life, unleashing nostalgic hunger, anger, violence, depression, withdrawal, social and political tensions, nationalistic fever, exilic immigration, refugee camps, and gated communities. The menace of the unhomey has even spawned a host of critical attacks on the seductive dangers of our dominant social ideals of home, on the premise that these ideals simply ensnare the masses within webs of servitude

and exploitive forms of self-sacrifice. For all the challenges it presents, the drive to secure a safe and happy home remains one of the dominant and defining focal points of contemporary human existence.

SECURITY AND THE LOCUS OF DISPLACEMENT

The sense of moving on as expressing life's transitoriness, of settled life as a point of departure rather than a locus of stability, the feeling of inexhaustible space, creates a new nomadic conception of home [...] deterritorialization.³

What else is home, if not a safe and secure place to seek shelter from the storms of life? How spontaneously we factor these calming contours into our image of home, as if they were essential, irreducible components of any home-experience! But what are the consequences of making security and comfort integral elements of our concept of home-life? What is the meaning of our longing to be at home in the world, or to be at home in our subjective experiences, when our overarching sense of home is framed in the image of safety and security? Why are these intuitions about safety and security so engrained in our concepts of home?

Safety and security are vested components, central to the latent or projected meaning of our most commonly taken for granted concepts of home. But if we were to question the implicit meaning in these concepts of home, we might be tempted to inquire into the value of our belief in safety and security. This, in turn, might reveal broader questions concerning the nurturing value, the preservational value, the recuperative value, and the transformational value of home. We might wonder why people invest in (or why people long for) the safety and security we so easily identify with home. We might begin to ponder what it means to make these investments, or what it means to want to preserve the safety and security of home. Have we not all yearned for the safe harbour of home in reflective or nostalgic moments of our lives?

But how healthy is it to think about home in this way? How healthy is this sense of home when so many people live in a world increasingly defined through myriad 'decentering expropriations' of human subjects as replaceable labour? What is this concept of home to people who are

reduced to instrumental roles or otherwise sucked through the cracks of exile, homelessness, or despair in the wake of a groundbreaking rupture or broken promise? From a place they can hardly fathom, what are they to make of this sudden awakening to the slippage of home, all the more so if in this awakening they find themselves suspended over an abyss of hallowed ground?

The traditional model of home as a domain of safe, secure, and private existence is challenged by tensions inherent in the makeup of our contemporary world. Can we reconfigure the structural dynamics of home space in the aftermath of this interruption in the ideal of secure intimacy? What does it mean to conceptualize home space as a site of ongoing tensions, contradictions and ambivalent values?

The challenge is to acknowledge displacement as a constant element of the human dynamic, and to see how the fate of exilic existence touches us all in some way. But this recognition attacks the efficacy of the idealization of home as a personal, privileged domain over which one is entitled to exercise rights of inclusion and exclusion. If we factor in the increasingly exilic dimension of contemporary human life, how might this transform our sense of home as a space of belonging?

The longing for home as a secure refuge from the stresses and anxieties of contemporary life is a dominant motif of human existence in societies throughout the world. But more than ever before, the meaning of home is an enigma fraught with contradiction. We seem forever torn between a desire to live in a safe, settled place and a longing for engagements beyond the safe and settled space of our life. Our hunger for security and reconciliation inclines us to draw sharp boundaries between inside and outside, forming walls of inclusion and exclusion. But in tension with this, we sense a tacit awareness of the limiting constraints of the safe and settled mode of life and seek to expand our sense of home beyond these boundaries. In the process, home becomes an ambiguous domain, something we can have, lose and long for all in the same breath of life. The increasing variety of home spaces we see emerging in contemporary life illustrates the creative lengths human beings will travel to produce a context in which to feel at home in the midst of their terminal exile from the longstanding seductive ideal of a safe and settled domicile.

THE GATHERING FORCE OF HOME

The real secret of the ruby slippers is not that 'there's no place like home,' but rather that there is no longer any such place as home; except, of course, for the home we make, or the homes that are made for us, in Oz: which is anywhere, and everywhere, except the place from which we began.⁴

The concept of home is comprehensible only against the backdrop and constant vigilance of the unhomey in our lives. The never-ending risk of disruption and displacement threatens even the cosiest of home spaces. No matter how successfully we hold our decentring anxieties at bay, there is no way to erase them completely from our lives. As a result, we cannot take home space for granted. When we are fortunate enough to have a sense of being at home, we must work to preserve and protect our home against the erosions, corrosions, erasures, and transformative energies arising from the ever-changing circumstances of our life. Thus, while home space offers protective insulation against the disruptions of the unhomey, it cannot secure the boundaries of home against the constant menace of displacement.

Even so, home space provides relief from our face to face encounter with the unhomey. As such, home is a crucial artifice in human life. It should come as no surprise that we long for home when we confront the absence of its protective insulation from the unhomey reminders of our contingent existence and become attuned to the ease with which a human life can lose its contextual (and centring) frame of reference. The ultimate value of home resides in the gathering force around which our life becomes centred and grounded within a place of existence that offers insulation against uncanny assaults on our vulnerabilities.

How we make a home will depend on choices we make concerning contingencies and vulnerabilities in our life, and on the needs and desires of those we choose to include or exclude from our home space. The more home is organized around relations with others, the more the continuity of the home space will depend on the efficacy of those relations. In effect, the gathering force of home becomes a contextual frame of reference in support of the various interpersonal relations upon which it is dependent. To the extent that home provides contextual

support for the various relationships upon which it depends for its continuity, the process of homemaking would seem to require a constant vigilance to the qualitative dynamics of the interpersonal relations upon which the preservation of home space depends.

Of course, those that we are in relation with do not by virtue of this association share our home space unless the home we make (or contribute to sustaining) gathers them into our centring frame of reference. It is certainly possible (and probably not so uncommon) for people in these relations to make separate homes of a common space, and so to live in different places (and separate homes) under one and the same roof. At the extreme, it is possible for certain people in the relation upon which my home space depends to be rendered homeless within the home, that is, captive to my home without the corresponding privilege of being at home themselves. In this case, the dominant partner establishes some form of domination over another person (e.g. by initiating terror, dependence, or practical consideration), the result being to elicit exploitive contributions to a home space from which the relational partner is effectively excluded. Here, the private silent space of home can rear its ugly head to disenfranchise relational partners, all too often without initiating an overt, explicit dynamic of oppression. In these situations, the home space of the disenfranchised partner is transformed from a space of belonging to a space of isolation.

We have grown comfortable conceiving home in the insular image of the hearth. But perhaps the focal point of this cosy image of home lies in the flickering flames of the fire. Why not think of home as a cradle of change and transformation? When the hearth of our soul flickers with an emerging or pervasive sense of uneasiness in life, is it possible this sense of unease is our hunger for a new conceptual terrain of home? Is there a healthier signification of home for those who experience dis-ease in their life?

RUPTURES IN HOMES AND IDENTITIES

Human beings do not perceive things whole; we are not gods but wounded creatures, cracked lenses, capable only of fractured perceptions. Partial beings, in all the senses of that phrase. Meaning is a shaky

edifice we build out of scraps, dogmas, childhood injuries, newspaper articles, chance remarks, old films, small victories, people hated, people loved; perhaps it is because our sense of what is the case is constructed from such inadequate materials that we defend it so fiercely, even to the death.⁵

Concepts of home grow out of different contours of our life. The material of home constitutes an investment in our identity. Our identity in turn ‘territorializes’ this investment.⁶ In the classic instance we aim to translate our sense of home from heart to hearth. If feelings of warmth and security set the context for building a home in the space between determinacy and innovation, the ultimate challenge may be to feel at home in change while making a home of our fate. Our efforts to give style and texture to the circumstances of our life reveal exciting prospects for adventure, growth, and self-fulfilment; they also reveal the facticity of living with constraints and necessities. We strive to negotiate this facticity in ways that will preserve our health and well-being.

If we think of home as a place of safety, security, comfort and belonging, the loss of these factors (or perceived threats to them) will reflect a disruption of home and a rupture of trust that strikes like an earthquake to unsettle the taken-for-granted security of our inner sanctum. Disruptions of this sort ‘deterritorialize’ our concept of home and problematize the orientation we have taken for granted. This in turn reveals a new (uncanny) sense of home based on rejection, disruption, and the breakdown of expectations.

Once our orienting sense of home is ruptured, how does this affect our capacity to construct a new sense of home? If we lose our capacity to trust, how does this influence our reconstruction of home? If we live in a space of fear or hatred, how does this play out as a longing for home? If home has always been the place we retreat to get away from troubling relations or the place we go to insulate ourselves from vulnerability, if home has been the place to limit outside influences and regain a sense of control in our life, how can serious displacement not stretch our concept of home in conflicting directions?

With the displacement of house and hearth as a site of safety and security, is it any wonder our concepts of home scatter to the inner sanctum of our hearts and minds? While we long for the secure, stable,

and trusting environment of home, we cannot avoid the challenges posed by growth and change. In the course of negotiating these challenges, we can begin to see what it means to operate with unrealizable ideals of home, or what it means to hold people to expectations that conflict with the essential interplay between immanence and transcendence.

As I drive by billboards advertising tracts of huge new homes for sale in a fast-growing town in the agricultural belt of California, I sometimes think of Maya Angelou's short autobiographical snapshot of three pivotal houses in her life: two classy California houses that broke her marriage to a man she loved, and an old house she relocated to in rural North Carolina which 'reeked of home' the moment she saw it, from 'an aroma of gingersnap cookies and fresh bread' that 'reached out to the landing, put its arms around me and walked me through the front door'.⁷

One of the California houses had swallowed up her prized possessions so completely that it left her in a vacuous space to face the real problems in her marriage. The cosy art-deco house she and her loving husband escaped to fell apart or frustrated her intentions so consistently it left her with the distinct feeling that 'the house hated us'. But the house she escaped to in North Carolina was different. It gathered her into its homely space and helped her reclaim a 'settled' relationship to herself so decisively she was given to exclaim 'this is no longer my house, it is my home'. Angelou continued:

And because it is my home, I have not only found myself healed of the pain of a broken love affair, but discovered that when something I have written does not turn out as I had hoped, I am not hurt so badly. I find that my physical ailments, which are part of growing older, do not depress me so deeply. I find that I am quicker to laugh and much quicker to forgive. I am much happier at receiving small gifts and more delighted to be a donor of large gifts. And all of that because I am settled in my home.⁸

Clearly the house alone does not make the home. In this sense, the billboards promise too much. But the people who design these billboards know what they are doing. It is enticing to think we can buy a new house and move into a home, but only because we long to be where we

have not yet arrived, namely, in the settled space of home. Maya Angelou made it home, but not because she was looking to buy her way into a home. That approach had already failed her twice, when she was most expecting it to succeed. No, she made it home quite unexpectedly, suddenly finding herself gathered into the inviting, settled space and disposition of a homely life.

If home is our retreat from fragmentation, it will seem to us a place we can depend on for grounding. If we think of it as a place to recover from the stressful pace of life, it will become for us a place where we reassert our power in the wake of revelations of uncanny powerlessness ingested from other walks of life.⁹ It will become a place where we rehabilitate our deflated confidence or diminished personal esteem. And if we think of home as a place to preserve connections between our past and present, is it not also the place where we must continually *reconstruct* these connections? Through the creativity we invest in preserving material or spiritual markers of our identity and sense of belonging,¹⁰ our concept of home draws together the warp and weave of a tapestry of immanence and transcendence. Caught in a chiasmic relation of immanence and transcendence, we are assimilated to a dynamic interplay of familiarity and difference, as if we were weaving together threads of nostalgic security and transformative growth.¹¹

MATERIALIZING IDENTITY

Homemaking consists in preserving the things and their meaning as anchor to shifting personal and group identity. But the narratives of the history of what brought us here are not fixed, and part of the creative and moral task of preservation is to reconstruct the connections of the past to the present in light of new events, relationships, and political understandings.¹²

The appeal of customary, routine, traditional aspects of home and romanticized images of home seem to fuel a pervasive cultural authentication based on nostalgic concepts of domestic identity. These material or spiritual constructions of home speak of a familiar, self-evident atmosphere of trust and belonging.¹³ But even as cultural authentication promotes our assimilation to a social or cultural form

of immanence, it also provides a basis for adventures that expose us to the risk of transformative experiences. A chiasmic experience of immanence and transcendence provides an opening to reconsider our relation to home in light of new relations and experiences encountered along the way. But this exposure to the reterritorialization of home is not merely a consequence of our own travels beyond the sphere of immanence. We are also exposed when others upon whom we depend embark on their own movements of transcendence. In such moments of exposure we feel the transience of identity, and this can trigger the temptation to anchor ourselves in a return to familiar ground. What is the impact of this possibility on our concept of home? 'Is it possible to retain an idea of home as supporting the individual subjectivity of the person, where the subject is understood as fluid, partial, shifting, and in relations of reciprocal support with others?'¹⁴

In posing this question, Iris Marion Young is expressing a central philosophical curiosity. In the course of attacking the claim that home-making is an oppressive constraint on our capacity to give meaning and purpose to our life, Young establishes a central hypothesis concerning the positive aspect of home-making: 'Giving meaning to individual lives through the arrangement and preservation of things is an intrinsically valuable and irreplaceable aspect of homemaking'.¹⁵

This 'process of sedimentation through which physical surroundings become home' produces a 'materialization of identity' through the practice of 'endowing things with living meaning'.¹⁶ Preservation refers here to a practice of 'renewing' our investment in the meaning of things. While functioning in support of our 'longing for a settled, safe, affirmative, and bounded identity,' creative preservation serves to inspire a dynamic cultivation of identity, which in turn contributes to promoting an affirmative, 'fluid and shifting' context for living: 'The activities of preservation give some enclosing fabric to this ever-changing subject by knitting together today and yesterday, integrating new events and relationships into the narrative of a life, the biography of a person, a family, a people.'¹⁷

This practice of remembering and integrating is, in fact, a practice of re-membering, which is not to be confused with 'nostalgic longing' as a 'flight from the ambiguities and disappointments of everyday life.' By re-membering our life through creative preservation, we affirm

personal and cultural identity in ways that reverse or stem the movement of expropriation. The creative preservation of home-making sustains an affirmation of what brought us here.

Homemaking consists in preserving the things and their meaning as anchor to shifting personal and group identity. But the narratives of the history that brought us here are not fixed, and part of the creative and moral task of preservation is to reconstruct the connection of the past to the present in light of new events, relationships, and political understandings.¹⁸

Home is the place we need in order to be creative in the dynamic cultivation of our identity. But the key conceptual move lies in our capacity to erase the expectation of sameness from our working sense of self-identity and to realign our sense of identity with notions like equilibrium and balance. These transformations trigger an affirmation of differences at sharp odds with the impetus to draw safe borders around the self.

For Young, the value of homemaking lies in the continual enactment of fields of meaning through creative acts of preservation. These practices affirm our powers of resistance, renewal, self-recovery, and self-affirmation, with home serving as the locus of adaptation. This in turn might provide an empowering context within which to situate Michel Foucault's 'practices of liberty' (assuming we can vanquish the more prevalent practices of domination typically operating in human relations).¹⁹ Young offers her affirmative reading of 'creative preservation' in spite of what she considers 'the real dangers of romanticizing home'. She recognizes the danger of falling into 'a nostalgic longing for an impossible security and comfort' we strive to achieve through the appropriation and expropriation of others.²⁰ Her analysis of preservational practices affirms a more inviting sense of home, where personal and collective identity find 'fluid and material support' in the values of homemaking associated with creative preservation. Young closes her discussion by placing an ethical emphasis on four normative values central to home. The values are: safety, home as a place where a person can feel 'physically safe and secure,' and somewhat protected from 'the dangers and hassles of collective life'; individuation, 'having some space of their own,' and being at liberty to reflect back to themselves their

particular identity ‘in a material mirror’; privacy, having some ‘controlling access’ in the home, as well as safe refuge against oppression; preservation, the most significant of the four values, with its central feature of creative affirmation.

Young is not alone in casting home as ‘the site of the construction and reconstruction of one’s self.’ But by emphasizing performative aspects of the ‘materialization of identity,’ she allows us to see a highly relevant dimension of home. The dimension where meaningful things operate as ‘material mirrors’ capable of reflecting back to us the embodiment of our ever-shifting narrative identity.²¹

CONFLICTING DESIRE: STAYING AND LEAVING HOMES

We children of the future, how could we be at home in this today? We feel disfavor for all ideals that might lead one to feel at home even in this fragile, broken time of transition; as for its ‘realities’, we do not believe they will last. The ice that still supports people today has become very thin; the wind that brings the thaw is blowing; we ourselves who are homeless constitute a force that breaks open ice and other all too thin ‘realities’.²²

Even the materialization of home cannot always secure the sense of home we aspire to in these complicated times. People with materialized identities may still find themselves yearning for a lifestyle, for company, for social nourishment, for the vitality of community, and above all for meaning, belonging, and a sense of place. As self-evident traditions of home-life become less and less accessible, we become increasingly attached to a nostalgic sense of the meaning of home. In the process, we may anchor this sense of home in an appropriation of invented traditions, most noticeably when our connection to self-evident traditions begins to wane and take with it our sense of home place.²³ This is the point where we might begin to wonder how meaning works. And how the giving (and taking) of meaning works, especially in the context of the intertwining of past and present, as in the materialization of home or the appropriation of an invented tradition. What do we learn

when the meaning-making process breaks down, when it ceases to appropriate or reanimate the meanings in which we have anchored our sense of home? Once we see how creative articulations of meaning contribute to the preservation of home as a centring environment, we can perhaps see what it means to experience a breakdown or deflection of this power of creative preservation.

Another interesting aspect of homemaking lies in the tenuous friction between our desire to have a place, a home, or a ground, and our desire to go beyond these structures, to leave our home, to be free for travel, adventure, and the experience of wildness. This friction reflects a kind of estrangement within the existing confines of familiarity. Sensing the trappings of immanence, we aspire to step outside and transition to a new sense of home, one that can only be framed within an awareness of strangeness, otherness, alterity, or the wild. The sojourner lives for this sense of home. Others merely vacation there. Some cannot step there at all.

In more extreme forms, we may experience a radical loss of equilibrium, or suffer significant disorientation with respect to our life situation. In such a case, we seem to ‘fall out of [our] life’ or fall out of our normal place in life. In contrast to this, we might refer, as Hans-Georg Gadamer does in his writings on health,²⁴ to the life in which a general feeling of well-being negates the question of health and carries us forward on the firm ground of a ‘hidden harmony’ or ‘protected composure’.²⁵ When we are at-home in the concealment of our good health, when we are functioning ‘in our element,’ Gadamer finds that ‘we are open to new things, ready to embark on new enterprises’ and in our forgetfulness of ourselves; we ‘scarcely notice the demands and strains which are put on us.’ ‘This is what health is,’ for Gadamer.²⁶ This is also for him the paradigmatic sense of being-at-home.²⁷ If for Gadamer home and health are a reflection of ‘internal balance and equilibrium’ and every loss of equilibrium promotes ‘the search for a new point of stability,’ nevertheless, it should come as no surprise that he would hold that ‘in the vast technical structure of our civilization, we are all patients’, all a little out of balance, that is. As Gadamer explains:

Our personal existence is clearly something which is every-where denied and yet it is also something which is always involved in the attempt to

regain that balance which we need for ourselves, for our lived environment, and for the feeling of being at home in the world.²⁸

For Gadamer, the effort to regain our balance and equilibrium ‘permanently confronts us’ with the ‘concrete task’ of having to ‘(continually sustain) our own internal balance within a larger social whole, which requires both cooperation and participation’.²⁹ It also involves for him the capacity to listen, to be open to the realization that ‘the other may not only have a right but may actually be right, may understand something better than we do’.³⁰

This resonates with the thought of Henry David Thoreau. Thoreau’s ‘postmodern sensibility’ lies in his sense of the importance of exposure to wildness, as a way to maximize opportunities for disorientation. Thoreau’s message is a call to vigilance, to ‘live deliberately’ in relation to the situations we have created for ourselves, and to question the point of our societal structures, especially those that sustain social and intellectual conformities. Thoreau’s writing urges us to seek out the unfamiliar in all we take for granted, to embrace the ‘setting of surprise’ as a site of wonder. But even here we encounter a search for balance in the tension between home and wild, between comfort and estrangement. The impetus to question conformity is clearly a call to self-fashioning, one that seeks after new ways of relating to ourselves, to others, and to our surroundings. Thoreau sees the necessity for refinements in our attunement to the ever-shifting fields of human experience.³¹ But he values as well a healthy tension between the call of the wild and the cautions of deliberation, attunement, and domestication. Once again we see evidence of an ongoing dialectic/dialogue between immanence and transcendence (staying within and passing beyond). Here, following Iris Marion Young, we might say we face the limits of our ‘nostalgic longing for an impossible security and comfort’ and must wrestle continuously with the complexities inherent in our ideal of home. For a while we might be tempted by the fantasy of a ‘settled, safe, affirmative, and bounded identity’, we are always creatively engaged in the dynamic cultivation of our identity. If we idealize home as the grounding support for ‘a bounded and secure identity,’ sooner or later we recognize it can only provide support for ‘personal and collective identity in a more fluid and material sense’.³² We need a sense of home that sustains

equilibrium and balance, not sameness, if only because the creative demands of dynamic cultivation require us to ground our identity in things, people and places whose meanings change through time. We need a space of belonging in the midst of becoming.

HOME AS A FIELD OF EXPERIENCE

Many of the questions of 'what you mean by home' depend upon specification of locus and extent, in what might be likened to a set of Emersonian conceptual concentric circles [...]. The feeling that one's home is itself really the center of a series of radiating circles of hominess becomes most apparent when we consider how one returns to a slightly different sense of 'home' from the one which one ventures forth from.³³

Our most prevalent senses of home are often tied to specific locations. The locus of home is commonly identified with a specific living space over which we exercise or claim the right to exercise significant degrees of control. But in the context of social identity and radical displacements of large populations there is a competing tendency to trace the locus of home to a specific region of social-political identity, most often a nation or geographical concentration of ethnic heritage. In each case, the emphasis is on access to a space with which we identify, ideally a space within which we feel a sense of belonging, relating us to a place where our existence enjoys a significant degree of acknowledgement and refuge. To be at home in this sense is to belong to a field of inter-relatedness. Living in this field, we experience and acknowledge bonds of commitment, obligation and affection. The interconnections sustaining these bonds reflect our investment in a complex relational economy of concerns and attunements that lodge us within the intimate horizon of involvements we experience as the locus of our sense of home.³⁴

Of course, there is plenty of relatedness and connectivity to a human life that does not find itself at home in the world. We can be plenty invested in a complex relational economy of concerns, and just as easily captured within bonds of commitments, obligations and affections, without experiencing the privilege of being lodged within an intimate horizon of homely involvements. So what is there about the connectivity

and relatedness inherent in this field of experience we associate with home space that makes these elements central to the special place of intimate involvements we identify with our sense of home? Establishing how connectivity and relatedness are central to our sense of home will provide a basis for expanding the range of contexts and places increasingly associated with the space of home. This in turn may help us comprehend the prevalence of homelessness in the lives of so many people who live in a room or space of their own with a roof over their heads.

In rethinking the concept of home to cover a broader range of human experiences, we should take care to separate physical space from home space. The space of home is a life world space, not a geometrical space. As a field of intimate involvements, home gives context and orientation to our unfolding life by establishing and sustaining an openness that invites, gathers and assimilates us to relational elements upon which so much of the meaningful character of our life depends. When this gathering orientation is lacking in our life, we are struck with a sense of homelessness, perhaps also a longing for home, and where the gathering orientation eludes us, we seek to escape from our sense of disorientation by fleeing into a preoccupation with other matters in our life. What is this 'field of experience' we can rightfully call home?

PLACEMENT AND DISPLACEMENT

'Being home' refers to a place where one lives within familiar, safe, protected boundaries; 'not being home' is a matter of realizing that home was an illusion of coherence and safety based on the exclusion of specific histories of oppression and resistance, the repression of differences even within oneself.³⁵

The philosophical problematic of home opens onto a field of discovery. In our exposure to discovery, we risk displacement from the seductive constructions of home reflected in our longing for 'spaces of safety and withdrawal'.³⁶ We gravitate from a sense of home as a conceptual/spiritual space of unity/integrity (offering up comforting horizons of safety and security), and the collateral sense of a well-ordered/wel-

coming/dependable space of family unity held in orbit by the warm attraction of the cosy hearth, over to a sense of home as a space of internal divisions, strategic alliances, re-negotiated boundaries, and ongoing struggles of identity formation. But what is the meaning of this decentering negotiation of home as a locus of discovery? What is the meaning of this shift of emphasis from security to openness? What is this sense of home as a place of shifting amplitudes and transfigurations of goals, aspirations, expectations, commitments, resistances, and overcomings? Is there no remainder to the centring location of home? Or can we still lay claim to a residual sense of home as the locus of 'withdrawal, resistance, and preparation' for the battles and challenges of everyday life?³⁷ In recognizing the ongoing dynamic of placement and displacement, what happens to our sense of home as a place to reclaim our identity, integrity and dignity? Can we salvage a hybrid sense of home that would reflect the ongoing tensions between building up and tearing down? Such a hybrid would displace our familiar concept of home (as a conceptual-spiritual space of integrity lodged safely behind boundary walls) and locate home at the nexus of identity/difference dynamics. The effort to re-signify home along postmodern lines follows swiftly on the heels of efforts to lodge identity-formation in the facticity of contestation.

For Bonnie Honig, human subjectivities develop and evolve in relation to a dynamic interplay of personal, family, social, cultural, and trans-cultural 'boundaries and categories'. Subjectivities form and evolve as makeshift coalitions born out of intra-subjective as well as inter-subjective negotiations, alliances, and contestations, and often straddling the boundaries of inner and outer. These boundaries and categories aim 'to define and contain' our subjectivity. But the active/passive dynamic implicated in the ongoing production of our subjective constitution, working in combination with social factors of interaction, cuts through any privilege we might afford a subject-centred mode of analysis. Honig draws attention to some of these factors in her analysis of the 'orchestrating' function of 'political and moral projects of ordering subjects, institutions, and values':

Human beings are constituted as subjects not just by their own groups but *also against* them, as well as by and against multiple and often in-

commensurable groups, and by and against meta-narratives of rationality, gender, citizenship, and sexuality that are larger than any single community or nation-state. The subjects formed by and against all these processes are constituted by multiple and often incommensurable identities and differences.³⁸

Honig's analysis of decentred subjectivity reveals people 'riven by plural, incommensurable identities and differences' who must 'continually renegotiate their boundaries and affiliations with the nations, communities, groups, networks, discourses, and ideologies that partly constitute them and enable their agency'.³⁹ Human subjectivity is an open system of loose-fitting alliances comprising values and commitments embroiled in tribal contestation. My subjectivity is not 'already formed' by the time I engage in commensurabilities. Instead, these 'inescapable conflicts' and 'ineradicable resistances' continue to 'cross-cut the formation of subjectivity itself, forming and shaping "differences" that trouble and resist identity from within.' Honig draws a striking implication for concepts of home. If we accept that resistance, adjustment and negotiation are basic elements of subjective constitution, we should 'give up on the dream of a place called home' if by home we mean

[...] a place free of power, conflict, and struggle, a place – an identity, a private realm, a form of life, a group vision – unmarked or unriven by difference and untouched by the power brought to bear upon it by the identities that strive to ground themselves in its place.⁴⁰

The conceptual geography of home takes on a new complexity when we factor in Honig's notion of 'dilemmatic spaces'. Honig analyses the commonly understood notion of dilemmas, calling them 'situations in which two values, obligations, or commitments conflict and there is no right thing to do'.⁴¹ She finds a direct correlation with the common tendency in social/political/ethical theory to think of dilemmas as 'the spectral bearers of fragmentation from which unitary subjects must be protected.' Taken together, these two notions implicate the traditional concept of home as a space of safety and withdrawal. But daily life is 'mired in dilemmatic choices and negotiations,' and such choices and negotiations are not discrete events, but spaces 'which both constitute us and form the terrain of our existence'.⁴² Subjective constitution

unfolds ‘on conflictual axes of identity/difference’ within a space ‘where difference looms as incoherence and engenders unending and never quite mastered struggles of resistance, adjustment, and negotiation’.⁴³ These spaces cut across our home-life with varying intensity and gravity arising as ‘eventful eruptions of a turbulence that is always already there,’ and reflecting ‘the periodic crystallizations of incoherencies and conflicts’ that are always operating, most often implicitly, ‘in social orders and their subjects.’ By conceiving dilemmas as spaces of ungovernable ‘undecidability’, Honig challenges the common notion that whenever possible, one should ‘withdraw from dilemmas for the sake of their integrity’. Her notion of a pervasive ‘dilemmatic space’ recognizes the resistance factor at work in all dilemmas (‘resistance to ordinary rule-governance’), which enable dilemmas

to serve as a site from which to interrogate and perhaps even to transcend the very decidable ordinary rules and cultural constructions that support and stabilize conventional gender differences [and role-expectations], value pluralism, agentic integrity [including the ‘safe spaces of predictability and order’ this affords a moral subject], and the construction of ‘homes’ as spaces of safety and withdrawal from the tumult of politics.⁴⁴

But what does it mean to ‘transcend the construction of homes’ that promise us calm respite from the ‘tragic’ challenges of ongoing negotiation, conflict, struggle, and ‘radical undecidability’ inherent in all moral experience? What remains of our concept of home if we transcend the concept of home as ‘only occasionally interrupted by the exceptional, tragic incursion of undecidability’ and adopt the concept of home as a living site of tragic undecidability?⁴⁵ Can we re-signify home on the axis of identity/difference? Once we recast home in ‘coalitional’ terms as ‘a differentiated site of necessary, nurturing, but also strategic, conflicted, and temporary alliances,’ how can we ever hope to ground our concept of home?⁴⁶

Honig’s re-signified home becomes a ‘differentiated site of coalitional partnerships’ born out of mutual dependencies, ruled by ‘temporary alliances,’ and producing ‘a set of relations marked simultaneously by rage, struggle, mutuality, and debt.’ Here, in the lap of embracing estrangement, *‘life itself is at stake’*.⁴⁷

If Honig is on the right track, we cannot eliminate difference or conflict from identity. We often presume we can, and we bank on this when we configure our sense of home by analogy to the womb. But, as Honig points out, 'the traditional figuration of the womb as a site free of difference, conflict, and struggle' is every bit as fanciful as 'the perfect, homeful bliss with which the mother-child dyad is conventionally viewed'.⁴⁸ She reminds us of how the biological relation of mother and foetus is 'a series of genetic conflicts, a set of struggles over the resources needed for survival.' Clearly the womb is a coalitional space; still quite literally a home in which mutual dependencies and internal differences 'cross-cut and inhabit each other, cooperating with and waging war against each other in a perpetual motion of mutuality, engagement, and struggle'.⁴⁹

The danger of holding to the traditional dream of home as a 'well-ordered and welcoming place' turns on our will to preserve integrity by means of a centring move, or detachment/withdrawal from difference/Otherness. This radical transfiguration of home becomes a danger when it 'engenders zealotry, [or] the will to bring the dream of unitariness [as] home into being,' or when it 'leads the subject to project its internal differences onto external Others and then to rage against them for standing in the way of its dream'.⁵⁰ And just like that, the emphasis on grounding our sense of home confronts the challenge of resisting assimilation to concepts of home that relies on 'positing spaces of freedom which [...] inevitably mask someone else's servitude'.⁵¹ The danger arises when we tie our sense of home to a 'space of identity' whose existence depends on 'the displacement, conquest, or conversion of the difference and Otherness that relentlessly intrude upon us.' Honig draws a sharp analogy to the international scope of home/identity to set a context for her collateral analysis of our 'cross-cutting intra- and inter-subjective' yearnings for home:

The social dimensions of the self's formation as a subject-citizen require and generate an openness to its continual re-negotiation of its boundaries and affiliations in relation to a variety of (often incommensurable) groups, networks, discourses and ideologies both within its 'home' state and abroad.⁵²

An ethic of home that remains vigilantly ‘responsive to the ineliminability of conflict, incommensurability and difference from the human condition’ privileges the decentred moment of subjectivity as a source of vital new energies and freedoms, despite the subtle and tragic proportions requiring renegotiation of our coalitional partnerships. This view engages and challenges traditional seductions of home⁵³ by conceiving home sites as a tangle of distinct and variable relations of power and points of resistance,⁵⁴ and by recognizing the interplay of identity/difference ‘in which one is always already entangled in the forces one opposes’.⁵⁵ The political challenge is to press ‘claims of justice, fairness, fidelity, and ethicality on behalf of the kinds of differences to which social democratic regimes tend to become deaf in their eagerness to administer to represented identities that are established, stable, and familiar.’ In the process, we gain distance from two dominant social propensities with regard to conflict (namely, a tendency to withdraw from conflict and disorder from the desire to retreat into the safe, secure comforts of home, and a counter tendency to conquer conflict and disorder from an eagerness to preserve our integrity and identity).⁵⁶

RELATIONS OF POWER AND RELATIONAL BEING

To resignify home as a differentiated site of coalition and to accept the impossibility of the conventional home’s promised safety from conflict, dilemmas, and difference is not to reject home but to recover it for the sake of an alternative, future practice of politics. The recovery does, however, admit and embrace a vulnerability that may look like homelessness [...].⁵⁷

In effect, we are speaking of the two distinct relationships of power emphasized by Michel Foucault in his writings and interviews on ‘care for the self’.⁵⁸ Foucault’s position distinguishes between ‘practices of domination’ and ‘practices of liberty’ while focusing on the on-going constitution and renegotiation of ‘games of truth’ and ‘practices of power’ (the ‘strategic games [...] by which individuals try to conduct, to determine the behaviour of others’).⁵⁹ Practices of domination seek to close down the potential for reversibility, as when we make a child

‘subject to the arbitrary and useless authority of a teacher, or put a student under the power of an abusively authoritarian professor’.⁶⁰ Foucault values the strategic relationships of power that encourage us to play with ‘the minimum of domination’. Yet, he recognizes it is ‘free individuals who try to control, to determine, to delimit the liberty of others’. In a complex society like ours, where the games for determining behaviour are dynamic and numerous, we find ‘a great temptation to determine the conduct of others’. Foucault considers this central to understanding the dynamic of these games:

The more people are free in respect to each other, the greater the temptation on both sides to determine the conduct of others. The more open the game, the more attractive and fascinating it is. [...] Philosophy [he goes on to assert] is precisely the challenging of all phenomena of domination at whatever level or under whatever form they present themselves – political, economic, sexual, institutional, and so on.⁶¹

In setting out to conquer conflicts, it is tempting to re-establish order by masking displacements. To accept the challenge of negotiating and re-negotiating our boundaries and alliances, to accept struggle (and the relative freedoms entailed by this), we open ourselves to interruptions in our schemas of expectation – disruptions outstripping the scope of our schemas of familiarity. We also expose ourselves to elements of relational belonging, and perhaps become more sensitive to the subtle movements and shifting influences impacting our ever-provisional stratifications of home: the geology and climate, the erosions and sediments, the interruptions and displacements, the hospitality and exposure.⁶²

The philosophical problematic of home promises to draw us further into the uncanny and exilic dimensions of home and identity. Even so, increased attunement to the stabilizing/destabilizing interplay of inner/outer boundaries and centred/decentred subjectivities offers nourishment to the ‘promising ambivalence’ of identity/difference relations and amplifies our receptivity to intra- and inter-subjective dimensions of human contestation.⁶³ Drawing these concerns into a context of philosophical openness enhances possibilities for translating personal issues and concerns into reflections on the relational dynamics of identity/difference, home/exile, place/non-place and security/insecurity.

How we come to have a sense of place in life, to be at home with ourselves and our surroundings, and the extent to which we can sustain this against the tides of change and contestation that stretch and wash over the boundaries and categories which aim to contain us, opens up a rich domain of philosophical reflection with respect to themes and concepts of home and identity. The urgency with which we engage these reflections will reflect the restlessness, discontent or unhappiness in our life. But also, it will reflect the extent to which we are open to engaging critical engagements with the defining and constraining concepts of home and identity that give shape and focus to determinations of meaning and sense in our life. Clearly, the dominant meta-narratives of home and identity drop a serious weight on our life, and a great deal of frustration and turbulence results from ill-considered attempts to find our way home in life, or to preserve our integrity in the face of life's complexities. By directing careful attention to the boundary zones of home-identity, one can learn to bring reflection, creativity, and wonder to bear on the never-ending search for home.⁶⁴

NOTES

- 1 Kohák 1996.
- 2 I use the familiar voice ('we') rather than the informal voice ('one') throughout this discussion, recognizing that I cannot possibly speak for 'all' or 'anyone'; nor do I mean to extend my comments beyond the context of home-life saturating Euro-American socio-cultural lives, as if to include reference to all cultural and personal relations implicating a sense of home. Still, I do not intend simply to reference those who share an affinity for my analysis of home, either. The scope of my familiar voice aims to cover the full range of experiences of home harboured in Euro-American socio-cultural life. But there are interesting and very compatible discussions of 'home-life' utilizing other socio-cultural contexts to illustrate dynamics of home reflective of my discussion. See, for instance, Katherine Platt's examples of 'home' in Middle Eastern cultures, especially for Iranian women of Doshman Ziari and Palestinians displaced from their land in 1948, in 'Places of Experience and the Experience of Place' (Platt 1996). In this respect, I am referencing the 'we' of intersecting voices (cf. Young 1997).
- 3 Wyschogrod 1996, p. 188.
- 4 Rushdie 2002.
- 5 Rushdie 1991, p. 12.
- 6 The notions of territorialization, deterritorialization and reterritorialization are developed in the writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari 1987 and 1994. Compare to Iris Marion Young 1997.
- 7 Maya Angelou 1998, p. 9.

- 8 Ibid., pp. 9–10.
- 9 See bell hooks 1990.
- 10 This theme is developed with considerable insight in Young 1997.
- 11 See Merleau-Ponty 1968.
- 12 Young 1997, p. 154.
- 13 See Rybczynski 1986.
- 14 Young 1997, p. 141.
- 15 Ibid., p. 149.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 Ibid., p.153.
- 18 Ibid.
- 19 See Foucault 1984. See also bell hooks 1990. See Rich 1993, for a poetic response to this appealing concept of home as a site of self-recovery and safety.
- 20 Young 1997, p. 164.
- 21 Ibid., pp. 161–163.
- 22 Nietzsche 1974/1887, p. 338.
- 23 This point is developed insightfully by Rybczynski 1986, pp. 1–13.
For a related discussion, see John Brinckerhoff Jackson 1994, especially the chapter 'The Mobile Home on the Range' where he reflects on the slow erasure (and subsequent reterritorialization) of the 'vernacular' sense of home (e.g., of home as extending into the village common).
- 24 See Gadamer 1996.
- 25 Ibid., p. 116.
- 26 Ibid., p. 112.
- 27 Ibid., p. 78–81.
- 28 Ibid., p. 81.
- 29 Ibid., p. 81
- 30 Ibid., p. 82.
- 31 See Bennett 1994.
- 32 Cf. Young 1997, pp. 157–158, p. 164.
- 33 Hollander, John 1993, pp. 36–37.
- 34 This sense of home parallels Neil Evernden's discussion of the self as a 'field of care' in *The Natural Alien* (Evernden 1985). See Evernden 1985, pp. 74–76 and pp. 118–22. Evernden's discussion traces back to Martin Heidegger's analysis of Dasein's worldhood and fundamental homelessness in *Being and Time* (1962).
- 35 Martin and Mohanty, 1986, p. 196.
- 36 Honig 1994, p. 570.
- 37 Ibid., pp. 583–589. Cf. bell hooks 1990.
- 38 Honig 1994, p. 565.
- 39 Ibid., p. 566.
- 40 Ibid., p. 567.
- 41 Ibid., p. 568. See pp. 568–70 for Honig's discussion of 'dilemmatic spaces' and pp. 579–589 for a careful application of this discussion to her analysis of home. More tentative discussions along these lines can be found in several classic writings in the cultural/feminist/critical studies movement. See Martin and Mohanty 1986, pp. 191–212; Minnie Bruce Pratt 1984, pp. 11–63; Kaplan 1987, pp. 187–198; Reagon 1983, pp. 356–68.
- 42 Honig 1994. Compare to Douglas 1993, a broad collection of home writings. For a discussion of this theme in terms of displacement see Platt 1996, pp. 112–127.
- 43 Honig 1994, p. 569.

- 44 Ibid., p. 570.
 45 Ibid., p. 573.
 46 Ibid., p. 583.
 47 Ibid., pp. 584–585 (my emphasis).
 48 Ibid., p. 583.
 49 Ibid., p. 587.
 50 Ibid., p. 585.
 51 Ibid., p. 588. Cf. Robbins 1993, p. 10ff.
 52 Honig 1994, p. 589.
 53 Ibid., p. 570.
 54 Honig 1994, p. 579.
 55 Honig 1994, p. 579.
 56 Ibid., p. 589.
 57 Ibid., p. 586.
 58 For a concise presentation of these themes, see Foucault 1988, pp. 1–20.
 59 Foucault 1988, p. 18.
 60 Ibid., p. 18.
 61 Ibid., p. 20.
 62 For an interesting discussion of hospitality and exposure, see Haughton 1996, pp. 204–216.
 63 The concept of ‘promising ambivalence’ is derived from a short discussion with Judith Butler 1996, pp. 45–52.
 64 In framing this discussion of home, I am deeply indebted to Irene Klaver for drawing out the complexities of the theme and opening my eyes to so many different levels of the problematic. An earlier treatment of these issues appeared in Tuedio 2002, framed with respect to issues of method and practice in philosophical counselling.

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IV

MOVING BOUNDARIES
OF HOME

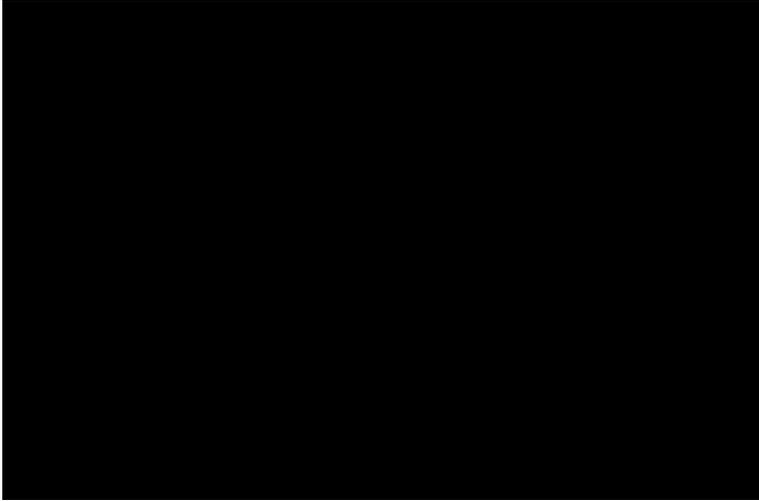
@ HOME? STUDENTS' VISIONS OF HOME AS FUTURE TRENDS IN HOME-MAKING

Irene Cieraad

In the late 1960s and early 1970s a generation of academic students in Western Europe and the United States of America rebelled against the petit bourgeois lifestyle of their parents. Dutch students, in particular, rebelled against the institution of marriage, an obligatory nine-to-five job; and most of all, against the dullness and anonymity of the high-rise apartment blocks in the post-war urban lay-outs. The trendsetters of this generation, motivated by a desire for not only a more challenging but also a more natural environment, left town and took residence in remote farmers' villages. Although the rustic dreams were cherished by most of the students, only a small percentage put their dreams into practice.

Over the decades a more modest ideal of rusticity and a less alternative lifestyle were put into practice by the mainstream of this generation. Most of them even married at a younger age than their parents did, and settled down in semi-detached houses in new estates bordering rural villages. Their move to the countryside was motivated by a desire to raise their children in safe and natural surroundings with lots of possibilities to play. Even now, in their late fifties this generation still fancies the idea of living in the countryside in a traditional farmhouse. Most of them have realized these rustic dreams at a cheaper rate in France, because Dutch traditional farmhouses have become high-priced prestigious estates.

As the children of the 1960s and 1970s generations are more or less the student generation of the turn of the century, it is interesting to ask



Most traditional Dutch farmhouses have been turned into luxurious dwellings for commuters who have their work in the city. The restoration of the farm's traditional exterior mirrors the rustic dreams of its inhabitants. These so-called "woonboerderijen" (residential farms) are now high-priced rural estates (Dutch real estate site).

how they reflect on their parental homes. What are their home ideals for the future? Have they left their parental home as soon as possible like their parents' generation did, and with as many conflicts? In order to answer these questions, I will first describe the backgrounds for the home ideals of the 1960s and 1970s generations. These are the home ideals that the contemporary student generation was confronted with in their childhood. Then I will describe how contemporary student generations reflect on their parental homes and how parental ideals may have affected the students' visions on their own future home and family arrangements.

The source for this study was provided by graduate students of the faculty of Architecture in Delft University, who attended my seminars on the home and domestic rituals in the years between 1998 and 2002.¹ At the beginning of the seminar students were asked to introduce themselves by telling about their present housing, the housing situation in their childhood, and their housing preferences for the future. The

parallels between the students' housing preferences for the future and the housing situation in their childhood were striking. Like their parents in the past, these students were univocal in their plan to move to the countryside or to a suburban estate for the sake of their future kids.

The documentation of the students' own parental homes was one of the assignments in the seminar. It provided a wealth of information on Dutch domestic life.² Not only did it contain maps and photographs of the residential location, floor plans, demographic information on household composition and on the parents' level of education, but it also described the daily domestic rituals and everyday family life in detail. Only a very small minority of the students was raised in an urban setting, most students had spent their childhood predominantly in rural or suburban areas.³ In addition to the documenting of the parental home, the students provided information on their own household preferences for the future.

Despite the amount of detailed demographic and sociological information on their parental households, the data was lacking in psychological information on bonding with or dissenting from the parents. In a later stage I retrieved additional information on this topic by designing a questionnaire concentrated on the issue of how graduate students reflect on their parental homes in comparison to their own lodgings. Also, the importance of a personal computer or a laptop was investigated in relation to creating a home of one's own, and in sustaining family relationships.⁴ The responses have put to test the predictions of a generation made of cosmopolitan nomads whose sense of home is not rooted any more. In generously providing information by answering questionnaires my students gave some clues to future trends in home making.

A COTTAGE, A GARDEN AND A CAT

In the late 1960s and early 1970s not only French, but also Dutch students revolted against the conservative powers of the Establishment, against the authority of their parents' generation, in particular, and the corrupt capitalist society in general. They scorned the family doctrines of the Church on the sanctity of marriage, the prohibition of premarital

intercourse and the ban on contraceptives.⁵ Conflicts on these and more mundane issues, like hair and dress code tore families apart and created the much discussed generation gap. Most parents were relieved when their adolescent sons or daughters moved out to find a place of their own in a university town. The relationship with their student sons and daughters often remained tense over all kinds of issues, especially on the parental allowances.

Students from a working-class background, however, were envied by their fellow students for their financial independence. They were endowed with generous state allowances and scholarships to stimulate their career chances.⁶ Although working-class parents had fewer conflicts with their student sons and daughters, these generations grew apart because parents had no way of relating to the student life of their children. In the 1970s only students from a middle-class background had part-time jobs to supplement meagre parental allowances, or to set themselves free from any parental interference in their financial affairs.

The easy-going life style of the student generation of the 1970s without substantial financial or academic constraints and time limits resulted in an image of the eternal student who after more than ten years of studying finally graduated, or dropped out without a degree. Even those who graduated could continue the relaxed life style due to the high unemployment rate in the academia in the late 1970s, and thanks to the state's generous unemployment benefits.⁷ The situation is completely reversed for the students of the 2000s who are pressed to finish their studies in four years time. They also need a part-time job to finance a more luxurious lifestyle of fancy clothes, parties, and trips abroad. As a consequence they are not as passionately involved in societal, political, and environmental issues as the student generation of the 1970s.

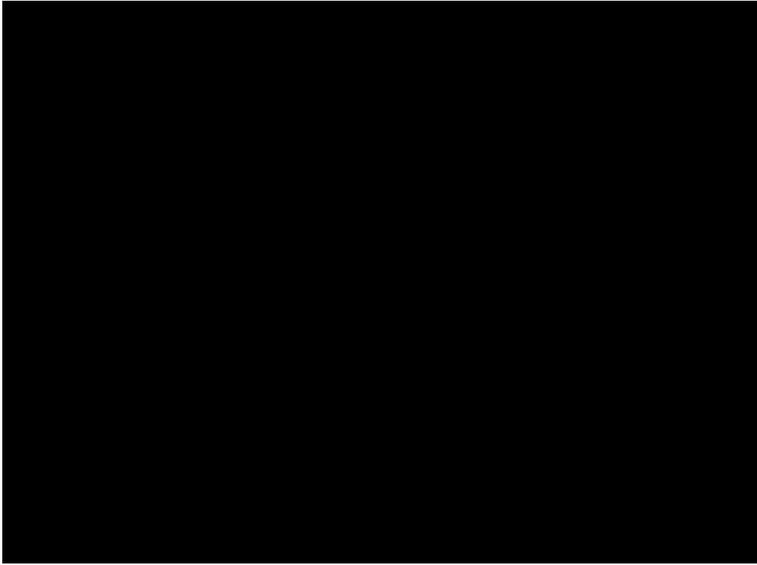
The Dutch student generation of the 1970s protested not only against university management and the raising of college fees, but also against global issues, like the war in Vietnam, environmental pollution, and industrial Imperialism. Their environmental protests were triggered and motivated by the alarming report *The Limits to Growth: a Report for the Club of Rome on the Predicament of Mankind*, published in 1972 and subsequently translated into most European languages.⁸ The Report predicted the end of the world's fossil and food resources due to an

unprecedented population growth and the global expansion of industrial activities.

As a response to this doomsday scenario not only a cultural avant-garde, but also students searched for the simple life in rural villages, glorifying a lifestyle in harmony with nature.⁹ Only the deeply dedicated ones managed to rent or squatter deserted farmhouses and dilapidated workers cottages, and left their rather comfortable urban accommodations behind for more primitive conditions in the countryside.¹⁰ While investing time and energy into baking, making goat cheese, growing vegetables and spinning the woollen yarn for sweaters, these students tended to forsake their studies.¹¹ While idolizing pre-industrial subsistence farming and fiercely criticizing capitalism and modernism, they did not question their need for a car. Instead this generation naturalized certain cars, like the popular Citroën car, which was named ‘ugly duckling’ or a Renault-4, which was portrayed as the real French farmer’s car. At that time, driving a car did not seem to conflict with ideas of environmentalism.

There were more ideological inconsistencies in the conceptions of this generation. For example, it was common within student circles to look down upon their contemporaries with a conventional lifestyle. Especially couples, who married after an engagement period and abstinence from pre-marital sex, then settling down in a modern apartment, were criticized. The traditional so-called petit bourgeois lifestyle was criticized in the wording *huisje-boompje-beestje*, which can be loosely translated as ‘a cottage, a garden and a cat’.¹² This description, however, suited best their own alternative lifestyle and habitat. This generation considered marriage to be a prostration to the legal institutions of capitalism and patriarchy, so instead they practised an alternative called co-habiting.

The rapid rise of the number of children born out of wedlock caused an unprecedented moral panic within the Dutch society. In the eyes of most religious parents their sons and daughters lived in sin and procured illicit grandchildren who brought shame on the family. All kinds of measures were taken to press couples into marriage. For example, in the mid-1970s male students could evade compulsory military service if they married within one year after their graduation.¹³ Also a complicated and expensive legal procedure was introduced to get the



A special traffic sign at the entrance of the woonerven, dwelling yards, warned drivers to look out for playing children (<http://home.hetnet.nl>).

fatherhood of children born out of wedlock accepted by law. This cumbersome procedure forced many couples and parents-to-be into the legal and cheap bonds of matrimony. Wedding ceremonies, for that matter, were ridiculed and turned into playful and often chaotic happenings. Although the housing policy dictated that only married couples could be listed for social housing, it was one of the first measures to be changed in favour of unmarried couples.¹⁴

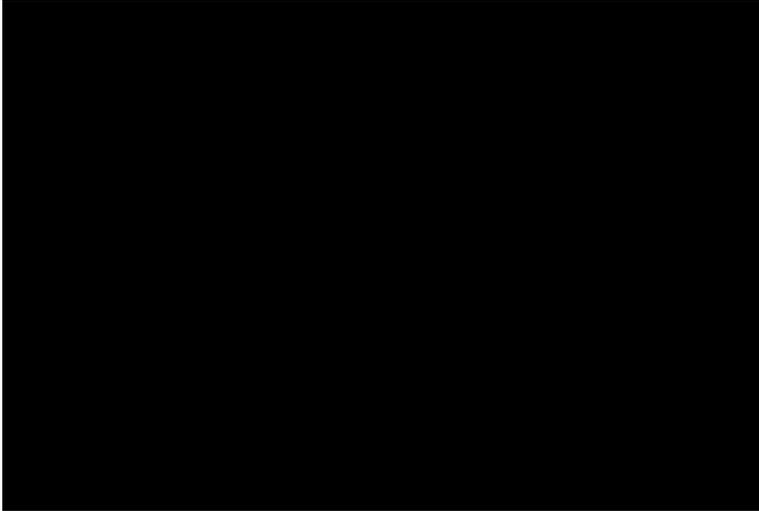
Since the late 1960s newly built housing estates with two-storey family houses on the outskirts of rural villages offered ample opportunities for young couples with small children to enjoy their down-sized ideal of country living. Special planning arrangements, called 'dwelling yards' (*woonerven*), in reference to the traditional farm yards, contributed to the rustic illusions of these estates.¹⁵ Semi-detached or terraced family houses were arranged in squares and overlooked green courtyards. The courtyards were in fact large communal playgrounds for children, where they could run and play freely. Cars were banned from the courtyards

for the children's safety. Rather than a rural idyll, the estates represented the parents' view of a children's paradise with primary schools within walking distance. A safe and morally sound environment not only for little children, but also for youngsters justified parental sacrifices, such as the isolation of young mothers and the fathers' burden of commuting.

Commuting was a crucial part of the lives of young fathers as they were the only bread winners in these families.¹⁶ Men left the estates during the day while women and children were the daytime residents. Cars became life lines connecting the rural idyll to the urban realities of work and shopping. Without a second car women were isolated on these estates. 'Green widows', as these women were called, were statistically defined as full-time housewives.¹⁷ However, these women did not identify at all with the traditional image of a full-time housewife, who is solely concentrated on cleanliness. Home-economics courses to train professional housewives-to-be were ridiculed for their slavishness and for providing unnecessary skills. Instead of the house-hold, motherhood was the sole vocation of these women. Caring for the children they had chosen to deliver was these women's occupation during the day. Housework and domestic cleanliness were considered to be of minor importance.

For a long time the labour participation of married Dutch women was among the lowest in Europe.¹⁸ In the late 1960s a Dutch feminist wrote an influential essay on the female discontent of being trapped within the household and subjected to frustrated ambitions.¹⁹ It signalled the revival of feminism, the so-called 'second wave' in the history of women's liberation in the Netherlands. As a result the labour participation of married women was booming, but so were divorce rates.²⁰ Especially the couples who had married young were among the first to separate again.²¹

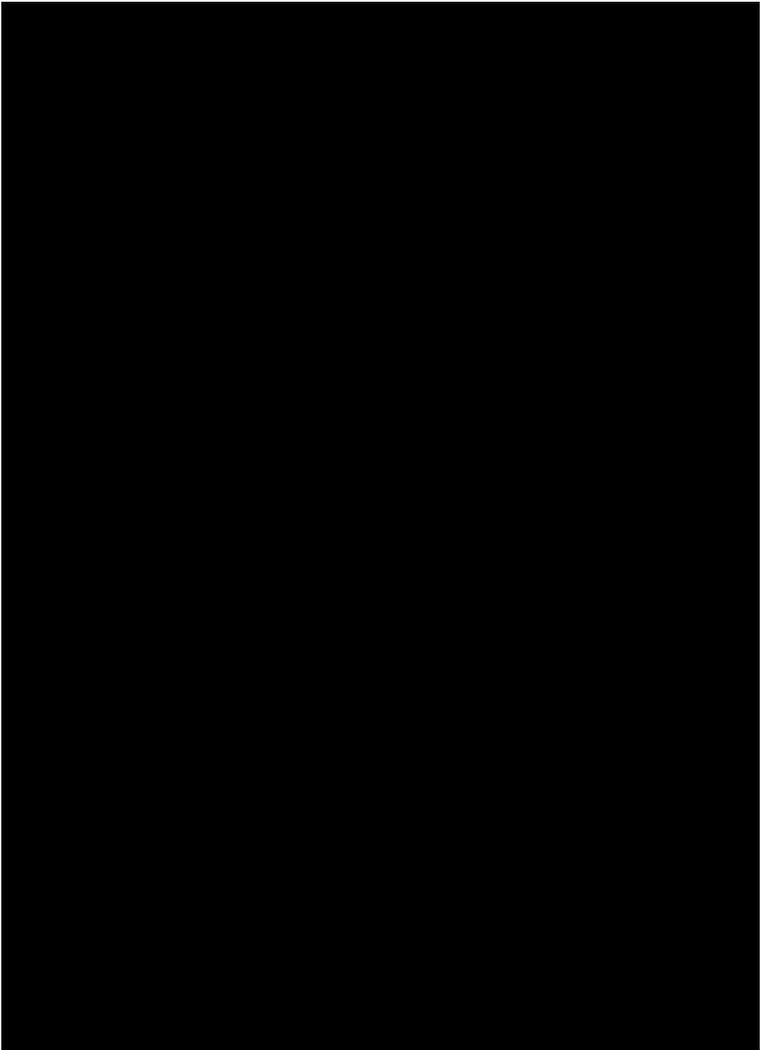
By the end of the 1970s most of the high-spirited ideals of the rebellious generation were brought back to down-to-earth practicalities. Although the Establishment had been under siege, it had survived. Matrimony now crowned stable relationships that had been tested. From that time on weddings were initiated and organized by the couples themselves and not by their parents, like they used to be in the past. Wedding celebrations turned into popular parties that were not to be missed. In due course the rural fantasies of living like traditional



Since the late-1960s newly built housing estates with two-storey family houses on the outskirts of rural villages offered ample opportunity for young couples with small children to enjoy their down-sized ideal of country-life. This example is the housing project of the architect Jan Verhoeven on the outskirts of the village of Hoevelaken built between 1968 and 1971 (courtesy of the NAI – Dutch Institute of Architecture, Rotterdam).

subsistence farmers lost most of their patina and turned into a harsh reality when little children had to be accommodated. The discomforts of old farmhouses and cottages compelled young parents either to leave and move to a modern family house, or to engage in a long and costly renovation. Within ten years time most of the facades of the old and once dilapidated farmhouses, mills, and cottages were restored into their traditional styles.²² The interiors, however, were entirely renovated and turned into modern, spacious, and comfortable quarters.

At the turn of the twenty-first century the transformation of the Dutch countryside was completed. Most of the traditional Dutch farmhouses with integrated stables have been converted into luxurious dwellings, so-called ‘residential farms’ (*woonboerderijen*). The residential farms are inhabited by urbanites who work in nearby cities. Real farming is now concentrated in modern facilities with an adjacent separate house for the farmer’s family. These modern farms look more like high-tech



Semi-detached or terraced family houses arranged in squares overlooked green courtyards, the so-called woonerven. These courtyards were in fact large communal playgrounds. The housing project of Jan Verhoeven in Hoevelaken, around 1973 (courtesy of the NAI – Dutch Institute of Architecture, Rotterdam).

factories in contrast to the over-restored traditional looks of the former farms, which today only the affluent commuter can afford to buy. Although the conversion of the Dutch countryside had everything to do with the industrialization of farming, it is seldom remembered that the rustic ideal of living in the countryside was created and propelled by a generation of urban students in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

BONDING OR DISSENTING

When the situation of the students in the late 1960s and the 1970s is compared to the situation of contemporary students, there are minor and major changes to account for. Unlike in the 1970s, contemporary parents of freshmen encourage their sons or daughters to set up an independent household. This is motivated by the parents' own crucial experiences of becoming psychologically and socially independent from home. The search for a suitable rental room with kitchen facilities often starts months before high school graduation. Most Dutch students therefore have individual lodgings, which means at the least a private room with shared kitchen and bathroom, or at best an apartment of their own. Room sharing, common among students in the USA, is out of the question in the Netherlands because the experience of being on your own is greatly valued. Even lovers cherish separate lodgings for most of their studies. Unlike the English college students, Dutch students are never compelled to leave their student accommodations during holidays.²³ More recently, however, and mainly due to a rising shortage in student housing and one-room apartments, students have to leave the special student accommodations one year after graduation.

So when at the age of eighteen, Dutch undergraduate students leave home to reside on their own in the place where they study, parents realize that their children leave for good and will only stay during weekends or holidays.²⁴ Although students remain financially dependent on their parents during most of their studies, their moving out is considered a prime rite of passage marking adulthood.²⁵ However, as a result of the present shortage on rental rooms, a growing number of students still reside at their parental home. There they often have more spacious and luxurious accommodation than a cramped rental room in

the town of their university might offer; and more importantly, living is rent free.²⁶

The main reason for students in the 1960s and the 1970s to search for a place of their own, even in the same city as their parental home sprang from conflicts derived from authoritarian parenthood. There was also a lack of privacy due to the cramped housing situation of most Dutch families at the time. Contemporary students, however, relate to their parents in a much more relaxed and egalitarian way than their parents did. There has been a revolution in family relations that has been typified as a transition from command to negotiation.²⁷ Nowadays parents even accept that their adolescent sons and daughters have a sex life in the parental home and will guarantee some privacy when friends stay over.

Tolerance and mutually respectful relationships between parents and their adolescent children have revolutionized the desire of Dutch students for a place of their own.²⁸ Instead of moving out, there is a tendency to stay at their parents' place during studies. Not only because of the additional space, but also because students recognize the luxuries of 'mum's hotel' considering their tight studying schedules.²⁹ With this in mind a number of my students, predominantly males, commuted over long distances between home and Delft. It was an arrangement unheard of in the 1960s and the 1970s, although traditionally adolescent men in general have been more home-bound than women.³⁰

The prerogative of free public transport is not only one of the few luxuries of today's student life, but it has also been introduced to promote commuting and as such to reduce pressure on the housing market in Dutch university towns. However, free public transport for students also legitimized severe cuts in students' state allowances. As a result students have become more financially dependant on their parents and on private loans. Ironically, today's parents are now complaining about their home-based adolescent children who do not feel any urge to leave home because they like to be served and pampered.³¹

The attachment of the student generation of the 2000s to their parental homes made me wonder whether or not students also verbally express a deeper involvement, irrespective of being home-based or living on their own.

In student conversation since the 1960s and 1970s both student lodgings and parental homes had been likewise addressed as home,



The warm relations between today's students and their parents is illustrated by the family photographs on the wall of this student room (Photograph Irene Cieraad, 2007).

with some minor variations like 'at my parents' as opposed to 'at my place', or a locative reference to the home town as opposed to the university residence. More recently, however, students refer to the parental home as a home-home (*thuis-thuis*). It is as if the doubling of home expresses a more emotional connection to the parental home. Although Kenyon describes the warm feeling most English students have for their parental home, she interprets the similar home-home of English students only in functional terms to distinguish between their lodgings and the parental home.³²

To determine in more detail the kind of affiliations students have to their parental home, the issue of aesthetic affiliation was addressed: the students were asked whether or not the interior decoration of their lodgings had been influenced by their parents' decor. For example, the rebellious students of the 1970s, at least in rhetoric, denounced the bourgeois interiors of their parents. From this perspective students of architecture being more style-conscious than students in general, seem

more likely candidates to disapprove of their parents' style of interior decoration. If, however, even students of architecture acknowledge an aesthetic affiliation with their parental home, it may indicate more like-minded thinking between this student generation and their parents.

A large majority (22) of the students participating in answering my questions (n=35) denied any parental influence on their aesthetics. In this denial they underlined their psychological independence from their parents. To counter this, seven students were less certain and admitted some influence, while another six of them, all women, fully acknowledged that the decor of their own lodgings was influenced by their parents' aesthetics. The women tuning their taste to their parents' may be evidence of a mutual affair. For fear of becoming old-fashioned, parents, and mothers in particular, have become more susceptible to the opinion of their adolescent children on the decor of the parental home. Also, when discussing the photographic documentation on their parental home, a vast majority of students demonstrated respectfulness towards the style of their parents. Only in a few instances male students apologized for the lack of stylishness of the parental decor, blaming it on their mother's bad taste.

In order to know whether students also rejected the atmosphere in their parental home and not only their aesthetics, like most of the student generation in the 1960s and 1970s did, they were asked: 'do you want to re-create the same homely atmosphere in your own apartment which you were used to when living at your parents?' At first glance the responses seemed consistent with the responses to the previous question on aesthetic affiliation, but there were also inconsistencies. Most students (18) fiercely denied any allusion that they might want to re-create the familiar homely atmosphere in their own apartment, while at the same time some of them readily had acknowledged their parents' aesthetic influence.

To my surprise, not only among students who acknowledged their parents' aesthetic influence (6), but also among those who wanted to re-create the homely atmosphere (8), far more students from divorced or single-parent families were represented. Although Lynne Manzo quite rightly criticizes researchers for a bias towards positive emotions and feelings attached to the home, I for my part wrongly assumed more negative feelings for homes among students with a single-parent or

divorce family background.³³ The bonding between children and lone parents seemed even stronger.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE HOMES

In a seminal article on the home experiences of English college students Liz Kenyon discerned three related concepts of home: a past, a present and a future home.³⁴ The parental home is described as the student's past home in opposition to the student's lodgings, which is described as the present home. However, according to most English students their present homes, rooms in the college quarters, lacked most of the qualities their past home was appreciated for. Student housing lacked comfort, cleanliness, security and stability. Therefore the imagined future home had to repair the shortcomings of their present home, and represent the cherished qualities of their past home. Also in Kenyon's interpretation there is an affinity between the cherished past home and the future home ideal.

Interestingly, my students clearly distinguished between a near-future home and a future home further down the line. Only in reference to the latter case did they acknowledge the connection to their past homes. How students reflected on their childhood homes became evident when asked for their own home wishes and ideals for the future. All students distinguished between a near future, as a single or a couple, and a more distant future of having a family of their own. Because students of architecture, like their teachers, are convinced that the only life worth living is a life within the vibrating cultural atmosphere of a city, they all preferred a city apartment for the near future. Yet, when discussing the far-away future of having children, they were univocal in their will to move to the countryside or to a suburban estate for the sake of the children. There were answers such as: 'I would like to raise my children in a safe and green home environment, preferably of the same type I was raised in, because I loved it.'

Surprisingly, when asked to describe their future family home in more architectural detail the students did not describe a breath-taking design of their own, but expressed their wish to occupy an old house. My comment that it seemed a strange desire considering their future

profession as designers of new houses was largely ignored. Also when asking 'how old is old' I somehow presumed they would respond in the same vein as my generation, and go for an old farmhouse. However, their perspective on the past was definitely a more recent one, for the responses referred to houses built in the 1960s and 1970s as old. Only one male student described a completely different future family home: Being a son of divorced parents he wished to raise his children in a large family house of his own design, housing not only his own nuclear family but also both his parents with their respective partners. In the architecture of his future family house he clearly wanted to repair his broken family background, without realizing that he forgot to include an apartment for his future parents-in-law.

In discussions on the documents and photographs the students had gathered of their parental homes, their positive tone was striking, especially when homes were located on suburban or rural estates. They stressed pleasant memories of a childhood spent in a green environment. The importance of green areas was emphasized also in the Finnish written recollections of suburban habitation from the 1950s to the 1970s as Kirsi Saarikangas points out elsewhere in this book. From a child's point of view it was not only a friendly, but also a challenging environment where they could play as much as they liked.³⁵ When the juvenile perspectives were confronted with the present contempt from the direction of the Dutch architects towards the suburban housing estates in general, and the 1970s design of the dwelling courts in particular, the students seemed puzzled.³⁶ The so-called densification and intensified urbanization of suburban areas are the latest trends among young architects where the future of Dutch residential architecture is concerned. They are design strategies, which all boil down to less trees, bushes, and gardens; in other words, a less green environment than these architectural students fancied as children.

The relative isolation of young mothers on the estates when taking care of small children seemed to have escaped the students' notice. Male and female students alike phrased the position of their mothers in similar wording, such as: 'when we were kids my mother stayed home and looked after us. When we went to high school she took a part-time job.' Fathers were remembered to arrive home from work before dinner was served. According to many students their father's participation in

household affairs changed notably when their mother took on a part-time job. Husbands joined their wives, and sometimes also student sons joined their mothers, in the weekly shopping sessions to the supermarket, 'to carry the heavy stuff' as they explained. Carrying heavy groceries from the boot of the car into the house was the most common form of masculine household work.

Also an increasing number of fathers participated in cooking. They fetched fresh ingredients for the evening meal on their way home from work, and engaged in food preparation, but in most cases mothers still did the actual cooking. Although only a minority of fathers engaged in regular cooking, a growing number of fathers excelled as hobby chefs on Sundays. Dish washing, although once a typical children's chore, had become a nearly exclusive parental affair. Either father filled the dish washer, or the parents did the washing up together. Students defended their laziness by stating: 'They like to do the dishes together to discuss the affairs of the day.'

The parents' devotion to their children was truly impressive, especially when working mothers were concerned. In general children, boys and girls alike, were not obliged to take their share of domestic duties, like most of their fathers and mothers did at their age. It seemed as if the part-time job most women took up when their children went to secondary school, induced feelings of guilt in women for neglecting the children in favour of a career. Not that strange a thought, considering the fact that they were the first generation of married Dutch women, who took up part-time employment without economic pressure, and were heavily criticized for doing so. Also they were among the first generation of women who from the age of eighteen had controlled their fertility by means of hormonal contraceptives.³⁷

The sense of having neglected the children they had chosen to have probably made these women more permissive and pampering towards their offspring. More permissive, it seems than their own mothers who had been the dedicated full-time housewives of the 1950s. Also the husbands' and fathers' greater share in domestic chores has been induced by feminist claims for equal sharing of household tasks. Equal sharing was a part of the deal on the domestic division of labour most couples made when starting a family. This was the impact of feminist discourse on an everyday level.

Students raised in divorced and lone parent families described an entirely different domestic situation, in particular when they resided at their mother's place.³⁸ Not only do divorced parents tend to live in an urban environment in small apartments, but they also have full-time jobs, which means that they spend long hours away from home. Children in lone parent households were obviously trained to feel more responsible in domestic affairs. Lone mothers or fathers seemed to have created tight bonds with their children claiming their solidarity in a struggle to cope. If, for example, a lone mother arrived late from work her son or daughter had cooked the family dinner. One male student who still resided at his mother's place was the complete opposite of his pampered fellow students. When he showed the pictures of a shiny domestic interior he asked for praise because he had done the cleaning, as he did most of the housework.

The eldest son of a lone mother seems to take the role of the man in the house, acting as a substitute partner for the mother, and a substitute father for the younger siblings. Although daughters of lone mothers were definitely more co-operative than daughters in two-parent households, they seemed less emotionally involved in their mother's predicament than lone parent sons. However, these observations are mere impressions after reading and discussing the students' documentation. There is no research underscoring these observations or any of the related topics under discussion. Most of the topics have been raised, documented, and discussed only by journalists.

FUTURE HOME-MAKING

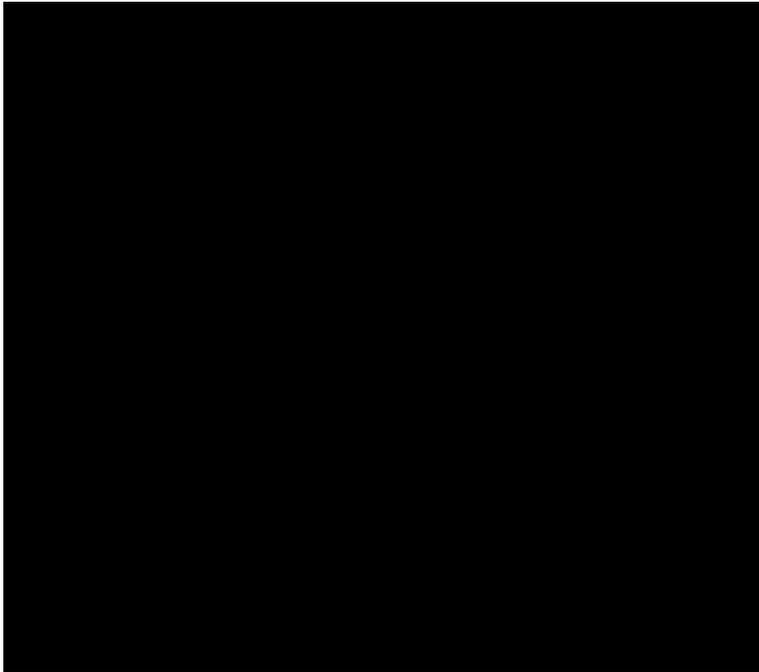
Considering the painful experiences of the contemporary student generations with challenging home situations, one wonders how they perceive their future family home. In order to find out about the students' ideas on their future family arrangements, I replicated the following questions from the questionnaire of a standard national survey. Questions such as 'do you want to have a relationship, or do you prefer to stay single?', and 'do you want a relationship with someone of the same or the opposite gender?' were asked, as were: 'do you want to live together?' or 'do you want to marry first?', and 'would a pregnancy be a

reason for you to live together or to marry?'.³⁹ Predominantly, students wanted to have a relationship with someone of the opposite gender, live together, and have children.

The few students who did not want to have children were all women. It is probable that the general opinion affected their answers, because children and a full-time career as an ambitious architect are still believed to be irreconcilable choices for a woman. Marriage was rejected by most of the students. Only for a minority a pregnancy would lead to marriage. On the whole students seemed to anticipate a future family home without any legal enforcement. Perhaps divorce struggles of their parents made them more watchful for legal consequences. From this point of view the student generation of the 2000s is a true heir to the rebellious student generation of the 1960s and the 1970s.

As was envisioned in late twentieth-century doomsday scenarios, strong family ties are transforming into a sequence of temporary meaningful relationships, which are the likely consequences of a nomadic and more individualistic lifestyle. This societal development is not only facilitated, but also reinforced by present and future technological progress in the fields of transport and communication.⁴⁰ According to these scenarios virtual relations will become more real in experience, while face-to-face contacts will become more ephemeral. I wonder if the preferences of contemporary students have shifted as predicted by the doomsday scenarios. In the next paragraphs I evaluate their answers and come to a more optimistic conclusion where family relations are concerned.

The importance of communication technologies for young adults is evident,⁴¹ as is pointed out also by Eeva Jokinen and Susanna Paasonen elsewhere in this volume. Yet, it is unclear in what way technologies will shape and alter their future social lives. For example, the rather unanimous wish among the students to settle down in a more natural, rural or suburban environment when they have a family of their own, does not suggest a preference for a more nomadic and individualistic lifestyle. Also the present family ties seem to indicate more prolonged and intense contacts between adults and their aging parents in the future. Not only communication technology, such as mobile telephones and the Internet, but also means of transportation, cars and planes, will enable more frequent communication.



Students prefer a room, or an apartment in the city centre, as exemplified by this female student who lives in the attic of a squatted house in the centre of Amsterdam. However, like their parents students aspire to a suburban setting for their future family home (Photograph Walter Willems, 1999).

When asked how important a computer or a laptop was in their present sense of home, there was an interesting opposition created by a majority (19, $n=35$) for whom the computer was a crucial device, and a minority (10), which denied its importance in their sense of home.

Six other students stated that the computer and internet 'are just handy tools, but not emotionally important'. A student stressing the importance of having direct access to the Internet from his home described his feelings in poetic words: 'it is like a bridge over troubled water: it gathers and connects'. Also to a Swedish exchange student the computer was very important and she compared it to an umbilical cord connecting her to the parental home. Not only did the Internet provide her with Swedish news and television, but through e-mail and the

Internet phone she was also connected to her family and friends back home. In other words, up-to-date communication technology caters to a desire for a nomadic existence, as it enables global citizenship and nourishes the emotional roots.

CONCLUSION

Contemporary students do not idealize the pre-industrial past of subsistence farming like the student generations in the 1960s and 1970s did. Environmental issues have been domesticated and translated in all kinds of so-called green initiatives, directed towards sustainability, ranging from green electricity to green investments. In contrast to the anti-industry and anti-technology mood of the 1970s, the ideal of contemporary students for a future family home in the green will not exclude high-tech facilities. However, Al Gore's alarming message on the disastrous effects of the global climate change in his documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006) may cause a similar shock-wave among future student generations as Dennis Meadows' book *The Limits to Growth* in the 1970s, and even re-introduce the nostalgic ideal of subsistence farming. Al Gore's message is part of a stream of information on climate change. Yet, it has had a special impact on the Dutch student population, because it refers to the Netherlands (the Low Countries) in particular, by stating that the country will be completely flooded when all of Greenland's ice melts.

Not only in a preference for a future family home in the green, but also in their preference for a family arrangement without the legal bonds of matrimony, the student generations of the 2000s have followed in the footsteps of their parents. They even planned to evade the legal bonds of matrimony more persistently than their parents' generation did, or were able to. This is probably because students themselves have experienced the ease of splitting up without further legal consequences when ending their own romantic relationships. Although they will realize that it does not ease the emotional pains of breaking up.

The preference for co-habiting without marriage does not seem to imply a longing for more temporary family relationships, considering the students' motivation to create a family home-situation when children

are to be born, and move out of town into the green for their future children's sake. It is hard to tell whether these former student generations in the end will create and foster more stable relationships than their parents. In view of the absence of a generation gap and a deeper emotional bonding between parents and their adolescent children, there is all the reason to believe they will.

The pampering of these students by their parents and especially by their mothers resulted in a longer stay in the parental home, particularly among the male students. In their way of caring, mothers unintentionally created more dependent adolescent sons and daughters. From a feminist perspective, these women betrayed the feminist cause, not only by ignoring equal sharing of household tasks between men and women, but also by omitting to educate their children in the sharing of domestic duties.⁴² From the perspective of their children, the pampering was much appreciated. Students of lone parents, irrespective of their obligatory assistance in the parental household, showed an even deeper emotional bond. They did not only acknowledge an aesthetic affiliation in their decor, but also created a similar homely atmosphere in their lodgings.

Although not envisioned by the students, their future family arrangement may make real an existing tendency towards a three-generation domestic relation, linking the household of young families to those of their aging parents, who still feel energetic. From the young family's point of view it might be an ideal arrangement not only for emotional reasons in sustaining existing bonds, but also for practical reasons of grandparents' assistance in babysitting and providing day-care, or even in cooking and cleaning. As such it will prolong the parental pampering of adult sons and daughters, who unlike their mothers will try to combine a family and a full-time career. Feminists, however, already criticized the double duty of young grandmothers: women of the 1970s generation who stayed home to look after their own children and who are again homebound to look after their grandchildren.

In the present Dutch situation where childcare facilities continue to be insufficient and expensive, the assistance of real or substitute grandparents is much needed. It is one of the few accepted solutions to legitimize a young mother's full-time job. If this situation remains the same, the three-generation household arrangement will become more common. Although the generations will favour separate housing, they

need to live in each other's vicinity to be of mutual assistance. The future location will probably be the housing estates of former rural villages or suburban estates, for at least two of the three generations fancy living in green surroundings.

NOTES

- 1 I reviewed 86 descriptions (44 women and 42 men) very thoroughly. However, an additional number of more than a hundred descriptions processed by the students in parallel groups still await scrutiny.
- 2 The project was initiated by colleagues of the former Women's Studies department.
- 3 Somehow, I presume that a rural or suburban origin is more typical of students of architecture than students in general, but there are no statistics to test my hunch.
- 4 In 2005 a total number of thirty-five students (15 women and 20 men) filled in the questionnaire.
- 5 The Roman Catholic Church was not only against contraceptives and premarital intercourse, but also against abortion. Marital intercourse had to be directed at procreation therefore contraceptives were sinful/forbidden. Traditional Catholic couples practised coitus interruptus. There was a fierce debate on this issue in the media between traditional and revolting Catholics. The majority of the members of the Dutch Reformed Church (Protestants), however, were more lenient, but a minority was as traditional as the Catholics.
- 6 By the late 1960s the Dutch government introduced a system of study allowances/scholarships especially for students from low-income families. It was a monthly allowance paid to students so they did not need to take a job to finance their studies, while students from families with an income just above the low income-level completely depended on the generosity of their parents. Most of them had to take a part-time job to finance their studies, or to be free from parental interference in their lives. Because the state allowances were very loosely connected to the student's progress, or results, it could extend over a period of ten years. Part of the allowance was a rent-free loan, which had to be paid back in small amounts after graduation and only if one was able to. So the state was more generous than most parents. However, also compared to the present system of allowances it was generous, because now most students need to have a part-time job to get by, if only to finance a more luxurious lifestyle.
- 7 The amount of unemployment benefit was higher than the monthly study allowance. However; students without study allowance who had a part-time job during their studies were not automatically entitled to an unemployment benefit after graduation, irrespective of one of the conditions for an unemployment benefit being the inability to get a job on the level of one's highest educational qualification/degree. Since the 1980s, however, the conditions for social benefits have become more and more strict. Recently, it has even become impossible to get an unemployment benefit when younger than 24.
- 8 Meadows 1972. The Dutch translation was one of the first and was published in the very same year as the original.
- 9 Since the late eighteenth-century several interpretations of nature in either a more domesticated rural version of Pastoralism, or a wild and unspoiled version, have motivated townsmen not only to visit the countryside, but also to build country houses for a more

- permanent stay; Charlton 1984. In the Netherlands rich Amsterdam merchants were among the first to build summer mansions along the river in the vicinity of town. In the late nineteenth-century, however, the business elite commissioned villas in the woods, or on the outskirts of town. Cars and railroads brought these businessmen into town. Also in the 1930s traditional shepherd communities, south-east of Amsterdam transformed into villa estates and garden villages. Until the 1960s commuting had been an upper class affair, warranting easy access to either public or private transport. When the student generation invaded the countryside they did not copy the life of upper class commuters, but aspired to live the life of a rustic in isolated rural communities dedicated to the rhythms of nature. So although Pastoralism has a long history, its interpretations and realizations differed over the decades; Montijn 2002; Cieraad 1991.
- 10 The environmental protests and concerns of the student generation of the late 1960s and the 1970s have also been crucial to the conservation of old working-class districts of Amsterdam. Thanks to their protests against the demolishing of the inner city and their initiatives to plant trees and flowers in old dilapidated neighbourhoods the urban quality of the old quarters was greatly improved; Cieraad 1991. In the 1980s large-scale restoration and renovation projects have been completed.
 - 11 Cieraad 1991.
 - 12 Cieraad 1994.
 - 13 The exemption of military service was called a 'Vredeling marriage', named after the Secretary of Defence who designed the measure. However, his generous gesture was not primarily ideologically motivated, but also motivated by practical reasons, for the post-war baby-boom generation provided more service men than necessary.
 - 14 Cieraad 1994.
 - 15 De Vletter 2004.
 - 16 The travelling distances are not very extensive in the Netherlands.
 - 17 See also Saarikangas 2002, p. 454.
 - 18 From the end of the nineteenth century until the 1960s the labour participation of married women was more or less seven per cent. Although the labour participation of married women was booming after 1960, with twenty per cent in 1975 and forty-five per cent in 1995, it implied only part-time jobs and seldom full-time jobs; Pott-Buter and Tjeldens 1998, p. 155; Pott-Buter 1993, p. 11.
 - 19 Kool-Smit 1967.
 - 20 Damsma 1993.
 - 21 Fischer 2004.
 - 22 see Fig. 1.
 - 23 Kenyon 1999.
 - 24 Cieraad 1994.
 - 25 The Dutch catholic tradition of sending their teenage sons and daughters to boarding schools for secondary education grew obsolete in the 1970s and was already by then considered cruel.
 - 26 Figures of the National Institute of Statistics (CBS) and research of the Social and Cultural Planning Institute (SCP) indicated over the decades an increase in the number of home-based adolescent children at the ages between 18 and 24, irrespective of being students or employees: 47,5 per cent in 1971 and 64 per cent in 2003. Over the decades male adolescents, however, proved to be more homebound than women; Van Bemmel 1994. In 2003 64 per cent of all female and male adolescents (not only students) were still home-based. Their choice was motivated mainly by study or school reasons, but home's pleasantness and economic reasons were also mentioned. Financial motives

- tend to be of growing importance, in the case of students this is probably due to diminishing state allowances, see Cijfers and Feiten 2004.
- 27 De Swaan 1982.
 - 28 Bakker 1997.
 - 29 Azough and Schöttelndreier 2003.
 - 30 Henselmans 2000; Peters 1992. See note 24 for the figures.
 - 31 Azough and Schöttelndreier 2003.
 - 32 Kenyon 1999.
 - 33 Manzo 2003.
 - 34 Kenyon 1999.
 - 35 The results of a 1998 national questionnaire among children at the ages of eight to twelve years confirmed the students' descriptions; the most popular activity was playing outside with friends among 55 per cent of the boys and 51 per cent of the girls; Van Gelder and Kranenberg 1998.
 - 36 De Vletter 2004.
 - 37 Because these women practised birth control, their pregnancies were timed and the children born out of these pregnancies were most welcome. Still, when women wanted to become mothers societal pressure demanded that they stop working and become fulltime mothers. For how long women had to stay at home was a serious issue in the political debate. The reason that most Catholic women students left the Church was because of the religious view on contraceptives. As such it was part of the rebellion against the authority of their parents and the church.
 - 38 Fischer 2004. There is no Dutch research on lone parents and the home, or on how children of divorced parents cope with two-home situations. Hardey has interviewed English lone mothers. Hardey 1989.
 - 39 These questions are part of a standard national (CBS) questionnaire for adolescents between the ages of 18 and 24.
 - 40 Cieraad 2000.
 - 41 Obdeijn 1994; Wolters and Polman 1999; Van den Berg 2004.
 - 42 The ideals expressed by Dutch feminists also pertained to equal sharing of child care. However, in the harsh economic climate of the 1980s equal sharing was seen as unpractical and risky. Public childcare was virtually non-existent at the time. Also it was not subsidized by employers or the government. At present there is subsidized public child care available, although the majority of working mothers still take on only a part-time job. Young fathers, however, seldom work part-time.

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IMMATERIAL HOMES, PERSONAL SPACES AND THE INTERNET AS RHETORICAL TERRAIN

Susanna Paasonen

The 1990s marked a strong domestication of the Internet as a communication and entertainment medium, especially since the launch of the first graphic Web browser Mosaic, in 1993 (followed by Netscape Navigator in 1994 and Microsoft Explorer in 1995). The medium became simultaneously privatized and commercialized as graphic web interfaces attracted commercial interests and increasingly wide groups of users particularly in North America, Europe and Southeast Asia.¹ This involved a multilayered process of familiarization: information society projects endeavoured to wire schools and public institutions and equip citizens with necessary computer skills; advertisements described the reputedly unlimited possibilities of information and communication technology; guidebooks explained the medium to both new and seasoned users; newspaper and magazine articles introduced novel innovations and envisioned technologically saturated online futures; films, novels and television shows depicted various kinds of immersion in electronic environments, and media scholars investigated the socio-cultural transformations brought forth by these emerging technologies.

Making the Internet familiar involved the use of rhetoric and adopted terminology. In addition to spatial metaphors such as information superhighway, electronic frontier, navigation, cyberspace and portal, the Internet was wrapped in the more familial terminology of home pages, wallpaper, guest books, site visitors, and virtual homes. In these instances, the familiarisation of the Internet made use of explicitly domestic frames of reference. Investigating familiarization, domestic vocabulary, and

iconography used in framing the Internet, as well as the kinds of transformations that have taken place in them since the early 1990s, this chapter addresses the rhetorical production of the Internet as a medium.

FRAMING THE INTERNET

According to rhetoric widely circulated in journalism, research, and corporate advertising, the Internet subverts notions of time and distance through the near-instantaneous communication and information retrieval that it enables. All in all, uses of the Internet have been framed in terms of a vocabulary of mobility and travel. In the mid-1990s Internet usage was called both surfing and navigation. The language emphasized leisure, adventure, and fun; users *go* online and *visit* different sites.² North American writers in particular evoked analogies between Internet users and the first settlers of the Western Frontier by naming the Internet the Electronic Frontier. Geocities, one of the largest and best-known home page hosts of the 1990s, made explicit use of the frontier rhetoric by referring to its users as homesteaders and by categorizing their home pages as belonging to different neighbourhoods (forming communities of sorts). On Geocities icons of single-family houses with a patch of green lawn in the backyard and smoke billowing from the chimney symbolized individual home pages, or homesteads. The term homestead derives from the 1862 U.S. Homestead Act, according to which settlers were entitled to a free piece of land. Author Howard Rheingold adopted the term in order to describe online communications in his 1993 book *Virtual Community: Homesteading on the Electronic Frontier*. In particular in the United States, this idea circulated enthusiastically: in its variation of the electronic frontier theme, the 1994 Geocities declaration entitled all Internet users to a homestead on the new frontier.

The Clinton administration, again, dubbed the Internet the information superhighway in an analogy to the creation of the national road network in the United States. Like highways, the Internet would bind the continent – and ultimately the entire globe – in one network.³ Guidebooks, advertisements and online services took up analogies to existing media, modes of transportation and historical events as a practical means to making the Internet familiar. Occasionally these analogies were also

highly literal. In her 1998 guidebook *Cybergrrl*, targeted at a young female readership, Aliza Sherman described the Internet through a multilayered network of spatial analogies and metaphors:

The Internet is like a lot of small towns connected by roads and highways. In the towns are libraries, hospitals, government offices, stores, office buildings, and, of course, houses. [...] If the Internet is like an electronic version of towns and roads, then imagine that you can use your computer to travel on electronic roads – phone lines – and go to these same kinds of places using your computer. [...] A network on the Internet is like a network of roads connecting buildings in a town or highways connecting one town to another.⁴

In this (equally markedly North American) description, the Internet becomes an electronic superhighway and modems and private cars form an analogy. Computers stood for private houses that were mostly closed to outside visitors.⁵ Elaborate in its use of metaphors, this text is illustrative of the familiarization and popularization of the Internet: of making the medium familiar and understandable to a wider audience beyond the group of experts and computer aficionados that comprised computer network users in the 1970s and 1980s. What I would like to suggest is that the chosen metaphors were far from random or accidental. Rather, drawing on the imageries and rhetorical figures of information superhighways and domestic privacy alike, the text recycles several key themes used in introducing the Internet to private users in the 1990s.

In addition to novel electronic frontiers, homesteads and information superhighways, the popular terminology deriving from cyberpunk fiction framed the Internet as a cyberspace, an alternative realm of mobility, adventure and communication – and acquired considerable influence and longevity in the ways of conceptualising the medium.⁶ In sum, by the mid-1990s the Internet was wrapped in multilayered spatial metaphors and tropes of travel. In spite of the slow speed of modem connections and servers, and the often frustrating lags involved in clicking from one hypertext link to another and waiting for documents to download, this rhetoric produced a lucrative framing of the medium as a realm to explore and venture in.

North American guidebooks on home page building published in the 1990s make evident the balancing of different and often mutually

incompatible metaphors that describe and explain the Internet. The books ranged from figures of familial domesticity to ones envisioning cyberspace adventure. They framed the Web as ‘an ocean of information’ that users can surf and navigate in,⁷ and a subversive force eroding traditional spatiotemporal coordinates.⁸ In contrast to such uncharted realms, personal home pages stood for electronic property, family relations and private ‘rooms of one’s own’. These books envisaged the Internet as a whole as a vast and ultimately uncontrollable network of information, communication, and exploration, but personal home pages enabled a degree of privacy, authorship and control. Adopting a certain style and design and displaying them on a home page was a means to leaving one’s mark and having a personal presence online (no matter how limited this may have been).

The terminology for naming and describing the Internet has had productive power in a performative sense: it has given shape and form to the object that it describes, framing and bringing it into being as a certain kind of entity.⁹ While the Internet is a mesh of different technical solutions, protocols, machines, wires, networks, user cultures, and production practices, labels and metaphors provide it with graspable meaning and form; they frame, fix and illustrate. The material and habitual multiplicity of ‘the Internet’ translates into rhetorical figures while also producing a reductive account of the phenomena at hand. Such labels aim to give name and shape to the Internet and succeed in doing this to the extent of producing vignettes, that is to say, conceptual frameworks that again enable certain perspectives and points of view. All this was particularly evident in the 1990s when the relatively novel medium – and Web interfaces in particular – first became domesticated and familiar to potential users.

Familiarization with new media is a dual process where, on the one hand, potential users are offered frames through which to conceptualize and understand the medium and its possibilities – as was explicitly the case in Sherman’s book. On the other hand, the process is also one of domestication in which users adopt and appropriate new technologies in the practices of everyday life, acquiring new skills and making sense of the medium while doing so. Domestication is a matter of making new media familiar, of ‘taming’ it and situating it in daily routines.¹⁰ In this sense, the term domestication leaks out of conceptual framings,

introductions and labels towards human-machine interaction, practices of work and play, and personal, sensory, and material encounters with media technology. Through and within domestication, the new medium gains a certain transparency, becomes situated in the assemblage of media technologies already in use, as well as in actual domestic space. As Virve Peteri points out, computers and the Internet have been somewhat problematic as objects of domestication: computers are often difficult to place in homes whereas Internet use needs to be balanced with uses of other information and communication technologies.¹¹ The immateriality of the Internet as networked connections, stored data and transfer protocols also makes it difficult to grasp as a domestic technology. Nevertheless, or perhaps exactly for these reasons, the Internet – and the Web in particular – has been wrapped in domestic terminology that draws strongly from figures of private homes, housing and interior decoration.

WELCOME TO MY HOME PAGE

The term home page has two different referents: Firstly, it refers to the default document that the Web browser opens up when launched. In the browser interfaces of Mosaic, Netscape, Explorer, and Firefox alike, the home page has been visualized with an icon depicting a single-family house (a design practice also recycled in Geocities' homesteads and countless other interface designs). Clicking on the icon, the user can immediately return to her chosen 'home base', a URL that is often a search engine. In this sense the figure of a home refers to a point of departure to which the user also returns (goes home). As the icon of the house already suggest, this figure conflates the metaphor of home with the physical location of a single-family house. References to home were in use already before the Web, since home was 'used in many computer systems as an "anchor" for orientation in complex environments. Whenever you get lost you get home.'¹² In such acts of appropriation, the term home connotes a stable point of departure and return when navigating the Internet; the notion of return implying some permanence and continuity¹³, something also symbolized by the icon of a single-family house.

Secondly, the term home page is widely in use to refer to personal Web pages set up by individual users to display their personae and interests, as well as to sites by and for companies, institutions, and organisations.¹⁴ Home pages have drawn on already established practices and conventions of self-representation such as photo albums, diaries, pen pal letters, Christmas family newsletters, and scrapbooks, CVs, and business cards. In terms of online communications, home pages build on the .plan file used in email: with the command 'finger', anyone interested can access the .plan file from the user's home directory containing contact information and perhaps an occasional poem, quote, joke or proverb for a lighter touch. In the mid-1990s personal home pages became a default form of online self-representation. HTML courses, magazine articles, and guidebooks all advised their readers on how to set up virtual homes. It was possible to mark documents as personal through gestures of ownership: standard phrasing declared users welcome on home pages as they would be when entering a dwelling, and users were invited to contribute to guest books in reference to the conventions of actual visiting.¹⁵

The different uses of home in naming HTML documents and conceptualizing the uses of the Internet worked to detach the notion of home from materiality: home became a metaphor associated with personality, privacy, and domesticity, and linked to figures of private houses and property. While it remains important to separate between houses and homes, that is, between physical structures and the ways of experiencing and feeling about these locations; it is equally important to acknowledge the very material and sensory aspects of being and feeling at home.¹⁶

People carry the spaces they live in within them: 'being-at-home suggests that the subject and space leak into each other, *inhabit each other*'.¹⁷ If this be the case with physical spaces, web sites would seem to stand for a different notion of home that is far less sensory. In the case of online homes and immaterial dwellings, the discourse generally downplays questions concerning the material.¹⁸ This, again, has worked to support the articulation of the Internet as an immaterial and disembodied cyberspace in which users are both detached and freed from embodied everyday markers of identity. However, the fact that users' bodies have been invisible to other users in much of online commu-

nication does not mean that these bodies would have simply disappeared or lost their significance. Not being seen, after all, is not the same as not existing. Furthermore, from Web camera sites to personal home pages, social networking sites and virtually endless forms of online pornography and representations of bodies (ranging from photorealistic photographs and videos to more fantastic graphic icons and avatars) have been abundant ever since the launch of the Web. In such instances, images and photographs in particular, function as anchors of textual self-representation insisting 'on the verifiable presence of an embodied and solid individual'.¹⁹

In the 2000s, the practices of online self-representation have shifted increasingly to blogs, social networking applications (such as Facebook, IRC Galleria or MySpace), and virtual communities such as Habbo, or the currently much discussed virtual environment Second Life. While these practices have obvious differences, for example, coding HTML documents for one's site or registering to an application that provides certain possibilities for customization in the creation of a user profile without any coding involved, they are also joined together in the effort to represent the user through design, links, styling, and acts of self-depiction. The sites provide users with an online presence and the possibility to craft web interfaces to suit one's tastes and preferences. Both home pages and personal profiles in social networking sites mainly concern the possibilities of customizing and shaping online interfaces – inscribing one's personality in representations shared with others. The sites and pages describe these possibilities by referring to interior design and home decoration (as in the naming of background image files as wallpaper). On sites such as Habbo, the link between personalization and home decoration takes an even more literal direction as users craft rooms of their own, buy furniture and decorative objects for them, and visit the rooms of other users.

Domestic and homely references have been a part of making the Internet familiar as a social space enabling personal input and creation. Crafting rooms and visiting them was common practice already in the role-playing MUDs (multi user domains / dungeons) and MOOs (object-oriented MUDs) in the early 1990s. With the appearance of the Web, the number of casual and less computer-savvy users increased. Publications addressing these new users and advising them in basic HTML,

navigation, and netiquette evoked home design in order to domesticate the medium, and also to attract women users. In other words, the on-line rhetoric took up domestic references as a means to gendering both the medium and its users. In her 1996 guidebook *Net Chick* that targeted a female audience, Carla Sinclair invited readers to build home pages of their own, suggesting that a day will arrive ‘when you want a place of your own, a place you can call Home’.²⁰ According to Sinclair, like a home, a home page both enables and requires ‘designing, or interior decoration’ with wallpaper, graphics, photos, and confidential material giving the site some personal flair.²¹ The potentially ‘geeky’ act of writing HTML was rendered familiar and interesting to readers by translating it as a variation of interior decoration and design. Given both the female target audience of the book and the historical connections between women, domestic spaces, and notions of personal flair, this analogy was also an effective means to gendering home page building as female fun.

Interior decoration has for long been understood as a way of displaying class, wealth, and tradition. With the modernization and the mass production of goods, interior decoration became accessible to a wider, predominantly middle-class population as Minna Sarantola-Weiss points out elsewhere in this book. The display and composition of furniture, textiles, wallpaper, books, and *objets d’art* became a means to expressing status and sophistication, and also increasingly the personality, taste, and ‘emotional temperament’ of the inhabitants, especially in parlours and living rooms open to visitors.²² Since historically interior decoration has been considered a feminine preoccupation since the nineteenth century, homes have been interpreted as sites of self-identification, and female self-identification in particular.²³ The popular conception of the home as an expressive entity that reflects the personalities of the inhabitants remains influential to this day, as is evident in depictions of homes as expressive of one’s identity in home decoration manuals and guidebooks: homes are full of hints and cues that should be meticulously coded and interpreted as describing their inhabitant’s personality.²⁴ According to this conception homes are stages ‘upon which people project the most intimate image of their “selves” to the world’ while still following the social norms concerning appropriate decoration, furnishing, and social order.²⁵

As both extensions and expressions of personality, homes function as social interfaces that individuals are not entirely free to craft. Interior designs are patched together from IKEA catalogues, department stores, lifestyle programming, and special interest magazines. It is not so much the objects themselves, as their combination and layout that meshed together with personal memorabilia, hand-me-downs, and affective relations with one's intimate world of objects, create a sense of physical surroundings as a home.²⁶ The terminology of home pages, wallpaper, and virtual homes open for visiting, as introduced in the 1990s, drew from this cultural reservoir of identifying the self through one's surroundings, shaped by material objects, goods, and decisions about style.²⁷

DISPLAYING THE BEST SELF POSSIBLE

Material anthropology has analysed and critiqued the idea of the home as an expressive entity while conceptualizing the home as a process in which 'past and future trajectories [...] are negotiated through fantasy and action, projection and interiorization'.²⁸ As Daniel Miller points out, the understanding of interior decoration as individual self-expression cuts off the more complex ties between autobiographical narratives, objects, styles, contingent identities, and identifications. Importantly, such an individualized interpretation frames out analyses of social aspirations and relations, ways in which homes function as projections of possible, ideal or future selves, as sites and expressions of the people we would like to be, or that we would like others to perceive us as being.²⁹ In this sense homes are not mirrors of one's personality inasmuch as stages and crafted displays that are conditioned by personal histories and various social norms. According to Miller, 'the home becomes not an expression of the other people's "gaze", but rather an interiorized and more controlled replacement of those absent others. It becomes in and of itself the effective "other" against which one judges oneself.'³⁰ The same could be said of the deployments of personal style more generally as acts of framing and packaging the self for others (as well as oneself) to acknowledge. The self constructs itself actively in decisions over style and in expressions of personality, yet these acts are neither fully voluntary nor intentionally performed.

Graphics, customised fonts, lists of links, animations, photos, and sound files are the different components of personal home page designs; the parts are downloadable ready-made from online galleries or crafted by users themselves. Home pages have tended to follow an easily recognisable structure, as introduced in HTML courses, in guidebooks, and home page templates. Browsing through home page galleries on university web sites, or other published listings generates a firm feeling of repetition. In spite of the diverse possibilities of structuring information or representing the self, personal home pages tend to be generic rather than personal. Nevertheless, the idea of home pages as expressions of personality, and page design as analogous to home decoration, is deeply ingrained in home page building practices (encompassing guidebook literature, templates, and design options offered by hosts and service providers, as well as individual design options). This balancing of individuality with stock materials points to a broader paradox at the heart of consumer culture: namely, the way in which things that appear to be unique and reflective of one's personality are also generic, typical, and off-the-shelf.

Home decoration has long depended on various kinds of model and ideal images, circulated through fairs, exhibitions, magazines, television, advertising, and various other kinds of expert forums.³¹ The presence of aesthetic guidelines and norms has been even more evident with home pages. Guidebooks and expert advice suggest that home pages should be neither too 'special' (in the sense of eccentric or experimental) nor too commonplace. One means to achieving the criteria of a 'good web design' with coordinated colour schemes, interface, and site structure has been to use either step-by-step guides provided by professional designers, or to make use of templates, style sheets and web design software. Pre-designed formats for web text and graphics became widely used in the latter part of the 1990s and marked a departure from home page building as HTML handicraft. Template users fill in a certain amount of personal information, upload images of themselves, choose items from given graphic elements, and end up with a home page after a few clicks with the mouse. The outcome is a generic home page following the guidelines of stylistic design. With design software, the project is slightly more complex.

The social networking sites of the 2000s, such as Facebook, Orkut,

Friendster, Bebo, MySpace, and the Finnish IRC Galleria are equally user-friendly in the creation of personal profiles and in managing them. Whilst users upload home pages and (mostly yet not necessarily) link to pages made by others, social networking sites include profiles of thousands or millions of users connected together as 'friends' (these connections being visible to other users), groups and various communities of interest, comprising a rich database of preferences and styles. Social networking sites build on the practices and conventions of customizing styles and marking one's personality through the combination of design elements. If, in the 1990s, the personal home page was a way of presenting one's personality to friends and strangers alike, social networking sites have largely taken over such functions. Easy to use and linked to other user profiles by default, these applications require no technical skill and are easy to restyle and, in some cases, even to redesign. Like personal home pages, MySpace enables a representation of the self in terms of name, looks, hobbies, interests, and links to friends and family with the aid of photos and visual motifs that can be chosen ready-made from galleries or uploaded from one's own computer. Registered users can design a profile using wallpaper images, photographs, written descriptions, video and audio files, animations, links to other profiles, and blog entries. The resulting profiles are often extravagantly ornate. While the profile designs of Facebook are considerably more subdued in terms of colours and shapes, they also carry traces of home page depiction in their ways of defining the self and marking one's personality with the aid of images and text.

On home pages and most social networking profiles, users put their representations of the self online basically for anyone to see. Showing more, or revealing things usually kept secret, has been a well-established practice for attracting users to a personal site already since Justin Hall launched his home page, Links.net, in 1994. As the URL suggests, this was initially a link site to assist the navigation of others and gained popularity during the pre-search engine era. It was nevertheless Hall's online diary detailing his childhood traumas, relationships, and fantasies that made him one of the first online celebrities; Web camera sites would soon follow suite. Online diaries crafted with HTML have since been largely taken over by blogs and currently Hall's online presence spans from considerably trimmed-down home page to a Twitter

microblog, as well as Linked In, MySpace and Orkut profiles, Flickr image archive and a Wikipedia insert. In other words, the functions and different areas of the home page, from photo gallery to personal information and diary, are now distributed across a range of online services and platforms that are not necessarily interlinked. This development typifies online self-representation and transformations that have taken place therein over the past fifteen years.

Personal profiles are seldom very detailed or intimate in the information they disclose. They are playful in style and less concerned about the self than 'public displays of connection' involving friends, acquaintances, hobbies or cultural products.³² Acts of showing more tend to focus on displays of one's body and oneself at leisure, rather than one's secrets, fantasies or personal traumas. Browsing through the most popular profiles on Friendster (a social network site with decreasing popularity), for example, reveals a correlation between suggestive or sexy poses and a high popularity rating: young women with long hair, some cleavage or bare midriff; young men with proudly displayed abs and biceps. Personal profiles are advertisements of the self and her or his preferences: users can rank each other and attach testimonies to the profiles in a practice of both tying the person into a social network and marking her place within it (in Orkut as well as Friendster). In spite of similarities, the basic principle of social networking sites marks a crucial departure from personal home pages. As the term social network already implies, individual profiles are networked from user to user; self-representations become dialogic, interlinked and represent a way of interaction. Users may be logged in to the applications for the better part of the day and access updates from friends on their mobile phones when offline. In this sense, social networking sites function primarily as hubs for managing social relationships.

Compared to practices of everyday self-presentation offline, displays of the self on home pages or user profiles are fairly straightforward and controllable acts of impression management.³³ Users construct their online representations selectively and in the case of personal profiles, they tend to create ideal selves in the sense suggested by Miller in his discussion of interior decoration and exhibits of personal style. The user can decide what to show, tell or discuss, what to leave out completely, and which users to include in her list of friends. Photographs

chosen by the users as their self-image are generally flattering. Varying from highly posed glamour photos to casual snapshots taken in parties or beach holidays, the style of self-description is light and breezy, while the amount of information given is limited and often only available to users included in one's friends listing.

In social networking sites the user displays her persona centrally in terms of social connections, as well as taste in music, films, TV shows, books, hobbies, fashion, and style. In this sense the outlined self is a collage of consumer preferences and lifestyle choices that can also be decoded from the chosen designs. In a practice strongly encouraged, if not dictated, by the architecture of the sites themselves, personality becomes conflated with style and consumer behaviour. As Sharif Mowlabocus notes, user profiles enable personal visibility and legibility but do so by classifying users into certain categories that are not necessarily flexible. In other words, the creation of a user profile necessitates a process of packaging the self in order to be understood by other users.³⁴ User profiles follow certain guidelines for users to define their personality – such as their sense of humour, profession, relationship status, political stance, or spiritual outlook on life – either within the given parameters or by bending them. While the user profiles enable a degree of creativity in their phrasing and design, they also typify users in ways that can be seen as a form of self-commodification. This is not to argue that representations of the self have become considerably stricter in their format with the shift from home pages to social networking sites. As argued above, personal home pages have tended to be equally formulaic and generic in their structure and styles of presentation.

IMMATERIAL HOMES

Literal acts of domestication, such as guidebooks with titles like *Home Sweet Home Page* or home pages titled as homesteads, have become rare with the increasing ubiquity of the Internet as an information and communication medium. Explicit domestication is less necessary once the medium has become a common feature of everyday practices, physical spaces and media landscapes. Nevertheless, fragments (smaller and

larger) of this discourse remain on the level of terminology, and in the practices of online self-representation from Habbo rooms to Facebook home pages or the wallpaper used in MySpace profiles. As the naming of MySpace for its part suggests, the idea of online documents as personal and private sites is longstanding, as is the interlinking of online self-representation, style, personality, and interior decoration. The continuing attraction to such terminology shows how taken for granted a certain articulation of homes, privacy, personality, and style has become. At the same time, analysis of home pages and personal profiles also reveals the degree to which this articulation relies on the notion of compulsory individuality, identified by Anne Cronin as emblematic of contemporary consumer culture. According to Cronin, consumer choices invite individuals to discover and express their assumedly unique inner essence. The self becomes an endless project in which 'individuality is not an option but rather the compulsory route to selfhood'.³⁵ As choice becomes compulsory, it also becomes paradoxical. Domestic spaces, their designs, and choices of objects are one example of expressing while crafting one's individual taste. Social networking sites take the logic of compulsory individuality a step further by inviting self-representations highlighting consumer preferences and tastes, which again may function as the basis for further social contacts.

The 1990s saw an avalanche of domestic terminology attached to the Internet that tended to conflate the figures of homes and houses. At the same time, these online homes were markedly disembodied and detached from physical acts of dwelling, hence marking an effacement of the sensory and the embodied from the connotations of home. In the early talk home pages were discussed as sites where so-called "virtual" and "real" selves continue to blur³⁶, as experimental identity factories of a kind. Laptop computers, again, were defined by some as the users' 'only homes', carried from one physical location to another and used to maintain communicational ties.³⁷ Envisioning electronic selves inhabiting various kinds of electronic homes or dwellings in cyberspace, researchers depicted the Internet as a disembodied alternative spatiality where virtual identities could be crafted and performed by users.³⁸ This paradigm defined the Internet as an alternative spatiality and it remains influential in Internet research to date. While the definition may fail to correspond to the majority of everyday experiences of

Internet use, from email to database searches, it has also been supported by the recent popularity of virtual communities such as Habbo or Second Life, where users take up avatar characters and explore and contribute to graphic environments.³⁹ However, the possibility of entering virtual environments modelled after physical ones, of taking up different characters and communicating with others, as proffered by these specific services, cannot be conflated with either the experience of Internet use, or with the nature of the medium in any general sense.

The terminology of virtual homes and online dwellings has caused a fusion of homes and houses (in the uses of single-family houses as symbols of the home in browser icons); interior decoration and site design, as well as that of the self (as embodied and lived) and the tactics of online self-representation. These are by all means considerable conceptual leaps. For me, the problematic aspects of this conflation have little to do with the insistence on the affective ties created and maintained in online forums, or the sense of belonging related to them (as articulated through the terminology of homes), quite the contrary. Rather, I am concerned with how the various articulations of immaterial online homes have tended to do away with differences between the concepts of home (involving a sense of belonging), house (a physical construction) and dwelling (act of inhabiting). As I see it, they have worked to downplay the meaning of materiality both in terms of identity and dwelling. While providing easy references and analogies for making sense of online practices and exchanges in relation to cultural conventions and histories, the rhetoric of virtual homes also works to obscure the specificity of those practices. Home becomes a metaphor that further contributes to the spatial terminology defining the Internet as sites, navigation, visiting, portals and – especially in the case of Anglophone scholars – as comprising an alternative realm of communication and community discussed as a disembodied cyberspace. This causes an easy slippage between lived spaces and HTML documents, between sensory spaces and screen-based two-dimensional representations (which again have been celebrated by some as multiple virtual identities taken up and performed in online communities that call into question the primacy of one's offline identifications).⁴⁰ Discussing the Internet as a spatiality that not only takes up some meanings attached to the notion of home, but also some of its functions; and using terms such as virtual homes, living or dwelling

in relation to home pages, renders the Internet a dimension one can somehow dwell in. Perhaps *Second Life*, a virtual world where user names have online identities and paying members can hold real estate, has encapsulated the idea best.

The terminology on virtual and immaterial homes circulating since the early 1990s has not added up to one single discourse. In addition to reiterations of American mythologies of Western Frontiers and homesteaders, or interior decoration as an expression of individual style and flair, one discourse conceptualizes web sites, list servers, and blogs as belonging to studies of migrant and diasporic communities.⁴¹ The concept of home can also be detached from physical dwellings, and be discussed more symbolically as a feeling of being at home that is created by communicating with people who share one's language, experiences, and history. Separated from a specific geographical location, online nodes of communication bring people together and contribute to a sense of belonging.⁴² Such articulations of the notion of home are contingent and dialogical rather than literal. Something like this may in fact be happening with social networking sites that combine personal profiles with multiple avenues and layers of communication, and bring together diverse social networks into one platform. The home page in Facebook, for example, is not one's personal profile but a page featuring status updates from one's friends, their recent activities, upcoming birthdays, and planned events. This articulation of the idea of home is not about one's private self but resembles Ella Shohat's discussion on online communities in which 'the notion of an originary and stable home, encapsulated in phrases such as "home sweet home", "my home, my castle", and "no place like home", is [...] redefined [...] not simply as a physical location but as a relational network of dialogic interactions'.⁴³ Importantly, such formulations do not assume a disassociation between lives lived offline and online. Rather, the two are inseparably meshed, sensory, and embodied.

Physical homes, home pages and personal profiles can all be seen as stages for displaying an ideal self – if not the best self possible – to be judged and witnessed by others. Yet this aspect of display is only part of what constitutes a sense of home. The problem with the discourse on online homes resides in how it works to efface the meanings of corporeality and location, even when these homes appear as attempts

to re-figure locations and identities. The sensory appears as if amputated from the experiences of being at home, of dwelling, and even from the experiences of living. In any case, both a conceptual and experiential gap remains: as much as online social networks may function as everyday sites of belonging, communication and contact, the dwelling they enable is on the level of a metaphor only.

NOTES

- 1 Abbate 1999, pp. 195–200.
- 2 Nakamura 2000, pp. 15–26.
- 3 Silver 2000, p. 21.
- 4 Sherman 1998, p. 12.
- 5 Sherman 1998, p. 13.
- 6 For example Benedikt 1991; Barlow 1996. For a longer discussion on spatial metaphors and the Internet, see Paasonen 2008.
- 7 Binder and Helman 2000, p. 7.
- 8 Williams and Mark 1996, p. xiii.
- 9 Lakoff and Johnson 1981, p. 10, p. 41.
- 10 Berker et al. 2005; Peteri 2006; Tichi 1991, pp. 6–9; Pantzar 1996.
- 11 Peteri 2006, pp. 304–306.
- 12 Brody 1995, p. 9.
- 13 Petridou 2001, p. 88.
- 14 For a longer discussion on domestic metaphors and the popularisation of the Internet, see Paasonen 2005, pp. 65–104.
- 15 Halttunen 1989, pp. 158–169; Spigel 1992, pp. 162–163.
- 16 Hall 1997, p. 3; Petridou 2001, p. 87.
- 17 Ahmed 2000, p. 89, emphasis in the original.
- 18 See Sundén 2003 for an interesting discussion of online (textual) embodiment.
- 19 Rugg 1997, p. 2.
- 20 Sinclair 1996, p. 80.
- 21 Sinclair 1996, pp. 82–83.
- 22 Halttunen 1989, pp. 186–189; Clarke 2001, p. 42 on the working-class context in the UK.
- 23 Sparke 1995, p. 115, pp. 196–198; Coward 1984, pp. 63–71.
- 24 Halttunen 1989, pp. 188–189; Garber 2000, pp. 94–97.
- 25 Chapman et al. 1999, p. 195.
- 26 On objects and domestic space, see Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton 1981.
- 27 Cf. Clarke 2002.
- 28 Clarke 2001, p. 25.
- 29 Miller 2002, pp. 120–122. Miller's discussion can be seen as building on Ervin Goffman's well-known analysis of self-presentation and the impression management. See Goffman 1990.
- 30 Miller 2001, p. 7.
- 31 Chapman and Hockey 1999; Miller 2001, p. 7; Coward 1984, pp. 63–71.

- 32 The term 'public displays of connection' is introduced by Donath and Boyd 2005.
 33 Goffman 1990.
 34 Mowlabocus 2007, pp. 65–70.
 35 Cronin 2000, p. 279.
 36 Star 1996, p. 35.
 37 Lea and Spears 1995, p. 213.
 38 See Paasonen 2005.
 39 Second Life is the more excessive example of the two, enabling the purchase of land, setting up businesses, etc.
 40 This argument has been famously posed by Sherry Turkle (1997). For a critical discussion on the notion of online identity, see Paasonen 2005, pp. 104–119.
 41 Naficy 1999.
 42 See Petridou 2001.
 43 Shohat 1999, pp. 223–224.

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HOME, WORK AND AFFECTS IN THE FOURTH SHIFT

Eeva Jokinen

In her famous essay 'A Cyborg Manifesto' Donna Haraway wrote about the three major stages of capitalism, which are related to specific forms of families.¹ The stages are: commercial or early industrial stage, monopoly phase, and multinational capitalist stage. Ideologically the stages are tied to nationalism, Imperialism, multi-nationalism, and further, they are related to three dominant aesthetic periods: Realism, Modernism, and Postmodernism. The corresponding forms of family are: firstly, the patriarchal nuclear family, structured by the dichotomy between public and private, accompanied by the white bourgeois ideology of separate spheres and the nineteenth-century Anglo-American bourgeois feminism; the second family form is the modern family, produced and enforced by the welfare state and institutions such as family wage, with flourishing heterosexual, a-feminist ideologies; the third form is the family of the 'homework economy'.² As the phrase hints, multinational capitalism re-arranges homes, labour, and economies. Homework economy has an oxymoronic structure of women-headed households. At the same time there is an 'explosion of feminisms'. A 'paradoxical intensification and erosion of gender itself' is taking place.³

Haraway maintains that these stages form a context for the development of new technologies and the global 'structural unemployment', which in some other contexts is also referred to as the global re-division of labour. The gendered nature of the social change is significant: Haraway anticipated that the feminization of work will intensify and

the number of female workers will increase. This will happen when robotics and related technologies cause men's unemployment in the developed (i.e. old industrialized) countries and complicate the creation of new jobs for men in the developing countries; and when the automated office becomes a rule rather than an exception. Sexuality, reproduction, family, and community life are interwoven with this economic structure in myriad ways.⁴

Italian sociologist Paolo Virno examines this same transformation through the changes in the public-private dyad, which had been 'forged through tears and blood during a thousand theoretical and practical disputes' before becoming 'something indisputable'.⁵ In Virno's view the coupling of the terms public/private, as well as the coupling of the terms collective/individual, can no longer stand up on their own in today's forms of life; 'they are grasping for air, burning themselves out'. That which was rigidly subdivided blends together and it becomes difficult to say where collective experience ends and individual experience begins.⁶

To understand what is happening to the dyads that used to be indisputable, Virno critically contemplates on the ideas of people and multitude. The idea of people is, or was, related to the clear and separate spheres of private and public. For people there exists an inside and an outside: a substantial community collaborates to sedate the fears caused by the surrounding dangers. In comparison, the contemporary post-Fordist⁷ multitude shares a sense of not being at home, a feeling of fear (outside) and anguish (inside) converged. A new modification of the dialectic dread/refuge is thus engendered.⁸

The major context of the various new modifications of contemporary forms of life and engendering subjectivities is created by new technology, especially the new information and communication technologies (the ICTs). The Internet, broadband, mobile phones and all sorts of 'small personal technology'⁹ have enabled new forms of feminized labour and punched holes to both the symbolic and real borderlines between the individual and collective, private and public, domestic and civil. The personal interfaces are situated paradoxically to the border that no longer exists. The relationship between individual and global processes is extremely intimate and individuals are face-to-face with media spectacles, labour market administration and possessive employers.

In this chapter I will take a closer look at what the above mentioned social changes mean in the context of home and the activities at home. The essay focuses on changes in the shifting inside and outside of home, and more particularly, it studies the borderline between home and work with its ruptures and dissolving. I will exploit data from a previous interview study called *The Everyday Life of Adults*¹⁰ to gain a view into the experienced homework economy of multitude, especially in the context of information and communication technologies. I will also leaf through some women's magazines from the early 1970s to gain glimpses into the life before the post-Fordist era. Moreover, I shall try to illuminate the complex and even oxymoronic logics of gender in the current situation.

THE FOUR SHIFTS

With the notions inside and outside of home we can approach the question of change by outlining it in four distinct shifts.¹¹ The emergence of the first shift covers the era from the nineteenth century and the birth of the bourgeois nuclear family to the turn of the twentieth century, when this model was disseminated among the working-class families. The 'tears and blood' generated by the thousands of theoretical and practical disputes were spilled during this shift, as described by Virno. The subjection of vital opportunities characteristic of life to the reproduction of the division between women and men belongs to the same category of forced binaries.¹² The first shift crystallized and matured after the Second World War when family life was valued and even glorified due to the wartime experiences, and children were born and raised in the spirit of nationalism and patriotism. By this logic, women were expected to stay home, take care of the children and the household chores; thus fostering the future of people. Meanwhile men were building the nation in the expanding Fordist labour markets.

The second shift has two meanings. Firstly, it refers to women's entry to the labour market. Secondly and accordingly, it refers to women's unpaid work at home, where they were they maintained the feeling of home and took care of the details of everyday routines – the life inside. The need to name a second shift emerges when women as well as men

work outside of home.¹³ In Finland the period between the first and the second shift was short. Although it was propagated after the war, the family model based on family wage and the consuming housewife, the ideal of the first shift, never became popular in Finland. Women entered the labour market in the 1950s and even today Finland has one of the highest percentages of women working fulltime in Europe. However, this does not mean that the borderline between the public and the private did exist, or that the private and public spheres had not been gender divided in Finland. The process merely took different forms and routes,¹⁴ as also Minna Sarantola-Weiss and Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen discuss elsewhere in this volume.

At the beginning of the 1970s Finnish women's magazines expressed rather sharp arguments against women staying at home. Staying at home was often regarded as a withdrawal from social questions and activities. In particular, *Eeva* magazine published several articles, tips and readers' letters advising women in a rather explicit tone to spend less time knitting, doing church community work and washing windows, and more time 'reaching out towards the world and society'. A columnist in *Eeva* (2/1972) says the following:

Women cannot [...] be blamed for people having less and less time for each other. Not even if their stepping outside of home has drastically changed the situation. We can only blame the society that does not want to care about this inevitable change, and the man who is not willing to give up one inch of his habits. Women's withdrawal back home is not an answer (and it is not even possible), even if the housewife's social security benefits were developed to the maximum. No legislation can remove social problems, and the problems do emerge too easily when adults end up spending their days with small children and evenings with tired men.

We can see that the borderline between home and the outside of home was strongly emphasized by this view, at the same time as women were encouraged, to put it mildly, to 'step outside of the home'.

The third shift marks an ideological and affective reversal of home and work. This shift was first identified by sociologist Arlie Russel Hochschild.¹⁵ She interviewed a large group of employees in a North-American enterprise and noticed that particularly for many middle-class people

home had turned into a tedious place. People were supposed to do more at home than they had time for. Home activities included taking their children to hobbies, decorating the house, going jogging, spending quality time with children, baking for the day-care centre's parties and so forth. Homework was also more effective, rationalized, and divided between the adults of the family. Partners fought about tasks and made unfair deals. In comparison to homes, working life appeared attractive: there were nice working teams and lunch groups, there was a chance to be effective, creative, and to express oneself at work. While the creation of various rituals for maintaining the social atmosphere at work was common, such rituals did not exist at home anymore. We noticed a similar phenomenon in Jyväskylä, Finland among mothers of young children already at the beginning of the 1980s: mothers told of having no peace at home, because their babies would crawl after them everywhere, even to the bathroom; whereas at work women had time of their own, and they could be themselves.¹⁶

Finally, the fourth shift describes a situation in which many of the adult interviewees in *The Everyday Life of Adults*-study,¹⁷ particularly women, lived at the beginning of the twenty-first century. Women seemed to have no peace whatsoever, neither at home or at work. Some pregnant women expressed great expectations concerning their forthcoming maternity leave as a welcome exit from their hectic working lives. In comparison, women on maternity leave talked about attempts of working or studying while taking care of the children at home. In addition, people worked hard to maintain and protect the borderline between home and work, for example by trying to stick to the rules of not doing 'work-work' (as many of the interviewees put it) at home, or at least not doing it while spending family-time. This protection of the borderline between home and work took so much time and energy that it as such tells us something about the blurring of the borderline. When the famous question of reconciling work and family turns into maintaining the borderline between work and family, we see the core of the fourth shift. Home and work have no longer merely changed places, but they are dissolving into each other just like two liquids poured on the table from two separate containers. Hence, home and work no longer have indisputable insides and outsides, and they have lost their prior power as the organizing principles of everyday lives, income, and economy.

Moreover, to keep home as home one has to do a lot of work. Most of the interviewees had quite strong, typically first or second shift ideas about homes as secure, familial, safe and closed havens. The reality was of course different: precarious working conditions, low income, divorces, lack of time, and tiredness. Paradoxically, the new technologies help the multitude to keep up the ideals of family feeling and closed domesticity: digital family photos travel fast and are easy to duplicate and deliver; countless online networks are available for discussing child rearing, marital problems, decorating and renovating the house; not to mention the technical equipment that helps to build a secure wall around the home.

HOUSE KEEPING SOCIETY

In the fourth shift working hours never end and never begin. Work no longer exists just in the working life but everywhere. In contrast, housekeeping and hosting, the key characteristics and areas of expertise of housewives', become a generalized qualification of the worker. Employees must react to and take care of several tasks simultaneously, coordinate and organize, smile at customers, patients, and difficult co-workers.¹⁸ In fact, when talking about their work the interviewees used metaphors, which refer to housework: project work and tasks were a 'piece of cake' and when using new software one 'must not stir in a random fashion' but familiarize oneself with the recipes first.

In the sociology of work, the blurring of the home/work dyad has often been labelled the feminization of labour. The concept refers to several tendencies. First of all, atypical and precarious working conditions that formerly fell on women are currently becoming more common among men. Secondly, in Europe and North America the labour market is feminized by women in increasing numbers occupying what used to be considered masculine jobs. Thirdly, workers in the 2000s are able and obliged to perform and mobilize, even to enterprise their gender and sexuality in a variety of ways in order to succeed at work.¹⁹ Haraway connects the feminization of labour to the housework economy as a novel order of work. In this order work is redefined as both literally female and feminized, whether performed by men or women:

To be feminized means to be made extremely vulnerable; able to be disassembled, reassembled, exploited as a reserve labour force; seen less as workers than as servers; subjected to time arrangements on and off the paid job that make a mockery of a limited work day; leading an existence that always borders on being obscene, out of place, and reducible to sex.²⁰

In the new order, deskilling is applied to the formerly privileged worker, too. Yet, the concept of homework economy does not refer to a large-scale deskilling only. It does not deny either that new areas of high skill are emerging, even for women and men previously excluded from skilled employment. The concept rather indicates that factory, home, and market are integrated on a new scale. Haraway emphasizes that the places of women are crucial, and need to be analysed for differences among women and for meanings for the relations between men and women in various situations.²¹

In the new housekeeping society with feminized labour and labour market, the idea of the inside and the outside of home (or house, or market) crumbles and becomes at least partially irrelevant. Household economy and global economy come closer to each other and fuse to some extent. Emotional, sexual, and feminine meanings tied to home split and melt. In a similar way the meanings of growth, productivity, and masculinity tied to work and economy crumble and dissolve. Actions tied to home, factories, offices, schools and other strong institutions of the industrialized modernity lose their fixed local and temporal coordinates. These institutions are such as reproduction (home), production (factories), government and planning (office), and education (school).²² Homes are equipped with office devices and people work at home, in the midst of household chores, housekeeping and taking care of the children. Care work becomes more and more product-like and dependent on technology. Similarly, creative work is more about technology and production. Whereas work in traditional industries resembles that of housekeeping and household chores in an increasing manner, requiring logistics, organization, and coordination of the chain of production.

The fourth shift is about categories, which barely have names yet. In *The Everyday Life of Adults* -study this shows in the interviewees' use

of neologisms such as ‘work-work’ or family time, when they try to describe their experiences. Perhaps this is also why interviewees talked about reconciling work and family life even when the question seemed to be about pure enduring; or the possibility to love, take care of one’s family members, socialize with friends, or read books. ‘Reconciling work and family’ is of course an expression of the second and third shift, since it presumes separate spheres of work and family to be reconciled. To an extent the expression is still valid, because the shifts are not sequential in a chronological sense and one shift does not totally replace the previous one. Virno maintains that the current era is characterized by the synchronism of several different models of production ‘as if according to the standards of a World’s Fair’.²³ Haraway puts this flowingly: we live in a world where people are ‘made to live several non-isomorphic categories simultaneously’, all of which ‘torgue’ them.²⁴ Thus, if we consider how the shifts are made liveable by those who experience them, we can see spirals and whirls that spin people: they open and close options of action and ways of experiencing, or agencies and subjectivities.

CYBORGS AT HOME

Six out of nineteen female interviewees in *The Everyday Life of Adults* -study referred to the computer as a room or space of their own: ‘In a way, I think, my own space is when I sit at my computer, so the computer is my space. In a way it’s my area, only mine.’²⁵ Home computers, broadband and the Internet re-arrange homes and rooms and even generate new room and new common public places: ‘It’s an open channel; I get a lot out of it, in a way I’m in a funny situation right now, because most of my relations are there, in the Net’. The same device allows multitudes of users to be subjected to new forms of governance. For example, in a study about paternal leaves, some Swedish fathers reported that their employers were positive about men exploiting the opportunity to take paternity leave as long as they had access to the Internet and kept their mobile phones on.²⁶

Various pieces of equipment have been carried to homes before, too. The heterosexual Fordist family of the first shift partly became

possible because of the manufacturing, purchasing and using of various household appliances. Different gadgets designed to make housekeeping easier have since their appearance changed from luxuries to everyday necessities; vacuum cleaners, washing machines, dish washers, coffee makers, microwave ovens and extractor hoods to name a few. The purpose of household appliances was to save time and to emancipate women from the laborious house work to freedom, vacation and fun.²⁷ However, these inventions turn out to be perplexing. For example, washing machines often add to the amount of clean clothes instead of actually saving time spent on cleaning them. At the same time, standards of proper cleanliness rise and time spent on cleaning clothes does not necessarily decrease. Of course the standard-keeper is the house keeper, the housewife. This logic of higher standards is visible in early advertisements. A washing machine advert in the women's magazine *Me Naiset* from 1973 assures us:

The best qualities of and Indesit-washing machine include [...] its excellent washing and rinsing potential, because INDESIT IS OPTIONAL. This is important considering today's textile fibres and their washing. Some textiles can only be washed in a temperature of 30 degrees [...] Indesit washing machine has a window, through which you can monitor the progress of the washing program. You can easily see, whether the amount of the washing powder is suitable, too much or too little. (You do know that the required amount of the washing powder depends on the quality of the water, the amount of the laundry and dirt).²⁸

The twentieth-century communication technologies, such as telephone and television are similarly complex. Telephones were mainly used for making phone calls to other homes, offices, or hotel rooms and other physically known places. I remember from my teenage-years in the 1970s how I sat for hours in a room, speaking to girl- and boyfriends who were actually living next door. My father, like many other fathers, regarded this sort of sociability frivolous and a waste of time. My mother, for her part, used the telephone to discuss Association matters with the other active Association members. Thus, telephone both connected individuals and collected families at home. Ideologically television is very much the same as family life. Television was advertised as 'the

most important member of the family'; 'we are so happy together at home [...] television actually began a new era for us, it feels as if we have finally found our own home, we are much happier there now'.²⁹ At the same time, television made a somewhat collective and simultaneous cross-home experience possible: people watched the main evening news broadcast or the declaration of Christmas peace on Christmas Eve together in the different corners of Finland.³⁰

The sites connected with the help of television and the telephone, were clearly marked and stable. They were introduced as modernist, functional and exact devices for specific needs. In comparison the new information and communication devices are different. They connect individuals who can physically be anywhere, they connect masses. Another novel and significant characteristic of computers, mobile phones and other portable, personal devices is their multi-purpose usability. Computers can be used to type, make phone calls and watch television, pay bills, order pills and so forth. Mobile phones enable not only calling, but also listening to music, taking photos and videotaping. They can even be used as mirrors to check one's hair or make up. The modernist principle of one function for every device is definitely blurring.

The household gadgets of the fourth shift rearrange and destruct the Modernist conventional configurations of time, space, and action. Picture a mother tapping at the computer keyboard while feeding her toddler, or sitting in the playground with a cell phone headset on and talking to her friend, while looking after her children. She embodies a configuration, a new constellation of subjectivity, which is a hybrid of machine and human ability. This hybrid is not rooted to a certain place or certain time or chore, although she surely sits on the chair or a bench. Neither is it just about a mother using or taking advantage of technology. It can be argued that post-Fordist, fourth shift homes are inhabited by multi-tasking hybrids or cyborgs, as Haraway understands them in her manifesto: cybernetic organisms, hybrids of machine and organism, creatures of social reality and fiction.³¹ Interestingly, Haraway later uses an idea of the 'fourth wound' when she considers the tricky due of humans and machines.³² She refers to an essay by Jacques Derrida on the three wounds to human narcissism: the Copernican, Darwinian and Freudian. Haraway adds a fourth one, which is associated with issues of the digital and the synthetic. "The fourth wound forces us to

acknowledge that our machines are lively, too.³³ From the point of view of the possible experiences in the fourth shift this implies that to be at home or to inhabit a home means a co-existence of virtual/digital and material/embodied. It means a kind of hybrid subjectivity in contrast to dual burden or dual existence of the second shift working mothers. The hybrid existence does not call for the acts of reconciliation of work and family, but for continuous material and mental stretching between intimacy and publicity, inside and outside, working and loving.

Although my own research and examples focus on Finnish, relatively well-educated people's agencies and subjectivities, one must not assume that hybrid subjectivities and cyborg configurations would somehow imply middle-class or otherwise privileged opportunities or demands. In quite a similar way, an immigrant to Finland, for example, in trying to find herself a liveable place is nowadays dependent on fast ways of finding information, reaching employers or clients, or taking care of matters related to immigration. The Internet, broadband, and cell phone seem particularly significant when the global mobile labour force tries to make itself feel at home, or stays in contact with family members and friends abroad.³⁴ The new technology folds and unfolds traps and opportunities in complex ways, and individuals are trapped and enabled depending both on the event and their personal histories. In this sense, technology can be regarded a difference intertwined with the other differences that matter: gender, class, sexuality, ethnicity, age, and so forth. Like gender, for example, technology is lived and materializes in daily performances.³⁵ Similarly to technologies of sexuality,³⁶ information and communication technologies force individuals but also form opportunities to become subjects, to recognise oneself as a knowing, desiring and feeling agent.

Jenny Sundén³⁷ has argued that technology should not be added socio-logically to the list of differences. Instead, one should think technologically to see that technology is in manifold ways entwined with the material bodies and experiences. Sundén concludes that one should ask what the technologies of gender are and how the techno-bodies are constructed. From the angle of daily performed subjectivities, it is also important to ask how the technologies as difference are made liveable.

Beverley Skeggs maintains that the experiences, values, and action of women and workers, in other words of the basic agents of the fourth

shift, should be contemplated on through the notion of use-value. This perception breaks away from the notion of middle-class in reflexive sociology (=socio-logical): masculine exchange-agent, with accumulated abilities and capital that can be exchanged for money, wages, experiences, time, and social mobility. Instead, use-value does not accumulate and it can only be examined when it is executed or utilised. Use-values are forces which focus on cultural uses, relationships and practices. Use-values overflow, they leak over the expressed value. And it affects that indicate how use-values are experienced, expressed, and understood. What hurts, frustrates, frightens, or makes people ashamed of themselves? In particular, Skeggs calls for a closer research on everyday anger, understanding of the complexity of humour, expressions of anti-authoritarianism, exposing injustice, sheer frustration and rage.³⁸

FEELINGS AT HOME

Especially the women interviewees indicated a variety of affects regarding their life with information and communication technologies. They described feelings of quilt and joy, contentment and ambiguity. For example, a working mother who also took online courses in computing described her late evening:

In a way I go to so much trouble, because I am working, and still, when the kids have gone to bed, I usually finish my tasks and demos and whatever at the computer. [...] That in a sense it is a great feeling if you manage to complete something.

Another interviewee calls the time spent at the computer 'her heavenly peace' in contrast to her activities with two small children. Yet, in the next sentence she portrays her emotional movements in a less peaceful manner: 'Then I, with my head almost exploding, planned the course, and when it's, in principle, kind of my own time, so in practice I use it all working like crazy, to complete the tasks'. In the following I quote in some length a woman who works in a family enterprise at home, an arrangement made possible by information and communication technologies. In the interview she was asked to draw a map of the previous day by using symbols and then explaining them:

Until then I was working, we barely had time to eat, up to the moment I was working, that's why I made these sawed lines here when, there are so many of them, crossing each other, and I always try to get rid of my work by the time kids get picked up and come home, so that I would, more or less, be at least mentally present, well of course tired but, I'd be present, but it is really annoying when you can't do that, I mean it's so noisy and loud, when I was trying, trying to work, and stared at the screen, and the kids were yelling and screaming around me, and I just had to try and make it, and it was awful, the rest of the day was just plain fuss.

Yet another mother of small children depicts her late evening poignantly: 'Yes and then my husband went to bed, too, and then I sat down at the computer. Work.'

Virno talks about 'the emotional situation' in which the contemporary masses find themselves. The emotional situation does not refer to common psychological tendencies but to 'ways of being and feeling so pervasive that they end up being common to the most diverse context of experiences (work, leisure, feelings, politics etc.)'. Much like the above cited women, Virno explains that the emotional situation is always ambivalent. It can manifest itself as a form of consent and a form of conflict, of resignation and of critical unease. The emotional situation of the masses has a neutral core subject to diverse and even contradictory elaborations.³⁹

For example, sitting at the computer, as women often called their relationship with information and communication technologies, forms a neutral core subject to peacefulness, contentment and various forms of irritation and unease. Besides this peace/annoyance ambivalence, women told about other ambivalences:

Unfortunately, it has turned into a kind of obsession, like I have to check every day if there's some email for me [...] and at the same time, it sets you free for a while, free from home, when you can read your email in peace, and spend time at the computer, it has become a kind of little escape route.

A male interviewee elaborated on yet another contradiction, or maybe a set of contradictions, when he was asked whether the new information

technologies have somehow changed his social relations or family life: 'Well, I could say that I keep in touch more, but this keeping in touch does not mean any kind of face to face meetings'.

Similarly, mobile phones generate numerous affects. One of the interviewees pointed out that if she accidentally leaves home without her mobile phone, she feels 'quite weird, as if a part of you was missing'. Some of the interviewees said that they considered themselves asocial, shy or lazy, and that they have found it difficult to take care of matters on the phone or face to face. In such a case, text messages or emails open up a whole new interface. One man explained: 'I'm one of those people, for whom making phone calls is extremely painful. [...] In other words, communicating with people has become a lot easier for me, and I use them (text messages and email) a lot'.

One of the interviewees had driven a car when it was on the verge of breaking, because a mobile phone made it possible to call for help. One mother pointed out that she was 'practically forced' to purchase a mobile phone when she took her child to day care: 'Basically it's a kind of a babysitting tool. Like now they must reach me'. Another mother explained that she often had to go to work early in the morning, so she used the mobile phone to get her child on his way to school. In other words, mobile phones have added to a sense of security, but they have also changed the logics of security. When my own children were small in the 1980s, there were no mobile phones. However, the kids managed to survive and I managed to pass as a proper mother, in most occasions. Now my seminars are often attended by young women who politely ask for permission to leave their mobile phones on, because they might get a phone call from the day care centre at any minute. Being a proper mother now means being available, regardless of what one is doing, where and when.

IS THERE A PLACE CALLED INTERFACE?⁴⁰

In an advert from a 1974 issue of *Eeva* magazine, a happy consumer, a second shift woman, explains: 'We have a new house of our own. The kitchen and the nearby utility room have been planned and furnished with Ensolux-furniture. Every task now has its own place.'⁴¹

In the fourth shift nothing has its own place. Neither do the gadgets and machines have their own function. Instead, everyone carries some multi-purpose equipment with them at all times. Regarding affects, it seems that Virno's statement about new modifications of the dread-refuge is apt: home as such does not mean feelings of home or feeling secure. For example, mobile phones create a node, which connect individuals to others and possibly to the whole world, thus damaging the sense of peacefulness and privacy. The same goes for Haraway's point about the paradoxical intensification and erosion of gender in the current household economy. The personal interface has, eventually, generated a room of one's own to many women. It is their heavenly peace, a site to study and socialise or it is an escape route. Paradoxically, gendered division of labour, including domestic labour, tends to intensify. The household society increases the standards of work, the amount of work, and the variety of work. At the same time, it maintains the conventional divisions of labour. A female interviewee captures this: 'Children always make calls (from their mobiles to the mother's mobile) like [...] may I eat this banana?'

Thinking of the new but still conventionally gendered dread-refuge split subjectivity we might ask: What do women escape from? What is the place they go to? What is so dreadful or demanding, or boring that it has to be left for a refuge in an interface? An obvious answer is that women escape the demands of the reconciliation of work and home. This reconciliation consists of defending home from work, making houses homes and building borders, which no longer exist. Instead, or more accurately, besides the logic of reconciliation, there exists the logic of constant border crossing. Instead of crossing the border twice a day, like the second shift women, now there is continual crossing from work to domesticity and back in two minutes. This explains at least partly, why women escape. Further, we know from the feminist corpus that homes have never been safe to all women and we know that the whole idea of home as a safe place is a contested concept.⁴² At the moment, it seems that the ideas of safety, security, and associated feelings are displaced and dispersed. Sitting at the computer is risky and smoothening at the same time. Carrying a mobile phone at all times increases the feeling of safety, although it makes its owner constantly available everywhere. People are never in and never out.

NOTES

- 1 Haraway 1991.
- 2 Ibid., pp. 166–169.
- 3 Haraway 1991, p. 167.
- 4 Haraway 1991, p. 168.
- 5 Virno 2004, p. 23.
- 6 Virno 2004, pp. 23–24.
- 7 Post-Fordism refers to the economic restructuring and shift from the Fordist system of mass production and consumption characteristic of highly developed economies during the 1940s until the 1960s. In the post-Fordist era more flexible modes of production emerged, typically in the areas of service, logistics, culture and language. See e.g. Gram-Gibson 1996.
- 8 Virno 2004, pp. 34–35.
- 9 Fortunati 2006, p. 1.
- 10 The study (see Jokinen 2005) was based on 36 open interviews carried out in 2003. The research was designed to scrutinise the mundane, day-to-day, (semi)routinised layers of the gender division of labour. The interviewees lived in different areas of Finland and had diverse educational and vocational backgrounds. They were aged between 29 and 41; 19 women and 17 men. More than half of the interviewees had children, who were mostly younger than seven years of age. Some of the interviewees were single, others lived as a couple. All of them were white. The collected interviews constitute a random sample, and they illustrate subjectivities at hand and at disposal in a certain social context.
- 11 The idea of four shifts was born and developed in a research team (Jussi Vähämäki, Mikko Jakonen, Leena Åkerblad and myself) composing a research plan. The Academy of Finland funds a project Four Shifts. On the Borders of Work, Home and Affects (2008–2011).
- 12 Lazzarato 2006, p. 58.
- 13 Hochschild 1989.
- 14 e.g. Julkunen 1994; Rantalaiho 1994.
- 15 Hochschild 1997.
- 16 Jokinen and Julkunen 1984.
- 17 Jokinen 2005.
- 18 Veijola and Jokinen 2008.
- 19 See e.g. Adkins 2001; 2003.
- 20 Haraway 1991, p. 166.
- 21 Haraway 1991, p. 166.
- 22 Vähämäki 2003.
- 23 Virno 2002, p. 105.
- 24 Gane and Haraway 2006, p. 138.
- 25 All the personal quotes are extracts from the interview material in the study described in reference 8. They are meant to illustrate some *possible* ways of experiencing and narrating.
- 26 Haas and Hwang 2000 cited in Björnberg 2002, pp. 42–43.
- 27 Pantzar 2000, pp. 59–63.
- 28 *Me naiset* 42/1973.
- 29 Pantzar 2000, p. 140.
- 30 Silverstone 1994; Jokinen 2005.
- 31 Haraway 1991, p. 149.

- 32 Haraway 2006, p. 141.
 33 Gane and Haraway 2006, p. 161.
 34 See Rotkirch 2003; Fortunati 2006; Agustin 2007.
 35 de Lauretis 1987.
 36 Foucault 1981.
 37 Sundén 2007.
 38 Skeggs 2005.
 39 Virno 2002, p. 84.
 40 The title is an allusion to an article by Doreen Massey (1992) titled 'A Place Called Home', where she elaborates on arguments about the feelings of disorientation, fragmentation, and loss of the sense of place, often offered in debates on geography. She criticizes the idea that place, equated with community and home, would provide a stable basis for identity and notes that 'those who today worry about a sense of disorientation and a loss of control must once have felt they knew exactly where they were, and that they *had* control', Massey 1992, p. 9.
 41 Eeva, 5/1974.
 42 e.g. Martin and Mohanty 1986; hooks 1990.

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