



Nowhere and everywhere: Everyday religion in the intergenerational transmission of craft making

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Abstract

This article investigates the intergenerational transmission of craft making, including the role religion and spirituality play in this transmission. The theoretical approach is based on everyday religion and Bengtson's theory of intergenerational solidarity. The data for this qualitative study was collected in interviews. The results show that warm relationships and closeness between generations are at the heart of transmission: craft making brings different generations together, creates space for intimate relationships, and serves as a way of showing care for children and grandchildren. What about religion? At first glance it seems absent. However, a closer look reveals multiple religious aspects of this process, such as transmitted values and shared craft-making moments associated with religious memories and experiences. Above all, craft making is a venue for warmth and closeness between generations, which is at the heart of religious transmission.

Keywords: craft making, everyday religion, intergenerational transmission

Textile crafts like knitting are usually related to the home and women; traditionally, this activity has been highly gendered, has belonged to the domestic sphere, and has been passed on by older female relatives (Turney 2009, 5; see also Kouhia 2016, 17f.). The situation has changed globally somewhat in recent years, as women have started to gather in cafés and other public places to craft, especially to knit (Shin and Ha 2011; Groeneveld 2010, 266; Turney 2009, 144; Minahan & Wolfram Cox 2007, 6f.), and the skills are increasingly learned outside the family context, whether from peers both in face-to-face contact and online, or from schools, as is the case in Finland (Stalp, Gardner & Beard 2018; Gardner 2016; Stalp 2007; Stoller 2003; Garber 2002). Increasing numbers of men have also publicly taken up their knitting

needles (Pöllänen 2013a). However, textile craft making remains mainly a women's hobby, and the tradition is handed down from one woman to another (e.g. Pöllänen 2015; Minahan and Wolfram Cox 2011; Turney 2009, 12; Johnson and Wilson 2005; Bittman and Wajcman 2000). It is still one of the ways to pass on the gendered practices of femininity (e.g. Stalp 2015; Parker 2010; Kokko 2009). As such, it is very similar to the other areas of both care and women's leisure (e.g. Henderson et al. 1999; DeVault 1991, 2; Green, Hebron, and Woodward 1990). In contrast, craft making, like other leisure, can also offer a means to gain public space and resist patriarchal structures (Turney 2009, 40; Henderson et al. 1999; Wearing 1998, 49f.).

However, even today, mothers and grandmothers often remain the initial source of inspiration and help in craft making (Stalp, Gardner, and Beard 2018; Minahan and Wolfram Cox 2011; Riley 2008; Johnson and Wilson 2005; Nelson, LaBat, and Williams 2002). Yet the academic literature on the intergenerational transmission of craft making has been somewhat scattered thus far. Scholars have found that a warm and close relationship between the instructor and learner plays a crucial role in the learning process of craft making (Minahan and Wolfram Cox 2011), and grandmothers or great aunts are often better at offering this warm acceptance than mothers (Minahan and Wolfram Cox 2011; Johnson and Wilson 2005). The literature also shows that craft making is a way to hand down the family culture: women do craft making because they want to 'keep the family tradition alive' (Johnson and Wilson 2005) or 'leave a legacy' of previous generations to future ones, and so weave the next link in the chain of generations (Piercy and Cheek 2004). Conversely, craft making gives women an identity that is separate from the role of mother, wife, or daughter. Women are not defined by their relationship with someone else but through their own skills as craftswomen (Schofield-Tomschin and Littrell 2001; Nelson, LaBat, and Williams 2002). The existing literature on these themes is quite limited, and it raises interesting questions about the place and roles of emotions, experiences, and values related to womanhood, family, and the surrounding culture in both intergenerational relationships and transmission in craft making. Nor has the place of religion in the intergenerational transmission of craft making been studied before. This study addresses these themes.

Besides craft-making skills, values, worldviews, and beliefs are transmitted from one generation to the next. As the earlier literature shows, different generations in the family are bound to each other in several ways. Values, norms, habits, and skills are transmitted from parents and grandparents to children and grandchildren in the socialization process, which is reciprocal

and continues for a lifetime (e.g. Burr et al. 2015; Bengtson 2013, 58; Nauck et al. 2009; Myllyniemi 2006, 65; Bengtson, Biblarz, and Roberts 2002; Bengtson 2001; Schönplflug 2001; Kohn, Slomczynski, and Schoenbach 1986). According to the previous literature, a warm and accepting relationship between parents and children strongly influences the transmission of values and the continuity of faith and religious views (Bengtson 2013, 74, 79; Grønhøj and Thøgersen 2009; Bekkers 2007; Schönplflug 2001, 182). This also applies to grandparents, who play an important role in the transmission of family values, norms, habits, and skills to younger generations, as has been demonstrated for the field of craft making (Bengtson 2013, 105; Minahan and Wolfram Cox 2011; Nauck et al. 2009; Copen and Silverstein 2007; Johnson and Wilson 2005; Bengtson 2001, 5, 13f.; Giarrusso et al. 2001).

This research is located in a landscape where two realities encounter each other: the transmission of craft-making skills from one generation to the next, and the role culture, values, and religion play in this transmission. The combination is novel, and it is interesting for two reasons. First, craft making seems quite often to tangle with the religious realm: for example, in contemporary discourse craft making is often referred to as spirituality (Myllys 2020; Fisk 2017). Yet craft making continues to be an important part of congregational involvement for many women (Myllys 2020; Voittosaari 1994). This interesting twofold relationship raises the question of the place of religion in the transmission of craft making. Second, studying the intergenerational transmission of craft making highlights the manifold emotional and cultural bonds that bind people. When mothers and grandmothers transmit craft-making skills from one generation to the next, elements of local tradition and culture are also passed on. Nobody has yet considered the extent to which this includes religion. Although the role of religion in people's lives has declined in recent decades in Finland, Lutheranism still occupies a major place in the culture (e.g. Ketola et al. 2016, 28, 40), making it a good place to explore the interesting interconnection of culture and religion in intergenerational transmission.

Research question and theoretical background

In this article I will analyse the intergenerational transmission of craft making, focusing on how textile crafts connect women with previous and future generations, and aspects of religion and values in this transmission.

My focus is on women for two reasons. First, gender affects how religion is lived (e.g. McGuire 2008, 159f.). Second, leisure and craft making differ

between the sexes (Pöllänen 2015; Bittman and Wajcman 2000). Limiting the research to women makes it possible to get a clearer picture of both craft making and everyday religion.

A fruitful way to connect intergenerational transmission, religion, and spirituality is Bengtson's theory of intergenerational solidarity (Bengtson and Roberts 1991, 257; Bengtson 2001, 8). This defines the six behavioural and emotional dimensions needed to pass the values, worldviews, and culture of a family down to younger generations: (1) affectual solidarity, which is the closeness of the relationship between family members and generations; (2) associational solidarity, which is the type of contact between family members; (3) consensual solidarity, which is agreement in values between generations; (4) functional solidarity, which is the quality of support across generations, including both instrumental resources and services and emotional support; (5) normative solidarity, which is expectations regarding parental obligations and norms about the importance of familistic values; (6) structural solidarity, which is the opportunity for cross-generational interaction and spending time together (Bengtson and Roberts 1991, 257; Bengtson 2001, 8). According to the theory warm, close, and accepting relationships between generations are at the core of intergenerational transmission, and this also applies to religious transmission (Bengtson 2013). As I will now show, this theory of intergenerational solidarity affords us an interesting insight into the synergy of intergenerational relationships and the transmission of religion between generations.

Although religious transmission usually happens in the everyday life contexts in which religion is lived, research on this transmission focuses largely on official religious traditions or non-religion, and it neglects religious action and experience as they are lived in everyday life and partly outside religious institutions. The research traditions of folk religion (e.g. Honko 2013; Yoder 1974) and vernacular religion (e.g. Primiano 2012) go some way towards this, because they seem to contain, at least implicitly, the idea of passing down religious beliefs and traditions outside an institutionally bound context. However, there is little research on the transmission of everyday lived religion or folk religion itself (e.g. Liu 2018), which is the focus here.

What is everyday lived religion? According to Ammerman (2007, 5; 2013, 4) it contains all the everyday related actions, emotions, experiences, and interpretations that can to some extent be counted as religious or spiritual. They do not need to be bound to the dogma or tradition of any religious institutions or traditions, but they can be. There is no straightforward definition of religion or religiosity in everyday life. However, the focus is on

the interpretations and experiences of an individual, not the institutionally defined dogma or tradition. Spirituality and religion are not clearly separable but frequently overlap (e.g. Ammerman 2014; McGuire 2008), and the difference between these concepts is rarely clear, as Ammerman (2013, 47, 49) states. Everyday religion, according to Ammerman, grows from the large-scale discussion of lived religion (e.g. McGuire 2008; Orsi 1997). However, it also comes close to the study of folk and vernacular religion, which also focus on religion as it is lived in everyday life but recognize the cultural elements it contains (e.g. Honko 2013; Primiano 2012; Yoder 1974). In this study everyday religion provides a good basis for exploring possible religious and spiritual aspects in the intergenerational transmission of craft making. Besides, notions derived from folk and vernacular religion help the consideration of the cultural context, with which religion is in constant dialogue.

Context of the study

Finland, the site of this study, has been a predominantly Lutheran country for the last five hundred years. In recent decades the situation has changed, especially in urban areas. However, Finland remains one of the most Lutheran countries in the world: 69.7% of Finns belonged to the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Finland in January 2019, according to the church's own website. There are several other smaller religious communities in Finland, while almost a quarter (24.3%) belonged to no registered religious community by the end of 2015 (Ketola et al. 2016, 7-11). As in other Western countries, individually defined spirituality has grown in Finland, especially among women, both inside and outside the Lutheran Church (Ketola et al. 2016, 48; Ahonen 2015; Ketola 2006). However, Lutheranism still plays a major role in Finnish culture and spiritual heritage (Ketola et al. 2016, 28, 40).

Traditionally, handicrafts have been highly valued in Finland. For centuries people have had to be able to make the tools and artefacts needed in daily life. Carefulness, neatness, attention, precision, and patience were and are all highly appreciated qualities of Finnish crafts(wo)men. Craft making skills have been learned both at home and at school, where textile crafts and technical skills are compulsory subjects for boys and girls. Many people therefore have craft-making skills, and craft making remains one of the most popular hobbies (Pöllänen and Urdzina-Deruma 2017; Garber 2002; Heikkinen 1997). Making cheap and useful products has been considered a well-organized and beneficial use of time (Pöllänen 2013a; 2013b).

Data collection and analysis

Data collection began with an observation period of a year. Observation makes it possible to discern how and when religious and spiritual themes are presented and communicated in everyday life (Bender 2003, 137). Between January and December 2016 I observed four different textile craft-making groups. Two were based in the Lutheran Church; two were not church-affiliated. Two made crafts for charity; two did not. The groups met in the Helsinki metropolitan area.

When I began the observation, I first contacted the hosts of the groups by email. At the first meetings I attended I introduced myself, explaining who I was, and what I was going to do. I also told the group members that the observation was participatory (Knott 2010). As a crafter, I would do the same things they were doing at the meetings, which usually meant knitting. The groups were selected for diversity in terms of religiosity and purpose. I soon realised that they also differed in many other ways: for example, in average age, number of participants, the identity of the group and values represented, reasons for coming together, and the role craft making played in the meetings. There was a wide variety of crafts: knitting; crocheting; sewing (including with a machine); mending; and even spinning. Religious orientation was one of the main characteristics that distinguished the groups, yet even this was not clear-cut: although non-religiosity was clearly essential to the identity of one of the non-religious groups, the other organized a knitting devotion with a local Lutheran parish. Such diversity offered a rich opportunity for me as a researcher to gather rich and colourful data.

However, the theme of intergenerational transmission did not emerge during the observation but later in the post-observation interviews. During the observation I had and followed several discussions. Based on these, I asked for interviews with women who had said or done something I wished to explore more deeply. Anneli (65), who spoke to me about the journey to her roots through craft making, was one such woman. In general, I was especially interested in the different kind of meaning, including spiritual, given to craft making. I also wished to interview a variety of women in terms of age, education, and social relations (they were not from the same group of friends). I interviewed four women from each group, making a total of sixteen interviews. The interviewed women were between 40 and 70 years of age, with equal numbers from each decade. They had both lower and higher educational backgrounds. None of the women worked for the church, and they all lived in the Helsinki metropolitan area. They are given pseudonyms here based on the most popular Finnish female names in their birth decade.

The interviews were semi-structured: there were five themes, but the discussion was not otherwise guided. I asked each woman questions about her craft-making history; the general, religious and spiritual meanings given to her craft making; the place of religion and spirituality in her life; and the meaning of the craft-making group in which she participated. The theme of intergenerational transmission emerged spontaneously in the first two interviews, after which I included it in my questions. Most of the women talked eagerly about their lives and craft making. Religious aspects related to the intergenerational transmission of craft making emerged in the interviews, regardless of whether the women belonged to a religious-based group. This was probably because they knew me already from the observation, and we shared an interest, because I am also a crafter. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed – they lasted from fifteen minutes to an hour and a half; the average duration was one hour.

The research method employed was theory reflection: data was examined using qualitative content analysis, and the results of the analysis were discussed theoretically. However, the purpose of this study was not to test theory. In the analysis I followed Ammerman, who states that anything a researcher or informant defines as religious ought to be considered in studying everyday religion. Cultural context and definitions of what is religious or has a transcendent character (e.g. religious rituals or actions connected to a religious community) are also important (Ammerman 2007, 224–225). I used Atlas.ti. to code the data after it was transcribed. First, I grouped the data by theme. One quotation could belong to more than one theme. I then grouped the data into more detailed subthemes (e.g. Generations_Doing with mother or Generations_Teaching children). I continued with the theme of intergenerational relationships and craft making. First, I read through the material a couple of times and made notes on it. Second, I clarified and added subthemes where required. In the third step I began to categorize the subthemes in larger themes to obtain a clearer understanding of the emerging phenomena. I next returned to the interview material, reading it through again in relation to the themes to ensure that they described the same reality. In the final step I organized the categories so that the analysis told a coherent story of the data.

Results

Based on my data, craft making connects women with preceding and succeeding generations in four ways. Tradition, skills, and values are trans-

mitted; time is spent together with different generations; care is shown for children and grandchildren; people are connected with their roots. Religious and spiritual elements are present in all of these.

Transmission of skills and values

In my data craft-making skills and tradition were usually inherited from home, and they connected women to their family's roots and cultural heritage. As 39-year-old Kristiina said: 'My mother's side of the family has really made a lot of crafts, as well as arts and crafts. They're from Ostrobothnia.' In many families, mothers, grandmothers, and other older relatives were skilful crafters who provided an example and role model to younger generations. They had also actively passed on their skills, which many of the women I studied told me they had learned at home before they reached school age. For example, Minna (41) described how she learned her craft-making skill from her grandmothers, with whom she spent a lot of time in childhood. 'Both my grandmothers had looms, so when I went there, I was able to do something with them. ...And my grandmother, my father's mother, taught me to knit.' Mothers had also played an important role in passing the tradition on. This was also the case for 63-year-old Pirjo, whom her mother had taught the basic stitches.

The women I interviewed saw craft making as an important tradition to pass on, connecting children with a continuum of generations. For example, children were taught the basics of craft making if they were interested. Both Minna and Maria (40) made crafts with their children, though their children were still quite young, and Kaarina (71) felt she set an example as a passionate crafter to the younger generations. Younger women did not see craft making as a purely gendered activity. They felt it was important that boys were also taught basic textile craft skills. Transmitted tradition could also acquire a religious tone, as it did for 70-year-old Leena. She told me:

My mother was skilful – her father was a carpenter, and my brother is a watchmaker. So, I suppose we have a gift. ... Well, I think it's already religiosity that I feel it's a gift. I feel I have the kind of gift that allows me to delight children and those close to me. ... I feel it's a gift. I have a gift and an opportunity to give.

Leena saw her craft-making talent as connecting her to both directions in the continuum of generations: it was something she had received from previous

generations that she could also use for future ones, and all this was covered by her religious thinking, which she had inherited from her mother.

Besides basic skills, attitudes towards and values associated with craft making were inherited from home. These included ecological values like countering the consumerist culture. The data showed that basic craft skills were appreciated: mending clothes and sewing on a button were seen as essential skills even today. Kristiina saw craft making as a civic skill everyone should have. 'It would be awful if I didn't know how to sew on a button or darn a sock or something like that.' She also felt it was important to show her children the value of mending clothes at home, seeing it as a way of combating the throwaway culture.

Kristiina was not alone. Maria had inherited the idea from her grandmother that craft making was a culture of sustainability in which clothes were mended and reused. As a trained handicraft teacher, her grandmother had also taught her granddaughter to appreciate detailed and precise handicraft work. Not only were ecological values and attitudes to making and mastery seen as important; the data showed that the attitude of doing good for others was inherited from previous generations. For example, Annikki (71) described how she made clothes for her children and grandchildren just as her mother had done. She saw doing good for others as an essential part of her life as a Christian and an embodiment of her religious thinking: 'Doing good for someone else is religious, at least. That's doing good.'

As can be seen, in this study craft making is mainly learned from home, and this applies regardless of the age of the women. Skills are passed on to future generations, albeit to a lesser extent than in the past. The results obtained here thus point in a slightly different direction than the findings of Stalp, Gardner, and Beard (2018), or Gardner (2016), who both argue that craft-making skills are primarily learned today from other sources. The truth probably lies somewhere in between. However, the importance of the home cannot be overlooked, as this study shows. Intergenerational transmission within a family makes it possible to pass on elements of family heritage and culture alongside craft making, which can be seen both here and in the work of Minahan and Wolfram Cox (2011), and Johnson and Wilson (2005). It seems that craft making is an activity that connects different generations not only very practically but in a much deeper sense. Sometimes this also includes religion, as was case with Leena, whose understanding of craft making as a gift from God reflected an idea of life and its goods as God's gifts, which is characteristic of Finnish Lutheranism even today (Ketola et al. 2016, 28).

At this deeper level values are passed on by craft making. According to Bengtson (2001, 8) shared interests and orientations strengthen consensual solidarity, which is at the core of the transmission of values. It is easy to see how craft making can help with this, especially when both generations are interested in it. In this data environmental values and prosocial behaviour were central to the transmission, as in the studies of Grønhøj and Thøgersen (2009), or Bekkers (2007). Interestingly, however, gender roles in craft making seem to be changing, and younger generations are challenging the traditional model. This study does not therefore wholly support Kokko's (2009) argument that craft making is a way of fostering the gendered practices of femininity. Nevertheless, the requirement of accuracy and neatness, which were valued qualities among Finnish crafters in earlier years (Heikkinen 1997, 70), seems to be being passed on to younger generations. It can therefore be asked to what extent this reflects traditional gender roles.

Values also relate to religion in this study, which is unsurprising, because doing good for others has strong religious associations. In the United States Ammerman (1997, 196–216) pointed out that there were people to whom doing good for others was at the core of religion. She called them Golden Rule Christians. In Finland ethical religiosity is rooted in the Lutheran concepts of everyday vocation and universal priesthood, and serving others in the midst of everyday life is seen as a significant element of religious commitment (Hytönen 2018; Ketola et al. 2016, 25–26). This study shows that it can be linked to craft making and its transmission.

Spending time together

An important aspect of craft making and transmitting the culture was spending time together across generations. The women told me how they did crafts with their mothers and grandmothers. For example, Pirjo cut strips to make rag rugs, and Riitta (65) knitted with her mother. Craft making was also associated with warm and intimate memories of connection with mothers or grandmothers, as was the case with both Leena and Päivi (53). 'When I was a child it (craft making) meant we shared some lovely evenings together. My mother, sister, and I sat around the kitchen table, listened to the radio and did some knitting. ... It was evening at its best, being close to mum.' Leena described the relationship with her mother, with whom she shared a passion for crafts and creativity.

Craft making was a way of sharing time with succeeding generations, with children or grandchildren, and it involved a powerful element of inti-

macy, creativity, and play. For example, Kaarina used to organize summer camps for her grandchildren where they did all kinds of creative things. She also described how her grandchildren came to her and asked what crafts they could do together. Spending time and doing crafts together also created space for shared spirituality with different generations. This was the case for Päivi, who spent a lot of time with her grandmother when she was young. 'This (craft making) is related to her (grandmother's) gentle spirituality, too. She believed in angels and spoke about them like natural everyday things, so this is related to it, in a very positive and warm sense.' Meanwhile, Leena connected craft making with her mother, their warm relationship, and the latter's religiosity, all of which belonged together in her mind.

What is noteworthy in these stories is that so many of them tell us about close and warm relationships between generations. At their core is the time spent together, usually with crafts. According to Bengtson warm emotions and close relationships play a role in intergenerational transmission: he calls them affectual solidarity. Spending time together is in turn called associational solidarity (Bengtson 2001, 8). Making crafts together with different generations connects both these aspects: being together and having a warm and accepting relationship go hand in hand in the women's lives. This creates the solid ground for the intergenerational transmission of values, norms, habits, and skills, as this study shows. The closeness and approval experienced are a good basis for religious transmission (Bengtson 2013, 58, 105; Nauck et al. 2009, 328). It may not be overstating to say that this was the case for Leena and Päivi. However, in this study craft making is probably not the primary cause of religious transmission but acts as a mediator, bringing people together, and creating shared experiences and intimacy to enable it.

However, craft making does not always create a connection between generations. Although shared skills and creativity were important in bringing Leena closer to her mother, her mother's and sister's relationship was not especially close. Nor did she see her sister as a particularly creative crafter. Johnson and Wilson (2005, 122) found that daughters learned craft-making skills from other relatives like their grandmothers, because they could not learn them from their mothers. This approaches what Leena told me about her sister. However, Leena's story suggests the opposite interpretation of the cause and consequence: because Leena's sister did not share a skill with her mother, they remained distant. It might also be that the lack of a shared experience prevented the relationship from developing.

Personalized care

Besides skills and values or time together, craft making includes elements of caring and being useful. These two were also intertwined quite often in this study. The interviewees saw their mothers' and grandmothers' crafts as largely useful, not for entertainment or their own pleasure. Päivi, for example, said that for her mother 'it was mostly a matter of usefulness, unlike me and my sister, for whom it is something other than being useful'. However, mothers and grandmothers showed their care for their children and grandchildren by making and mending clothes. Women in this study also described how they made or mended clothes for successive generations. Like her mother, Annikki used to make clothes for her children and grandchildren when they were little, Pirjo knitted a cardigan for her granddaughter, and Tuula (70) made socks for her grandchildren.

Caring also extended beyond tight nuclear family boundaries. For example, Annikki and her sister took care of the family of their deceased sister by making and mending clothes, especially woollen socks. This care and the handmade objects were also personalized: crafts were designed and made personally for a recipient. Handmade objects could also carry religious meanings, as was the case for Marika (40) with a handmade christening robe. When I asked her about the spiritual meaning of craft making, she told me about the christening robe her mother's cousin crocheted for her children when they were unable to find their own. Besides being a wonderful arts and crafts artefact, the robe had deep spiritual meaning for her.

In his theory Bengtson (2001, 8) calls such support, which may be both material and emotional, functional solidarity that strengthens intergenerational transmission. With his colleagues he found that women's support for their parents was often motivated by warm relationships and emotional intimacy (see Silverstein, Parrott, and Bengtson 1995, 473). Material and emotional support are intertwined in my data. In craft making one rarely appears without the other; emotional support is embodied in handmade objects. Luutonen (2008) suggests that handmade items represent the relationship and carry with them the emotions connected with the person who made them. This was the case in this study. Traditionally, craft making has been seen more as a necessity than purely a source of pleasure or personal well-being (e.g. Turner 2009, 12). As can be seen here, this does not diminish the value of the care the women experienced from the previous generations or offered to the next ones in the form of crafts.

Connection with one's roots

Craft making can also connect people with their roots and ancestors through inherited shared skills and craft objects. This was the case with Anneli: craft making took her to the places where her family had lived through the centuries. Craft making connected her with her roots not only physically but emotionally; it created a yarn-like bond that tied her to the generations who had lived before her. She saw it as a skill shared across the generations.

Interviewer: But it (craft making) is like yarn – it connects you.

Anneli: Yes, in a very strange way. ... It's like connecting me to my ancestors – it's a physical connection, but it also connects in a way that allows me to get close to those people. ... [I]t's the same thing my ancestors from both sides have done, and it brings them close. ... To me it brings those places close, but also these people, somehow.

This experience was life changing for Anneli. She felt that after hard times craft making had given her life back to her. The link with earlier generations was also religious. She described finding the places where her ancestors had lived as a divine dispensation that had connected her with them. In the earlier literature ancestors are present through religious texts that maintain the links in the chain of generations (Spännäri 2008, 249–251). Anneli found something different: the connection with older generations itself was a religious experience for her.

What about religion?

In this article my primary concern is with whether religion and spirituality play a role in the intergenerational transmission of craft making. At first glance religion is not visible anywhere in the data. However, a closer look reveals something different. As described above, Annikki inherited the model of doing good for others from her mother, which had clear religious overtones for her; Marika had a handmade christening robe made by one of her relatives; Leena saw her craft making skill as a gift from both God and previous generations; Päivi saw craft making as related to her grandmother's gentle spirituality; Anneli also saw the connection with her roots through craft making as a religious journey.

Other themes emerging from the data are the closeness between generations, care, shared culture, and values. Taking into account both the strong Christian heritage of Finnish culture (Ketola et al. 2016, 28, 40) and Ammer-

man's (2014, 272-273; 2013, 44-45; 1997) findings that ethics and values are one aspect of spirituality, and Golden Rule Christianity is one of its manifestations, one must ask whether closeness, care, and shared values are really completely separate from religion. The stories of Leena and Päivi indicate otherwise: craft making was an important part of their close relationships with their mothers and grandmothers, who also contributed significantly to their religiosity and religious thinking. From this perspective the apparent absence of religion from this study is turned on its head – instead of nowhere, religion is almost everywhere. There seem to be many different religious and spiritual dimensions to the transmission of craft making.

Discussion

I have analysed the intergenerational transmission of craft making, focusing on how textile crafts connect women with previous and future generations, and the role religion and spirituality play in this transmission. The data indicates that craft making acts as a venue for the chain-maintaining, tradition-shifting, and memory-nourishing force that is warmth and closeness between generations. Bengtson (2001) maintains that these are at the heart of religious transmission.

Craft making connects women with previous and succeeding generations in various ways. Tradition and skills are transmitted, and different values are passed from one generation to another. Craft making brings women together from different generations, creates space for togetherness and intimate relationships, and provides a way of showing care for children and grandchildren. It also connects people with their roots and past generations. In short, craft making seems to have the power to pass cultural traditions on from one generation to the next. These findings support Bengtson's concept of the importance of intergenerational solidarity in the process of transmission. Close and warm relationships (affectual solidarity) and time spent together (associational solidarity) with different generations were both meaningful to the women I studied. Support, both material and emotional, given to the next generations especially (functional solidarity) also played an important role in craft making. As well as skills, values were shared and transmitted in this process, strengthening consensual solidarity. All in all, close and warm relationships were tightly intertwined in the data with the time spent together. This raises the question of whether it is even possible to have one without the other. Shared time creates warm and affectual relationships, and vice versa.

What then of the religious and spiritual aspects of the transmission? To answer this, we must return to the definition of everyday religion. This study reveals some new insights into the phenomenon. The first and largest may involve where and what to look for when defining everyday religion: is it merely a new methodology for studying religion, the medium to practise it, or its content? I would argue that it is all of them. First, everyday religion is certainly a lens through which to focus on people's religious activity and spiritual experiences in everyday life. Crucially, it does not approach them from the perspective of the institutionally defined dogma or tradition of any existing religious institution but on their own terms. Second, everyday life is the medium through which such religious and spiritual life is practised. Finally, the content of religion is lived and experienced in the midst of ordinary people's everyday lives. We can access this content using the methodology of everyday religion. In short, everyday religion is both the content and medium of religion as interpreted and experienced by the individual.

It is now time to return to the religious aspects of intergenerational transmission. Can they be identified? The answer at first glance is no. Religion seems absent. However, if we look more closely, the picture is different. The women studied here had shared values, gave and received handmade religious artefacts, and associated shared craft-making moments with religious memories and experiences. They also experienced crafts as care and good done for others. It is fair to ask to what extent these expressly reflect religion and not just values in general. It seems that these two cannot be separated in this study, at least completely: in both the women's stories and the theoretical literature they are somewhat intertwined in intergenerational transmission. Finnish Lutheran culture, in which caring and doing good to others are expressions of the universal priesthood and everyday vocation, lies at the bottom of all this (Hytönen 2018; Ketola et al. 2016, 25-26). In this context, therefore, craft making seems to act as an expression of Finnish folk religion in which both the religious and cultural veins encounter each other and are passed on.

This prompts the question of whether everyday lived religion itself can be transmitted from one generation to the next. There is no easy answer, but there are some hints. First, time spent doing crafts with religiously oriented relatives influences the women's religious thinking. Second, prosocial values and doing good for others, which Ammerman (1997) refers to as Golden Rule Christianity, have been transmitted from generation to generation. In such cases one may see a glimpse of transmission of the everyday religion

about which the women talked. Everyday life is in any case precisely where religion is passed on to the next generations. It is where family life is lived, and values are taught. As shown here, it is also where generations interact and can create the warm and close relationships that Bengtson (2001, 8) sees as crucial when passing on religion. This suggests one should ask to what extent religious transmission is precisely the transmission of religion as it is lived in everyday life. This should be a greater focus of future studies.

To summarize, this study shows that craft making acts as an instrument of intergenerational transmission that happens in the context of everyday life. It is a venue which brings together different generations, their values, and interests. In this context religion and spirituality are present and passed on, both explicitly and implicitly. Furthermore, craft making is a way of conveying love, warmth, and care from one generation to the next and beyond. Hervieu-Léger (2000) sees religion as a chain that enables the collective cultural memory to move and stay alive from generation to generation, but which is broken. However, this research shows that religion as lived in everyday life can act as a chain that transmits values and religious thinking between generations. Above all, the chain-maintaining, tradition-shifting, and memory-nourishing force is warmth and closeness between generations, which also enables religious transmission from one generation to the next. All this happens in everyday life.

* * *

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