Editorial
Heritage and Personal Memories
Tuomas Hovi, Maija Mäki, Kirsi Sonck-Rautio

The theme of this Ethnologia Fennica 2022 issue (vol. 49:1) is the shaping and representing of individual lives and memories in the context of heritage and heritagisation. Today, heritage and cultural institutions such as museums and archives are well aware of their social and political role and strive to increase ecological, cultural, and social sustainability (e.g., Gardner & Hamilton eds. 2017; Janes & Sandell 2019). Therefore, they constantly seek more democratic practices with respect to how people and communities are represented and by whom. One way of achieving these objectives is to increase the use of oral history and life writings in public history activities. Public history, especially in the Nordic context, is connected to earlier traditions such as labor history, social history, and "history from below" (e.g., Ashton & Trapeznik eds. 2019).

In recent years, there has been a growing interest in personal heritage. In tourism studies, for instance, personal or mundane heritage has become a part of a tourist experience where people visit sites that have personal memory or particular family significance (Prince 2021, 20). In addition to national and transnational heritage, the interest in personal heritage and memories is seen as important and appealing. Besides tourism, this can be seen in different heritage and cultural institutions like museums.

The idea for this theme issue emerged from the project "Paimio Sanatorium: Social, Historical and Cultural Perspectives" at the University of Turku. In the commentary text of this issue Anne Heimo describes the multidimensional situation of the heritagisation of the sanatorium and the possibilities to utilize personal memories in the research, but also in displays and other public activities in the place that can be described as a dark heritage site.

In our themed call "Heritage and Personal Memories" we asked for articles discussing various ways of using oral history and personal memories in public history activities and participatory processes. We were interested in how applied ethnographic work and ethnological research affect these activities.

The first research article of the theme issue by Mateja Habinc brings forward the heritagisation processes by community perspectives in the Pivško region, South-Western region of Slovenia. The Pivško region is nationally known by fictional literary hero Martin Krpan. In the article "Heritagisation and Community Formation in the Pivško region" Habinc is questioning if this nationally important literary heritage correlates with the experiences of the inhabitants and their perceptions of personal, family, local and regional heritage. In the article Habinc addresses the questions of power relations and community building processes that are strongly connected to heritage and heritagisation processes. Natural environment of the Pivško region and personal life histories concretize the diversity of the heritage "landscapes", where the nationally important figure of Martin Krpan doesn´t play a significant role. Habinc raises up the capacity of heritage as a mechanism of social cohesion. The heritagization processes can create micro-communities and new kinds of solidarities. At the same time heritage can reproduce and strengthen already existing macro-social definitions, hierarchies and positions.

In the second research article of this theme issue Jón Þór Pétursson and Matilda Marshal are digging into food storage spaces in Swedish homes. In the article "Pantry Memories: Storing Food and Feelings in Swedish Homes" Pétursson and Marshal explore the recontextualization and emotionalization of the traditional food storage spaces, e.g. "old-fashioned pantries" and "classic root cellars", in Swedish society. Longing for past food storage spaces by using reflexive nostalgia is an interesting case of heritage and personal memories and at same time an excellent example of how emotional experiences in the past are reinterpreted in the present.

Covid-19 pandemic affected many different ways to ethnographic research possibilities and realities in the fieldwork. In the review article "Studying Industrial Oral History During the Pandemic - Ethical and Methodological Questions" Pete Pesonen and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander are discussing the practical and ethical challenges they faced in the fieldwork period of their oral history project. The experiences of isolation and frustration were shared by all participants of the project. Fragility of everyday life during the circumstances of the pandemic raised the awareness of ethical issues and increased responsibilities of the researchers. The agency and self-determination of the interviewees rose to an even more important role than before.

In this issue there is also one research article outside the theme. In the article "Worlds Apart: Social Entrepreneurship Discourse in Croatian Media" Anja Iveković Martinis and Duga Mavrinac are exploring the concepts of social enterprise discourse. By analysing the Croatian news, they found contrasts between mainstream commercial media and alternative non-profit media. Dominance of neoliberal enterprise discourse is challenged by more critical, anticapitalist discourses.

This theme issue has strong connections to heritage and cultural institutions, e.g. museums and archives. We were pleased to receive two book reviews that introduce the most current museological publications for our audience. The other one, "Museum Studies - Bridging Theory and Practice" is published online and therefore accessible for everyone interested in the topic. The other one, "Marginaaleista museoihin" is a serious attempt to approach museum field from the perspectives of intersectionality, inclusivity and decolonialism. The third book review continues the perception of marginals, in this case deepening the phenomenon of migration from the perspectives of migrants and their individual experiences abroad.

We would like to thank all the authors, reviewers, and editors of this issue. "Heritage and Personal Memories" is a theme we hope to see developed even further in the future.

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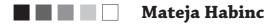
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Cover photo: The cover picture of a wall mural is taken by Tuomas Hovi in 2019 in Wilmington Delaware. The Kalmar Nyckel mural offers a visual chronology of Delaware, starting with the landing of the Swedes in 1638 with the ship Kalmar Nyckel, meeting with the Lenape people and the construction of Fort Christina. The mural then shows the river's importance to the city, for example showing the river as a key crossing point to freedom along the Underground Railroad and then focusing on the city's later shipyard heritage. At the far right is an image of the replica ship of the Kalmar Nyckel, which was built in 1997. The mural offers an artist's vision of the public history and heritage of Delaware.

Mateja Habinc

Heritagisation and Community Formation in the Pivško Region

Abstract

Pivško is a small region in south-western Slovenia that appropriated a nationally recognised literary hero named Martin Krpan as its most visible heritage. The article questions if this act of appropriation correlates with what the inhabitants of the Pivško region consider as examples of their personal, family, local or regional heritage. These various heritages are observed through the prisms of (political) power relations and community-building processes, while the main question addressed in the article is, the symptom of what any of those heritages are. The power and uses of heritages are therefore considered as well as their capacity to overcome already existing macro-social definitions, hierarchies and positions. The research sample of mostly middle-aged or older generations, local activists or representatives of various associations or political bodies revealed that the heritage of the Pivško region is diverse, related to the natural environment and personal life histories, while Martin Krpan was rarely considered a part of it. Despite its variety of interpretations, the common denominator for heritage is its capacity to serve as a mechanism of social cohesion and community formation. However, while mostly viewed as a remedy against individualisation and alienation, heritage at the same time reproduces existing socio-political power relations and, especially when compared to the creative industries, is only rarely considered an additional or exclusive existential opportunity.

Keywords: heritage, community formation, power relations, social cohesion, Slovenia

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Pivško is a small region in south-western Slovenia that promotes and represents its identity in the form of a man named Martin Krpan, a nationally recognised literary character. As the story by Fran Levstik goes, he was a smuggler of salt who outsmarted even the Austrian emperor and won a fight against one of world's best warriors. He is a cherished hero noted for being inventive, smart and a voice of reason and, according to one of the interpretations, he was from the Pivško region. A couple of years ago, the municipality of Pivka chose Martin Krpan as its primary symbol and started to promote his embeddedness in the Pivško region by also designing a coat of arms and flag based on his character.[1]

Martin Krpan therefore became established as the most important regional symbol, the most 'characteristic' representative of the region, but only from a politically powerful and authoritative standpoint, while in the meantime some heritage institutions appeared in the area with the desire to be heard and (with respect to tourism) recognised as well. One of them is the Eco-Museum of the Seasonal Lakes of Pivka,[2] which, as is already stressed in its name, is mostly dedicated to promoting the nature of the region and how people have adapted to it. Among its other activities, the museum began to question the prevailing narrative about Martin Krpan as the most important symbol or even representative of the heritage of the area and wanted to explore the attitude of the Pivško residents towards this symbol. To find out what the inhabitants of the region consider the most salient examples of their or the local area's heritage, they invited a group of students from the University of Ljubljana's Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology to contact and talk to

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1   An image of a 'legendary Slovenian hero' Martin Krpan, who 'supposedly rambled through the area' and lived in a village called Vrh at Sv. Trojica [Peak at The Holy Trinity], supposedly located near Sv. Trojica in the municipality of Pivka, appears on the municipality's coat-of-arms and flag since 1998 (Web source 3) as well as on the coat-of-arms of the Pivka Primary School (Web source 4). There is also a well-known Association of Vintage Vehicles from Pivka called Martin Krpan, the Pivka Tourist Association organises the Krpan Hike and there is a Krpan Bar in Pivka. However, the question is which of the villages named after the Holy Trinity (Sv. Trojica) – the one on the Bloke plateau or the one near Pivka – is actually mentioned in the story of Martin Krpan. This namely causes disagreement between both municipalities (Web source 5; cf. Trobič 2005; for the comparable insights into a less top-down mediated appropriation of another (Slovenian-Croatian) regional hero, Peter Klepec, see Moric and Perinić Lewis 2019).

2   The museum is located at the entrance to the lakes. It was opened eight years ago with the help of European funds to promote local development (Web source 1). It is supposed to didactically inform visitors about the Pivško lakes and the landscape park that was established a year later as part of the European Culturecovery project. Its main purpose is to 'protect and restore the intangible cultural heritage of Central Europe' (Web Source 2).

the local population[3] about what they consider the best examples of their or the local area's heritage, what in their opinion distinguishes Pivško from the rest of Slovenia and what role they attribute to Martin Krpan.

In this article, the material gathered on local perceptions of heritage and heritagisation in the Pivško area is analysed and interpreted. It addresses several important questions: What do the interlocutors imagine as personal, family and local heritage? What perceptions do they have in common? What are their attitudes regarding the regional heritage promoted by the municipality of Pivka?[4] The article later addresses the additional questions of to whom, when, and why did we speak of heritage and how heritagisation is related to the processes of community formation. Heritage is namely always embedded in various power-related spheres of social life, such as gender, class and politics (see, e.g. Edson 2004), however this article mainly studies it through the prism of local or regional political power relations. Authoritarian heritage discourses, for instance those about Martin Krpan, are related to other heritage discourses which brings multivocality, possible impacts and empowerment through the heritage to the forefront of the article. Each is discussed in this article within the context of community formation, especially with respect to feelings of belonging and connection.

As a modern phenomenon, heritage can be observed predominantly through its relation to community – it can even be perceived as a phenomenon or a symptom of community (*cf.* Fakin Bajec 2011; Hafstein 2018b). According to Hafstein, heritagisation is the most modern aspect of folklorisation, or the final phase in the long-term process of how ethnological perspectives, knowledge and concepts become established among the public. Hafstein claims that the emphasis on cultural comparisons, specifics and heritage has today become universal; to have a heritage means to be modern, to be able to reflect on and take a critical distance from oneself, from one's own past. It is a modern way of confronting and trying to manage various risks and uncertainties (Hafstein 2018a, 128; *cf.* Edson 2004; Smith 2006), while simultaneously an ethnologist or cultural anthropologist should observe what various communities perceive as risky and what uncertainties and fears they face. He or she

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3 The research was conducted in the 2018–2019 academic year as part of a seminar entitled Ethnological Regional Research of Slovenia, which is compulsory for all students enrolled in the Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology master's programme. An employee of the eco-museum provided students with a list of potential interlocutors; each student had to contact two of them and contribute summaries or transcriptions of the conversations as well as their observations and impressions of and reflections on the research situation.

4 Students were also supposed to relate all this information to at least some basic information about the interlocutor's life stories and their activities and values.

should analyse the symptom of what various heritages of various communities are (*cf.* Hafstein 2018b, 154; Hafstein 2018a, 139–140).

In this article, I am therefore concerned with the question of just who determines the heritage of a chosen area, why it supposedly connects the inhabitants of an area and what inhabitants it in fact connects or is even capable of connecting. Is heritage established by authoritarian discourse, by professional discourses and notions? Is such a professional heritage regime embedded in a global system of a common difference (Wilk 1995), and is it (in)consistent with what residents of an area perceive as their (personal, family, local) heritage? (For example, compare what Weber [2007] and Fakin Bajec [2011] have to say on the topic.)[5] I examine the extent to which perceptions of (local) heritage are uniform or diverse and who can talk about them, while I also try to understand why they are important and real for those who speak about them. At the same time, I discuss the symptoms of what these perceptions of heritage are – how they reflect an individual's or a group's desires, aspirations and fears.

Community and Heritage

Contemporary public policies directed at reconstruction, inclusion and sustainability on the one hand perceive communities as backward and underdeveloped, as stuck in the past, while on the other hand they consider them to be (supposedly) homogeneous, stable and therefore secure entities that people at least occasionally miss (Waterton and Smith 2010, 6–7; *cf.* Fakin Bajec 2011, 50). They are thought to offer safety and comfort and serve as a kind of remedy for potentially dangerous differences and social problems or deviations, such as crime, poverty, drug addiction and exclusion. Recent neoliberal governance of public life therefore no longer focuses so much on individuals as it does on communities, understood as cultural and administrative units responsible for and a solution to the state of 'excessive individualism and state's involvement in individual's life' (*cf.* Hafstein and Skrydstrup 2017, 45; Hafstein 2018b, 108). Neoliberal governance does not suppress communal activities; on the contrary, by making use of various professional, civic and political activities, it tries to identify and manage them. Being directly interested in professional, civic and political practices as well as the practices of commu-

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5 An example of such a discrepancy between authoritarian (professional) and more local perceptions of heritage is, for example, mentioned by van de Port and Meyer: professionals insisted that material remains ought to be the necessary condition for recognising one Dutch mill as an example of national heritage, while the locals insisted it is enough that they perceive the mill as their village's trademark. Since the locals persisted, professionals, arguing that mills had (materially) changed in the past as well, declared a copy of such a mill as an example of national heritage (2018, 11–12).

nities and various heritagisation processes, such forms of governance strive to guide individuals in self-transformation and also more and more towards self-regulation (Hafstein 2018b, 104).

It is therefore especially important to know just who participates in heritagisation and who on the other hand is excluded from it. It is equally important to relate this information to the community: while some in a community participate in defining what they consider to be their heritage, others are not affected by such processes and might therefore remain unrecognised and invisible (Smith 2006, 29–34; Waterton and Smith 2010, 10; *cf.* Hafstein 2018a, 140). Cultural heritage, which supposedly produces a strong sense of belonging (Jezernik 2010; *cf.* Edson 2004), is a strategy for dealing with (cultural, external) differences, while at the same time the process of heritagisation might hide some internal (social) differences or power plays within the community. So heritagisation objectifies not only (cultural) practices and expressions of community but community as well: it is only during a process of heritagisation that communities emerge as clearly defined entities, since it is the process itself that defines and determines what a community is, who belongs to it or who is excluded from it (Hafstein 2018b, 117, 120–121, 125; *cf.* Fakin Bajec 2011, 291; Beardslee 2016, 89). By intervening in habitus, practices and expressions are transformed into objects (of, e.g. study, protection or presentation). By investing interest in these objects, (parts of) communities are also defined and bound together. Heritagisation thus often serves only to establish communities and empower them to present their vision of history and identity.[6] At the same time, the process of heritagisation itself forces communities to use common and already established (professional) terms, which in fact function as power mechanisms. This is how the political heritage of subordinating communities is maintained – heritagisation also disciplines and submits communities to (authoritarian) rules and behavioural patterns (Hafstein 2018b, 110, 116, 118).[7]

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6   How communities present shared visions of history and identity to insiders as well as to outsiders is often linked to the commodification of heritage and its incorporation into tourism (see, e.g. Dallen 2011).

7   From a historical standpoint, the fact that communities and heritage change and that at the same time they are not homogeneous, that they are constructed and selective (cf. Fakin Bajec 2011, 2020; Poljak Istenič 2014; Smith 2006; Waterton and Smith 2010), is nothing new. As van de Port and Meyer (2018, 2–3) stress, communities (and heritages) are reinvented all the time: 'So what if we reinvented ourselves once again?' More than anything else, it is important to ask why such changes occur: despite knowing that heritage and communities are constructed and selective, one can still be convinced otherwise. Why – despite such knowledge – can someone therefore still experience heritage and communities as real and important?

About the Case Study: Whose Heritage?

In the Pivško area, thirty-four mostly semi-structured, variously personal and mostly individual interviews were conducted with local interlocutors. Twenty-two (65 per cent) of the interlocutors were women, almost a third, 29 per cent, were older than 60 years of age, the majority (47 per cent) were between 40 and 60 years of age, while 15 per cent of the interlocutors were between 25 and 40 years of age. During the survey, 66.7 per cent of the interviewees lived in the vicinity of Pivka, while the remaining 12 were from the town of Pivka; six interlocutors (16.7 per cent) had migrated to Pivško from other (nearby or more distant) parts of Slovenia. The majority of interlocutors, 52.8 per cent, were employed (in various fields), while 44.4 per cent were retired. Additionally, 80.5 per cent of the interlocutors were also active in the local community to various degrees, while most of the remaining interlocutors were contacted by students (for example, with the help of their acquaintances) without a referral by the museum.

Most of the interviews, observations and reflections mainly bear witness to the attitudes, perceptions and values of people from the Pivško region, those already involved in (local) heritagisation, cultural or political activities,[8] which in the first place is also why they were put on the students' contact list. The interviews are therefore mostly about 'the locally authorised heritage discourse' of the individuals,[9] representing their own views or the views of, for instance, various organisations, institutions or associations: 'They also haven't been personal, nor was the concept of heritage discussed a lot' (S. Z.).[10] A minority of the interlocutors often expressed their fears that they did not know enough about the topic to contribute much to the conversation. They considered themselves to be 'laypersons', 'they thought they needed to answer properly, to give the "correct" answers and haven't felt capable of doing that, [while] at the same time they supported the idea of asking people what's im-

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8   The interlocutors were, for example, members or presidents of specific (e.g. cultural, historical, tourist or retirement) associations, politically active individuals (e.g. councillors of municipalities), presidents of local or village communities, employees of the municipality or individual heritage institutions, collectors, teachers and amateur researchers of (local) history.

9   As noted in one reflective comment: individuals were 'able to prepare for the interview in advance and present what they considered to be heritage' (S. Z.). However, it became evident when preparing for the fieldwork that it was not easy even for the students to talk to each other about their notions of personal, family and local heritage – not because the questions were overly personal, but because their perceptions of heritage were quite diverse.

10 The students' names are abbreviated in the article, while the material has been discussed only after securing their approval and it is kept at the Archive of the Department for Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

portant to them' (T. S.). The material therefore does not present the perceptions of randomly selected people who only share the characteristic of being residents of the Pivka region.

Heritage for Whom? For Ourselves!

The sample of interlocutors[11] defined personal heritage as follows:

1) Objects related to important individuals (e.g. parents and relatives), as well as objects related to the activities of relatives (e.g. family inheritance);
2) Memories, photographs;
3) (Aspects of) celebrations performed for a longer time (e.g. Christmas blessing of the house), habits (visiting the lake, hiking, outdoor activities);
4) Inherited knowledge (an individual's recipes, stories, knowledge related to mushroom picking) or values (e.g. a sense of 'togetherness' or community building, a sense of cooperation; the importance of nature and its preservation);
5) Objects related to people's hobbies, leisure activities and creativity (piano, library, handicrafts);
6) Dialect and mentality.

The notion of personal heritage was most often intertwined with the notion of family heritage, of 'what you create' (e.g. the property or knowledge that one acquires) (Interview T. S., F, 40–60, surr. P., inactive).[12] For the majority, family heritage included their parents' or a relative's house or apartment, the family itself and sometimes also neighbours. Additionally, individuals also mentioned old personal items, such as tools; a photobook; family stories; habits (e.g. sledding and skiing on a nearby hill); moral values and attitudes towards work; 'biological heritage' (e.g. family diseases); ethnographic collections; a tomb with a tombstone in the shape of a (Pivško) cross.

Ideas about local or regional heritage were even more diverse: the interlocutors expressed as many different notions of local heritage as there were

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11 In quantitatively analysing the contents of the conversations, I considered only direct answers by the interlocutors but also included all the mentioned examples for each category.

12 Since many interlocutors have not agreed to reveal their personal data, I decided to anonymise all of them as well. Their paraphrased or quoted statements are marked with only descriptive information about them (gender, age, place of residence – the surroundings of Pivka or Pivka town – and their (in-)activity), while the student's initials mark who conducted an interview, wrote its summary or offered a reflection. Therefore, a reference like Interview T. S., F, 25–40 years, P., inactive stands for an interview conducted by a student with the initials T. S., who had a conversation with an inactive female between 25 and 40 years of age and residing in Pivka.

interlocutors (see Fakin Bajec 2011, 50, 54, 56). Nevertheless, most typically local or regional heritage was recognised in specific buildings (old houses, churches, crosses) and in nature or nature-related activities (e.g. the forest or an individual tree, hills, water, ponds, lakes, cold weather, the Bora wind; hunting, gathering; food, such as prosciutto and cheese; a dependence on geographical location and its transience and peacefulness). Less often interlocutors also mentioned the Park of the Military History in Pivka, Martin Krpan or various socialising occasions (e.g. Corpus Christi or a tradition celebrated on the 28th of December), customs and habits, crafts, the industrial past (the railway or (once) prominent companies) or the Second World War. Local heritage was thus equated with 'what is worthy of attention' in the area or in just a part of it, meaning the interlocutors commonly equated heritage with local sights, with 'specific features of the area'. Besides being something appreciated by the local population, the interlocutors also considered heritage as having a potential for representing the area. However, they not only often combined notions of personal and family heritage but also tied local heritage strongly to both. This is because an individual's activities are intertwined with their social activities and being socially active is first and foremost always one's own personal choice.[13]

Due to the nature of the material, which primarily bears witness to the perceptions of people who are already interested in heritage, it should therefore be emphasised even more that heritage is only one of the reasons that people may choose to reside in the Pivško region: 'There are not many opportunities for highly qualified people [to have a job in the region – M. H.], but nevertheless, one should not neglect its history and culture, which are exceptional' (Interview S. Z., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.). From the economic standpoint, the environment is therefore not considered the most attractive or exceptional quality of the region, but according to the above interlocutor its history and culture are sufficient reasons to keep living in the area (see Waterton and Smith 2010). They – and not the economy or, for example, sports in the region – are perceived as solutions for preserving the liveliness, activity and connectedness of the community, which is why younger generations

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13 For example, one interlocutor who works as an architect emphasised architecture as a locally important example of heritage (Interview An. V., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.), while an interlocutor interested in Pivško crosses mentioned one such cross as an important example of family heritage (Interview K. F., M, > 60, P., act.). Therefore, an individual's perceptions of heritage always depend on his or her life story, which became most obvious when the interlocutors spoke about their material, social and emotional connections to the area and its inhabitants – how they live in and with the territory, how they connect and position themselves within it, where and to whom they belong to, and how, and where and when they consider their behaviour to be meaningful.

should also familiarise themselves with history and culture (see Fakin Bajec 2015–2016, 187, 190): 'They strive to transmit the heritage of the area to the younger generation while not necessarily also to people from outside Pivško' (SZ). Although nowadays 'children supposedly also receive more knowledge about heritage in schools' (Interview T. S., F, 40–60, surr. P., inact.), the collected material does reveal that the number of people who think about heritage increases with age: 'When asked about when the heritage of the area became important to her, she answered that this had changed over time, that only after secondary school did she begin to value the region's nature' (Interview T. S., F, 25–40 years, P., inactive). Similarly, another interlocutor reportedly felt the importance of heritage when she moved away from home (Interview T. S., F, 40–60, surr. P., inactive). Another had the following to say: 'Now I am dealing with cultural heritage … now when I'm old!' (Interview T. T., M, > 60, surr. P., act.). Heritage-related activities can, on the other hand, also be part of a strategic, conscious assimilation of newcomers (see Habinc 2009), who sometimes become even more active than locals: 'Well, in fact, Krpan and A. [the name of an interlocutor who has been impersonating Martin Krpan for decades at local events – M. H.], we are the same person. This is how much I identify with him' (Interview M. K., M, > 60, surr. P., act.).[14]

Heritage as a Symptom: Being Connected, Embedded and Active

In trying to answer the question posed in the introduction – the symptom of what (personal, family, local) heritage is – I conclude that more than anything else, the interlocutors are afraid of disconnection, non-affiliation and individualism (*cf.* Fairclough 2009; Fakin Bajec 2011, 288–289). They perceive heritage as something that has the power to connect. It can connect people through time and/or place, in time and/or in place: it can connect generations (relatives), it can connect individuals to the natural or social environment. It indicates how the past influences the present, what effect environments have on people's lives, while it also embeds individuals in time, in place and in the local community. Recognising something as heritage was therefore often conditioned by a feeling of connection, with having a sense of being influenced by or embedded in time, place and community. Whether on a personal, family level or on a local level, the interlocutors often felt that heritage is something that their ancestors left them, something that once was a part of their ancestors' life that still exists today.

The difference between transmission and connection therefore seems crucial: a sense of connection is positively transmitted or transferred through

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14 Compare these sentiments to those of another interlocutor: 'Heritage allowed him to become integrated with an environment that he did not know before' (T. T.).

ideas or objects.[15] The value of heritage (e.g. woodworking or employment in the wood-processing industry) must first be recognised (Interview An. V., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.); and it is a value which enables a personal connection. It can further trigger engagement and various (public) activities that are also perceived as positive and selfless, oriented towards others, which again is a special value in itself. It connects contemporaneity with ideas about the past (communities), while what connects the past with the present is not so much about, for example, the similarity between (past and present) activities or their similar material appearance. It is, in the words of one interlocutor: 'not only important to light bonfires because that's also something our ancestors have done. Bonfires are also related to feelings and emotions, to socialisation; they establish continuity and push us towards others, towards cooperation' (S. Z.). Being connected and embedded, feeling a sense of belonging with other people and the environment, is even more important and valuable element of heritage:

> Even if we feel a bit funny and laugh at ourselves during the [Christmas – M. H.] blessing, I can see that the family likes this tradition […] When you're young, you need time to feel the value of what has been transferred to you and what is worth a lot. (Interview P. G., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.)

However, such positive evaluations of a 'sense for the other' might only be generational or related to the limitations of the research sample. Additionally, heritagisation might only be one of the ways in which people seek to decrease a perceived loss of connection. Decades ago, for example, a couple of interlocutors reportedly enjoyed village dances and gatherings, while today, even though they miss them, they organise other local social events:

> We started to make a bonfire on John the Baptist Day in 2008, which is a substitute for those dances. We organised the first mass at 10 a.m.; it was followed by a concert, a feast and the lighting of the bonfire. (Interview S. Z., F, 40–60 years, surr. P., act.)

The majority of contemporary events that the interlocutors talked about are carefully cultivated and framed rather than spontaneous occasions for socialising. The events mostly involve entertainment and are rarely planned without a set programme or scenario, which requires networking, engagement and effort.

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15 For example: 'One's attitude towards heritage, he says, must be positive. It is important to remember childhood, values and knowledge that we received from our parents and family' (Interview T. S., F, 40–60, surr. P., inactive).

Heritage and heritagisation can therefore be perceived as a 'remedy' against feelings of disconnection, alienation and individualisation. This is at least what the interlocutors, who expressed an appreciation for personal engagement, closer ties among people and with the environment, often emphasised: 'Many things are happening, but nevertheless we're not connected [...] People too often only discuss what they'd like to happen or what's missing, but when they need to act, they rarely get involved' (Interview T. M., F, 40–60, P., act .; *cf.* Interview Š. K., M, 40–60 years, P., act.). Or, as several students noted: 'They use heritage to connect the community, they research their past to use it for a common future' (P. J. and T. M.). However, the reasons for engaging with others are always primarily personal, while the priorities of the engaged person can easily seem general: '"What do you consider worth remembering from your village, life, family?" This traditional life is important to us. I'm very interested in history' (Interview T. M., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.).

Heritage for Whom? For the Others!

Conversations therefore revealed a common difference between what the interlocutors perceived as 'their' (personal, family, local) heritage and what, on the other hand, various institutions or individuals presented as the heritage of the Pivško region (*cf.* Poljak Istenič 2014; Smith 2006). For example: "Otherwise, Pivško does not have a cultural heritage; it is now, I think because of tourism, only being sought after and restored' (Interview S. Z., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.). Such an officially established idea of heritage was in the interviews often perceived as a source of income, equating the past with a good marketing strategy (B. M.; *cf.* Fakin Bajec 2011; Poljak Istenič 2008). Another interviewee shared a similar view: 'Pivško lakes as part of the Karst will now be inscribed on the UNESCO list of cultural heritage.[16] [...] Therefore, when tourists see that, they will come [...] it will mean something' (Interview V. Š. J., M, 25–40, surr. P., act.). Some perceived the Park of the Military History in Pivka in a similar way but were more critical of such efforts: 'I think it is artificial; it is not a real cultural heritage' (Interview L. P., M, 25–40, surr. P., act.). Interviewees also often mentioned Martin Krpan when discussing a difference between identification[17] with an area and its representation. Most reportedly view Krpan as someone 'more important for journalistic purposes

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16 Native Karst appears on the UNESCO Transitional Tentative List of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (Web resource 7). Since 2019, the triangle between the spring of the Ljubljanica River and the cities of Rijeka (Croatia) and Trieste (Italy), called classic Karst, is also waiting to be included on the UNESCO list. One of the central parts of this area is the Pivka Lakes Landscape Park (Web resource 6).

17 As an individual's (or a collective's) process of identity formation, related to a sense of belonging and 'self- or common-image'. It integrates an individual (group) existence

than for identifying or connecting with him' (Interview P. J., F, > 60, surr. P., act.). Another person had the following to say about him:

> I think he is an artificially made-up and imposed heritage […] we didn't know much more about him than the rest of Slovenian students who learned about him in school. Now, in the last few years, Krpan has appeared in a completely different context, one with which I personally cannot identify. (Interview S. Z., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.; *cf.* Interview S. Z., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.; Interview An. V., F, 40–60, surr.; P., act.; Interview M. K., M, 25–40, P., inact.; Interview L. P., M, 25–40, surr. P., act.)

For many, he is therefore a symbol of all Slovenia: 'Martin Krpan could be a symbol on any Slovenian coat-of-arms since he embodies general Slovene values. He is not only ours' (Interview P. G., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.). He became a symbol of the Pivško area because local officials appropriated him: 'It's politics. But now we have to take advantage of it' (Interview V. Š. J., M, 25–40, surr. P., act.; *cf.* Interview L. P., M, 40–60, surr. P., act.).[18] However, this political decision also caused local controversy:

> How Pivka's coat of arms should look was decided together with the mayor. We discussed it in a smaller group, and since there is a hill in the municipality with a church dedicated to the Holy Trinity, Sv. Trojica, someone suggested that Martin Krpan should be on Pivka's coat of arms. The initiative started, we made a banner and had a party. The near-by towns of Cerknica and Bloke resented us for that, since there is another Sv. Trojica church in that area and they consider Krpan to be theirs. Nevertheless, we insisted that Krpan is ours. (Interview P. G., M, > 60, surr. P., act.)

Especially when reflecting on Martin Krpan or some other so-called 'local characteristics' of the region, interlocutors might have become aware of the fact that representations or even heritage can change over time. For instance, one interviewee noted: 'In the past, we didn't visit the lakes, we didn't learn about them. If anything, we had school trips to Mrzla jama,[19] but we never went to the lakes' (Interview P. J., F, 25–40, surr. P., act.).[20] Perceiving a difference

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with a sense of self-existence while at the same time differentiating him/her (or a group) vis-à-vis 'others' (Golubović 2011, 25).

18 Compare these words to those of another interlocutor: 'You see, Pivka and Martin Krpan have nothing in common. They adopted him because he is a legend' (Interview T. T., M, > 60, surr. P., act.).

19 One of the caves in the Pivško area (Web source 8).

20 Some individuals also realised that, in order to become recognised, so-called local sights or heritage is often related to or compared to something that is broadly appreciated, which might also be connected with contemporary tourist trends (see Fakin Bajec 2011, 217–226, 288). For example, they remembered how decades ago the Pivško

between heritage of the people and heritage for the people, the interlocutors also made a distinction between heritage for the locals and heritage for the tourists and visitors, with the latter predominantly serving to promote the local environment (see Dallen 2011). All these categories might well become intertwined. But especially if heritage for non-locals is determined by various professions or without much participation by the local inhabitants, then they do not necessarily feel close to it. They do not necessarily have a (positive or personal) attachment to it and are therefore not necessarily proud of it (see Fakin Bajec 2011, 287, 290). As one student's observation illustrates this: 'He thinks this is not something meaningful for the identification of the locals [...] He believes heritage should be "made" more for the locals and less for tourists and showing off' [Interview Š. K., M, > 60, P., act.). However, if such heritage is (also emotionally) connected with the everyday life of the locals, 'if there is a longer-term relationship with the presented heritage or connection to the interlocutor's everyday life' (L. P.), then people can 'adopt' such heritage. They can also accept it more easily when they 'have something to gain from the heritage', be it, for example, the (positive) recognisability of the area or an income.[21] The same reasons can contribute to turning an area's weakness into its advantage, as revealed by the example of the Park of the Military History in Pivka, which many locals did not approve of at first:

> In the beginning, when the initiative to open the museum started, people mostly complained. Ruined buildings stood there and the locals were fed up with the army. [...] But now, the museum attracts visitors. [...] I'm not in favour of such things, but even I like it. (Interview P. G., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.)[22]

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lakes were promoted by referring to the prominent Postojna caves. Nowadays, on the other hand, they are associated with sustainable tourism and UNESCO's protection (Interview P. J., F, 25–40, surr. P., act.).

21 Heritagisation projects in which locals do not participate or projects that have nothing of benefit for them might also be perceived as harmful, since, as many interlocutors imagined, they use funds that otherwise might be available for the locals or spent on what they consider to be important or valuable. One mentioned this issue specifically in relation to the Park of the Military History Pivka: 'we have nothing from it. [...] Due to the large investment in the Park of the Military History, our villages suffer. There is no money left for other things' (Interview An. V., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.).

22 Another person had the following to say: 'but now they see that it attracts people, and it is a positive thing. [...] It also increases the recognisability of the municipality' (Interview P. J., F, > 60, surr. P., act.; cf. Interview L. P., M, 40–60, surr. P., act.).

The Park of the Military History in Pivka supposedly also reduces the associations between Pivka and the Perutnina Pivka company, which processes chickens as well as dirt and stench: 'They lived with Perutnina Pivka and were proud of it. When they earned money for 40 years, it didn't stink. However, the mentality changed. It wasn't the company that changed, people have' (Interview M. K., M, 40–60, surr. P., act.; cf.

Regardless of its outcome, when at least some locals participate in heritagisation, the whole process as well as its results are perceived as being much more feasible and sustainable. These results might also be considered an opportunity for income (especially for younger generations) (see Fakin Bajec 2015–2016). Nevertheless, such a stance is exceptionally rare: 'Commercialising heritage is not something the entire community is interested in. Usually only younger and more open individuals are' (L. P.). During such processes of heritagisation, the smallness of certain villages and communities is mostly not perceived as an imperfection, but on the contrary, as an advantage: 'heritage can be better preserved since villagers can cooperate more easily' (B. M.). Inhabitants of such villages are also considered better presenters of the local heritage: 'A foreigner is not able to present something like this to the general public' (Interview L. P., M, 25–40, surr. P., act.). Not everyone can perform local heritage since, according to interlocutors, he or she must not only be a local but must also be presenting 'an authorised version of local heritage', such that 'tourists were advised to go there because he [a certain local representative] knew how to talk to them [and] he also knew how to sell them some local drinks, which is what's missing now' (Interview T. M., F, 40–60, surr. P., act.).

The Power and Uses of Heritage

Regardless of the differences between the active and engaged interlocutors (the majority of the sample) and the few who are reportedly 'not interested in heritage', both groups, as the material suggests, associate heritage with a specific knowledge they supposedly do or do not possess. Such perceptions reveal how well all the interlocutors have already internalised professional, authoritarian notions of heritage as something that not just anyone can talk about, not just anyone can have, but as something that one (nowadays already as a child) learns about in school (Kockel 2007, 20–21; *cf.* Interview T. S., F, 40–60, surr. P., inact.). Heritage is therefore equated with specific, non-experimental knowledge, and since it is also presented through specific genres (e.g. festivals, exhibitions, trails; see Hafstein 2018b),[23] it is considered even more specific than and different from other kinds of knowledge. It is exactly

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Interview M. K., M, 25–40, P., inact.). An example also proves (however established) heritage (of Pivško) is not a representation of just any habitus (Hafstein 2018b, 95). It must be a habitus that is positive and orderly; it is a display of pleasant diversity, an aestheticised and sanitised version of habitus (cf. Hafstein 2018b, 167; Wilk 1995).

23 What is nowadays considered convincing or successful examples of heritage include compelling heritage design as well as personal and collective practices of intense self-persuasion. They confirm an individual to be a legitimate heir of a particular cultural form from the past, and thus, contribute to his or her deeper feelings of belonging (van de Port and Meyer 2018, 24).

the bounded space that separates this knowledge – heritage – from other comparable knowledges, and therefore, helps to attract the interested public and (hopefully) forces the development of the local environment (*cf.* Dallen 2011; Fakin Bajec 2011; Giordano 2007; Poljak Istenič 2008). Professional advice on preventing what is supposedly wrong as well as protecting what is supposedly correct or disappearing might thus be internalised (*cf.* Hafstein 2018b, 155; Wilk 1995), which is why heritagisation can also be part of a (professional) oppressive regime or a mechanism to dispossess certain people of their political and other rights.[24] For instance, the majority of interlocutors reportedly perceive Martin Krpan as a 'forced' heritage, a heritage or representation of Pivško for outsiders that offers the locals no significant economic or other benefits. If anything, they mostly related him to (regional) competition, to feelings of pride or shame, to discussions of justice or misinterpretation, which is why Martin Krpan is a prime example of an ambivalent symbol (or even heritage) of the area. His heritagisation might be considered part of the prevailing direction of contemporary heritage projects – constructed for the communities and not together with them (Waterton and Smith 2010, 7; *cf.* Fakin Bajec 2020, 93–94).[25]

On the other hand, members of a (local) community can also appropriate heritagisation for their own interests and choose to use it tactically (see de Certeau 2007). They might recognise something as an 'imposed heritage', an external threat or a reason to intervene and organise themselves, an example of which is also the present case study from Pivško. The most essential and tactical goal in such processes might not necessarily be to discover and materially present heritage of the people, with which they can emotionally connect (see Hafstein 2018b, 35), since engagement, involvement and bonding themselves might even be considered more important goals. Heritagisation might be one of the motives for activating individuals and thus contributing to two minimum contemporary conditions for establishing community as a sociological entity – it might contribute to expressing connection and belonging (Pfaff-Czarnecka 2011). Especially if heritagisation is a bottom-up and (self-)initiated process of at least a few active locals, it might function as

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24 This is the case when, for example, an external threat (in the form of commercialisation or alienation) justifies an internal (state) intervention or protection effort (see Hafstein 2018b).

25 As already mentioned, this was sensed also by the employees of the Eco-Museum of the Pivka Seasonal Lakes, who encouraged the students' research on and promotion of the 'real' heritage of the locals. The research and its outcome – this article – are therefore not only critical of certain heritagisation processes (e.g. related to Martin Krpan), they at the same actively contribute to further heritagisation of the heritage of the people (see Web source 2).

a mechanism or way to create a sense of community. In this process, as the interlocutors from Pivško also expressed, emotions are crucial: if people are supposed to become attached to a heritage, it must primarily stimulate their emotions (Hafstein 2018b, 106; *cf.* Smith, Wetherell and Campbell 2018).[26] Through experience and emotional attachment, heritage – especially heritage of the people – can therefore connect locals, including youth, and create (at least temporary) bonds (see Fakin Bajec 2011, 47).

But if heritage is also a way of dealing with potentially dangerous differences that individuals and communities or individuals within a community meet (Waterton and Smith 2010, 10; *cf.* Hafstein 2018a, 140), what differences are revealed by the example of the 'forced heritage' of Martin Krpan or any other personal, family or local heritage of the people mentioned in the present case study? The usage of Martin Krpan as a local symbol or hero or even representative of heritage is an illustrative example of contemporary differentiation and competitiveness among Slovene municipalities.[27] It also illustrates how terminology as well as mere perceptions of what heritage is differ – not only between the municipality of Pivka and its inhabitants but also among the locals themselves. Perceptions of heritage can differ greatly in the Pivško region as well and give rise to competitive ways of defining it. Individuals (as well as institutions) are driven by various interests, anger, boredom, fears, happiness, loneliness, frustration, envy, curiosity and a range of other motivational and destructive energies (Waterton and Smith 2010, 8–9). But however temporary and negotiated people's perceptions of heritage are, whatever their economic and political agendas, the more any heritage is affective, the more it is also effective – in providing attachments, bonds and feelings of belonging. Personal, family and local heritage of the people namely revealed alienation and disconnection as the biggest differences and threats when interlocutors compared current society with the past while (any) heritage is consequently seen as a remedy against either alienation or disconnection.

But when observed from the perspective of the locals, is the socialising power of heritage also its only potential and purpose? Let us answer the question

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26 Nevertheless, according to van de Port and Meyer, this is a distinctly romantic view in which identifying with and attachment are only possible by comparing life experiences (2018, 14). Such a fantasy-related imagination is a pre-reflective, comfortable delusion, as people do not establish relationships with things and knowledge and do not construct what is real only with their senses (and without language and reason). Given the level of distrust in what can be seen, in the representations (of heritage as well), authenticity has never been as exposed and important as it is today (van de Port and Meyer 2018, 18–19).

27 On the comparative contemporary appropriations of some local or national(ised) (Slovenian or Croatian) characters, as well as on hero-making processes in general, see, e.g. Moric and Perinić Lewis (2019) and Oroz and Škrbić Alempijević (2018).

by comparing heritage and creative communities. Creative communities prioritise individuals over capital and explore ways of working and living in the community that are new, though not completely cut off from the past. They are based on experiential learning, retrospection and self-reflection while at the same time following a collaborative logic more than a community-oriented one. This means that they are not guided by profit, but by sustainability and the core idea of community (Vodopivec 2017, 140). It seems that to a large extent, individuals might also engage in heritagisation processes in the Pivško area to achieve the very same ends. As I have already pointed out, engagement might be strategical or tactical (de Certeau 2007), while its main purpose might not be recognisability for the purposes of (mass) tourism. Above all, the people involved in heritagisation strive to create and connect with a sense of community, though the desired economic effects are also not negligible. Nevertheless, only in exceptional cases did the interlocutors perceive heritage as an opportunity to, for example, develop (new) entrepreneurial ideas, acquire additional knowledge and skills, or achieve greater social inclusion (see Fakin Bajec 2011). This is perhaps also one of the main differences between creative and heritage-related communities: according to Vodopivec (2017, 144), creativity cannot only be limited to entrepreneurship and productivity. It is related to the transformative power and direction of imagination, though equally important is how people live with and experience (their) creativity: whether it is an inspiration, a passion, a mission, an inner fire, an opportunity for cooperation or even a point of frustration. Creativity is both felt and sensed since, as a bodily experience, it contributes to one's own identity. It is an internal, intimate process, while it is also a process of connecting individuals with the environment, of creating feelings of connection, of closeness and distance, of inclusion and exclusion. Personal creativity can be distinguished from social creativity by their supposedly different goals, with the latter creating new ways of producing and exchanging, and thus, new and different mutual ties and relationships (Vodopivec 2017, 143).

What types of personal or social creativity might therefore be related to heritagisation in the Pivško region? As mentioned, new, alternative ways of producing, working and living, of identifying and connecting, new forms of solidarity, emerging in modern creative communities, are also based on self-reflection. However, when accounting for existing power and social relations in Pivško, heritagisation, as it seems, does not affect or even change them a lot. Individuals who are interested in heritagisation, regardless of the reasons and motivations, first and foremost internalise the perception of heritage as (a specific) type of 'knowledge'. This consequently empowers them as the ones with a different, special, exposed and recognised social status of 'the competent',

with specific social and symbolic capital. Nevertheless, in acting as (local) heritage-related mediators and representatives who can assert their views and interests as well as the views and interests of their fellow inhabitants, they are initially already subordinated to the authoritarian (professionally and / or politically mediated) perceptions of heritage. They unproblematically assume that heritage is intimately associated with the expression and manifestation of identity (Ferkov and Hlačer 2010, 196),[28] while such an inevitable connection between identity and heritage controls and legitimises group identity (Waterton and Smith 2010, 12). In relation to power centres, heritage can therefore create micro-communities and new solidarities, but at the same time it only reproduces and strengthens already existing macro-social definitions, hierarchies and positions (see Hafstein 2018b). It produces further differentiations, identifications and representations, which call for new explanations, comparisons and clarifications, competitive creativities of a specific kind – but at the same time they are not open to just anyone and, as such, are always exclusive. The power of heritage and heritage communities – especially when compared to the power of creative communities – is therefore not only limited but also orchestrated, directed and, most of all, disinterested in its own sovereignty. It is the power of learning a (heritage) game, of perhaps appropriating it for one's own interests; however, it is not a sovereign power capable of stepping outside this macro-structural game.

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28 One of the key contemporary roles of heritage is to respond to certain basic questions, namely who we are, where we come from and where we belong. As postmodern subjects faced with the puzzling circumstances of globalisation, hyper-communication and the decay of traditional frames, people seek to anchor their identity predominantly in heritage (Ferkov and Hlačer 2010, 196; cf. Graham and Howard 2008).

SOURCES

Archive material

All the material is stored at the Archive of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana.

Fieldwork material 1: The Synopsis of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 21 November 2018, Pivka, Male, older than 60 years. Interviewer Katja Forjan.

Fieldwork material 2: The Synopsis of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 28 November 2018, Pivka, Female, younger than 25 years. Interviewer Katja Forjan.

Fieldwork material 3: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 30 November 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Female, between 40 and 60 years old. Interviewer Petra Goljevšček.

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Fieldwork material 5: The Synopsis of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 3 December 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Female, between 40 and 60 years old. Interviewer Pia Jankovič.

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Fieldwork material 8: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 10 December 2018, Pivka, Male, between 25 and 40 years old. Interviewer Matija Kenda.

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Fieldwork material 19: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 16 November 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Female, older than 60 years. Interviewer Primož Robnik.

Fieldwork material 20: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 16 November 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Male, older than 60 years. Interviewer Primož Robnik.

Fieldwork material 21: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 6 December 2018, Pivka, Female, younger than 25 years. Interviewer Teuta Sulejmani.

Fieldwork material 22: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 6 December 2018, Pivka, Female, between 40 and 60 years old. Interviewer Teuta Sulejmani.

Fieldwork material 23: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 7 December 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Male, between 25 and 40 years old. Interviewer Veronika Škofljanec Jagodic.

Fieldwork material 24: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 10 December 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Male, older than 60 years. Interviewer Veronika Škofljanec Jagodic.

Fieldwork material 25: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 21 December 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Male, older than 60 years. Interviewer Tina Tisovec.

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Fieldwork material 33: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 16 November 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Female, between 40 and 60 years old. Interviewer Simona Zupanc.

Fieldwork material 34: Transcript of an Interview, its Analysis and Reflection, 17 December 2018, surrounding of Pivka, Female, between 40 and 60 years old. Interviewer Simona Zupanc.

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Jón Þór Pétursson & Matilda Marshall

Pantry Memories: Storing Food and Feelings in Swedish Homes

Abstract

In recent years, references to "old-fashioned pantries" and "classic root cellars" have regularly popped up in real estate ads across Sweden as a potential selling point for people seeking new homes. The use of the words "classic" and "old-fashioned" indicates a shift in the thinking about traditional food storage spaces. In this article, we explore the recontextualisation and emotionalisation of traditional food storage spaces in Swedish society. We base our analysis on an open-ended questionnaire on food storage, preservation, and household preparedness directed to Swedish households. We investigate how our respondents have recounted and shaped embodied memories in the act of writing about past food storage: the different spaces, times, people, practices, emotions, and objects. Viewing these acts of remembering and writing about past food storage as emotional practices has led to an understanding of how emotional experience in the past is reinterpreted in the present. Seeing these acts as emotional practices illustrates the relational nature of emotions, where longing for past food storage spaces is one way to reflexively deal with contemporary issues by managing everyday life. Finally, we argue that reflexive nostalgia helps to create and interpret emotions – making past and present food storage meaningful.

Keywords: Food storage, emotional practices, reflexive nostalgia, pantry, root cellar, Sweden

Introduction

In recent years, references to an "old-fashioned pantry" and a "classic root cellar" have regularly popped up in real estate ads across Sweden as a potential selling point for people seeking new homes.[1] The use of the words "classic" and "old-fashioned" indicates a shift in the thinking about past food storage spaces in Swedish households. In the real estate ads, these food storage spaces are not only marketed as practical but are also visually portrayed as aesthetic components of the modern home, especially the pantry as part of the kitchen interior (Enevold 2021).

Like the pantry, the root cellar has also had its advocates. For example, the national resource center for food craft, Eldrimner, in a report on the history, use, and repair of the root cellar, emphasizes the cellar as a culinary resource (Melin et al. 2010). The building and restoration of root cellars has featured on popular Swedish television programs about homes, such as *Äntligen hemma* and *Sommartorpet*. Furthermore, some restaurants have made use of root cellars as part of their storage practices and gastronomic profile (Carrillo Ocampo et al. 2021).

Social media platforms such as Pinterest, Instagram and YouTube are now filled with images and stylistic advice regarding well-organized pantries. These pantries are organized around specific aesthetic ideals and material culture, including glass jars, wooden crates and woven baskets. The emphasis is thus on making the pantries visually pleasing through organisation and specific materiality that refers to food preservation in the past. What stands in contrast to past pantries is how store bought food, often prepackaged in plastic or paper, is put into glass jars, wooden crates and woven baskets at home, displaying the raw materials, the food itself, as an aesthetic component of the pantry. Such re-packaging and display of store bought food evokes notions of historical continuity, naturalness and simplicity, materialized in the food and the "old-fashioned" containers. The social media pantries showcase a mixture of aesthetics and emotional control: to control space and time in a way that both pleases the eye and has a calming effect against the hustle and bustle of everyday life.

The historian of ideas Kerstin Thörn (2018, 82) has suggested that the pantry, through its nostalgia and implied orderliness, can help to make modern life more understandable. Writing about the decline and resurrection of pan-

Figure 1 and Figure 2: A newly built walk-in pantry in a countryside house. Photographs submitted by a woman born in 1972 (DFU 41182:85).

tries in American households, the historian Catherine Seiberling Pond (2007) notes how pantries can invoke pleasantness through, for example, memories of taste and smell, visual delights, and even feelings of security and comfort. Pantries, she says, "harbor a nostalgic whiff of our domestic past" (Pond 2007, 11).

Following this nostalgic line of thought, we wish to pay attention to how emotions as practice are manifested through written accounts of past food storage. To this end, we deploy the concept of *emotional practices* (Scheer 2012) to explore how food storage spaces such as pantries and root cellars are recontextualized and emotionalized through written memories in response to a qualitative questionnaire. Memories connect emotions, senses, objects, spaces, and people, creating an understanding of past practices through the needs of the present. What role do emotions play in defining and narrating the meaning of past food storage practices and spaces in the present? How are emotions and material culture woven together in narratives of past and present food storage? With a view to answering these questions, we discuss how people reorient emotions towards specific culinary spaces and objects by narrating personal experiences.

We will begin by navigating previous storage research and theoretical concepts that bind together bodies, (culinary) objects, emotions, and spaces. We will then search for feelings and other methodological delicacies in the empirical material before moving on to describe how past food storage spaces were outcompeted by technological advances. Next, we will focus on childhood memories and emotional storage spaces to illustrate the holistic and relational nature of emotional experience in everyday life, and how this experience

connects the past and the present. We will conclude by discussing how past food storage is made meaningful in the present through reflexive nostalgia and emotional practices.

Storing stuff, storing emotions

Storage can be understood as a way of ordering everyday life and the world, thus "ordering things in space and time" (Cwerner & Metcalfe 2003, 229). By investigating storage spaces and their uses in everyday life, storage high-lights what can be considered as invisible processes of consumption, items that are often hidden from sight, but are still a part of daily routines and so-cial relations. Furthermore, the storage itself, such as closets and cupboards, materialize certain ideal practices and aesthetics that are time-contingent (see Cwerner & Metcalfe 2003; Löfgren 2017). This includes how the storage space should look like, how it should be organized, as well as what it should contain. Storage practices have therefore been framed as ways of gaining con-trol over one's life through organizing one's possessions (Cwarner & Metcalfe 2003, 232). Storing food, as well as other objects, is related to consumption and possession, which in turn is connected to the creation of identity and the formation of social relations. However, notable differences exist between storing food and storing other objects, especially in connection to temporali-ty and purpose. Most food, for example, deteriorates or rots if not preserved, prompting different types of practices, thought, and organisation, compared to other types of material objects.

The materiality around food, such as utensils and appliances, has prov-en useful for ethnologists to explore how societal ideas move into the home and shape everyday life (see, e.g., Jönsson 2019; Bardone & Kannike 2017). In line with this, many sociocultural studies on food have focused on how technological development regarding food storage has changed food con-sumption, domestic life, and society (Watkins 2008; Freidberg 2009; Hand & Shove 2007; Shove & Southerton 2000). Other studies have emphasized how these technological advances in the domestic sphere relate to changing ideas of gender, family, and the home (Scheire 2015; Nickles 2002; Pérez 2012). In a Swedish context, a handful of studies have investigated food storage and how it relates to societal changes and food consumption (Thörn 2018; Sand-gren 2018; Marshall 2018; 2021). However, previous studies of food stor-age have rarely focused on the relationship between materiality, memories, space, and emotions.

In her discussion of emotional practices, Monique Scheer suggests that viewing emotions as practices means "understanding them as emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has cultur-

al and historical specificity" (Scheer 2012, 193). The concept of "emotional practices" is useful in illustrating how emotions are something that people do, rather than something that people just "have" (Solomon 2007). Emotions can therefore be understood as a practical form of engagement with the world, where "emotional practices" are about doing emotions in concrete, everyday situations. "Doing emotions" is dependent on both cognitive reflection and bodily movements in everyday social situations. In her definition of emotion as practice, Scheer includes actions such as "speaking, gesturing, remembering, manipulating objects, and perceiving sounds, smells, and spaces" (Scheer 2012, 209). We find Scheer's concept of emotional practices useful to explore how food storing practices have changed in the latter half of the twentieth century and twenty-first century, and how emotions are part of reinterpreting and recontextualizing past food storage practices and spaces in the light of the present.

The concept has been widely used in various disciplines, such as ethnology/folklore, history, and anthropology, over the past few years and has been used to explore, among other things, the creation of intimate relationships between food producers and consumers (Pétursson 2018; 2021), virtual violence in video games and taking selfies at a Holocaust memorial (Bareither 2017; 2019), and voluntary work with refugees (Sutter 2017). Here, we might also add Scheer's historical analyses of the relationship between religion and emotions in modern German Protestantism (Scheer 2020). The concept has therefore been used to explore both past and present emotions in different empirical material.

Scheer mainly bases her formulation of emotional practices on Pierre Bourdieu's practice theories. According to Scheer, Bourdieu's definition of practice is relevant for studying emotion because it "elaborates most thoroughly the infusion of the physical body with social structure, both of which participate in the production of emotional experience" (Scheer 2012, 199). The concept of emotional practices goes beyond dualistic models of affect as bodily sensations, and of emotions as the cultural expressions of bodily sensations. Instead, emotions are bodily practices that are shaped through the practical sense (embodied knowledge) of those performing them. The body is not only the site of dispositions and behavioral routines of practice; it is also "the 'stuff' with and on which practices work" (Scheer 2012, 200). This understanding of "emotional practices" emphasizes that emotions are always embodied through bodily acts of experience and expression within a specific social context (Scheer 2012).

That the body in a sense becomes knowing is what the anthropologists Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock (1987) refer to as "the mindful

body." But how is the mindful body connected to material culture? Blackman and Venn (2010) have noted that bodies are entangled processes, defined by their possibilities to affect and be affected. Engaging with material culture is therefore always an embodied practice which mutually shapes people, and objects, and their surroundings (Frykman & Frykman 2016). In this article, we thus investigate how our respondents recounted and shaped embodied memories in the act of writing about past food storage: the different spaces, times, people, practices, emotions, and objects.

Searching for feelings

We base our analysis on an open-ended questionnaire on food storage, preservation, and household preparedness, directed to Swedish households. The questionnaire was designed and distributed in collaboration with the Institute for Language and Folklore in Uppsala, Sweden, for a research project on storage practices and ideas of sustainability.[2] The questionnaire generated 139 replies from respondents living across Sweden, born between 1929 and 1999, mainly women. In an ethnological fashion, we were interested in exploring historical changes and continuity regarding food storage practices through personal memories. The questionnaire was not originally intended to explore emotions, but it became apparent that many of the narratives were based on emotional encounters in the past that influenced present thoughts and actions. After that realisation, we went back to the empirical material to investigate new aspects that could help us to understand the deeper meaning of food storage. In this article, we therefore focus on the narratives which reflect or tell about past food storage spaces and practices.

The folklorist Lena Marander-Eklund (2009) has presented a methodological approach for analyzing emotions in archival material, exploring the possibilities and challenges to "trace" emotions in questionnaires. In so doing, she focuses on figures of speech such as emotional words, metaphors, and words with emotive character in order to analyze both positive and negative emotions. However, one of the methodological challenges she encounters in her close reading of the material is to analyze emotions where the respondents have not expressed themselves in emotional terms. Despite this lack of direct emotional expression, Marander-Eklund points out that even neutral

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2   The questionnaire was disseminated as a traditional questionnaire (archived as DAG 37 at the Institute's branch in Gothenburg) and as a digital equivalent (archived as DFU 299 at the Institute's Uppsala branch). The digital questionnaire was open from September 2019 until September 2020. It should be noted that most replies were submitted before the corona pandemic affected Sweden and the material does not allow an analysis of emotional practices in relation to an ongoing societal crisis.

descriptions can evoke emotional impressions by painting a specific picture of events in the past (2009, 25–26).

Our respondents often used emotional words to describe food storage space in the past. *Love*, *wonderful*, and even *creepy*, are just a few of the words they used when narrating about food pantries and cellars. Some respondents, however, did not use emotional expressions when recounting childhood memories of food storage. At a first glance, their narratives seem to be completely devoid of any emotional experience. However, we offer another interpretation in the hope of gaining insight into the meaning of food storage. We argue, in line with Monique Scheer (2012), that remembering and narrating food practices in the past can be defined as specific emotional practices. Writing is to reflect on and structure one's memories. Through the act of writing, questionnaire respondents analytically engage with their memories by bringing fragments of sensory experience back to life. Writing down memories creates and shapes feelings and thoughts as the past is reinterpreted in the light of the present.

The stories of food storage included childhood memories, gendered spaces, and intergenerational relations that were manifested through the material culture of food. In contrast to interviews, where the researcher can steer the conversation in certain directions, with questionnaires the respondent may interpret and choose which questions to reply to, and how to respond to them. It is likely that the narratives in the questionnaire are both carefully selected and filtered (Marander-Eklund 2012). The narratives in the questionnaire therefore include what *matters* to the respondents, which here includes the impressions and emotions connected to food storage in the past and the present. Likewise, the questionnaire itself could be understood as part of, or reinforcing, the nostalgia of certain food storage spaces. The webpage of the digital questionnaire even contained images of contemporary and past storage and preservation practices to trigger interest in participating and evoke memories, experiences and daily practices of food storage. This is, of course, related to how the questions we ask are connected to the *Zeitgeist* and society. This relationship demonstrates how the disciplines of ethnology and folklore influence contemporary trends and currents, as well as being influenced by them (see Hafstein 2018). The way in which the questions in a questionnaire are formulated will therefore influence the answers. In this sense, we became the co-creators of the memories and emotions through the questions we asked and the visual stimulation in the questionnaire.

As the respondents were aware that their narratives would be documented, not only for a current research project, but also for future research, their choice of narrative may have had an additional purpose: The narratives could

also contain information about what the respondents deemed important to be remembered for the future, thus perhaps stressing the perceived differences between past and present society and everyday life. Hence, the narratives could be understood as interactions between the past, the present, and the future (see Marander-Eklund 2009).

Changes in kitchen and storage organisation

To understand today's longing, in Sweden, for pantries and root cellars, we need first to explore why they disappeared. We will commence by giving a brief historical overview and looking at narratives that include memories of refrigerators and freezers entering the home. These narratives offer analytical breakpoints which are useful to highlight and contrast what is taken for granted and what is disrupted, and how new meanings and practices emerge and shed light on past as well as new routines in everyday life (see, e.g., Löfgren & Ehn 2010; Hörnfeldt 2014). The entrance of refrigerators or freezers in Swedish households tells about a "before" and an "after," a moment of change regarding household practices and materiality.

In a Nordic context with a limited harvest season, food storage in pre-industrial times mainly revolved around the organisation of food to ensure that it would last for at least a year, until the next harvest season. This is often referred to as a storage economy, a rationale that influenced food storage (see, e.g., Olsson 1958; Amilien 2012). Hence, this ordering of time and space through food was essential for people's survival. Before refrigerated appliances, pantries and root cellars were needed for stockpiling and preserving food. These storage spaces had primarily a functional role, although their order, and ordering, imply certain aesthetic values.

Kerstin Thörn (2018), in her historical account of Swedish pantries, notes that living conditions and food storage facilities for many people in both the countryside and in urban areas in the early 1900s were poor. The spaces for storing food tended to be more generous in rural producer households and one-family houses, than in urban apartments. Indeed, the imagined past pantry as a separate room was generally for the affluent, while the ventilated cupboard (see Figure 3) was a result of the modernisation of (apartment) housing in the first half of the century. Eventually, the pantry became obsolete due to the rationalisation of household work as well as various technological advances.

The first domestic refrigerators emerged in the 1920s but were primarily reserved for urban households with the necessary financial resources. The freezer made its stage entrance later, in the 1940s. In contrast to many other technological devices, as soon as freezers became cheaper, they were speedily accepted by households in the countryside as a breakthrough in facilitating

food preservation (Boalt & Ney-mark 1983). When electric refrigerators became accessible to the majority of the Swedish population in the 1950s and 1960s, kitchens were designed in new ways. For example, the ventilated pantry, which had previously been placed near an external wall to harness the outside cold, was removed. Building guidelines from that time suggest that, when adding a larger refrigerator, the pantry could be replaced by cupboards, allowing the kitchen to be placed in a certain direction and letting in natural sunlight to brighten up the room. Moreover, the disadvantages of ventilated pantries were emphasized, such as fluctuating temperatures as well as dust and insects from the outside (Berg, Boalt & Holm 1960; see also

Figure 3: A ventilated pantry with a vent built against an external wall in an apartment (likely built around 1950–1960s). Photograph submitted by a woman born in 1957 (DFU 41182:90).

Thörn 2018). The pantry and the root cellar were slowly rendered redundant through expanding ownership of refrigerators and freezers, new kitchen designs, fewer producer households, and increased dependency on supermarkets rather than reliance on, for example, cultivating one's own vegetables in the garden or on the allotment. Today, Swedish households rely more on refrigerated space and non-ventilated cupboards, and less on home preservation. However, among Swedes there is still a desire for ample storage space – even more storage space than the conditions of contemporary life strictly necessitate – and this is related to a wider emphasis on "preparedness" in everyday life (Marshall 2021).

In the questionnaire, several female respondents born between 1930 and 1960 associated the arrival of the freezer into the home with the change that their mother no longer had to preserve everything. Preserving and storing food was mainly women's work, and many of the respondents recalled how they as children had assisted with food preservation and how the freezer had eased the household work for them and their mother. Many female respondents also recounted, contrasting their childhood experience with their own household later on, how having fridges and freezers in the kitchen was more comforta-

ble than having to collect food from a food cellar or an external freezer locker building. In this context, refrigeration technology was also framed as a "luxury" and a "revolution" (DFU 41182:23; 41182:74; DAGF 2093).

The fridge and freezer allowed new food habits, enabling consumption of food that was previously restricted by seasons, linked either to harvest time or to the limits of storage. Furthermore, the purchase of delicate food products could be done less frequently and in larger quantities. One woman recalled her family's first refrigerator in 1951 when moving to a newly built apartment. It was a relief not to have to purchase milk every second day and they "could have liver paste [leverpastej] in summer!!" (Woman born in 1936, DAGF 2160). Other examples include how the freezer made it possible to store luxury items such as ice cream and baked goods.

While the freezer eventually changed the way most Swedes conserve and handle food, it did not completely eliminate older ways of preserving food. Different preservation methods were used in parallel. Meat and vegetables, for example, seem to have been more readily adapted to the freezer whereas traditional preservation of berries and fruit remained important. The questionnaire responses indicate the continuous practice of picking berries and making jam across generations although some of the older respondents had either stopped making jam or made smaller batches than before.

When studying the breakpoint of pre-refrigeration versus refrigerated storage, the narratives not only reveal a change in storage materiality. The introduction of fridges and freezers in the domestic sphere reorganized everyday life in many respects. For example, it enabled new food practices and food habits, and freed up time formerly allocated for shopping and food preservation. The new appliances, however, required financial resources and learning new skills to take advantage of the new technology. With time, the skills became embodied as tacit knowledge while new ideas of freshness emerged, as did a reevaluation of food preservation. In a parallel development, during the second half of the 20th century, kitchens changed to accommodate standardized and larger appliances. The once common storage practices and spaces became outdated and rare, at least in new housing, as novel storage appliances became integrated into everyday life (see also Shove & Southerton 2000). This also coincided with societal and economic changes in Sweden that affected food culture, including the availability of more fresh vegetables and meat, a global food provisioning chain and other international influences, and more men cooking food (Jönsson 2020). However, pantries and food preservation have gained new meanings and relevance in the 21st century, as expressed in the childhood memories of our respondents. We now turn our attention to these food storage memories.

Childhood memories of food storage

The respondents often recounted the formative years of childhood in a positive light, a time when everything was exciting – a time of strong impressions. These memories convey emotions, predominantly linked to special occasions and to certain people as well as specific foods. Some of these childhood experiences involved smells, emotions, and practices that had led to attempts to recreate them today through preserving food and using food cellars and pantries. One example is a woman born in 1963 who remembered her grandparents' place with fondness:

> Since I was a child I have loved well-stocked storage spaces. My grandparents made jam and a lot of squashed juice, and had big, well-stocked pantries and food cellars. Not in the countryside but in a suburb in Stockholm. The smell of apples in crates and the feeling of fetching a jar of jam has made a huge impression that I have taken with me and practiced myself. I think pantries are fantastic and wish they made a comeback in new houses. (Woman born in 1963, DFU 41182:93)[3]

The quote aptly demonstrates how emotional experience incorporates the senses, objects, space, and people in the course of everyday life. The woman's account of how she perceived the scent of apples and how fetching a jar of jam from the pantry made her feel also illustrates the performative nature of emotions. Sara Ahmed (2004a; 2004b; 2010) argues against distinguishing sensory experience and emotions as separate categories and suggests instead the concept of "impression." The smell of apples and the feelings experienced when fetching a jar of jam had made such "impressions" on the respondent that she had tried to relive these childhood memories at other times in her life. The respondent and her husband had renovated their kitchen in their 1920s house and decided to re-open a vent to create a cold pantry space, which had been taken away by a previous owner in the 1970s. In the questionnaire, she narrated the memories of these sensual encounters that had left such an emotional mark on her. Remembering and writing down memories of food and food storage are emotional practices that made the experience both emotional and meaningful for the respondent.

As many scholars have noted, emotions are located both in bodies and spaces (Ahmed 2004a; Frykman & Frykman 2016; Reckwitz 2012; Scheer 2012). Emotions therefore take place within and around the body as it moves through specific spaces, interacting with other bodies, as well as with objects. Following the logic of emotions being embodied states, emotions can only be

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3   All quotes have been translated from Swedish to English by the authors. Quotes are followed by the archive's accession number.

made sense of in the context of particular spaces. Mediated by the body and the senses, different spaces are connected to different emotions. However, this relationship between different spaces and different emotions is not fixed (Pernau 2014). The connection between an emotion and a particular space, such as the fondness for the pantry, can, and often does, change over time in relation to society and culture. As could be seen in many of the responses to the questionnaire, similar spaces can be connected to divergent emotions in different people. Memories of food cellars, for example, can be associated with positive feelings, such as love for specific foods, and smells, and people. But different types of cellars were also connected to negative feelings, such as fear, and several respondents described dark and damp root cellars from their childhood as "creepy":

> I was born in 1956 and I was raised in the countryside, on a farm. From my childhood, I recall how the root cellar was filled every autumn with potatoes and root vegetables. You had to put on your boots and tread to the cellar to collect what was needed. The steps were cumbersome, slippery, and you had to walk down uneven steps of stone, and it all was a bit creepy, damp and dark, and probably there were a few rats and spiders. My father, who made up stories which he told me at bedtime, had a favorite one about Prince Bertil who was supposed to collect potatoes in the cellar for dinner. He fell down the steps and got his head stuck in the potato bucket. His mother and father, the king and queen that is, had to help him get unstuck and pull him out of the bucket. I could vividly imagine the fall on the steps and the tin bucket. (Woman born in 1956, DFU 41182:61)

This specific memory includes a story within a story, where the respondent recalled her father's bedtime story about a root cellar. The bedtime stories from her childhood framed her emotional experience of the family's root cellar as being a bit scary or creepy – full of rats and spiders. But it is also a story about the relationship she had had with her father, a memory that was evoked through the act of writing about the root cellar. The quotation demonstrates how food storage spaces such as pantries and root cellars are emotionalized and recontextualized in the present by recounting specific memories that highlight relationships between people (father and daughter) and emotional experiences in the past. Pantries and root cellars are therefore at once material, cultural, and emotional spaces that connect people and objects.

The respondents' narratives normally described the food in detail, which highlights how emotions come into being through the entanglements of objects and people. A woman born in the late 1930s, who grew

up in the city, recalled her summer vacations at her relatives' farm in these words:

> When I was a child, I spent many summer vacations with relatives on a farm on Öland [an island]. I remember my aunt's large pantry which you could walk into. There you could find jars of jam, bread, milk, bowls of sour milk, and much more. In the attic, there were large chests filled with flour that you had to sift before using. Preserved meatballs, chops, and other meat were stored in the cellar in glass jars with a rubber ring between the lid and the jar and with a clip on top of the jar. My aunt made juice from berries that we children helped to pick. The bottles of juice were also in the cellar. (Woman born in 1938, DAGF 2145)

The narrative reads like an ethnographic "thick description" with its close attention to detail. It describes the kinds of food that was preserved and the containers in which it was preserved, and it connects the respondent to her aunt whom she helped with the food preservation. This suggests a certain emotional intensity and impressions in childhood, only to be brought forth decades later through the act of writing. The emphasis of the narrative is on the volume of food, indicating how the food storage itself is positively defined as a space of security – filled with plenty of food.

The narrative needs also to be put into historical context. Although this was not mentioned in the response, the respondent grew up with food rationing during World War II. As she lived in a city apartment until the age of 10, the aunt's rural pantry probably stood in stark contrast to her everyday life. The narrative therefore contains additional silent emotional layers, a phenomenon observed by Marander-Eklund (2009).

After giving an account of her memories of past food storage in the quote above, the respondent turned to contrasting her present storage practices in response to the questionnaire questions about preservation and crisis preparedness. She said that even though she and her husband had not specifically prepared for a crisis, their utility room contained plenty of cans and other food items such as pasta. Recounting past food storage provided the respondent with the opportunity to reflect on her own food preservation practices in the present, which were influenced by prospects of the future. Repeated encounters with family members through food preservation had left a strong impression on the respondent, where the attention to detail in the account bears witness to a certain sensual intensity, and to how the experience was heightened through her bodily senses. Although the narrative does not include any direct emotional expressions, we still argue that in remembering and writing down the memory, the respondent is reinterpreting and emotionalizing her past food storage practices in the present.

Emotional (storage) space

> I remember the pantry in the countryside when I was a child. It was big and blue and you walked into it; the refrigerator was placed in there and I remember it as a wonderful room. Every now and then I have had the luxury of having a cold pantry in the apartments where I have lived, and I LOVE it! Maybe because the word [pantry] is so beautiful. [...] I often daydream about food and food storage. (Woman born in 1964, DFU 41182:42)

Compared to the quote in the previous section, this respondent, who had a great interest in food and cooking, did not hide her feelings when describing the pantry in her childhood home. Furthermore, living in different apartments with the luxury of ventilated pantries had triggered reminiscences in this respondent about the pantry of her youth.

Commenting on the relationship between food and memory, Jon Holtzman (2006) has drawn special attention to the power of food in sustaining temporal and spatial connections, opening the door for reflective memory of the past while anticipating future events (see also Bardone & Kannike 2017; Meah & Jackson 2016). In his study of how the inhabitants of the Greek island of Kalymnos use meals to remember past meals as well as to plan future meals, the anthropologist David Sutton points out how memory is embedded in sensory experience. The islanders thus give structure to their individual and collective memory while at the same time sustaining and strengthening their identity through food (Sutton 2001). In a later discussion, Korsmeyer and Sutton suggest that "people use their memories to call upon the past to interpret, contextualize, or simply link the present with the comfort of the known past" (2011, 473). Stepping into pantries in different apartments through the years had allowed our respondent to step into another time and revisit her childhood. Every pantry had helped her to remember and emotionally connect to the pantry from her childhood. Spatial and embodied memories therefore play an important role in the respondent's nostalgic narrative about pantries.

The space-object arrangement of pantries and food cellars evoked a whole spectrum of emotions in our respondents, ranging from joy, satisfaction, and pride, to fear and a sense of "creepiness." However, most emotions connected to food storage in the past were positive, especially the ones connected to pantries. Compared to root cellars, which some respondents associated with creepiness and fear, pantries were described more affectionately. Pantries were filled with jars of jam and pickled vegetables and meat, crates with different fruit, steel jugs with milk and sour milk, and containers with root vegetables and tubers such as potatoes – all objects that had provided an aesthetic im-

pression and created feelings of security and wellbeing. Well-stocked pantries meant that one did not have to worry about hunger in the future. Today's idealized pantry with labels and glass jars is perhaps aesthetically pleasing as it relates to the past ideal of having a filled pantry. This kind of pantry can of course also be understood as an appealing backdrop for performing identity and as content on social media.

Food storage spaces such as pantries and food cellars can therefore be viewed as "safe spaces" that alleviate fear about the uncertainty of the future while at the same time inciting feelings of calm and bonds between people and objects. Having a well-stocked freezer and cupboards filled with food, as many people today have in their home, are also related to feeling secure and prepared for the unpredictability of everyday life (see Marshall 2018; 2021). However, as freezers and cupboards represent standardized and contemporary food preservation spaces, techniques, and practices, they are not imbued with the same emotions or nostalgic longing as past food storage such as pantries and root cellars.

Other respondents recalled sneaking into, or being sent to, pantries and cellars containing temptations of jars of jam, cakes, and smoked ham stored for future meals. We also find detailed descriptions of food stored for Christmas and social events in Astrid Lindgren's children's books about Emil of Lönneberga and Madicken. These storage spaces are filled not only with food, but also with hope, nostalgic longing, and ideals found in influential popular culture in society. The spaces have thus over time been filled with new meanings and emotions, as the emotional experiences of children opening the pantry in the 1940s to the 1960s are reinterpreted and recontextualized through different temporalities and nostalgia by adults who reminiscence about the pantries and food cellars of their youth. This brings us to the nostalgic sentiments and expressions in the narratives.

Nostalgic storage

In their narratives, several respondents expressed a wish for a pantry or root cellar in their current housing. A few had restored or built such storage facilities. However, it is particularly those who lacked them, who expressed strong emotions:

> The entire kitchen wall at home is a half-height shelf with pantry items. The dream had been to have a secluded pantry, as in the past, where it was cooler. I think it feels secure to always have proper food at home and not to have to shop so often (max every other week). (Woman born in 1997, DFU 41182:30)

There is no mistaking the nostalgic longing in the quote, where the past compares favorably to the present. Contemporary fears about food insecurity and the constant time crunch create a longing for a well-stocked past and a slower rhythm. Another respondent pointed out that "there is no cold storage in modern houses. Nor are there sensible pantries like there used to be." (Woman born in 1949, 41182:62).

Literature scholar Svetlana Boym (2001) has pointed out that although nostalgia usually seems to describe a melancholic desire for a specific place, it is more about a longing for a different time, such as the time of our childhood. Nostalgia, according to Boym, is a rebellion against the modern idea of time, the time of history and progress. However, Boym does not rule out the importance of place and states that nostalgia is a longing for a home that no longer exists or has never existed. Nostalgia is therefore a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it can also be defined as a romance with one's own fantasy. Longing for "old-fashioned pantries" and "classic root cellars" is indicative of this longing for both a specific time and a specific space.

Ethnologist Eerika Koskinen-Koivisto (2016) notes that nostalgia gains its rhetorical power by periodizing emotion and separating the past from the present. Nostalgia therefore creates an understanding of the past as idyllic in comparison with the present which is viewed more negatively. It has been suggested that nostalgia is a reaction to change or the fear of change. The sociologist Fred Davis (1979) coined the term "reflexive nostalgia" to describe how people often juxtapose the past and the present in their own reflective analysis. The concept therefore captures the complexity of the present and the nature of change.

One respondent living in a town used the opportunity the questionnaire provided to think through historical changes when it comes to food storage spaces:

> It seems to me that the most efficient kitchens were built in the early 20th century, with hallway serving rooms, a pantry, food storage in the cellars, laundry rooms, and also wardrobes and cleaning cabinets.
>
> It was quite ok during the 1980s when people had combined refrigerators, a fridge, and larder cabinet, quite a lot of storage in the kitchen, large wardrobes and plenty of storage, a cleaning cabinet, and space for a vacuum cleaner. Houses with open plan living are very nice and comfortable, but lack storage, cleaning cabinets, food storage, space for sorting garbage, and opportunities for recycling, and there is a lack of food cellars in apartment buildings, etc. (Woman born in 1975, DFU 41182:106)

The narrative describes a nostalgic longing for food storage spaces, as well as storage spaces in general, by lamenting how these spaces have shrunk with time. The respondent was born in 1975; today, as she described it, she "unfortunately" lived in a modern house and "missed a [ventilated] pantry terribly." Her grandmother had had both a pantry and a hallway serving room and her mother still had a combined refrigerator and larder cabinet. What she was comparing was her personal experience from her youth, in the late 1970s and 1980s, and the present day, where many of the traditional spaces to preserve food had vanished. The respondent then juxtaposed her own experience from the 1980s and onwards with the early part of the twentieth century. In doing so, she gained a perspective where she could reflexively analyze changes in food preservation, but without falling completely for the lure of nostalgia. Her comment illustrates, however, how nostalgia for past food practices and spaces is a consequence of changed food culture and housing design.

Here, we suggest that reflexive nostalgia ties together not only different temporalities but also different emotional practices. The term "reflexive nostalgia" helps to translate and reinterpret past emotional experiences connected to food storage as they are remembered and written down. Reflexive nostalgia thus helps to create and interpret present emotions in the light of past emotional experiences – something that makes past food storage practices meaningful in the present.

Reflexive nostalgia can also take on a more existential reflection that deals with the chaos of contemporary life rather than a historical comparison in terms of food storage spaces:

> There is a lot in the pantry, and I am very pleased to have one, as everything between heaven and earth can be found here. [...] I try to keep everything in the pantry tidier, but it is what it is. Since a while back, I have begun storing flour and grains in glass jars, which I think looks nice and old-fashioned. In the back of my mind, I have a "romantic" image of order and aesthetics of how it should look when I open my pantry. Before, these items were in their original paper or plastic packaging they were purchased in. (Woman born in 1960, DAGF 2146)

This respondent, today living in her childhood home in the countryside, was not reminiscing about the pantries of her youth but was describing the pantry she has today. She longed for her pantry to be better organized but was also accepting that it would probably never be like that. Here, it seems that she is also under the influence of contemporary ideas regarding pantries, namely the aesthetics and methods of organizing displayed in various media. By acknowledging that she had a "romantic" picture in her mind

when it came to organisation and aesthetics – preserving flour and grains in "old-fashioned" glass jars being examples of this – she simultaneously opened up for reflexive nostalgia. There is a longing for structure and certain aesthetics in her words, against the perceived chaos of everyday life, but at the same time the respondent was aware of the impossibility of this ever fully materializing. The pantry therefore was a space where she could perform different emotions, accepting the precariousness of life through organizing, labeling, and storing food.

Reflexive nostalgia must thus be understood through the lens of contemporary society, as respondents reflected on the past through the present, reinterpreting their emotional experiences through time. This was expressed by a woman who had moved to Sweden later in life, now living in the capital. Her narrative indicates no explicit interest in preservation practices but notes that she was brought up during the war in the Balkans, when water and electricity were regularly cut. She had grown up with a fridge, freezer, and dry and cold pantry. She also recounted how both her parents and her grandparents had stored and preserved a lot of food. Against this backdrop anchored in her past experiences, she expressed her aversion to the modern kitchen:

> I hate all modern flats in Sweden. I hope to buy a flat from the 1950s, where space is used in a smart way. Today's flats are not made for living in; they are made for showing off. I don't know where one is supposed to store either food or, for example, a vacuum cleaner in modern flats. (English in original. Woman born in 1987, DFU 41182:91)

For this woman, a 1950–1960s kitchen would be far better than the one she had. In this case, the positive image of past storage could then also be understood as criticism of contemporary kitchens and society. By juxtaposing the past and the present, this woman was able to express negative emotions that were a part of her own reflexive analysis of contemporary storing spaces. Reflexive nostalgia thus allowed her to engage both critically and emotionally with food storage.

Concluding discussion

Sweden was once a rural society, but today 87% of its inhabitants live in urban areas and about half of all households live in apartment buildings (rented apartments or condominiums) (SCB 2021a; 2021b). While some respondents have built or restored pantries and root cellars, this is not possible for the majority of Swedes. It is notable that these storage facilities, once deemed as less hygienic than refrigerators and freezers and less rational for gendered

food chores, are now desired or at least imagined as something good (see also Marshall 2022). How can this recontextualisation and emotionalisation be understood?

The interpretations and memories of the past expressed in the questionnaire are of course influenced by today's society and culture. In contrast to older types of storage, modern-day refrigerators and freezers, available in practically all homes, do not evoke the same emotions as the rarer pantries and root cellars. Several respondents recalled their family's first fridge or freezer and the change it brought to everyday life, such as the luxury of being able to store ice cream. However, neither past nor present refrigeration appliances were recalled with such great fondness as the pantries. An "old-fashioned" walk-in pantry and build-it-yourself root cellars, once deemed superfluous, have therefore partly regained their status as ideal storage spaces for many Swedes. The longing for past storage spaces, which a century ago were accessible only to parts of the population (Thörn 2018), has now entered mainstream public discourses and is circulating through social media and real estate advertisements. This longing for pantries and root cellars comes precisely at a point in time when the majority of the Swedish population does not have to preserve or bulk up with food to survive. Against the backdrop of the industrial food system – where almost everything is available at any time in the supermarket – the pantry and the root cellar represent a past where seasonality and food preservation played a more important role in everyday life. As access to these storage spaces was restricted in the past, the contemporary emotionalized storage ideal also reflects a nostalgic perception of an idyllic past where neither the procurement and storage of food, nor the living conditions were a problem.

In this article, we have analyzed acts of remembering and writing about past food storage as emotional practices, to gain an understanding of how emotional experience in the past is reinterpreted in the present. The acts of remembering and writing down one's memories demonstrate the performative nature of emotional experience. Seeing these acts as emotional practices illustrates the relational nature of emotions, and how they come into being in different contexts through entanglement of bodies, objects, and spaces. Thinking about remembering and writing down one's memories as emotional practices can also shed light on how emotions come into being and are "translated" from one time to another, from embodied knowledge to reflective interpretation in the form of written memories. As we have demonstrated, the ways in which the questionnaire is formulated has influenced the memories and emotions that are expressed in the narratives. In this sense, the researchers have become co-creators.

The desire for "old-fashioned" food storage is partly driven by nostalgia and childhood memories, connecting several generations as well as past and present food practices. Food storage spaces such as pantries and root cellars can be said to store time in the form of memories and feelings, as expressed in the questionnaire. These storage spaces have created a material framework for entanglements between people, objects, the senses, and emotions. The narratives in the questionnaire verbalized the sensual experience of materiality through smell, taste, touch, and sound.

To be sure, detailed descriptions of the food, the people, and the space itself do not always denote an emotional experience. We have argued, however, that the detailed recounting of past food storage is indicative of emotional intensity in the past. If it were not for this emotional intensity, the experiences would have been forgotten or recounted in less colorful fashion. The respondents engaged with reflexive nostalgia to evaluate past food storage in the light of the present. Reflexive nostalgia is therefore a useful interpretive framework that connects different emotional practices at different times. In the narratives, strong emotions, both positive and negative, were expressed. These emotions came into being as our respondents remembered, narrated, and compared past and present food storage. To think of these acts as emotional practices helps us to understand how past and present food storage spaces are recontextualized and emotionalized through reflexive nostalgia, defining, and negotiating the meaning of these spaces and the part they can play in contemporary society.

So why are we now witnessing this rise in feelings connected to past food storage? Increased attention to pantries and root cellars, through various media, communicates new meanings of these storage features in relation to interior design and food practices that are commonly connected to ideas about sustainable lifestyles (see also Marshall 2022). In this context, nostalgic feelings surrounding past food storage spaces can help to create a sense of control over the present to deal with uncertainty about the future. Perhaps the nostalgic idea of well-filled storage of the past – then a necessity and a result of wise management of resources especially in rural producer households – can be understood as a storage ideal passed down through generations. The well-filled cupboards of today have new meanings. For example, they enable people to shop for food less frequently and provide emotional comfort. Having a large, functional, and well-organized pantry is for most respondents no necessity, instead it functions as an appealing and emotionalized backdrop for expressing specific food values and serves as an emotional space that helps to stave off feelings of insecurity, concerns about fast-paced social transformations and fears for climate change. We also interpret the emotionalized storage

practices described in this article as a reaction against the increasingly stand-ardized kitchen layouts and culinary utensils that, through rationalisation and conformity, have allowed less individualized ways of cooking and storing food (see also Jönsson 2019). The pantry and the root cellars allow people to prac-tice or at least to imagine alternative ways of living with and consuming food. Further research could investigate the reinterpretation and emotionalisation of past storage spaces and practices as emotional relief in contemporary life.

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Worlds Apart: Social Entrepreneurship Discourse in Croatian Media

Abstract

The concepts of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship have been ever more present in public discourse during the past 20–30 years, along with radically different views of the kind and level of socioeconomic or political change that these specific economic ventures (should) aim for. Although social enterprise discourse is often dominated by neoliberal perspectives, which present market-based activity as simply an efficient means of solving all kinds of more or less local and isolated social problems, more critically minded strands of research have been questioning this approach and calling for a broader and more critical perspective. This paper aims to see how these opposing discourses are represented in the Croatian news media, as a discursive sphere which is accessible to a broad public. The analysis focuses on online media in the period 2007–2019 and is based on a comparison between three media types: the online versions of a national daily newspaper and a regional daily newspaper, as well as an online-only progressive non-profit news site. A stark contrast is apparent between mainstream commercial media and alternative non-profit media, i.e. a dominance of neoliberal "enterprise discourse" in the former and more emphasis on a broader political and economic agenda calling for more fundamental, comprehensive and long-term change in the latter.

Keywords: social entrepreneurship, social enterprise, Croatia, media, discourse analysis

Introduction

The 2008 global financial crisis drew attention to the negative social and environmental consequences of a global economy focused on maximising private profit. This sparked numerous calls for the empowerment of alternative economic principles (e.g. Amin 2009; Hart, Laville and Cattani 2010; Kawano 2010; Dash 2014). Instead of projecting them into a future that has yet to be built, it is frequently emphasised that these other principles (co-operation rather than competition, sharing rather than private accumulation, reciprocity and community ties rather than individualism) are already being enacted in practice in many creative ways around the world. Particular organisational forms, which embody these principles, such as co-operatives and mutual societies, have existed for over a hundred years. Other examples are community-supported agriculture, urban and community gardens, microfinance, alternative currencies, fair trade networks, various platforms for sharing, giving and mutual assistance etc. The dismantling of the welfare state in many countries has also led to the proliferation of initiatives providing services insufficiently covered by the public sector, such as community-organised childcare or aid for various categories of disadvantaged persons.

In spite of the diversity of these practices and organisations (due, among other things, to their connections to local communities and cultures), they share common ground, since they are based on the abovementioned "alternative", non-capitalist economic principles and they are independent from public sector structures. This justifies grouping them under one umbrella concept, which contextualises specific local practices as part of a larger, more comprehensive phenomenon. They thus become more visible to policymakers, the public and the practitioners themselves, encouraging more opportunities for growth (Kawano 2010). Attempts to conceptualise this broader perspective have resulted in an abundance of terminology, but we consider "social and solidarity economy" to be the most clear and inclusive term.

The social and solidarity economy is the conceptual ground in which we would like to anchor the concepts of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship (SE) that the paper centres on, in the sense that they refer to specific forms of social and solidarity economy practice. These concepts have been appearing with ever more frequency in public discourse during the past 20–30 years, as the economic practices that they refer to have been proliferating. They can be considered contested concepts, with "a range of actors promoting different languages and practices tied to different political beliefs" (Teasdale 2012, 3). However, Defourny and Nyssens (2017) point out that "[m]ost SE approaches in the literature, if not all, share the view that social enterprises combine an entrepreneurial dynamics to provide services or goods with the

primacy of a social mission". Some examples of social enterprise projects that are mentioned in the media analysed here are: a company employing blind and visually impaired people in the production of soap bars, a bar employing people with special needs, a co-operative beer brewery, a co-living project for single migrant mothers and a social co-operative employing people with disabilities in the production of clothes and household items from recycled textiles.

One approach to researching social enterprise (still not very common) is to engage in ethnographic fieldwork in order to gain insight into the lived experience of social enterprise practices from the perspectives of practitioners, users and others. Another is to analyse the various forms of written discursive production, which contribute to constructing representations of social enterprise in the public sphere. Discourse analysis can supplement the local, interpersonal and embodied perspective of ethnography with an insight into the discursive production of meaning, which is an integral part of everyday practices. A discourse analytical approach to social enterprise has been undertaken by a relatively small number of authors to date (e.g. Parkinson & Howorth 2008; Hudson 2018; Chandra 2017; Teasdale 2012; Mason 2012; Ruebottom 2013). These studies tend to focus on discourses produced by specific (categories of) actors, such as SE practitioners, organisers and promoters or policymakers, for example by analysing policy documents or different types of texts produced by social enterprises themselves. Our aim, however, is to assess representations which reach a broader public, i.e. people who are not involved in or do not yet have a particular interest in social enterprise, and this is why we have chosen to focus on news media. Interestingly, although media representations are generally a popular research subject, we have not yet come across a study which would focus specifically on the concepts of social enterprise and social entrepreneurship in media discourse.

The subject of this paper is thus the use of the Croatian terms "društveno poduzetništvo" and "socijalno poduzetništvo" ("social enterprise"/"social entrepreneurship")[1] in Croatian news media. The focus of the analysis is the difference between a consciously political critique of capitalist market economy and a pragmatic, goal-oriented focus on concrete local problem-solving without a broader critical perspective. This opens up the question of the co-opting of social entrepreneurship by the neoliberal "enterprise discourse" (Parkinson & Howorth 2008). We will look at whether social entrepreneurship is discursively located within the context of a broader field that includes other types of practices and organisations, which we see as a way of attributing to them a significance beyond their immediate local aims. We will also focus on how

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1   For more on these terms and their relations, see the chapter "Approach to the media texts".

social enterprise actors are represented (individually or collectively, for example) and how social enterprise projects are evaluated (praise and/or critique). Another aspect that we consider relevant are the actors who use these terms in the media, since this is closely linked to how they will be represented. We approach the analysis critically, which means that we focus particularly on examples of representation that we consider problematic and in this sense our approach is broadly theoretically and methodologically influenced by Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 2003; Richardson 2007). More specifically, the analysis relies on some of the examples and suggestions provided by Fairclough (1995 [1991]) and Mautner (2008). We do not, however, attempt a detailed linguistic analysis, since our aim is to provide a first insight into some tendencies in the media use of the above-mentioned terms, rather than to delve more deeply into a particular aspect of media discourse.

Due to ease of access (considering the Covid–19 pandemic), but also to trends in media consumption in Croatia, we have decided to focus exclusively on online news media (see the section "Approach to the media texts" for more details). In order to compare different types of news source, we selected the web sites of one national daily newspaper and one regional daily newspaper and an online-only progressive non-profit news site. Since we are interested, among other things, in the earliest appearance of the selected terms in the media and also because we are aware that the total number of search results will be relatively low, we did not want to set a narrow temporal limitation for the analysis. We took the year 2007 as a starting point, in order to include the period before the 2008 financial crisis, and set the limit at 2020, which we did not include, since the exceptional circumstances of the global pandemic and the accompanying economic crisis would call for a more specific approach.

In the following section, we introduce the theoretical framework of our approach to social entrepreneurship, followed by a brief overview of the development of social enterprise and social enterprise discourses in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, in order to provide a context for our analysis. We then describe the process of selecting the individual media, conducting keyword searches and the analysis itself. After that we present the results of the analysis, first in what we consider the mainstream media and then in the "alternative" medium *H-Alter*. This is followed by a concluding section, where we sum up the results and consider some avenues for future research.

A theoretical foundation for social enterprise

Critical researchers of the social and solidarity economy often turn to the fields of economic anthropology and economic sociology as sources for a critique of the capitalist concept of the economy. In these fields, the economy is

conceived as wholly intertwined with and inseparable from social and cultural structures and processes, i.e. it is itself considered a social construct (Mauss 1923, as cited in Laville 2010). This perspective is encapsulated in the concept of embeddedness, which was particularly elaborated by the economic historian Karl Polanyi (2001; 1957). He shows how an independent and self-regulating market cannot actually exist, since it necessarily depends on a specific institutional and social structure which supports it and makes it possible. This means that it is not the only "natural" form of economic organisation, but instead that it is contingent and malleable, like all other social and cultural forms. Thus, there seems to be a particular affinity between the social and solidarity economy as a field of research and the disciplines of cultural anthropology and ethnology, although this potential has yet to be realised to a more significant extent.

Social enterprise research and policy discourse is often dominated by neoliberal perspectives, which present market-based activity (i.e. selling goods and offering services for money) as the most efficient means of solving all kinds of social problems. This approach aims for "social impact", i.e. positive social change, but usually only with regard to a very specific and localised issue, while ignoring the underlying, systemic issues caused by dominant neoliberal economics. It can thus actually contribute to the further dismantling of any vestiges of the welfare state and to the already advanced colonisation of all spheres of public and private life by market relations and market logic. More critically minded strands of research have been questioning this approach, emphasising the political dimension of social enterprise (Roy & Grant 2020) and articulating economic and social change as a more comprehensive, fundamental and long-term goal. The social and solidarity economy is one such framework, which allows for a better understanding of the specific characteristics of social enterprise, as opposed to approaches from mainstream business and entrepreneurship studies (Parkinson & Howorth 2008, 287).

The concepts of enterprise and entrepreneurship themselves come from the context of "capitalism and free market economics" (Jennings, Perren and Carter 2005, as cited in Parkinson & Howorth 2008, 286) and thus potentially bring with them what Parkinson and Howorth (ibid.) call "enterprise discourse". This discourse, which the authors particularly associate with the field of social enterprise policy, foregrounds efficiency, impact and the "heroic" individual entrepreneur who is built up into a mythical figure, particularly by the media. This individualist approach obscures the social, collective processes that social entrepreneurship ventures consist of, while the managerial focus of enterprise discourse "neglect[s] the political and dialogical practices at the

centre of social entrepreneurship" (Cho 2006, as cited in Parkinson & Howorth 2008, 286). On the other hand, among social entrepreneurs themselves, Parkinson and Howorth locate a counter-discourse which instead focuses more on collective action, community and the political and moral aspects of their work. Another important difference between the two discourses is that the former positions social entrepreneurship as part of the mainstream capitalist economy, while in the latter it is constructed as a distinct phenomenon, with its own structures, values and modes of acting. However, dichotomies such as "policy vs. practitioners" should be approached cautiously, since, as Hudson (2018) shows, strong disagreements and conflicts can also arise, for example, among practitioners themselves.

Social enterprise in Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe

It is often pointed out that there are many similarities in the context and development of social enterprise in the countries of Central, Eastern and Southeastern Europe, prompting comparative analyses (Defourny & Nyssens 2021; NESsT 2017; Zoehrer 2017). After the Second World War, socialist states took the provision of social services on themselves, while the economy was also to a significant extent controlled and managed by the state, limiting autonomy. Although Yugoslavia was generally more liberal than Eastern Bloc regimes, with its official doctrine of workers' self-management and elements of what can be considered civil society (Stubbs 2001), the environment was not conducive to the development of a social economy.

The concept of social enterprise was thus only introduced in the region in the 2000's, as a result of the transition to a market economy and the transformation of the welfare state in the 1990's. The key actors forming the discourse of social enterprise in the region were international agencies, foundations and organisations, which provided funding and support to social entrepreneurs, as well as European Union policy documents and funding tenders. The role of social enterprise was articulated either as providing social services (particularly to disadvantaged social groups) or generating income in order to make civil society organisations less dependent on grant-based funding. These discourses of service provision and economic sustainability were accepted and reproduced both in national policies and institutions, as well as by many of the social entrepreneurs themselves.

Due to the unfavourable legal, institutional and financial environment, social enterprise in Croatia is still relatively underdeveloped (Vidović & Baturina 2021). Sociocultural factors are also often cited as reasons for this, such as negative attitudes toward civil society organisations and co-operatives, low levels of social capital and "paternalistic" expectations that the state should provide social and economic security (European Commission 2019, 15–16).

Orlić (2014), however, whose research is based on ethnographic fieldwork with members of community-supported agriculture (CSA) groups, emphasises instead a long-lasting political and social distrust in state institutions. Rather than relying on them, some people are turning to family and individuals, i.e. informal circles, in creating alternative economic and social responses to their problems (ibid., 85). Šimleša, Bušljeta Tonković and Puđak (2016, 272) also adopt a more positive tone, stating that, although unevenly developed throughout the country, social enterprise is a growing factor in economic development.

Approach to the media texts

Before moving on to a description of the process of media selection and analysis, we will briefly consider the importance of analysing media discourses in the context of research on contemporary culture. As Foucault (1972) has influentially shown, discourses can produce and enforce particular structures of meaning, to the extent that they can shape what can be thought or said about a certain topic. This is always closely tied to power relations within a given environment, which discourse is necessarily involved in, both by producing and maintaining them and being a result of their workings. Within the realm of discourse, a central role in most contemporary societies is played by the (mass) media, not least by encouraging the rise of imagined communities (Anderson 2016): national, regional or communities based on political ideologies, for example. As such, every medium will have an affinity with the interests and views of a particular social group (however broad that group may be). One can thus observe, by focusing on media discourses, how different worldviews and interests interact and compete in attempts to construct different social realities, to set different agendas of what is relevant and what needs to be acknowledged or debated. As a practically ubiquitous part of everyday life, central in the articulation of "truth" and the enforcement (or challenging) of power relations, the media play a key role in research on contemporary culture. This is why we considered it important for a broadly conceived, multidisciplinary research project on the solidarity economy to include an analysis of media discourses.

Since we wanted to compare the representation of social entrepreneurship in different types of medium, we selected three online[2] news sources for

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2   The decision to include only online media in the analysis was not only due to the possibility of keyword searches and greater accessibility, considering the Covid–19 pandemic. The circulation of printed daily newspapers in Croatia has been steadily declining during the period covered by our research, while the readership of the major dailies' online versions has been increasing (Vozab 2014; circulation figures for printed

the analysis. *Jutarnji list* ("Morning Paper") was chosen as an example of the online version of a popular nation-wide daily newspaper, whose readership is oriented generally toward the centre in political terms (Peruško & Vozab 2017). Since social enterprise ventures are often more prominent on a local or regional level, we included the regional daily newspaper *Glas Istre* ("Voice of Istria") in the analysis. The region of Istria on the northeastern Adriatic coast was selected because it has a daily regional newspaper with print and online editions and due to its relative prosperity, which might suggest a more active social enterprise sector. Finally, we wanted to include a non-profit, left-leaning, progressive news source, which critically approaches social, economic, political and environmental issues, as an alternative to the mainstream media. *H-Alter* was selected as a good example of this type of medium (Peruško & Vozab 2017).

To locate texts for the analysis, we used the terms "društveno poduzetništvo" and "socijalno poduzetništvo" as keywords in the search[3] (in all their case forms, i.e. with different word endings), both of which can be translated into English as either "social entrepreneurship" or "social enterprise"[4]. Although the adjectives "društveno" and "socijalno" both mean "social", the latter bears an additional connotation to social welfare. Davorka Vidović (European Commission 2019, 80) points out that this is why the Croatian government opted for the former as the preferred official term, which is used in the Strategy for Social Entrepreneurship Development 2015–2020, although both terms are still sometimes used interchangeably. Therefore, although we searched for and analysed texts using either of the Croatian terms, we will use "social entrepreneurship" to translate both of them.

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newspapers in 2019 as provided by publishers to the Croatian Chamber of Commerce, available on demand).

3   The research was originally conceived so as to include several broader terms ("solidarity economy", "social economy", "good economy"), which can encompass a wide range of practices apart from social entrepreneurship, but due to the very small number of texts where these terms are used (particularly in the mainstream media), the journal editors suggested that we focus only on social entrepreneurship.

4   The difference between these two Croatian terms and their relation to the English terms requires a brief explanation. The English language allows a distinction between the terms "social enterprise" (as a broad field encompassing actors, activities, relations etc.), "a social enterprise" (an individual organisation active within the field of social enterprise) and "social entrepreneurship" (activity bringing an innovative approach to solving social problems, not necessarily present within a social enterprise). Croatian, however, only allows for the distinction of a social enterprise ("društveno poduzeće"), while the difference between social enterprise and social entrepreneurship is lost, since both the terms "društveno poduzetništvo" and "socijalno poduzetništvo" can refer to the whole field, as well as to specific innovative activity.

Web site		Jutarnji list	Glas Istre	H-Alter	Total
Total number of texts		71	31	28	130
Term used	"društveno poduzetništvo"	29	18	21	68
	"socijalno poduzetništvo"	42	13	7	62
Year	2007–2012	1	0	2	3
	2013–2016	30	18	21	69
	2017–2019	40	14	5	59

Table 1. Google keyword search results (numbers of texts using the term "društveno poduzetništvo" and/or "socijalno poduzetništvo").

We used Google's search engine to search the entire web sites of the selected media (jutarnji.hr, glasistre.hr and h-alter.org). We are aware that it is problematic to assume that Google search is an objective tool which produces fully reliable results without any omissions. However, since our approach is not based on quantitative methodology, overall patterns of use of the terms will emerge even if the search results do not cover every single instance of use. Having this caveat in mind, the information that we provide in Table 1 should not be understood as definitive data on the use of the terms "društveno poduzetništvo" and "socijalno poduzetništvo" in the selected media sources.

After conducting the keyword searches, the next step was to read the texts that we had compiled, taking note of general tendencies in the representation of social entrepreneurship which could be observed without a more focused analysis. We then proceeded with a more detailed focus on a smaller number of instances (texts or text sections), which were interesting either due to their specificity or as examples of the observed general tendencies. The main question that guided the analysis was how the purpose or role of social entrepreneurship is articulated, i.e. why and how it is important for a particular organisation, social group or for the society or economy more broadly. Among other aspects of representation, this has to do with how social entrepreneurship is contextualised and which other concepts, themes or discourses it is explicitly or implicitly linked with. Another important question is which social actors are given space in different types of media to produce or propagate particular discourses. This allows them to construct a concept of social entrepreneurship in accordance with their specific interests and goals, their position in political, economic and social power relations and their different strategies and modes of functioning. In the following two sections we will present our findings, first with regard to what we consider the mainstream media and then *H-Alter* as an alternative medium.

The mainstream media – *Jutarnji list* and *Glas Istre*

Taking into account that the search results might not have been comprehensive, it is still apparent from the data in Table 1 that social entrepreneurship as a topic was practically completely absent from the analysed media prior to 2013, when Croatia became a member of the European Union. However, Vidović (2012, 165–175) states that the term entered public discourse in Croatia around 2005. It would therefore seem that the diffusion of the concept into media discourse (at least that of the media analysed here) was rather slow and not linked to the 2008 financial crisis. This is in accordance with the observation by Vidović and Baturina (2021, 40) of a "slight increase in public interest" in social enterprise and social entrepreneurship after joining the EU, which they ascribe to "several EU funding schemes [becoming] available for Croatian social entrepreneurs".

Apart from this, the most apparent general finding is the great difference between what we shall consider mainstream media (*Jutarnji list* and *Glas Istre*) and the alternative medium *H-Alter*. The fact that *Glas Istre* has a regional focus has not proven relevant in terms of quantitative or qualitative aspects of social entrepreneurship representation. Texts on social entrepreneurship on all three web sites rely strongly on the discourses of other social actors, while journalists' authorial voices, for example in investigative or opinion pieces, are hardly present at all. The differences in the roles ascribed to social entrepreneurship can thus be attributed primarily to the choice of actors whose discourse is represented and the amount of space they are given. The mainstream media tend to give more space to actors from the public sector, primarily political figures, while *H-Alter* functions to an extent as a media platform for the civil society sector.

As a result, mainstream media representations are dominated by institutional and political discourse, foregrounding top-down promotion of social entrepreneurship by state and regional institutions. Encouragement of social enterprise projects is contextualised within the larger political programme of European Social Fund grants, promoted through partnerships between the state, the civil sector and private initiatives. In Istria, this is also realised in the form of regional partnerships, such as a Croatian-Slovenian partnership which was reported on in *Glas Istre* (Bašić-Palković 2015). In the article, a functionary of a regional Istrian public agency refers to the government's 2015–2020 social entrepreneurship strategy and points out "that social entrepreneurship can significantly contribute to the fulfilment of the strategic goals of Europe 2020 and affect the reduction of the problems of unemployment, poverty and social exclusion". This is a typical example of the social-welfare, problem-alleviation approach to social entrepreneurship, which is characteristic of public sector actors and which seeks to affect change only within a limited, concrete, pragmatically

oriented framework. Social entrepreneurship is also occasionally represented by state institutions as a vehicle for the self-financing of the civil sector, making it more financially independent (Rojnić Sinković 2015). This can be seen as a way of partly relieving the state of the financial burden of funding civil society organisations, in line with the general tendency toward dismantling the welfare state.

Mason (2012, 126) points out how "dominant groups, i.e. political elites" assert "hegemonic control over the public discourse concerning social problems (e.g. social exclusion)" and this can certainly be observed in the mainstream media that we have analysed. Beyond simply leaving out any form of critique or calls for systematic and long-term change, this approach can actually be said to discourage such critique by construing both the "problem" and its "solution" as detached from a broader context. This context could be introduced by using broader terms such as "social economy" or "solidarity economy", which encompass many other non-capitalist economic practices and can introduce a more general perspective on the relationship between economy and society. These broader terms, however, are very rarely used in the mainstream media analysed here and hardly ever in the same text as the term "social entrepreneurship", which means that discursive links are not established between them.

A similar discursive divide can be observed in some of the academic literature (both internationally and in Croatia), which focuses on particular social enterprise projects, but fails to link the research with a theoretical framework built on broader concepts, such as those mentioned above. Perhaps this is partly because the research participants themselves do not necessarily identify with any of these overarching concepts or are familiar with them (Orlić 2014; Puđak, Majetić and Šimleša 2016). In fact, some authors argue that both the terminology and theoretical concepts are poorly present in public discourse (Kawano 2010, 20) and that a substantial research effort should be undertaken in order to create a framework that actors could relate to. This would help by strengthening social and solidarity economy practices and activities and firmly establishing them in the social and economic context (Šimleša et al. 2016, 291). With this in mind, the Green Network of Activist Groups (Croatian: *Zelena mreža aktivističkih grupa* or ZMAG) introduced the term "good economy" ("dobra ekonomija"), articulating it as part of the moral economy as well. Since the concept is primarily used in the realm of practice (educational and advocacy activities) rather than research, it has not been particularly theoretically elaborated, apart from playing the role of a more "localised" (i.e. Croatian) synonym of "solidarity economy". These efforts, however, have not yet penetrated to a significant extent into the mainstream media, where the term "social entrepreneurship" is generally not used in a critical political context.

Echoing Roy and Grant's (2020) finding in the field of scholarship, representations of social entrepreneurship in the mainstream media tend to po-

sition it within the mainstream capitalist economic model, rather than as an alternative to it. The most explicit example is a quote from the minister of labour and the pension system, who calls it "capitalism with a human face" (Hina 2019). Texts engaging more extensively with social entrepreneurship, usually based on an interview with a social entrepreneur, contribute in a more subtle way to this representation. Most commonly there is only one interviewee and the main topic of the text is a social enterprise project (or several) attributed to them. The interviewee might mention other people or organisations they collaborated with on the project, but the emphasis of the article is on the "featured" individual. There is usually a photograph of them on the top of the page and the text interweaves descriptions of their social enterprise projects with their personal views, experiences and advice to others with similar ambitions.

A common motif in these narratives is overcoming obstacles and pursuing a goal in spite of scepticism or discouragement on the part of others (a good example is the title "They told her it wouldn't work and now she is among the 12 most promising female entrepreneurs in Britain", Bratić 2017). The entrepreneur's achievements are often attributed to their personal characteristics (creativeness, self-confidence, decisiveness, perseverance...), rather than to co-operation and collective effort. Parkinson and Howorth (2008) identify this individualist focus on the "heroic" social entrepreneur as an aspect of "enterprise discourse", adding that it is particularly common in the media. In some cases, these texts articulate a (not necessarily explicit) critique of the dominant view of entrepreneurship as oriented exclusively toward private profit. However, by focusing attention on individual rather than collective agency, these texts limit the meaning of the *social* in "social entrepreneurship": it refers only to social impact or benefit, but not to the social nature of the entrepreneurial process itself (see Parkinson & Howorth 2008, 288–289, for references).

Such an apolitical and acritical concept of social entrepreneurship seems to be the object of an unspoken consensus in public discourse. It is invariably represented positively (albeit superficially), as something desirable, as if there was a taboo in force with regard to negative representations of social entrepreneurship. This is surely due to the fact that the term has become a part of political discourse, with political parties from different sides of the spectrum citing it regularly in their programmes. However, this apparent consensus might be concealing negative attitudes, perhaps particularly within the business community, which can only occasionally be indirectly detected through attempts at legitimation by social entrepreneurs. Some of them, namely, feel the need to emphasise that what they do is "just like any other entrepreneurship", except that the profits are used for social purposes. This was stated, for example, by the director of a company that produces soap bars and employs blind and visually impaired people (Krnić 2017).

This can perhaps be interpreted as a response to the business community not taking social entrepreneurship seriously, viewing it as more like charity work, where the social aims are central, to the detriment of competitiveness and success in the market. This might be due to the fact that social enterprises often receive funding and other forms of assistance from the public sector and that the people running them often do not have much experience with market-based ventures. But it also potentially indicates prejudice and a lack of understanding of social enterprise in the mainstream business community (Vidović & Baturina 2021), prompting attempts at legitimation of social entrepreneurship from the perspective of mainstream capitalist entrepreneurship. The director of the soap company thus invokes the "free market" (which they aim to participate in with their products), while the text also mentions that the company's employees work eight hours per day from Monday to Friday (as if to show that it is, indeed, a real job). The general aim of the article (and of most other texts focusing more extensively on social entrepreneurship) seems to be to dispel this prejudice and familiarise the business community with this alternative business model. However, the result, among other things, is that the concept of social entrepreneurship is adapted to the dominant neoliberal "enterprise discourse" (Parkinson & Howorth 2008). Another example of this are affirmations of the financial viability of social enterprise, such as an article informing that social enterprises in Croatia generated a total revenue of 943,551,875 Croatian kuna (€124,630,391) in 2015 (Promo 2019).

We did, however, come across one particularly elaborate example of explicit critique, although, significantly, it does not use the term "social entrepreneurship" to label its object. But it can be said to show the other side of the coin of the "positive", but depoliticised representation of social entrepreneurship - a strong critical attitude toward attempts at achieving more radical and long-term economic change. The text in question is an opinion article (Grgas 2018) on the attempts by the Co-operative for Ethical Financing (*Zadruga za etično financiranje* - ZEF) to found an ethical bank. The article criticises ZEF's ambition of "experimenting, introducing a new model, changing the economy" and their "different view of the role of money" rooted in a critique of "economy based exclusively on short-term profit". The author clearly sides with the "financial community", representing these aims as unrealistic, overly ambitious, a "pretty fantasy that will never come true". Calling ZEF a "dishevelled co-operative of 1400 members", the author denies the viability of collective and co-operative management and decision-making in a financial institution. An opposition is implicitly constructed between the idealistic and insufficiently competent ZEF and the professional and serious financial community. "The 'good economy' sounds good," the author writes ironically.

The alternative – *H-Alter*

There are several characteristics which distinguish *H-Alter* from the mainstream, commercial media: it is a non-profit medium, published by a civil society organisation, and the authors of its texts maintain close connections with other civil society actors and activists. It is not focused on daily news and this lack of pressure to constantly produce fresh news items means that authors have more time, as well as media space, to engage more substantially with their topics. This is also encouraged by the fact that *H-Alter* has a relatively limited thematic focus, centred on the domains of civil society, politics (democratic political culture, human rights), social science, sustainable development, environmentalism and cultural production (UNMK 2016). All of this results in significant differences in the representation of social entrepreneurship between *H-Alter* and the mainstream media.

However, elements of the problem-solving acritical discourse usually associated with public sector actors are not entirely absent from *H-Alter* either. As we have already mentioned, all three media rely to a great extent on the discourses of other social actors in their representation of social entrepreneurship. In *H-Alter*, these are mainly actors from the civil society sector, but occasionally also government bodies or policymakers, for example in the case of funding tenders for social enterprises, which *H-Alter* publishes regularly. For some of these texts the author is not given, making it potentially unclear whether the text originates from an external source and to what extent it has been modified, i.e. whose and how many authorial voices are present. For some texts, such as announcements of various events, readers might reasonably assume that they were authored by other sources (the organisers of the event). However, the fact that they have been published on *H-Alter* means that they have thus become a part of *H-Alter's* discourse, i.e. that *H-Alter* supports and promotes their discourse. This becomes particularly relevant in the case of government tenders, as they introduce into *H-Alter's* discursive space elements of the discourse of public policy, which is close to political discourse, without necessarily making it clear that this is the case. In these texts, representations of social entrepreneurship are inevitably focused on problem-solving and devoid of any broader critical reflection, in contrast, for example, to some of the texts explicitly attributed to *H-Alter's* journalists (we provide some examples below).

Sometimes hints at broader systemic critique are combined with elements of the dominant political problem-solving discourse. An example is an announcement of a TV programme on social entrepreneurship (Anonymous 2014). The entire text was almost certainly copied from the website of the organisation which produces the TV programme in question, although the author is not stated. The text starts by pointing out that numerous "com-

plex economic, welfare [socijalni], social [društveni], cultural, environmental problems" are causing "political and socioeconomic instability in the whole world". Among the suggested means for change are "new values of the society", implying that "old values" (not mentioned explicitly), are linked with the abovementioned problems and thus considered no longer beneficial and in need of replacement. Thus, both the issue and the solution are constructed on a systemic, global level. However, part of the solution is also "addressing the needs of marginalised, socially vulnerable groups and problems in local communities". This is represented as the role of social entrepreneurship (and, more broadly, "socio-economic ventures") and it reads like it might have been copied from a political speech or a policy document.

Although most of the texts using the term "social entrepreneurship" in *H-Alter* are of the types described above (announcements of events or tenders), there are also examples where a broader perspective comes into view. This is perhaps most explicitly stated in two texts and in both cases by the same actor - Dražen Šimleša of the ZMAG association (which introduced the term "good economy"). One of these texts (Opačić 2014) is about the already mentioned project of founding an ethical bank by the Co-operative for Ethical Financing (ZEF). This provides a good opportunity for comparison with the harsh critique levelled at this initiative in *Jutarnji list* (although there are also more balanced articles about the ethical bank in *Jutarnji list*; a critique like the one presented above could not appear in *H-Alter* however). The text is attributed to one of *H-Alter's* journalists and it reports on a public round table discussion held directly before ZEF's founding assembly. The round table participants assert that social entrepreneurship is not recognised by commercial banks in Croatia, which limits options for financing projects in their early phase and makes it very hard for social enterprises to get off the ground and grow. In contrast, ethical banks are presented as very welcoming toward social enterprise projects. An opposition is thus implicitly constructed. On the one hand are mainstream entrepreneurship, commercial banks and the "existing [economic] system", which is criticised by Šimleša (one of the round table participants). On the other hand are social entrepreneurship, ethical banks and an alternative system which he represents as desirable ("positive", "progressive", "more just", "more sustainable"). Thus, social entrepreneurship is articulated as part of a broader call for change in the current economic system, via its association with the ethical bank project which advocates this goal.

The other text is an interview with Šimleša on the occasion of the first Good Economy Conference organised in Zagreb by ZMAG (Kelava 2014). Šimleša elaborates the good economy concept, emphasising the need for a broad systemic perspective and long-term change, rooted in a critique of the current

economic system which has caused the triple crisis of the economy, climate change and resource depletion. Social entrepreneurship is mentioned several times as a prime example of the good economy (it "expands the spaces of the good economy"), along with many other forms of economic practice, which, in spite of their heterogeneity, are represented as sharing a common territory. Šimleša also encourages networking and exchange among different local communities. This topos of establishing links between previously separate practices and actors aims at building the social and solidarity economy (or "good economy") as a broad movement, both discursively and otherwise, and is common among its advocates. This is motivated not least by issues of visibility: as Šimleša points out, good economy actors are not very visible, "because we are blind, that is, this system blinds us".

Conclusion

The global turmoil ignited by the financial crisis in 2008 strengthened movements across the globe that pondered different economic and social relations aimed at downsizing profit maximisation and creating different economic principles. Although modestly and inconsistently, in the last fifteen years these movements and practices have started to take shape in Croatia, as well. The present paper aimed at analysing how social entrepreneurship is represented in Croatian online media discourse since 2007, in order to see how this might contribute to shaping the awareness and opinions of the general public.

Both *H-Alter* and the mainstream media contribute to social entrepreneurship discourse primarily by providing a platform for the discourses of various social actors: the mainstream media focus more on public sector actors and *H-Alter* on the civil society sector. Thus, in the former, social entrepreneurship is more commonly represented in the context of EU policy, as an alternative solution to current problems, particularly in providing employment for the so-called "hard-to-employ" population. This shows that the neoliberal managerial enterprise discourse, focused on efficiency and problem-solving, is dominant in the mainstream media, potentially indicating the shrinking of the role of the state in providing welfare. It is also completely in accordance with the way that dominant public discourse on social entrepreneurship was shaped in Central, Eastern and Southeastern European countries, under the influence of the EU and international funders.

Social entrepreneurship seems to have become something of a buzzword in Croatian public discourse, as a result of these influences and of a generally dominant discourse of entrepreneurship as a desirable form of economic practice to boost employment and the economy. This should be viewed in the context of the pervasive postsocialist "transition myth", which encourages policies

and discourses geared toward the creation of a free market, while insufficiently appreciating the specific nature and value of social entrepreneurship (Borzaga, Galera and Nogales, 2008, as cited in in Defourny, Mihály, Nyssens and Adam, 2021, 1). Thus, although political and policy discourse seems to have embraced the concept of social entrepreneurship, a lack of "conceptual clarity and a broadly accepted understanding of the concept" can still be observed (Vidović & Baturina 2021, 40). This is also the case in other Southeastern European countries, where "potential stakeholders from both the private and public sectors are not aware of and do not understand social enterprise models and success stories" and there is a "lack of general public awareness" of social enterprise (NESsT 2017, 15).

Apart from the discourse of political and institutional actors themselves, this is also a result of the particular contribution of the mainstream media to the public discursive landscape: they generally show a lack of knowledge and interest in a deeper engagement with issues related to alternative economic practices. While there seems to be a general consensus of representing social entrepreneurship positively, these representations tend to be rather superficial. Also, the presumed consensus might be concealing negative prejudiced attitudes rooted in neoliberal views, which rarely surface explicitly in the media, but can result in the adoption of elements of the enterprise discourse by social entrepreneurs. In this regard, the regional medium *Glas Istre* did not show any significant differences from the national daily *Jutarnji list*. The potential reasons for this should be explored by analysing other regional, as well as local, media.

In *H-Alter* on the other hand, texts are more likely to provide contextualisation and critical analysis of the current neoliberal paradigm, social and economic inequalities and the potentials of alternative economic practices to confront these issues. Dražen Šimleša and ZMAG are a prominent source in this regard, in terms of locating social entrepreneurship within the context of the "good economy" concept, articulating it as part of a broader "movement" calling for more fundamental economic, social and cultural change. There are, however, occasional hints of problem-solving "enterprise discourse" in *H-Alter,* as well, although not frequently. Among other things, this is due to the fact that many social entrepreneurs themselves do not view what they do in a broader, more critical context. As Vidović and Baturina (2021, 42) point out, "[t]he concept of 'social economy' was rarely used until recently, and so far, the term has not become really 'embedded' in the Croatian context, despite its long historical usage and role in continental European tradition". This is even more so with regard to the concept of "solidarity economy", which is associated with more critical, anticapitalist discourses. The introduction and promotion by ZMAG of the "good economy" concept is changing this situation to an extent, as some actors adopt the concept and use it to refer to their activities.

The data we have collected and analysed do not include the newly established "normality" of the Covid pandemic, followed by an economic crisis, as well as three strong earthquakes in Croatia in 2020, all of which has prompted calls for solidarity and reshaping of social relations and hierarchies. Another relevant development is the rise to power in the 2021 local elections of political parties and independent candidates from different parts of the spectrum who are not part of the traditional political establishment. Future research would benefit from taking this recent period as a starting point of analysis, enabling a more elaborated comparison of social entrepreneurship representations across Croatia.

Also, as Mauksch, Dey, Rowe and Teasdale (2017) point out: "Our understanding of language's constitutive power takes on an entirely different coloration if we include ethnographic research scrutinising how prevailing discourses of social enterprise are dealt with at the level of practice." They thus indicate how productive links can be established between discourse analysis and the fields of ethnology and cultural anthropology, where the former opens up the field of discursive production of meaning, while the latter connect it with the world of everyday practices. Combining ethnographic fieldwork with discourse analysis might also be a good way to explore the interesting and complex subjects for future research suggested by one of our reviewers: emotionality of texts, processes of circulation of particular discourses and the attachments that they offer within the perpetual crisis of capitalism.

Although ethnographic research of social enterprise is still not common, Mauksch et al. (ibid.) emphasise its important role in providing a perspective which foregrounds day-to-day processes, mundane experiences, interactions and sociality, as well as negotiation of tensions and opposing views. This allows for a view of social enterprises not as decontextualized entities or business models, but as "a social phenomenon that shapes, and is being shaped, through everyday practice", "as performative enactment, i.e. as a kind of doing rather than a form of being". The self-reflexiveness of ethnographic fieldwork also presumes an engagement with the shifting role of the researcher with regard to the process, participants, subject and aims of the research. This is especially relevant since it is quite common for social enterprise researchers to base their research on personal involvement with the organisations and individuals who are their research participants. In Croatia, ethnographic research of a social enterprise has been conducted and advocated by Stubbs and Vidović (2017), emphasising the importance of taking into account the specific context that each social enterprise venture operates in. Generally, however, this is still a vastly unexplored and promising territory which will surely open up many new perspectives not accessible to other methodological approaches.

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**Pete Pesonen &
Kirsti Salmi-Niklander**

Studying Industrial Oral History during the Pandemic – Ethical and Methodological Questions

Abstract

This article discusses an oral history project that examines homer production at the Högfors Ironworks in Karkkila. This was a cooperative project of the University of Helsinki, the Finnish Labour Archives and the Finnish Foundry Museum in Karkkila. A "homer" (firabeli in Finnish) is an object made for one's own benefit by a worker using his or her factory's equipment and materials.

The article focuses on ethical and methodological issues affecting the study of industrial oral history during the COVID-19 pandemic. What kind of practical and ethical challenges were faced, how could they be solved and how did they affect a project? These issues are reflected in relation to recent academic discussions on conducting oral history interviews during the pandemic.

The COVID-19 pandemic affected the process in numerous ways. The conducting of interviews required a unique solution based on the local services of Karkkila. The risks for interviewers and interviewees were minimized. However, the downside was that a video interview during the long pandemic period might have been a psychologically stressing experience for some interviewees.

The interviewees' ideas about homer practices were similar to those of the previous oral history collections. The major distinction between the Karkkila collection and the previous collections lies in the foundry industry itself.

Keywords: oral history, industrial heritage, interview, methodology, pandemic, research ethics

This article focuses on an educational, oral history and exhibition project that examined homer production at the Högfors Ironworks in Karkkila. This was a cooperative project by the University of Helsinki, the Finnish Labour Archives and the Finnish Foundry Museum[1] in Karkkila, and it was carried out during the spring term of 2021. The COVID-19 pandemic affected the process in numerous ways, and it required testing new methods for interviews and exhibition design. Both the exceptional conditions during the pandemic and the sensitive research theme created ethical challenges. We had different roles in the project: Kirsti Salmi-Niklander is a university lecturer in folklore studies at University of Helsinki, she lives in Karkkila and has worked remotely throughout most of the pandemic. She took care of student supervision and practical implementation of the interviews, whereas Pete Pesonen was responsible for archiving and preliminary analysis of the interviews.

The focus of our article is on ethical and methodological issues affecting the study of industrial oral history during the pandemic: How could the ethical and practical challenges of conducting oral history interviews be resolved? How did the way in which the interviews were conducted affect the project? These issues are reflected in relation to recent discussions on conducting oral history interviews during the pandemic, published on the websites of the US-based Oral History Association and the UK-based Oral History Society and in a special issue of the *Oral History Review* 47(2), 2020.

The article also addresses another important question: Did the Högfors interviews reveal new knowledge about the practices and norms related to homers? This question is approached by comparing the oral history narratives of homer-making in Högfors with previously collected materials on homers. A "homer" (*firabeli* in Finnish) is an object made for one's own benefit by a worker using his or her factory's equipment and materials. The background of the project was premised on Pete Pesonen's doctoral dissertation on homers. Pete Pesonen compiled a comprehensive oral history collection on homers for his research.

> Well, in my opinion, the homer is made orthodoxly when it's made of the house's material without permission. (--) On your own time, and with permission, a man could make it. It was also kinda homer, but as I see it, a real proper homer was made on the factory's time and with a factory's materials, and without permission. (All the interview quotes are translated by the authors from Finnish interview transcriptions. The collection "Workshop school alumni interviews", Interview: 13132, The Finnish Labour Archives)

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1 Finnish Foundry Museum (Suomen Valimomuseo) is one unit of the Ironworks Musem Senkka (Ruukkimuseo Senkka) in Karkkila. The Museum is run by the Foundry Museum Foundation.

The above interviewee argues that a real "homer" was made during working hours, using a factory's materials and without the permission of one's supervisors. Despite this person's opinion, the oral history of homer-making in the Finnish metal and workshop industry illustrates the fact that the shop floor was in reality much more diverse. The making of homers was not openly condoned, as one has always needed the employer's permission to make such items. Nevertheless, homer-making was commonly tolerated by supervisors. Local permission practices have varied significantly, though, and additionally, the workers have interpreted the rules in such a way that benefits them the most. Mid-level management has interpreted the employer's instructions in its own way and extended both official and unofficial permits for homer-making. This selective permissiveness towards homer making makes it troublesome to differentiate between perks, homer-making and pilfering (Pesonen 2018; 2020).

So, this article defines a homer as an object made for one's own purpose or pleasure by a worker using his or her factory's equipment and materials. It is essential that homers are produced for personal use by an employee in the workplace. In most cases, they are produced during working hours. The term "homer" was first used in the English translation of Miklós Harasztis's book *Worker in a worker's state*. It is a description of work at a Hungarian tractor factory. The term "homer" is now currently used in American English. But another term for the practice in the US is "government jobs". In British English, homers are called "foreigners" or "foreign orders". French historian Michel de Certeau refers to the phenomenon of "la perruque", as they are called in France, in volume 1 of his influential book *L'invention du quotidien*, *Arts de faire* (1980), which was translated into English in 1984. (Anteby 2008a, 29–31; Oliver 2009, 27; Gouldner 1954, 13; Dalton 1959, 205.) French sociologist Michel Anteby has researched the phenomenon from the organisational standpoint (Anteby 2003; 2006; 2008a; 2008b). The phenomenon can be found in all professions, but our focus is on industrial work in Finland.

In the public discussion, homer-making is usually considered a form of stealing from the employer. The casual observer may condemn homer-making as theft because employers and law enforcement officials typically view homer-making as an illegal practice. The inherent controversiality makes the subject troublesome to delimit for the interviewees of the oral history collection. One of Pesonen's starting points was to question the negative public image of homer-making. The purpose was to research workers' clandestine factory culture instead of exposing the illegal habits of the workers, thereby including homers as a part of the industrial workers' factory tradition. Like the Australian folklorist Graham Seal has pointed out:

> While the foreigner [homer] is the direct, tangible outcome of the workers' attitude to their work, their workplace and those who control it, these objects are only the physical manifestations of a mostly intangible work culture. (Seal 2009, 45.)

One of the challenges of researching homers is how to discuss the issue without condemning the interviewees while on the other hand striking a balance between delimiting the research phenomenon enough for the interviewees and not delimiting it to such an extent that it would influence the interviewees' narrations (Pesonen 2022).

Changing plans

Planning of the project was initiated in 2019 as a collaboration between the Finnish Foundry Museum, the Finnish Labour Archives and the University of Helsinki. The project was linked to the oral history project "**Yhteen hitsattu porukka**", organized by the Industrial Union and Labour Archives. Industrial workers and local trade union chapters were encouraged to write their memoirs on factory traditions and to participate in interviews on the changing conditions impacting industrial work. The oral history interviews in Karkkila were conducted after the oral history project had been completed. The Emil Aaltonen Foundation gave a grant to the Karkkila project, which made it possible to begin planning the oral history and museology courses.

The courses belonged to a course of study called "Cultural Heritage of Changing Industrial Work", organized by Kirsti Salmi-Niklander. The first part of this course of study was an online class with the same title offered in May 2020. The interdisciplinary class included recorded lectures, assignments and a final essay. The class was originally to take place in the typical face-to-face teaching format, but it had to be transferred online with short advance notice. Online teaching was new to all lecturers, but nevertheless it turned out to be an encouraging experience. The class was also freely available for Open University students, and 18 students completed it. The lecturers were Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, Pete Pesonen, Niina Naarminen, Risto Turunen, Tiina Valpola and Tiina Äikäs. The lectures discussed continuities and changes in industrial work and industrial heritage, material aspects of industrial work and oral and literary cultures in industrial communities. Karkkila's industrial heritage was discussed as a special case study, since both Kirsti Salmi-Niklander and architect Tiina Valpola have done long-term research on Karkkila, where they have lived since the 1980s (Hänninen, Salmi-Niklander & Valpola 1999; Salmi-Niklander 2004). Högfors Foundry celebrated its 200th anniversary on May 17, 2020, but the actual celebrations had to be postponed due to the pandemic and its restrictions.

The oral history and museology courses were supposed to take place during the fall term of 2020, but they were postponed because the pandemic situation

was still uncertain in August. In November, the situation worsened rapidly. However, the book launching event on the history of the Högfors Ironworks (Kuutsa & Viitala 2020) could be organized at the Factory Hotel. An open event to present the interview and museology project to a wider local audience was to take place on November 30 – but it had to be cancelled because all public events had been restricted just a few days earlier. In this situation, we had to seriously consider whether we could proceed with planning the oral history interview project and the courses.

Janne Viitala, amanuensis of the Foundry Museum, had already discussed the project with members of the "Workshop school alumni" network [*Entiset konepajakoululaiset*]. This informal group has gathered together former students from the Högfors factory workshop school, which operated between 1942 and 1977. The school had been quite popular in the 1940s and the 1950s, and hundreds of young boys applied both from Karkkila and other parts of Finland. The school provided them with strong professional skills in the metal industry, and many students from the workshop school had long careers in the metal industry. Members of the workshop school alumni network had been active in writing the history of the school (Viitala 2017) and had provided information for the history of Högfors Ironworks (Kuutsa & Viitala 2020, 188–203, 324–334.) It was possible to recruit interviewees through this network, so we decided to proceed with the plans. However, this affected the focus and content of the interviews.

The next task was the practical implementation of the interviews and the recruitment of students for the course. Even though we could have covered the travel costs for students to conduct the interviews in person, it would have involved serious risks both for the students and the interviewees in the worsening pandemic situation. On the other hand, we could not rely on the home internet connection or video interview skills of the interviewees since most of them had already been retired for 10–20 years. The conducting of interviews required a unique solution, one based on local services: the interviews were done in a private meeting room of the Factory Hotel, which had been opened to the public by new entrepreneurs in 2019. The Factory Hotel is a former club building that the factory owners had used to entertain their guests, and it is situated next to the Foundry Museum. The interviews were done via Zoom video service. Kirsti Salmi-Niklander served as a moderator for the interviews: she opened the Zoom connection, explained the data protection practices and gave the interviewees the forms to be filled in for the Labour Archives. The students conducted the actual interviews with a Zoom connection from their homes. The interviews were transcribed at the Labor Archives, and the interviewees could read the transcript before giving their final consent for archiving.

This way of conducting interviews combines experiences derived from tele-working with oral history interview techniques. Based on Pesonen's experiences with phone interviewing, we found it necessary to have visual contact with the interviewees since the first contacts were made by phone. The preparation process for the phone interviews is an important part of building confidence between interviewer and interviewee (Heimo, Juvonen, & Kurvinen 2021, 5, 29–30). Hanna-Mari Ikola (2017, 272–273) has discussed the practical and methodological reasons for conducting phone interviews: though these reasons can relate to safety, a phone interview can also provide the interviewee a feeling of privacy, as they do not need to take special care with their outfit or clean their home.

Since our oral history project also includes educational aspects, many people were involved in the interviews process: Janne Viitala made the first contacts, and he knew most of the interviewees through earlier historical projects and museum events; Kirsti Salmi-Niklander confirmed the time and place of the actual interviews by phone and met the interviewees in person; the students conducted the actual interviews; and Pete Pesonen took care of the archiving and transcription process.

The next open question was the recruitment of students for the course: Would the students be interested and ready to conduct interviews from a distance? It turned out that the students were actually quite motivated to learn about distance interviewing methods: eleven students from the Master's Programme in Cultural Heritage signed up, two of them through the Open University. The course was held online, as with most teaching at the University of Helsinki during the academic year 2020–2021.

Oral history interviews during the pandemic

During the oral history course, we discussed the ethical issues related to conducting oral history interviews during the pandemic. These discussions were based on the guidelines formulated by the Oral History Association and Oral History Society. The websites provide detailed technical information on remote interviewing. The Oral History Association website contains Decision Tree, an aid for visualizing the ethical issues and evaluations involved when making the decision to conduct an oral history interview. The Oral History Association's instructions for remote interviewing are dated August 27, 2020. In the introduction, the authors of the website formulate the importance of remote interviewing from a longer term perspective:

> Though the current environment requires us to set aside face-to-face interviewing, these
> resources are intended to inform our practice beyond the international crisis created

by COVID-19. There are many reasons for in-person interviewing to be our default, but those who developed this guide feel that remote interviewing should have a place in our practice even when it is safe to resume meeting face to face.

The Oral History Society's website has been updated several times, with the latest update having been done on 8 February 2021, and it includes guidelines for both remote recording and interviewing in person. The guidelines include a checklist of the issues to be considered before doing interviews in person. The guidelines have been modified according to the changing situation, which resulted in the release of COVID restrictions during the summer of 2021: "Even if government guidelines are no longer mandatory, a project, interviewer and interviewee may still prefer to include some precautionary measures to minimise the risk of infection."

When going through the Oral History Society's guidelines with the students, it became inevitable they would note the differences between the pandemic situation in Britain and Finland. In the UK, the COVID death rate per capita has been quite high, whereas in Finland it has thus far remained among the lowest in Europe. Formulated in 2020, the guidelines of both the Oral History Association and Oral History Society gave clear recommendations for postponing face-to-face interviews or else conducting them remotely. On the other hand, the technical solutions for remote interviewing provided in the guidelines were not realistic in the case of Finland, where landline phones hardly exist anymore.

The guidelines also assumed that a reasonable solution would be to postpone the interview until the end of the pandemic. In 2020, this was expected to occur in the relatively near future. By now, it has become evident that we have to learn how to cope with the pandemic and that the COVID-19 virus will be circulating in the population probably for many years. The guidelines also inevitably define the home of the interviewee as the place of the interview, and they discuss the risks related to the interviewer entering another person's home. The interviewer's home has traditionally been the most common and recommended place for conducting an oral history interview. However, the recently published guidebook recommends that the interviewee can choose or suggest the most comfortable place for the interviews, which might be the home, the workplace or some peaceful and secluded public space (Heimo et al. 2021, 23). During the lockdowns, suitable places for interviews have usually not been available because all public spaces have been closed. We discussed these issues with the students, and they wrote essays in which they evaluated a real or imagined interview situation based on the guidelines and Decision Tree model.

Specific local circumstances in Karkkila affected the implementation of the interviews. The first challenge had to do with the availability of a safe and neu-

tral space for the interviews: the Factory Hotel functioned during the winter 2020–2021 as a "staycation" hotel with a minimal staff and safety measures in place, and the restaurant was only open on weekends in February. The private meeting room had a stable internet connection, and it was reserved for the interviews; otherwise, the hotel was very quiet. Only on one day did the interviews coincide with catering for a film crew, but the entering and leaving of the interviewees could be organized so that they did not encounter the other group. The interviewees could come to the Factory Hotel by foot or with their own car.

At the beginning of the interview, Kirsti Salmi-Niklander briefly presented the forms to be filled in and withdrew to the corridor during the actual interview. Contact with the interviewees was minimized, masks were used (not during the actual video interview) and surfaces cleaned between the interviews. On the other hand, the short meetings between interviews with old friends and schoolmates were apparently important and refreshing for the interviewees. These short face-to-face meetings helped create a casual and informal atmosphere for the video interviews. Some interviewees brought with them objects, photographs and notebooks related to the interview topic.

Specific local circumstances during the pandemic had an effect on the interviews. The pandemic situation in Karkkila remained quite calm in 2020: by the end of November 2020, only five COVID cases had been confirmed in this small town of nearly 9000 inhabitants.[2] The restrictions had been severe during spring of 2020, and they were tightened again at the end of the year. As Karkkila is situated in the north-western corner of Uusimaa province, local officials followed the same restrictions as in the Helsinki capital region. During the pandemic, Karkkila was isolated in many ways: people who normally would commute to Helsinki and the capital area worked from home, including most secondary school students. The most extreme measure was the closure of the province of Uusimaa for three weeks in April 2020. During these weeks, the police and the army guarded the border of Uusimaa just a short distance from Karkkila, and people were allowed to cross the border only with a special reason. This situation created collective feelings of frustration and isolation when local festivals and cultural events were cancelled one after another. It also created a feeling of relative safety, which turned out to be an illusion.

In January 2021, the Alpha variant worsened the pandemic situation in Finland. At the end of January, when the interviews should have begun taking place, the COVID cases suddenly increased in Karkkila. The Componenta Foundry had many COVID cases, and the infections spread to families and schools. Though the municipality began vaccinating people, efforts proceed-

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2   According to statistics from the Finnish Institute for Health and Welfare (THL), 378 COVID cases had been confirmed in Karkkila by December 20, 2021.

ed slowly. Most of the interviewees were active retired citizens in their early 80s, but at the time of the interviews in February they were still waiting for their first vaccinations. In this type of situation, safety issues had to be carefully reconsidered. One of the measures taken was Kirsti Salmi-Niklander's choice to "self-quarantine" during the interview period: she worked remotely, visiting Helsinki and the university only a few times during the spring term of 2021. Besides short visits to the local supermarket once or twice a week, the interviews were the only face-to-face (or mask-to-mask) social events for her. Karkkila in fact hardly offered any social events at the time, with even the library only open to pick up reserved books.

During such a period of extended and frustrating isolation, the interviews were positive experiences for all people involved. The interviewees could revisit memories from their youth, their study years at the Workshop School and their working life. The students prepared quite well for the interviews, and a confidential dialogue was created with the video connection. However, the downside was that a video interview during the long pandemic period might have been an intense and psychologically stressing experience for some interviewees.

Comparing oral history interviews

Next, we compare the oral history interviews that were conducted by students involved in the project with the interviews collected as part of Pesonen's doctoral dissertation research on homers in the Finnish metal and workshop industry.

The two collections differ substantially when compared quantitatively. The Karkkila project's collection, i.e. the interviews conducted by students, consists of eleven interviews, while the oral history collection for Pesonen's dissertation research includes narratives from 101 different persons. The dissertation collection can be divided into oral history interviews and reminiscence writings: the entire collection includes 70 interviews and 11 written memories. Most of the interviews were personal interviewees, with only six being group interviews. Pesonen conducted 52 interviews, and one-fifth of them were conducted as live meetings, with 80 per cent being done by phone. The collected material is archived in the Finnish Labour Archives and is now part of The Commission of Finnish Labour Tradition memory-based source collection (Pesonen 2020, 132, 159).

Eight of the project's interviewees had studied at the factory's workshop school in the 1950s, 1960s or 1970s, and their work careers ranged from the 1950s to the early 2000s, the time frame encompassed by the interviews in the collection. The Karkkila project's interviewees had worked in higher level positions: as supervisors (4/10) and in other white and grey collar jobs (sales, laborant and technician). In contrast, the majority of Pesonen's interviewees had been shop floor workers: sheet metal welders, machinists and lathe operators.

The dissertation collection includes only a few interviews with people who had worked in leading positions: two technicians, five engineers and 14 supervisors.

The preconception was that the interviewees' status in the industrial hierarchy would affect their stance on homer-making. However, the Karkkila interviewees' ideas about homer practices were similar to those of the interviewees from the previous collection.

Like in the previously collected material, homer-making in Högfors foundry emerged in the interviews as a relevant part of the workplace culture rather than as an unwanted criminal habit practiced by a few workers. All the interviewees described liaisons between workers and supervisors in relation to homer activities.

> Well, let's just say, supervisors turned a blind eye to that behaviour, when it didn't bother one's working. Obviously, the work got done, the house's tasks first and homers [done] while between work tasks. But of course, the management of the factory, they didn't approve of any kind of homers. But those done with permission, which were made with the homer licence, it was a different case. So, it was prohibited in that way. (Interview: 13133, The Finnish Labour Archives)

One interviewee who had worked at the Högfors foundry from 1967 to 1977 as a supervisor in the core section of the foundry described the supervisors' approach to homer-making in a manner similar to several other descriptions of homer-making in Finnish industry, where employers tried to restrain homer-making by imposing clauses to workshop codes of conduct, and also how workers and their supervisors reacted to the codes of conduct. The workers and their supervisors operated in an organisational grey zone, where they engaged together in officially forbidden but nevertheless tolerated practices. (Anteby 2008b; 2006, 34–35; Pesonen 2018.)

> Like I said, homers were acknowledged, and a blind eye was turned and so on. But then, if someone took some cauldron, pot or an actual production item, which was supposed to be sold from the factory, it was a theft. And when you got caught, it was, no doubt, a pink slip; it happened a few times. (Interview: 13133, The Finnish Labour Archives)

Crucial to the definition of the homer is the fact that the manufactured object should be distinctly personal and differ from the factory's own production line. Occasionally, workers improved upon or decorated the factory's product to make it more personal and to prevent it from being labelled a theft.

The interviewees emphasized that homers were made for their own or for their friends' or relatives' benefit. Homers made for (monetary) sale were strictly forbidden by the worker community, as such a practice violated workers'

occupational ethics and was always considered theft. Still, making homers for relatives and friends was commonplace. Homers were traded non-monetarily – for services, favours or alcohol (Pesonen 2020, 153–156.)

The major distinction between the Karkkila collection and the previous collection lies in the industry itself. Besides mass production, the foundry cast limited amounts of decorative art products. This enabled the parallel (homer) production of expensive items.

> Interviewee: Yeah, then it was, there was at the most even three guys making those. And it went a little like, that was a must-do situation, because it wasn't anymore that honest, that job.
>
> Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. But that, what I am asking now is, did they do their own models or a house's models for their own benefit?
>
> Interviewee: Yes, just like that!
>
> Interviewer: Yeah, yeah. Well, then I do understand it quite well! It was competing production.
>
> Interviewee: Yes, yes. And the foundry paid their wages for the day work, and during the evenings they earned more by selling the artefacts that they had cast during the day, on the town. (Interview: 13134, The Finnish Labour Archives)

Additionally, homer-making for sales purposes was strictly prohibited. It was a disadvantage to the company, and for that reason, it was condemned. The type of homer-making described by the interviewees from the art foundry betray an anomaly when compared to the previously collected oral history. The anomaly results from the character of the foundry industry. The manufacturing process at the foundry consists of several separate stages, from mould making to casting the metal for the mould, cooling it, and then removing the mould material. The single cast mould can be used several times, which obviously is an advantage for the industry, but it also makes it possible to mass-produce artefacts that were designed to be cast as limited editions. The lack of surveillance resulted in the series of occurrences described by one interviewee.

> And then in the mid-80s, they gave me the keys to the art foundry and said, "you should put a stop to the homer-making". And I made it end. We made a net cage, put up the fence around the entire foundry, and the only keys available were in my own and XX's (art melder) pockets, no one else. And the situation was, like, that they even said to me, "surely one can make those (homers), but you have to know each and every one cast and made, and then you are responsible, that you've given permission". (Interview: 13134, The Finnish Labour Archives)

The unorthodox homer-making habits at the art foundry were traditionally contained through surveillance by the supervisor. The system is grounded in trust that the supervisor will use her/his discretion. The Karkkila interviews portray homer-making at the art foundry from a different perspective. One of the art founders from Högfors Ironworks was also interviewed. His description of the foundry supported what the supervisor had said: "It was a kind of corner there, and the net cage was around it only." The interviewee tried to evade the question concerning his own homer-making practices.

Interviewer: Did you make own homers? Founder: Well, there might be some individual of that kind. Interviewer: Right. Was it allowed? Founder: Well, one could be made once in a while. It was certainly not allowed, but one can get a little task of that kind made. (Interview: 13130, The Finnish Labour Archives)

The interviewee's evasive stance to the questions about his personal homer-making practices cast a shadow over better understanding homer-making at the art foundry. It could indicate a prohibited stand on homer-making in the art foundry. The interviewee tries to evade the question and the interviewer reacts politely by turning the interview to other questions. A more practiced interviewer might have posed follow-up questions regarding the interviewee's homer-making practices, as evading the question is the most common way of indicating that the interviewee is uncomfortable with answering it (Kurvinen & Yoken 2022, 53-55.). Lynn Abrams has noted that "the researcher cannot always know the reason, but we can observe the existence of evasion and hazard an explanation" (Abrams 2016, 104). The interviewer returned to the topic of homers at the end of the interview by asking:

Interviewer: What about those homers elsewhere in the workshop? Did they make them mostly for their own benefit, or did they pass them also from one worker to another? (Interview: 13130, The Finnish Labour Archives)

The interviewee offered only a concise response:

Interviewee: Well, I don't know, there were not those things. I don't anyway know if [homers] were there (Interview: 13130, The Finnish Labour Archives)

Unfortunately, the founder was one of the few interviewees from either collection to totally disregard the main theme of the collection, homers. The muted stance of the founder is exceptional in that it does not dismiss homer-making as exaggerated or repudiate it entirely. Despite the public image

of homer-making as rather clandestine and secretive in nature, nearly all the other interviewees found it surprisingly easy to discuss the practice.

According to Pesonen's experiences with oral history interviews concerning homer-making, the talkativeness of the interviewees is not as peculiar as it first seems. Their experiences support the fact that almost every interviewee who had worked in the metal industry was familiar with the phenomenon and had an interest in discussing it. The phone interviews proved to be a good enough substitute for face-to-face interviews as a method for approaching the topic. (Pesonen 2022, unpublished manuscript.) The phone as a medium for conducting interviews may be more favourable when dealing with sensitive topics. According to Susanne Vogl (2013, 136), "the specific contact situation on the telephone might make the interview appear less binding, which could result in a less socially desirable answer", and thus, the risk of the respondent "losing face" over the telephone may disappear.

The reason for recruiting the interviewees was emphasized in the telephone interviews. Personal contact with the interviewees during the recruitment process was important for creating mutual trust and honesty. Pesonen's recruiting method involved organizing events where potential interviewees gathered to hear a presentation on the oral history collecting project. After the presentation, the topic was publicly discussed and, at the end, volunteers signed up to be interviewed (Pesonen 2022, unpublished manuscript). In contrast to Pesonen's previous research project, interviewees were recruited for this project by phone because of restrictions on gathering in public, making recruiting interviewees in person unthinkable. Secondly, the interviews were done over Zoom, which may have eased the loss of personal contact typical of live interviews by creating for the interviewee and interviewer the possibility to see each other and have eye contact. The conditions for the interviews might have supported the openness and talkativeness of the interviewees. Although the students were mostly novices in interviewing, they succeeded in creating an open and safe space for the interviews under exceptional conditions.

Museum exhibition "Secret casts" (*Salaa valetut*)

The materials gathered as part of the oral history course were transcribed and submitted to the Labour Archives, and the materials can be accessed by those interested in the museology project. In this project, museology students planned and constructed an exhibition for the Galleria Bremer at the Foundry Museum. The responsible teacher for the museology course was Nina Robbins, a lecturer in museology at the University of Helsinki, and she taught the course in collaboration with Pete Pesonen and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander. Eight students attended the museology course, five of whom also did the oral history interviews. The

pandemic situation still worsened in March and April, so most of the exhibition design and planning was done online. The students visited Karkkila and the Foundry Museum in mid-March of 2021, with careful safety measures in place. The museum had a small collection of homer-type objects, but most of the exhibition objects were on loan from the interviewees and several other donators.

The manuscript for the exhibition was based on the interviews, while museum visitors could also listen to some excerpts from the interviews. The exhibition was set up during the first week of May. On Monday of that week, it became clear that the museum and the exhibition "Salaa valetut" (*Secret casts*) could actually be opened to the public the following Saturday, on May 8th. However, the safety measures were still very strict, and only a maximum of six people were allowed to visit the exhibition at the same time. The exhibition was set up during four intensive days of work, and presentations were given to small groups of interviewees and donators on Friday. However, no official opening ceremony could be organized, and most students did not have a chance to meet the interviewees in person. During the summer of 2021, the exhibition had nearly 3400 visitors, which was double the numbers of visitors during an average summer.[3] Karkkila became a popular target for excursions for people in the capital region, especially due to an article published in *Helsingin Sanomat* on July 15, 2021. It was written by Kira Gronow, a journalist who had attended the online course on industrial heritage in 2020.

The complex issues of ethics and vulnerability

The articles in the special issue of *Oral History Review* discuss oral history as a tool for coping with the traumatic experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic (Cramer 2020; Faulkenbury 2020; Sloan 2020). In our project, the theme of the interviews had nothing to do with the pandemic, and the experiences of the interviewees during the pandemic were more related to feelings of boredom, frustration and isolation than to acute illness. The issue of vulnerability has been discussed and re-evaluated during the pandemic. The guidelines proposed by the Oral History Society (p. 4) discuss this issue in some detail:

> Whilst we should avoid blanket categorization of people as 'vulnerable' or 'at risk' due to assumed vulnerability, the first consideration in whether to conduct a remote interview is the degree of urgency and whether a face-to-face interview is likely to be possible once the pandemic has ceased.

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3   Information given by Tommi Kuutsa, director of Ironworks Museum Senkka (December 21, 2021)
     https://www.helsinki.fi/fi/humanistinen-tiedekunta/ajankohtaista/museologian-opiskelijat-toteuttivat-nayttelyn-firabelitoista-karkkilan-valimomuseoon
     [Accessed 8 May, 2022]

Age is one of the strongest risk factors for a serious case of COVID-19 and probable death. At the beginning of the pandemic, in March 2020, Finnish health officials recommended that all people over 70 years of age isolate themselves in "quarantine-like circumstances". Later, many health experts have admitted that this actually was a dangerous statement: as a result, many healthy, active and independent senior citizens isolated themselves at home, which meant that both their physical and mental capacities started to deteriorate. The Institute of Health and Welfare has updated the instructions for senior citizens during the pandemic, emphasizing the importance of meaningful hobbies, physical exercise and social contacts.[4]

Most of the interviewees in our oral history project were active senior citizens, skilled workers and professionals proud of their work history. Some of them were called *firabelikeisari*, or "homer emperor", because making homers and experimenting with different techniques was a passion and an important source of creativity for them. They had kept up their hobbies and networks even during the pandemic. The interviews and the exhibition provided them with one channel for maintaining their sense of agency and professional pride during the pandemic. On the other hand, it also brought up sensitive issues related to the norms and hierarchies of the working environment at Högfors Ironworks.

In our research project, the interviewees were not the only ones in a fragile and vulnerable position. The experiences of isolation and frustration were shared by interviewees, interviewers and researchers alike. Generally, elderly people are considered fragile and vulnerable — but as the vaccinations proceeded from the older age groups to the younger ones, the issues of risk and vulnerability have become more complex and sensitive.

If we were to conduct a similar interview project now, some new issues would need to be considered. In the Risk Assessment Checklist provided by the Oral History Society, one of the issues is formulated as follows: "Interviewer may wish to disclose if they have had one or two COVID-19 vaccinations, and may wish to enquire if the interviewee has had one or two COVID-19 vaccinations." This would be a sensitive issue to be discussed with the interviewees, if they do not themselves voluntarily raise the question. The rapid spread of the Omicron variant has changed the situation yet again: three vaccinations cannot provide complete protection from the Omicron variant, even though the infection will in most cases be a mild one. How can ethical issues be re-evaluated in such a situation where we must expect the COVID-19 virus be circulating still for several years?

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4   https://www.senioriliitto.fi/ajankohtaista/nyt-ikaantyneiden-ohjeistusta-on-paivitetty-tee-nain-yli-70-vuotias-seniori/ [Accessed December 20, 2021].

Based on our experiences in this interviewee project, our final statement is that the agency and self-determination of the interviewees should be respected in oral history projects. The COVID-19 pandemic continues, and even though the restrictions have been eased in most countries, it is still difficult to predict how the pandemic will proceed. The evaluation of risks and benefits involved throughout the process should be discussed with those participating in the interview project. With pandemic risks compounded by war between Russia and Ukraine, started on February 24, 2022, it is now even more important to promote and maintain a dialogue between different groups and generations.

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COMMENTARY

To Display or not to Display?
Personal Memories from Paimio Sanatorium
Anne Heimo

Since the rise of *New Museology* in the late 1980s, the idea of what museums
are and how they operate has changed radically. Museums have to be more
inclusive and democratic if they are to attract new audiences. Today partici-
pation is a fundamental feature of all museum activities. The shift from "ob-
ject-based" to "people-based", in other words "participatory museums" (Simon
2010), means that today museums are more aware of their social and political
role than hitherto, and strive to increase ecological, cultural and social sus-
tainability. Because of these changes, museums have begun to question the
actual contents of their exhibitions from new perspectives and to seek more
democratic perspectives on how people and communities can and should be
represented (see e.g. Van Mensch & Meijer-Van Mensch 2011, 49, 51; Jane
& Sandell 2019; Ribbons et al. eds. 2021). These changes are also requisite
for museums to avoid being labelled "dusty" (Hakamies 2018, 78–83). For
instance, in my hometown of Turku, the former Handicrafts Museum, Lu-
ostarimäki, has just changed its profile for the first time since it was estab-
lished in 1940: today, the museum represents not only handicrafts workers,
but also all the other people – midwives, schoolchildren and tavern keepers,
among others – who lived in the area, which before the Great Fire of Turku
in 1827 was situated on the outskirts of town (Lehtokari 2021; see also Lu-
ostarimäki Audioguides). Another example from Turku is Kurala Village Mu-
seum, which is a living museum, where visitors can familiarise themselves
with the household chores and farm work of the 1950s. As part of queering
the museum (see Sullivan & Middleton 2020), Kurala has for some years now
offered guided tours, which tell how the iconic male figures of Touko Laakso-
nen (better known around the world as "Tom of Finland") were influenced by
what he saw and experienced living near the village in his youth (Kuralan ky-
lämäki 2022). Currently, a new museum, the Museum of History and the Fu-
ture, is under construction in Turku. The museum aims to focus on the lives
of so-called "ordinary people from Turku", but is well aware how difficult this
task is, as Satu Pajarre, the head of the department of the Museum Centre of
Turku, has recently stated. Who is ordinary and what do we mean by ordinary
in the first place (Pajarre 2022)? The representation of ordinary people and
their lives becomes even more challenging when we talk about so-called dif-

ficult heritage sites such as hospitals, asylums and prisons, or in some cases world-famous sites such as the Paimio Sanatorium.

Paimio Santorium is often referred to as the most internationally well-known building in Finland. Designed by the Finnish architects Alvar and Aino Aalto in the early 1930s, it was opened in 1933 as a regional hospital for tuberculosis patients. The hospital was immediately acknowledged all over the world for its architecture and became a popular destination to visit, especially by foreign guests. The sanatorium served as a tuberculosis sanatorium until the early 1960s, and thereafter as a general hospital until 2015 (see e.g. The Finnish Heritage Agency 2009; Heikinheimo 2016). The sanatorium is among twelve other buildings representing Alvar Aalto's humane architecture, which in 2021 were nominated as a single entity on the tentative list of UNESCO's World Heritage List by Finland (The Finnish Heritage Agency 2021).

In 2020, the Paimio Sanatorium Foundation took charge of the heritage site, and began to look for new ways to use the complex and, moreover, protected site. In 2021, the sanatorium was opened to the public, and in addition to guided tours, visitors may now acquaint themselves with the history and everyday life of the former sanatorium by visiting exhibitions and former patient rooms, which have been transformed into museum rooms with some examples of original furniture and objects on display (Paimio Sanatorium 2022). However, neither the exhibitions nor the museum rooms offer any actual information about daily life at the sanatorium. There are no photographs, memoirs or personal belongings of former patients or staff members on display in any form; the only photos, letters and other personal items on display are Aino and Alvar Aalto's. One obvious reason for this is to celebrate and honour the work of the Aaltos. The other and more significant reason is the strict personal data restrictions and General Data Protection Rules (GDPR), which restrict the public use of material that includes personal data. Furthermore, among the 390 photographs of Paimio Sanatorium (search word "paimion parantola" 16.8.2022) found in Finna, the search service of Finnish museums, archives and libraries, there are only two photos with people in them. One is a group photo of the doctors of the sanatorium and the other of the nurses. Both photos are from 1937.

Paimio Sanatorium is not an exception. The historian Sari Kuuva in one of her articles (2018) analyses photos published in histories of Finnish mental asylums from the 1930s to the 2010s. Most of these photos are of asylum buildings, surroundings, interiors and furniture. There are some photos of the staff, but very few of the patients. Most of the photos with people in them were taken in formal situations and not during daily activities. There are several reasons for this. In addition to safeguarding the anonymity of the

patients, the documenting of everyday life was not at the time seen as worthwhile. As a result, the histories portray more the history of the asylums and their staff than the experiences of the patients. For example, photos of empty patient rooms do not reveal the harsh attitudes many of the patients experienced during their treatments and have recollected in their memoirs (Kuuva 2018). In her master's thesis in ethnology (forthcoming), Terhi Kokko uses photos of Paimio Sanatorium and oral histories as her main sources. Kokko has come to the same conclusion as Kuuva, and views it as essential to combine the two types of sources to gain a full picture of daily life at the sanatorium.

Much of what is known of the daily life and the experiences of the patients of Paimio Sanatorium originates from memoirs written in the early 1970s, organised by the Archive of the Finnish Literature Society and Keuhkovammaliitto (The Organisation of Respiratory Health and Diseases) (SKS KRA 1971). In 1986, a selection of these memoirs was published in the book *Parantolaelämää* (Life in Sanatoriums) by Aili Nenola. In order to gain new knowledge and to discover new sources about daily life at the sanatorium the folklorist Anne Heimo, the ethnologist Helena Ruotsala and the scholar of museum studies Maija Mäki from the School of History, Culture and Arts Studies, University of Turku, founded the project "Paimio Sanatorium: Social, Historical and Cultural Perspectives" in 2020. In the course of the project, it has become clear that though the daily life of the sanatorium can still be studied, it will be difficult to publish the outcomes of the research in any other form than academic books or journal articles. This is especially disappointing for many of the partners of the project, which include family members of former patients, staff members and local inhabitants, who would like to tell how they and their close ones remember their time at the sanatorium and remind people that the sanatorium is not merely a renowned architectural site.

Strict regulations concerning the use of personal data are common to all the Nordic countries. Compared to many other countries, oral histories, life stories, personal memories and other types of biographical materials are rarely displayed at museums, archives or other cultural institutions in Finland, Sweden or Denmark. The main reason for this is that even before the implementation of GDPR in 2018, all of the Nordic countries had strict personal data acts to safeguard the use of personal data. This has led to the situation that museums and archives in the Nordic countries are very cautious about the public use of research materials, which may include any kind of information on private individuals. These restrictions mean that we do not have similar online oral history archives with texts, audios or videos that many other countries have. For example, in Tallinn you may watch videoed testimonies of what life was like under Soviet rule at Vabamu Museum of Occupations and Freedom.

Alternatively, you may acquaint yourself with prison life at Armagh Gaol and the Maze and Long Kesh Prison in Northern Ireland during the Troubles by listening to and watching former inmates and staff members tell about their experiences online on the website of the Prisons Memory Archive.

To find ways to overcome the lack of personal memories in museums and other public exhibitions a group of Nordic scholars with expertise in uses of the past, oral history, memory studies, cultural heritage, museum studies and future studies came up with idea of a series of workshops on the topic. The project Nordic Voices: The Use of Oral History and Personal Memories in Public History Settings (2022–4) is funded by the Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NOS-HS). The project partners include Anne Heimo (PI), Helena Ruotsala and Maija Mäki, University of Turku, Finland, Anne Brædder, University of Roskilde and Iben Vyff, Museums of Elsinore, Denmark and Malin Thor Tureby, University of Malmö, Sweden. Over the next two years, together with international and local experts from museums mentioned above and elsewhere, Nordic Voices will organise two international seminars to discuss the uses and roles of personal and private memories when employed in public history settings. You are welcome to join us!

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Migrant Finns: A Local, Multidisciplinary Overview
Päivikki Antola

Marjatta Huhta has selected an ethnologically intriguing subject by researching regional migration and Finns living abroad in the context of regional studies. She is senior lecturer emerita at Metropolia University of Applied Sciences, a Doctor of Science (Technology) and a returnee herself: she was an exchange student in the Unites States in 1967–1968 and completed her master´s degree in Sweden in 1969–1972. During her career, she has studied language and communication challenges in the working world and developed methods to identify communication needs in business (e.g. Huhta et al. 2013). Marjatta Huhta's father served as a parson of the Konginkangas congregation, in central Finland, in the years 1953–1955. Huhta and her family has also had a summer cottage by Lake Keitele in Konginkangas since 1972. She retired there in 2016.

The idea to introduce Konginkangas returnees came from Matti K. Suojanen (1937–2003), professor of Finnish language at the University of Tampere, who himself was born in Konginkangas and active in the local heritage society, Kömin Kilta (est. 1948). He launched a regional newsletter in 1999 and introduced Konginkangas returnees as one of the topics of that newsletter. Kömin Kilta accepted the challenge of conducting migrant research, and the idea matured into an extensive ethnological study led by Marjatta Huhta. With assistance from nine members of Kömin Kilta's editorial board, Marjatta Huhta became interested in surveying the Finnish expatriate experiences of migrants and returnees in Konginkangas.

The main focus of the project, entitled 'From Konginkangas to the world', is to understand Finnish migration and Finns living abroad through individual experience between the years 1890 and 1990. Professor of Ethnology Pirjo Korkiakangas, from the University of Jyväskylä, worked as an expert member on the project and also wrote one chapter of the book. The book is a collection of individual stories and explains how local migrants and Finns abroad relate to Finnish migration as an international phenomenon. The book also

contains a literary review of migration as a social phenomenon, thus connecting individual experiences with the international development of migration.

The project examines migration in all its forms: permanent (actual immigration), short-term (one period, for example project work) or cyclical (recurrent) migration, and returnees. The book uses the term *expatriate Finnishness* to refer to all forms of migration.

The book is based on an extensive survey and empirical interviews carried out during the years 2018–2020. The research forms were translated into English and Swedish and were sent to 215 persons. The response rate was 48%, which encompassed both the surveys and the interviews. The respondents came from the following countries: Finland, Sweden, Norway, Germany, the United States and Canada. There were altogether 107 respondents, less than half of whom were returnees.

The project aimed to answer four research questions. 1) What happened to the migrants from a specific region in light of their life stories? 2) What kind of life emerged from the courageous decision to migrate? 3) Can expatriate life stories teach something to all Finns? 4) Do any roots remain in the home country? If so, are there any means to nurture them?

This kind of a research project would not have been feasible without a key informant, whose knowledge of local networks was needed to contact Finnish expatriates and their relatives in Finland. This key informant, Reetta Korjonen (1948–), is a local veteran member of Kömin Kilta, its secretary, the erstwhile chairperson and the spiritual mentor of the project.

The book was written in many instances at the last possible moment to gather such stories, as the average age of the respondents was 69 years. The oldest was a 93-year-old person from Konginkangas, while the youngest a 32-year-old from the United States. The respondents included 43 men and 60 women, as well as another four people who were also interviewed. Survey responses were uploaded to a computer program to ensure their smooth handling.

Huhta's research utilises both quantitative research, which includes the systematic gathering and analysis of data, and qualitative research, which includes the use and gathering of different kinds of empirical materials. These materials encompass personal experiences, life stories, interviews, artefacts and cultural texts. Content analysis was used to formulate the research material into the 12 central themes of the book.

The book is constructed thematically, which means that the same person can appear in multiple chapters, for example in the chapters 'Stories of working heroes', 'Love stories' and 'Hobbies'. The focus is to portray how migrants experienced their lives when they left Finland, arrived abroad and lived there, and how those who returned to Finland felt upon arriving back where they

started. The study begins with a general discussion of migration with respect to how going abroad from Konginkangas relates to migration from central Finland and the whole country. From there, the writer explains how the study was conducted and the materials collected, including what kind of data was gathered, who the respondents were and where they lived. The third chapter discusses travel abroad, family, friends, and the resulting feelings of contentment and homesickness while abroad. The chapter 'Tales from the United States' begins with stories from the turn of the century and spans the decades after the Second World War. The chapter on children's memories of war was written by professor Pirjo Korkiakangas. The chapter 'Stories of working heroes' illustrates migrant life, from factory workers to entrepreneurs.

Chapter 7 is called 'Returnee stories'. Surprisingly, many migrants from Konginkangas were involved in missionary work or worked as evangelists. The chapter 'World travellers by vocation' was written by journalist Eeva Summala, who has a master's degree in education. The chapter 'Hunger for education and many talents' discusses the different ways to obtain an education abroad and the opportunities to develop individual talents, while 'Love stories' describes how some individuals left Konginkangas after they had met an interesting person and how migrant life was shaped by this relationship. Some migrants did not want to become permanent expatriates but instead only sought fixed-term project work abroad. The chapter 'Adventurers' describes migrants who were driven by curiosity and a sense of adventure, while 'Promoting Finland abroad' describes those Finns who migrated in order to spread information about Finland. The following chapter 'Hobbies' describes migrants who left Finland because they were seeking opportunities to fulfill personal interests or ambitions. Finally, 'The benefits of migration' summarises what Finnish expatriates learned abroad about Finnishness and whether people in Finland could learn something from the experiences of these people.

Every chapter of the book ends with a summary to assist the reader. These summaries repeat the essential features of the theme. The final chapter brings together the answers to the research questions. One example worth mentioning is how Finnish expatriates reacted to the changes in their own way of living. The migrants became more open-minded, they accepted other cultures more readily and they grew into stronger and more tolerant individuals. These findings are presented together with extracts from actual expatriate interviews. Huhta's analytical handling of the research material has made it possible to present summaries on different levels. References are listed at the end of each chapter.

Marjatta Huhta's book presents a methodologically innovative and multifaceted perspective on the ethnographic research paradigm in Finnish region-

al studies. The study combines ethnological interview methods and survey methods from the social sciences. After the respondents had returned their questionnaires, Huhta and her research group began the interviews, which provided more depth on the survey data. She interviewed 69 persons in Finland and 12 in Sweden.

Marjatta Huhta's book proves that it is possible to apply measurable and quantitative research methods in a study of a Finnish home region and that these methods can be interpreted via a narrative research approach to individual migrant experiences. The study contributes significantly to Finnish ethnographic and ethnological research in regional studies as well as its underlying logic, methodology and content.

The book is an innovative and multidisciplinary read for home region enthusiasts, keen readers and other writers in the same field, and also for Finnish ethnologists, folklorists and cultural anthropologists. This large volume (374 pp.) offers a prime example of an ethnological study for researchers in the humanities with its combination of a methodological research framework, extensive research materials, thematic analysis and deductive reasoning as well as fluent text and interesting layout.

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REVIEWS | Books

Museums for Everyone
Inkeri Hakamies

Nina Robbins, Suzie Thomas, Minna Tuominen, Anna Wessman (eds.) 2021. *Museum Studies – Bridging Theory and Practice*. ICOFOM, University of Jyväskylä, Open Science Centre. 557 pp. ISBN: 978-2-491997-31-1 (electronic).

Museum Studies – Bridging Theory and Practice is intended as a handbook for everyone interested in museums and cultural heritage debates, and it 'aims to connect the humanistic discipline of museum studies with the wider context of society' (9). It has many prospective readers: the editors claim that the book is directed at both readers within the arts and cultural heritage sector and as well as readers outside of it. As the first English-language handbook about Finnish museology, it is also directed at a wider international audience interested in the Finnish – or Scandinavian – museum field as well as Finnish students and museum professionals who wish to know about the latest developments in the field. In short, the book gives an overview of the current status of Finnish museums to anyone interested.

The book includes a total of 27 chapters arranged in five sections, covering the themes of *Museology and Museums as a Profession* (Section I), *Collection Management Leading to Collection Development* (Section II), *Communities and Audiences* (Section III), *Exhibitions as Transmitters of Changing Museum Identities* (Section IV) and *Ethics* (Section V). Each section begins with an introduction that presents the main issues to be discussed and links the other sections together. Section VI presents the biographies of all 31 authors, who represent both the academic community and the field of practical museum work.

The Never-ending Debate

The first section combines discussions on how Finnish museology has evolved, how it is connected to Scandinavian and global trends, and how museums serve as societal and political agents. In the end, all these branches point to the bigger discussion of *what a museum should be*, and several of the book's authors refer to the current renegotiation of the ICOM's Museum Definition (which is more thoroughly discussed in Eero Ehanti's article in Section V).

Johanna Enqvist's article, ('Reflections on Museology – Classifications, conceptualisations and concepts at the core of museology theory and practice') is a great choice to start the first section and thus the whole discussion. She explains the functions of concepts and categories, specifically in the world

of museums and heritage-making. Referring to Mieke Bal, Enqvist points out that interdisciplinary studies, such as museology and heritage studies, should pay attention to the dynamics of concepts. According to Enqvist, by discussing and co-defining 'what a particular concept may mean we gain insight into what it can do' (20).

The museological field of study also moves forward through processes of renegotiation. According to Enqvist, the community of museum and heritage professionals shares 'a knowledge system and a discourse, which is organised and structured by classifications, conceptualisations and concepts' (32). The debates about these classifications – about the true definition of a museums, museology or museum professional – have been ongoing for centuries. As Kerstin Smeds points out in her article, the terminology and its meaning has changed many times throughout the world, but 'unfortunately not in the same way and at the same pace' (64). In Smeds's words, there is a great confusion regarding definitions, contents and research objectives in the museum field, and in fact, 'much of the theoretical debate on museology's objectives since the 1970s has been about the question of what museology is, and this has by no means been resolved' (65). However, it is perhaps not so important or interesting to ultimately resolve just *what a museum is*, but rather to analyse how the *museum* as a dynamic concept has been understood and used in different contexts.

Each writer in the book introduces their own concepts and perspectives on museums, but keeping Enqvist's article in mind helps the reader to view them critically: museums have been agents of categorising, but museums and museology are also the targets of re-negotiation, and museums or their goals are repeatedly being defined through new concepts, such as *museological values* and *impact* (Robbins), *critical, social* or *practical museology* (Smeds), or *collection development* (Häyhä, Jantunen & Paaskoski). The readers can then decide for themselves what new aspects each concept brings to the table.

The Old New Paradigm?

Smeds humorously points out that the development of museology 'is, internationally, paved with a peculiar cyclic amnesia' that spans approximately 15–30 years, and each 'generation of museum professionals and theorists believe that they invent the wheel, implement a paradigm shift, create something new, develop a dialogue with society or are more integrative, mostly being unaware that these things were indeed said and done before' (70). The question arises, do the new concepts then change anything? Are the museums of today living in a different paradigm than 30 years ago?

Judging by the articles in the book, the current megatrends that might define the paradigm of today include the ideas of museums as political entities (Robbins) and promoters of sustainable development (Levä), openness, sharing and co-creation (Pettersson). The discussion around participation or the engagement of customers and audiences is one where new concepts seem to be somewhat re-inventing the wheel. According to Minna Sarantola-Weiss, the topic 'had been established as an idea as early as in the 1970s, but did not get much wind in its sails until the 2010' (190). Sarantola-Weiss supports this claim by noting the fact that the Finnish Museums Act of 2019 highlighted for the first time 'matters such as community, cultural diversity and equality as purposes of museum activity' (196).

However, the ways of educating, engaging and 'conceptualising' (296) different museum audiences have definitely transformed throughout museum history, as explained in the articles by Kaija Katajavuori and Mari Viita-aho. As Viita-aho summarises, in the research articles that she studied 'there are several understandings of the concept of participation, several ways for approaching it and several understandings about what can be achieved by it' (328). It is indeed a vague, dynamic concept, as suggested by Enqvist, and as Viita-aho concludes, museums should be critical of the way they utilise participation as a concept and practice.

All of Section III is dedicated to the theme of *Communities and Audiences*, whereas many of the chapters in Section IV focus on the aspect of co-creation through case studies. But as Heikki Häyhä, Sari Jantunen and Leena Paaskoski point out, the issues of promoting social and cultural sustainability, accessibility and participation also touch upon collection management – or *development*. According to them, cataloguing an object is often seen as a mere technical process of recording information and describing the appearance of the artefacts, when in fact it is very telling of the visions and affections of the museum professionals. As discussed at the beginning of the book, museum professionals who share a similar knowledge system and a discourse know how to *read* the information that is recorded in the database, but it is not as understandable to outsiders. Mere digitisation and sharing of the catalogues thus do not make the information in them more accessible, and therefore, we must pay more attention to *what* we catalogue. As Häyhä et al. suggest, the significance analysis method could be one way of mediating the meaning of museum collections to different audiences. Personally, I would like to see more research on how museum audiences actually use the digitised information – have they invented 'new and innovative ways of using collections?' (201), as proposed by Häyhä et al.

Mari Viita-aho claims that the discussions about participation have mostly focused on how to design exhibitions in order to make the museum content more relevant and the visitor experiences more worthwhile, but the 'outcomes, benefits and challenges for museums when using participatory approaches have been less studied, as are the ways participation might be changing museum work and knowledge production' (310). The example given by Häyhä et al. demonstrates that gradually the new way of thinking about the purposes of museums will change even their core practices, such as cataloguing museum objects.

The Balance

The book is a multifaceted, albeit weighty package, of different viewpoints on museums. The articles range from accounts of Finnish museum history and theoretical reflections on participation or ethical conduct to more practical examples and case studies from the field. The variability also reflects the interdisciplinarity of museum studies. The book achieves its aim of capturing the current status of ongoing discussions, and in my opinion, it will only gain more interest over time: in 30 years, one can loop back and analyse how the concepts and ideas have developed.

One article that stands out in particular due to its style is Benjamin Filene's rather personal report of his experiences in the Finnish museum field as an American museum professional. Filene reflects, for example, on whether the Finnish mindset is perhaps more collective than the American one, and he asks: 'How does a country that embraces the common good allow room for difference? How does it balance equality with innovation?' (371). Should Finnish museums be more daring and take more risks? This also leaves me with a rather provocative question that might require a closer reading of the book: In a world of global networks and international museological literature, is there something particularly Finnish about Finnish museums?

AUTHOR

PhD Inkeri Hakamies, from the University of Helsinki, has recently completed her doctoral research project on museum practices and how they define ideal museums and museum professionals. In her next project, she will be looking into museum pedagogy and how children are met in museums. She is a member of the Young Academy Finland (2022–2026).

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Museums in a Changing World
Maria Vanha-Similä

Today, museums must respond quickly to global crises, such as the current COVID-19 pandemic and climate change. These institutions also face new kinds of questions about citizenship and identity. Museums generalise and popularise information for the public, and in doing so, they can inadvertently push different groups, stories or objects of collection into the margins.

This book, *Marginaaleista museoihin* (From margins to museums), discusses the responsibility of museum work. The aim of the publication is to look at the changes and challenges in both the museum field and museum work. It also discusses the connection between museums and academic research.

The authors of the book are researchers and museum workers. Their anthology comprises 18 articles, consisting of longer research articles as well as shorter review pieces. The book contains three parts, beginning with theoretical and methodological chapters.

The first part of the book, 'Time and change in museums' (Aika ja museoiden muutos), includes six articles. In the first chapter, Anna Rastas, Leila Koivunen and Kalle Kallio write about the development of museums. They define the concepts of marginalisation and marginalised groups and discuss important questions related to marginality. Whose histories are saved and told in museums? Whose stories, experiences and perspectives are left out? How can missing perspectives be made more visible? Even though museums collaborate with marginalised groups, such projects do not necessarily change the permanent practices of museums. As the authors tell it, the marginal themes promoted in museum exhibitions may not be of interest to many museum visitors. This presents a challenge because one of the key goals of museums is to increase the number of visitors. The strength of the article is that it clearly defines marginalisation. It is also important to write about the practical problems of museums, though. The writers do not offer direct solutions, but their observations do make readers think.

Olga Davydova-Minguet, tenure-track researcher at the Karelian Institute of the University of Eastern Finland, writes about an extremely timely topic. In her article, she describes how Finns have reacted to the Russian-speaking

minority in Finland. The article is based on her own ethnographic research in North Karelia, Helsinki and the Republic of Karelia. Those whose mother tongue is Russian are the largest foreign-language group in Finland, but memories of the Second World War still influence the attitudes of Finns. Russians experience discrimination in Finland and struggle to be properly accepted into Finnish society. The author deals with the subject through the concept of transnational memory. Davydova-Minguet asks museums to build bridges, but Russia has been a tricky topic for museums as well. During the Ukrainian war in 2022, Russian speakers have faced more and more hate speech and prejudice in Finland. Many museums promise free admission for those with a Ukrainian passport, but how could museums support Russian -speakers?

The second part of the publication is entitled 'Decolonisation, marginal knowledge, and new interpretations' (Dekolonisaatio, marginaalinen tieto ja uudet tulkinnat). It consists of three research articles and three review articles. The section begins with sociologist Anna Rastas's article on museums, racism, and anti-racism. In her article, Rastas discusses how Finnish museums and museums elsewhere in Europe are addressing the issue. She writes that the museum staff of museums are usually well-educated, but they may not be familiar with various forms of racism. In her article, Rastas focuses on how minorities can be better treated in museums. Through an excellent set of examples, she also describes how museums can challenge old stereotypes. The primary message of the article is to remind all those who influence the mission of museums to consider the importance of racism.

The review article 'Reunion – Australian arrerntes and collection in Finland', (Jälleennäkeminen – Australian arrerntet ja kokoelma Suomessa), by cultural anthropologist Kristina Tohmo, is one article that stands out. The article offers a brief but interesting description of what museums can do for collections from other cultures. The article describes how museums can operate in an ethically sustainable manner. Tohmo writes about how one collection of 100 objects came into being and ended up in the National Museum of Finland. The collection has been studied in collaboration with the Australian Arrernte community and researchers, which has significantly increased understanding of the collection. Returning items to the original community is always a lengthy process. The article also shows how different objects are included in other museum collections in Finland.

The final part of the book, entitled 'Involved and inclusive museum work' (Osallistuva ja inklusiivinen museotyö), includes five shorter review articles. They are not so theoretical but nonetheless comprise a very interesting part of the book. In the articles, the authors describe how the objects and stories of marginalised groups are archived in different museums. Museums not

only look to the past but also more and more practice contemporary collecting. Curator Maria Ollila writes about how Roma culture is being collected by the National Museum of Finland. At the end of the article, Ollila considers how contemporary collecting practices provide opportunities to give voice to groups that have not been taken into account in museums before. Museums have not always operated in an ethically sustainable manner. The practice of contemporary collecting can also be used to correct injustices from the past. This requires careful planning and time. Working with different communities is fruitful, but also challenging.

The book emphasises the responsibility of all museums, but almost all examples from Finland are from the Helsinki metropolitan area. I was glad to notice that the book includes several examples from elsewhere as well, but I would have liked more from other parts of Finland.

The articles in the book are written from different perspectives. For example, it is interesting how museum staff write about the day-to-day work of museums, the challenges that museums face and the opportunities that museums have. These are very fruitful topics for academic articles. The publication includes many articles and examples that address the topics. While a good solution, such an approach at the same time makes the book somewhat tedious.

This is a book that should find its way to all Finnish museums. Museums are busy, and staff do not have enough time to follow the latest research as much as they would want. The book is also useful for other cultural heritage professionals and students. The end of the book includes comprehensive directories, which are very handy when you want to quickly search for information on a particular topic.

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