



HEIDI PAAVILAINEN

***DWELLING
WITH DESIGN***



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Aalto University publication series
DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS 3/2013

Aalto University School of Arts, Design and Architecture
Aalto ARTS Books
Helsinki
books.aalto.fi

© Heidi Paavilainen and Aalto University School of Arts,
Design and Architecture
Graphic design: Emmi Kyytsönen
Photos: Heidi Paavilainen unless otherwise mentioned
Materials: Munken Pure 120g
Fonts: Adobe Caslon Pro & Myriad Pro

ISBN 978-952-60-4929-8
ISBN 978-952-60-4930-4 (pdf)
ISSN-L 1799-4934
ISSN 1799-4934
ISSN 1799-4942 (pdf)

Unigrafia
Helsinki
2013

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates the role of design in the “moral economy of the household” by exploring if or how people find design meaningful when design is in their home.

Insight into the domestic meanings of design was sought through photographs and interviews with 17 households in the Helsinki metropolitan area in 2004–2007. The semi-structured interviews were designed to collect product biographies of the products the interviewees defined as designed.

Analysis of the data is grounded in the perspectives of symbolic interactionism and the moral economy of the household framework. Central notions are an object’s “domestication” and “appropriation”, which outline a product’s career in the market and at home, as the product is adopted into household routines.

The findings indicate that the meanings of design do change as it moves from public to home. Firstly, in the home only a comparatively narrow selection of professionally designed items qualify as “designed”. Secondly, products at home are linked with dwelling rather than with professional discourse. In other words, the qualities that professional design discourse holds important, such as careful branding, media attention, usability, reliability and aesthetic excellence, transcend only with effort from the producers to the domestic space. Instead, households define for themselves what is a proper way of dwelling and design derives its meaning, its role in the moral economy, from that definition.

Consequently, it is argued that design’s appropriation depends on its ability to fit with the household’s ecology of dwelling practices. Three of the practices are described by outlining the home being curated through mind-sets of running a hotel, a museum and a gallery. Curating the home is not compulsory though. Reasons for the halts are discussed, thereby acknowledging the interplay of indifference and enjoyment in the core of design’s meaning in the home.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

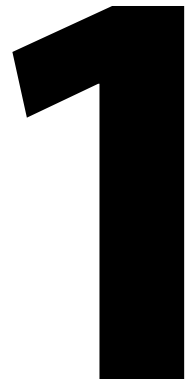
I am a designer by education but instead of colours, patterns and materials, quite early on I focused on working with concepts and phenomena. Most passionately I have been interested in how we humans create knowledge and process meanings, especially in the everyday context. Had I been a sociology student, I probably would have become an ethnomethodologist or even conversation analyst. By the same token I have been interested in the diffusion of ideas and objects within culture and, especially, what consequences are borne of diffusion. Both lines of interests come together in this work.

My research was funded by the Academy of Finland within the Design 2005 programme. Ilpo Koskinen was in charge of the research project and has been excellent, the best possible supervisor for me and this work. I also had an honour to study with late Roger Silverstone in the London School of Economics in 2004. The manuscript was reviewed by Virve Peteri, Tampere University, and Kirsten Marie Raahauge, Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts. Reviewers' encouraging and wise comments were of enormous help in the final stages of writing.

My deepest thanks to the 17 households and the 22 interviewees. I lack words to describe how truly grateful I am for the time and discussion. I hope I have done justice to the incredibly rich and concise data the interviewees kindly provided. Oili Grönman, Piippa Lappalainen, Tuuli Mattelmäki, Anu Välitälo and Salu Ylirisku helped to recruit interviewees; thank you so much for your help.

I have been teaching in the Department of Design for some years now and have constantly tested different kinds of ideas with students. Thank you all for those discussions. In the department, especially Pirjo Hirvonen, Turkka Keinonen, Pirjo Kääriäinen and Päikki Priha have supported my work, each in their own unique way. In the School, Helena Hyvönen has always had time to be encouraging.

I want to thank colleagues and friends for their continuing interest and enlightening conversations. I especially want to thank Petra Ahde-Deal, Sirpa Fourastie, Sonja Iltanen-Tähkävuori, Raija Jokinen, Miia Lallukka, Ossi Naukkarinen, Heli Rantavuo, Petteri Repo, Sara Routarinne, Leena Saarinen, Antti Silvast, Katja Soini, Mari-Ann Wirkkala and the Synapsi team: Antti Huittinen, Eeva Jokinen, Santtu Kivimäki and Anne Lakanen. That the book looks great and is proper English is a result of work by especially Cindy Kohtala, Eeva Berglund (WIT Language Services), Emmi Kyytsönen (Karppi Design) and Pia Alapeteri (Aalto ARTS Books). Thank you for your splendid work. Special thanks to my family and especially my chef and chauffeur Mika. You are the best of the best of the best.





INTRO- DUCTION



INTRODUCTION

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In this work, I am taking a close look at how people dwell with design. The research started with an interest in the role design plays in the moral economy of the household. It ends here with a few key points about what makes design's career in the home successful. Many things that producers of design believe play a central role in the life of products, including branding, the artistic merits of design, ease of use and superior quality, depend on domestication and by studying domestication, we gain a vantage point for evaluating the validity of these types of claims. The good news is that successful domestication of design into home is a widely available source of wellbeing, of feeling good and of enjoying the moment. The bad news is that design does not always domesticate particularly well, and is often experienced as clutter because the design does not fit with the household's ecology of dwelling practices.

The term domestication has its origins in agriculture, where it refers to the genetic alteration of wild plants and animals when they are gradually tamed to live intimately with humans. Within the social sciences, the term has been adopted to describe the processes by which people adopt technologies and media content to ease their everyday lives. Researchers have argued that the role of technologies and media in everyday life resembles that of animals and plants. Both are beneficial, but require care and attention.

The domestication of technologies and media to everyday life is described as a cycle of phases of product design, manufacturing, commodification, objectification, incorporation and conversion of the product (Silverstone & Haddon 1996). Of these phases, the conversion phase fuels product design. The phases that transcend the boundaries between the public and the private and take place inside private settings are together called "appropriation" (Silverstone 2006). In terms of the domestication framework, I am looking at the domestication of mostly mass-produced consumer goods, with a focus on the role that design plays in the appropriation of products.

My research questions are, first, what does the appropriation of design involve? In other words, what needs to be in place for a designed product to be appropriated into the home? Second, why bother with the process of appropriating design? Why are people doing it?

To answer these questions, I will show in the following chapters that dwelling with design takes lots of work, although the work is not compulsory and not everybody is doing it. Often, though, certain dwelling conditions are actively sought through the appropriation of design. In my work, I describe four distinguishable styles of appropriation.

Central to the work of appropriation are three dwelling practices of curating the home as a hotel, a museum and a gallery. A mapping of these practices reveals that the designed products that people live with do not necessarily become integrated into everyday life and can be (and often are) meaningless to the people living with them. The main source of unsuccessful integration seems to be design's incompatibility with the ecology of a particular household's dwelling practices, as a home is curated to meet household's preferences. In other words, despite being located within a home, the design does not always survive curating and does not receive attention or interest. Therefore, while design in a home is often a source of physical and spiritual pleasure, the designed product is also often met with displeasure or indifference.

Based on these findings, I argue that understanding better how real people in real homes appropriate design is fruitful to design research in general and user research in particular because, on the one hand, being in a home is often by far the longest phase in a product's domestication career and, on the other hand, design's meaning in a home seems to differ drastically from those meanings common to professional design discourse (Julier 2000a). It almost seems like there are two different types of design. Both types of design are curated, but the criteria are different. One criterion is used in professional design discourse, where the excellence and elegance of branding, aesthetics and usability are undisputed goals on their own. One might say that such excellence can be represented in a photograph (Julier 2000b 39). However, when seen through the lens of domestication literature, design looks quite different. In the home, design can be equally – if not more – excellent and appreciated, but the excellence is very difficult to capture in a photograph because what the design means in the home is based on a household's way of living. To give a simple example, if a household happens to have dogs, design's excellence may very well be grounded in how well the products' design fits with and enhances living with the dogs.

What makes design's domestic role interesting to study is that not all the households with dogs perceive design similarly. Domestication researchers use the notion of the moral economy of the household to discuss how all households are unique, because each creates its own meanings for the objects that the household chooses (and refuses) to appropriate for its everyday life (Silverstone 1994 45–46). My work shows that, although households are unique in the sense that the biographies of the designed products differ from each other in their details, in a more general sense design is appropriated to be part of a household's dwelling practices of curating the home as a hotel, a museum and a gallery. Design's meaning, its role in the moral economy, stems from its capacity to be good for physical recreation (in the home as a hotel), good for social bonding (when the home is run like a museum) and good for spiritual recreation (when the home serves as a gallery). If the design fails to be good in one or more of those roles, it becomes clutter.

Studying design's domestication sensitises the research to the social contexts of design. My research illustrates why this is so: when the designed products are appropriated from the public market and placed within the private home, the designed products are appropriated according to a household's own style and from the point of view of the household's curating practices. People define what is home and what constitutes dwelling. Design's role in a product's appropriation, usefulness and appreciation, stems from those definitions. In a home, with the exception of design collectors, design hardly ever plays the lead role of an isolated star like it does in the professional discourse and media representations. On the other hand, design often excels as a supporting act and, as such, is an important ingredient of everyday wellbeing.

BACKGROUND TO THE ARGUMENT

My argument is based on an analysis and interpretation of the empirical data. Between 2004 and 2007, I visited 17 households in the Helsinki metropolitan area to find out what role, if any, design plays in the “domestication” of the product and, further, what role the domestication of design plays in the “moral economy of the household”. The notions of the moral economy of the household and domestication were developed in the 1980s by British social scientists, most notably the late Roger Silverstone, in order to provide a framework for the study of how households cope with increasingly technological everyday life (Haddon 2007).

Silverstone and his colleagues came up with the metaphor of domestication because they felt that living with technologies was analogous to the domestication of plants and animals; people domesticate technological devices to ease everyday life, but, as with animals and plants, the domesticated devices require attention and care (Silverstone & Haddon 1996 60). The technologies and media contents tame their owners and users, so to speak. Families gathering to watch television is an example of this taming, as well as are the myriad ways everyday has changed due to the domestication of mobile phone.

Moral economy is the spiritual context within which household members negotiate the meanings of objects and, consequently, a household’s identity and culture (Silverstone et al. 1992 16). What the household decides to domesticate is crucial to the moral economy, since, by domestication, a household “create[s] and sustain[s] its autonomy and identity [...] as an economic, social and cultural unit” — or fails to do so (ibid.).

I applied domestication research by interviewing and photographing households in order to study the “domestication of design” (roughly, how design finds its place within a home). My hypothesis was that the designed properties of a product, such as brand, appearance and ease of use, play a crucial role in how

products domesticate, because that is what designers think design does: that design is important. A null hypothesis would have been that design has no role and that products become domesticated in the way that they do, irrespective of their designed properties.

After initially analysing the household interviews and photographs, I could say that design does have a role — most people would not be pleased to live with a random selection of products and they would not want a market where there is only one type of design of a certain product. That design matters became clear. It also became clear that design's role in the moral economy is closely linked with how a household conceptualises design. In that sense, I could say that the quality and style of the domestication of a product do not depend on design but on people.

Then, Roger Silverstone's last article on domestication (Silverstone 2006) outlined the domestication process with a new twist: what had been previously been called domestication was now being called appropriation, whereas domestication was being formulated as a cycle that covers product's entire lifespan from the designer's table through manufacturing and marketing to the end user, who then, by conversion, acts as a feedback giver for designers who monitor the environment to inform and inspire design work.

At that point, based on my analysis of the data, I had already outlined two themes that could be discussed as my research findings. I called the first of the themes "dwelling work" based on the notion that people do huge amounts of design-intensive work to facilitate the way in which they dwell. On the one hand, households renovate, redecorate, craft and tune apartments and products. On the other hand, dwelling itself consists of and is facilitated by the presence of distinguishable practices. From my data, I could recognise three separate practices of running a home as a hotel, as a museum and as a gallery. These practices cover the major points on managing the appropriation of products, which are, to put it simply, about selecting the product and then storing and using the product. Consequently, the "dwelling work" theme was mostly about the type of physical home that people create by appropriating physical design.

The physical home has got its spiritual counterpart — the moral economy of the household. I decided to call that aspect in my data "pleasure work", because "feeling good" appeared to be a desirable way of dwelling, which design facilitates at least occasionally. The "pleasure work" theme was about the spiritual moral economy a household creates by conceptualising design in a certain manner.

Based on these two initial findings, it became clear that I should focus on the “appropriation of design” (rather than on the domestication of design) and take into account the whole domestication cycle only in passing, because while appropriation of design links the households with the public market and, for example, communal infrastructures, most of my data is quite firmly about the private sense-making of design through the ways in which products are selected, used and stored. Therefore, while my work belongs to the areas of, first, design research and, second, domestication research, I have the mixed pleasure to try to introduce yet another term (appropriation) to the discussion, even though the term domestication already has got a small tradition of its own.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

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My first step towards formulating research questions was to ask, “What is the role of design in the domestication of industrial design?” Armed with this initial question, I recruited a sample of households in order to collect product biographies, engage in design discussions in general and photograph homes. I had very little idea what kinds of data would result from such an approach because no one had previously visited homes with such an explicit and sole focus on design.

The next step in developing the research questions was to analyse the data: what is the question to which my data responds best? Figuring that out was not easy. I do not want to count the number of times I got distracted by the mixed and chaotic set of notions, all of which, of course, related to the appropriation of design because that was what the interviewees were talking about: design in the home. In hindsight, the initial chaos was understandable and, in fact, helpful for the analysis, since the chaotic data reflected the fact that the households had very different styles for living with design and were thinking differently about design.

At some point, a light bulb flashed. Since the interviewees were talking about design in the home, could my data be somehow related to the activity of dwelling? I looked through the interviews and was happy to see that, indeed the data was, perhaps a bit surprisingly, mostly about dwelling with design and the stories of what it takes to dwell with design. The notion of dwelling then helped to make sense of the data, but the research questions linking back to the appropriation of design provide the points of view through which the findings are presented in this book. Specifically I am asking:

- 1) What does the appropriation of design involve? What needs to be in place for a design to be appropriated and made a part of the home?
- 2) Why do people bother appropriating design?

SITUATING THE ARGUMENT

What people in general are trying to achieve through the appropriation of objects has been discussed often and the existing literature offers plenty of ideas about appropriation. Several writers have explained the consumption of products as a means of communicating and displaying signs (Baudrillard 1968; Bourdieu 1979; Douglas & Isherwood 1979; Simmel 2003). Some writers have found that people are more or less mindlessly trying to secure their current conditions through a consumption of objects (Adorno 1991; Pyhtilä 2005). Both of these views are reflected in the sometimes heavily sententious layman discussions, where some scorn the appropriation of products as being merely about status (“keeping up with the Joneses”) or a passive adoption of whatever the producers are telling us is fashionable. On the other hand, some writers emphasise an individual’s active agency and the creativity inherent in consumption and argue that the appropriation of products constitutes an important way of existing in the modern world. In these accounts, some scholars believe that the appropriation of products is important for psychological development (Winnicott 1971; Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981), whereas Daniel Miller sees mass consumption and the institutions making it possible as the driving forces behind all progressive tendencies in modern society (Miller 1987 16). According to Miller, the appropriation of mass-produced objects is good for individuals because it encourages them to develop when they are forced to singularise the product initially alienated by the institutions producing it. In a similar vein, domestication literature emphasises the importance of creating and maintaining a household identity, a sense of self, through the appropriation of objects, which is necessary so that the members of a particular household feel secure enough to act competently as part of a network of households within the public market (Silverstone et al. 1992 19). Finally, some works on fashion and trends suggest that people try

to achieve aesthetic synchronicity with the present and with their peers, each in their own rhythm, through the appropriation of objects (Blumer 1969a; Vejlggaard 2008). Some writers have also suggested that the domestic appropriation of objects reflects a more general trend of aesthetisation, that is, the increasing importance of aesthetics in everyday living (Noro 1995; Levanto et al. 2005; Featherstone 2007).

There has been much less discussion about what the appropriation involves and what needs to be in place for the appropriation to succeed. Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen, in his research on shopping, notes that,

It remains an open question what in the end makes the [purchasing] decision and where it gets its power. All in all the deciding instance cannot completely define the field where the decisions are made. When it is said that "individual chooses", we cannot refer to any stabile entirety but instead we talk about a dam with which we have shackled an overflow of questions: how the choosing individual is constructed, to what problems it is in relationship, why and when? (Lehtonen 1999b 228)

Daniel Miller, too, points out that in most economic and political discussions, the consumer is portrayed as a "mere choice":

The fictive consumer of economic models, the aggregate of desocialised, individual, rational choice-makers, the source of whose demands or desires is understood as entirely irrelevant to politics as it was already to economics [...] a consumer homogenised as choice, but also as mere choice. (Miller 1995a 15)

The domestication model, too, has its roots in the problematization of a choice-making individual, since the framework for the moral economy of the household represents an attempt to bring the household, an informal and inherently social agent, into the discussion concerning formal economy and policy making (Silverstone 2005 1).

Miller continues his discussion by saying that consumption research needs to "delve deeply into the nature of consumption as a social, cultural and moral project" (Miller 1995a 17). This can be seen as a call to study consumption in private domains. And, while studying the public domains of consumption has in general been more popular than studying what takes place in private (Miller 1987 7), there is a strong, albeit scattered, body of literature focusing on private settings, especially the home. The domestication framework itself is most

often applied to the study of consumption taking place within the home. These studies usually focus on how technologies and media contents encourage and enable or, on the contrary, hamper and prevent households from participating in their projects both inside and outside the physical walls of the home. For example, articles collected in the *Media, Technology and Everyday Life in Europe* inquire, “What does it mean to be part of the Information Society?” (Silverstone 2005 2).

The work done by anthropologist Daniel Miller and his students within the field of material culture studies forms another set of research on consumption taking place within the home, one which is particularly close to my research strategy (Miller 1998b, 2001). Whereas domestication studies emphasise participation, material culture studies often emphasise the expressive character of objects. For example, in *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* Miller notes that,

more striking are the very active, fluid and diverse strategies by means of which people transform resources [...] into expressive environments, daily routines and often cosmological ideals: that is, ideas about order, morality and family, and their relationships with the wider society (Miller 1987 8)

Neither of these strategies denies the complexity of private consumption and living with immaterial and material objects, nor do they treat products as mere vehicles for participation or expression.

Both strategies are part of what can be called cultural studies because the research strategy involves studying domesticity and the home as a cultural and social phenomenon rather than predominantly as economic or political phenomenon. Several anthropologists, sociologists, psychologists and, for example, philosophers have discussed domesticity and the home (Mellet 2004). *At Home. An Anthropology of Domestic Space* (Cieraad 1999), *Koti. Tehtävistä uusiin ihanteisiin* (Lammi & Timonen 2008), *Domestic Cultures* (Hollows 2008) and *Homes in Transformation* (Johansson & Saarikangas 2009) are comparatively recent works on the subject and they illustrate the polyphony of the discussion and how domesticity is “produced, managed and lived” in “complex, diverse and sometimes unpredictable ways” (Hollows 2008 12).

The studies are often about the history of home and domesticity (Rybczynski 1986; Bryson 2010), or about the ways in which the domestic technologies and related ideas evolve and are adapted to fit new contexts (MacKenzie & Wajcman 1985; Saarikangas 2002; Shove 2003). Some strategies that are closer to my own research are based on representations of past domesticity in, for example,

interior decoration magazines. Tiina Huokuna discusses the quite colourful revolution in Finnish interiors that took place around 1970s (Huokuna 2006) and Minna Sarantola-Weiss bases her outline of the cultural meaning of a living room on the taste battles fought in the 1970s over the design of a sofa (Sarantola-Weiss 2003). Riitta Nieminen-Sundell and Sara Routarinne have studied the different representation conventions of information and entertainment technologies in interior decoration and computer magazines, respectively (Nieminen-Sundell & Routarinne 2006). These works, even though they are not based on ethnography, inquire into the clashes between professional and layman taste and into the problems of appropriating products to fit the physical reality of an apartment. At the same time, the works of Sarantola-Weiss and Huokuna in particular provide retrospective accounts on private modes of dwelling and interior decoration. In that sense, my work can be seen as constituting a modest update to these earlier accounts on Finnish homely living.

Some of the more ethnographic research set-ups are very close to my work since the researchers have visited contemporary homes and interviewed people about the products and related practices. An early example is a study where families in Chicago were asked to tell about their “special things” (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981). Based on their findings, the authors suggest that people in different age groups tend to favour particular types of products because the product contributes to their ongoing psychological development. In *Kitchen-Table Society*, Marianne Gullestad (Gullestad 1984) analyses, for example, the furnishing practices that support social networking. Elizabeth Shove and her colleagues inquired into kitchen refurnishing and discuss how people are appropriating, for example, kitchen appliances in the hopes of inducing new, desired practices to everyday life in the home (Shove et al. 2007a). Nicky Gregson has conducted field work in a neighbourhood where she studied all sorts of dwelling practices by helping in furnishing and moving a house; she found out, for example, about the cyclical nature of how people get rid of things (Gregson 2007). Researchers on homes in Helsinki have found clashes between the reality of dwelling and architectural ideas about dwelling, which materialise in a lack of storage space (Koskijoki 1999). Kirsten Marie Raahauge interviewed people about their possessions and found that both spiritual and physical spaciousness is, indeed, important; her interviewees had quite strict moral principles by which they kept their home spaces under control (Raahauge 2007). In these studies, the products are ordinary, everyday items, but works of art have not been forgotten either. David Halle visited homes in New York and focused on interviewing residents about the meanings of the works of popular and fine art in their homes (Halle 1993); additionally,

some articles in the work *Contemporary Art and the Home* (Painter 2002) make use of ethnographic methods.

These studies have helped me to piece my argument together; nonetheless, even though all of these studies are linked with design – especially if we hold that “everything is designed” – the design of the products has not been the focus of interest. It seems that my research on the domestic appropriation of design is surprisingly original given the vast amount of designed products people are living with, and, given the increasing interest in use and users of design within the design community (Mattelmäki 2006 15–25), and, for example, to the ways in which users make sense of design through social interaction (Battarbee 2004).

From a design research point of view, my work is “user-centred research” since my aim has been to study the appropriation of design from a user’s point of view. However, I am not talking about users and my use of design research literature in the discussion is minimal. There are two reasons for this. The first is that, like Guy Julier points out, research on design (too) has put more focus on the production of design and on the designers themselves (Julier 2000b 47). Recent examples of such works include a study by Nigel Cross (Cross 2011), which discusses the designing mind set, a study by Kirsikka Vaajakallio (Vaajakallio 2012), which discusses the co-design method “Design games”, and a study by Anna Valtonen (Valtonen 2007), which looks at the changes in the professional role of the industrial designer. The second reason is that, like Johan Redström suggests, the user can be seen as someone that the designer imagines and configures, whereas “people, not users, inhabit the world” (Redström 2006 29). Since my aim has been to try to interpret (rather than imagine or configure) the context of uses and the ecology of people and products in the home (rather than use of a product), for the sake of clarity I find it more appropriate to talk about people and not users. In this respect, my work can be seen as an attempt to make the “user” a bit more human. On the other hand, I am not trying to draw a perfectly realistic portrait. The clearest omission in my discussion is that social class and gender receive very little attention, even though both are put in a prominent place in the studies on domesticity and the home (Hollows 2008). I will explain this decision in Chapter 3.

Finally, my understanding of the nature of design – what it is, where it comes from and how it is connected with everything else – is decidedly social. The most influential writings fall into three broad lines of approach: the social meaning or role of materiality (Dant 1999; Latour 2000; Dant 2005; Lehtonen 2008), the politics of design (Papanek 1984; Forty 1986; Winner 1986), and the cultural analysis of design (Julier 2000b; Molotch 2003; Sparke 2004). None of

these approaches treats design as something strange or exceptional (although it can be exclusive), but, instead, see design as part and parcel of everyday life in contemporary consumer society.

There is a small group of writers who have focused on studying the nature of everyday life (Gardiner 2000b; Jokinen 2005; Highmore 2007, 2011; Naukkarinen 2011). The agreement is that everyday life as a research topic is difficult or impossible to define because quite nearly everything can be approached from the point of everydayness. Jari Luomanen discusses these difficulties in relation to the domestication of technologies and media – which are often seen as generating central aspects of the sense of everydayness – and concludes that “everyday life is the arena where all activity is played out, the glue that holds together the totality of the grand scale of things from the minutest to the most specialised” (Luomanen 2010 17). In the broadest sense, my work, too, is about studying everydayness and everyday life, since I have aimed to understand and describe in a recognisable way the ways in which interviewees dwell with designed products that typically already have long histories in the home.

THE DOMESTICATION OF OBJECTS

Domestication studies often focus on how new arrivals fit with the existing ecology of objects, and the literature tends to circumvent design's role as well as the already familiar in the appropriation process. In general, the field has mostly focused on technologies and media (Haddon 2007). The focus has allowed researchers to develop an understanding of how people navigate and negotiate within contemporary consumer culture, and the objects often seem to be connected with the commercial market. But the linking of homes and design, though inherent in the research set-up (Silverstone & Haddon 1996), has not been put into focus, nor has it been developed further, because domestication research, with its focus on general product categories such as televisions or computers, has not encouraged taking into account the designed properties that make a product commercial by rendering one television different from another.

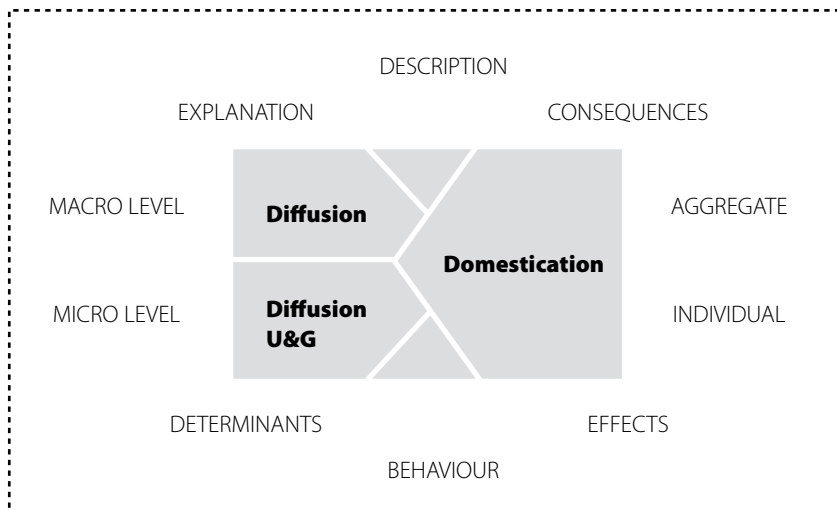


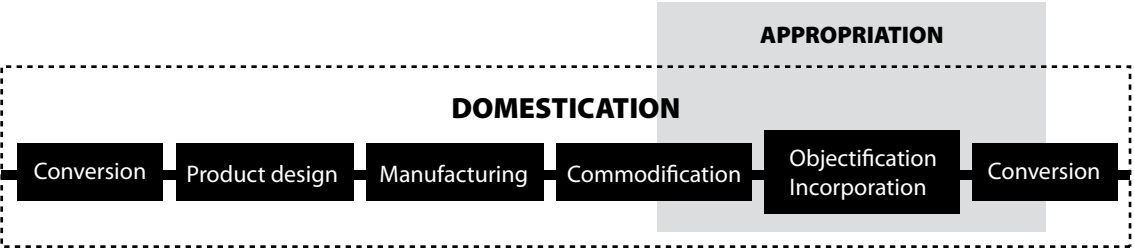
Figure 1. Research directions in mobile service adoption studies. Adapted from (Pedersen & Ling 2003)

In general, domestication studies belong to the broader field of adoption studies. Pedersen & Ling offer an outline of strategies that focus on the adoption of products (Pedersen & Ling 2003) (**Figure 1**). Other strategies that focus on adoption are actor-network-theory (Latour 2005), research on the social construction of technologies (MacKenzie & Wajcman 1985), and, for example, studies on the adoption of fashions (Vejlgaard 2008). Each of these would be on the left side in Figure 2 because, like diffusion studies (Rogers 1962), they are interested in how innovations and, for example, fashions spread within culture or within a particular community. It seems that domestication research is a rare strategy in that it studies the consequences of adoption.

The field of domestication studies is a rather small area within the social sciences. The principal literature in the field so far consists of four collections of articles (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992; Lie & Sørensen 1996; Silverstone 2005; Berker et al. 2006) and several monographs (Silverstone 1994; Pantzar 1996; Silverstone 1999; Morley 2000; Lally 2002; Haddon 2004; Peteri 2006; Ranta-vuo 2008). Overall, the research strategy has received the most attention in the UK and Nordic countries.

The notion that products, especially the various technologies and media, can be domesticated in a similar way as animals and plants is an analogy developed by British social scientists in the 1980s. Researchers at that time were especially interested in how ordinary people cope with an increasingly digitalised and technological environment and what kinds of consequences such digitalisation will have on everyday life. Central to the idea of domestication are the notions that objects cross over the theoretical boundaries between the public market and private household and that the meanings of objects change when they transcend those boundaries. The careers of objects occur in cycles that link consumption and production. Not only are material products domesticated, but also, and maybe more importantly, the immaterial products, such as symbols, ideas, ideologies and beliefs, become domesticated.

Figure 2. The phases of a product's career in the market



The domestication model depicts a product's career in the market (**Figure 2**). During its lifetime, the model has been formulated in three different ways by its developer Roger Silverstone and colleagues.

At first, the model focused on the careers of media devices used in the real apartment where the studied family lives. This model is discussed in what is perhaps the most famous domestication article, "Information and communication technologies and the moral economy of the household" (Silverstone et al. 1992). Practically the same formulation is presented in Silverstone 1994). In this account, the domestication of products and their media contents is seen to take place through four indiscrete phases: appropriation, objectification, incorporation and conversion.

Appropriation refers to point at which the object transcends the boundary between the public market and the private household. In practice, this takes place when the product moves inside an apartment's walls by first being imagined there by its future owner(s), when interest in the product becomes conscious and then it is acquired and moved inside the apartment. The importance of owning a product is emphasised and that "It is through their appropriation that artefacts become authentic (commodities become objects) and achieve significance" (Silverstone et al. 1992 21). Successfully appropriating the object involves an investment of time and often money, when each household uses its particular strategies for making the object its own (ibid. 22).

Objectification refers to the practice of displaying an object in an apartment, to the ways that it takes up physical space and has a visual prominence. Building upon Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton, Silverstone et al. say that an object's objectification "reveals the classificatory principles that inform a household's sense of its self and its place in the world" (ibid.).

During the incorporation phase, an object's position in an apartment can similarly be analysed, but whereas objectification refers to how an object is integrated within a particular space, incorporation has to do with how an object is integrated into time. Dealing with objects (for example, watching television) takes time, and families differ in how much time they invest in the objects.

Finally, conversion refers to the process by which something is transformed into something else. In the domestication model, conversion refers to the multiple ways that objects are represented outside the apartment by, for example, talking about the products or wearing them in public.

Silverstone et al. find that,

"[...] whereas objectification and incorporation are, principally, aspects of the internal structure of the household, conversion, like appropriation, defines

the relationship between the household and the outside world — the boundary across which artefacts and meanings, texts and technologies, pass as the household defines and claims for itself and its members a status in neighbourhood, work and peer groups in the “wider society.” (ibid. 25)

The next turn at formulating the domestication model took place in the article “Design and the Domestication of Information and Communication Technologies: Technical Change and Everyday Life” (Silverstone & Haddon 1996). In this account, a product’s domestication within a household is framed by the product’s career in public: the design process, how it is manufactured, how it is marketed and consumer feedback. In this version, the domestication involves three phases: commodification, appropriation and conversion. Of the phases, commodification and conversion are linked with a product’s production, whereas the seeds of appropriation are planted during the point at which a product is being commodified by its producer and, on the other hand, conversion feeds into a product’s design in the form of user or consumer feedback. The domestication of an object is part of an endless cycle of production and consumption, described as a cycle of commodification – appropriation – conversion – design – manufacturing – marketing – commodification – appropriation (and so forth).

The third, and for my work, most fruitful formulation is presented in Roger Silverstone’s last article on domestication, “Domesticating domestication. Reflections on the life of a concept” (Silverstone 2006) (**Figure 2**). In this version, the focus is no longer on products transcending the boundaries between private and public. Instead, the focus is on the work and skills involved in the domestication process. Consequently, the phases of domestication are defined a bit differently. The familiar phases (commodification, objectification, incorporation and conversion) are now defined as dimensions of appropriation (ibid. 233), and “domestication” is an umbrella term referring to the entire career of an object in the market. This third formulation of the domestication model appears as a hybrid of the first and second formulations, since, while it takes into account the production phase in an object’s biography, it also acknowledges the complexities of domestic life.

Appropriation involves phases of commodification, conversion, objectification and incorporation. Commodification “prepares the ground for the initial appropriation” (ibid. 234). To a great extent, the commodification process is directed by the product’s producer and it is acknowledged that “machines and services do not come into the household naked” (ibid.).

Conversion, which initially emphasised a product's public display and a household's sense of status, is still a concept referring to the process of reconnection that takes place between household and the outside world, but now

"it involves display, the development of skills, competences, literacies. It involves discourse and discussion, the sharing of the pride of ownership, as well as its frustration. It involves resistance and refusal and transformation at the point where cultural expectations and social resources meet the challenges of technology, system and content." (ibid.).

Conversion, therefore, can be seen as part of a "design-domestication interface" (ibid.), since, during conversion, the tensions between a producer's configurations of ideal users, and users' often conservative desires for perfectly fitting products become evident (ibid.).

29

Silverstone paraphrases Michel de Certeau (de Certeau 1984) in finding that objectification and incorporation are "the tactics of domestication", which involve (similarly as in the original formulation) "placing and timing", by which "the complexities and instabilities of domestic life [...] move to meet the new arrival" (Silverstone 2006 234). More specifically, objectification is "the location of information and communications technologies in the material, social and cultural spaces of the home", while incorporation is "the injection of media technological practices into the temporal patterns of domestic life" (ibid. 235). Both are parts of the everyday domestic infrastructure that exist within and also transcend the formal household boundaries (ibid.).

THE MORAL ECONOMY OF THE HOUSEHOLD

30

The moral economy is an umbrella term that describes the situation in the home resulting from the domestication of material and immaterial objects. According to Silverstone, each household develops its own moral economy (Silverstone 1999 49). It does this by domesticating objects. Roger Silverstone and his colleagues developed the framework to compliment the theory of a formal, public economy with that of an alternative economy, which Silverstone calls the economy of meanings (Silverstone 1999 48). The idea is that understanding a household's financial situation is not enough for understanding contemporary consumption (Silverstone 2005). Within the framework, each home has its own moral economy; each household is linked via this moral economy to the shared, public world through consumption and uses it to appropriate objects from the public pool of objects accessible to the household.

Central to the framework is the idea that an object's symbolic meanings change when it transcends the boundaries between public and private (Kopytoff 1986; Silverstone 1999 48). This change in meaning is not something that the object does in and of itself. Instead, its meaning changes because the people appropriating the object define it in their own subjective ways. The meanings that producers and marketing assign to an object often echo in the new meanings it is given within the home, but the producer or marketer does not determine the meanings (Silverstone & Haddon 1996). The meanings that the object gets during the appropriation phase are created as part of the moral economy as the household "negotiates" what to think about the object, what to do with it, when to use it and where to put it. Every time somebody brings a new object into a home, it is processed within the household's moral economy. The arriving object is like a statement to which the household responds.

A bag of groceries is a good, familiar example of how the moral economy works. Groceries are usually part of a household's daily routines and go through

the domestication cycle very quickly. Their appropriation does not ordinarily take much negotiation within a home. But imagine somebody bringing meat to a vegetarian, buying the wrong brand of beer or forgetting to bring the much needed ingredient. The resulting fights can be furious and escalate to the point that they challenge the household's sense of itself: who we are and what we do, what is proper and good for us and what we despise. But, especially if things go smoothly, the bag is unpacked, the goods are put in their places and sometime later the household organises itself to cook dinner. Maybe the best plates are brought in to celebrate the chef and to bring a modest amount of joy to the daily event. Already during the same evening, the dinner is proudly commemorated through various social media with photographs and instructions, and it is proudly talked about the next day at work. If somebody involved with the food industry happens to become inspired by hearing the conversion, the domestication cycle has run full circle. In any case, the household has taken yet one more step, based on its own standards, in defining its identity and the proper way of dwelling.

To summarise, little research has been done on the mature use of design within domestic settings. The existing literature on the topic is scattered throughout several different fields. The domestication framework contains many fruitful elements for studying what happens to design in home. On the one hand, the domestication model outlines the career of an object in the market, then focuses on its singular use in the home and, finally, on how it makes its way back to the market. On the other hand, the notion of the moral economy of the household helps researchers piece together how the household makes sense of the object when it appropriates the object to become part of home's spatially and temporally organised practices.

On the other hand, it is comparatively easy to depict the public market consisting of networked moral economies, which act much like nodes in an interlinking set of conveyer belts. At one point, objects and information pour in. Then, the moral economy processes them and at some point lets the objects and information back out, so that they can again be taken up by other moral economies, for instance when a producer is looking for inspiration. To a great extent, the use of design in the home is a black box that we only know about based on our own experiences, provided one has analysed one's linking with design, which, based on my sample, people rarely do, not even the designers themselves. If the use of design and the sense-making that takes place within homes is like a black box on a conveyer belt, then my work opens that black box, at least a bit.

INTERVIEWEES

Figure 3. List of households

My research data consists of photographs and interviews with 17 households in the Helsinki metropolitan area between 2004 and 2007 (Figure 3). Decisions about who to interview were made during the course of several discussions that I had with my colleagues, professors, designers and, to be frank, nearly anyone who cared to talk with me in the early months of 2004. In the end, I made the decisions on my own, though.

		Age-group	Occupation	Location	2004	2005	2006	2007
1	LIISA	30	researcher (new media)	Suburban HKI	x	x		
2	SAKARI & ELISA	30, 30	designer, designer	Suburban HKI	x	x		
3	JANNE	40	researcher (politics)	Suburban HKI	x	x		
4	KALLE & EMMA	30, 30	designer, designer	Central HKI	x	x		
5	THEO	50	inspector	Sipoo	x	x		
6	MERVI	30	designer	Central HKI	x	x		
7	HANNELE	50	journalist	Central HKI	x	x		
8	ANNIINA	30	designer	Central HKI	x	x		
9	REA	50	CEO (journalism)	Central HKI	x			
10	LAURA	30	designer	Central HKI	x	x		
11	OLAVI	40	CEO (business)	Central HKI	x	x		
12	SANNA & KALEVI	30, 35	priest, IT	Sipoo	x	x		
13	TIINA	40	marketing	Central 2004, Suburban HKI 2005	x	x		
14	ILMARI	45	researcher (ICT)	Central HKI	x	x		
15	FAMILY YLINEN	65, 65, 20	police, nurse, student	Kerava			x	
16	JARI	40	master in chief, building sites	Vantaa				x
17	ASTA	50	journalist	Espoo				x

First, I made the broad decision to interview people who can be seen as experts in their areas of professions, because I thought that in that way I would most likely get to meet people who would be interested in and capable of talking about design with me. I thought that someone who is already an expert him- or herself would probably be able to understand and perhaps be emphatic to what I was trying to achieve, even if my field of expertise is quite different from interviewee's own area of expertise. This unscientific hunch proved to be a good starting point because it helped to limit who I recruited, and the people I interviewed were indeed motivated to talk with me.

My second decision was, in a sense, the most radical: I decided that roughly half of the households should be design professionals, because I found it puzzling that the gap between producers and consumers is often made the point of departure in research. According to Daniel Miller, "The consumer society exists when, as in industrial societies today, most people have a minimal relationship to production and distribution such that consumption provides the only arena left to us through which we might potentially forge a relationship with the world" (Miller 1995b 16). The gap or barrier between production and consumption is also implied in domestication studies; for instance, Roger Silverstone bases his work on the "challenge to understand society and culture in terms of its construction by individuals in environments which are not often of their own making" (Silverstone 1994 12). However, in a discussion about the different phases of domestication (Silverstone et al. 1992), and, later, of appropriation (Silverstone 2006), Silverstone acknowledges that people do have skills and, for example, knowledge that helps to bridge the gap between private consumption and the production of goods. I became intrigued to see whether designers, who certainly are closely linked with production, would somehow approach design differently as opposed to professionals, who do not have a clear connection with production. In a more general sense, I thought that by interviewing designers and non-designers, I would have good chances to learn about the most diverse and the richest sets of meanings possible for design in my research set-up.

My third decision was to recruit households residing in Helsinki or nearby. In part, this was a practical decision because I was living in Helsinki myself; but even more than that, I was interested in focusing on people living in the largest city of Finland, where there is the most diversity of design available to people. For example, whereas Apple, Marimekko, Fiskars and Nokia products are sold in nearly every Finnish supermarket, Helsinki downtown is the best and sometimes the only place in Finland to find brands like Prada, Ligne Roset, or, for example, H&M home. Mirja Liikkanen points out in her study

on the relations between Finnish taste and social class that, in general, Finnish society is comparatively homogeneous and mainstream choices are appreciated (Liikkanen 2009). There are more similarities than differences between the social classes and, in any case, most Finns identify with the middle class. Nevertheless, Pertti Alasuutari, in his study on Finnish taste, finds that there are some grounds for arguing that the well-educated people living in big cities have different taste than the educated people living elsewhere, because there are more possibilities to have a more selective taste in the larger cities (Alasuutari 2009).

As a result, my research sample is ashamedly elitist: the households are surrounded by a comparatively diverse design market, they are often well educated, have professional expertise and, in general, can be seen to have lots of what Pierre Bourdieu calls symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1979). Some of the households even have an abundance of all three types of symbolic capital – they have got the social networks, financial means and cultural know-how to engage with, among other things, design. The question I wanted to study was that, given their resources and possibilities, how does design appear to the interviewees and how do they conceive of design in their speech and make use of it in their households as part of everyday, ordinary life.

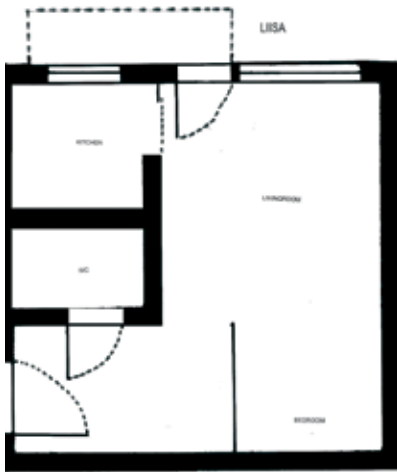
Throughout the study, I do not use the interviewees' real names for the sake of privacy. In addition, I made a conscious decision to not ask the interviewees about their age, yearly income or marital status because I thought that those kinds of personal details are not necessary when the research is not about the persons in question, and I wanted the interviewees to really feel that the research was not about their personal ways of living. Instead, with their help I am trying to describe something more general about design in domestic settings. Therefore, I refer to their marital status if that was mentioned and "partner" if it was not. In addition, I forgot to ask at least about education from some of our interviewees and a couple of early interviews were documented only in notes. All of this makes the reporting a bit inconsistent, but it does not, I hope, make the reading too difficult.

Since I was doing basic research on ordinary, business-as-usual living with design, there was very little I could use as a means of locating who to interview. I tried to recruit interviewees through snowball sampling, but it only resulted in a couple of additional interviewees. It is not that I would not have gotten suggestions about possible recruits, but the people that were recommended to me were mostly notorious design collectors. I did not contact collectors because I wanted the focus to be on the ordinary, everyday appropriation and use of design. Therefore, to recruit interviewees, I made use of the personal

networks of TaiK professors and researchers (University of Art and Design Helsinki (TaiK) has since become Aalto ARTS) and my friends and relatives, and I even contacted a couple of interviewees based on magazine articles.

I did the interviews in several batches. In chronological order, they were as follows:

5.2.04 Liisa (**P 1–3**). Liisa is a TaiK student and an acquaintance of mine. I had not visited her home and we had not talked about design or our homes. She is a 30-year-old new media researcher who lives in a rented one-room apartment plus kitchenette in suburban Helsinki. She has an MA in new media. She has lived in this apartment for 5 years.



1

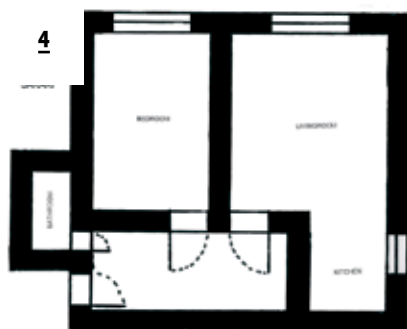
P 1–3. Layout and photographs from Liisa's home in 2004



2



3



P 4–6. Layout and photographs from Sakari's and Elisa's home in 2004



2.3.04 Sakari and Elisa (**P 4–6**). Both had been fellow students at TaiK, but again, I had not visited their home and we had not talked about our homes or interior design. Sakari and Elisa are roughly 30 years old designers and teachers and they live in a rented two-room apartment plus kitchenette in suburban Helsinki. They have lived there for 4 years.

17.5.04 Janne (**P 7–9**). Janne is an acquaintance of a TaiK professor. He is a roughly 40-year-old social scientist. He lives with his wife, who works as a head of communications, and their two teenage children in a 5-room house in suburban Helsinki. He has a D.Sc. in political science. They have lived there for 9 years.

24.5.04 Theo (**P 10–12**). Theo had been interviewed by a Finnish magazine, where he talked about the building of his house. He agreed to my visit after a couple of emails. He is roughly 50 years old and a detective chief superintendent. He lives with his partner, who works as a head of services, in a 6-room, two-storey house close to Helsinki. They designed and built the house themselves. It took 6 months to build. At the time of my visit, the house was nearly complete and they had started to move in.



P 7–9. Layout and photographs from Janne's home in 2004



P 10–12. Layout and photographs from Theo's home in 2004





P 13–15. Layout and photographs from Hannele's home in 2004



P 16–18. Layout and photographs from Rea's home in 2004



29.6.04 Hannele (**P 13–15**). Hannele is an acquaintance of a TaiK professor. She is a roughly 50-year-old journalist. She lives with her husband, a sales representative, in a 4-room apartment in the centre of Helsinki. They have lived in the apartment for 4 years and had just finished renovating the kitchen and bathrooms.

29.6.04 Rea (**P 16–18**). Rea is an acquaintance of a TaiK professor. She is a roughly 50-year-old CEO who lives with her husband in their 10+ room, two-storey apartment in central Helsinki. She has an M. Sc. in journalism and has lived most of her adult life abroad. They have lived in the apartment for 1.5 years, after first doing a major renovation.

30.6.04 Kalle and Emma (**P 19–21**). Kalle and Emma had been fellow TaiK students, but we are not so close that we would have talked about our personal lives or homes. Both are roughly 30-year-old designers who live in a rented two-room apartment plus kitchenette in central Helsinki. They have lived there for 4 years.



P 19–21. Layout and photographs from Kalle's and Emma's home in 2004

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21



P 22–24. Layout and photographs from Olavi's home in 2004



23



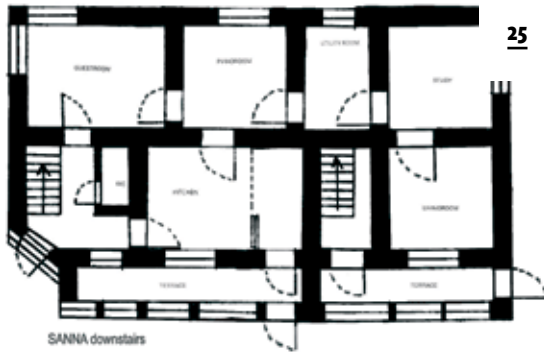
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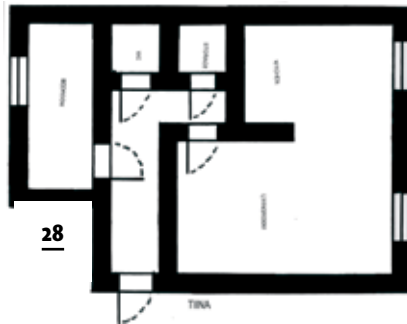
6.7.04 Olavi (**P 22–24**). Olavi is an acquaintance of my relative. He is a roughly 40-year-old business man who lives with his wife, who works as an assistant, in a 4-room loft in central Helsinki. He has an MA in jurisprudence. They have lived there for a year, after first doing a major renovation. Some of the rooms were still being furnished.

14.7.04 Sanna (**P 25–27**). Sanna is a friend of mine. I had not visited the home she was living in at that time and we had not talked about interior decorating or design. She is a roughly 30-year old Protestant clergywoman who lives with her husband, an IT expert, in a 6-room, two-storey house close to Helsinki. She has an MA in theology. They had only lived there for a couple of weeks and were planning to renovate the house.

15.7.04 Tiina (**P 28–30**). Tiina is an acquaintance of a TaiK professor. She is a roughly 40-year-old head of marketing. She has lived for 2 years in a 2-rooms apartment plus kitchenette in the Helsinki centre, which she renovated when she moved in.



P 25–27. Layout and photographs from Sanna's and Kalevi's home in 2004



P 28–30. Layout and photographs from Tiina's home in 2004

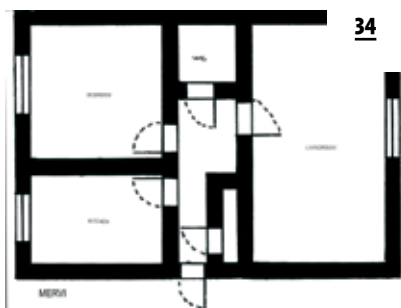


42



P 31–33. Layout and photographs from Ilmari's home in 2004

P 34–36. Layout and photographs from Mervi's home in 2004



2.8.04 Ilmari (**P 31–33**). I had read a couple of texts by Ilmari and he agreed to be interviewed during his visit to Helsinki. Ilmari is a roughly 45-year-old researcher who has lived abroad for several years. He owns two apartments in central Helsinki. We met in the smaller one-room apartment plus kitchenette, which he has owned for 20 years.

3.8.04 Mervi (**P 34–36**). Mervi is an acquaintance of Kalle and Emma. She is a roughly 30-year-old designer. She lives in a rented two-room apartment in central Helsinki. She has lived in the apartment for 4 years.

6.8.04 Anniina (**P 37–39**). Anniina is another acquaintance of Kalle and Emma. She is a roughly 30-year-old designer. She lives in central Helsinki with her engineer partner in a one-room apartment, which they renovated before moving in. They have lived in this apartment for 3 years.

43



P 37–39. Layout and photographs from Anniina's home in 2004





P 40–42. Layout and photographs from Laura's home in 2004



9.8.04 Laura (**P 40–42**). Laura is an acquaintance of my friend. Laura is a roughly 30-year-old art director. She lives with her architect husband in a three-room apartment in central Helsinki. She has an MA in art education. They have lived there for 1.5 years. They had just finished a complete surface renovation of the apartment.

During the first round of interviews, I asked the interviewees to discuss the biography of their home's "designed functional goods" (*muotoiltu käyttöesine* in Finnish). In practice, this meant that the interviewee and I walked around the apartment and I was told about those particular products that the interviewee spotted and wanted to talk about. Often, the discussion about one product led to talking about another product; if the product happened to be somewhere else, we went to see it if it was easily accessible. At the same time that the interviewee talked about the products, I photographed the products. In addition, I took some photographs of the rooms in order to better remember the placement of the products. Finally, at the end of each interview I asked the interviewees to perform a task in which they combined pictures (from magazines) of products with some interiors. The task was a nice way to elicit discussion about design, but otherwise it proved unfruitful.

During the second round, I visited all of the households except Rea's. During the second visit, I showed photographs from the first round and asked the interviewees to talk about what had taken place within the household since my first visit and, especially, what had happened to the products that the people had talked about during the first round of interviews.

10.7.05 Liisa (**P 43–45**). Not much had changed besides a few acquisitions, such as a balcony table.

15.7.05 Sanna and Kalevi (**P 46–48**). They had a newborn baby. The surfaces of their house had been renovated.

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P 43–45. Photographs from Liisa's home in 2005



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P 46–48. Photographs from Sanna's and Kalevi's home in 2005

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51



P 49–51. Photographs from Theo's home in 2005

20.7.05. Theo (**P 49–51**). Theo had finished building his house; the downstairs interiors were done and they were working on making the upstairs habitable.

21.7.05 Olavi (**52–54**). All of the rooms had now been completed, but otherwise there were not many changes.

9.8.05 Laura (**P 55–57**). They had a newborn baby and had made quite a few changes to the apartment; for example, they had moved several pieces of furniture and had upholstered and acquired several others.

52



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54



P 52–54. Photographs
from Olavi's home in
2005

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P 55–57. Photographs
from Laura's home in
2005

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P 58–60. Photographs from Janne's home in 2005

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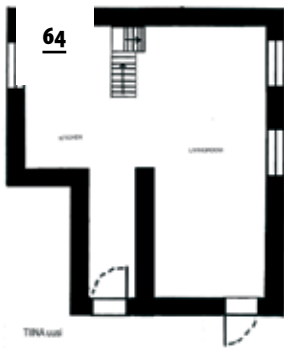
P 61–63. Photographs from Sakari's and Elisa's home in 2005

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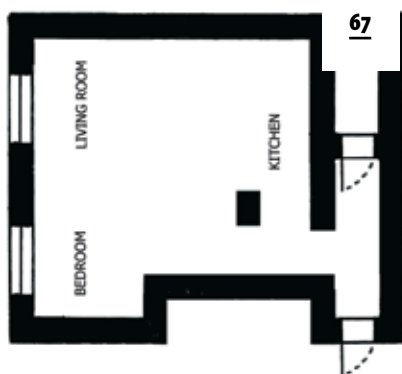
P 64–66. Layout and photographs from Tiina's home in 2005

25.8.05 Janne (**P 58–60**). They had done a complete kitchen renovation and had acquired several pieces of furniture.

30.8.05 Sakari and Elisa (**P 61–63**). Very few changes: they had moved some products to different places.

31.8.05 Tiina (**P 64–66**). She and her partner had bought a two-storey, three-room semi-detached house in suburban Helsinki, which they had completely renovated before moving in. Most of the products from her previous apartment had moved with her.

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69



P 67–69. Layout and photographs from Kalle's and Emma's home in 2005

2.9.05 Kalle and Emma (**P 67–69**). They had a newborn baby and had bought a two-room apartment in the Helsinki centre, which they had completely renovated before moving in. There had also been a number of changes in the products on display: they had put a number of items in storage and, since they had not acquired many new items, the ones they had bought had a prominent place in the apartment.

15.9.05 Hannele (**P 70–71**). They were finishing the second part of renovating the apartment. There had been quite a few changes: several pieces of furniture had changed place and they had made some prominent new acquisitions.

4.10.05 Ilmari (**P 72–74**). There had been numerous changes in the sense that he had moved back to Finland and was now living in his two-room apartment, which had been completely renovated when he had bought it several years ago. Most of the products he talked about in the first interview remained in the smaller apartment.

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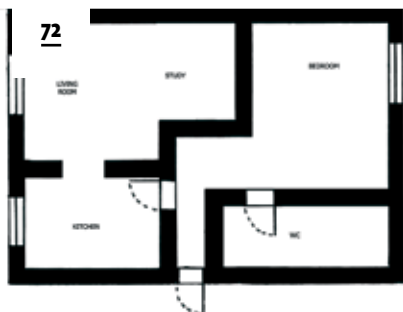
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P 70–71. Photographs from Hannele's home in 2005

51

72



P 72–74. Layout and photographs from Ilmari's home in 2005

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P 75–76. Photographs
from Mervi's home in
2005

5.11.05 Mervi (**P 75–76**). Products have moved around, kitchen lamp had been changed. Overall image is rather similar.

7.12.05 Anniina (**P 77–78**). Not many changes: the renovation had been finished and some products had been acquired.

P 77–78. Photographs
from Anniina's home
in 2005

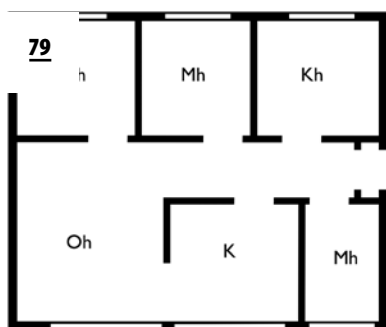
At this point, I had interviewed at least once every household that had been in the original sample: 6 households in which persons had an intensive education in art or design or worked with art and design as a profession (Anniina, Kalle & Emma, Laura, Liisa, Mervi, Sakari & Elisa), and 8 households in which persons had an education and profession that did not involve or emphasise art or design (Hannele, Ilmari, Janne, Olavi, Rea, Sanna & Kalevi, Theo and Tiina). However, as my analysis of the interviews proceeded, I realised that, despite the diverse educational and professional backgrounds, I had too many households

in my study in which the members had an outspoken interest in design. In addition, in terms of style, modernism and Scandinavian minimalism seemed to dominate the decor. Therefore, I started to look for households with an explicit indifference towards design, or at least towards modernist design.

Recruiting households with an explicit indifference towards design turned out to be surprisingly difficult. This was not necessarily because it is difficult to find people who are indifferent to design, but because the households that I asked did not want to be visited and interviewed. One commented that they do not want to have a designer come and judge their apartment. In the autumn of 2006, I discussed the problem with my fellow researchers and, through them, finally recruited three more households who, when asked, described themselves as “not at all interested in design” and who had no problem with being interviewed and having their home photographed. I visited the households once in late 2006 and early 2007.

15.11.06 The Ylinen family (**P 79–81**) lives in a five-room, semi-detached house in a suburban area near Helsinki. Both parents are retired: the father was a police officer and the mother was a nurse. Their youngest child lives at home and studies at Helsinki University.

P 79–81. Layout and photographs from family Ylinen's home in 2006



81

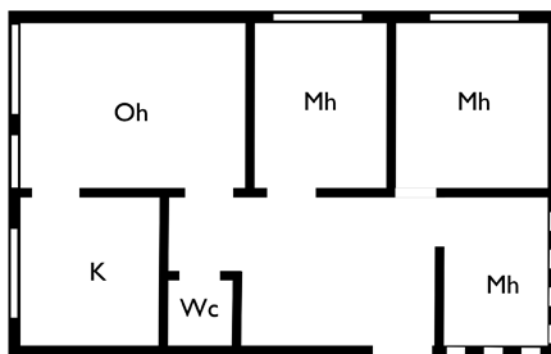


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P 82–84. Layout and photographs from Jari's home in 2007



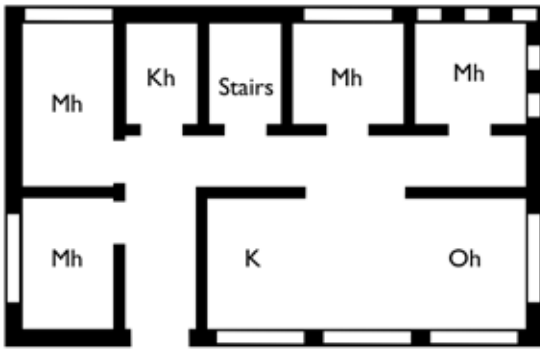
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20.2.07 Jari (**P 82–84**) is a roughly 40-year-old building contractor who lives with his wife, a nurse, and their three children in a four-room apartment in a suburban area near Helsinki.

21.2.07 Asta (**P 85–87**) is a journalist who lives with her physician husband and two teenage children in a four-room house near Helsinki.

Altogether, I interviewed 17 households. I interviewed 13 of them twice (first round 2004, second 2005) and 4 of them once: Rea in 2004, the Ylinen family at the end of 2006 and Asta and Jari in early 2007. With Rea, we were not able to arrange a second interview; the Ylinens and Jari and Asta were comparison groups that I recruited precisely because they were not especially interested in (Modernist) design; in contrast, most households in the sample were interested in it. Since the complementary interviews did not contradict the previous findings, I did not recruit additional households.



85



86

P 85–87. Layout and photographs from Asta's home in 2007

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87

INTERVIEWS AND PHOTOGRAPHS

56

The research data consists of 30 semi-structured theme interviews conducted in the interviewees' homes, most often with (only) one member of the household. In hindsight, I think it is fortunate that I agreed to do the interviews without all of the members of the household being able to (or interested) participate in the research because the interviews are perhaps even more focused on design and its role in the moral economy, whereas interviews with the whole family might possibly have been more about the family relationships than the products themselves.

The interviewees were asked to show and talk about the biographies of the "designed functional products" in their homes. That the products have biographies is a notion suggested by Igor Kopytoff (Kopytoff 1986). Silverstone and his colleagues then adopted the idea for the purposes of domestication research (Silverstone & Hirsch 1992 17).

My application followed the domestication model. I asked the interviewees to outline when and why the product had been acquired, how it had been used and displayed and whether it had been, for example, talked about during its career in the household. In addition, I asked how often the products have been changed or just moved around, in general about effort and time invested into products, and about the products' attempts to enter the home and "occupy" private space. In doing this, I used as an example gifts and inherited items; the interviewees responded by talking especially about gifts. Finally, I asked the extent to which the particular household pays attention to media coverage about design and interior decoration.

Since I did not use questionnaires or other means to keep the product biographies balanced, some biographies are simple notions ("the furniture in this room we inherited two years ago from my wife's family and it has been here all the time"), whereas some are much more detailed stories. Taken togeth-

er, it turned out that the resulting product biographies embody much of the interviewees' dwelling history. This was a bit of a surprise because, initially, I expected that the product biographies would link with just household's interior decoration and furnishing histories. I think that the resulting strong link with the activity of dwelling is all the more intriguing precisely because I let the interviewees themselves decide what products they would present to me as a "designed functional product".

I did not define for the interviewees what I mean by "design" because I was doing the interviews to collect data about design's appropriation specifically from a user's point of view to learn what design meant for a particular household. I discussed a few options, with researchers and designers before the interview rounds, though. I could have defined design as something done by a professional designer or design manufacturer. This can be called an elite definition of design. Or, I could have adopted a definition that most designers I talked with were putting forward, namely that "everything's designed"; this can be called a democratic definition of design, one that is based on the healthy idea that it does not take a well-known designer to design a product.

My approach of not defining design for the interviewee produced a definition of design that is closer to the democratic than to the elite definition. The interviewees themselves selected what they wanted to present as a designed functional product and, although the data includes lots of designs by well-known designers and brands, there are also a lot of what can be called low-end design, like a cat's litter box, baby diapers, anonymous kitchen plastics and, in general, common everyday items whose design history is unknown, perhaps even to their manufacturers. This can be called an "ostensive definition of design" because ostensive means "denoting a way of defining by direct demonstration, e.g., by pointing". In my initial analysis, though, to give the data some coherence, I focused on industrially produced functional products, thus leaving out the unique or solely decorative pieces that people occasionally presented during the interviews, even if the items were clearly works of design. However, as the analysis proceeded, I realised that I should not discard unique or decorative pieces because, first, it would have made it difficult to discuss gifts and, second, because the interviewees themselves made the distinction between unique and mass production on the one hand and the functional and decorative on the other; thus, it turned out that I should take this distinction into account rather than limit my analysis based on it.

I thought that my way of conducting the interviews should have resulted in a collection of interviews focusing on products - the items that the households liked the most, those it considered the most hideous and those that it considered the most memorable, explained by or contextualised with the household's

interior decoration projects. But this turned out to not be the case. As I visited the various households, asking about the biographies of the designed products, the talk, without exception, turned to the making of a place where it is nice, good, practical or fun to dwell: the acquisition and use of the designed products were explained and contextualised by how the household was living its life and how the product was linked not with the interior decoration but with the everyday activities interviewees do at home.

Most of the interviews took roughly two hours. I photographed all of the items that were presented and also took some general photographs in order to support my analysis of the data. In a couple of the early interviews, I asked the interviewee to take the photographs, but later on I did not even ask because interviewees were not particularly interested in doing this and also because the interviewee tended to stop talking when taking the photographs; it was easier for me to take photographs and listen at the same time.

I got roughly 1500 photographs. They have been central to the analysis, since it has been easy to see certain aspects of design from the photographs, for example the changes that have taken place and the effort people have put into decorating the physical apartment. Selecting particular photographs from the first round of interviews proved to be a particularly useful way to guide the discussion during the second round of interviews. Unfortunately, I was, during the first round of visits especially, horribly inexperienced with a camera and digital shooting – I had no idea that the amount of light could matter (too much trust in digital processing!) or that I should have used monopod to stabilise the pictures. As a result, the photographs are far from professional quality but the richness of the data should be discernible nevertheless.

ANALYSIS

Although I did not define the term design for the interviewees, I needed some sort of pre-understanding for my own part about what design could be in order to recognise “design” in the data. When I was preparing for the interviews, I thought that the designed properties of products would fall in three basic categories: the functional properties of products (such as ease of use, reliability and sustainability), their aesthetic properties (such as appearance, style, shape and sensory qualities) and their institutional properties (such as brands and designer’s names) (**Figure 4**). I benefited from this categorisation during the interviews because sometimes, by outlining them, the interviewees were better able to realise what could be “designed” in a product.

Functional properties

Institutional properties



Figure 4. product properties

Not designed properties

Aesthetic properties

My analysis of the product biographies did not complicate the categories: the categorisation is a detailed enough device to make sense of the designed properties in the data. But the real surprise was the importance of the fourth category, which I had initially acknowledged but had not paid much attention to: the “not designed properties” that are not and cannot be designed as part of the product. I did not even mention this category to our interviewees. It is telling that for a long time I called the category “the rest” because it constituted a throw-away bucket for everything that was not directly linked to my research. But the more the analysis of the data progressed, the more the not designed properties became prominent.

In the data, the “not designed properties” group consists for the most part of the personal and social aspects that interviewee related to the product, but which cannot, strictly speaking, be designed into the product. The links between the product and the person’s social network, personal interests and history are examples of the “not designed properties” that the interviewees often mentioned, in addition to, for example, the product’s value in the pop antique markets. It seems to me now that it is impossible to understand design’s role in everyday life and its appropriation within the household without taking these un-designed, or non-designed, aspects into account.

After having put into place the principles of how to make sense of the product biographies in the interviews through making use of the above-mentioned product properties, my analysis of the interviews went as follows: first, I looked through the photographs and read the interviews and made notes on everything pertaining to the households’ attitudes and activities in relation to design or design-intensive interior decoration in general. The quotes and notes fell into three thematically different categories:

- 1) The ideals, ideas, conceptions, principles and beliefs linked with design and furnishing;
- 2) The efforts, investments and activities linked with design and furnishing;
- 3) The interviewees’ descriptions and explanations of their particular household’s standing or character vis-à-vis design and furnishing.

This thematic reading turned a large amount (nearly 600 pages, about 35 pages per household) of qualitative data into 17 usable household portraits, which consisted of my notes accompanied by verbatim quotes from the interviews.

In terms of family structures, I interviewed people living alone (4: Ilmari, Liisa, Tiina and Mervi), professional couples without kids (7: Anniina, Kalle &

Emma, Laura, Olavi, Sakari & Elisa, Sanna & Kalevi, and Tiina), families with teenage or older kids living at home (4: Asta, Janne, Jari and the Ylinen family), couples with adult children living away from home (3: the Ylinen family, Hannele and Rea), and finally, families with young children or babies (4: Kalle & Emma, Laura, Jari and Sanna & Kalevi). In addition, Tiina was expecting a baby and was about to be married shortly after our second interview.

The interviewed households have quite different amounts of financial resources at their disposal. None of the households are what could be called poor, but, on the other hand, there were a couple of very wealthy homes in the sample – the kinds of households who clearly have more financial resources than people of a similar age on average. With this type of a research set-up, it made no sense to compare the types of products that recently graduated designers are appropriating with the types of products that established middle-aged couples are appropriating. Therefore, my focus is not so much on what designed products the interviewees are living with, but, rather, how they are living – how and in what context they are appropriating design rather than what the products are as such.

As the analysis progressed, it became clear that, with this kind of data, my main goal was to understand a household's subjective moral economy through its links with design rather than to compare the different households with one another. There are three exceptions to this, though. Two of them stem from the research set-up – all of the households were surrounded by a comparatively rich design market and had access to it, too, through having symbolic capital. The third exception is a human condition: the use of time. Time is a resource equally distributed to everyone and everyone must unavoidably invest in it in different ways. Throughout the analysis, I treated the use of time as an indisputable embodiment of a household's moral economy. Consequently, it is the effort and work that people are doing (and not doing) rather than the money that they are spending which plays a central role in this study.

A couple of assumptions about people link my discussion to certain perspectives. In my work, people form households and respective moral economies. Just what form the household takes is left open, following Roger Silverstone's argument that,

Families and households are themselves complex social, cultural and political environments which are structured and patterned in their daily lives through a mesh of gender, age, temporal and spatial relations, both within the confines of their own domestic spaces, and outside in their relationships

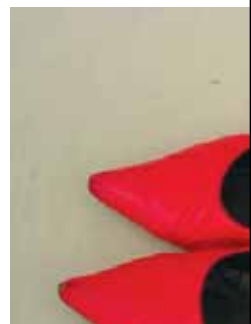
with the worlds of work and neighbourhood, extended and extendable family and friends. (Silverstone 1993 286)

I acknowledge the difficulties in identifying a moral economy: the problems are similar to those encountered in the actor-network theory, namely that it is difficult to decide where the moral economy actually ends, what its boundaries are and who its members are (Lehtonen 2008 147). Originally, the framework that focused on the moral economy of the household emphasised family and the sense of having a home. The idea was that moral economy is an instrument with which family members achieve a shared sense of having a home (Silverstone et al. 1992 19). While this may be true with the households in my sample, the interviewees did not link the notion of dwelling with design to feelings of having a home. Rather, the interviewees talked about having or achieving a cosy or comfortable place within which to dwell.

In my research, I do not question or discuss whether the interviewees feel that they have a home or who they consider to part of the moral economy. I should say that the people I am talking about are first and foremost social individuals who interpret the objects present in their lives through the process of social interaction. And, so as not to make people overly “social”, I am also assuming that an individual can engage in an interpretative dialogue with him- or herself alone (Blumer 1969b 12–14). This understanding of people and social sense-making has been formalised through the notion of symbolic interactionism (Blumer 1969b). According to this framework, “human beings act toward [physical, social or abstract] things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them”. Second, “the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows”. Third, “these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he [sic] encounters” (ibid. 2). As I see it, symbolic interactionism deals with agencies, namely, who gets to decide the meaning of a particular thing; it highlights the fact that it is not so much a question of who (the thing or the human) but how the meanings of things are created and maintained by humans through interpretative processes in a social interaction (ibid. 3–4; 8–9).

Though the analysis is grounded in the moral economy of the household and symbolic interactionism frameworks, I did not observe an ongoing living with design (which could have been done, e.g., by videotaping each household for several weeks), but, instead, I visited households and documented what took place during the interview. During an interview, people, even if they would want to, cannot draw a coherent and illustrative picture of the interviewer’s top-

ic, which in this case was their relationship with design. Rather, I got glimpses, fragments, exaggerations, lapses, mistakes and downplaying, which is common to all human communication, and the interview, though a special situation, is no exception. Therefore, I want to emphasise that, though the data and my interpretation hopefully tell about the interesting and general aspects of living with design, they are not intended to serve as portraits of the interviewees and their lives. In addition, I mostly interviewed one member of the household (the exceptions are the Ylinen family, Sakari & Elisa, Kalle & Emma, and Sanna & Kalevi). Therefore, the data does not encourage discussion about social meaning-making or direct observations about the negotiations that take place over design. Perhaps as a consequence, the picture is a comparatively peaceful one, as opposed to, for example, domestication studies on the use of technologies where members of a family may fight over the time and place that computers should be used (Nieminen-Sundell & Pantzar 2003). Similar to the notion of the moral economy of the household, the perspective of symbolic interactionism is not a topic of research in and of itself ("how meanings are interpreted and negotiated"). To summarize, both perspectives guiding the analysis – the moral economy of the household framework and symbolic interactionism – are very much about negotiations, but I have not studied those negotiations as such. Instead, I have studied the context within which the negotiations take place when design is making itself a part of people's everyday lives. My definition of what can be seen as a designed consumer good was so loose that I assumed everybody would have some types of designed products, but I did not assume that the design would have necessarily had any particular meaning. I assumed, though, that all designs have some meaning to the people living with them because the existing literature easily causes one to think that all products are meaningful. That assumption, I am suggesting here, is often misguided.



2





DEFINING DESIGN



INTRODUCTION

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The interviews were conducted in Finnish and both the Finnish word “*muotoilu*” (literally, form-giving) and the English word “design”, also common in Finnish, were used. I began the interviews by talking about “*muotoiltu käyttöesine*” (a designed functional product), but during the course of the interview it often got abbreviated as “*design-esine*” (design item) by the interviewees. I sometimes followed suit, but I also used the phrase “designed functional product” in order to steer the discussion when I felt that we are moving away from the theme. The interviewees mostly used the words “*muotoilu*” and “design” interchangeably, but sometimes the word “design” was used to denote what can be called high-end design: either design by a well-known, appreciated designer or brand or modernist, Scandinavian-branded design. Mostly, both “*muotoilu*” and “design” were used in a neutral manner, but occasionally “design” was used to scorn, for example, the undesired seriousness of the Scandinavian style as opposed to more relaxed, decorative and colourful styles. Some interviewees made use of all the different connotations of the word “design” in one interview.

I did not define for the interviewees what I meant by design because I wanted to learn how people would define design when left to their own devices. Not surprisingly, no-one consulted authoritative sources; instead, the interviewees just started to talk about the products in their home.

More interesting, though, is what qualified as design, because what people think and feel about design is based on how design is defined and the definition directly influences how design is appropriated. In other words, design’s appropriation depends on how it is defined.

CLASSIFYING DESIGN

In all of the households, the interviewee gave me a guided tour around the apartment. In general, kitchens and living rooms (or similar areas in an open space) were openly talked about; the kitchen in particular seems to involve lots of products that are easy to see as examples of “functional design”. In contrast, I did not obtain as much material on the types of design related to sleeping and personal hygiene. I got to see bedrooms, bathrooms and two saunas (Janne and Theo), but it seemed more difficult for the interviewees to talk about the design in those areas. The reasons for this may have to do with the fact that bedrooms and bathrooms are often austere because bare surfaces are easier to keep clean, which was often the sole thing mentioned about the products. In addition, the design is often anonymous and items like ceramic tiles or walk-in wardrobes may have been put in place when the house was built. The interviewees also sometimes found it difficult to talk about products when there was (from their point of view) nothing exciting in the product’s biography. These same aspects probably hold true with work-related products and, for example, with exercise equipment. Nearly everybody had a computer on display and at least Olavi, Mervi, Jari and Rea had exercise equipment in the home, which was visible in the photographs, but these products did not elicit much discussion.

With few exceptions, the interviewees did not consider the various technologies to be examples of design. For example, even though cellular phone (most often Nokia) rang at least once in all of the households, only one interviewee (Anniina) then talked about her phone as a designed functional product. Nobody talked about their cars (at least Janne owns one because I saw him driving home) and very few talked about their computers, even though nearly everybody had at least one on display. Laura is one of the few interviewees who mentioned computers. She had an iMac G3 by Apple in the living room and only hesitantly defined it as a designed product:

L: then there's the computer [iMac] which we use a lot. I guess it is also some sort of design item? (Laura 04 135-136)

Similarly, no one presented clothes or shoes without my prompting them to do so, but when asked, some interviewees talked about their clothes as designed products. Anniina (**P 88-90**) and Mervi (**P 91-93**) then presented several pieces of clothing and shoes as examples of some of their favourite designs.

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P 88-90. Anniina's jeans, shoes and a blouse

88



89



P 91-93. Mervi's shirt, blouse and sandals

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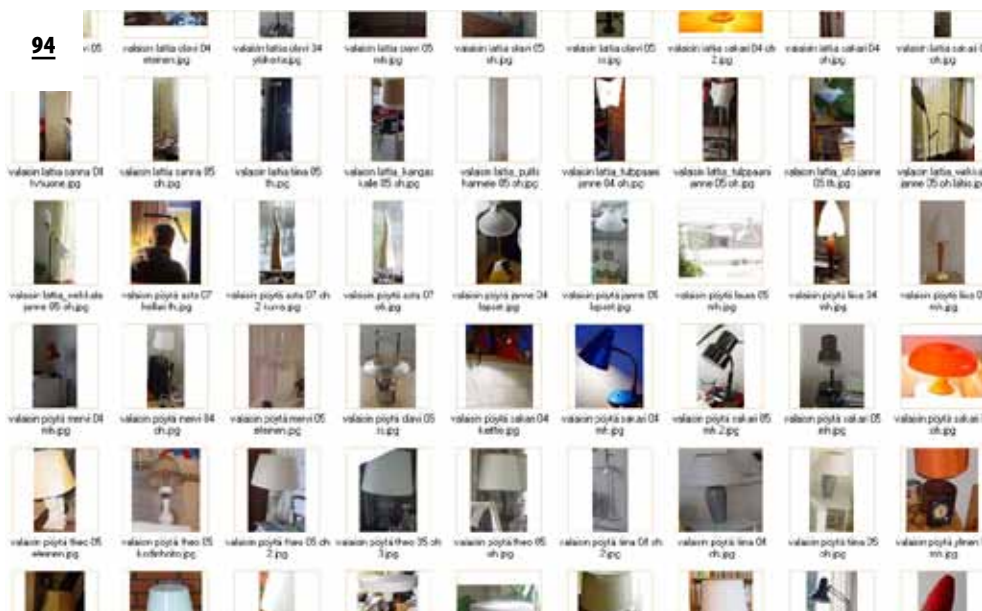
I	furniture (321)
II	lamps (168)
III	decorative objects (142)
IV	utensils (127)
V	dishes (126)
VI	works of art and graphic design (111)
VII	ICT's (108)
VIII	clothes, textiles, surface materials (78)
IX	devices other than ICT's (73)
X	baby stuff (19)
XI	storage piles (10)

Figure 5. At first I cropped products from photographs and sorted products to 11 folders. Number is the amount of files in folder.

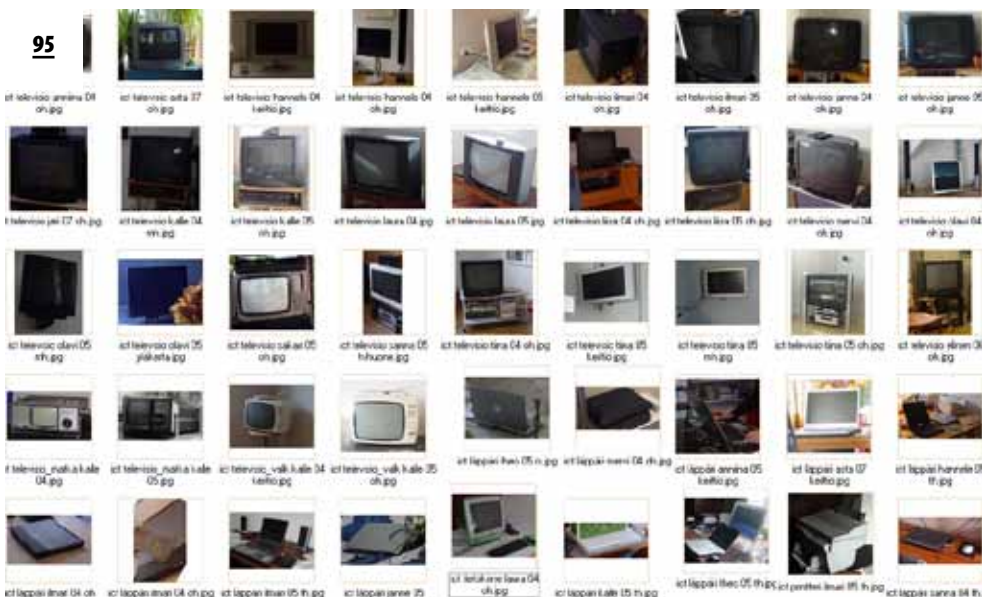
During the interviews, I photographed the products that the interviewees talked about. One of the first things that I did with the data was to sort the products in order to get a rough overview of the information. It turned out that sorting the designed products is not a simple matter. Forks, kitchen appliances and sofas are (comparatively) easy to sort, but some products hover somewhere between, for example, dishes and utensils, such as the Bialetti espresso pan that several of the interviewees owned. My initial research set-up of focusing on functional products did not make the categorisation any easier. I used quite a lot of time trying to understand what to think of products like the Sarpaneva OPA steel plate, which was used as a prominent decorative element in Hannele's living room and for daily cooking purposes in Laura's kitchen. Should I think about it as a decorative or functional item? Or, for example, Janne's lamps, which mostly, according to Janne, did not give much light. One would think that a lamp is a functional item, but if it does not give light, should I then categorise it as a decoration? Since I was in serious need of some sort of organisation, after some trials I came up with a list based on the products that were visible in the photographs (**Figure 5**). Some products were photographed twice, once during each interview. Screenshots from the folders on lamps and ICTs illustrate how the products appear when isolated from the context (**P 94–95**).

This categorisation served my initial sorting and handling of the photographs and product biographies, which at this point took the form of statistical spreadsheets outlining the properties of the products and their phases of appropriation. The products could have been sorted otherwise as well, but the categories used here are quite common. We know what kind of stuff belongs in the category of "dishes", even though disagreements might arise in terms of some finer distinctions. But something was wrong. Try as I might, I could not reach any real insights about the role or meaning of design based on categoris-

94



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P 94–95. Cropped photographs showing lamps and ICTs

ing the photographs or the statistics. My lists merely showed that people have furniture, devices and dishes; but, at least on the surface of things, they did not provide much rhyme or reason about what design has got to do with a particular product's career in the household. Apparently, this was not enough to understand what was going on, so I turned to the interviews and started

to study how the interviewees talked about their products. The results of this reading are presented as a list of the most prominent categories that the interviewees used when talking about their products (Figure 6).

Here is how Anniina talked about “an experimental object” (P 96):

A: It [the kitchen bench/draining board/stove combo] has been designed for this apartment and it’s quite experimental. But I really had to persuade my boyfriend (laughs) to make him accept the mirror there or anything else like it. (Anniina 04 56-58)

I	experimental objects
II	objects that require special treatment
III	wonderful objects
IV	mistakes
V	extra objects
VI	placeholders
VII	objects that wait
VIII	objects that are looking for their places
IX	absent objects
X	future objects
XI	objects that are easy to dispose
XII	objects that are in everyday use
XIII	seasonal objects
XIV	objects that are common
XV	useful objects

Figure 6. Object categories based on interviews. One is reminded of the list of animals by Jorge Luis Borges, which includes for example “Those that are trained,” “Those that tremble as if they were mad” and “Innumerable ones.”

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P 96. Mirror covered kitchen combination

“Experimental objects” refer to objects whose appropriation started as an experiment and which required a series of negotiations and the initiator prompting other people involved in the appropriation. Similarly, “extra object” refers to objects that are, according to the interviewee, not necessarily redundant, but extra in the sense that they are not really part of the interior decoration and therefore not spatio-temporally firmly integrated within the household. An example of “extras” is a set of furniture and the works of art that Hannele had in her dining room in 2004. The objects came from her mother’s apartment and she had not quite decided what to do with them. “Extras” are, therefore, usually also “objects that wait”, a category which includes products that are waiting for someone to, for instance, repair or collect them. Sometimes an object simply waits for someone to make a decision about its destiny inside or outside the apartment. Such objects are “looking for their place” and, perhaps, also “rare”, “useful” and “seasonal”.

Apartments contain quite a lot of products that are not, for one reason or another, currently present in the apartment. Laura’s comment is illustrative:

- L:** At the moment we don’t have a bookshelf as we have a big Lundia. But we didn’t want to set it up again in this apartment because we’d got fed up with Lundia (laughs) So we are about to have a bookshelf covering the whole wall made here. [...] So, we are going to live with this uncomfortable lack of bookshelf for a long time until we get it. So it’s not like we (pause). It’s not an option to go to Ikea and buy a ready-made bookshelf for the meantime. (Laura 04 78-94)

This comment involves several bookshelves, although none of them was physically present during the interview. There is an old Lundia bookshelf, which is unlikely to enter the apartment any time soon. Then there is a second bookshelf, which is hopefully going to materialise in the future. Finally, there is the somewhat abstract Ikea bookshelf, which will quite likely not make an appearance either. All of the bookshelves are “absent objects”, while one of them is also a “future object”, and the comment concerning the Ikea bookshelf indirectly acknowledges the popular category of “placeholders”, that is, objects that are merely filling the void in a place where something else should or will be in the future.

While the list of categories is based on the interviewees’ comments and product biographies, it is not intended to be exhaustive. For example, several of the categories suggest their opposites – while there are objects that are “easy to dispose of”, there are also other products that difficult to get rid of. What

the list does, it reflects how the designed objects are defined and classified in domestic settings. The classification system acknowledges and comments on what it is like to live with objects. The points of departure are interior decorations (what it is like to decorate using this particular object) and domestic activities (what it is like to work with this particular object). In other words, the categories usually go hand in hand with the objectification and incorporation phases of the appropriation process. Most of categories, of course, serve both aspects because objects are, for example, “absent” from both time (when they are not being used) and space (when they are not present).

If this Borges-styled categorisation puts objects into their domestic and private context, by using adjectives and brands people define designs with the aid of the outside world.

TALKING ABOUT DESIGN

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Laura described her designed products in just one interview with impressive amount and variety of adjectives. To Laura, products are fun, comfortable, nice, sympathetic, whimsical, singularly ascetic, fine, charming, pretty, slender, droll, chunky, amusing, weathered, shocking and horrible. Laura works as an art director, but the rich vocabulary is not limited to designers. Ilmari, a researcher of technology, preferred to use concrete adjectives when describing products: dirty, plasticky, ceramic, aluminium, old and good. Janne, a political researcher, used more style-related words such as stylish, fun, beaten up, not amazing but still fun, featureless and exciting. These interviewees used some specific adjective to describe nearly every product; the adjective usually came from a rich, everyday pool of informal, common words.

On the other hand, talking about design can be done with just a few words. One version of this is exemplified by Theo, who repeatedly used the word “old” to describe his taste and the style that he likes:

T: Precisely to try to find something new that, basically, qualifies as old. For example the cupboards from Ikea, which, although I really tried hard to find, it's Ikea cupboards that best represent old feel. (Theo 04 112-116)

In addition to “old”, the only other adjective that he mentioned when referring to his taste had to do with an object being “expensive” in appearance but not in price. The word “old” could refer to several different appearances in relation to a product, but Theo consistently picked up items that were stylistically suitable for a Finnish country house. Rea, a collector of art and design, used only a few adjectives (interesting, fun, soulful and delicate); this resembled Olavi, an investor and also a collector of art, whose choice of adjectives

was limited to fun, nice and very handy. And here is Laura talking about her Tonfisk teapot:

- L:** I really like these Tonfisk's things very much. I think they are particularly well-designed items. They are pleasant to hold in the hand, they have good (pause) design. (Laura 04 607-609)

The well-designed item is, simply, designed. But while one particular item does not always receive elaborate descriptions, design as a concept draws together features of ergonomics, economy, aesthetics, environmental responsibility and functionality. A well-designed item has to, in principle, fulfil all of these aspects in order to be acquired. Like Janne says:

- J:** In a good object usability, that it's economical, the fact that it's environmentally friendly and the aesthetic side crystallize. (laughs) I mean, when purchasing new stuff, I try to connect all of these in them. (Janne 05 III0-III2)

Thus, the interviewees had an understanding of products that are well designed and were able to readily define what is designed and what is not; only Jari had difficulties in pointing out the "designed functional products" in his home during the interviews.

The most popular attribute that qualifies an item as being designed seems to be an item's ability to stand the test of time:

- O:** That series of tables [in the kitchen], Bulthaup, is quite durable. And it is a fairly classic model, so I think that after 20 years it'll still be as good. It won't degrade, it withstands time and use. And it is also sleek enough for my taste. (Olavi 05 435-438)

A designed item is not trendy or fashionable and it is stylistically "timeless". A designed item can also withstand usage for a long time, and even if it breaks, it can be repaired.

This appreciation of timelessness, as well as a design's close link with dwelling, is reflected in the brands and in the designer names that came up during the interviews. I had the initial impression that the interviews were often quite populated with designer and design brand names. To double-check this initial impression, I counted the brands and names in each interview. The result is shown in **Figure 7**.

Figure 7. Households and popular brands. (Liisa is not included because interviews were not recorded)

1	IKEA, Swedish company (e. 1943)
2	Alvar Aalto, Finnish designer (1898-1976)
3	Marimekko, Finnish company (e. 1951)
4	Stockmann, Finnish company (e. 1862)
5	Artek, Finnish company (e. 1935)
6	Skanno, Finnish company (e. 1947)
7	Arabia, Finnish company (e. 1873)
8	Iittala, Finnish company (e. 1881)
9	Le Corbusier, Swiss-French designer (1887-1965)
10	Tapio Wirkkala, Finnish designer (1915- 1985)
11	Aino Aalto, Finnish designer (1894-1949)
12	Alessi, Italian company (e. 1921)
13	Avotakka, Finnish magazine (e. 1967)
14	Glorian koti, Finnish magazine (e. 1995)
15	Lundia, Finnish company (e. 1949)
16	Aarikka, Finnish company (e. 1954)
17	Anttila, Finnish company (e. 1952)
18	Hackman, Finnish company (e. 1790)
19	Arne Jacobsen, Danish designer (1902-1971)
20	Birger Kaipiainen, Finnish designer (1915-1988)
21	Yrjö Kukkapuro, Finnish designer (1933-)
22	Opa, Finnish company (e. ~1925)
23	Paratiisi, a design by Birger Kaipiainen (1965)
24	Pentik, Finnish company (e. 1971)
25	Risto-Matti Ratia, Finnish designer (1941-)
26	Tonfisk, Finnish company (e. 1999)

[illegible]

During the interviews, 16 households mentioned 329 different names or brands (designers, products, companies, stores, magazines, manufacturers or events). That breaks down to, on average, 20.6 names per household. Many households mentioned far more names than that. Laura (58 individual names), Hannele (49), Mervi (47), Janne (46) and Anniina (42) mentioned more than double the average number of brands and names. On the other hand, Sanna & Kalevi (15), Sakari & Elisa (13), the family Ylinen (11) and Theo (7) make little use of brands and names when defining design. To get an understanding of how much the interviewees in general referred to names and brands, I divided the length of the interview by the number of all qualified names in the interview. On average, the interviewees mentioned 0.8 names for each page of transcription. Jari, Janne and Tiina did just that, whereas Mervi (1.52), Hannele (1.51) and Laura (1.49) mentioned brands and names nearly twice as often and Theo (0.19) seldom talked about design names at all. Finally, I mapped the instances in which the various households mentioned names that at least two other households also talked about. Of the 329 brands and names, 26 met this criterion. These 26 names were mentioned a total of 121 times, so, on average, if the names mentioned would be scattered evenly, each household would have talked about 7.56 of the most popular names. Hannele (16), Laura (16) and Mervi (14) mentioned roughly double the number of names, while Jari (2), Sanna & Kalevi (1) and the Ylinen family (1) talked very little about the popular brands and names in the sample. Based on these results, I concluded that people make use of names when defining design, but only a few brands and names draw a lot of attention.

Most (22/26) of the brands on the list are Finnish and well established in Finnish culture. This also holds true with the products that the interviewees talked about. Of the more than one thousand product biographies that were collected during the interviews, only a few biographies pertained to recently designed items by Finnish designers: these included Olavi's saucepan by Ristomatti Ratia, Rea's vase and a lamp by Harri Koskinen, candle holders by Ristomatti Ratia, Anniina's citrus squeezer by Tonfisk and her Nokia phone, Laura's tea set by Tonfisk and her pot by Tapio Yli-Viikari, Hannele's, Sanna's and Janne's Lundia bookshelves and a number of prototypes designed by the interviewees themselves. In comparison, an impressive amount of the products had been designed by such classic Finnish designers as Aino and Alvar Aalto, Tapio Wirkkala and Kaj Franck: Anniina, Laura and Tiina had Aino Aalto's dishes; Laura, Kalle & Emma, Hannele, Mervi and Sanna & Kalevi had dishes by Kaj Franck; and Rea, Janne, Laura and Mervi owned artworks, dishes, cutlery and lamps by Tapio Wirkkala. The most common designs, though (right

after Ikea products), appeared to be designs by Alvar Aalto. For instance, Rea, Kalle & Emma, Hannele, Janne, Theo, Laura and Liisa all had furniture or vases by Alvar Aalto, and usually more than one piece in the apartment. Regarding Ikea, only Laura, Olavi, Hannele, Mervi and Sakari did not show me any Ikea products. In addition to the products mentioned above, the households had a number of products by Hackman/Iittala/Arabia and Marimekko, but, as far as I was able to recognise, most of the products were either vintage or reproduced designs. Suffice to say that only a fraction of all the products that the households chose to talk about were contemporary designs by living Finnish designers, and even within that selection, some had little value for the household (Olavi's saucepan, Hannele's Lundia).

For the most part, though, the interviewees talked about the products with affection. They liked the products and the designs often had long histories within the family: it was easy to talk about them. In Finland, some designers and companies (such as Alvar Aalto, Tapio Wirkkala, Kaj Franck and Marimekko) have become names by which one can expect others to immediately understand large parts of the design's connotations. For example, Asta and Theo (who do not like modernist Finnish design), Jari (who "knows nothing about design") and the Ylinen family (who were opposed design brands and commercialisation in general) spontaneously (and fluently) talked about Aalto, Skanno and Pentik without further explanations. Here is the Ylinen family recalling the biography of their now extinct sofa:

Father:

Before I got married I wanted it [his one-room apartment] to be a real bachelor pad. It was kind of bluish-violet, all the ceilings and walls were painted, on one wall, with a window, there was a yellow Indian cotton curtain covering the whole wall. Then I bought a foam sofa from Skanno which was, like, four squares but they'd been sawn like this [shows], and it was, was it 60–70 centimetres?

Mother:

Ordinary sitting height.

F: Well roughly 50-centimetre thick superlon. When you lifted it, you could make a back-rest out of it, too. And then even the closet doors in the entrance hall had to be painted in reddish orange.

M: the wave

F: Yeah, a wave on that door, all four of the doors there. But then it was left a bit unfinished when these folks arrived.

- M:** But it was almost darker than this blue, ceiling and walls – everything. And dark brown. It was covered with fleece fabric, that sofa.
- F:** A Skanno sofa
- HP:** Was it cool?
- M:** yes it was. But it started to get a bit impractical with these children. It was more of a climbing frame (laughs) and a trampoline.
- F:** They slid on it and did everything. This youngest kid doesn't remember it because it was trashed before we moved here. (Family Ylinen 06 491-513)

In general, the interviewees often mentioned the designers and design companies as a means of communicating the complex aspects of the quality, value and character of the item during the interview. First, brand names and design companies are indeed well-known:

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- O:** This television here is Bang and Olufsen, which I think belongs to a bigger concern which has who knows how many audio trademarks: one of them is Philips, one is Grundig, one is Bang and Olufsen, which is an especially high-end design company. (Olavi 04 35-38)

During a conversation, a name may be associated with a particular range of products:

- O:** I don't really bother going around the furniture department at Stockmann. It is quite ordinary stuff – Muurame and so on – so you really can't be bothered to take a closer look at them. (Olavi 05 523-532)

It may be associated with high quality:

- J:** Our relatives have their homes full of old furniture by Artek because they are, of course, well-made and durable, and actually quite timeless. (Janne 04 474-481)

Or, for example, with low significance:

- HP:** Where are these pillows from? They are beautiful.
- L:** They are from Indiska. (Laughs) Nothing more special than that. (Laura 05 447-449)

Design brands made it possible for the interviewees to communicate with a code language that reduced the complex networks of judgements to a single handy tag. Names such as Stockmann, Artek, Ikea, Indiska, Bang&Olufsen and Muurame are frequently used as tags or codes. Yet there is little coherency about what the names and brands represent. For instance, it was clear that most of designers and some of the non-designers openly despise Ikea, whereas the rest either did not mention the brand or, like Rea, thought that it was just as good as any other design company. On the other hand, while Janne, Laura and Rea appreciate classic Finnish design (Artek and Tapio Wirkkala for example), Asta openly and emphatically hates it and Hannele finds it a bit annoying because she no longer likes the classic Finnish modernist design that she owns and used to appreciate.

But even though both everyday language and branding offer an ample pool of vocabulary for talking about design, it nevertheless is not always an easy topic to discuss. One thing is that dwelling with design is deeply integrated with everyday life, and, as such, it is a topic that the interviewees had not necessarily thought about, so it was difficult for them to easily describe how they were dwelling with design. One might say that I often caught people unawares. Mervi, an interior designer, summarises this well:

M: After you'd visited the first time, I thought about my stuff, that's to say that I haven't thought about them much, thought about what they're for. It's like with clothes, shoes, bags, you think about those, but not the things in your home, like, wondering why they are here. Or why have I been looking at this thing and why, in the first place, did I acquire it for this place and this spot. (Mervi 05 437-440)

Even so, some households in the sample (Janne and Rea, for example) were keenly interested in the designed products that they had in their home and were quite prepared to talk about them. In general, all of the interviewees, sometimes after a bit of prompting, were both interested and willing to talk about their designed products.

On the other hand, when asked to think about and describe domestic design, the very enterprise of dwelling with design often appeared to the interviewee as contradictory and lacking a clear rationale by which it would be easy to justify a product's presence. Theo's discussion of his interior decoration is an example of this.

- T:** This really doesn't have any particular style, and it isn't tasteful (pause) and there especially we haven't been looking for anything particularly (pause) particularly, except that it has to be old. (Theo 05 542-544)

Theo's statement about his household not having any style and not representing any particular taste is curious since his household is one of the most stylistically consistent households in the data (**P 97**).

For Theo, there are two kinds of taste: one that mimics others and another that represents a "strong independent taste":

- T:** People look for model solutions in [decoration magazines], they don't necessarily have strong, independent taste; it is more as if they are looking for an easy solution. Like, someone thinks, "that works, so it'll probably work for us, too." (Theo 05 535-537)

Theo explains that he does not make his interior decoration choices by copying them from interior magazines, which, in Theo's point of view, consistently promote modernism and a minimalist style that he does not want to follow. However, he also pointed out that his choices in interior decoration should not be taken as a form of rebellion:

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P 97. Theo's downstairs living room

- T:** At least not the kind of completely modern building and furnishing. It doesn't attract; it doesn't speak to me; but it would be wrong to say that this would be a rebellion against it. I mean (pause) there probably just isn't much reason for one liking it. Someone likes blue and someone else likes red. (Theo 05 684-688)

Theo described his relationship with products as contradictory or paradoxical. Products mean nothing, but still each product needs to meet his preferences both in terms of style and functionality:

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- T:** I have kind of a contradictory relationship with artifacts generally; (pause) they don't really mean anything to me. Yet, if I had to go and buy a certain item, I would, well, for example, if I had to go and buy a lighter, I would buy a Zippo, and the same thinking applies to everything else I buy. (Theo 04 194-198)

SUMMARY

In *The Culture of Design*, Guy Julier writes that,

The representation of design has been dominated by the achievements of individuals, in the first place, secondly by the aesthetics and ideology of modernism and thirdly, via specific objects of a certain type. Product design in general only accounted for 8% of design business in 1995–6 [...] And yet it has dominated the pages of design history books and the minds of design historians alike. Moreover, this narrow account is in itself dominated by the discussion of furniture design. (Julier 2000b 39)

A similar narrowing of design is reflected in the interviews. The interviewees did not see technologies as being designed, whereas dishes and furniture dominate the sample. Julier explains the domination of product and, further, furniture design by referring to the importance of media coverage for practicing designers, who, consequently, aim at creating photogenic pieces of furniture to maximise the design's media appeal (ibid.). How the media represents design no doubt influences how people perceive and define design and what they see as designed. On the other hand, the invisibility of technologies is a common finding in the domestication literature. For example, Virve Peteri describes how domestic technologies such as cellular phones, computers and televisions, although ubiquitous, hardly ever are included in people's definitions of domesticity (Peteri 2006). The technologies are noted either when they are new or when they break, but not for what they typically are: integral parts of everyday life.

My initial categorisation of products was conventional and, as such, it was reasonable, since dishes and furniture convey meaningful information and we can expect others to understand what is meant by furniture; for example, that

it contains the subcategories of chairs, tables and sofas. The categorisation provided by the interviewees is based on a different logic, but taking a hold of that logic required adopting an interviewee's, indeed a "user's", point of view. Reaching such an understanding of the designed products is important to my work, since, to give an example, the category of "objects that are easy to dispose of" might refer to any kind of product, because defining what is easy to dispose of is highly relative and context-bound. It can be said that one has to know about the moral economy of the household in order to have an understanding of what objects might be included in the category – what items the particular household believes are "easy to dispose of". But the opposite is true as well: if we know what objects are defined as "easy to dispose of", that knowledge provides access to the workings of the moral economy.

On the surface, talking about style and design is a paradoxical enterprise. Design is defined based on, for example, its ability to stand time, but many things that also stand time are not defined as design. The preferred style is outlined by broad adjectives ("old", "fun"), but only a very limited selection of, for example, stylistically "old" items are actually seen as suitable to a household's style. In a similar vein, design names and brands are used as code words; they supposedly communicate a shared understanding of what style and value the brand represents, but the same design brand conveys different styles and values to different interviewees.

According to Pierre Bourdieu, taste, subsequent style and also the competence with which cultural products are talked about are all affected by formal education more than by social background (Bourdieu 1979). The impact of education diminishes in favour of social background the more the object of taste and style recedes from the official curriculum, although formal education provides ideas about what and how to approach and classify objects of inquiry. Interior decoration is one of Bourdieu's examples of an area that is not included in the curricula, but where people are constantly making judgements about taste. In my sample, roughly half of the interviewees had received their education at the former Helsinki University of Art and Design. The education did not seem to have much of an effect on the competence or the vocabulary with which they talked about design in the home.

Perhaps the most intriguing aspect is the notion that, although products "mean nothing", they still must meet the particular preferences of the household. Although research on the home often emphasises the emotional and expressive links with products, psychologists have studied people for whom "[domestic] objects [...] have the paradoxical quality of meaning 'almost nothing' and yet being 'irreplaceable'" (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981 164). This

paradox is also evident in my data. It turns out that an activity which is supposed to be trivial (interior decoration) is based on a set of sometimes very clear and strict preferences. These preferences are not limited to the aesthetics and style of the home. The preferences cover the entire activity of dwelling and each home defines the act of dwelling in its own particular way. In the following chapters I will try to show that these preferences are central to how designed products appropriate to the household.



3





DESIGN ENTERS HOME



INTRODUCTION

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Dwelling in an apartment or a house can take a lot of effort. On the one hand, people build, renovate and redecorate apartments and houses, and by doing so, change them. On the other hand, people craft, design and tune products and, in general, make changes to the interior decoration of an apartment or house by, for example, moving products around. But even if such activities are commonplace, as they are in my data, not everybody is interested in them, which means that not all apartments are renovated and the same untuned products remain on display for years. This chapter takes a look at these aspects of both doing and not doing, and thus begins to sketch picture of what it means and what it takes to dwell with design.

One of the biggest surprises in the data was the amount of design-intensive changes that had taken place in the dwelling conditions of the interviewees between the interviews done in 2004 and 2005. One household was building a house (Theo), 8 had just finished or were in the process of doing renovations (Anniina, Olavi, Asta, Janne, Hannele, Rea, Sanna & Kalevi and Laura), 2 had moved and had done a major renovation project at the new address (Kalle & Emma and Tiina) and one had moved back to his previously completely renovated apartment (Ilmari). In addition, Mervi, Jari and the Ylinen family had done bigger or smaller renovations sometime before 2004. Of the 17 households, only Liisa and Sakari & Elisa had been living in their apartments without redecorating them to an extent worth mentioning.

The following interpretation is based on two broad notions: context complexity and time investment. The households in the sample were spending very different amounts of money on their dwelling work, but they also had quite different amounts of financial resources at their disposal. Therefore, I have treated money as a relative matter and have chosen not to make it a priority in my analysis. Time, on the other hand, constitutes an egalitarian consumable in

my interpretation: all of the households had the same amount of time at their disposal. Renovation requires a major effort, and in my analysis it is accompanied by smaller efforts at doing light redecoration (such as painting the walls), tuning the existing products, designing and crafting new products, and moving around the products within the existing interior decoration. Also, my analysis takes into account that the interviewees invested some effort in planning their next courses of action. These ways of investing time into dwelling with design form the backbone of this chapter, both in terms of when the investments are made and when they are not. Some households invested lots of time, while others invested very little time. After some trials with a small sample of households, I realised that such a rough thematization is enough. Consequently, the households are seen as investing “lots of time” or a “little time” into design-intensive dwelling work.

There are also differences in how the households talked about renovations, crafting and tuning projects, and general interior decoration work (I asked about the habits of changing interior decorations by tuning, repairing, acquiring or moving products around). The most obvious difference had to do with the level of complexity of the projects that the interviewees felt that they were working with. Some interviewees described their dwelling work nonchalantly as a straightforward approach. On the other hand, some interviewees described the process as involving many delicate and difficult stages or lots of interlinking aspects that needed to be taken into account. To not make the analysis more complex than is necessary, I am referring to these subjectively defined approaches to dwelling work as “simple context” and “complex context”.

When adding these two points of view on the complexity of the context and time investment together, we get the following picture for describing the households in the sample.

SUPERVISED EASE

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JARI

Jari's is one of the three households that I contacted with the explicit requirement that he would not have any kind of interest in design. This was true when it came to his ideas about designed products that are specifically related to interior decoration (**P 98–99**). The picture is different if the talk is about the type of design related to dwelling (in the sense of running the home), work and sports. Jari had been a professional athlete and talked about the state-of-art equipment that he had owned. By profession, Jari is a building contractor who works on huge construction sites; he demands the best quality and performance from the tools and machines that he works with on the sites. At home, too, Jari emphasised a product's performance. Here, he is talking about their coffee machine (**P 100**) and his professional equipment (**P 101**):

HP: But how about at home, do you have a special object or piece of equipment that matters to you? Do you have, for example, a good coffee machine?

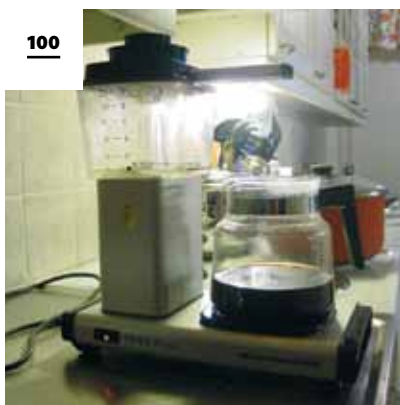
J: Yes. Very good. To my mind, Moccamaster is the best coffee maker there is.

HP: My mother agrees. I think I have got a Philips.

J: Place a Philips and a Moccamaster next to each other and time them. See which makes the coffee faster and which keeps its temperature more constant. But Moccamaster is much more expensive; it's at least 100 euros for the cheapest [model].

HP: Is there another item that come to mind? I mean here [in the kitchen] are quite a lot of items: telephones, scissors and all sorts of things.

J: (pause) Well, of course all the cooking utensils, they help with cooking. It is quite (pause) It is (pause) You don't really think of them as design,

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I never think they actually have been designed (pause) But let's say that in work life, when you work and construct, the tools have to fit in your hand and suit their purpose; they have to be light, durable and functional. They are under a lot of pressure on site, in professional work. So if we take two tools – let's make it simple – like two wrenches where one costs around one or two euros and the other 20 to 30 euros. The second is actually shaped to fit the hand, so that when you take it, you feel that you have a good grip on it, and it is, most of the time, smaller which means it fits into smaller spaces. So it is easier to work with it in small spaces. These are the simple basics. (Jari 07 289-321)

Jari and his family had lived in their 4-room apartment, which was built in 1984, for roughly five years at the time of my visit. Jari had done what he calls minor

P 98. Jari's wife collects Pentik. These are mostly wedding gifts

P 99. Jari has received vintage Arabia from his parents. They are not in use because of children

P 100. Moccamaster

P 101. Hilti diamond cutting disk Jari presented as an example of designed excellence

surface renovations when they had first moved in. The renovation involved him building a new kitchen and toilet.

HP: How long have you been living here?

J: Five years. Around five years. This one I did. Actually, I didn't do more than just some surface redecoration. I built that kitchen there myself, the new cupboards and then the small toilet. Otherwise this was in fairly good condition. (Jari 07 45-48)

Jari pointed to the worn-out floors as an example of something that could be renovated, but, since until recently, they had had two big dogs, they had not seen the point in doing anything to the floors.

J: Why does this look like this? Well, we have these two big dogs. They have left their own marks on this parquet flooring and everything and there is no point in fixing it before the dogs have gone. They have such sharp claws and they are heavy, big German Shepherds; they leave their mark. They run every time the doorbell rings. And the first 10 metres, they accelerate and they don't get much of a grip, so you know what kind of marks that makes on the floor (Jari 07 48-52)

Since the renovations had taken place a long time ago, we did not talk much about the effort that he had put into the projects; or rather, Jari seemed not to quite agree with me that the projects would have required much effort. One can imagine, though, that renovating a kitchen would require a lot of work.

Jari emphasised several times during the interview that he does not "think about design".

J: I don't know if I am a good interviewee or anything but I really hardly ever think about design in that respect. But then, when you start to think, especially when I talked about tools, there the design is important: that they are shaped for the hand. So that they fit into difficult, narrow places and [...] it is, it is like that. In this case the design is important, though you never really think of it as design. (Jari 497-502)

His role in their furnishing projects was to build and carry out the project, while his wife designed their interior decoration and hunted down the materials and designs that she liked.

HP: A-ha. So these were acquired by her?

J: Yeah, all of them, I don't really interfere with those. Most of the time it's the wife who gets things, my job is just to hit a nail into the wall so that it'll end up in its place. (Jari 07 155-158)

I probably should add that Jari seemed to be quite comfortable with that kind of division of labour and responsibility. On the other hand, their children also had lot to do with their interior decoration since, for example, the children's hobbies (gymnastic equipment) took a prominent place in the living room **(P 102-103).**

The family's future may involve major efforts at modifying their mode of dwelling, since Jari owns a piece of land but has not yet decided whether or not he wants to build a house there. Jari's following comment illustrates his general matter-of-fact attitude towards building things and doing renovation projects:

J: I'm in this situation that my parents live, in [a city], and I already have a plot there. And I have, I have always been told that if that day comes when you want to build, the boys on the building site, that we'll put a group together and get a house built for you. It really doesn't take long for 10 carpenters to build a house. There would be the labour, yes, but I haven't done anything to get it done yet. But it's not an impossibility. (Jari 07 38-44)

P 102-103.

Photographs from Jari's living room

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APPROPRIATING DESIGN WITH SUPERVISED EASE

Jari had at some point invested some time into their physical apartment, but not much anymore. Jari's approach to design decisions was simple and straightforward because Jari based his decisions on his family's needs and likes or (when it came to professional and sports equipment) his extensive knowledge of brands and performance. In short, questions of style had apparently no importance to Jari as opposed to the product's performance, which made his own decision making and his dwelling with design easy and, let's say, efficient, since his evaluation of performance was based on measurable facts; on the other hand, since he said that he did not care about style, he was comfortable with dwelling according to his wife's and kids' stylistic preferences.

AUTONOMOUS EASE

TIINA

When I interviewed Tiina in 2004, she was living in a one-room apartment; she had renovated the kitchen and painted the surfaces when she had moved in two years previously. She was very pleased with the apartment. However, she and her boyfriend had recently decided to move together and had found that their apartments were too small for the two of them. As a result, they were looking for a spacious “bomb-site” in order to renovate it according to their taste.

T: we are about to buy a flat that is a bomb-site, and then we'll start to renovate, like, however we can; and I'm really quite positive I'll get that white there (laughs) (Tiina 04 54-56)

In 2005, they had proceeded accordingly and we met in their semidetached, two-storey, three-room apartment, which they had completely renovated before moving in.

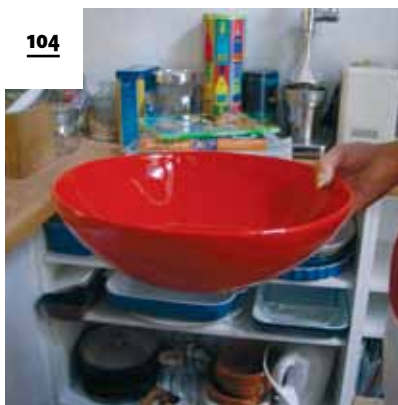
T: We did a complete renovation here. This had a small toilet downstairs and it's us, two adults, who live here for now, so we thought that one big bathroom [upstairs] is enough for us, so we did that walk-in wardrobe over there. And then there was that kind of set of cabinets, this kitchen was in the shape of a U, the unpractical shape of a U, so everything was ripped out. (Tiina 05 69-73)

The renovation had been partially outsourced to professionals, but the couple took part as much as they could. The renovation involved, for example, transforming a former toilet into a wardrobe and completely redesigning the open kitchen on the first floor and the upstairs bathroom.

P 104. Although Tiina strongly prefers white, she also likes to have colourful accents

P 105. A rare example in Tiina's interior of an item which "has not found its place"

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At the time of the interview, the interior decoration looked quite complete, but according to Tiina some things were still looking for their places (**P 105**) and some items, such as a storage recess, were on the shopping list.

T: There isn't, actually, we're about to purchase furniture and so on. There are going to be more shelves and so forth. For instance, I hope that, since there aren't any right now, I am actually still thinking about their location, just those kind of open shelves to have in here, because we've got those beautiful products, which I don't necessarily want to hide.

HP: Where would the shelves be?

T: That is still a bit of an open question. Quite likely I'll put a fascia board over there which will, some kind of ventilation pipe goes over there, from there it would continue over there, it would be there, above. It would be, like, a hidden shelf. It wouldn't anywhere, it wouldn't take up room on the floor. (Tiina 05 36-45)

The overall appearance of Tiina's and her partner's new apartment was very similar to the interior decoration in Tiina's previous apartment (**P 106-109** and **P 110-112**). On the one hand, some of the design decisions were similar. For example, the re-designed kitchen had some similar designs as Tiina's two previous kitchens. On the other hand, although they now had more space, the layout of the new apartment made it possible to arrange things in a very similar manner. In her previous apartment, Tiina had an open kitchenette in the corner of the living room. Here, too, the kitchen opened up into the living room area. And, since Tiina was very pleased with her furniture, and, for example, her dishes, there had not been any reason to change them just for the sake of change. She had found out a long time ago that white forms a good background, which is then easy to modify with colourful accents (**P 104**).



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P 106–109. Tiina's kitchen, dining area, living room and bedroom in 2004

P 110–112. Tiina's dining area, living room and bedroom in 2005



111



112

- T:** Because [white] goes so well with everything. For instance, there should be something nice, red, yellow flowers – you can do a lot with small things which can be changed easily. It can be yellow, green and red etc (Tiina 04 56-59)

Her other favourite decoration choices included, for example, putting clear glass and grey furniture together. All in all, Tiina very consciously put interior decorations together and it seemed to have been mostly her responsibility to make the decisions:

- HP:** So how did you manage interior decoration and things relating to it (pause) [how did you] negotiate?
- T:** (pause) Not really. It was clear from the start because we had that two month period to work with the layout and so forth. Now, when I look at where the previous owners had their sofa, it is a really odd choice in my opinion. An then I saw that also some neighbours have their sofa in a really odd spot, like, against this wall. I remember [partner] asked couldn't we also put the sofa there, so I go, like, no, we are not going to put the sofa there, the sofa's place is, like, definitely, over there. One must fill the room evenly. (Tiina 05 388-403)

When looking through photographs from 2004, Tiina commented that there had been too much stuff in the previous apartment and that now she had made it a principle that when something new entered their home, something else needed to leave.

- T:** I don't want to start to bring more stuff in here. It goes out right away, we get rid of it. Also the kitchen, in a sense, there is a place for everything and if somewhere I (pause) I got Iittala HotCool glasses as a gift which meant that, because I wanted to use them, they were ones that found a place there, so some other thing will go. If something new comes in, then something old must be got rid of. You can't go on just by just stuffing them somewhere. (Tiina 05 287-292)

As a kind of last resort, they now had a large storage room where they were storing items that had not right away found their places in the new apartment. This also included a couple of boxes full of assorted baby stuff because Tiina was expecting a baby.

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P 113–115. Anniina's kitchen and dining area, bed and an example of excellent design, Tonfisk citrus squeezer

114**115**

ANNIINA

Anniina also said that she preferred white and had not had much of a need to change the decorations (**P 113–115**). During my 2004 visit, Anniina's and her partner's one-room apartment was still being renovated, which she had started two years previously. The renovation had been thorough and involved, for example, taking down a wall in the two-room apartment because one of the rooms was too narrow to be practical for the couple.

A: Here [from the hallway wall to the external wall] there was a wall and the kitchen was there. But the room on this side of the wall, it was awfully narrow; there wasn't any sense, the way we use it, in keeping it. (Anniina 04 168–170)

At the time of my first visit in 2004, there were mostly just finishing touches that still needed to be done, such as designing doors for the bookcase that covered the only solid wall and assembling the floor lists.

HP: It seems like you have renovated quite a lot here?

A: Oh yes, we have, but it stops when the kitchen and the toilet are done at least somehow. Although we haven't renovated the toilet even. After you get running water and can cook, you just can't get yourself to do more. Of course, there isn't much left to do anymore. That big wall looks kinda wild, shining, with all that stuff.

HP: Do you have some thoughts?

A: Yeah (pause), I was thinking of sliding doors but they are probably too massive for that shelf. Something lighter so that it just makes a cover. (Anniina 04 11-18)

During my 2005 visit, the apartment had nearly been finished. The floor lists had been assembled and a hood over the cooker had been installed and some painting had been done.

A: Skirting boards have been fitted and the wastepipe painted. So there have been things happening, but now everything's halted. That bookshelf should get the sliding doors and they haven't, but some things have happened. And that cooker hood, of course. (Anniina 05 106-109)

Anniina is a furniture designer by profession, so it is part of her professional skills to design renovation projects and appropriate pieces of furniture. Nonetheless, such a major renovation project of course takes money, time and effort. She had designed the renovation project and was mostly doing it herself with her engineer partner.

HP: Did you do it this way so that your partner could come to a finished apartment?

A: ... yeah. Yeah, in practice, yeah. Well yes, we did renovate together and so on, but it was me who planned and designed everything. (Anniina 05 238-240)

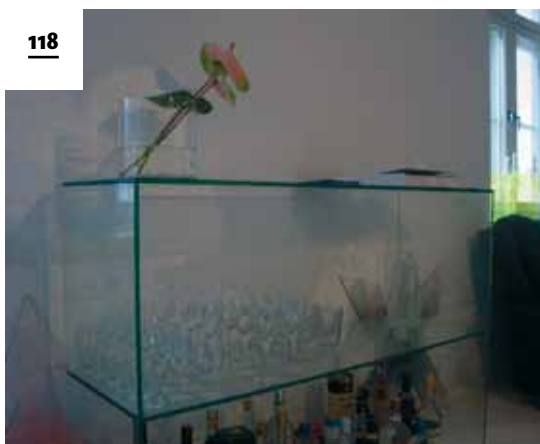
In addition, Anniina's renovation was holistic in the sense that she designed pieces of furniture as the renovation progressed and crafted some of the pieces herself, such as welding and painting their bed (**P 116**).

In 2005, she told me that the interior decoration was complete and that she had no intention of, for example, making seasonal changes.

**116**

P 116. Anniina's bed,
detail

P 117–118. Anniina's
flowers in 2004 and
2005

**117****118**

A: There is no need [quite emphatically] to work at home; it must be a forced situation when you have to empty one workroom or you have a project that you have to do at home, then you put a desk here.

But there is no desire to decorate and make changes, because since they are here, they are here OK. Or, whatever comes from some need. (Anniina 05 163-167)

For Anniina, the interior decoration had met her standard of perfection and it did not require any more effort. I got the impression that the only thing that she would be changing in the future would be the cut flowers that she found crucial to have around **(P 117–118)**.

A: And then the flowers are so important, like in that one [photo], it is so nice to have flowers. I usually have them. Otherwise I do not decorate much. (Anniina 05 175-176)

KALLE AND EMMA

Kalle and Emma had bought an apartment the day before our interview in 2004. Then, when we met in their new apartment in 2005, they had just finished a renovation project, which included, for instance, redoing the floors and making a one-room apartment out of the original two rooms by taking down a wall (**P 119**).

E: There were two rooms and a kitchen here. The kitchen was here but it was the world's smallest kitchen. It was totally like you should not build that. It was, the wall went like here, and here was a corridor, and here was a door, so this was a closed space and (pause) that pillar, it wasn't visible, it was part of the wall and the windows were in separate rooms. So that room, that corner and then this was open space. (Kalle & Emma 05 3-8)

Both are professional furniture designers, and while they had some prototypes as furniture, they also had the skills to do the renovation work themselves and, for example, pick appropriate materials. The couple was pleased with the outcome. One of the only things that they regretted was that they had not asked the electrician for enough wall sockets and were not energetic enough to open the recently finished wall just to be able to plug in the kitchen lamp which, accordingly, was waiting in storage with lots of other stuff that they had brought from the previous apartment and which they did not have any plans to bring to the new home.

P 119. Kalle & Emma's home in 2005

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E: we did all the electricity, so then we had a professional electrician. But then, because, in a sense we had to, before one had thought about everything, we had to decide where to have all the electricity sockets, and we just didn't realise that we should have one over there.

HP: Are those the kind of things that are difficult to change afterwards?

E: Yes. Or, of course you could, but then again, can you muster enough strength to start to open up a wall again. (Kalle & Emma 05 92-97)

K: So how do we go through the photographs? Like, we just tell where that is (pause) But there is actually lots of stuff which really is not here anymore. But it exists. (Kalle & Emma 05 77-79)

The apartment where we met in 2004 was rented and, according to Kalle, "not a very good professional portfolio". There were lots of products around, in different kinds of heaps and stacks, and at one point Kalle called the apartment a "recycling centre", where lots of products were lying around waiting for Kalle to repair and fix them, in case someone would be in need of a particular product.

[HP tells that yesterday she visited a home where there were works of fine art.]

K: Well we don't. We have those old maps. It's like, our home works in a way that we have here, so-called nice things. Then, you'll find the kind of things that you'll find from a rubbish skip or somewhere, which are potentially nice things. Then they accumulate for a while and then you'll send them on to somewhere else. And the stuff comes in and goes out. Like, incredible amounts. This is like a Turkish bazaar. (Kalle & Emma 04 13-18)

K: On principle, I don't throw away anything which works. Waste of the world, nature, materials and energy and everything else. So it's not about penny-pinching or anything, but often the old products are much more functional and cool and nice than the new ones and then people throw them away simply because they are just so fucking stupid (laughs), so (pause) I usually take everything that I find for instance from the rubbish, anything that works, although at that moment, like that stereo table, I don't have a clue what am I going to do with something like that. But then someone comes who says that I need stereos in my home, then it's a match. This is Kalle's recycling centre. (Kalle & Emma 04 283-290)

When we met in 2005, the biggest change no doubt had been that they had had a baby. Within the design realm of their new apartment, one of the changes with the most visible consequences was that there were not so many products lying around anymore; the amount had diminished, or “crystallised”, as Kalle described it.

HP: If I take photographs for starters, then I’ll spread out the old photos and we’ll start to talk. (pause) Are you nervous (laughs)?

K: No, it is super-nice to see those photos. (pause) We have, after all, a lot less stuff these days. In a sense. Or should we say that it has crystallized. (Kalle & Emma 05 55-58)

Kalle explained that this was the result of “rationalisation”, by which he meant, for example, that threads and needles had been put in the same place, as opposed to being scattered around the apartment, as they had tended to be earlier. According to Kalle, most of the things that they had brought to the new apartment had found their places.

K: It gets a little bit more rationalized when the storage room lessens. Hm... Hm... hiding stuff. Storage room is about hiding stuff. Like, 140 000 items look nice when they are in a cupboard and you’ll have just that cupboard. (pause) So, when thinking about it now, maybe we don’t have less stuff but the products have found their places better. There [in the old apartment] every place is full of something odd, so there is more sense to it now.

HP: But what does that sense consist of? You said that there are no piles any more.

K: Well yeah, maybe (pause) In some sense it is categorizing products, like, sewing stuff is in such box which says “sewing stuff”. And not, like, where do we have a needle? The needle is over there. The thread may be there. Something like that. (Kalle & Emma 05 502-512)

Like Tiina, Kalle also commented on the abundance of things in a too small room when looking at the 2004 photographs.

HP: There are also some general pictures, overview photographs.

K: Oh fuck we’ve had stuff, really, like, nobody believes that we have less stuff but now at least they should. (Kalle & Emma 05 65-67)

Kalle also found it scary that in the new apartment there were many of the same products in similar arrangements as in the previous apartment.

The products that had not moved with them included their collection of pictures and paintings; they were still trying to decide what to do with them. They, for example, had been collecting old maps and had quite a large collection of pictures. This was causing problems because they had far less wall space in the new apartment as a result of having taken down several walls and, therefore, they did not have room for the whole collection.

- E:** Here are these, here [in the old apartment] we have arranged pictures on the walls. Here [new flat] we have so much less, like, although we've got more square metres, we've got a lot less wall surface, so we have only a fraction here of what we had on the walls there. (Kalle & Emma 05 73-76)

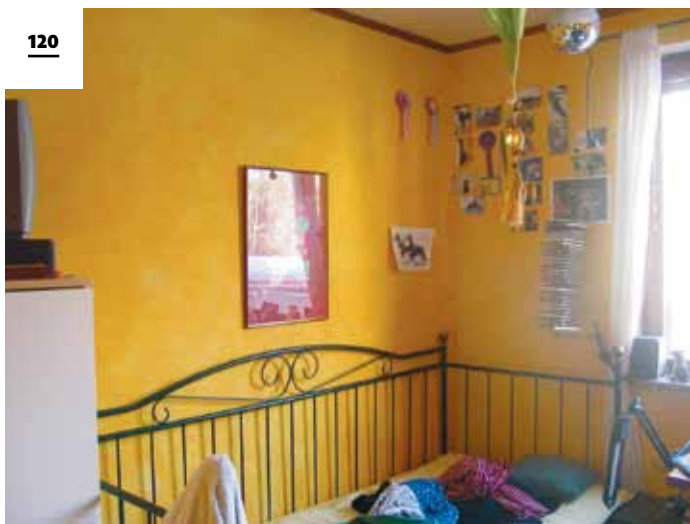
ASTA

Asta is one of the households that I recruited because she has "no interest in design". At the time of our interview, Asta, along with her husband and two teenage children, had been living for nearly 8 years in a detached house that had been built in the 1980s and which the family had been renovating since that time, one room and one item at a time. According to Asta, every room was still unfinished.

- A:** But I think these [bedroom] walls, which she [an artist] painted here, are really fabulous. But this is still work in progress, so the pictures are missing and the furniture here is wrong. I mean, one must change the colour of those. That kind of wood does not fit here at all; it needs to be something dark. Or some other system, something else.
- HP:** How much would you estimate, how close to finishing are you with the interior decoration? How long have you been living here?
- A:** Seven and a half years. Well (pause), every room here is somehow in progress. I would say that all our rooms are works in progress. (Asta 07 64-71)

At the time of my only visit in 2007, they had just finished renovating one of the bedrooms, but it still lacked the right pieces of furniture (**P 120-121**). The area that was most unfinished was their cellar, where there was, for example, a

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P 120–121. The colourful bedrooms

P 122. Asta's collection of glassware

P 123. The music room

122



123



room for band rehearsals. But even in that room, most of the walls had been painted and the music room was more or less complete (**P 123**).

The renovation had involved lots of structural work. The surface work, however, was what was most prominent: the apartment was colourful because both the surfaces and the furniture had been painted with bright colours, with dark accents here and there. Asta told me that they had lots of colourful objects – store-bought objects, gifts, inherited objects and hand-crafted objects – which she also at times tuned and changed (**P 122**). For example:

HP: Do you have lots of inherited stuff?

A: Actually (pause) they have travelled different paths and then they've been taken back into use. For instance that glass cabinet is my mother's old bookshelf, which I changed into that colour. It is Lundia. Then we just bought the doors, and then I altered them, coloured it differently. And that is from some boyfriend of my sister's; it was left here and I painted it turquoise. (Asta 07 119-124)

The same attitude held true when they were renovating the colourful apartment. It seemed to be in a state of permanent flux. Still, when asked, Asta said that she does not change the interior decoration.

A: but I am not the kind [of person] that I would change (pause) But sometimes I do think about changing the arrangement, but, for example, this [living room] is the kind of space that I wouldn't know how to decorate any other way. I have played with the idea what if the sofa were like this. But then again, I don't want to divide it, so (pause) like that. We don't really have the kind of of spaces that we'd change a lot. (Asta 07 242-246)

Her motivation for the constant tuning and renovation work was difficult to discern based on what she told me. One could claim that it is a self-expression project for her because she is the one in the family who for the most part tunes the apartment and the objects. But my general impression was that she was not doing it so much for herself as for the things. When said that way, Asta's ongoing renovation work, DIY work and tuning is a way of taking care of the place. Daniel Miller presents a similar idea when discussing the shopping practices of housewives as a way of showing love to the other members of the family (Miller 1998a). However, since I had been discussing products with Asta (rather than family), she gave the impression that she was showing her love for the

objects by living and working with them. This also makes her comment that she is not changing the interior decoration more understandable, given that the apartment's interior decoration was constantly being changed. For Asta, changing the interior decoration would mean doing a coherent, holistic transformation to the whole interior. Why she is not interested in doing that is at least partially explained by her strong connection with the products she owns and knows intimately. Many of the interviewees mentioned how the stories of the products are important. Asta talked about the importance of those stories:

A: I hadn't actually thought how many of these stories I have, how much things link up with something. That I am so horribly nostalgic; I had not thought that I am nostalgic. Certainly I have known that I am terrible at throwing stuff away, like that vase, as it is a nice vase; I like it and it is little broken, but when I display it this way, you don't see the chip. (Asta 07 751-755)

FAMILY YLINEN

The Ylinen family (father, mother and their youngest child) was the third of the households recruited with the explicit condition that they are not interested in design. Their semidetached house, which was built in 1975, had not been recently renovated, but, although they claimed that they had not done much, all in all they had renovated quite a lot of it, including putting on a new roof, adding a side building, removing the lofts and installing new window frames.

HP: Did you do a lot of renovation here?

Father:

No, we haven't done much here, practically speaking we have done nothing else but built that wing and replaced the roof. But it's really surface redecoration in the children's rooms; it hasn't been a real renovation because the previous owners had been living here four years and we heard that they had been renovating that whole time.

HP: So you just put in some wallpaper?

F: Wallpaper on the wall and that's almost

Mother:

And then the lofts were built,

F: Well, yes then one built

- M:** At that time, we had a loft in both of two rooms, so that the kids would have room for playing and chilling. But it's been changed
- F:** But for example these (pause) well that toilet was renovated. There [one of the children] put tiles on the floor, but then we lost the floor heating and it had to be done again. But otherwise we have not done, practically speaking, anything in this living room either, practically nothing.
- Child:** [unclear] Surface renovation
- F:** Well, yes, some window frames and beams but very very little. A larger one was then indeed the renewal of the roof. The roof material was renewed and eaves were built on this house (pause) and then, really, that wing building where there is a fireplace that preserves the heat, and for me a craft studio to do woodworks. (Family Ylinen 06 15-36)

All members of the family (including their adult children who lived away from home) liked to work with their hands and do stuff themselves. The family's incredibly diverse range of DIY projects covered anything from self-designed and hand-built wooden furniture to a new house (which they were building for a family member) to a Gallen-Kallela rug that the parents had stitched together and a song that one of the children had composed to entertain guests during a thematic dinner that they had also designed and served (**P 124–125**).

P 124–125. Flame-rug and a woodwork

124



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The diversity of the DIY projects was at one point explained by the father's education principle, which holds nature and creativity to be valuable, and his willingness to encourage their children to cultivate an appreciation for both.

- F:** The principal ideas that I have, are, that there are two things to keep safe, which are nature and creativity (laughs). And if we think about it from the children's point of view, it is that you let them do and draw and tinker and encourage them, too. Not to say, "Why are you doing such things?" but precisely, "Oh that is nice." (Family Ylinen o6 203-206)

Their domestic DIY projects were no doubt an important part of the household's identity and a form of self-expression, but again, similarly as with Asta, they also seemed to be connected with a need to take care of, not so much of the products, but of nature, family's wellbeing and their children's happiness.

On the other hand, the family did not seem to care about design magazines or any kind of interior decorating and the mother described their interior decoration as "assorted works" and "a true mixture".

- HP:** Have you, have your products changed a lot?

M, F: Both laugh.

- M:** Collected works, you know, collected works is our middle name (Family Ylinen o6 479-481)

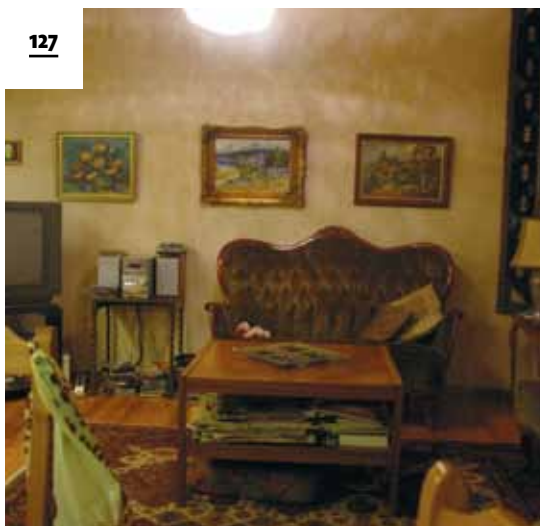
- M:** (laughs) Oh, real design for sure, this, ours, is so chaotic. A mixture of everything. I have even said that there is nothing else we have purchased ourselves except this and those shelves when [one of children] needed a shelf for prizes [from a hobby] (Family Ylinen o6 629-632)

They explained their mixed decoration style by saying that they had bought very little for themselves, and that most of their pieces of furniture and the objects on display had been inherited and then painted or repaired or crafted by themselves. They had reworked the pieces without the intention of crafting decorative items that fit the décor, but instead with other goals in mind, such as preserving nature and the family's history (**P 126-127**). As a consequence, the interior decoration had not changed in, let's say, an organised manner, meaning that visions about interior decoration as an object unto itself did not guide the changes that they made to their home.

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APPROPRIATING DESIGN WITH AUTONOMOUS EASE

The Ylinen family and Asta were both investing lots of time into doing crafts, tuning and renovation work, but the manner in which they approached their projects was very matter-of-fact. The Ylinen family denied doing anything at all, whereas Asta talked about her many crafting and tuning projects and their renovation work without pointing to any problems in accomplishing them. Both families were highly competent in what they were doing and apparently self-sufficient. Kalle & Emma, Anniina and Tiina had invested lots of time into their projects, but they did not intend to do any more of them once they had finished. Their contexts were also relatively simple because they did not feel the need to take into account outside pressure, whether that outside pressure came from relatives, architectural standards or somewhere else, which is something that was common to all of the households in this group: they were very independent and mostly just consulted their own taste and household moral principles when making design decisions.

P 126–127. The collection of mostly inherited ceramics and a general view to the living room

CONFUSED CARE

112

SANNA AND KALEVI

Sanna is my friend and I had asked her to be interviewed because I knew that she had no interest in branded design. She, together with her husband Kalevi and their newborn baby, had just moved into a large 6-room, two-storey detached house in 2004, which they had bought just a few weeks earlier (**P 128**). They were about to completely renovate the house.

S: Well yes, so it is. It's painting isn't it, like, nearly all the surfaces have to be redone.

HP: It doesn't look like you're in any great hurry.

S: (laughs) That's just it. This isn't in such a terrible condition, not like the house is falling to pieces. In principle this is a good house but the surfaces are like this. (Sanna & Kalevi 04 16-24)

The problems with the surfaces in the house were two-fold: on the one hand, some of the surfaces were in quite bad condition (**P 129-130**); on the other, the house had mostly been done with wood panelling (**P 131**), which, it turned out, neither of them liked:

[Sanna and Kalevi look through photographs taken in 2004 when the now white panels had not yet been painted.]

K: This wooden panel, it's even more yellow in this photo (pause). Sometimes one wonders that we, who really don't like wood panel, that we've moved to a house where there is an awful lot of wood panel.

S: But I like it this way, when it's painted; I think it is ok.

K: And this is cheap panel. Sanna doesn't understand but I think.

S: Yeah, you'd like pearl panel.

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129

P 128. Sanna & Kalevi's house in 2004

P 129. Drawings in a living room wall

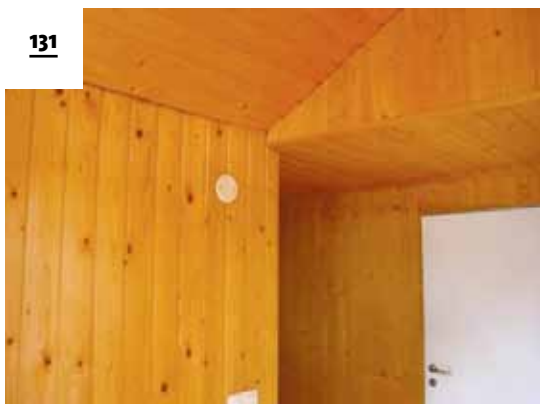
P 130. Painted bedroom wall and DIY electricity fix

P 131. Bare wooden panel

130



131





P 132. Painted corridor

- K:** Pearl panel or with rounded corners, like they had in the old days.
(Sanna & Kalevi 05 169-176)

When we met in 2005, they had not proceeded as well as they would have liked, but they had done some projects here and there, such as painting the wood panel walls and their bedroom white (**P 132**). Not surprisingly, I heard after the interviews that they had sold the house and moved out. One could speculate that the renovation project, though it was something that both of them desired, in the end turned out to be too much for the couple.

So in 2005, instead of talking about how the renovation work had progressed, Sanna explained the reason for its stagnation: Sanna's painful pregnancy and Kalevi's impractical perfectionism and long working hours all played important parts.

- S:** It's only like this now because all these things sail around here, and we just have to look at it again when those walls get taken away and this floor gets opened up, when that's finished, only after that can you start to think about where these will fit best, but now this is (pause)

- HP:** Do you have an estimate of how long it will take?

- S:** Ooh, there were goals. I mean, we had estimates at one point that this floor could be done only when the heating is on, so then these boards won't move. That was supposed to be by last winter. But that was not realistic at all [S was pregnant and had complications. Also S's mother, living upstairs, was seriously ill] as Kalevi had lots of work pressure, he sets targets that don't (pause) hold. So now we, probably, the idea is that if we could do it next winter. We already thought, but then again Kalevi has a big project at work, which should be finished before the new year so they're going to have quite an autumn. His boss even talked with the team about whether they might postpone their summer vacations [but it came to nothing]. So don't know, but let's see if we get it done. There's so much perfectionism in Kalevi, that's to say everything has to be just so. And it's also like he plans and designs so much that he doesn't really ever get started. But I have seen it like, the house is not going to fall down anytime soon, so now we're just living like this. So, if you look back in ten years, then quite likely (laughs) some things will have happened (Sanna & Kalevi 05 17-35)

Their inexperience in renovation work caused delays and added to the comparative shabby appearance of the house. For example, Kalevi told me that at one point Sanna began to take down wallpaper from the ceiling of one room but got stuck and did not know how to progress (**P 133**). The following quote illustrates painfully well how complex the renovation work may appear:

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P 133. Sanna's wallpaper project

P 134. DIY diapers**134**

[K shows a room with a ripped wallpaper]

- K:** Well here you can see these basic traits of Sanna's (laughs). She gets something into her head and then just starts doing it and only afterwards you might run into realities that mean that then nothing gets done to it for a while. Then it looks like this. This would look nicer if she had not started to tear at it.
- HP:** But then again, if you get it into that condition in the first place, you are bound to fix it at some point.
- K:** At some point. But we don't need that much room. This is more or less left on its own. We would certainly like to build cupboards here and, in a couple of years this is going to be a [kid's] playroom. We'll see. Maybe not a playroom because this is upstairs, and that's only for sleeping. So at some point it will be a children's bedroom or a child's or we'll move here and the kids get the bigger room. Probably that way. That beam should be removable. A construction engineer friend thinks it doesn't have a function, but it needs to be checked, whether it's necessary or not. To do it, we need to open some of that ceiling up and check the way that rafter is. In principle it shouldn't need anything. Because it's like that, in the middle of the room, putting a double bed in would cause [a headache?]. The air is rather stale when the door is closed. We don't have an air vent in this room at all.
- HP:** Would that make it a bit awkward as a bedroom?
- K:** Yes, it would, we should open this, here is a flue. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 463-483)

Based on how the couple explained their actions, I got the impression that Sanna, as a renovator, had the tendency to be impulsive, which no doubt is a dangerous trait when combined with inexperience and the lack of appropriate resources. Still, Sanna had accomplished some practical crafting projects, for example sewing washable diapers (**P 134**).

MERVI

A somewhat similar story as that told about Sanna and Kalevi can be told about Mervi, who also wanted but had been unable to accomplish a renovation project. When she had moved into her rented two-room apartment in 2000, Mervi had removed a plastic wall-to-wall carpet from the floors because the apartment looked “scrappy”.

M: when I moved here, this was so messy that I was, like, I cannot look at these kinds of carpets for one moment, so I rolled them away right away and painted the floor. (Mervi 04 73-75)

Mervi painted the bare concrete floors white and wallpapered the walls and was pleased with the result. However, the apartment went on the market in 2002 and her landlord demanded that she replace the old plastic carpets because the bare, white concrete floors would have decreased the apartment’s value. At the time of the first interview in 2004, it had been three years since that incident, but Mervi had not yet mustered enough strength to take the carpets away, even though she found them irritating and they clashed with her professional interior and furniture designer’s taste.

M: I can’t stand these [plastic carpets]. I mean I won’t stand them, like (pause) like at all. It is a huge effort in a rented flat. It was because these floors were so awful but now I have to live with it because I was, like, I would have been sued because I had ruined this flat. And I had to roll the carpets back. There is concrete, painted white, underneath. But it is just (pause) when this flat was sold, if this flat hadn’t been sold, [the concrete floors] would still be here, but it was sold and I was in the situation where I had to roll them back. And they are awful. (Mervi 05 285-292)

Mervi is one of those rare households in the sample who had not invested time or money into renovation work and Mervi did not talk about crafting or tuning projects either. It appeared that she put most of her effort into her professional designing projects, and sometimes that work overflowed into the home as well. When we met in 2005, Mervi told me that the apartment had replaced her studio while she was without a proper studio and that she had just removed most of her work stuff.

HP: Quite a lot has changed here.

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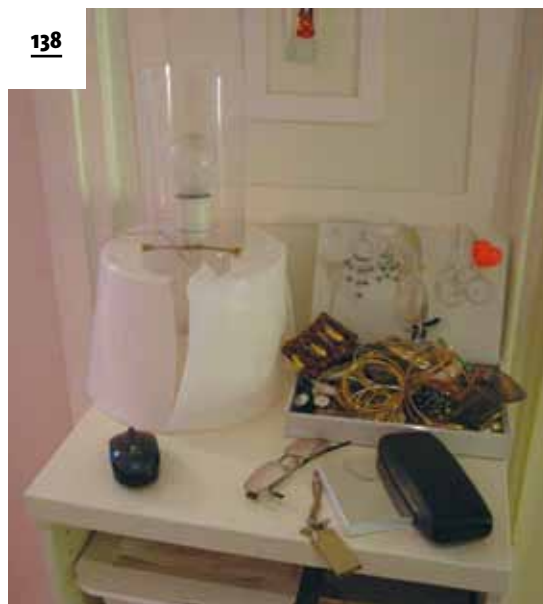
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P 135–136. Mervi's dining area and Modern art in a living room corner in 2004

P 137–138. Dining area and broken Modern art in 2005

M: Yes, it has. But what's funny, when this was a studio, and we did all kinds of things, as in we worked with these prototypes here; at that time, this was such a confusing place (laughs). The most ridiculous thing was when we were thinking that we should get that lamp on the wall now and I just took the drill, and without a second thought just pzzzzzzzt [shows how she drilled a hole in the wall], without thinking at all that this is my home! I just put it there; this is my studio! Lots of stuff just left here and stuff came in so my attitude changed completely. Which made me laugh afterwards. And I've been left with (pause) there are still wallpaper samples, like, what would be good and some (pause). It was just so funny. (Mervi 05 74–82)

During our interview in 2005, there were some prototypes lying on the living room floor, a storage method explained by the fragility of the prototypes. Mervi introduced the term “out of sorts” when she was describing her home in 2005. By that, she meant, for example, a burned out, unchanged light bulb in the bathroom and the lamp and other wires being left out in clear sight (**P 135–136** and **P 137–138**). Clearly, Mervi had not invested time into her dwelling, but, rather, had been efficient in her professional projects.

SAKARI AND ELISA

Sakari and Emma are two designers who were living in a rented two-room apartment with a kitchenette in a block of flats that had been built in 1960. They had lived there for four years at the time of my first visit in 2004. They had never done any kind of renovation work on the apartment, and in 2005 the situation was the same. In addition, they told me that, practically speaking, they had not done any interior decorating at all. Instead, things had just been put into their places and had remained there.

HP: Do you do a lot of furnishing? Do you talk about interior decoration?

S: Nooooo, no we don't furnish at all, practically speaking, no. Well, yes, in a sense it is important what kind of immediate environment, or how this home is, physically and also visually, but, well, that it, like, with us, everything ends up quite naturally in its own place actually; we hardly ever change an arrangement or start wondering should we rearrange in order to make some changes here (laughs). No, we never do that. (Sakari & Elisa 05 362–368)

Quite prominent in the apartment were the collections of flashlights and miniature cars, which Elisa and Sakari, respectively, collected. In addition, Sakari collected items that he had found throughout town and he had obtained an extensive amount of stuff that he had then stored around Helsinki. During our second interview in 2005, several pieces of furniture had changed places and the collections had vanished from sight (**P 139–140** and **P 141–142**). Their removal was explained first by a lack of space, but since they had not acquired new pieces of furniture, the removal was not just about the actual lack of space. Indeed, later Sakari started to tell me that he had gotten tired of the huge amount of items and things that he had collected and stored.

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P 139–140. Sakari & Emma's bedroom window sill and a living room chair in 2004

P 141–142. Bedroom window sill and living room chair in 2005

- S:** The small things you collect through your life, in a sense we've perhaps become bored with that collection (pause) or, I am talking about myself now, in a sense, bored with displaying that kind of stuff although, in another sense, it is nice (pause) that you have them, but (pause) you no longer bother to browse flea markets looking for that junk, on the contrary, it's more like, at least with me, that I want to get rid of stuff rather than acquire more of it. Because I now have every possible nook and cranny full of stuff found from rubbish skips and relatives and elsewhere and collected here and there. In my parent's house, I've got storage and attics full of my stuff, garage and everything. Then my parent's summer house, that's as full as hell with my stuff; then here, both of the storage rooms, the bicycle cellar, everything (laughs) is full of my stuff. Even Emma's mother has got stuff (laughs)

that I store there. In the studio and in the studio's attic there's hell of a lot of stuff. It's become a bit, like, in a sense it takes more time to manage all this stuff as opposed to having time to do anything.

E: Since it is not like these things would be finished or ready, most of it is kind of

S: Like a project.

E: It's projects. Junk that could be something. (Sakari & Elisa 05 257-274)

Sakari had stopped hunting for items in flea markets and dumpsters and wanted to actually get rid of some of the stuff because he had realised that taking care of the products, "managing them", took all of his time and no time was left over to use the products. For example, Sakari told that he owns several boats, but that repairing the boats took so much time that he never actually got to sail any of them.

S: So it has turned, like, can I still, like, I would want to have more, I would want to have a third boat, or fourth (laughs), I would also like a motorboat and a sailing boat, so, somehow it has become, like, what am I doing with them since even now I don't have time to do anything except to do maintenance on them. Time goes into getting the rain water out of them et cetera. So it's little bit like: should I start to get rid of this and concentrate (laughs) on something more important? (Sakari & Elisa 05 299-305)

Sakari, much like Kalle, called the products "projects", and had, apparently, realised that making a good product out of a promising project took more time than he was willing to invest in the thing.

ILMARI

Ilmari is a researcher who had lived in a small, one-room apartment during his studies. After graduation, he moved abroad. When he several years later moved back to Finland, he had bought a larger two-room apartment in the same block of flats. He rented out the smaller, one-room apartment; when Ilmari again moved abroad, he also rented out the two-room apartment.

In 2004, Ilmari was visiting Finland; the two-room apartment was being rented out and so we met in the one-room apartment, which at that time was

serving as his sleeping place and a storage room for his things. Naturally, we mostly discussed this one-room apartment and the things there. Ilmari told me that the apartment's bathroom and surfaces had been renovated before he had rented it out, but without excessive effort or money, just to get the room a bit more "humane" for the tenant. Lately, though, the renovation work had not been totally successful.

- I: Since there is quite a lot of stuff here, so much so that it hasn't been possible to give it a proper clean or anything, so it's been impossible to do that renovation. Now it's done (pause). This wallpaper has come unstuck but that's because the ventilation is poor. When you use the shower a lot, it steams up, and those are not that old. But the last time this was without tenants, that's when the basics – sanding the floors and stuff were done (pause) At that time this was, like, tolerable (pause) so, if your attitude was that this is your home base, you could have built one out of this, but I have never really done that. (Ilmari 04 208-214)

Although Ilmari had lived in this one-room apartment for several years, he told me that his life had always taken place outside of it, in the downtown and at the university, and that, for example, he had never cooked there, but instead had dined in restaurants. Thus, he had never seen it as necessary to properly renovate the room for himself. He thought that the room was in serious need of renovation, but that the renovation work could not be done at the time because the room was full of his things. Ilmari planned to renovate this apartment once the upstairs apartment became vacant and he could move his things there.

- I: Since this is full of stuff, we haven't been able to do any renovation. I've been thinking that, if I come back after a year, I'll go upstairs. The rental contract ends then, and then this could become empty and a refurb could be done. Then I could rent this out again. But I have lived here nearly ten years. (Ilmari 04 36-39)

In 2005, Ilmari had permanently moved back to Finland and was in the process of "domesticating himself" within the two-room apartment where we met. In terms of the downstairs one-room apartment, Ilmari told me that it still served as a storage room. Some of the things he had brought upstairs to the two-room apartment, but most remained there. He planned to renovate and rent it once he had decided what to do with the things there.

I: About these objects, if I need to, in any case I always know that they are over there, that I can go downstairs and get them. So in a sense they are part of this apartment, at the moment, since there are no tenants. (pause)

HP: Are you going to rent it out?

I: Yeah. Like, in the summer I was supposed to be full of energy and excited and empty out and renovate it in order to rent it out. But it didn't happen because this end [upstairs] came together so slowly so I should have emptied it out, and should have changed the wallpaper and done some cleaning and then it could have been rented out. And then when I was coming [back to Finland], I also thought, should I buy a new flat, so I thought a bit about selling that downstairs one. But (pause) so I was left thinking about that. Because I don't have an immediate need and I have been in such a hurry so I don't have time to do that kind of cleaning. So that's why it is still kind of half-storage. (Ilmari 05 385-398)

The two-room apartment did not need to be renovated because, when he had first bought it, he had outsourced a major part of the renovation work done there; Ilmari told me that the apartment, which had been built in the 1920s, was in its original shape and "a bomb-site". Ilmari had, for example, had the walls opened up and a complete surface renovation had been done.

I: when I moved here, for starters, it was completely renovated. This was a bomb-site, since the 1920's, nothing had been done, so I was forced to think [incomprehensible], walls have been opened and something like that (Ilmari 05 232-234)

Although the renovation work was done by professionals, they did it according to Ilmari's specifications. Ilmari selected, for example, the door handles, drew up the entrance floor pattern and the plan for where to place the lamps in the ceiling, and he designed the bathroom and kitchen working surfaces, in addition to selecting other surface materials such as ceramic tiles and the apartment's doors (**P 143-145**).

Ilmari told me that in general he finds it difficult to locate the types of designs that he likes, so it has taken a lot of time to hunt for the appropriate materials and products because, unlike with the downstairs apartment, the upstairs renovation was done according to his preferences.

143144

P 143–145. Ilmari's door to the kitchen, entrance floor and kitchen working surface

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- I:** Because upstairs I have it in a way, like, designed; there's stuff there, it's quite polished. There isn't much stuff apart from what I have chosen. (pause) It's like a negative of this [downstairs apartment]. Every object there has been chosen by me. And I wouldn't want anything extra there. (Ilmari 04 96-99)

In addition to the design for the renovation work, he had tuned the lamps. He explained this by saying that he liked to shop for lamps, but, at the same time, he was unable to find the types of lamps that he liked.

- I:** One of the few things that I've shopped around for a lot in my life has been lamps. I mean, I have never bought any. Because I never find the kind of lamps I want. I have searched, it's like, I sort of need to, I don't

do shopping, like, it would be nice to get some object as such, but in my opinion light is an interesting thing (pause) and I've looked for a long time for a lamp for the room and I haven't seen one, I haven't found one anywhere and (pause) Once I saw, I was somewhere in Italy or somewhere and there was a lamp shop, and I was like wow, there will be some really fine lamps here. But you can't bring something big and made of glass [in your luggage]. So that [chandelier] was bought from Anttila Tennispalatsi, must have cost around 60 marks at that time I think. That's just like that, ordinary. But it was (pause) But then again, I have had this habit, I started to build them. So this is the minimalist one. Originally there were, I changed the glass there. (Ilmari 05 235-250)

As a result, he told that he tunes his purchases. In Ilmari's case, tuning means, for example, adding crystals to a cheap chandelier or putting coloured film over the light source or covering the lamp with a veil. He did not see this as designing, but, rather, as a form of play, of having fun.

- I: I don't design my environment at all. These are all, like, small things, they sort of flicker, so that some things are just funny. There's a kind of humour in it. (pause) Like the idea of playing with a material in some sense. Which is a normal part of the creative process. You take the materials and then you play with them and then, at some point, like, hey, now this looks nice. (laughs) (Ilmari 05 325-330)

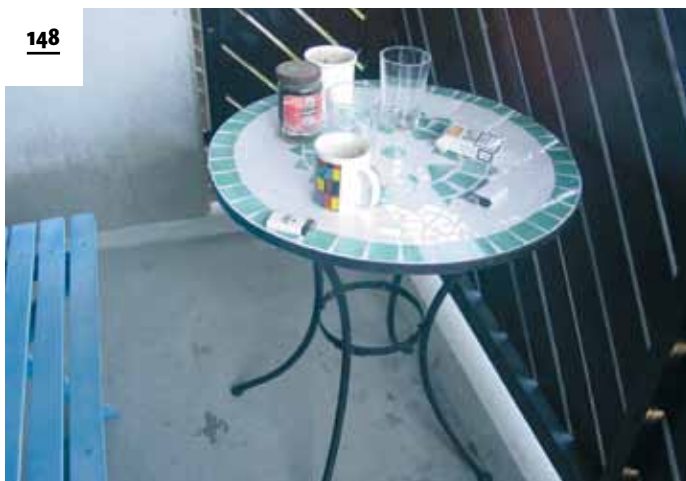
LIISA

Liisa lived in rented one-room apartment with a kitchenette that was part of a block of flats built in 1985, and she is one of the people that I contacted with the idea that she probably had no interest in branded design; therefore, I felt that she would provide me with glimpses into living with design in a way in which the institutional properties of design would not play a prominent role. And, indeed, there was very little branded design in Liisa's apartment. In addition, she was also one of the rare households in the sample that had not undertaken any renovation work in her apartment. Due to a couple of accidents, only part of the first interview with Liisa was recorded; therefore, in her case I am mostly relying on hand-written notes without verbatim quotes.

In 2004, the general impression that I got from Liisa was that everything relating to at least design and perhaps to consumption in general takes far more time than what is a rough average for the sample in general. This was reflected in her interior decoration: pictures were leaning on the floor because she had not decided what to put up and how to do it, or in what kind of arrangement; a comfort chair that she liked, while hating its colour, had been waiting to be upholstered for several years. She had also repeatedly delayed and postponed purchasing a set of stereos, which she said she would have liked to have had, even when she had already been in the store, because she could not make up her mind. In 2005, the stereos had still not been purchased and the pictures were still leaning against the wall. Liisa commented that to her, it was always far easier to find excuses to not buy something rather than to just make the purchase. It is not surprising, then, that in the 2005 visit, she was extremely proud of the mosaic table she had bought for the balcony (**P 146–148**).

146**147**

P 146–148. Liisa's living room wall waiting pictures in 2004 and 2005. Balcony table and chair

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APPROPRIATING DESIGN WITH CONFUSED CARE

Common to all households in this section was that very little appropriation of design had taken place even though there were desires for appropriation and even plans about what the changes could be. But the changes, to a great extent, had not happened because of the complex context of the appropriation. For Ilmari, the complexity stemmed from his two apartments and the things he owned, but had not made up his mind what to do with them. Sakari & Elisa were also having lots of stuff that they did not quite know what to do with. Liisa did not have that much products but nevertheless she could not made up her mind about what to do with them and what sort of items she should buy. Sanna & Kalevi wanted to renovate their house but they lacked resources, skills and clear ideas of what they would want the house to become. Mervi did not want to invest time to a rented apartment but neither was she investing time to buy her own flat because finding it would have required decisions she had no time to make.

Ultimately, though, the complexity of appropriation stems from the importance or weight these households put to it. Rather than efficiently planning and executing, like the households who appropriate with ease, these households care so much about the success of appropriation that the process becomes very slow. The households who appropriate with confused care feel that there are lots of aspects that one should want to take into account in the appropriation of nearly anything but, at the same time, it is not (yet) clear what the important aspects are to a particular household: what do we want and how we want to live can remain open questions for years. In the meantime, it is better to settle on what there already is rather than invest in changes that may turn sour after a while.

INVOLVED CARE

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THEO

The only interviewee who was living in a brand new building was Theo. Theo had lived his whole life in a block of flats and always thought that it would be awful to live away from the city centre, in a detached house. But while working abroad, he learned that he actually liked living in a detached house.

T: [Since childhood] I always lived in the centre or at least close by, in Kallio [a neighbourhood in central Helsinki] or thereabouts. But in Holland (pause) actually, I haven't (pause) It would have been difficult for me to imagine moving somewhere, for example to Järvenpää [a small city, 40 minutes drive from Helsinki], unless I had had that Holland experience, that a human can live in a detached house, for real. (laughs) (Theo 04 38-42)

Consequently, when Theo inherited part of a plot of land, he decided to build the couple's home there. In Theo's case, this meant that he really built the home himself, by at least assisting the professional builders. Theo had little experience with building, but building a home provided him with an opportunity to do what he wanted, as opposed to renovating an existing building.

T: I have never ever built, so now I have got permission to do what I want. If you begin to renovate the old, you'll always have that feeling of will this ever be for my own use, or am I doing this for someone else. (Theo 04 45-48)

Theo mentioned that he feels very good that he knows about every little detail in the house.

- T:** Yes, it has been an incredibly good feeling, that you know every detail in here. (Theo 04 86-87)

When I visited Theo for the first time in the spring of 2004, the house had been liveable for a very short time, after half a year of construction work. Much of the work was still in progress both inside and outside the house. Of course, it always takes effort – investments of time and money – to build a house, but Theo's clear vision of how the house should look and feel added to the building project's twists and turns and required extra effort.

The strongest principle guiding his design decisions was that Theo wanted the house to feel and look like it had been built and lived in for a hundred years:

- T:** There wasn't that thing, like I said, when we began to build this in January, of thinking how will this look when it's ready, except that it should look as if people have been living here for a hundred years. (Theo 04 280-282)

Nonetheless, the house also needed to have all the modern conveniences, such as a highly functional kitchen and wireless or invisible AV and Wi-Fi networks accessible throughout the house.

- T:** there's been a particular emphasis on making it so that this doesn't look like it has been done, like, now we're building a model home. Rather, let's do a kitchen, which looks like, and is, like that first and foremost, that it is meant for cooking.
- HP:** yeah. I was just about to ask, do you cook a lot?
- T:** yes. So it definitely does not matter at all what it looks like, provided it is somewhere you can cook. So, if again we think about usage, since we're living in the countryside and the electricity is always going down, so you have to have gas. And then a wood stove, to burn wood, you can do bread et cetera and also you can reserve and use up all the heat produced. Plus, gas is best for cooking. (Theo 04 122-134)
- T:** well of course this whole house is networked, like a computer-to-computer network, plus we have speakers in every room. So these are also going to have an output (pause). For example in the bathroom there are speakers in the ceiling, in case you noticed. (Theo 04 249-252)

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P 149–150. Theo's panel ceiling and the gas stove

Such a vision required, for example, that Theo had planned to use 20 different types of wooden lists in the rooms, and all of the ceilings needed different designs because that would convey the feeling of an old, manor-like building (**P 149–150**).

T: those boards that we're going to have here, it's going to be 20 different types of boards, on these walls. There's one reason why they are different and that is that in a sense they symbolize, since in days of old, people used whatever materials they happened to have at hand. So this is not going to be everything the same (pause) Also the ceilings are different because you didn't have the same board to use everywhere so you had to use different ones. (Theo 04 273-277)

All of this meant that the family had been hunting for suitable-looking materials and products, especially since they did not want to use more money than necessary.

T: one point of departure is a sort of expensive taste. For example that washbasin cabinet, they cost an awful lot to buy. But I browsed until I found some, that firstly, were satisfying in how they look and, secondly, that I could buy as a sample (pause) so these are demonstration items.

HP: yeah, yeah. So they are a bit cheaper?

T: 75% reduced. And I don't mind. (Theo 04 146-152)

On the other hand, Theo emphasised that they did not want to use what he called trash, but instead were looking for new items that looked old or (found) like genuine antique pieces, which he would repair if necessary.

T: so like I said, I have always tried to find, like, not to buy stuff from junk shops (Theo 04 112-113)

T: I am not that interested in browsing as such, but precisely in finding new stuff that in principle qualifies as old. For example the cupboards at Ikea, which, although I really hard tried to find some, the Ikea cupboards are the closest representation of the old. Especially now that we put those knobs in the middle (Theo 04 113-117)

T: what was wonderful in Holland was that people, when they threw away old furniture, they left them on the street, and then by driving around in the night one could make really good finds. This isn't in that category but I have, at the moment (pause) I wonder where (pause) three different chairs scattered around. They were all found on the street. And then I just upholstered them. Like, those really old old ones. (Theo 04 165-169)

Theo's building project is an example of how it is possible to invest a lot of effort so that the dwelling conditions meet certain criteria. He started building the house by clearing the plot of trees, stones and the like.

T: we have cleared the plot and everything ourselves, and have had the opportunity to do and design everything ourselves (Theo 04 48-49)

Designing the details and the interior took place as the construction work proceeded.

T: the frame came as a kit and then all these innards took shape as we worked on it (Theo 04 88-89)

Theo had acquired the little experience that he had from helping his brother build his own house on the neighbouring site. That made Theo realise that houses, too, are man-made and, therefore, doable. Learning how he could do it, too, required constant studying, actively working alongside the professionals and, like Theo said, a strong belief in oneself.

T: That is, with the rendering on the chimney and then with all the electricity, I was involved all the time. The water and all, I was involved all the time. In fact, here's nothing that I wasn't involved in doing. (Theo 04 104-106)

HP: then (pause) where does this skill of yours come from? The know-how?

T: I don't have skills, instead, I have a firm belief in myself. And, yeah, I was involved in building my brother's house last summer, and I realised that, like so many other things (pause) these are human inventions, one can do them by oneself. Of course something like the rendering the chimney, you need a professional to do it but now that I've seen how it's done, I'm sure I'll build a barbeque over there at some point. (Theo 04 97-102)

Theo did not design and craft the products; rather, he bought or found the products and materials. He was acting as a hunter rather than a craftsman. He also did not appear to be interested in changing the interior decoration, for example, seasonally. Instead, the products moved around, looking for their final destinations while the interior decoration within the home was still in progress.

T: There's not been any self-evident location for any of the objects. We have a habit of moving lamps, even like these [chandeliers], from one place to another. That's one thing. For that reason it's a bit difficult to say what might be the kind of object that would not have found its place. Here it's, one could say that we haven't yet created that certain initial situation, which we would, then, start to modify.

HP: do you mean that in actual practice you might sit here and think that, wait, that chandelier could be much better (pause)

T: yes. And then we move it and check if it's better somewhere else, and we put it back it here, or not. (Theo 05 191-199)

Despite the huge amount of work, the project progressed quickly. One means by which Theo had kept his desire to relax at bay was by organising the work. The couple had consciously started with the downstairs (which was at that point nearly finished) because the downstairs had been designed to entertain visitors. Only after it was ready, had they started to work on the upstairs, which was going to be a huge, one-room home theatre with the latest entertainment technologies and comfortable sofas.

T: Since it was our aim for it to look old over there, downstairs, so this here [upstairs] is going to be the actual living room where we'll have all the sofas and such, where you can just relax and fall asleep and, yeah, all that audiovisual gear will be here, there's everything [wires and cables in the ceiling] ready for that. (Theo 05 123-126)

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REA

I visited Rea's home only once. One might say that Rea's story is similar to Tiina's. Before marriage, Rea had been living in a comparatively small apartment, which proved not to be spacious enough for the couple's social lifestyle once she had decided to move in together with her future husband. Consequently, they bought a spacious apartment; before moving in, they hired workers to do a complete, two-year-long renovation project.

The apartment's renovation was to a great extent designed to make the apartment suitable for the couple's extensive collection of art and design and to meet their requirements for social entertainment.

- R:** I had this sort of bachelor-girl flat in this same street, which was nice, but since we had these art pieces, we had to. It was enough, it would have been enough for two people but since we entertain a lot, we have international visitors and (pause) so we moved here. So, there must be room for art (laughs) (Rea 04 116-120)

The overall aim was to facilitate dialogue within the interior (**P 151-152**):

- R:** When we started to look for this parquet [in the dining hall], we wanted it to let the art speak. This furniture is from my grandfather's and grandmother's home, so we had to find a material for the curtains that would work with it. And that would be sufficiently strong and in a dialogue rather than everything going in the same direction. So I think, especially when it comes to design, it is awfully important that the form should provoke discussion. (Rea 04 62-68)

P 151-152. Rea's
dining hall

**153****154****P 153.** Downstairs shower**P 154.** Showcase for works of glass

The renovation was preceded by a six-month planning phase with professional architects; the couple talked with the architects about their desire to display their collection, in addition to a few favourite items that they wanted to include in the apartment's interior decoration.

Once the renovation had started, both the professionals and Rea, along with her husband, spent considerable amounts of both money and time making sure that every detail in the apartment matched their taste. They supervised the renovation work and visited the site nearly every day, and they took part at least in the acquisition of interior decoration details. For example, Rea told me how it had taken a long time to hunt down appropriate showers and door handles **(P 153)**.

R: we put huge amounts of time into finding the right showers, the right doorhandles (pause). The doorhandles will come from France because it wasn't possible to find really decent ones from Finland. So these are French design and they have hundreds of designs which change over the years, hundreds of variations, bronze and whatnot. So we looked at different shades of this (Rea 04 180-185)

They also designed the showcases for their glass pieces **(P 154)** and, for example, consulted artists about where to place some of their major works of art. The result pleased Rea, but she said that there were still a few occasions during which she was not yet completely satisfied. For example, it had been difficult to

find curtains that exactly fit their study, and she did not find the ones that were there at the time satisfactory.

- R:** There is one more set of curtains, which I'm not terribly excited about, but we haven't been able to come up with better ones either, in the study. They are a bit, they aren't warm enough or anything, they lack warmth. (Rea 04 444-446)

On the other hand, although Rea had previously reduced her own collection of furniture and things, she had then inherited other pieces from relatives and, consequently, had lots of pieces of furniture and decorative items; it had taken her quite a while to figure out where to place the items in the apartment's 10+ rooms. An additional twist on the renovation work had to do with the fact that the National Board of Antiquities and Historical Monuments was supervising all the renovation work done in that particular block of flats, but the regulations did not clash with their plans.

Indeed, their extensive collection of art and design made the apartment occasionally resemble a museum or a gallery; Rea was aware of this fact, but thought that they had avoided that look and had instead managed to build a nice home where it is possible to live with art without being overly serious about it.

- R:** this is home, this was never supposed to be a museum. Or, maybe one day it will become a museum, but we have tried to make it possible to live with art, that art is part of life. It should not feel alien or posh, rather, you can have fun (Rea 04 38-41)

HANNELE

Hannele, together with her husband, was living in the middle of three different renovation projects at the time of the interviews. Their apartment had four rooms and was part of a block of flats that had been built in 1910. They had lived there for four years and, when we met in 2004, the couple had just finished renovating parts of the apartment, but most of the rooms were waiting for the forthcoming plumbing renovation that their housing co-operative was going to take of.

In 2005, the plumbing renovation work was just being finished in their block of flats and they were moving back from their temporary apartment. During my 2005 visit, their interior decoration was coming together.

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P 155. Hannele's kitchen floor

P 156–158. Jacobsen chair, Aalto table, small sofa, DIY lamp and cushions

- H:** this really is rather slow moving and quite, but then again, we are moving to a certain direction and we know, by and large, what it is and since we are not in a hurry, really, we take these things a bit more calmly.
- HP:** do you have thoughts about how long this is going to take? Is it years or
- H:** noooo, not that long, I think. I should say that, by and large, it could be the end of October (Hannele 05 12-17)

All in all, lots of things had happened since my first visit. For example, the couple had acquired several pieces of furniture, such as a huge white sofa and a dining table and lamps, and they had gotten rid of (or at least were not displaying) some products, such as an inherited dark dining table.

During the renovations, the kitchen had been completely redesigned out of two smaller rooms (**P 155**) and a door had been opened up between the study and the living room, in addition to the surface renovations. The couple designed the renovation project themselves and professionals did the work.

We did not talk much about the efforts that they had invested in the renovation, but it included, for example, contracting for the design and manufacturing of several cupboards and hunting for materials, such as kitchen floor tiles, with which Hannele is very pleased.

H: we thought for a long time what this here could be. There was a wooden floor underneath but it was in such bad condition that it couldn't be used. Then there was a parquet floor in the living room and we couldn't get that same parquet, and the parquet man said that we shouldn't put a parquet in a kitchen and he was quite certainly correct, that, when you get water damage you have to tear everything up. This is that kind of tile that's used (pause) it's made of stone, ground, and it's used in hospitals and it comes in varying degrees of what it can withstand, but this is very easy to take care of and in my opinion nice, and it came in really good colours which you could choose from and somehow it just felt that it is, that it fits just right. (Hannele 04 149-157)

In addition, Hannele told me that she had hired workers to do the repair work for some of the products every now and then and occasionally tuned the pieces of furniture on her own. For example, she had ordered new slippers for their Jacobsen chairs, had removed the paint from the second-hand Aalto table, had crafted together some table lamps and had upholstered one of her favourite items, a small sofa, several times, as her interior decoration taste had changed (**P 156-158**). The following quote, in which Hannele was talking about the small sofa, is a nice example of a quite detailed biography of a much liked object:

H: well this sofa could be an example, of a piece of furniture, which is, which has a history. It is from my husband's home and its original canvas was dark blue, quite rough, ugly, a strong blue. He always took a nap in it in his own home while watching TV. Well, these shapes spoke to me, I thought it was small and slender and rather nice looking and then, when his parents both died, there was bit of sharing around of furniture, so this came to us. Then I upholstered it with this canvas here at that point [floral canvas under the current white], I had a kind of British interior-decorating boom going on. And when it was over, this cover was sewn over it. And it is one of these, this whole sofa follows us from one place to another, always finding some spot because it is so small. And somehow funny looking. And then

these pillows I had made, or these textiles, I don't remember if I saw the textiles myself, I might have had a seamstress who did them, yes. So this [sofa] has changed place around our homes from one place to another but it has always been with us. So one just removes this white cover and you don't have to iron it, even, but just stretch it over this, so it is, like (pause) awfully practical (laughs). As an interior decorating element. (Hannele 04 226-241)

In 2005, the sofa was still in the temporary apartment in which they had been living, but it was on its way home.

Hannele is an exceptional person in the sample because she tended to change the interior decoration so much, based on what she happened to like at the time and also according to the seasons.

HP: so now that you're looking at these photographs [taken in 2004], it looks to you that there's lots of stuff?

H: (pause) there is a lot more stuff, yes. Somebody might no doubt think there is very little, but (pause) I'm trying to get to a point that there would be as little as possible. That what there would be, it would have a meaning, or that it would be part of a certain, like, a mood thing, like, now with winter approaching and moving to stronger colours and warmth and such, and then comes summer, then you lighten everything up again and there's more light and (pause) and it all stands the daylight. Because this sort of winter atmosphere is such that one wants to cuddle up in blankets and of course colours are quite important then. (Hannele 05 226-233)

OLAVI

The carefully designed renovation of apartments can be seen as both a hobby and a means of income for Olavi.

HP: do you talk about interior decoration a lot outside of home then?

O: yes I do. And then here, in a sense it's also part of my work, to comment on those things and to do stuff in that area. And it is a pleasing thing to me. I have even felt that I understand something about them, not much, but something, so that, too, it helps that one wants to get things done. If there was a topic about which one understands noth-

ing, it wouldn't be nice to work on it. But I have found it pleasing.
(Olavi 05 571-577)

At the time of the interviews, Olavi owned a couple of apartments that he was living in with his wife, and he had renovated and sold several other apartments in the past. The one where we met was a former office that he had had renovated. The result was a loft-like huge living room with a separate kitchen and three smaller rooms that served as a living room and bedrooms. One small room was reserved for dogs and exercise. In 2004, the couple had been living in the apartment for a year and the renovation work had been finished, but the interior decoration of the small rooms was still in progress. In 2005, all of the interior decoration had been finished. The kitchen and living room area were similar and the only visible change was that in 2005 there were still some products awaiting Olavi's decision about what to do with them.

The renovation work meant, for example, that an AV system had been built inside the walls.

- O:** [in B&O AV-system] everything works together and with one remote control and in all rooms, in the kitchen, everywhere.
- HP:** here you have the speaker cables built-in?
- O:** yeah, those speaker cables, they need to be boxed. When the renovation starts, you have to box them in tubes inside the walls' lower sections so the cables can be put through because this wireless technology is not yet developed enough that it would do by itself (Olavi 04 57-62)

The parquet floor was done several times because the results had not been what they had agreed upon in the contract and they were not what Olavi wanted. The original layout of the apartment was left intact. Indeed, Olavi explained that he often takes the architecture of an apartment and a building's history as a source of inspiration, and he wants to respect them in his renovation projects. He mentioned that he agrees with architects about the importance of space over interior decoration:

- O:** As the architects say, the space is more important than the interior decoration. Meaning that you can furnish just by the use of space. Not that you then just stuff the space with things, it could even turn rather ugly then. But I really agree that space is more important than interior decoration. (Olavi 05 558-561)

He said that the history of a building also inspires some of his interior decoration decisions. Olavi showed me a miniature boat that he had bought because the real vessel had visited the nearby harbour in the 1950s.

- O: I try to acquire objects or decorative items or design items according to the building, according to the building's history. Because that ship has been under these windows in 1950's, I thought that of course that [miniature model of the ship] belongs here (laughs) (Olavi 04 78-81)

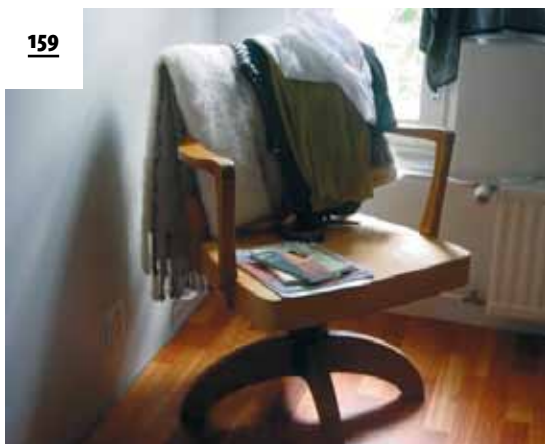
For him, increasing an apartment's value is crucial, though it is not the only reason that Olavi gave for renovating apartments. Olavi put forward considerable amounts of effort to the renovation projects. His reasons for doing the renovation projects were two-fold. On the one hand, he was obviously a meticulous designer and supervisor of outsourced renovation projects. Renovations take money, even if the expectation is that there will be a return on the invested money at some point. Perhaps even more than money, designing and supervising renovation projects takes time. Although the time as such never comes back, the return on the investment, in Olavi's opinion, takes the form of having the opportunity to constantly learn more about design, which Olavi said was a pleasing and rewarding aspect of renovations. One might say that renovating old apartments and decorating his own homes was Olavi's way of spending time with design, even though his formal education (law studies) and profession as a businessman did not directly suggest a close connection with design.

LAURA

In 2004, Laura had, together with her architect husband, nearly finished a major renovation project on their three-room apartment, which had been built in the 1970s. The renovation project included a new parquet floor and a redesigned kitchen, but they (like Olavi) had left the original layout intact. Laura explained their need to do the renovation by referring to the apartment's original "cheap" materials and the poor quality of the working methods. For instance, the new, dark parquet floor was supposed to give the feeling of materiality and added space to the apartment.

- L: so here it hasn't, because this is a flat of this era and this is even a "hitas"-apartment [price-regulated], this has been done with those

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P 159. Laura's
chair waiting for
upholstering in 2004

minimum solutions. So all the materials that were here, the original ones, were horribly ugly, all the simplest possible, all the closet doors and floors and skirting-boards. Everything just was, just was the era's most basic cheap and neutral and (pause) We both felt that we wanted to have some sense of material. So that it is not just a kind of neutral surface. So maybe that's why we ended up with this quite dark and dominating floor, so that a surface would, like, emerge (Laura 04 360-366)

In general, Laura told me that they had different ideas about the apartment's design, but in the end they wanted to do the renovation "in the spirit of the apartment".

- L:** At some point in fact we had quite a lot of different colour ideas for the walls, but then it just started to feel like they are not this flat's thing. So in my opinion we went quite a long way just according to this flat and not, like, I have always wanted to have this thing and now it's going to be done here, no matter whether it's appropriate or not. (Laura 04 370-373)

The bathroom still needed to be renovated, which they did not want to start because they had just found out that Laura was pregnant. At the time of our first interview, the interior decoration was under construction. For example, Laura told me that they were looking for curtains, had sent several pieces of furniture to be upholstered, while several other pieces of furniture were waiting in the apartment to be upholstered (**P 159**), a huge bookcase had been designed

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Upholstered furniture
and the new bookshelf
in 2005

and was waiting to be manufactured, once they had gotten enough money, and they were planning to hire someone to manufacture a big dining table for them. All in all, Laura described the apartment in its 2004 appearance as being a bit austere, since they had moved there from a much smaller apartment and had not yet acquired many products for the new, bigger apartment.

In 2005, the baby had born and what was previously a mere storage room was gradually being transformed into a baby's room. In the other areas of the apartment, the renovation work had been finished and the interior decoration had progressed; they had acquired "lots of lamps" and the recently upholstered furniture was in its proper places, including the bookcase dominating the living room wall (**P 160–161**). Taking care of a baby had resulted in some changes, most notably the arrangement of the dining and kitchen tables so that the baby's dining area in the kitchen would be durable and easy to clean. Otherwise, there was no visible evidence in the apartment of the baby's arrival. The appearance of their living room had changed considerably due to the new furniture and because their working table and computer had been moved to the bedroom.

JANNE

At the time of the interview, Janne had lived for 9 years with his wife and two children in a detached, 5-room house built in 1969. The house had been in good condition when they had moved in, but Janne mentioned that they had taken it for granted that, by buying an old house, they were committing themselves to constant renovation work and upkeep.

- J:** when we moved into this house, we knew that the old house and this one require ongoing, sort of modest renovating. (Janne 05 596-597)

Consequently, they had been renovating the house slowly and meticulously. The couple typically renovated the house together, but it was Janne who usually found out about the available possibilities, for example surface materials or construction methods, and the couple then made their decisions together.

- J:** when it comes to talking perhaps it is, in the end that, compared to my wife, it's me who thinks more about these things. It may stem from my background, and that I am, I have a certain interest in design in general, so (pause) Often it's so that I prepare, I'm a bit like a public servant: I put forward proposals (laughs) that there is this kind of option and that kind of option, and say what each of them costs and what are the good points here and the bad points there, and then we discuss them. That's the most common way. But then, like we did with that painting, it was practically that the wife just said "I'm going to bring that painting here because it's mine", and that's that then.

HP: so it was your wife's turn to put forward a proposal

- J:** yeah. That's going to be put there, and she even said that "it's going to be hung there" (laughs). I was allowed to do the hanging. So (pause) sometimes it's that way. But about talking, as it no doubt usually is, we talk more than we act (laugh) so, in actual fact, we talk quite a lot about these kinds of things (Janne 05 612-629)

They often hired professionals to do the actual renovation work, but Janne had crafting skills and had done part of the work himself. The following anecdote about his sauna renovation is a good example of his DIY efforts:

- J:** He [a professional painter friend] came to see what they'd got done [in the sauna]. Uhhuh, there's no-one but you and the boat builders who still use these, exactly these nails.

HP: ahaa, okay

- J:** it actually reflects my attitude towards these things that, when you do it, you do it properly. So these all are measured with a plumb line so that the nails are in a straight line each one. The ceiling had to be done so that, the structure underneath was so weak, you had drill holes for the nails.

HP: okay yeah

J: it took some time. (Janne 04 454-462)

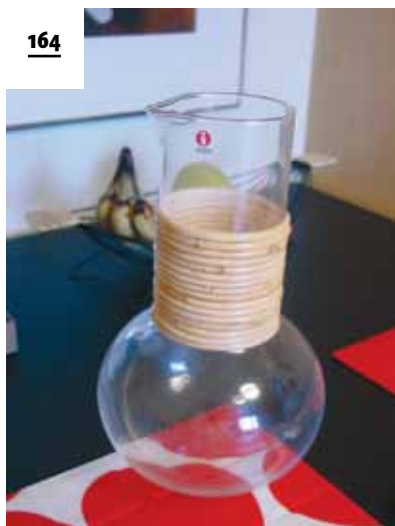
In 2004, they finished renovating the bathroom-sauna area and the adjacent fireplace room. At the time of my 2005 visit, the family had just finished completely renovating and re-designing the kitchen and the entrance floors, which, in my estimation, meant that roughly 30% of the renovation work in the house had been completed. Janne explained the comparative slowness of the project by saying that he did not have an infinite amount of time and money; he also said that his personality played a role: he wanted things to be done properly. That usually takes time but, on the other hand, the finished result usually also stands time.

Janne, in addition to his general appreciation of good craftsmanship, also said that he wanted to keep in line with the design from the era in which the house was built as much as possible. Consequently, he had invested lots of time and effort in order to be able to make decisions about how to renovate particular areas and the kinds of materials and methods that he should use. Janne said that,

J: If I had to be inspired by something, I'd look at magazines and books from the era when this house was built. In fact I have bought quite a lot of literature about 50's and 60's Modernism. So in a sense I want to make sure that if we make changes here, we are not going to mess it up, we wouldn't repair it in a way that would differ a lot from the solutions of the house's own era. (Janne 05 1039-1044)

He has also put considerable effort into locating the appropriate resources. Here is an example that he gave about the living room lamp (**P 163**):

J: the extraordinary thing about that lamp was that it said in Artek's catalogue that it can also be purchased with a ceiling mounting, like a kind of low installation. Because ordinarily it hangs off a wire. So I called them, that we'd like to have this ceiling mounting. And they were wondering that, well, we never delivered anything like that. They gave me the manufacturer's contact information and I called them and explained the situation, that there it is in Artek's catalogue, this lamp with a ceiling mounting, but they had never seen or sold one so what now? And they said, the manufacturer, that okay, since it's been promised, we'll do it. And they just worked out that collar there. Because this is so low, this room, it would have been a bit funny to mount that kind of hanging thing. (Janne 04 87-96)

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P 162–163. Janne's Artek table in the study; Artek lamp and comfort chairs in the living room

P 164. Modified carafe

As a consequence, though a social scientist by education and profession, Janne had done impressive amounts of research and was, by that point, a self-taught expert on 1940s–1960s Finnish design.

One aspect of researching the era's design was related to Janne's interest in 1940s–1960s lamps and other pieces of furniture. The family had quite an impressive collection of vintage pieces by Alvar Aalto, Ilmari Tapiovaara, Yki Nummi and Tapio Wirkkala (**P 162–163**). They had inherited most of them, but Janne had also occasionally bought interesting-looking designs from second-hand dealers; he had repaired or fixed those items that he could, or, as in the case of a Kaj Franck carafe with a rattan cover, he had hired others to repair the item (**P 164**).

J: I happened to see that bottle in Krunika [neighbourhood in central Helsinki, known for its (pop) antique stores], in one of these stores selling modern antiques. Originally it had had a kind of braid, that bottle, when they were in production. And (pause) they have broken

since then and there are just few of them left, the originals. That bottle cost an arm and a leg, around 200 euros. And then, yeah, I did do my grandmother a favour. She has these chairs with braiding, what's that, rattan braid. They were all in quite a shape so I took them to Vantaa [neighbouring city near Helsinki], there is this couple, the husband is 80 and the wife a bit younger. They still do rattan works. They repaired the chairs and I happened to ask, what would it cost if I took them that bottle for them to put a rattan braid around it. Well that would be 20 euros. And I thought that's quite a good deal (laughs). So that way in a sense I got an original, though that bottle is brand new of course. But the gentleman braided around it and varnished it and (laughs) there it is. It is not exactly like the original. In the original, the braiding went a bit higher. But that's neither here nor there. (Janne 05 354-369)

Janne told me that his solutions about how to repair something often aimed at "good enough" rather than at restoring the item to its original mint condition and appearance. I got the impression, though, that what is "good enough" for Janne is, however, rather exceptional on any ordinary scale.

- J:** this table is by Aalto. It is one of these stories: this is my grandmother's father's old study table. I don't know how it ended up with him, but it is rather old. It is probably 1930's Artek, that table. I got it (pause) It was with my grandmother's brother and when my grandmother's brother died, I got that table even though it was in quite bad shape. I was around 15 or 16 years old. I have repaired it myself. It is not a great job but it's okay. It was repaired so long ago that it already seems old. It's been repaired in -80 or -81, most likely. As time has passed, it's had locks installed, they don't belong to the original. And those handles weren't there, only holes, and I put
- HP:** did you check whether they are somehow in the style of the [original] handles?
- J:** well they are as much in the style as is possible. I could have hunted around more, of course. (Janne 04 19-31)

The vintage pieces, like the previously mentioned Artek table, received heavy, everyday use and the products were moved around according to the family's needs. Just as Janne was not adamant about the quality of the restoration, so too he did not feel the need to properly use and display every vintage item.

J: this Aalto chair, which was here earlier, as a study table chair, it is in constant use. It is in very constant use because we collect our laundry on it. So it that sense it is in use but not as seating. (Janne 05 493-496)

APPROPRIATING DESIGN WITH INVOLVED CARE

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A strong current in the renovations and interior design choices of Laura, Olavi and Janne was their desire to respect and take into account the building's architecture, style and history, or even the surrounding neighbourhood. Janne's renovation project took farthest the idea of proceeding in line with an apartment's style. His projects offered rewarding (and no doubt also frustrating) challenges, and dealing with the apartment's designs had become a hobby for him.

Hannele, Rea and Theo had also invested lots of time into their dwelling, but instead of aiming to link their interior decoration with local architecture or history, Hannele modified her home to reflect the current season and the decoration style that she was currently interested in. Rea modified her apartment according to the needs of their collection of art and design on the one hand and the requirements of entertainment on the other. Theo, too, had taken entertainment into account, but the strongest agent in his interior design was his vision of an apartment that reflected a past style while still being modern and highly functional. All the households in this group described their dwelling work as involving lots of variables, which they wanted to or felt compelled to take into account. Therefore, the contexts of their dwelling work were complex.

In general, we could say that Janne invested lots of his time, all of the time, into a complex context, while Laura invested lots of time and probably still continues to do so, but with less effort because the basic renovation and furniture had by that point been finished. Laura's context — or the manner in which they approached tasks, in other words, appropriated design — was complex because both Laura and her architect husband were interested in matching the design details with the apartment's architectural style and their own appreciation of modernist style. Much the same can be said about Olavi: his decision making involved a complicated set of things that he wanted to take into account and he invested lots of time, all of the time, into design, although in general he seemed to aim at project results that did not need fixing or alteration once accomplished.

Olavi, Laura, Janne, Hannele, Rea and Theo were all investing lots of time into the dwelling work, similarly as the households who appropriated design with “autonomous ease”; but, whereas those households that appropriated design with autonomous ease can be said to have been consulting with their inner visions of what constituted pleasing design, Olavi, Laura, Janne, Hannele, Rea and Theo were taking their design cues mostly from outside themselves. Following those cues, in turn, made their projects complex because lots of interrelated aspects needed to be taken into account and taken care of in order to reach the envisioned match between the interior’s details and the guiding vision.

SUMMARY

One of the original motivators for developing the moral economy of the household framework was to point out how households are important ingredients in how public economy and the markets work, even if their role had been downplayed as that of economic units (Silverstone 2005 1). But the framework remains quite vague about what actually takes place in the household vis-à-vis appropriation. It is difficult not to depict the market as consisting of networked moral economies that act much like nodes on a conveyer belt. At one point, stuff pours in. Then, the moral economy processes it and at some point lets the stuff back out, to be again taken up by other moral economies. This chapter discussed what goes on in the moral economies as they process the stuff. It was shown that the processing is not as automatic and efficient as the machine analogy would lead us to believe.

I interpreted the different appropriation styles as

- Supervised ease (simple context, little time) (1 household),
- Autonomous ease (Simple context, lots of time) (5 households),
- Confused care (Complex context, little time) (5 households), and
- Involved care (Complex context, lots of time) (6 households).

The interpretation is based on a two-fold analysis of the data: first, the household's subjective sense of whether their context of actions and, consequently, appropriation of design is simple or complicated. The interpretation is based on the recognition that the interviewees were making their dwelling decisions with ease or with great care, on the one hand, and that, on the other, the easiness or care was flavoured by autonomy (the decisions are quite independent of anything outside one's own aesthetic ideals), supervision (certain authors are consulted), confusion (a person does not know or does not make decisions) and involvement (the decisions are based on a person's own taste, but that particular person wants the dwelling to still be connected with some

broader context, such as a certain recognisable style). The second part of the analysis had to do with the household's account (interpreted through interviews and photographs) of how much time they were investing in their dwelling conditions through renovation projects, tuning or, for example, researching new possibilities and options.

This analysis is sensitised to see differences where, on the surface, the households appear similar and similarities where one would not assume to find them. One would not think that the design-intensive dwelling activities of, for example, the Ylinen family, Asta, Kalle & Emma, Anniina and Tiina (who all appropriate design with autonomous ease) would have much in common, while it would be easy to assume that the designers in our sample would share similar kinds of approaches, for example that they would be awfully meticulous with their interior decorations; however, such an assumption does not hold true, not even in my small sample. Dwelling with design is not a very straightforward enterprise.

It was not self-evident that the interpretation would emphasise a household's style of appropriation as the point of departure, or that the interpretation would draw from a household's account of its context complexity and use of time instead of, for example, demographics like social class or gender. Social class plays an important role in research on taste, linking it with appropriation (Halle 1993; Lamont 1994; Gartman 2000; Woodward 2003; Sun Lim 2006; Aarsand & Aronsson 2009), and gender is a point of view often used in domestication studies and, more generally, in research on the home and domesticity (Cockburn & Fürst Dilić 1994; Saarikangas 2002; Chapman 2004; Pink 2004; Corneliusen 2005; Peteri 2006; Casey & Martens 2007; Boberg 2008). However, Mirja Liikkanen points out that, Finnish social classes are remarkably similar in their judgements about taste (Liikkanen 2009 198), and Joanne Hollows makes the same point about classes in general (Hollows 2008 81). Liikkanen also points out that gender is a better explanation for Finnish preferences when it comes to cultural institutions such as theatre, concerts or art exhibitions. While, for example, literature is widely appreciated throughout Finland, women tend to appreciate it the most. On the other hand, men tend to favour sports and, in general, have less interest in cultural institutions (Liikkanen 2009 174-175). Design aspirations were not studied among the aforementioned cultural institutions, but it is safe to assume that gender and social class no doubt play important roles in how the interviewees dwell with design. However, I decided in this work to focus on households as units of analysis and work based on notions about time investment and the complexity of context because my data most fruitfully seemed to be about the investments and management of the appropriation process.

I do not claim that my interpretation accurately characterises any one household in the sample – I may have interpreted that someone was appropriating something with “involved care”, while they were actually managing their dwelling with “autonomous ease”, for example. However, I do believe these four thematizations sufficiently cover the basic styles of appropriating designed products. Certainly these descriptions can be more detailed, but already they should provide a good starting point when examining dwelling with design further. To summarise, those who are (for example, due to education) interested and involved with design often invest in dwelling with design, but the link is not automatic and does not hold true with everyone, everywhere. While the notion is far from startling, it serves as a starting point for exploring in more detail the practices involved in dwelling in order to deepen our understanding of what it is to dwell with design, which I will discuss in the next chapter.



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STORING DESIGN



INTRODUCTION

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Figure 8. Home size and visible products

Although a home is not just a container for stuff, it *is* a container nonetheless. People have lots of products in their homes. To get a rough idea of the sample, I counted the visible products in the photographs after the first round of interviews in 2004 and then calculated an average based on a very rough estimation of each apartment’s size. The resulting amounts are small because, for example, I did not count books, only the bookcase, as one item, and a set of curtains as just one item, focusing on the kinds of “functional designed products” that came up in the interviews. The results are presented in **Figure 8**.

Occupation (design/no design)	Household	Apartment size, roughly	Products in photographs	Products/m2
design	Liisa	35m2 (1 room)	40	1.14
design	Anniina	35m2 (1 room)	46	1.31
no	Tiina	35m2 (1 room)	46	1.31
no	Ilmari	35m2 (1 room)	59	1.69
design	Sakari & Elisa	50m2 (2 rooms)	44	0.88
design	Kalle & Emma	50m2 (2 rooms)	94	1.88
design	Mervi	50m2 (2 rooms)	101	2.02
design	Laura	100m2 (3+ rooms)	77	0.77
no	Janne	100m2 (3+ rooms)	94	0.94
no	Hannele	100m2 (3+ rooms)	124	1.24
no	Olavi	150m2 (5+ rooms)	55	0.37
no	Theo	150m2 (5+ rooms)	62	0.41
no	Sanna & Kalevi	150m2 (5+ rooms)	80	0.53
no	Rea	300m2 (9+ rooms)	73	0.24
		sum: 1340	sum: 995	
		mean: 96	mean: 71	mean: 0.74

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P 165. Anniina's shelf

I counted 995 products in the photographs, 71 products per apartment on average. Of these, Hannele, Mervi, Kalle & Emma, and Janne had more than 90 products in the photographs, while Liisa, Sakari & Elisa, Anniina and Tiina had less than 50. Based on these approximations, Mervi and Kalle & Emma had around two items per square metre, whereas Rea had four square metres per each item, with average room for the products being a bit less than one designed item per square metre.

Perhaps a bit surprisingly, whether the product was on display and being used or hidden and not being used turned out to not be a very useful point, because it did not seem that there was much consistency in what was hidden or displayed, being used or not being used: after a couple of interviews, I had no reason to assume that, for example, a product “objectified” in a central physical position in the home would be equally central to the household’s moral economy. Anniina’s bookcase illustrates this point (P 165).

The bookcase covered the whole wall in their one-room apartment, so, based on its positioning, it certainly was a central piece dominating the whole space. And it was central to Anniina as well, because she stored her clothes in it and her clothes were one of her favourite items. On the other hand, however, the bookcase contained the rare annoying items that she possessed (a laptop is stored above the LP records):

- A:** I don’t have any kind of relationship with any television or stereos or the computer. I think they’re, like, as long at they work and then, well, of course it’d be nice if they looked nice, but they rarely do, ones at a reasonable price, look nice. So when I bought a laptop, so it is incredibly ugly and thick, but, as long as it works, that’s fine. (Anniina 04 365–369)

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P 166–167. Janne's Wirkkala wooden bowl in 2004 and anonymous wooden bowl in 2005

P 206–207. Janne's two pots

Janne provides the opposite example. In 2004, he mentioned that a wooden bowl by Tapio Wirkkala was one of his few favourite designs. But in 2005, the bowl had been put away and then forgotten. In its place, in the centre of the living room table was an item that Janne found far less pleasing (**P 166–167**):

- J:** that “leaf” bowl by Wirkkala is (pause) What happened to it? I think that we were on the road and we hid it. Just in case that (laughs) someone happens to come in and inventory our stuff (laughs) so we put it in hiding.
- HP:** and you can't find it anymore?
- J:** I know where it is but it just has stayed
- HP:** (laughs) okay
- J:** I didn't even remember it until I saw it [in the photograph].
- HP:** there's another one now in its place
- J:** yes, there's a carpenter's workshop, which does those kinds of gift items. We got it somehow as some sort of gift (pause) for my wife, that is.
- HP:** but your forehead is wrinkling? (pause)
- J:** well (pause) no, I don't (pause) it's quite, it's quite, like, it's quite nice, but it is a bit of a lump (Janne 05 263-276)

A bit later Janne outlined what had happened to their two pots (**P 206–207**):

- J:** The Nurmesniemi pot has rather shifted into less frequent use. It's because, I mean, it wasn't a conscious decision, thinking that "that item has been there long enough now, it's time for something else in its place". It just isn't that kind of (pause) In relation to this renovation, it [the pot] moved into some box and then when we got the kitchen up and running, for some reason this it was clear pot that remained. And the situation hasn't changed. The way it often goes, that a person doesn't care to think all the time about all the possible issues (laughs) And most issues just fade into the background and are forgotten.
(Janne 05 480–487)

After having heard and read several similar kinds of stories that things just happen to be this or that way, without conscious, overall planning or complete control over the result, I became interested in looking more closely at these stories and realised that the stories were mostly about a mature integration of the design within the households. The people in the study were not talking about new items entering the home, but instead they were talking about what it was like to live with things that had been in their possession for a long time, sometimes for years or even decades. Nevertheless, the items had not become stable, near invisible fragments of self-evident daily routines. I started to wonder whether appropriating design should be understood differently than how the existing domestication literature defines the domestication of technologies and media. According to it, technology and media objects become integrated into a household's temporal and spatial organisation (Silverstone 2006 234–235); but the framework emphasises the domestication of new objects. For example, Roger Silverstone writes that,

Objectification and incorporation are the strategies, or maybe, if one is to be true to de Certeau, the tactics, of domestication. Objectification and incorporation involve placing and timing. The complexities and instabilities of domestic life, both well established and essentially fragile, move to meet the new arrival. (ibid. 234)

This is understandable because the studies on domestication are most often about technologies and researchers have found that a perfectly domesticated product becomes invisible – that is, it has become so familiar that one does not pay attention to it:

The [domesticated] technologies are not regarded as cold, lifeless, problematic and challenging consumer goods at the root of family arguments and/or work-related stress, but as comfortable, useful tools – functional and /or symbolic – that are reliable and trustworthy. [...] They have all lost their magic and have become part of the routine. (Berker et al. 2006 3)

Virve Peteri shares a similar finding (Peteri 2006). She studied the domestication of technologies and the respective moral geographies of homes in Finland and found that the interviewees talked about new technologies through the problems related to the product. The older, domesticated products were, for example, just “plain phones”, without much need for further explanation (ibid. 359).

Domesticated design is different. The interviewees talked about designs that had a long history in the household, and some products managed to bring the people constant joy, even though they at the same time were a part of their everyday routines. Some other designs, sometimes those that received heavy daily use, were explicitly hated. Therefore, I wanted to go deeper into the ways in which design is integrated into the household’s moral economy. I wanted to understand better how people live with design on a daily basis and what it looks like once it has been integrated within the spatial and temporal organisation of the home.

Mapping the product placement in an apartment’s layout or studying the timetables of product use did not help. As the examples of Anniina’s bookcase and Janne’s bowls show, a particular design’s placement and its frequency of use, whether it is in constant use and on display or hidden away in a cupboard, do not indicate its role in the household. My analysis proceeded only after I realised that – in my perhaps too orthodox reading of it – the literature emphasises the active and conscious integration of products and downplays passivity and randomness. For example, Roger Silverstone writes that households as economic and cultural units,

[...] can define for themselves a private and a public moral, emotional, evaluative and aesthetic environment – a way of life – which they depend on for their survival and security as much as they do on their material resources. (Silverstone 1994 49)

In a similar vein, Alison J. Clarke writes that,

The house objectifies the vision the occupants have of themselves in the eyes of others and as such it becomes an entity and process to live up to, give time

to, show off to. As against actual observers it is an interiorized image of the other that can actually be worked on and fed into the aspirations and labour of the occupants. (Clarke 2001 42)

When read literally, these accounts about home imply that the evolution of home takes place through the conscious and careful adoption and rejection of material and immaterial objects – after all, it is the home’s identity that is at stake. Especially in the early writings, the seriousness of domestication is emphasised:

At stake is the capacity of the household or the family to create and sustain its autonomy and identity [...] as an economic, social and cultural unit. [...] The household engages in a process of value creation in its various daily practices: practices that are firmly grounded in, but also constitutive of, its position in space and time and which provide the bases for the achievement of what Anthony Giddens defines as ‘ontological security’ [...] At stake too [...] is the family/household’s ability to display, both to itself and to others, through the objectification of those practices, its competence and its status as a participant in a complex public economy. (Silverstone et al. 1992 19)

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I do not have a quarrel with the idea that households have distinct identities – the households in this study all had their own styles and thought about design in their own ways – but I think it would be misleading to maintain that their identities were constructions that could be read from their possessions. If we allow that not everything in a home is part of a household’s identity, it becomes a lot easier to explain the very common situation that people store, use and display designed products that they do not like or care about. It seems to me that, rather than being fragile, household identities are so robust that they can withstand inconsistencies and randomness in the home’s “moral, emotional, evaluative and aesthetic environment” far more readily than what the existing literature easily leads one to believe. At least, it is seldom the wrong design that puts a household’s identity at stake.

In this chapter, I will describe the designs stored in the households by making use of just three broad categories: great designs, to-do designs and distant designs. The categorisation is based on the notion that designs have a real role in the daily life of a household, but that, at the same time, the designs are not necessarily parts of a household’s identity, its sense of self.

GREAT DESIGNS

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The first group of products, great designs, is fairly easy to understand because design is often regarded as great. For instance, Google returns no less than 9 380 000 results for the query “great design”. These are the products that interviewees introduced as delightful to have and use on daily basis or on special occasions. Some of the products were mentioned as examples of those things that the interviewee defined, when asked, as their favourite products.

In the sample of product biographies, great designs were mentioned repeatedly, including a very good, comfortable and robust bed and the bedding, which are easy to take care of (**P 168**).

H: this [bed] we acquired in the first years of our marriage, it must have been something like between -76 and -80. At the time the beds by Dux were really terribly good and they were praised and actually, maybe it was the first bed where they talked about this comfort and that it is good for your back; before that everybody slept on foam mattresses on a hard base. So it represented a new kind of thinking in beds. And this design was another thing here which made us settle on this. It may have been a bit inconvenient because it is just one mattress so it is terribly heavy. But for some strange reason this has lasted all these years and we still think it is terribly comfortable and I'm sure (pause). You see, all these waterbed phases and then, today, these, how do you call them, that you can get your bed to any-which angle you might want and watch television, they have never interested me, I have always stayed here, faithfully. And last summer we acquired a sprung mattresses for the summer house as well, but just to fit the old wooden frame that we have there. So, in a mattress, comfort is the

168**169****170****P 168.** Hannele's bed**P 169.** Hannele's set of dishes**P 170.** Anniina's phone**161**

most important thing and the bed itself should be as simple as possible, and the bedspread must be conveniently machine washable and it doesn't need to be that fancy. I've got a few which I change. And I'm sure we'll have this one right into the grave. So the bed has not needed to be changed since we acquired this. So in that sense it was quite a nice thing. (Hannele o4 243-260)

Hannele also mentioned a complete (and complicated) set of tableware, which she only used during celebrations (**P 169**).

H: this set of tableware we inherited from my husband's home, and it has been in quite heavy use. Although not in everyday use, but still always when it's Christmas Eve or a birthday celebration or anniversaries, then I always set the table with it, and actually it is the only with lots of parts but otherwise I mix these new and old dishes a lot when I set the table. (Hannele o4 268-272)

Anniina talked about a nice-looking and heavily used cellular phone, which was central to the daily management of her professional and personal living (**P 170**).

A: I refused to buy a new phone even though my old phone was broken because there weren't any nice looking phones on the market. Because with a phone you always have it in your hand, so it was somehow important that I want a fine phone. So there wasn't one on the market so I said, okay, then I don't need a phone. I'll manage with this broken one, it worked just enough. But then people started to get really annoyed, I (laughs) couldn't be reached and calls got interrupted all the time and couldn't be heard so then (pause) I got this as a present (laughs) I had in fact spotted it somehow, it had just been introduced to market, I thought it was really fancy. But this is just another Nokia design (pause) For a Nokia phone (pause), or for a phone in general (pause) it's the only electronic thing that is important to me. (Anniina 04 371-380)

Mervi had just bought custom keys with printed patterns **(P 171)**.

M: I think this is an absolutely awesome product. I acquired two last week but I haven't done anything to this one because I thought I'll give it to my friend as a gift. I went to a shoemaker to get a bag repaired and I saw this and I was like why haven't I met these kinds of keys in my life before, these are awesome. I wanted all my keys with these different patterns right away. (Mervi 04 158-162)

Rea talked about an airy basket that let fruits and vegetables breathe **(P 172)**.

R: And that kind of basket, I have had it with me for years this fruit basket. If only people would realise that it is important that fruit gets enough air (Rea 04 266-268)

Laura talked about kitchen bowls in different sizes and colours that have withstood use and time without turning ugly **(P 173)**.

L: this series is one which definitely needs to be presented. These are Margrethe bowls. Are you familiar with them?

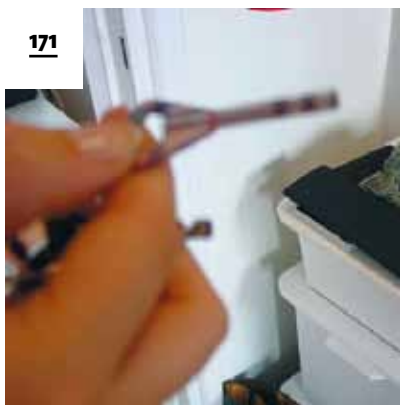
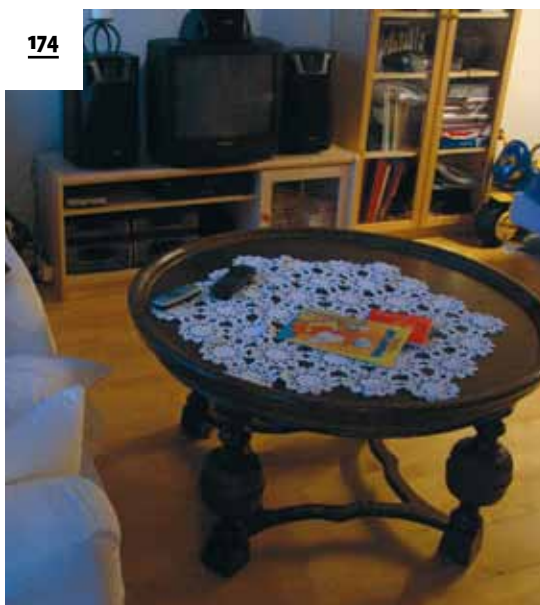
HP: No

L: these are designed by Sigvard Bernadotte and I don't remember what year [1950]. Margrethe the Queen of Denmark has one in silver (laughs). This is melamine or something like that, and these are manufactured by a Danish company called Rosti. And there are loads of

colours and sizes. And this is simply an incredibly good design, since it's got this rubber so when you whip something, it stays perfectly still on the table. And then this [one of the bowls] I bought last Spring on a trip to Denmark because they had made a stainless steel version, the same series, so this is brand new for them. So (pause) But even this one has been used quite a lot. But I think these are just incredibly fine objects. (Laura 04 458-472)

Jari mentioned a robust, slightly broken table, where he found it convenient to store snacks and remote controls (**P 174**).

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P 171. Mervi's key

P 172. Rea's basket

P 173. Laura's bowls

P 174. Jari's table

- J:** well that [dark round table in the living room] is, it is, well, it, too, is defective because the kids broke its glass, it should have a glass, it's called a ship's table. It is an awfully heavy and bulky table, and so that, for example, is from my parents, something I brought with me. It's been mine, so it's the only thing that I brought that way, because these are just such that when a dog comes in in the evening, and starts, out of boredom, to gnaw on some corner of a leg so then it bothers me (laughs) but they have never touched it, neither of the dogs.
- HP:** so why have you brought this with you? Do you have a maritime hobby?
- J:** no no, it is just that it's practical. It's nice to have it there, I like it. It's just practi (pause) it is nice to keep stuff in (laughs) and put down remote controls and in the evening to put a snack on it for instance, so it's just for convenience.
- HP:** and it has worked well?
- J:** oh yes! The only thing is, that there's this [space] between sofas, so whoever pulls it close will get all the stuff next to them (laughs) (Jari 07 199-212)

Janne talked about a slightly broken, self-repaired lamp, which did not give much light (**P 175**).

- J:** [the lamp] was a little broken, it had come loose here (pause). I had it soldered in a shop somewhere, of course it got a bit darkened that way, not in a very pleasant way. Then, at some point I took apart and cleaned and painted this base. So if we talk about favourite objects, this one is now definitely my number one item.
- HP:** can you turn the light on?
- J:** sure. It doesn't give much light though (laughs)
- HP:** it's a fine lamp
- J:** I think it is very fine. (Janne 04 120-128)

Tiina talked about a comfortable and robust sofa, which was part of a module system, so the set could be expanded with matching pieces (**P 176**).

- T:** and the sofa is fantastic (laughs). It's domestic [Finnish-made], even. We were browsing around [stores] just this Saturday, in Vepsäläinen [quite expensive furniture store] and they still have that same sofa (pause) it's by HT-collection and there are [modules of] different

sizes; there are 2-seaters, comfort chairs and footstools and so forth (pause) so in that sense it is rather nice that you can expand it. (Tiina 04 126-129)

Asta talked about a robust and reliable aluminium boat that was easy to drive and to take care of (**P 177**).

- A:** I have, with my girlfriend, an aluminum boat called Yrjö which we use for packing the dogs into and then driving somewhere out for an outing. You just take it, it's a snap and drive. Aluminum boat, Silver, it's black and they aren't cheap, they're expensive as hell, but in its functional properties it is awesome and easy to care for. There isn't, you never have to wash it, you coat the bottom with toxic stuff for when it's in the water and after that you just drive it somewhere and if you dent it, it doesn't matter at all, provided you don't dent the motor. But that aluminum, it's wonderful, it's just wonderful. Like some people talk about their motorcycles like their machines of freedom, this is my machine of freedom, going out on this thing fast as anything (Asta 07 720-729)

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P 175. Janne's lamp

P 176. Tiina's sofa

P 177. Silver boat. Photo: Terhitech oy

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P 178. Anniina's shoes

P 179. Theo's candle holder

P 180. Olavi's lantern

P 181. Ilmari's soldering iron

P 182. Laura's tea pot

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Anniina talked about a much sought after and finally found heavily used pair of shoes, in perfectly coloured genuine leather (**P 178**).

A: these are already in slightly bad shape because I have worn them such an awful lot. Rizzo's shoes [Rizzo is an expensive shoe store close to Anniina's workplace], absolutely awesome. I have been looking for several years for neon-coloured shoes, ones that (pause) one's that aren't cheap, no plastic but rather genuine leather, the kind that looks wonderful. And then I found them. I was wearing those all the time until the hot weather started. And they look like it, too. (Anniina o4 218-222)

Theo mentioned a nice, carefully guarded candle holder that did not have much value (**P 179**).

- T:** this has been protected like nothing, so it's like (pause) For some reason this belongs to a series of items which you just absolutely would not want to break. But on the other hand it (pause) it's not necessarily even valuable and it doesn't necessarily have any emotional value but it just is something you want to stay intact. It's quite nice. (Theo 05 242-246)

Olavi mentioned an oil lantern that gave off a soft light over the dinner table **(P 180)**.

- O:** this object [a lantern] I like quite a lot because it creates such a soft light, for example in the evening it is rather nice. An oil lamp.
- HP:** it's been used?
- O:** yes, it has. And often, too, always when we've had something, had friends visit or come to dine, it's been nice to use that, and no other lights. (Olavi 05 309-314)

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Ilmari talked about a soldering iron that was better than what the engineers at Nokia used to have **(P 181)**.

- I:** so this is a good electronics soldering iron. I bought this myself at some point. I worked as a student, I built a synthesizer and tinkered myself with electronics at the time, and then I was at Nokia as a summer intern and I worked there with a soldering iron and they had good soldering irons. Nearly as good as this. And then I bought this myself at a time when I was working with those things. (Ilmari 04 552-556)

As her first example of designed product, Laura presented a much used, too-small tea pot with an excellent design **(P 182)**.

- HP:** What, in your opinion, would be a designed product for functional use, what products might you want to introduce to me?
- L:** like a single object?
- HP:** yeah. And preferably several actually
- L:** well over here is at least one, a tea pot [Tonfisk] that we use a lot.
- HP:** it's been good in use?
- L:** yes, I think this is really good. The only downside is that it's really small. So if there are several who take tea, then it's a bit (pause) it

doesn't make many cups. But it has got an awfully good pour. The spout and the rest, so in my opinion it is an awfully well designed product. And it looks nice too. So that's one that has been in a lot of use. (Laura 04 42-50)

Some of the products in this section crystallised what was outlined as being an excellent design: the thing was easy to use, reliable and aesthetically pleasing, sometimes even repairable. Yet the overall excellence of design does not hold true with all the products. Kalle & Emma's white television is an illustrative example: it was a product that in 2004 was in the corner of their kitchen, and in 2005 it was on top of a cupboard in the living room, opposite the television that they were actually using (**P 183-184**). The white television had not been working properly for a long time. It was practically broken, but, according to Kalle, had lots of "vibes value" (*fiilisarvo*), which is why they kept it on display in the apartment.

- K:** it's a bit like, that the vibes value of objects, like, for example that white TV, which has great vibes value, but it's not in use. In fact it's bit broken, or, the image is bad. So it is a completely useless object in that sense but, it's also that it has got a powerful vibes value. (Kalle & Emma 05 514-517)

To give more examples, Theo mentioned how his Zippo lighter was terrible to use, Janne's favourite lamps did not give much light, Jari was not even thinking of repairing the living room table and Laura was happy with her too-small tea pot. In addition to these flaws, there were other things about the products that the interviewees found to be valuable: the Tonfisk's nice appearance and usability, the Zippo's reliability in all types of weather, the usability of the table and the "vibes value" of Janne's lamps and Kalle & Emma's television. The value of these products was often a mystery to the owners of the products as well:

- J:** something small that one has been able to acquire. Primarily lamps, yes. I don't know what it is in them that so fascinates me (laughs) but (pause) but the lamps are in any case what most enthralls me, of these interior decoration items. (Janne 04 152-156)

To summarise, using the products in this category gave pleasure to the persons of the household during the course of their daily lives and the products can be seen as having been well-integrated because they were constantly used or at

least fondly talked about. The product did not have to have a design pedigree or a long history in the household. Hannele's description of her recently bought television is a good example of how a brand-new, mass-produced product had already become an important part of household's daily activities (**P 185**):

H: this television is this new acquisition and an invention that I am really incredibly happy with, because here in the kitchen after all (pause) we spend lots of time and you're cooking and reading magazines and so you turn this on, so it's been terribly good purchase. (Hannele 04 141-143)

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P 183–184. Kalle & Emma's television in 2004 and 2005

P 185. Hannele's new television

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TO-DO DESIGNS

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To-do designs are, quite simply, products that were on the household's to-do list. Common to these products was that no one in the household expected to have any use for the product as long as the product or the apartment (or both) were in their present condition. In the sample, these kinds of to-do designs included, for example, a pair of unpractical but fabulous-looking chairs waiting for a dining table to materialise (**P 186**).

T: well these chairs haven't yet found their places really. The thing is, we should get that dining table in here. I have two of them, the other one is upstairs, as an extra chair. They are not terribly practical as chairs but of course they are gorgeous looking objects. In a sense it is a pity just put them in some corner, half-hidden away. (Tiina 05 169-173)

P 186. Tiina's chair

P 187. Hannele's dress

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Other examples are a vintage dress, still waiting for the occasion when it would be used **(P 187)**.

- H:** hm, do I have a special piece of clothing (pause) I do renew them, yes. I always destroy the old ones and I have nothing left over. (pause)
Well I do have one dress which I have kept, this one, that was acquired then, when did, when was it (pause) it was around 75 or 76 or something like that. This is a Marimekko. And I have been thinking that some day I will use it but I never have. (Hannele 04 383-389)

An American landline telephone in need of getting fixed so that it would conform to European standards **(P 188)**.

- I:** I needed a phone for California and I bought a phone. It doesn't work in Finland, this American-style phone, but I needed a telephone handset and I brought it back because I thought that surely I can make it work in Finland, since I don't want to throw it away. It's a good phone (laughs)
HP: but you couldn't make it work here?
I: I haven't even tried, I haven't needed to, because I have a phone there [upstairs]. Here [downstairs] I don't have a phone at all at the moment. But it's intact and nearly unused, it even has the stickers on it. It would be somehow indecent to throw it away as rubbish. (Ilmari 04 508-515)

A Milanese wooden bowl of excellent craftsmanship that was looking for its rightful place **(P 189)**.

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P 188. Ilmari's phone

P 189. Olavi's bowl

- O:** this wooden one is, I bought it in Milan at some point. And then I admired this woodwork, how perfect it is and so forth, but now it's bit of a dust collector. But once it's found its right place, then it's nice. But it doesn't have a function. (Olavi 04 120-123)

An uncomfortable camping chair, waiting for its new location or owner **(P 190)**.

- HP:** then here's this sort of camping or safari chair.
- O:** yes. That's the same thing, I should get rid of it. That's to say, I don't think it's very nice. It's a Phillippe Starck chair, which I bought by accident in some sale, and I'm thinking whether I should throw it away or what I should do with it. It's not even comfortable to sit in. (Olavi 05 290-297)

A temporary lamp, waiting for its future location **(P 191)**.

- HP:** what's this, is it a lamp?
- O:** yes but it is here just temporarily. It came from a flat where the tenants changed, so I brought it here for a little while to keep it safe and I still need to come up with some place for it. (Olavi 05 315-318)

A set of Kilta dishes, waiting for somebody to check the boxes that they had been packed in, and then waiting to be sold to someone else **(P 192)**.

- H:** you have to consider terribly carefully what you really want; so it's not like, yeah, bring it along but then that it's no good after all. And it's not an impossible idea to sell something that even our children don't care for at all. Like those Kaj Franck bowls, like that one [in the photo] that appears to be a Kaj Franck bowl and (pause) I must have it packed away somewhere, I don't even know precisely where it is, I haven't bothered to take them out since they were put away. (Hannele 05 238-244)

Another example of to-do design is a practical comfort chair with a funny colour, waiting to be upholstered **(P 193)**.

- L:** well that colour is one that you'd not (pause) but the eye got accustomed to it, so that I actually like the colour now. When you think

190**191****192****193****P 190.** Olavi's chair**P 191.** Olavi's lamp**P 192.** Hannele's dishes**P 193.** Liisa's chair**P 194.** Kalle's radio**194**

about it on its own, it is quite fun, but not necessarily a beautifying element in my flat.

HP: you're going to upholster it? In what colour?

L: some dark or gray or blue. Because it's not a suitable colour, good or nice. But practical needs won out. I simply had use for a chair. At the time I just hoarded stuff in my flat. I thought that I can throw it away when I can buy something else in its place. But there it is. (Liisa 04 237-247)

And a fine pop-antique radio saved from becoming trash, waiting for a change of ownership or the acquisition of a summer house, where someone would find it great to listen to (**P 194**).

- K:** But that [burgundy-coloured radio] is there on the shelf, but that is, too (pause) because I think it is a fine object and that's why I bought it. I buy either because it's a fine object, one you should buy now, so that it won't end up as rubbish or something, but now I have started a little bit like, like it's stupid, it just sits there on the shelf so it might as well be used, or if someone needs a radio, then, like, might as well give it away. So I have learned a bit to give up this stuff. But that [radio] is practically speaking, waiting in case there might come a time to get, let's say a summer house, that would be the world's coolest radio to have there. (Kalle & Emma 05 243-249)

A scratched antique cupboard, waiting to be repaired or disposed of (**P195**).

- HP:** how precisely you know where the furniture will be positioned? For example, will all your furniture fit in here?
- T:** yes it will. Yes. There is in fact still some room upstairs. So yes. Of course some, like that chest, I'm not sure if it will ever find a place. It's scratched. I don't know if I can work up the energy to fix it. (Theo 04 185-190)

And six broken record players, waiting to be repaired (**P196**).

- K:** just now I was looking at that record player. It's so telling that I own six record players, none of which work. It's like, this [player] is being repaired, in principle, but in theory it works. This operates on batteries. There's just a cover and (pause) at some point I specialised in these ones that operate on batteries. They just need, like, a bit of fixing. (Kalle & Emma 04 430-435)

To-do designs are products that have no current use in the household. They are not going to be used in their present condition, if at all. The interviewees were storing them in the apartment because the products had at least some potential: they were expected to become useful in the future as a result of the product being fixed, the apartment's interior decoration being changed or a change in ownership.

In the list of examples from the product biographies, Liisa's comfort chair, Ilmari's landline phone, Kalle's record player and Theo's cupboard were all waiting to be repaired; Hannele's Kilta dishes were waiting for future owners, whereas Tiina's chair and Olavi's lamp and bowl were waiting to be placed in

the right spot, once the right spot emerged either through interior decorating choices or a change of ownership. To summarise, the products in this category were waiting for a future in what one might call an optimistic flavour. That is, they were waiting for something to occur, which would turn their potential integration into an actual form of integration within the household's temporal and spatial organisation.

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P 195. Theo's cupboard

P 196. Kalle's record
player

DISTANT DESIGNS

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This section discusses those designs that the interviewees actively found displeasing; they clearly wanted to create a distance between their taste and the product – hence, the name “distant designs”. What makes this category of products interesting to study is that sometimes the products were used frequently, even daily. A selection of photographs of such products from the sample illustrates the diversity of these kinds of designs (**P 197–203**).

In the sample, there were some products that the interviewees explicitly disliked, even hated. They had indeed gotten rid of most of these really displeasing products, but still there were those that they were still using, displaying or at least storing in the apartment.

In 2005, Hannele described her delight that a Marcel vase had broken when a bookcase had collapsed in the kitchen.

H: The big Marcel vase by Sarpaneva broke, but I did not mourn it at all.
(Hannele 05 69-70)

Later, she elaborated:

H: There is [in the photographs taken in 2004] one Aalto vase, that one. That was acquired nearly 20 years ago. These days it wouldn't occur to me to buy an Aalto vase.

HP: but you haven't gotten rid of it, it has its use.

H: noooo. It's like a vase amongst other vases. And besides, they get dented when you wash the dishes and (pause) I don't mourn that either. It does not matter. But if this [plate by Birger Kaipiainen] were to break, then I would be a little, like (pause) oh no, so I try to guard that, since I know that it is a bit more valuable. But that Marcel vase, I

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P 197. Marcel vase.
Photo: Iittala

P 198. Laura's
decorated egg

P 199. Ilmari's fire
blanket

P 200. Lundia
bookshelf. Photo:
Lundia

P 201. Sanna & Kalevi's
television

P 202. Olavi's faucet

P 203. Sanna & Kalevi's
fluorescent lamp

was almost happy that it got broken, like, huh, got rid of it (laughs). I didn't need to break it myself. (Hannele 05 543-551)

Hannele also told how she disliked the Lundia bookshelf in their study. In our interview in 2004, Laura gave an example of a product she disliked: a decorated egg that she was storing in a cupboard.

HP: in general, when you have been given presents, have you received anything truly unpleasant?

L: aaa (pause) yes we have. We have (laughs). We have, in fact this really cordial godmother, who paints porcelain as a hobby and her latest gift is this [painted egg]. And this is somehow, it was put there rather like, in order to be forgotten (laughs). And this is, like, so horrible. Because it is just the sort of decorative item. This stand and all. (Laura 04 406-412)

In 2005 they had thrown the egg away.

Ilmari, who in general was indifferent to and mildly amused by the assorted set of products that he stored in his one-room apartment, commented on a fire blanket on the wall with particular vehemence.

I: there's all sorts of stuff, with which I refuse to have any kind of relationship. For instance, I paused to look, for example at what the previous tenant has left, that red fire blanket over there and my reaction to it is that I won't even touch it, (laughs) impossible. It has a functional design of course, in that it has been put in a place where it's visible, that it's red. And then there is that idea that it is somewhere near the door, ready, but then when you think that people hang those on their walls (laughs). (Ilmari 04 53-58)

Equally hostile was Sanna when she described her attitude towards their technologies, particularly their computers, television and the fluorescent lamps left by the previous owner. Here, she was talking about the television:

S: that television is far from new. We had an argument because, Kalevi had bought it when, roughly a year before we met, and I had never had a television, and then we moved [into their previous flat] and there was so little space that I thought that that lump was something that even Kalevi was not so excited about, so I thought why had he acquired it. But when he watches movies, which he doesn't do even

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P 204. Janne's sofa

now, so [there's] this kind of home movie system. I was, like, yuck, but now it's there and I enjoy it an awful lot just that it's there, out of sight. On no account would I want, anywhere we spend time, for there to be a television. And then I have enjoyed it a lot that it hasn't been turned on, or, I don't know what Kalevi has been doing, whether he turns it on sometimes (laughs) when we have already gone to bed, still, I guess for a month and a half, the television hasn't been switched on. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 129-146)

As an example of milder annoyance, Janne guessed that, should they have more resources, their well-worn Ikea sofa in the living room would be the first thing to go (**P 204**).

- J:** there's been an accumulation of all kinds of stuff here, and you could have less stuff. Like for instance, that Ikea sofa, which the cats have scratched, which I in a sense think of as a design product even though it's cheaply produced and the colours won't stand more than two sittings (laughs). But it doesn't matter at all, the cats can (pause) that sofa is less than 5 years old, and I think it already looks like should one make a complaint or not, the colours are fading like (pause) but the cats seem to like it, and then it also occasionally serves as a dining table for the kids and then the stains don't matter that much. (Janne 04 157-175)

So, what was wrong with these items and why were they in the apartment? Hannele's Marcel vase was a gift and was never to her taste. She did not explain why the vase was displayed in the first place, since she had not even mentioned

the vase in 2004. Hannele, due to her profession as a journalist, received lots of gifts and she had a cupboard full of them, which she stored in case somebody needed something. But the Marcel vase was an example of a gift that she had put on display, even though it did not meet Hannele's taste. The Lundia bookshelf is a different matter because the couple had bought it themselves, but since that time Hannele's taste had changed. At the time of the interviews, Hannele was planning to acquire a new bookcase, at which time she would get rid of the Lundia.

- H:** we got these bookshelves at some point and I hate these Lundia shelves, but we've got nothing else now, but that's now a project, that we'll make sure proper bookshelves materialize and you'll get lots of these papers (pause) it could be Muurame or it could be one of the Libri systems by Skanno, and we'll build a kind of nicer whole. (Hannele 04 104-108)

Laura, too, had had a Lundia bookshelf in their former apartment, but they realised their "Lundia phase" was over and they had not moved it to the new apartment. In 2005, the couple had bought a self-designed, custom-made bookshelf.

The decorative egg that Laura had presented as an example of a displeasing design was a gift from a nice relative. Laura said that the problem was not so much the egg, but the fact that they had no plans for arranging a good place to display such a decorative item; the household's general style was rather minimalist.

- L:** that strange painted egg, you'd need some sort of shelf for decorative objects, to display stuff, and I don't really, we don't want to start with that kind of shelf (laughs). Of course we have some decorative items here but not, perhaps, ones that are so obvious. (Laura 04 420-423)

Ilmari's fire blanket was hanging on the wall, put there by the previous tenant. According to Ilmari, it did not reflect anything about him. But, since he was only visiting Helsinki in 2004, and had moved to his upstairs apartment in 2005, there was no pressing need to take the fire mask down. Besides, it was practical to have one on hand.

Sanna had never been a great user of technologies, but since Kalevi liked to watch television and both used computers for their work, she was putting up with them. She disliked many of the design decisions made by the previ-

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ous owners; for example, they frequently used the fluorescent lamps, as well as the huge nail that the previous owner had hammered into a cupboard door (**P 205**).

In 2004, there had been a piece of art leaning on Olavi's kitchen wall, about which Olavi was quite annoyed. It was not his own choosing, but instead a piece that the artist had brought for Olavi, hoping to make a sale. In 2005, the piece was still in the same place because Olavi had not been able to return it. As an example of bad design that he still used daily, Olavi presented a steel saucepan that easily rusted when in use (**P 262**) and a kitchen faucet lacking the proper colour coding for hot and cool water (**P 202**).

Janne was putting up with their red sofa, even if it was a "bulk design" and its colour had nearly vanished 5 years after the purchase. The sofa went against Janne's ideas about good design and what was suitable for the house, but the sofa received heavy use precisely because it was not valuable, so it did not matter if the children and cats were slowly destroying the central piece of their living room.

Common to these designs was that they aesthetically or functionally failed to meet the household's standards for "great design". On the other hand, no one in the household was even thinking about investing time into tuning or, for example, selling the product, so the designs did not become a part of the household's to-do list. The distant designs included stuff that the people believed and expected would never become valuable again to the household. Some products were so hideous that the interviewee thought that they could never have value for anyone. These were the products that had been thrown into the trash (instead of otherwise self-evident recycling) because "you cannot let anyone live with that":

P 205. Sanna &
Kalevi's nail

P262. Olavi's
sausepan

P 217. Janne's clock

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- A:** I just had to throw it away, some candle holders, which just didn't, for those tall candles, and there was some (pause) [...] It was simply just such an ugly product that (laughs) I had to throw it into the rubbish (laughs), I couldn't think of selling it to someone, like on a flea market, because I thought (laughs) no-one deserves things like that (Anniina 04 328-336)

Not surprisingly, typically the products that the interviewees wanted to keep the most distance from had often entered the apartment without the interviewee having taken the initiative.

In addition to the items that no one in the household apparently appreciated, there were also those products that someone else in the household liked, but not the interviewee. Kalle hated a mask that Emma had received as a Christmas gift and had then painted herself; Sanna just barely tolerated Kalevi's television, while Janne was a mildly amused by his children's interest in a decorative Swiss clock (**P 217**). These are good reminders that members of the same household do not need to march in perfect unison in order to put together an aesthetically sufficiently coherent and pleasing home.

Another common reason for the presence of distant design in the apartment had to do with the scarcity of either a household's resources or a lack of available alternatives on the market. It may be that the product never met a household's taste, but that they could not have afforded what they would have really wanted, or that there was not or even still is not a perfect product on the market to replace the product. The most common reason for distant designs, though, seems to have been a lack of time and also often of money. As Hannele's account of their Lundia bookshelf illustrates, one rarely is in a position to do everything at the same time and it takes time to accomplish a project. On another occasion, Hannele described splendidly what it is like to solve difficult, time-consuming decoration problems:

H: it's some sort of aesthetic (pause) or practical solution that you start to look for. And then (pause) well, sometimes it's so easy, one goes to Stockmann or to Ikea, and knows one will find the item there, like, new towels or a bathroom carpet or something, so then it doesn't takes much effort. But then if it's a question of, for example, lights, lamps, then it's a different matter at once. Because that's an awfully important element and then (pause) it costs a bit more money (pause) and then one already feels a bit more uncertain, so these, like lights, a carpet or a new sofa set or a study table or dining chairs, these require quite a lot of (pause) of looking around and doing research. And then, of going into a store to take a look and, ah, finding there's nothing like it, just ordinary, or that the prices are horrible, I certainly can't buy these, it won't do. And then your brain starts to process, somehow, your own networks, it's not even conscious, that you think, who should I contact, and then you follow lines of thought that yes, well, I could check out this or I could try there, or I could call those, maybe they would know something good related to this. Like that. So, it's rather active, you cast your nets in different directions and (pause) somewhere you catch something. Sometimes you're against a wall, that this doesn't work and this doesn't work and this came to nothing, and always you try to find some kind of way out of it so that you get the thing solved and off your mind. That's the point. (Hannele 05 366-385)

The designs that the interviewees had acquired by themselves, but nevertheless kept a distance from – those that they actively did not identify with – were often temporary placeholders, which would leave the apartment once a future item materialised. Of those products that were not waiting for anything to displace them (such as Laura's decorated egg and Olavi's faucet), they were being stored in the apartment because the effort of getting rid of them was seen as being bigger than just keeping them, at least for the moment. What was left out of this picture, were, naturally, the products that the interviewees did not want to talk about. By sheer accident, I learned about the vase that Hannele explicitly hated, because it had been broken between the first and second interview.

To summarise, the products that were kept at bay were more annoying than pleasing, and they were deemed hopeless cases in the sense that they were not expected to turn into great designs or even to-do designs. Most will leave the apartment at some point, while other equally irritating products will no doubt try to enter the household.

SUMMARY

The analysis of how people talked about the products is important to my work because the product's factual statistics – the product's placement, how frequently it was being used or its design properties (functionality, brand or aesthetics) – failed to explain how the interviewees felt about the product. There was no clear correspondence between affection and the quality of the design and its prominence in the home, not just throughout the whole sample, but also within one household. Hannele's delight over the broken Sarpaneva is a good example since she, in general, appreciates Scandinavian design, so one could have assumed (like the gift giver no doubt did) that she would like the vase. On the other hand, the sample is not in total chaos. For example, Janne was quite consistently fond of vintage Finnish design – he told me that Yki Nummi's works are especially close to his heart – and the daily use and display of the products was an integral part of the household's way of dwelling.

Since by studying the display of products I apparently could not write a formula for the designed properties that would make the product's appropriation successful, I turned to the product biographies in the interviews. The biographies seemed to fall in two broad categories. On the one hand, there were the products that the interviewees told stories about, usually in a loosely biographical manner, because that was what I asked them to do. But then, on the other hand, there were the designs that elicited explanations: justifications or even apologies that the product was present at the time. After realising that, as well as its importance, my interpretation of the data proceeded in a comparatively straightforward manner. Most of the stories were about how nice and delightful the product was. These were the "great designs". The explanations were either accounts about what should be done with the product or sometimes vehement or confused, sometimes indifferent, outlines of the product's failures. These were the "to-do designs" and the "distant designs", respectively. I chose

to call the latter designs “distant” because often I got the impression – and, for instance, Ilmari stated it explicitly – that the interviewee wanted to create a distance between the design and the household. These were the products that had “nothing to do with me”.

Yet, the designs were in the apartment and the people continued to live with them. Based on this, it started to seem that living with products and appropriating them must be more relaxed and random than what the literature would make one assume.

From the home’s point of view, design appears quite different as opposed to how professional design discourse and design exhibitions typically define designs. The most obvious difference is that it seems not to matter whether the product is beneficial, broken or branded when it comes to its integration within the household. Broken televisions and valueless candle holders can be much appreciated, while branded faucets and vases can be despised. Second, even the designs that are held in great esteem are rarely the centre of attention. To paraphrase John Lennon, design is what happens while we are busy doing other things. This is, of course, very different from the professional attention focused on design, in the drawing table, at design exhibition or in the media. Third, based on my data, it seems that much of what takes place in the home is a consequence of passivity and indifference rather than activity and interest. The to-do designs remain in the to-do list and distant designs are kept at bay. The households in the sample cared about and thought about their surroundings a lot, but it would be misleading to assume that not caring and not mind-ing would not play important roles in the ways in which the interviewees dwell with products. Probably the most common phrase that kept recurring during the interviews was “it just came from somewhere”, which nicely reflects how the home is to a great extent the result of random events that most people are not particularly interested in controlling, preventing or taking note of.

Another common phrase was, “it is looking for its place”. On the one hand, this could be taken as an implication that there is often something in the designed product that makes it a bit difficult to fit into the existing spatial and temporal organisation of the household. But on the other hand, such a phrase also reflects the potential seen in the product. Designed products can wait, sometimes for years, to find their best place within the home without turning into trash and being disposed of.

The fourth notion is more theoretical. The domestication framework holds that domesticated objects become invisible and mostly go unnoticed. From that point of view, some designs become completely domesticated: these are the intuitive interfaces and systems or ecologies of products running in the

background. Their ability to facilitate dwelling is critical, but their design goes mostly unnoticed. Often, though, designers want the products to be noticed, even (or precisely) in daily use, and they hope that the product brings noticeable pleasure to everyday living – that it would not lose its magic, even after years of use and display. And, indeed, design can elicit considerable pleasure, but also displeasure and annoyance, long after its arrival into home. This suggests that the domestication framework should be modified to better cover a type of domestication that leaves products “untamed”, so as to better accommodate the design that continues to be noticed, in good and in bad ways.

To summarise, the assorted set of stuff that people keep in the apartment does not mean that all those products are integral to the moral economy of the household – that is, to the identity and sense of self of the household. Some products stored in the apartment play an integral role in the workings of the moral economy, some get to that stage only occasionally, while some have no role precisely because they are tolerated rather than lived with and the household has other things to invest its time and money to, rather than worrying about changing the situation; therefore, the valueless, non-integral product receives no more attention than the occasional annoyance when someone is forced to use it – or stumbles on it.



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USING DESIGN



INTRODUCTION

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The previous chapter discussed design as it appears from the point of view of storing products in the home. This chapter takes a look at the use of design. These points of view are not exclusive, since, while nearly all of the products that the interviewees talked about were being stored in the apartment, most of them were also being used.

My interpretation is grounded in the notion that the households can be seen as using products through curating the home as a hotel, a museum and a gallery. Within this account, the museum's and gallery's meanings in particular differ from their ordinary figurative usage. This is important to keep in mind, because many of the interviewees expressed an explicit dislike of viewing their home as a gallery by not appreciating someone putting together homes that look like they were taken straight from an interior design magazine:

E: it was decorated just like in the style of interior decoration magazines, like Avotakka, like whatever is currently “in”. It was quite amusing. But it lacked all those personal things that travel with you, and we have a lot of those. (Sakari & Elisa 05 45-48)

Likewise, there was outspoken scorn towards a “museum-like home”:

T: I have always managed to avoid my home being like a museum or a showroom or (pause) I mean, it's not that I despise people who want to keep their home terribly clean and all, of course not. We all have right to do just as we want, but I would get really anxious if my home were like, full of museum objects that have to be cleaned every day. (Theo 04 235-239)

Both notions were used in the interviews to express an interviewee's dislike for homes that are too organised, too polished and too stylistically coherent, in short, places where it seems impossible to live and relax. A common phrase was that "the marks of living" should be visible. Consequently, in the everyday figurative use of words, museums and galleries are places where the marks of living have been cleaned away, if they were possible to produce in the first place. Such is not the case with the hotels, galleries and museums that I am talking about here, those run by the interviewees in their homes. The marks of living are visible. The point of the type of curating that I am talking about is not to keep things clean or make impressive statements, but to facilitate dwelling.

The notion that people are curating their homes is based on the data. Theo's house was still under construction when I visited him the first time, and I was more or less forced to inquire, "What is all this all going to be?" In response, Theo outlined the principles or guidelines according to which he was building the house and designing its interior decoration. At some point, I realised that I could have asked the same question from all of the other households as well, quite like we sometimes ask of a child who is building something or of an artist whose work is still in progress: "What are you doing? What is it going to be?"

Artistic practice is not a bad analogy when discussing how a household's moral economy is created and maintained in the apartment through putting interior decoration together. But the notion of creating and curating art is much more careful and scholastic, which did not quite resonate with what was told to me during the interviews. No doubt there are households to whom the apartment is a platform upon which they assemble configurations with a consciousness that resembles artistic intentions (one gets to see these kinds of holistic takes in interior decoration magazines), but none of the households in my sample described appropriation of design with such single-mindedness and coherence that creating a work of art would require.

Instead, a lot more seemed to be going on: the interviewees' homes allowed and were often used for several intentional activities, some of which some had artistic flavour and some less so. The home can be used for eating, sleeping, washing, cleaning, socialising, hobbies, working and exercising, to name just some of the activities that the interviewees pursued in their homes. What is important is that I know about these activities: the interviewees talked about them because these activities were connected with design, most often by the designed product simply facilitating the activity, for example cooking.

To make sense of all these activities, and the huge amount of facilitating products in the home, I am building an analogy of dwellers acting as the cura-

tors of their homes because it seems to me that in the sample, the appropriation of design took place through various practices, as a set of routinized activities that usually follow each other in a logical or habitual manner, which very much resemble what managers and curators do when they decide what is accepted and rejected (in other words, appropriated) into the institution – the hotel, the museum or the gallery – that the curator is responsible for. However, unlike professional curators, who can more or less focus on running just a gallery, a hotel or a museum, curators of homes often manage to run all these domestic institutions within the same walls.

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HOME AS A HOTEL

When a home is acting as a hotel, it is used for cooking, eating and sleeping (**P 208–209**), for personal hygiene (**P 212–213**), for occasional exercise (**P 210–211**) and, much like a hotel's restaurant, for socialising through the act of arranging meetings, parties and get-togethers with people one may not even know yet.

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P 208–209. Sanna
& Kalevi's kitchen and
bedroom

P 210–211. Olavi's
and Mervi's living
rooms

P 212–213. Theo's
and Mervi's
bathrooms

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P 214–215. Ilmari's
and Janne's study
rooms

Some people are working in the “hotel”, by doing their professional stuff at home (**P 214–215**). Nearly all of our interviewees mentioned that they work at home: Olavi said that he works occasionally and does not keep work and spare time separate. Ilmari gave the impression that he used the home for very little other than working and sleeping, especially in 2004. Anniina and Mervi both kept their actual design studios in their homes, but that was exceptional for them and they usually had their work studios outside the home. Sakari & Elisa, Laura, Sanna & Kalevi, Liisa and Asta all did some of their work at home, though they had separate working places, too. Theo, Olavi, Janne, Rea and Hannele maintained dedicated studies in the apartment. And Jari, although he did not work at home, stored expensive equipment there. In the sample, the Ylinen family and Tiina were the only ones not doing work at home. The Ylinen family did not work at home because both parents were retired and the son was studying. Tiina felt the pressure to work at home but was trying to avoid it unless it turned out to be absolutely necessary. I learned about the fact that so many worked at home because the interviewees talked about it, but the talk was more an explanation for the presence of the study or the computer. The products related to their professional work were rarely presented as “designed functional products”.

Entertaining visitors was also common. In the sample, only Liisa, Mervi and Sakari & Elisa stated that they never, or only in very rare cases, let people into their homes. On the other hand, Theo, Kalle & Emma, Laura, Janne, Tiina, Rea, Hannele and Sanna & Kalevi explicitly mentioned that they at least occasionally entertain and throw parties. Again, the important point is that I got to hear about these aspects of dwelling. The interviewees talked about entertaining because festive events are often prominent points not only in a

family's but also in a products' life. That certain dishes are reserved for festive events could be the most common example. More impressive, though, is how the whole apartment may be scheduled to meet the household's social life. In the sample, Hannele told about how the renovation should be finished just in time for a graduation party. Similarly, Laura and Sanna explained the changes in the interior decoration by mentioning the recent christenings that both had held in their home.

Most homes in the sample conformed to all three functions: they served as galleries, museums and hotels. But if a home is used for just one practice, it is used as a hotel: for physical recreation like eating, sleeping, personal hygiene and occasional exercising. In the sample, only Ilmari and Mervi mentioned that they, at least at some point, had not cooked at all, while Theo, Anniina, Laura and Tiina said that cooking was very important to them. Everybody in the sample was using their home to sleep in and to take care of personal hygiene, although it was not always quite as routinized as one would want it to be: Theo and Hannele may have felt the disruption of even the most mundane of routines because they were at some point dwelling elsewhere due to the renovation work being done.

In this analogy of home as a hotel, running the hotel in the home is about creating and maintaining the infrastructure and related practices that facilitate the basic biological needs of eating and sleeping and the social needs of hygiene and socialising. From the appropriation of products point of view, this means the acquisition and management of, for example, dining furniture, dishes and cutlery, food ingredients, beds, bed linen, towels, detergents, toiletries, cleaning equipment and conditioners for keeping materials fit. All of these items (and many more) form the basic infrastructure that facilitates dwelling. They also determine what particular type of infrastructure is created and renewed based on the household's actions, which in turn are part of creating and maintaining a household's moral economy. From a dweller's point of view, one needs to be the head, staff and the guest in the hotel where one is living, often with other people – the family members and the occasional visitors.

Others have studied dwelling with a specific focus on what is here called "running a hotel". In this particular body of literature, the context is often the cultural history of technologies, especially the socially constructed development and adoption of home appliances (Schwartz Cowan 1985; Pantzar 2000; Shove 2000). I think that the emergence of the idea of hygiene and the following ideal of cleanliness are the most important phenomena not only related to the notion of home as hotel, but also in general to dwelling and perhaps to all of contemporary consumer culture because it underlines nearly everything that

people do. This is, of course, not an original idea and many writers have studied how the ideal of cleanliness has influenced living, most notably Mary Douglas (Douglas 1966) and, in relation to contemporary dwelling, Kirsi Saarikangas (Saarikangas 2002) and Elizabeth Shove (Shove 2003).

In the literature related to domestic work, the focus is often on the gendered customs and practices of the home, and traditionally the domestic work has been seen as woman's work, which "is never done". That is true in my account of "home as a hotel" as well – the work never really gets done because running the hotel consists of taking care of those things that facilitate the basic daily recurring needs. However, running the hotel is not only woman's work, especially if we divide domestic work so that people do it according to the traditional gendered responsibilities, because running a hotel requires taking care of the home's infrastructure and keeping, for instance, the various technologies running, which is stereotypically seen as man's work. One might say that the hotel in the home needs to have a janitor, even if the traditional, gendered woman works in the kitchen and takes care of the cleaning. This notion is quite general, though, since I did not ask about the division of domestic work, and when the interviewees spontaneously talked about it, there was no emphasis (for example, complaining) about a gendered division of labour.

The design that relates to the running the hotel is often anonymous and uninteresting. One might say that the products (the washing machines, toilets, parquet floors, faucets, sinks and electric sockets) are strongly integrated within the dwelling, but that their design is often weakly or not at all integrated within the moral economy of the household: the products form the basic infrastructure, which typically gets noticed and causes annoyance only when something breaks. Consequently, the data only occasionally reflects the voices of the hotel managers. Theo talked about how the downstairs is for entertaining guests:

T: The living room [downstairs] is the one where there isn't a television and where you can sit and act wise with visitors. And then there is the real living room upstairs. (Theo 05 223–224)

Similarly, Rea described how different rooms have different roles when they are entertaining guests and each room is used according to a certain choreography based on who was invited and the nature of the event.

R: well the sofas, yes, we were looking for sofas that would suit this room and then these came along. We wanted as many as possible to be able to sit together. Here each room actually has its own role. They have

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P 216. Sanna &
Kalevi's "no room"

(pause) this is where [downstairs living room] the evening begins, and it always ends down there [downstairs library]. Sometimes if we're a smaller group, we can carry on into here [downstairs video room]. (Rea 04 135-141)

Sometimes, entertaining quests causes happy accidents. Sanna explained their new arrangement of furniture, which had originally been done in order to have room for a christening celebration **(P 216)**:

HP: this looks like the start of a children's room

S: at the moment is not any particular room at all really. When we had the baby's christening there was a long table here. And then the tables stayed, just knocking about in there, like that pine table. Then we used to have there, we removed it in the last phase, a 120 cm bed. It's been a kind of relaxing spot in front of the fireplace. That was fun but the bed was moved into the greenhouse over there, so that we got in more, there's now a bed at both ends. So that we could get places to sit for that christening. But then it was such fun that we haven't bothered to move it back yet, so it's stayed like this. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 9-17)

I got some glimpses to what kinds of arrangements need to be made for a running a hotel in a home. Sanna mentioned how her tendency to sleepwalk put certain requirements on their bedroom decoration, and here Hannele is describing how she processes laundry in their kitchen:

H: but the way it is, this [kitchen] has worked really well. Except the laundry stuff, that's like constantly there and in full view. Our two children bring their laundry here, neither has room for a washing machine in their own home, and (pause) so they come here. But then they visit and (pause) the washing machines and these we managed to fit here, these are very quiet since they're new closets [and the machines] and so these are out of sight, but then the drying of all this laundry, it's constantly like this in here, unfortunately (laughs) (Hannele 04 131-139)

Laura commented on surface maintenance and their choice of floor materials:

L: yes (laughs). Mmm (pause) This floor, we've now maybe noticed that this floor has certain, well (pause), good and bad sides. The good things, for example, are that this wood is so hard that it really doesn't very easily get scuffed, even though lots of stuff has been dropped onto it. That's good. But then we also noticed that, for example, because it's a dark colour everything starts to show up on it really quickly, all the dust, dirt and the rest, you've got marks on it right away, nothing just merges into it (laughs). (pause) Apparently at some point, maybe in 5 years, you should estimate or see whether it needs to be oiled again. We've got quite a lot of products that need oiling; this kitchen surface needs to be oiled regularly.

HP: what does that mean, once a year, more?

L: no, more. Perhaps once, twice every three months. It's not a big job, just spread the oil but, still, you have to put everything away and do bit of a sanding and oiling. We also have a surface that needs to be oiled in the bathroom, so (laughs) we really have to work with that linseed oil. (Laura 05 167-190)

The children's role often resembles the position of a hotel guest, at least in the sense that in the apartments of Janne, Jari, Asta and the Ylinen family, children had authority over their own rooms while the parents were responsible for the "public", shared areas. Janne described how this sometimes is a mixed blessing because the tastes run in different directions (**P 217**):

J: So let's say, something like that Swiss clock (pause) of course, if the kids like something, for example, our kids and I don't have much in common when it comes to taste in objects. So, the things that I bring

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P 217. Janne's clock

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in, the kids think they're horrible and then, of course, what they want, in my opinion that's awful. Of course it is my role to be flexible. So if they want something, if they want, like, for example, in the older kid's room now, what (pause) in principle is quite a neat closet, but it's a bit of a farmhouse style that I wouldn't voluntarily go for (laughs), ever (laughs). But, on the other hand, if [the kid] wants to have it in his/her own room and feels good with it and possibly takes it away with him/her some day, that's fine. It's not, it's not a problem. But then again, these so called shared parts of this house, here [the kids] have very little say over what goes in. (Janne 05 524-535)

I am interpreting that taking care of babies and young children – the family members who cannot take care of themselves or make consumption decisions on their own – is, from a responsible adult's point of view, often part of running a hotel. In the data, there were several households with babies and young children. Based on what Tiina, Sanna & Kalevi, Laura and Emma & Kalle reported, stuff started to pour in once they had announced that the household was expecting a baby. Tiina and Laura described the situation:

- T:** in there [the future nursery] we'll have a crib and stuff
- HP:** of course the with the baby comes quite a lot of stuff. Have you been browsing shops?
- T:** no. And not (pause) although I haven't been browsing around, one shelf almost full of different kinds of stuff has appeared over there though [in a storage space]
- HP:** from friends and relatives?
- T:** from friends and from work. And my sister has brought couple of boxes of clothes and (pause) the prams we bought, since they needed

to be ordered from Germany, we bought them already since we got them, it's a discontinued colour range so (pause) but they haven't arrived yet, fortunately. It'll take couple of months. (Tiina 05 253-264)

- L:** we also got a stroller, which you can fold, but it was just so horribly ugly and awful, a bit clunky and (pause) in bad shape already, so we soon threw it away.
- HP:** yeah. Did you get another one?
- L:** no. This was just something that someone brought us without asking. And then we (laughs) sneaked out with them to the rubbish. Which was, on the other hand, bit of a bore because we could have just refused, said that we're not taking them at all, but sometimes it is difficult to say that when people bring things without asking. (Laura 05 223-231)

The flow of products continues until the kids are in their late teens, I assume, because, until then, kids grow fast and require different things during the various stages of their growth and parents are willing to provide the material means for these things. For example, Jari talked about a white princess dress that

- J:** we got these for a children's party and since it's a princess-party, they can put these on, and when they want to play princess, they can play princess. They have no other special purpose. (Jari 07 641-643)

A small sample illustrates the range of the products that the "hotel managers" in Jari's (**P 218-219**), Kalle & Emma's (**P 220-221**), Laura's (**P 222-225**) and Sanna & Kalevi's (**P 226-228**) homes acquired for their young children.

Hotel managers have their problems, too. Jari described how, in their home, the little guests must be educated to take their turns at running the hotel. Hannele may not have been entirely satisfied with how drying laundry was organised in their newly renovated kitchen, and Sakari & Elisa might be seen as needing more staff, since they described how they are not interested in keeping the apartment tidy. They were not alone in this; several others expressed dislike for having an apartment that was too clean. But hotel managers are also resourceful. Jari's children were cleaning their own toys, and, in 2005, Hannele had put up a screen to hide the offending clothes horse. So, even if the hotel does not always run smoothly, lots of things are taken care of every day, often without paying much special attention to the work or the design that facilitates the hotel operations.

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P 218–219.

Photographs from
Jari's home

P 220–221.

Photographs from
Kalle & Emma's home

P 222–225.

Photographs from
Laura's home

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P 222–225.

Photographs from
Laura's home

P 226–228.

Photographs from
Sanna & Kalevi's home

HOME AS A MUSEUM

One of the reoccurring themes in research on domestic settings is that people feel that they have got too many things. This holds true in my data. Only Asta (who had a huge cellar), Anniina (who had thrown away and put in storage stuff that she did not find suitable), Laura (who had gotten rid of displeasing things), Jari (who was not curating their home) and Sanna & Kalevi (who had just moved from a small apartment to a house) were not complaining about too much stuff and pondering what to do with it.

I am making use of an analogy of a museum as I try to describe the role of certain kinds of designed products in the home. That homes act as museums is a common idea, but I am here using it in a different manner than writers usually do, which is home as a storage place for memories, because, while I acknowledge the importance of memories, stories and histories, in my reading, the stories, which make the product important, make the product part of the home as a gallery and not part of the museum.

Home as a gallery and a museum are both frameworks for storing things, but for different reasons. A museum is kept going because there is some future potential in the stuff, even though the things are not personally pleasing and often not for that reason displayed either. Therefore, in my interpretation, the home as a museum is kept going because of the communal bonds. In a similar vein, the social aspect of a museum is not so much about entertaining visitors (as is the home as a hotel), but, rather, more about an intimate bond with one's closest friends and family members, especially in cases where stuff is being stored for future generations.

Of the interviewees, Hannele and Rea were most explicit in this respect. Rea even expected that their apartment (or rather, their collection of art and design) would be part of a museum one day and explicitly described in a straightforward manner a curator's responsibilities towards design. Hannele kept displeasing designs in case her children would someday want them.

- H:** Now these are something I have an awful lot of, and now we've got more of them, Finnish buttermilk bowls and
- HP:** where do they come from?
- H:** well we just got some more from my mother's house. So now we've got this rice-grain porcelain and here are those buttermilk bowls. And then I have, although I don't need them myself, I have kept them for my children so that they'll have them at the point when they have room. I'd be happy to give quite a lot of these things to them, but unfortunately they don't have room for them. So I'm just storing them here, for example these Kilta cups from my husband's home. (Hannele 04 273-281)

Hannele's explained her thinking by giving several examples of times when she had helped her children in this way, either with her small collection of vintage clothes or with the products often given to journalists in the launch events:

- H:** at press events they give you something (pause) or the object, for example, if it's something affordable, for example, if Iittala is launching a new frying-pan, they give a pan and if they are launching new tealights, then we get tealights. And then of course we get things that I don't necessarily need myself, and then I'll save it in its packaging and I'll forward it on. Or if one of the children says that now I need a present for someone, do you have anything in the cupboard, then we'll see if there's anything suitable. So in actual fact they are rather nice, practical and fun and beautiful and so on but in a sense I am saving them, that if I don't particularly need them, I'm not going to unpack and use them just for that the sake of it, so I store them in the sort of gift stash. (Hannele 05 340-349)

Of the others, Ilmari (who apparently keeps everything anyone gives him or brings to the apartment), Kalle & Emma (who were collecting, storing and fixing items in case somebody would need them – Kalle referred to their apartment as a recycling centre), Olavi (who was displaying in the apartment products that were waiting for their place in his other renovation projects), the Ylinen family (who had inherited most of their furniture), and Liisa (who explicitly mentioned having taken a bookcase so that it would “stay in the family” and who stored all of the gifts that she received) were all running their own museums within their apartments.

Running a museum covers practices of curating, storing and displaying stuff

for the sake of others. Ilmari described the mutually beneficial situation of his parents bringing him stuff:

- I:** I have given people free rein in a sense that that lamp and that table, my parents simply brought them here. And it's because they have, in a sense, sponsored (pause) they're both rather old, but my father likes to have something useful to do. Then if I've been travelling all the time, it's been great of course that there's someone in Finland who takes care of the basic stuff. But for example there wasn't a single lamp here, and they went and bought that [paper lamp] from Anttila. (Ilmari 04 227-233)

Similarly as with a professional museum curator, a home curator evaluates a product's potential future value, which often, but not always, is a monetary value. Once the value has been estimated to justify storing the thing, a proper place must be found for it. Often the place is somewhere in the apartment – the product may become one of the “products that are looking for their places”, or it may be hidden in the cellar, or, as it happens, a family's cottage might act as a museum for those things that one just cannot get rid of just yet. This was Tiina's and Anniina's solution to the problem of how to keep a home according to one's standards. Here is Anniina:

- A:** at some point I had quite a lot, we had some from my granny and my grandmother, that is, my father's mother and mother's mother, who were both keen collectors of porcelain, mostly Arabia dishes, so especially at the summer house, granny's dishes that were there, were barely used and no-one appreciated them so I walked off with them at some point, that must have been 10 years ago, and now I took them back, I got bored of them somehow. They were really a mixed lot and nothing came in pairs and (pause) but it was a really nice looking set, really nice. But now I don't have any of them left. We were renovating the summer house so then they sort of went back there to their roots, to their rightful place.
- HP:** so you've got white tableware
- A:** yeah, like, nothing like (pause) they don't mean anything to me, those (Anniina 04 281-291)

So how does one decide what to keep and what to get rid of? Ilmari and Liisa stored apparently everything that entered the apartment. They resembled a

P 229. Liisa's doll**229**

museum curator who is very selective when acquiring things on his or her own. Both had spent lots of time trying to make a purchase without finding what they wanted. However, both accepted and kept nearly everything that someone else brought to them. For Ilmari, the reason was perhaps a simple need to connect with people and also just plain indifference. For Liisa, who talked about a plastic Xena doll (**P 229**), the issue had more to do with someone's financial investment in the doll and the general effort of sending the product to her:

- L:** for example that Xena doll is necessary but I can't throw it away either
- HP:** necessary?
- L:** It's not necessary. It's an ornament, maybe. I found a place for it where it's not in the way. But I have other dolls from the same series which have no use. Things that you don't want to have on display but you do not to throw them away either, they are annoying. Why can't you throw them away? Somebody paid for them. Not me, but somebody has, even sent them to me all the way from America. (Liisa 04 341-347)

In comparison to Liisa and Ilmari, the other extreme is a highly autonomous curator who does not accept or keep anything that he or she has not selected him- or herself. Anniina, Theo and Tiina are examples of this kind of museum curating. Here is Tiina talking about gifts:

- T:** [my partner] for example gets an awful lot of bowls, cups, vases and so on as gifts, because of his work, and from all kinds of trustee positions. Sure, there is some cool stuff which perhaps is still a bit look-

ing for its place, but there is, like, yup there is plenty that will find a place here.

HP: will the rest then stay in storage or will you throw them away?

T: I won't throw them away. They'll go somewhere, somewhere like the flea market (laughs). Of course one always needs to check that they have not been marked or signed, that they aren't unique pieces. In that case, one just has to store them somewhere and then take them to the summer house or somewhere. Or, sometimes even, if it's something sensible but just won't fit in here, then totally cool-headed, I pass it on. But I don't pass on anything awful. It has to be something that's our kind of thing. Or, rather, like the recipient's kind of thing. (Tiina 05 215-225)

Gifts, when they first enter the home, are difficult to accommodate and many of the interviewees said that they were most pleased with those kinds of gifts that could be consumed. Theo and Sakari were most explicit in having both built the reputation that no one should bring them stuff, but their tactics were still different. Theo's reputation was for being selective, while Sakari's was that he already had it all:

T: my friends don't buy anything, for either of us, because they know that it is awfully difficult to buy us anything. (Theo 04 209-210)

S: it's because I at least have always collected stuff (laughs), like, voluntarily, maybe taken things that, if it's possible, that in a sense I have particularly wanted, taken them before anyone else has thought to give them away (laughs). So there's already a store of stuff that's waiting to be taken back into use, and maybe everybody has known that I'm the type who hops around in rubbish skips collecting stuff. (Sakari & Elisa 05 400-408)

One might assume, perhaps, that those households that had the strongest visions of how the apartment should look and what products there should be in the apartment, and who had also put considerable effort into realising that vision, would be least likely to run any kind of museum in their home. Many of the households in my sample fall into this category, but still run some kind of museum and store things that they themselves believe to have little value. Olavi and Hannele are examples of this kind of museum practice. Indeed, I am suggesting that there is a museum practice going on based on the displeasure

that both Olavi and Hannele expressed about products they were storing in the apartment. Olavi's displeasure was rather mild, but Hannele was more explicit about hers. This somewhat contradictory situation can be explained on the one hand by Hannele's bonds with her immediate family: she wanted to store the type of design that others might find valuable based on its "institutional properties", even though she herself did not particularly like the design – Kilta dishes, in this case. Olavi's displeasing products, on the other hand, can be explained by his need to store in the apartment products that still lacked a suitable location. Storing them in the home was, on the one hand, probably just a matter of convenience, whereas, on the other hand, seeing the products on a regular basis means that they will not be forgotten: they are reminders of the potential that they still have.

HOME AS A GALLERY

Public galleries are typically places where an artist is represented through the display of his or her work. An owner of a gallery runs the business and is responsible for selecting which artists to represent. The domestic galleries curated in homes do not necessarily represent anyone or anything. Rather, by gallery I mean a pool of resources that the head of the gallery has put together in order to create an environment for spiritual recreation. If the home as a hotel is mostly about physical recreation (eating, sleeping, hygiene, exercise), then the home as a gallery covers practices that create a place for spiritual recreation.

I am well aware that the “home as a gallery” analogy can easily be misunderstood as being about the types of homes that are put together with great care and with the intention to impress others. However, I did not find in the interviews comments about an intentional desire to impress others, and I am not going to guess whether such intentions exist. In fact, the data suggests the opposite. In the home as a gallery, one stores, in a nearly solipsistic manner, stuff that one finds personally pleasing and interesting – products that create a sense of peace and enjoyment for oneself. This “solipsism” of being the curator of a gallery probably stems from my decision to often interview only one member of the household. Nonetheless, the constant repetition of “I” and “mine” sensitised my analysis towards the home as a highly individualistic gallery of resources for oneself. If the home as a museum is the pool of resources that one stores, sometimes even collects, with others in mind, the gallery in a home is the exact opposite. Sometimes it becomes so much a reflection of one person’s project that the other members of the household find very little pleasure in having the gallery in the apartment.

Janne’s comment about how their children were only now starting to accept his “gallery” offers an example of the kinds of ordinary and common things I

am referring to with the gallery metaphor. In Janne's case, on the one hand, the recreation came from the pleasure he got from putting together and then having a redesigned kitchen. On the other hand, he said that he enjoys browsing pop antique stores, hunting for vintage pieces and having them around:

J: our kids say that, since we don't have any interior decoration, couldn't we decorate somehow, and then we've tried to say, at least to ask them, what they think it should be then; what do you mean we don't have interior decoration? And then it turns out to be about the fact that we don't have matching sets of, like, sofas, carpets and curtains. And that means no interior decoration. Of course, when that's translated into adult language, it means that from their point of view we don't show (pause) that we actually reflect on this. And, well (pause) yeah, in their own way the kids are certainly right, since more stuff has drifted here, or let's say, it wasn't planned, our interior decorating. The only really designed thing in this house is this kitchen. It was designed right down to the last screw-heads, how this is going to be done. (pause) And, yes, they have been very satisfied, there are enough signs from which they can work out that this reflects that it's designed. (Janne 05 583-595)

The comment is a good example of the very mild internal clashes mentioned in the interviews. The households in my sample appeared to be in all respects very peaceful. Perhaps it should be mentioned that I did not get the impression that any of this disturbed the households or affected their operations in the same way as the unpredictability caused by alcohol or drug addiction, mental health problems or domestic violence would do. I think this is worth mentioning, not because it affects the sample's relevance (I have made no effort to cover all possible types of households in the first place), but because domestic peacefulness and the notion of the home as a haven are sometimes assumed to be the norm, and any kind of trouble or disturbance is then viewed as a marginal deviance (King 2004; Ruckenstein 2009). I do not believe that that is so and I was not intentionally looking for homes that were in this manner peaceful, but since such was the case, all the households in the sample had some kind of gallery going on in the sense that the homes appeared to be comparatively peaceful and safe places for spiritual recreation. However, not everyone was using design to facilitate this type of recreation. Jari is an example of this. Jari said that he likes to make videos, and when I asked, he told me that his camera is Sony, a very good camera and a gift from his parents, but he did not show it to me and

he talked solely about making videos, the kind of events that he has caught on tape and about post-processing the filmed events.

J: I have one hobby, I like to shoot video, with a digital camera and then I have an editing program on the computer and I edit them. Amongst other things [a family event] was shot in video, shot with two cameras and downloaded onto the computer and edited, and music was added and everything. That's the sort of project we did, for example. I shot that. (pause)

HP: you of course have got a video camera and

J: yes yes

HP: have you then somehow invested in it, do you have lots of that kind of gear?

J: no (pause) in fact, that's also a wedding gift (laughs) My mother and father. At that time it was, and I hear that it still is, one of the best of those better digital cameras. Sony.

HP: do you follow the field then

J: no except that I shoot a lot. Always when I'm on the road, I have it with me nearly always. We have all the wedding videos and systems on the shelf. (Jari 07 232-249)

The camera is important, of course, but it is not important that it is that particular camera – any other equally good camera would have done just fine, which means that it is not that design of the camera is not important – quite the contrary – but that Jari was not emotionally attached to that particular design. The product does not “recreate”, but the activity (videoing) does.

But design can be and is a commonly used source of recreation. In layman terms, people can become happy by having design around. In my sample, the households of Theo (looking for stylistically fitting products), Anniina (who designed the whole apartment), Kalle & Emma (displaying and storing huge amounts of products because of their “feeling value”), Laura (throwing away the decorated egg), Olavi (making careful selections), Janne (looking for inspiration), Asta (tuning the products), Tiina (re-making the same design for the third time), Rea (displaying her collections), Hannele (displaying still lifes) and Sakari & Elisa (taking care of the apartment's “energy levels”) are all, by doing these things (and several others actions), running their galleries. Sakari's off-hand thinking out loud about the energy levels in his home is a rare example of an interviewee pondering the logic of underpinning design decisions and also about how the home, the gallery, must be guarded from unwanted items:

- S:** it's not only a question about whether physical, I mean, physically the space can be something that a human can move around in easily and such, do the stuff you do at home, but still it can give you a bad feeling. And it's not necessarily because of the things themselves. Instead, it may be because the things are in the wrong places, for instance. Something at the level of energy, in its field, causes a rupture (laughs). Maybe. (pause) So I probably couldn't take for example, actually, I couldn't a single Ikea product, because I think, even though as such it might be well designed, it would somehow cause a rupture in this (laughs).
- HP:** has anyone tried to bring you stuff or things that you have not wanted?
- S:** hm. We have actually successfully refused all that. And announced it well in advance (pause) then again, no-one has tried to foist anything on us either, but we have put out the message early enough that we don't want this or that kind of thing and we won't agree to take stuff, and so forth. (Sakari & Elisa 05 374-387)

Some apartments result in clearly discernible aesthetic coherence, others not so, but all of the above-mentioned interviewees can be seen as engaging in certain gallery-like practices, for which design is integral. .

GALLERY IN DISPLAY

Sometimes the "gallery" metaphor is particularly apt because people put together compilations that are even in everyday speech called "still lifes". In our sample, Rea's and Hannele's households provide examples of this kind of way of making design personally rewarding (**P 230-233**).

These examples of domestic installations are aesthetically coherent and follow the contemporary canon of what can be put together to form a distinguishable set of designs. Equally common are the kinds of distinguishable sets of designs exemplified in Theo's and Kalle & Emma's households (**P 234-235**).

Instead of still lifes, the interviewees referred to these kinds of set-ups as "piles". Hannele made the distinction between furnishing and mere storing when she was looking through the 2004 photographs:

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P 230–233.

Photographs from
Hannele's and Rea's
homes

P 234–235.

Photographs from
Theo's and Kalle &
Emma's homes

H: this photograph here, that's not interior decorating. I have not furnished this, this is just storing stuff. (Hannele 05 537-538)

Since I have no desire to discuss art philosophy here, I will leave the difference between still lifes and piles without more ado, but would only like to point out that there is not anything obvious that helps people distinguish between a piece of art (still life) and an ordinary product (the pile) (Danto 1998). Apparently (and in line with Danto's argument) the difference existed as theories of art and design in the minds of the interviewees since they distinguished between piles and still lifes, both of which are sets of products that stand out from the background of more or less evenly scattered items. In any case, the difference between still lifes and piles is an illustrative example of the challenges linked with curating the home: while still lifes in the gallery are, by definition, a means for spiritual recreation, the piles are offending remains or reminders of hotel and museum practices and usually fail to please the gallery curator.

Rea's home is an example of how professional public gallery practices may take place in private settings. The couple had been collecting Finnish and international design classics and contemporary art for some time and the collection was displayed around the apartment. The collection had a distinct role in how the household chose to dwell because it was used as the inspirational core for the renovation. The guiding principle was to facilitate dialogue between the different collection pieces and between people and the items. Rea mentioned how, for example, the floor of the main dining room was designed to meet the criteria for an interesting dialogue between the space, the showcases of design glass and the huge modern work of art dominating the dining room wall. They consulted artists about some of the central pieces of art in order to discuss how the work should be displayed. Rea told me that they are not interested in storing everything, but, instead, only the best pieces of both vintage and future classics. In addition to the inherited pieces of design and art, they actively browse first- and second-hand sources at Paris flea markets and the international art fairs.

Collecting certain kinds of designs was quite common in the different households. Rea, who had an interest in art and design, and the Ylinen family, who had thematic hobbies, were the only households that seemingly were collecting things in a systematic manner. Of the others, Theo (who had 40–60 chairs), Kalle & Emma (who specialised in pop antique), Janne (with an interest in vintage design, especially lamps), Asta (who invested in colourful

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P 236. Janne's table

glass) and Sakari & Elisa (who had toy cars and flashlights) were collecting things too, but in a much more arbitrary and unsystematic manner, without aiming towards a certain goal and without needing to complete or keep the collection up to date. I should think that a museum could be built around Rea's and perhaps also the Ylinen family's collections, but, since they were based on private rather than institutional interests, the collections can be seen as part of having a gallery in the home and that certainly holds true with the unsystematic collections of items that the interviewees seemed to be collecting just for the fun of it. Janne talked about a table, which exemplifies this nicely (**P 236**):

- J:** I don't know what that is, this, which looks like a flower table. It's also from a junk shop. I don't know at all who's designed it. It is a flower table from 1940's. Resembles a bit the Aalto vase (laughs) in its own clumsy way. But it is so funny product that I definitely wanted it.
(Janne 04 413-416)

RECREATION THROUGH DESIGN

The kind of domestic humour exemplified by Janne's table can be created through a variety of means. In my sample, people mixed together elements that typically do not go together, by mixing low- and high-end brands, for instance, like Rea. Their "Oldenburg-styled pop suite" shares the space with Ingo Maurer, Gerrit Rietveld, Roy Lichtenstein and Ikea products (**P 237-238**). Kalle & Emma's home (**P 239**) was an example of mixing things together that do go together, but yet, not quite. The result is an amusing rather than a roll-

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P 237–238. Rea's pop suite

P 239 Kalle & Emma's installation

P 240. Olavi's lamp

P 241. Laura's percolator

P 242–243. Laura's chairs and the Magic Bunny by Alessi (Photo: Alessi)

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ing on the floor kind of hilarious. Sometimes it is the product's design as such that is amusing. Here is a joke that Olavi told in a form of a lamp **(P 240)**:

- O:** then those lights are nice objects. These ones I found in Tallinn. They are Italian though, there are three of them. I took three just to be sure. They've got rather a funky light, pointing up. It has this thing that the onlooker wonders what's this bucket, this thingy. It's like a flower pot or something. (Olavi 04 159-162)

Finally, sometimes the time spent with amusing design starts to resemble the more established forms of entertainment. Here, Laura was talking about their percolator **(P 241)**:

- L:** one object that is rather funny, that we even use every now and then, is this coffee maker thing. It's so awfully cumbersome. It makes good coffee though. This is so cumbersome and fragile and really thin glass [assembling the percolator as she talks] if it even touches something it breaks at once. But anyway, it's somehow rather funny. Every now and then we make the effort and make coffee with it. It's somehow funny to watch the water bubbling in the machine and then going in there into the coffee grounds and lifting it away, and then it slowly goes down, the coffee. It's based on that, somehow the water pressure goes, when the coffee is over here, it goes between these, without the coffee coming down. And then after it's cooled down a bit, it pours back down without the coffee grounds. It's strange. And makes good coffee. This is a funny product in all its impossible impracticality. (Laura 04 433-444)

This design-based humour can be very personal and low key – no one outside the household may get it and the jokes may easily go unnoticed. At the same time, designs that are meant to be fun can fail completely. Laura described their chairs by Olli Borg as fun, yet she was almost hostile towards an intentionally fun Magic Bunny by Alessi that she had once received as a gift **(P 242-243)**:

- L:** sometimes we have been given Alessi products, you know. Once, for example, I had a bunny that you pull up, with toothpicks inside. Terribly carefully put together, but I don't understand things like that (laughs). So that was a bunny I passed on gladly. (Laura 04 416-419)

In my sample, doing things for the fun of it appeared to be central to having a gallery and could be seen in lots of daily domestic activities, but less hilarious pleasures were evident, too. Photograph **P 244** is from Janne's renovated kitchen. No doubt, it is pleasing to have a new kitchen, but I am using the photo to illustrate the types of set-ups that are not like still lifes and do not form an intentional impressive-looking whole. Yet, the materials, shapes and colours "go well together".

Another example comes from Laura, who in 2004 said that

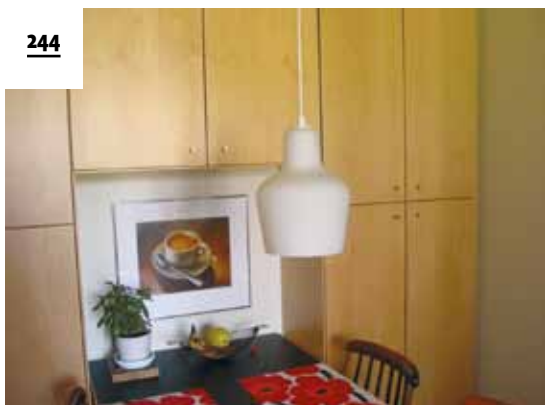
- L:** we have, for example, thought for a long time that we'll buy a toaster but we can't quite find one that would fit, because all of them are either huge or sort of retro, rounded things, that resemble a vacuum cleaner maybe. I don't know, just somehow horrible looking most of them (laughs). And why with the toasters particularly do you have to be so awfully retro? Just a simple box model would be really good. (Laura 04 568-572)

Their new toaster (**P 245**) exemplifies the sometimes very deep satisfaction that one feels for having acquired a product that precisely matches the preferences.

Photograph **P 246** is from Rea's kitchen. It is an example of the everyday installations that are not as intentional as the still lifes but not "piles" either. As we dwell, the activity is facilitated by designed products that have become integrated with a household's use of space and time. In practice, it looks like this. This is also one way to illustrate what scholars mean when they say that households have style (Silverstone 1994 44-49); the style becomes visible, for example, in the colours and shapes and degree of ornamentation that a household tends to prefer. The result can be rather harmonious and interesting.

Tiina's cabinet (**P 247**) exemplifies two common sources of domestic pleasure: on the one hand, the home looks tidy and things are in order, "everything in its right place"; and, on the other hand, that one simply sees good products, good past design decisions, good findings, in the home. Tiina talked about the cabinet in the following manner:

- T:** and then in fact grey is a terribly good colour in interior decoration, too. These grey cabinets are over 20 years old. They are by Sope, you cannot get it anymore in grey, and fortunately I have some of it stored away, up to this high [shows], so it can be dismantled et cetera (Tiina 04 95-98)

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CURATORS IN ACTION

Having a well-curated and up-to-date gallery in the home requires effort and investment of time. Janne provided an illustrative example of the activities involved in curating and running a domestic gallery. In addition to his unsystematic way of collecting things by browsing local pop antique dealers, Janne also repaired products himself, hired others to repair them and, as a hobby, collected and documented inspiring examples of vintage architecture. As an example of Janne's involvement, he talked about how they decided on what firm to hire to do the kitchen renovation based on hearing that the firm was exceptionally willing to discuss renovation details with their clients.

J: I began to study the manufacturers and I thought that I definitely want a manufacturer that I can talk with that person who's, like, one step away from whoever makes the cupboards, so that it's not one of those chains. Then I saw an advertisement for a firm called Artellipuu, from Tampere. And I saw that they make these frames from plywood. And since in principle I appreciate that, with any product, that it's well made and I thought that plywood is a more robust material than

P 244. Janne's kitchen**P 245.** Laura's toaster**P 246.** Rea's kitchen**P 247.** Tiina's shelf

chipboard in any case. So I called them, and in fact it was surprisingly just like I'd wanted, both good service and a human attitude, so that you know that you're talking with the guy who's responsible for all this. And that guy's been here a couple of times and we have mulled over, since in any case they make them individually, the cupboards, and let's measure up and make them based on that, then. (Janne 04 328-337)

Janne also talked about how he took great care in finding the appropriate screws for his relative's window frames:

J: my grandmother moved to a new flat and they were renovating and all the window frames were changed. And I thought that I'm not going to stand around watching this, I was put in charge of overseeing that renovation, and I'm not going to have any Phillips screws sticking out and showing. And then I wanted to try to find some of those old, chrome-plated, one-slot screws. And they didn't have them at the ironmongers, so I went to the recycling centre to try my luck there. (Janne 04 406-411)

And described how he had hunted down the lamp that would suit their bathroom:

J: in its time that was in Orno's catalogue, that lamp. And it was just one that you needed to hunt around for over hill and dale. And then it needed its own separate switch, you needed to go to the factory, to say, listen here, this is the switch I want, and they did it, at no extra charge. (Janne 04 434-438)

As involved and interested as Janne seemed to be, he is not exceptional in the sample. Theo, Kalle & Emma, Asta, Rea, Hannele, Sakari & Elisa, Sanna & Kalevi and Mervi all talked about how they had repaired chairs, lamps, stereos, tables and cupboards; Anniina, Kalle & Emma, Laura, Olavi and Hannele told about how they had hired others to do the repairs. And while no one else besides Janne mentioned collecting and documenting architecture, nearly half of the interviewees (Laura, Olavi, Asta, Tiina, Mervi, Hannele and Rea) kept reading interior design magazines and browsing design markets, especially those abroad.

The whole apartment can be seen as a gallery in the sense that nothing in it is irritating or distracting. In practice, though, such a situation must be quite

rare since all interviewees commented at one point or another on how something could be different, more according to their taste. When looking closer, the offending piece in the gallery is often something that can, in turn, be justified by the home's hotel or museum practices and the piece may be splendid in its appropriate role. No wonder, then, that curating a home is often challenging, since the same item can look different depending on which of the frames of mind one is evoking – that of a gallery worker, museum director or head of a hotel. Some households are very good at keeping all three practices going on at the same time, without it causing too much friction. Hannele is a very good example of this kind of impressive dwelling management. But even in Hannele's household, it seems that some of the hotel practices (the drying of laundry) were forgotten to an extent when they renovated their kitchen.

JAMES BONDS AND CITIZEN KANES

During the interviews, I asked about change and the general product traffic in the household. Curating a hotel is probably responsible for most of the traffic in the household, since on a more or less daily basis some of the facilitating products need to be processed and renewed. On the other hand, the museum practices appear to involve much less change. In this respect, curating a gallery seems to be exceptional because the households differed based on the role of change in the curating process. Some households were changing the products, even frequently, but the goal in changing them was to reach such a state that nothing would need to be changed in the gallery anymore. These households are like the creators of the film *Citizen Kane*, working towards a timeless masterpiece, one which would probably continue to please them even after decades of dwelling. But then, there are those households that embrace change for the sake of change. Much like the recurring James Bond films, there is always something new and exciting in the renewed gallery, while it hardly ever is something completely novel. It probably is safe to assume that to the James Bond-type gallery workers, the fun is in the making, even though the result is entertaining, too.

Hannele is again a good example of someone who made frequent changes; she made seasonal changes and had had different kinds of decoration style “booms”, such as her French rustic and British decoration phases. Asta also talked about how she likes to tune products so that their appearance will fit the rest of the constantly changing home. Rea, Theo and Hannele mentioned how their pieces of furniture are always moving around, either because the thing has not yet found its place or, in contrast, because the thing is really flexible and fits

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P 248–249. Hannele's trolley in 2004 and 2005

P 250–251. Janne's lamp in 2004 and 2005

in with nearly everything. Hannele's sofa and serving trolley are examples of this kind of flexible design (**P 248–249**).

- HP:** well shall we start with this trolley? For example did you get it yourselves or did you inherit it?
- H:** yes (pause) yes. We got that ourselves, yes, but there's nothing particularly exciting about it. It's constantly changing its place. Somehow it always finds a place. It is (pause) it has these wheels and (pause) it's been in our home yes (pause) when did we marry, -76, it must have been at the end of the 1970s that we acquired it. At that time one thought that, yes, Artek is terribly progressive and modern and what-not. Nowadays one does not think quite that way about Artek's or Aalto furniture. (Hannele 04 192-199)

Janne's household was moving around their collection of vintage lamps when I visited, but Janne explained their movement by giving practical reasons rather

than saying that they were intentionally furnishing the apartment. For example, they made a pop-up kitchen out of the fireplace room during the renovation of the kitchen proper, which meant clearing fragile designs out of the way and, for instance, moving the Wirkkala lamp to Janne's study (**P 250–251**).

That Janne's household was not systematically changing the decoration, in the sense of seasonal furnishing for example, is a mild version of a surprisingly common antipathy towards change. Kalle & Emma's comment to this effect is illustrative:

- E:** I think it's somehow amazing how people, like there often are interior decoration magazines, like they say decorate your home to go with the season like get new stuff in the Spring; I think it's somehow pointless. I don't understand it at all. On the other hand, what does make sense is that if you bring the old things back, like, create change, but if it's really like four times a year you buy new stuff to replace the old stuff, that doesn't make any sense. (Kalle & Emma 04 776–780)

Emma grounded her aversion to (complete) change in her sense of environmental responsibility. In a somewhat similar vein, Olavi said that he is willing to invest both time and money in getting products that will last, which he would not need to replace for a long time.

- O:** it is not the object, they are just objects after all, you'll get more of them from the store, but to not acquire them any more, that takes effort. (Olavi 04 48–50)

For Olavi, this means acquiring both functionally and aesthetically lasting products, which in turn means the careful curating of, for example, materials. His approach towards interior decoration resembles that of Tiina and Anniina, who talked about finished interior decoration as being final, or so good that there is no need to change it again. Tiina mentioned how her three previous apartments, especially the kitchens, had been more or less similar and how some of her furniture was several decades old. There was no point to acquiring new pieces of furniture when the current furniture was great. Finally, Hannele, even though she likes to change the interior decoration, proceeds in her furnishing projects in order to get them “off your mind”.

Anniina, Olavi, Hannele and Tiina were in their own ways putting together interior decorations with the idea that it would be possible for them to relax because they would no longer need to think about interior decoration once it

had reached the desired level of perfection. In Hannele's case the process of redecorating the apartment was still in progress. And, as Hannele explained, before a sense of perfection could be reached, it would take a lot of effort because there were the sometimes quite rigorous household standards for what the relaxing and recreative interior decoration should or could be like. For example, Anniina had started to refuse unwanted designs, although she had earlier found it necessary to store them, thus providing a good example of how it is often impossible to keep a museum and gallery within the same walls:

- A:** that [a gift item] was just such an ugly object that (laughs) I had to throw it away (laughs), I couldn't contemplate selling it on, like at a flea market, because I thought (laughs) that no-one deserves such things (laughs). So yes (pause) previously I was too ashamed to throw away, I thought it was horrible that someone has given it as a present and that (pause) I stored everything. I took them to my grandmother's storage or to my parent's storage but they have had to gut their storage themselves and they're asking me to sort out their things and I have masses of stuff there so, now I have decided that I'm no longer taking anything there, and I can't bring it here either, so now I have to put stuff away so (pause) it's not my responsibility (laughs) to keep rubbish like that. (Anniina 04 334-342)

In addition to changing the interior decorations by the practical or seasonal recycling of one's favourite products, another kind of change was going on as well in the households of Anniina, Hannele, Tiina, Kalle & Emma and Sakari & Elisa: all of them were diminishing their museum curator responsibilities in order to make it easier to run either a hotel or a gallery (or both). Between the first and second interviews (except for Anniina, who had started the process earlier), all of these households had started to notice the excessive amount of things there is in the apartment and had started to get rid of products.

SUMMARY

The general idea of products being appropriated to the moral economy of the household has analytical power for making sense how products adopt into people's everyday lives. The product biography in particular seems a good framework for collecting useful data. But the notion of appropriation is too general for pinpointing what roles the context and dweller's comprehension of his or her daily life plays in the appropriation process. Discussing appropriation by using the notion of curating helps to draw a more detailed picture of what is taking place in the home when people are dwelling with design.

My interpretation that homes are curated as hotels, museums and galleries points out the common domestic practices of storing, recreation and socialising that people do in homes, with special attention being paid to the role that design plays or takes in the course of events. The analogy runs as follows: when a home is treated as a hotel, the apartment is used for physical recreation (like eating, sleeping, personal hygiene and exercising) and social entertaining (throwing a party, for instance). When a home is a museum, it is used for storing things that have potential appeal or interest, especially to the people significant to the household. Because of that, the museum aspect is important for social bonding. When a home is viewed as a gallery, it is used for personal goals, especially what I am calling spiritual recreation (such as being amused, intrigued and relaxed – aesthetic and intellectual pleasures). When a home is treated as a gallery, the current collection provides a sense of spiritual recreation for at least that person in the household who is responsible for running the gallery, whereas a museum is run for the household's acquaintances and relatives. All of these practices require such infrastructure practices as cleaning, cooking and keeping things organised. Most of that work can be listed as hotel practices.

The analogy is based on my analysis of the data as I tried to understand how design is used in the home. Apparently, design facilitates a huge array of domestic activities. The idea that “home is a machine for dwelling” is an analogy that often hovered over my computer, but I was not entirely satisfied with it because there were so many ruptures and halts in the stories that the interviewees told me. I dismissed the machine analogy, but questions still remained: Why is dwelling with design not accomplished more smoothly? Why is there never enough storage space for unwanted gifts that cannot be thrown away? Why are there annoying piles of stuff and how come favourite items get forgotten? But then a pattern started to emerge from the interviews, or rather, from the mapping of activities: dwelling is not simply a background context for design; instead, dwelling materialises through the often design-intensive actions people do on a daily basis. Dwelling does not happen elegantly and without ruptures because it consists of often contradictory lines of action, of practices, which people rarely are motivated to iron out.

On the other hand, dwelling is not entirely random. In fact, much of what is done in a home to make it fit for dwelling seems to make use of the same kinds of curating skills that it takes to run a professional museum, a gallery or a hotel. Indeed, it seems to me that the home is often seen through these distinct frames of mind: it is defined, metaphorically speaking, as “a gallery”, “a museum” or “a hotel”, depending on the practice one is involved with, and the appropriation of products is curated from that specific point of view. The ideal design facilitates all three practices. In reality, though, ideal products may be rarer than what designers would like to think; rather than aiming for an ideal type of design, households often settle on making the best possible or least irritating compromises. But one should not stretch the analogy too far. When professional curators are running hotels, museums and galleries, they can be seen as striving to fulfil some sort of branded vision of perfection. Homes rarely reach an easily discernible level of perfection precisely because the home is not a professionally run branded hotel, museum or gallery; instead, dwelling is managed through combining kindred practices that are often incompatible. A home may be perfect, but the perfection is usually reached through a kaleidoscopic, even conflicting, vision and therefore, it is incoherent and unpredictable in a way that a branded institution’s “front stage” rarely is (Goffman 1959).

In hindsight, during the interviews it was comparatively difficult to get comments about design relating to the home as a hotel because the design was often anonymous and the practices mundane and routine; therefore, they were not easy to talk about. Design relating to the kitchen, to cooking and eating, is an exception. The analogy of the home as a museum was easier to discuss, because

most households readily talked about storing things that did not have direct value to the household. On the other hand, most of the “museum design” was being stored in cupboards, cellars and summer cottages, which means that they were not talked about because the products were nowhere to be seen. In these respects, the design that is connected to the home as a gallery elicited the opposite response: it was easy to talk about because gallery products are (by definition) often displayed and, since the product usually has had significance to its owner from the start, the product’s biography is well known and remembered.

I make no claim that my interpretations are always accurate: I may have misinterpreted something as being part of a gallery, while, in reality, the appropriation may have been a part of a museum, but I do claim that the general notion that homes are curated through distinct and recognisable mind sets holds true and can be generalised. I think that the hotel, museum and gallery analogies apply quite well to the typical Western dwelling, although, for instance, the idea of the home as an office could no doubt benefit from a separate discussion, given how much people seem to be working at home. However, the analogies of hotel, museum and gallery seem most economically to cover the central findings in my data.

Defining dwelling through curating practices is, as such, an original notion, but Anges Heller has treated everyday life in a manner that comes very close to my discussion. According to Heller, the everyday arrangements offer a space for recreation, in which cooking, washing the clothes, taking care of the children’s education and their personal development, rest, social relations and reproduction are all important elements of private living (Gardiner 2000a; Knuuttila 2003 201). I am also reminded of Henri Lefebvre’s rhythm analysis; he points out that the lines of action follow different rhythms, which causes friction and incompatibility in everyday life, although Lefebvre locates the incompatibility as occurring between public institutions and private homes rather than within the home (Lefebvre 1992). Nansen et al. is a rare example of domestic rhythms research but they focused on the use of time (Nansen et al. 2009). Finally, Turo-Kimmo Lehtonen points to the enjoyment of shopping with a good friend, which one of his interviewees explained to him. Lehtonen describes how

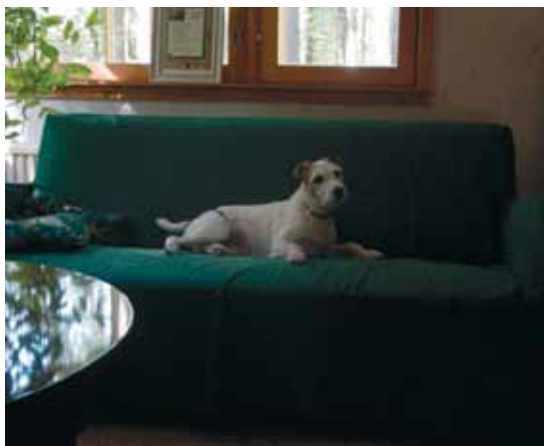
together they take a look at textiles and clothes and handle them. Then they sit down in a café which she thinks is elegant, ‘a bit continental’. They do not necessarily buy anything, they just ‘take a look at what’s there’[...] This activity, normally so boring, is now a lovely occasion to enjoy the material world, share her taste and get respect from a person she respects a lot. (Lehtonen 1999a 256).

Lehtonen calls this kind of shopping “recreational shopping” and, even though Lehtonen emphasises the importance of the social aspect, I think something very similar takes place when one is alone enjoying a pleasing home.

In my discussion on gallery practices, it was pointed out that all of the households in my sample can be seen as having some sort of gallery practices going on, but that the households differed in what kind of galleries they were aiming to create and maintain. For some, the goal was more like that of the film *Citizen Kane*, a one-time masterpiece, while others were involved with creating James Bond-type galleries, the kinds of galleries that come one after another in a more or less cyclical pattern. But then there were those households whose curating style resembled most closely “waiting for Godot”, the famous play by Samuel Beckett. The next chapter is about them and waiting.



6





DESIGN LIMBO



INTRODUCTION

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The challenge in curating a hotel, museum and gallery in one household is that the respective practices easily clash with each other. When that happens, the households may start to make compromises instead of working towards perfectly curated home. Sometimes, the practices become so intertwined that the household is not curated at all.

Mervi's outline of her interior decoration during our second meeting made me realise that, contrary to what the moral economy of the household literature implies, homes cannot be seen as efficiently fulfilling a dweller's stylistic visions. In 2004, Mervi mentioned that she was thinking about moving out of her rented apartment and buying her own apartment. In 2005, she was living in the same rented two-room apartment. When I asked her about it, she explained that it had been, professionally speaking, a hectic year and she had not had any energy to even think about buying an apartment or renovating the rented home so that it would be in a condition that she would find pleasing. In effect, she was living with, for example, the same plastic wall-to-wall carpet that she hated.

For me, this was a theoretical puzzle: how can it be made understandable that a professional designer, one who clearly appreciated certain dwelling aesthetics, continues to live in conditions she finds displeasing? Of course, financial resources are one thing and, like Mervi explained, a lack of time is another, but, from my point of view, explaining the perfectly common phenomenon that somebody is not living the way they would like to live by stating that there has not been enough time and money does not go deep enough into the matter. Mervi had invested her time and money somewhere, so why not into her home? By asking this question, I do not, of course, imply that she (or anyone else) should invest time and money into dwelling. The point is not that the ruptures and halts should not be there. I just wanted to understand them better.

Consequently, it started to seem that the analogy of people running and curating hotels, museums and galleries should make a point about how designed products are sometimes problematic and not just solutions. Looked at from that point of view, some of the product biographies in the data started to take on a new kind of importance. In addition to the products finding their places in the home, there were stories about products not finding their places, not becoming a part of the daily routines, products that were annoying, depressing or just confusing. The presence of such products was explained with practical reasons: the product is used and stored in a home because of the renovation, apartment, pets, relatives or children or because right now it is an open question what could be the best solution to the problem (of an annoying product) in the household. In effect, the household is waiting that the situation changes and in the meantime settles on living with what they themselves see as a compromise.

At first, I referred to those situations of a household seeming to be stuck as a “purgatory”. According to Wikipedia, in addition to its original theological meaning, the word means “any place or condition of suffering or torment, especially one that is temporary”. But then I realised that I was putting words into my interviewees’ mouths: I was seeing painful suffering and anxiety where there in the household was indifference or mild amusement. Curiously enough, I found another theological term, “limbo”, which I believe describes better the situation when the curating comes to a halt. Limbo, in colloquial speech, is a waiting plane between actions where, according to Wikipedia, “nothing can be done until another action happens”. This chapter takes a closer look at some such stories in the data.

CHAIN REACTIONS

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During our first meeting in 2004, Theo was understandably and visibly proud of their kitchen, which was more or less finished and well in line with how Theo had envisioned their kitchen looking (P 252–253).

HP: do you have some clear idea then of the final result that you want?

T: Yes

HP: a particular era or

T: no. I mean, here's one model that holds (pause) I think the kitchen so far has been the most successful. Well, okay, it's the most finished. In the sense that the explicit thing is that it doesn't look like it's been done, like, that now we're doing a model home. Instead, let's do a kitchen that looks like, and actually is, above everything else, is meant for cooking.

HP: do you cook a lot?

T: yeah. So it's, definitely, that it doesn't matter what it looks like, provided it is a place where you can cook. (Theo 04 118–127)

Theo told me how he had wanted their kitchen to look like a “proper kitchen” where it would be obvious to anyone visiting that it was a place for serious cooking and not just a lifestyle thing. Accordingly, Theo was expecting heavy cooking to take place there.

However, in 2005 he admitted that actually they had not used the kitchen nearly at all (P 254–255). When I asked the reasons for this rather unexpected turn of events, Theo said that, contrary to his expectations, and despite careful planning, the kitchen had turned out to be impractical: it is too tight for working and storing stuff and, what is more, the things there have not yet found their places. When I stubbornly asked for a more detailed description, it turned

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out that the real culprit for the impractical kitchen was the set of tableware they were using:

T: Well they have found their places, but the problem is that we have an awful lot of tableware plus the actual set of dishes that probably (pause) it's also kind of, a bit like the placing of furniture and the spots for the lamps around the house, we'll change tableware and for the moment there is a set, which, that was never even meant to be in use in there in the kitchen, and that's why it hasn't found a place there, in organised manner.

HP: is it a fancy set of dishes or

T: no, just an everyday set but, well, of course also for parties, but they are sort of tat tableware, so it'll probably find a place in the rubbish or in storage.

HP: is this due to the renovation, this temporary solution?

T: yeah. And we haven't opened up all boxes upstairs, these ones have just been conveniently to hand. So that's one issue that has clearly, at some spiritual level, prevented us getting that kitchen to that stage,

P 252–253. Theo's kitchen in 2004

P 254–255. Theo's kitchen in 2005

including this hanger [one of Theo's favourite items in 2004], where things would start to find their proper places. (Theo 05 291-305)

Theo is describing such a series of events where one thing leads to another until the household winds up in a situation where the end result may be something that nobody was looking for. In Theo's case, there were practical reasons for using a particular set of tableware. The set was easily available and, since no one in the family liked it, it did not matter if the dishes broke, and, indeed, the risk of breaking a dish was higher because of the renovation. That was the plan. But then, because the set was not what they were actually going to use, it was not put into "its place", but then neither was anything else. Instead, ingredients, coffee makers and other stuff floated around in the kitchen and, in effect, the kitchen had become impossible to use. It seems, then, that a displeasing tableware was preventing Theo's household from using the kitchen. Said in this way, it no doubt makes one wonder why they just did not go upstairs and hunt for a set they found pleasing enough to live with and call it quits. But, in reality, displacing the annoying set with a more pleasing one would have required opening up and sorting through all the boxes in the upstairs storage, an action that was unreasonable as long as the renovation was still in full swing.

In the sample, there were some occasions which further illustrate how it is possible to get trapped in a situation where certain previous actions continue to echo in the present and influence how dwelling with design takes place. Sanna's pair of sofas is a case in point (**P 256**). She presented them as the most beautiful things that she owned. However, Sanna and Kalevi had covered the sofas with green canvas because they had acquired a dog.

- S:** I just laughed that these sofas are really beautiful. When we were living together just the two of us, without [the dog], we didn't need anything like these [covers]. I've been laughing about how, when we're in our 60's, we can get rid of them, unless we also then have a dog, then not even then. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 58-61)

In effect, Sanna was in a situation where her beautiful sofas would be covered for roughly fifteen years because of their dog and, in any case, at least for several years because their child would be at a hazardous age. Other interviewees with small babies also told about the future changes that they were going to make in the apartment because of kids. Here is Laura:

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P 256. Sanna & Kalevi's
sofa

HP: the baby doesn't (pause) walk yet, no?

L: no but [the baby] already gets up to stand. So that's why in a sense, well (pause) no doubt even more at some point, we will have to maybe move things around a bit. And then when [the baby] learns to open cupboards, we'll have to think a bit about what's inside (laughs). So [the baby] is at a tricky age. But that's like, [the baby] will just empty that shelf in the bookshelf, because that's so interesting, to pull down the books (laughs) (Laura 05 159-165)

I already pointed out how the whole household may be scheduled to meet the requirements of some future event. The other side of the coin is that dwelling with design is often about waiting for the current situation to change: when a baby is born, when the children are older, once the kids move out, when we have retired, when the renovation is over, after the party, and so forth. In the meantime, it takes something like aesthetic stamina and the skill of making good compromises to live through the sometimes decades-long waiting periods.

But the chain of something influencing and narrowing future options need not lead to a compromise design waiting for change. The situation requiring compromises can be permanent as well, simply because some designs necessitate making the compromise. Here is Olavi talking about his humidifier:

O: the [humidifier] is a must because of that parquet floor. And of course the air is also healthier. A motorised ventilator, it dries the air. The

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P 257–258. Olavi's
humidifier and
windows

electricity bills are pretty horrible because there is so much of that gear. (pause) But in the winter especially it matters, when the radiators are on, so (pause) the parquet wouldn't survive unless you did that. (pause) Those laminated parquets, board parquets, they'll be OK more or less, but a solid wood parquet like this, it'll start to deteriorate. (Olavi 05 328–333)

Olavi had been forced to acquire a humidifier because he had put in a parquet floor, which requires it. According to Olavi, the machine is not very beautiful to look at and causes huge electric bills. Olavi also mentioned that they cannot put up curtains because the shape of the windows made it difficult. That was not a problem for Olavi, though, since he liked venetian blinds (**P 257–258**).

Finally, we might even recall Janne's work chair, which had been broken; so he took it to the bedroom, where the chair was transformed into a laundry basket. Janne was stoically putting up with the far inferior replacement chair.

HP: what happened to this chair, the one that used to be your study chair?

J: its textile cover fell apart and I took it off and painted the chair.

Underneath it's plywood, I painted it black and took it into the bedroom and now there is a huge mountain of laundry on it (laughs). It was actually a much better study chair so (pause) but with this stuff it's always that when it accumulates, it gets harder and harder to arrange it, there's no room. And part of the problem has been that, since we wanted this cheese-plant, which you can see in this photograph, we wanted to remove it to somewhere where it wouldn't be by this bookshelf. We moved it here, to where the chair is, and from there it turned into a sort of chain reaction that this became, at least

for now, the study chair which, especially if you work on the computer for a bit longer, is very unpleasant. (Janne 05 311-321)

Janne uses the term “chain reaction” for those types of actions that often characterise dwelling activities. Most famously, the philosopher Denis Diderot has focused on the notion of a design-intensive chain reaction in an essay in which he describes receiving a tobacco coat as a gift, an elegant item that outshined everything else in his study and that subsequently forced him to replace nearly everything in his study, resulting a room where nothing felt familiar (Diderot 1769). Grant McCracken coined the term “Diderot unity” to refer to a set of designs that the builder of the set thinks constitute a whole and into which something can intrude and even shatter the unity (McCracken 1988). The unity shattering chain reactions described here are less dramatic. Instead of a complete change, only a partial change would be required. However, the partial change is out of the question because it would mean not having a renovation, pets or children, for example, or it is not seen worth making, at least not just now since one prefers to do something else. Like Olavi explained the offending humidifier:

- the meaning of life is not in taking care of a parquet; there are other activities. (Olavi 05 336)

Ruptures in the curating of a home are interesting because they make it evident that curating home is not just about furnishing home with designed items. The notion of curating points out that for most of us, domestic recreation does not stem solely from aesthetic perfection. A home is often curated as a comfortable place for the children and pets, for example, and when that is the case, households often make compromises. Furnishing an apartment according to the household’s standards can, of course, be central in the home’s moral economy and the household is not making any compromises. Such homes are motivated to remove any obstacles that prevent the household to dwell with design the way they want to. Willingness to make compromises seems to be more common, though, which, again, implies that household identities do not easily shatter in front of imperfect design.

WAITING FOR DECISION

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Common to the examples so far has been that efficient curating and the respective appropriation of design has slowed down because something concrete in the home gets in the way, so to speak. The very physical children, pets, parquet floors, messy renovations and constantly renewed piles of laundry are material reasons behind the design compromises. But sometimes the reasons behind halts and compromises are conceptual. It is recognised that “this is not good” but there is not yet a concept, a vision, about what the “good” would be. Even so, materiality of the physical world and the “chain reactions” play their parts, as we see in the following.

In 2004, we met in Ilmari’s downstairs one-room apartment, which was, according to him, in bad shape and full of his things. He would have liked to have renovated the room but could not because he could not bring his stuff to his upstairs two-room apartment; there was a tenant living there. Ilmari had plans to renovate the one-room apartment once the upstairs tenant leaves and he could empty the one-room apartment by taking the things upstairs. However, in 2005 Ilmari was living upstairs in the two-room apartment and the downstairs one-room apartment was serving as a storage room for his things. Ilmari would have liked to have rented the one-room apartment, but could not do so because the apartment would have needed to be completely renovated first. In 2005, Ilmari was slowly moving stuff upstairs, but he told me that it was an extremely slow process because, on the one hand, he was not in a hurry (there were not outside pressures to get the one-room apartment renovated) and, on the other hand, he was taking the opportunity to really think about how he wanted to live and therefore did not want to bring anything unnecessary upstairs. Ilmari described the situation:

- I:** But yes, I can say that most of the stuff is still somewhere down there. Because, that’s an issue I’ve had, that I wouldn’t want to bring any-

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thing extra here. And at the same time, I'm thinking about what do I, like, need. And then there is the concrete problem that I don't have closet space and I really can't make them fit, for example I've got a lot more plates and kitchenware than I can fit in. Partly because when I left, I rented this out, so then I had tenants who insisted on having a dish-washer, which I have never used, ever in my life, but now it's here, anyway. And it takes up one whole cupboard, where I used to have all the spoons and forks. I'm also thinking about could I have had some sort of cupboard over there, on the top and (pause) these are the kinds of questions I've been thinking about, like where could I fit cupboards. And then, of course, it turns out that you can't get just those cupboards anymore, they've been discontinued. That's Puustelli's brilliant idea. They have some models that they keep just for the time it takes for people to buy just a few, and then they renew the whole collection (laughs) (Ilmari 05 153-166)

P 259–260. Ilmari's kitchen downstairs and upstairs

It turned out that there were practical reasons why the appropriation of products had stopped in Ilmari's household. Most of the stuff downstairs was kitchen stuff but there were not enough cupboards in the upstairs kitchen because Ilmari had had to remove the cupboards to make room for a dishwasher in order to get the apartment rented and he could not buy more of the same cupboards because Puustelli did not make them anymore. Thus, Ilmari was in a situation in which he would either need to throw away the things downstairs or redesign and renovate the upstairs kitchen in order to have room for all his dishes and cutlery (**P 259–260**).

Ilmari had plans to clean and organise the place, but, alas, that did not happen, not without outside prompting at least:

- HP:** have you ever been to a flea market with your own stall?
- I:** no I haven't. That too, it also takes some effort and needs some (pause) but I could probably be quite easily persuaded to do that kind of closet clear-out but I probably wouldn't do it on my own, though. (pause) I've got the downstairs, that's what I thought, that I was supposed to empty it out and one way to empty it would be (pause) the problem is that I cannot bring upstairs, there isn't, in a sense, the draw to bring those things from downstairs. The same goes for the cellar, I could take all sorts of things from there to the flea market, too.
- HP:** but not throw it away as rubbish then?
- I:** well no, like, good stuff. That doesn't really make much sense. (Ilmari 05 776-784)

Ilmari did not feel that his situation was as tragic as I have made it out to be. Rather, he quite enjoyed his opportunity to slowly study the products and how he would like to live with them:

- I:** This process of mine, it's really very slow as opposed to, like, there isn't much outside pressure hardly at all. This is like a picking at gourmet food, that I'm on the lookout, that I could this or I could that or (pause) it's rather minimalistic when objects show up here, when it's their moment. It's somehow an entirely different dynamic then. Except, it also happens that, okay, then one day I will start renting the downstairs, it will have to be emptied, so then it will take one week-end to carry all the stuff (laughs) somewhere (Ilmari 05 432-440)

In Ilmari's household, the extinction of his kitchen cupboards from the Puustelli's collection is the design problem preventing him from executing his original plans; as a consequence, curating the home was very slow or had halted altogether. Ilmari had turned the problem to his advantage, though, and used the time to reflect how he would like to dwell.

Not knowing what to do does not need to mean that no actions are taken. Sanna & Kalevi had lots of ideas about what should be done with the house that they had bought, but they did not have a clear plan. Instead of slowing down, they started projects here and there. Since their efforts were scattered,

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P 261. Sanna & Kalevi's
living room

there were lots of projects that had been started but not finished. One example was the living room wall (**P 261**):

- S:** in the first morning, I started to tear away the plastic flooring. It has boards underneath, under this, too. And I tore down some wall. So we'll see how it'll be done but (pause) This is going to be (pause) it was so horrible that wall, it was like that, this whole wall was full of these little handprints. I thought I'm tired of looking at it, and tore it down. (Sanna & Kalevi 04 6-10)

Dwelling work without plan is not necessarily disastrous. Constant exploring can be a dwelling style, like for example in the Asta's household. But whereas Asta was tuning products and painting walls and enjoying every moment, Sanna and Kalevi were fighting the numerous and displeasing designs left by the previous owners. Due to the sheer size of the house, they were still far from the starting point from which it would be possible to start to curate the home.

Daniel Miller has studied Londoners living on rent in a council estate and found that the tenants put different amounts of effort into personalising the apartment, up to the point of complete transformation (Miller 1990). Living on rent, as such, does not paralyse curating. In my sample, though, the three households living in rented apartments, Liisa, Sakari & Elisa and Mervi, had not invested in the present apartments, even though they had lived in them for several years. All also thought that the apartments are temporary and that someday they will move out and buy their own apartments. Mervi was certain that then she would invest time in dwelling work:

- HP:** do you think, then, that if you were to buy your own flat, things would be somehow different there?
- M:** Yes! Definitely. And that relates to. Definitely, this all relates to, I mean, temporariness relates to a rented flat and to (pause) like, quite clearly. If I had my own, of course you make it nice and it's somehow more permanent and stuff. (Mervi 05 269-272)

So, on the surface, those living on rent were not actively curating their homes because they were living on rent. But, perhaps by a coincidence, Liisa, Sakari & Elisa and also Ilmari were amid a transformation that directly reflects in how they feel about design. Liisa mentioned explicitly that her taste is not what it used to be but that she does not yet know how it has changed. Sakari & Elisa had started to diminish their collections of small mementos and Sakari was thinking about cleaning some of his storages. Ilmari had just moved back to Finland after years abroad and was slowly but actively figuring out how he would want to live. Ilmari (who, by the way, has got an excellent sense of humour) summarised the situation:

- I:** And another thing was that, because, in recent years, I've ended up buying a few new pairs of shoes and more clothes, so, I don't have a wardrobe. And then someone had recommended that I should buy a new flat when I come back to Finland, to start a new life. And they were just so expensive and I didn't see anything nice and I thought I'm not going to buy a flat in the middle of this hassle. And instead, I went to Ikea. Like, I solved this apartment problem by buying a bookshelf and a wardrobe from Ikea. (Ilmari 05 14-20)

Ikea was by far the most frequently mentioned brand in my study (in 19 out of the 30 interviews) and the general opinion was that Ikea products are cheap, easy to pick out and seldom require or encourage emotional investment. That is why Ilmari went to Ikea. When one does not know for sure, it is better to make cheap compromises than invest heavily. But even Ikea requires effort. The products do not travel on their own from the store to the apartment and they need to be assembled. This brings us back to the materiality and the physical reality of curating: just like not even the Ikea products magically appear in the apartment, the products do not vanish at will. It is surprisingly cumbersome to get rid of things. In addition to the physical heavy lifting that ridding involves, often there is a conflict of interest in the background. The products cannot be thrown to trash but not recycled either. Ilmari's landline phone is a good

example. In 2004, he talked about how he might repair it sometime. In 2005, he still had it in the downstairs apartment and had not repaired it. His comment summarises the impossible situation he was in with the phone:

- l: that telephone I could give away, no problem. It's just that, who would benefit from it. Like, throwing it away is not a nice idea. (Ilmari 05 636-637)

Ilmari was stuck with a product that no one wanted anymore, but for him throwing it away felt worse than storing it. He did not mind storing the telephone because he had the whole downstairs apartment to use as a storage, so it did not clash with the upstairs gallery. Later, I heard that Ilmari had moved in with someone, but I do not know what happened to the telephone. I wish I would have asked.

SUMMARY

Some of the households in the sample were on occasions living in what really could be called a purgatory – not feeling good about not being able to act or make the types of decisions that they apparently would have wanted to make. More often, though, the term limbo is more to the point: the whole household or some designs in the apartment were on a waiting plane, waiting for someone to make a decision, for someone's taste to change or, for example, for the children to grow up. The limbo needs not be painful; it can just be a calm and slow way of dwelling (Kopomaa 2009). That it is taken here to be a topic in its own stems from my realisation that passivity should also receive attention. Paying attention to not doing and to indifference in general, would probably require method development because people more easily can talk about what they have done rather than what they have not done; the list of actions is always of course finite, whereas the list of what has not been done is potentially indefinite. Nevertheless, even in my sample there were notions of passivity, indifference, forgetting and neglect connected with design. In many instances, this did not bother the interviewees at all. Not doing and not minding seems to be a part of the ordinary course of everyday life, and perhaps has to do with the complexity of how ordinary people typically dwell. To take an example, one of the interviewees (Anniina) could be seen as controlling her dwelling through design to an extent that there was very little design that she did not care about. She was exceptional, however, since the other interviewees could point to more examples of design that they did not like. Nevertheless, even Anniina found her laptop to be “ugly and thick”, but said that she was not interested enough to do anything about it.

It seems to me that it is exceptional to live only with the types of designs that one is actually connected to. And, to invoke David Halle's critique of acquisition being motivated by seeking a sense of status (Halle 1993), very

little in the interviewees' comments suggested that the object in question had been adopted in order to impress others; often the interviewees did not have a clear motivation at all for adopting a particular design. Janne's account in the 2004 interview of what had happened to one of his favourite items provides a nice example of what I find problematic with the current research on products. In 2004, Janne talked about the Wirkkala plate that he owned with apparent pleasure and admiration. On the one hand, he liked its minimalist design, but he also was explicitly pleased that the item is rare and sought by collectors. That comment is one of the few in the data that made me think that one source of pleasure could be the rarity of an item, thus implying that status was one of the reasons that the item was appropriated for the home. However, neither his admiration of minimalism nor the rarity of the item prevented Janne from forgetting about the item once it had been put away. My point is that such forgetfulness is more of a rule than an exception: it is integral to our dealings with products and design that we most often do not even think about them.

Ossi Naukkarinen, in his writings about the aesthetics of everyday life, provides a good but also rare example of a discussion about how people do not actively think about products. His discussion concerns appearance (Naukkarinen 1998, 2000), and he outlines how it is characteristic of everyday aesthetics (as opposed to the aesthetics of the rare and exceptional, of which art is the most traditional topic) that we do not pay much attention to an item's appearance and that often the aesthetics of personal appearance has become more a matter of routine, without people paying much attention to it at all. Billy Ehn and Orvar Löfgren (Ehn & Löfgren 2010) provide an illustrative example of this in their discussion about doing one's make-up:

One woman said that being asked to describe her morning makeup routine, which she said usually took ten to fifteen minutes, made her realise how little she usually reflects about it and its complexity. There are many details that have to be organised into order and rhythm: cleaning the face, putting on foundation, adding shadow to the eyelids, brushing the eyelashes, using a mascara pen for the eyebrows, and finally applying lipstick and rouge, to name a few of the basic details. The hands move fast and confidently among the heap of tools, containers, and other props in the cosmetic bag, searching for the right ingredients, colours, and mixes. "Even if I have done this a thousand times," she said, "it still calls for concentration and a steady hand." But this does not prevent her mind from wandering. Putting on makeup is for her a moment of daydreaming and planning. (Ehn & Löfgren 2010 96)

The authors summarise that,

The use of makeup has always been surrounded by many unwritten rules, moral judgments, and taboos. And questions abound: What is too much, vulgar, or just right, what is discrete, and who decides? Should women use cosmetics at all? One need only go to the Internet and read intense discussions about right and wrong in questions relating to makeup to realise that it is a complex moral and ideological universe, a private routine linked to a multinational cosmetics industry, animal experimentation, and gender struggles. (ibid.)

In addition to providing an excellent outline of what could be called “the moral economy of make-up”, the quote also illustrates how in the accounts of everyday practices, the focus is mostly on what people do rather than on what is left undone, and on actions and activity, while passivity and not being involved receives little attention; if it does receive any attention, the attention is often hostile. Mika Ojakangas (Ojakangas 2002) discusses how philosophers ranging from the ancient Greeks to Hannah Ardent have seen activism as an important definition of a competent citizen. The key question for Ojakangas has to do with the nature of life: does it need to be of a certain quality (“a good life”) in order to be recognised? Or – Ojakangas argues – would not we be better off if we could believe that any kind of life (“mere life”) is valuable? In the preface to his book, Ojakangas writes about how ancient Greek culture, and indeed all of Western culture, has been – so far – the culture of winners – those who are the most active, loud and quickly moving. My discussion and the overall context is far less serious or pressing – I am talking about design and a home’s interior decoration, after all – but it is in its own way fitting that I can argue that admiring activity, efficiency and winners reflects upon how we discuss everyday life even in such mundane contexts as interior decoration and dwelling with design.

In this chapter, I have looked at passivity and not doing something by discussing how the interviewees can be seen as being in a period of waiting (“in design limbo”); they were waiting for the type of change to happen that would allow them to take the next steps in a line of future actions. In my interpretation of the data, the limbo period was a result of a chain reaction where previous decisions had led to a situation in which the subject felt that nothing could be done until the current situation had changed, or, on the other hand, the limbo reflected an ongoing transformation in the moral economy of the household, that is, a transformation in the definitions of what was proper and desired

design in the household. I have also described designed products as existing on a waiting plane; for example, they might be waiting for future repairs to be made or for the product to find its place within the home.

But even waiting suggests activity. If one is waiting, one is waiting for something, like the characters in the play are, probably endlessly, waiting for Godot. The notion of waiting leaves little space for complete indifference, which, I think, would be an accurate description of most of our connections with the products. Alas, the indifference, the absence of activity and attention, is very difficult to catch a hold of in research. The domestication framework, however, can be seen to acknowledge indifference towards domestic settings, even if in an admittedly indirect manner:

It is possible to see how physical artefacts, in their arrangement and display, as well as in their construction and in the creation of the environment for their display, provide an objectification of the values, the aesthetic and the cognitive universe, of those who feel comfortable or identify with them. (Silverstone et al. 1992 22-23)

I am suggesting that it is possible to dwell in a home without feeling anything particular about it and without identifying with “the aesthetic and the cognitive universe” that the arrangement and display of artefacts would objectify, should someone be interested in them. In other words, neither the concept of home nor of design are necessarily as loaded as the existing literature and professional and layman conversations make them out to be when people are specifically concentrating on discussing them. In such discussions – as well as in the interviews in my data – the very process of focusing on the topic causes it gain more importance than what people otherwise give it during the course of their everyday lives. While the failures and disappointments that are a part of curating perfect hotels, museums and galleries within the home often generate corrective activities (Shove et al. 2007b 34-35), these activities are by no means automatic. Even disappointing interior decoration can be tolerable and does not necessarily need to be changed.



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DOMESTICATION OF DESIGN



TWO DESIGNS

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The domestication process that takes place within a home is often quite lengthy and full of contradictions and probably forms a coherent, accountable picture only in the pages of interior decoration magazines, where every action is justified and part of an entertaining chain of exotic accidents and emerging brands. The mediated households are wide open, they cherish gifts and heirlooms, and they appear to do hardly anything else but study what is available in the design stores, flea markets and relative's attics. The contrast with my findings is stark, to say the least. But both contexts are real. The polished magazine represents design in the home as it appears in the public whereas I have focused on design in the private home. In this last chapter, I want to take a look at the interface of private and public and to look at how the appropriation of design looks in light of a designed product's whole career in the market.

The life of a completely domesticated consumer good begins with product design. Once the design has been deemed good (or good enough), the product is manufactured. Commodification starts at some point during those first two phases, since commodification consists of a producer's attempts to interpret the product, through marketing for example, so that the product starts to become familiar to consumers. The customer participates in the commodification of the product by becoming involved with it and starts to singularise the commodified product by first learning about it, then by acquiring it and finally by making it part of one's everyday life through a process of objectification and incorporation as the product becomes integrated as part of the spatial and temporal organisation of domestic practices. At the same time, the customer becomes the user of the product. Commodification, objectification and incorporation fuel the next phase of domestication, conversion, in which a user brings the product back to the realm of product design, manufacturing and commodification by making parts of his or her interpretation of the product public.

That is the ideal. According to Roger Silverstone, the reality of the domestication of technologies and media is full of tensions:

There is an essential tension between the technological and the social which has to be worked out at every level, from the political and the personal. Neither party is stable in this, though both, as it were, seek that stability. So designers and manufacturers, as well as policy-makers, construct their objects and functionalities with ideal users and optimum conditions of use in mind: in their own ideal world of laboratory life, they have worked out the benefits and adjusted to the risks; the technologies are designed to be robust, functionally effective and socially consequential. Users want the perfect fit: an enhancement of the quality of their everyday lives without its destabilization; an extension of personality and power without a disruption of identity; a freeing from the constraints of community, without a complete dislocation from the moral order of society. (Silverstone 2006 234)

Silverstone continues by juxtaposing the producers' idealistic work with the essential conservatism of users:

This is the constitutive dialectic of projection and preservation that users bring to any innovation: preservation of the present, projection into the future, and one that constantly challenges the linear logic of diffusion, as well as the hoped-for maintenance of individuals' power to control their own private space, their own media ecology. (ibid.)

Interestingly, much the same can be said about the domestication of design. Based on what we have learned about how design is appropriated and made a part of the home, a picture emerges in which homes are living amidst a full-blown consumer society; in this society, producers are restlessly creating all sorts of differently styled designed products, whereas households, for their part, refuse to even start the commodification process, let alone have the product enter their homes. In other words, of the myriad of designs that producers are making available to the general public, only a fraction are recognised, let alone appropriated by the households.

Silverstone describes a household's role in the market by referring to Michel de Certeau's analogy of institutional strategies trying to tame the consumers, whereas consumers respond by generating private tactics of resistance (de Certeau 1984). While the analogy can be seen as accurate, it assigns too much energy to the discussion, since much of what consumers are actually doing as

an actors in the market is to be plain and simply ignorant or indifferent. The notion of the moral economy of the household is a key player in this game between producers and consumers. In essence, the moral economy is about a household deciding how and where to allocate its resources and, especially, its time. Since there is always a limited amount of time, and often even more limited amounts of motivation and interest in learning about what the market has to offer, households can be seen as self-regulating in the sense that they are very selective in terms of where and in what ways they choose to pay attention. Consequently, households remain indifferent to most of what is available in the marketplace at any one time.

The notion that a household's everyday life consists of creating and maintaining a moral economy materialises in the relatively few properties of a designed product that a household finds suitable and worth investing time into. Sometimes it is enough that the product has a suitable set of functional properties (like usability and reliability), but often the aesthetic properties (like colour and style) need to meet household standards, too. Both of these properties of a designed product often crystallise in the form of the preferred institutional properties of a product, which most often is the brand of the designer or manufacturer associated with the product. Households make their choices about the properties of the designed products that they are using in order to make it easier and less time consuming to learn about the products and navigate in the market. Based on my analysis of interviews, it seems that, from household's point of view, the Helsinki, as a pool of resources for dwelling, resembles only faintly the geographical map of Helsinki. It seems that the households recognize only a fraction of the thousands of stores and brands in Helsinki. Those households who are interested in, for example, vintage Scandinavian design browse different stores than those who prefer contemporary Italian design, while those whose style consists of an assorted richness of colours, patterns and materials have yet again a different selection of stores that they visit. As a consequence, for any one household in Helsinki, there are a limited number of ways to enter the market and points of acquisition because the household in question sees that the preferred properties of the designed product are only available in a small selection of stores. For some, the entry points consist of exclusive boutiques in the downtown whereas for others the entry points are at shopping centres and supermarkets, and others still mostly browse second-hand markets and auctions. And though I do not have much material about it, the same probably applies to the websites as well. No one has time to keep up with everything and, it seems, the properties of the designed product, often

summarised in the institutional properties, are used as a means to filter the flood of stuff available on the market.

The properties of the designed product are important when a household is navigating its way through the market and looking for suitable products. But once the item has been spotted, the properties of the designed product rapidly lose importance and instead the household's style of dwelling, established via the workings of the moral economy, becomes the point from which the product is evaluated. It is no longer about whether the product is elegant or robust or a respected brand, but, rather, about whether it will be good to live with. Answering such a question involves imagining the ecology of a household's dwelling practices. I have recognised those that aim at creating a space for physical, spiritual and social recreation within the home. Consequently, in line with the findings of other researchers (Warde 2005; Korkman 2006; Shove et al. 2007b), I am holding that "consumption should be seen as a consequence of practice and that almost all practices entail consumption" (Shove et al. 2007b 11). Specifically, I am arguing that a designed product is most often evaluated from the perspective of a particular household's curating practices. When an individual is standing in a store, thinking about whether to buy a particular item, the individual puts the item through an imaginary set of trials to assess whether it fits with the household's equally imaginary hotel, museum and gallery practices. So, in my interpretation, it is the notion of the home as a curated dwelling space that ultimately makes the purchasing decision, even though it is the individual who walks to the cashier and brings the package home, on those rare occasions when a purchase is made, that is.

APPROPRIATION OF DESIGN

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When the product is brought home, the imaginary trials become real (Lehtonen 2003). The product tries to find its place within the household's temporal and spatial organisation, and the household makes adjustments to meet the product's requirements. My first research question was about this aspect of a product's appropriation, namely, what the appropriation involves and what needs to be in place for a design to be appropriated and made a part of the home.

According to my interpretation of the interviews and photographs, the design's appropriation consists of the product trying to survive the curating processes going on in the household. Should it succeed, the product becomes part of a home's hotel, museum or gallery practices, and in doing so, it becomes an integral part of a household's everyday life by making dwelling in the home easier, more delightful, or, for example, memorable. In my interpretation, a product's design becomes meaningful when it is able to play its part successfully.

The designed properties of a product have at least two distinct roles in dwelling practices. On the one hand, some of the designed properties are seamlessly, anonymously and invisibly working in the background. The performance may be (and often is) excellent, but no one pays attention to it and the product is recognised only after something goes amiss. On the other hand, the designed properties form the building blocks for the stage, one where the cannot-be-designed "not designed properties" take the leading role. For example, design's ability to meet a household's sense of humour or its love of hunting are examples of such cannot-be-designed properties, since the household may be amused by its humorous arrangement of branded products and enjoys the successful acquisition of the perfect item. In a successful appropriation, then, though the cannot-be-designed properties may dominate in the sense that the

design's meaning depends on them, the designed properties are also important because the product's reliability, style and brand are crucial for how the product is able to perform its role. Accordingly, those products that are good at facilitating physical, spiritual or social recreation in the way that a particular household prefers are the ones that I am calling "great designs".

Csikszentmihalyi and Rochberg-Halton use the term cultivation when they are outlining how products become meaningful in a home (Csikszentmihalyi & Rochberg-Halton 1981 173). However, their definition of cultivation involves improvement and development. Unlike cultivating, curating does not imply progress, or even change. The household does not need to change as it curates its everyday products and, it seems, not changing is a preferred standard, or at least a desired aim, for some households, even though the household curates products on a daily basis. But even when curating involves change, and the change is appreciated, the appropriation of design takes time – sometimes years or even decades. Sometimes the designed product may wait for years to find its proper place or, for example, be taken out of the cupboard or emerge from under the covers. It is no wonder, then, that the households that I interviewed voiced such an appreciation for the timelessness of design. People know that, on the one hand, curating a home takes time and that, on the other, some designs, the "classics", stand waiting, without becoming clutter. In contrast, after a ten year break, a television or a suit hardly ever stands to be taken in use – the product may work, it may be wonderful, but, most often, the design is visibly out of sync with contemporary taste and the engineered design, the technology of both the television and the suit, has become impractical, maybe dysfunctional and worn out. Consequently, it is not that the domestication of design is different from the domestication of technologies and media, but, rather, that designs in general stand time differently and domesticate accordingly. The domestication of what is seen as timeless or "classic" is very different, or at least can safely take much longer, than the domestication of products with a faster turnover rate. It must be noted, though, that it is always the household who defines what is timeless, irrespective of public or professional definitions.

In fact, if we hold that complete domestication means that the product becomes invisible and is no longer even noticed by the household, then some products never domesticate because they will continue to elicit pleasure and interest as a part of home's dwelling practices. Shove and colleagues write that,

Moments of socio-technical closure or in Silverstone's terms, domestication, are illusionary in that objects continue to evolve as they are integrated into

always fluid environments of consumption, practices and meaning. (Shove et al. 2007b 8)

I am inclined to add that the domestication of a product does not necessarily come to an end even in less fluid, less changing environments. However, as I have already noted, domestication can rapidly become successful when the household quickly learns that, indeed, the product has survived the imaginary and real trials, has been successfully curated and has become an established part of a household's understanding of itself and its identity.

As anyone who has ever had a difficult time making a decision in a department store can testify, it is not always easy to envision those imaginary trials correctly when it comes to one's own household. The imaginative and respective evaluation of design becomes all the more difficult when household is less familiar to the evaluator. Not surprisingly, most of the interviewed households pointed towards gifts that they had received when asked about the most hideous items in their home. In a similar vein, although some households were proudly dwelling with inherited items, most also told me about family furniture hidden in the cellars. I admit that I did not quite know what to make of that, or what the unwanted gifts and heirlooms meant to the interviewees – no one was able to or interested in elaborating upon that point other than to make a flat comment that the gifts could not be thrown away, or else they gave a somewhat defensive account of why they had thrown the item away; thus, I settle on drawing two simple notions about the role of gifts in households. First, it seems that, if the traditional gift requires the exchange of further gifts (Mauss 1923), the unwanted gift in a home is a double burden because, in addition to the required exchange of gifts, the very presence of the unwanted gift in the apartment can be seen as a gift given to the gift giver. Second, the unwanted gifts and inherited items no doubt mediate those particular social, if not aesthetic, values that the household wants to respect and take care of. In that case, the design plays an important role in the moral economy of the household because it mediates and even moulds the social relations of the household. In addition to establishing and maintaining social relations, we may guess that those rare givers who manage to find the types of items that the household actually likes, gain some extra esteem since the feat is known to be difficult.

In the moral economy of the household, gifts and inherited items cause tensions because they do not fit or contribute to the dwelling practices, but they remain in the apartment nonetheless. Unwanted designs most easily turn into clutter, but they are not the only source of clutter because, I am arguing, any design that does not fit or no longer fit with practices of the hotel, gallery

or museum, becomes clutter. From a household's point of view, the designed product does not have any actual value or the potential to become valuable. In my discussion, I have called these designs "distant" because the household does not want to have anything to do with them, not even to take the effort to get rid of them. Here, again, I am pointing to the indifference towards both the home and the products, while, at the same time and in the same household and often by the same people, some, perhaps most, aspects of how the household is dwelling are meticulously taken care of and may follow strict moral and aesthetic principles.

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My second research question was about the motivation for appropriation. Given that it takes time and money to appropriate design, why do people bother doing it? The question is interesting, especially since the interviewed households probably associated themselves, like most Finns do, with the middle class (Liikkanen 2009), a social class that is seen in 1960s Paris (Bourdieu 1979) and in recent England (Fox 2004) to be the most status-seeking and competitive social class between a comparatively indifferent aristocracy and working class. Fox describes how her middle class interviewees are anxiously cleaning furniture while neither the working class interviewees nor the aristocrats mind that the sofas are covered with dog hair (ibid. 167). At one point, Bourdieu describes the life of the middle class as “an anxious quest for authorities and models of conduct” (Bourdieu 1979 331).

On the other hand, according to Mika Pantzar, the principal motivations for adopting particular products are passion, fashion and rational calculation, which all gradually evolve to become accepted social needs once the item has been domesticated to the culture (Pantzar 2003). The appropriation of design certainly is an “accepted social need” in Finland. Indeed, perhaps not appropriating design is seen as something that requires explanation (I am reminded of those households that did not want to be interviewed). The anxious “keeping up with Joneses” argument holds true, but only in the sense that people have what can be called “appropriation styles” guiding the appropriation of design, as discussed in Chapter 3. I did not get the impression that the households felt that they needed to achieve specific results. In fact, to put it succinctly, it seems that the households in my sample are appropriating design because it is fun to appropriate design and dwell with it, but also because it really does not matter that much.

Finding pleasure in appropriation and in design can be seen to resemble the pleasures people draw from playing games, doing puzzles and from works of

art, as outlined by Paul Bloom (Bloom 2010). Bloom argues that art as a source of pleasure is based on the human ability to appreciate the skill with which an artist organises materials and concepts. Great works of art are rewarding intellectual puzzles and audiences of art enjoy solving them (ibid.). Within the context of dwelling with design, people can be seen as solving design problems. Common examples include solving the puzzle of what design might fit in a particular space, where to find the specific item and, for example, figuring out how the product is put together. Similarly, clever solutions to design problems are widely appreciated, both in terms of how the products are created and manufactured and in terms of the ways in which the interior decoration of the home is put together. Engaging in interior decoration through the appropriation of design can be pleasing and even amusing, especially if a person or the household has invested in learning about design processes and the designed properties of products. The more one knows about design, the more entertaining it can be to play with the possibilities that design offers. In addition, putting the interior decoration together can resemble playing a game. Sometimes the game can be rather aggressive; an apartment can be seen much like a battlefield where the battles take place between humans and the apartment in need of change. Some even referred to such apartments as a “bomb-site” (literally, “a bomb” in Finnish). On the other hand, the game can be closer to that of social media, where the main activity is to make friends with and coexist in a shared space.

Putting together a home based on cleverly mixed designs is a pastime that some households come back to time and again; others try to achieve a splendid result that would withstand the challenges of dwelling for a long time without much further change. Nevertheless, I think we can also say that even for those households that do find considerable pleasure in appropriating design, the process still usually matters comparatively little. It can be argued that only when the choice to appropriate and dwell with design is part of one’s identity as a member of an aesthetic tribe or as a lifestyle, does design become so important that life is organised from the point of facilitating first and foremost dwelling with design (Vejlgaard 2010). Such a passionate connection with design describes well some households in my sample – there were a couple of households that were collecting design and whose life more or less consisted of dealing with design – but most approached design in a lot more of a matter-of-fact manner.

On the other hand, I wonder whether it could be said that history is an “identity giver” (ibid. 56) for some households in the sample. Some sort of nostalgia, in any case, is hovering over nearly the whole sample. In part, this

stems from the long careers of many of the products in the homes. Most of the households in the study used and stored vintage Finnish designs. Since the items have long history, it is easy to talk about them and defining them as designed takes less effort than seeing couple of years old computer as designed. Some households were also explicitly connected to history by collecting vintage pieces and taking the history of the local environment into account. In addition, recent retrospective fashion probably plays a part in this nostalgic flavour. The fashion reflects collective taste, which finds vintage and reproduced designs from around the 1960s to be fashionable, or least not out of place in contemporary interiors (Blumer 1969a).

The sense of nostalgia probably relates to the feeling of having too much stuff that many of the interviewees mentioned. It is interesting to contrast my findings with those of Kirsten Marie Raahauge, who visited Danish middle class homes (Raahauge 2007). Her key finding about the households was that they generally aspired to and had already accomplished transparency and spaciousness in their apartments. She writes that,

This strive towards openness concerning space and towards closeness concerning objects are in a roundabout way part of the same complex: a wish to have a house that is manageable, easy to clean, emanating affluence of space, freedom to choose and a way to show who you are through your house and its objects. There are no secret cupboards, no dark corners and no ambiguities in the interior decorations. (Raahauge 2007 282)

When studying the Danish household practices of object management more closely, she found that nearly all of the households in her study were following two guiding principles:

The first rule, something into the house means something else out of the house, shows how things are keenly selected and avoided. The second rule, use your things or get rid of them, converts the value of the objects from a relational (hau) to a functional (practicality) aspect. (Raahauge 2007 288)

The Danish households had found a way of dealing with the products that their Finnish counterparts often found to be the most challenging: the unwanted gifts and heirlooms. According to Raahauge, heirlooms and gifts have become “dirt” in the anthropological sense, matters out of place in contemporary consumer society. This is because gifts and inherited items are difficult to classify since, most often, the items have no current use, and therefore, no meaning in

the everyday dwelling of the residents. In consequence, households refuse to take the gift or the heirloom unless a practical use can be appointed for the item (ibid. 285).

In the moral economy of the Finnish households, the *hau* of products is apparently still alive, and, it must be remembered, often kept in high esteem, perhaps because in my sample the *hau* seems to be drawing together both Finnish (design) history and the household's own history of social relations. However, since nearly everyone in my sample mentioned that they could have less stuff, it seems that some sort of ideal of minimalism as a moral principle was underpinning the interviews, as if it would have been somehow better to dwell in an empty or at least emptier space. But why did so few households, then, actually get rid of the less than perfect designs? Is there, after all, some role reserved for the "to-do" and the "distant" designs in a home, which would make understandable the apparent indifference towards the presence of unwanted, waiting and superfluous products? Could it be that it is them and especially the "distant designs" that actually keep the moral economy of dwelling alive, precisely because the unwanted designs, more than perhaps anything else, are reminders that the ideal has not yet been reached and that we, the household, are not the type of people who need to be perfect? Said this way, the unwanted, imperfect designs are the hotspots where the privacy of the home is connected with the public ideas about how the home should look, feel and be.

The persistence of unwanted designs in homes makes more concrete the finding that, even though there are differences between social classes, in general the ideal home tends to be relaxing, comfortable and inviting rather than a home constructed based solely on artistic values (Woodward 2001, 2003). When seen through a domestication of design framework, the ideal home is not a work of art, to be admired and contemplated, but, rather, a place where it is comfortable to live and work, to be practical, to take care of others and to have fun. That is the ideal and, it seems to me, a lived reality surprisingly often, even though the details of the ideal are difficult to define, justify or even recognise in the course of everyday life.

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FINNISH QUOTES

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1 INTRODUCTION

Situating the argument

Tässä jää tietysti avoimeksi se, *mikä* tämän päätöksen lopulta tekee ja *mistä* sen voima tulee. Kaiken kaikkiaan päättävä instanssi ei voi määrittää täysin sitä kenttää, jolla päätöksiä tehdään. Kun sanotaan, että ”yksilö valitsee”, ei kyetä viittaamaan mihinkään ongelmattomasti kokonaisuutena pysyvään yksikköön vaan lähinnä puhutaan padosta, jolla on kahlittu vuolas kysymysten virta: miten valitseva yksilö rakentuu, suhteessa mihin ongelmiin se asettuu, miksi ja milloin? (Lehtonen 1999 228, alaviite 2)

2 DEFINING DESIGN

Classifying design

L: no sitten on tietokone [iMac] joka on paljon käytössä, kai sekin on jonkinnäköinen design-esine? (Laura 04 135-136)

A: se [keittiöpenkki/tiskipöytä-hella] on nyt tähän asuntoon suunniteltu, ja sellanen aika kokeilumielinen. Mä sain kyllä mun poikaystä-

vää puhuttua jonkin verran (naurh) ympäri että se suostu laittamaan tohon peiliä tai mitään muutakaan tollasta. (Anniina 04: 56-58)

L: tällä hetkellä meillä ei ole kirjahyllyä kun meillä on siis iso Lundia, mutta me ei haluttu enää koota sitä tässä asunnossa, kun meillä se Lundia-mitta tuli jotenkin (naurh) täyteen, niin me ollaan teettämässä tähän sellasta koko seinän kokoista kirjahyllyä. [...] Et me eletään sit tässä kirjahyllyttömyyden epämukavuudessa vielä kauan kunnes saadaan. Et ei me (tauko) Se ei ole sit se ratkaisu et sit mennään Ikeaan ja ostetaan joku valmis kirjahylly sieltä siks aikaa. (Laura 04 78-94)

Talking about design

Laura: hauska, mukava, kiva, sympaattinen, hassu, merkillisen askeettinen, hieno, viehättävä, sievä, siro, veikeä, möhkö, huvittava, kulahanut, järkyttävä, hirveä

Ilmari: Likainen, muovinen, keraaminen, alumiininen, vanha, hyvä

Janne: Tyylikäs, hauska, räjähtänyt, ei ihmeellinen mutta hauska, hahmoton, hassu, jännän näköinen

T: nimenomaan yrittää löytää uutta, joka lähtökohtaisesti on, kelpaa niin sanotusti vanhaksi. Esim. Ikean kaapit jotka vaikka mä katoinkin niinkin yritin löytää, niin Ikean kaapit nyt lähinnä on ne jotka edustaa vanhaa. (Theo 04 112-117)

L: näitä mä kyllä symppaan näitä Tonfiskin juttuja tosi paljon. Mun mielestä ne on hirveän hyvin muotoiltuja esineitä. Niitä on kiva pitää kädessä, niissä on hyvä se (tauko) muotoilu. (Laura 04 607-609)

Käyttömukavuus, taloudellisuus, estetiikka, ympäristöystävällisyys ja toimivuus

J: hyvässä esineessä käytettävyyden, taloudellisuus, ympäristöystävällisyys ja esteettisyys tiivistyy (naurh). Et kyllä mä itse yritän itse pitää ohjenuorana, että jos esineitä hankkii, niin siinä nää kaikki jollain tavalla on mukana. (Janne 05 1110-1112)

O: Toi pöytäsarja [keittiössä], Bulthaup, niin nää on aika kestäviä. Ja sit tää on aika niinkun ikuinen malli, että tää on, mä luulen että tää on kahdenkymmenenkin vuoden kuluttua ihan yhtä hyvä. Et se ei mene miksiäkään. Ja sit se on riittävän suoralinjainen omaan makuun nähden. (Olavi 05 435-438)

Isä: Mä halusin poikamiehenä luolan siitä (yksiöstä). Semmonen sinisen violetti, kaikki katot ja seinät maalattiin, sitten yksi seinä tuli, ikkunaseinä, tuli keltasta intianpuuvillaverhoa koko seinä. Sitten ostin semmosen Skannon superlonisohvan joka oli niinku neljä neliötä, mutta se oli sahattu sitten tällä tavalla näin [näyttää] ja se oli, oliko se 60-70 senttiä?

Äiti: Normaali istuinkorkeus

I: No semmonen 50 senttiä korkee superlon. Kun sen nosti, siitä sai selkänöjan kanssa. Ja sitten vielä piti eteisen kaapistoon ovet maalata punaisen oranssiksi.

Ä: Laine

I: Niin semmonen laine siihen oveen, kaikki neljä ovea mitä siinä oli. Mutta sitten se jäi vähän kesken kun tuli tätä väkeä.

Ä: Mut se oli melkein tummempaa kuin tämä sininen, katto ja seinät, kaikki. Ja tummanruskeeta. Se oli teddy-päälläksinen se sohva.

I: Skannon sohva.

HP: Oliko hieno?

Ä: Oli se. Mut sitten se alkoi käydä vähän epäkäytännölliseksi näitten lapsien kanssa. Se oli lähinnä kiipeilyteline (naurh) ja hyppyteline, trampoliini.

I: Ne laski mäkeä siitä ja teki kaikkea. Tää nuorin [lapsi] ei muista siitä kun se hävitettiin kun me muutettiin tänne. (Perhe Ylinen 06 491-513)

O: tää telkkari on semmonen et toi Bang&Olufsen, niin sehän kuuluu semmoseen isompaan konserniin missä on vaikka kuinka monta audio-merkkiä: yks niistä on Philips, yks on Grundig, yks on Bang&Olufsen, joka on taas erityisesti tää muotoilun high-end-firma. (Olavi 04 35-38)

O: en mä niinku Stockmannilla viitsi juurikaan kierrellä huonekaluosastolla, koska ne on aika tuikitavallisia kamoja tommoset Muuramet ja muut, niin eihän niitä viitsi sen enempää katsella. (Olavi 05 523-532)

J: meillä lähisukulaisten kämpät on täynnä näitä Artekin vanhoja kalusteita koska ne on tietysti hyvin tehtyjä ja kestäviä ja sinänsä aika ajattomia. (Janne 04 474-481)

HP: mistä nää tyynyt on kotoisin, ne on kau-
niit?

L: noi on Indiskasta (naurh). Ei sen kummempi. (Laura 05 447-449)

M: sen jälkeen kun sä kävit täällä ekan kerran, mä mietin näitä mun esineitä, et niin, et enpä ole näitäkään miettinyt, että minkä takia. Et se on niinku vaatteet, kengät, laukut, mitä sä mietit mut sun kodin asioita sä et niinkään mieti, että miks nää täällä on. Tai miks mä olen

katsellut tätä juttua ja miks mä ylipäättään olen hankkinut sen tähän paikkaan ja tälle kohdalle. (Mervi 05 437-440)

T: siis tässähän ei ole oikeastaan mitään tyyli-suuntaa eikä tässä ole mitään makua...ja var-sinkaan tässä ei ole haettu mitään semmosta tiettyä...tiettyä, muuta kuin siis se, että sen pitää olla vanhaa. (Theo 05 542-544)

T: ihmisethän hakee malleja niistä [sisustusleh-distä], niillä välttämättä ei ole semmosta vah-vaa itsenäistä makua, niillä on ennemminkin, hakee helppoa ratkaisua, että no toi on jonkun mielestä toimiva, ehkä se toimii meilläkin. (Theo 05 535-537)

T: ei ainakaan tämmöinen täysin moderni rakentaminen ja moderni kalustaminen, niin se on, se ei viehätä, se ei puhuttele, mutta olisi väärin sanoa, että tämä olisi joku kapina sitä vastaan, et tota (tauko) tohon ei vaan välttä-mättä löydy mitään sen kummempaa syytä et miks tykkää. Yks tykkää sinisestä ja toinen punaisesta. (Theo 05 684-688)

T: Mulla on aika ristiriitainen suhde niinku esineistöön ylipäättään...että tota, ne ei niinku mulle mitään merkitse, mutta tota, kuitenkin sit-te jos mun pitäis mennä ostamaan joku esine, niin kyllä mä, no tyyppiä, jos mun pitäis mennä ostamaan sytkäri niin kyllä mä ostan zipon ja se pätee se sama ajattelu kaikkeen muuhunkin mitä mä ostan. (Theo 04 194-198)

Supervised ease

HP: mutta että näissä kotiolioissa, tuleeko sulle mieleen mikä olisi vaikka sellainen esine tai laite jonka ominaisuuksilla on sulle merkitystä. Onko teillä esimerkiksi hyvä kahvinkeitin?

J: on. Poskettoman hyvä. Moccamaster on paras keitin mitä löytyy mun mielestä.

HP: Mun äiti on samaa mieltä. Mulla taitaa itsellä olla Philips.

J: paapas Philips ja Moccamaster vierekkäin ja napsaa kello päälle. Katopas kumpi keittää nopeammin kahvin, kumpi pitää sen tasai-semmin lämpimänä. Mut onhan se tietenkin että Moccamaster on paljon kalliimpikin, se on alkaen 100 euroa, halvimmillaan.

HP: tuleeks sulle mitään muuta esinettä tai laitetta mieleen? Kyllähän tässä [keittiössä näkyvillä] on kuitenkin aika paljon, puhelimia ja saksia ja kaikenlaista

J:(tauko) tietenkin, kaikkihan on nyt ruokailu-välineet, apuna siinä ruuanteossa. Se on ihan (tauko) Se on (tauko) eihän noita ajattele sillä tavalla minkään muotoilun kautta, en mä ajattele koskaan että ne on muotoiltuja. (Tauko) Mut sanotaan sitten että jos puhutaan että tuolla työelämässä kun tekee niitä työasioita ja rakentaa niin kyllä siellä siis noi työkalut, ne pitää olla käteenkäyviä, sopivia, kevyitä kuitenkin, kestäviä, toimivia. Ne joutuu niin kovalle rasitukselle siellä työmaalla, ammatti-töissä. Et jos pannaan kaksi, jos otetaan ihan yksinkertainen asia, otetaan semmonen vaikka euron, kahden euron kiintolenkkiavain ja ote-taan kahden-kolmenkymmenen euron sama kappale, niin se toinen on, ensinnäkin, se on muotoiltu siihen käteen, että kun sä otat sen niin sä tunnet että sulla on hyvä ote siitä, sit se on useimmiten pienemmän kokoinen, elikkä mahtuu pienempi tiloihin, elikkä sulla on myös helpompi ahtaissa paikoissa työskennel-lä. Ne on ihan yksinkertaisia perusasioita. (Jari 07 289-321)

HP: kauan te olette asuneet tässä?

J: 5 vuotta. Jotakuinkin 5 vuotta. Et tähän mä itse, en ole muuta kuin oikeastaan tehnyt pin-taremontin. Keittiön rakensin itse tuohon, tein uudet kaapit ja pikkuvuessa, muutenhan tämä oli aika hyvässä kunnossa. (Jari 07 45-48)

J: miksi tää on vähän tän näkönen, niin meillä oli kaksi isoa koiraa, ne on jättänyt omat jäl-kensä näihin parketteihin ja muihin ja niitä on turha lähteä, ennen kuin ne sitten joskus pois-tuu, niillä on niin terävät kynnet ja painavia

koiria, isoja schäfereitä, ne jättää omat jälkensä. Ne tästä lähtee kun ovikello soi, ne vetää ensin kymmenen metriä tälle näin [sutimalla] niin tiedät minkälaista jälkeä se jättää lattiaan. (Jari 07 48-52)

J: Et en mä tiedä olenko mä hyvä haastateltava tai mikä, mutta en mä hirveästi muotoilua koskaan ajattele siinä asiassa. Mut se, et kun ruvetaan miettimään niin se et, varsinkin kun mä puhuin niistä työkaluista, niissä on se muotoilu tärkeää, et ne on käteenkäyviä. Mah-tuu pahoihin, ahtaisiin paikkoihin ja (tauko) se on, se on niinku semmonen. Siellähän se muotoilu on tärkeää vaikka ei sitä tule sillä tavalla ajateltua muotoiluna. (Jari 07 497-502)

HP: aha. Ja onko nää siis hänen [vaimon] hankimiaan

J: joo, nää on kaikki, mä en noihin puutu ollenkaan. Kyllä useimmiten tavarat on aina emännän hommaamia, mun tehtävä on sitten vaan hakata naula seinään et se saadaan paikalleen. (Jari 07 155-158)

J: Mullahan on sellainen tilanne että mulla on tuolla mistä mun vanhemmat on kotoisin, ne asuu [kaupungissa], mulla on siellä tontti jo. Ja onhan mulla siis, mulle on aina sanottu että jos joskus haluat rakentaa niin pojat on sanonut työmaalla, että pannaan iso porukka pystyyn ja käydään laittamassa sulle talo pystyyn, että siinä ei kauaa nokka tuhise kun sinne tulee 10 kirvesmiestä ja ne rupeaa heilumaan, että sillä tavalla kyllä työvoimaa olisi mutta ei ole vielä saanut aikaiseksi. Ei se vielä semmoinen pois suljettu mahdollisuus ole. (Jari 07 38-44)

Autonomous ease

T: siis kun me ollaan ostamassa asunto joka on täysin pommi ja sitä ruvetaan sitten remonteeramaan niin että miten se nyt sitten näin ja kyl mä nyt varmaan sen valkosen saan sinne läpi (naurh) (Tiina 04 54-56)

T: Täällähän tehtiin ihan täys remontti. Tässä-hän oli alakerrassa pikku vessa ja me 2 aikuista toistaiseksi tässä asutaan, niin todettiin että meille riittää, että meillä on iso kylpyhuone täällä, tehtiin tohon eteiseen tommonen vaatehuone. Ja sit tossahan oli tommonen kaapisto, tää keittiö oli tämmönen u:n muotoinen, epäkäytännöllinen u:n muotoinen, niin kaikki purettiin pois täältä. (Tiina 05 69-73)

T: Täällä ei ole vielä itseasiassa, meillä on tossa tulossa kalustehankintoja ja tämmöstä näin, tähän on saamassa keittiössäkkin lisää noita hyllyjä ja näin, et siinä mielessä. Et mulla on esimerkiksi toivomus, et kun tässä ei ole missään tällä hetkellä, mulla on vähän paikkakin haussa, et just tommosta avohyllykköä tänne saa sitten, kerta on kauniita esineitä, joita mä en halua välttämättä minnekään laittaa piiloon.

HP: mihin se avohylly tulis sitten?

T: no se on vähän nyt hakusessa. Et se, toden-näköisesti, mä otan tonne semmoisen otsalau-dan joka lähtee, tossahan on tommonen, tuolla menee joku ilmastointiputki, siitä se jatkuisi tohon, se olis tuolla ylhäällä. Se olis tavallaan sellainen piilohylly. Se ei missään, se ei veis tilaa tästä lattialta. (Tiina 05 36-45)

T: Kun [valkoinen] on niin helppo sitten siihen siis kaikkea (tauko) siis tohonhan nyt kuuluisi sitten joku kivat esim punaset, keltaset kukat, että kun siihen sitten taas niin helposti saa sitä ilmettä pienillä asioilla jotka voi vaihtaa hel-posti. Voi olla sitä kautta keltasta, vihreetä ja punasta ja näin. (Tiina 04 56-59)

HP: (tauko) no mites te sitten näitä sisustuk-seen ja tämmöseen liittyviä juttuja hoiditte (tauko) neuvottelitte?

T: (tauko) ei niitä oikeastaan. Siis se oli ihan selvää, että miten ne kun siinä oli tosiaan 2 kuukautta aikaa pyöritellä se pohjapiirustus ja näin. Kun nyt kun mä oon kattonut tossa, et missä edellisillä asukkailla on ollut sohva, et mun mielestä se on tosi omituinen paikka. Sit mä huomasin että tossa naapurilla on kanssa

sohva jotenkin niillä ihmeellisesti siinä sohva niinku [näyttää] tällä seinällä. Mä muistan et [avomies]kin jotain kysyi, että miks ei mekin laiteta tohon sohva, niin mä et no eihän me tohon laiteta sohva, sohvan paikkahan on niinku ehdottomasti tossa. (tauko) Et se huone täytyy niinku tasasesti täyttää. (Tiina 05 388-403)

T: Mä en halua tänne ruveta kantamaan tänne lisää tavaraa. Et lähtee niinku samoin tein, et pistetään pois. Et myös keittiö tavallaan, siellä on jokainen kohta, jokaisella on paikat ja jos mä jostain (tauko) sain lahjaksi littalan hotcool-lasit, se tahtoi sanoa sitten sitä, että kun mä halusin ne käyttöön, ne oli semmoset mitkä löysi tuolta paikan, et sieltä lähtee, tuolta joutut pois. Et jos tulee jotain uutta, niin sitten täytyy jotain vanhaa pistää pois. Et ei niinku lähdetä sillä tavalla, että niitä tungetaan sitten jonnekin (Tiina 05 287-292)

A: Tässä [eteisen seinästä ikkunaseinälle] oli seinä ja sitten tuolla oli keittiö. Mutta tää huone joka jäi tälle puolelle, se oli niin tolkuttoman kapea sellanen, ei siinä ollut mitään järkeä meidän käytöllä pitää sitä. (Anniina 04 168-170)

HP: te olette ilmeisesti remontoitu täällä ihan reippaasti

A: joo, ollaan kyllä, mut sit se loppuu just siihen kun on keittiö kunnossa ja vessa jonkinnäkössä kunnossa, tai vessaa me ei olla remontoitu edes. Sit kun vesi kulkee ja voi kokata jotain niin sitten ei näköjään enää tule tehtyä. Eihän tässä tietysti sillai paljoa ole. Toi on vähän hurjan näköinen toi iso seinä tossa kun se loistaa, kaikki kamat.

HP: onks sulla jotain ajatuksia

A: joo...no liukuovia mä olin ensin ajatellut, mutta mä luulen että se on vähän turhan massiivinen tohon, [kirjahyllyyn] et jotain kevyempää. Sillai et peittoon. (Anniina 04 11-18)

A: on jalkalistat laitettu ja sitten viemäriputki maalattu, et kyllä täällä remonttia on tapah-

tunut kuitenkin, vaik aikalailla on jämähtänyt. Kun siis tohonhan [kirjahyllyn] pitäisi tulla liukuovet eteen mut ei ole tullut, et jotain on sentään tapahtunut. Ja sit toi liesituuletin. (Anniina 05 106-109)

HP: oliko teillä tilanne niinpäin että mies sai tulla valmiiseen asuntoon?

A: ... joo. Joo, käytännössä, joo. Siis kyllähän, no, kyllähän me remontoitiin yhdessä ja, mut kyllähän mä olin se joka suunnitteli kaiken. (Anniina 05 238-240)

A: ei mitään tarvetta [aika painokkaasti] tehdä kotona, et sit se tulee pakosta, kun joutuu tyhjentämään jonkun työhuoneen tai on joku projekti jota joutuu tekemään kotona, tekee jonkun työpöydän tänne. Mut ei ole mitään halua sillä tavalla sisustaa ja tehdä muutoksia et kerran kun ne on niin ne on ok. Tai just sit et mikä tulee tarpeesta. (Anniina 05 163-167)

A: Ja sit kukat on niin tärkeitä, et tossakin [kuvassa] on niin hauska et on kukkia. Ne mulla yleensä on. Et en mä oikein muuten koristele. (Anniina 05 175-176)

E: tässä oli siis 2 huonetta ja keittiö. Tää keittiö oli tällä paikalla mutta se oli maailman pienin keittiö. Se oli täysin semmonen sitä ei saisi rakentaa. Se oli jotenkin semmonen että seinä meni niinku tässä tälleen ja tähän tähän jäi tämmönen käytävä näin ja tässä oli ovi, et tää oli suljettu tila ja sit (tauko) tässä oli silleen että tosta pilarista, toi pilari ei tavallaan ollut näkyvissä, et siitä meni seinä tonne, et noi ikkunat oli eri huoneissa. Et toi tavallaan huone, toi kulmaus ja sitten oli avointa tilaa tässä tää. (Kalle & Emma 05 3-8)

E: me tehtiin kaikki sähköt täällä, niin silloin meillä oli firman (??) sähkömies. Mut sit, kun tavallaan meidän piti, ennen kuin oli kaiken keksinyt, piti päättää mihin ne tulee ne sähköpisteet, niin me ei vaan tajuttu, että tohon olisi kannattanut ottaa yksi piste.

HP: onks ne sitten sellaisia asioita, että niitä on vaikea muuttaa jälkeensä?

E: on. Tai että kyllä ne vois, mutta tavallaan, et jaksako sitten ruveta aukaisemaan jotain seinää taas. (Kalle & Emma 05 92-97)

K: mut mites valokuvat nyt käydään läpi sitten? Et me vaan kerrotaan, että missä toi on toi (tauko) mut tässä on kyllä oikeastaan tosi paljon sellaista mikä ei sitten oikeastaan olekaan täällä enää. Mut ne on kyllä olemassa. (Kalle & Emma 05 77-79)

HP kertoo käyneensä eilen kodissa jossa oli arvotaidetta.

K: no meillä ei oo kyl. Meillä on noita vanhoja karttoja. Siis tää meidän kämppä toimii silleen, et täällä on ns. kivoja esineitä. Sit löytyy sellaisia esineitä, jotka löytyy jostain roskalavalta tai jostain, jotka on potentiaalisesti kivoja esineitä. Sit ne aikansa kasaantuu tossa ja sit niitä pannaan eteenpäin jonnekin. Ja sit sitä kamaa tulee ja menee. Siis ihan käsittämättömät määrät. Tää on ku turkkilainen basaari. (Kalle & Emma 04 13-18)

K: täällä on vähän...Mä en periaatteessa heitä ikinä mitään pois joka toimii. Maailman, luonnon, materiaalien ja energian ja kaiken muun tuhlaamista. Siis kysymys ei ole mistään kitsastelusta tai semmosesta, mut et usein vanhat esineet on paljon toimivampia ja hienompia ja kivempia ku uudet ja sit jengi heittää niitä veke kun ne on vaan niin vitun urpoja (naurh), niin tota...mä yleensä otan kaikki mitä mä löydän vaikka roskiksesta joka toimii niin talteen, vaikka sillä hetkellä, niin kuin toi stereopöytä, ei mitään hajua mitä mä teen tollasella. Mut sit tulee joku joka sanoo et mä tarviin stereot mun kämppään, sit niinku poks. Tää on Kallen kierrätyskeskus. (Kalle & Emma 04 283-290)

HP: jos mä otan aluks valokuvia. Sit mä levitän ne vanhat valokuvat niin sit ruvetaan juttelee. (tauko) jännittääks sua (naurh) ?

K: ei kun musta on superhauskaa nähdä niitä

kuvia. (tauko) meillä on kuitenkin vähentynyt kama aika paljon. Tavallaan. Mut tota, tai sanoisko, että kiteytynyt. (Kalle & Emma 05 55-58)

K: Et (tauko) vähän rationalisoituu tää homma, kun säilytystila vähenee. Hm... hm... tavarain piilottaminen. Säilytystilahan on tavarain piilottamista. Silleen et 140 000 esinettä näyttääkin kivalle, kun ne on kaapissa ja sit se onkin vain kaappi. (tauko) et ehkä nyt kun miettii, niin meillä loppujen lopuksi kama ei ole vähentynyt, mutta tavarat on löytänyt vähän paremmin paikkansa. Kun tuolla on joka paikka täynnä jotain ihmeellistä, et siihen on tullut joku semmonen järki tohon touhuun.

HP: mut mistä se järki koostuu? Siitä oli puhetta, että ei ole kasoja

K: niin no (tauko) ehkä siitä, (tauko) no tiettyssä mielessä se on semmoista esineiden kategorisointia, että sanotaan, että ompelutarvikkeet on semmoisessa laatikossa jossa lukee 'ompe-lutarvikkeet'. Eikä silleen, et mis meil on neula? Neula on tuolla. Lankaa saattaa olla tuolla. Et (tauko) jotain niinku semmosta meininkiä. (Kalle & Emma 05 502-512)

HP: täällä on kyllä sitten yleiskuviakin.

K: vittu meillä on kamaa ollut, konkreettisesti, siis kukaan ei nyt usko että meillä on kama vähentynyt, niin nyt viimeistään. (Kalle & Emma 05 65-67)

E: täällä on nää, täällä on järjestetty tauluja seinille ja muita kuvia seinille. Täällä meillä siis on niin paljon vähemmän, et vaikka täällä on neliöitä enemmän, täällä on niin paljon vähemmän seinäpinta-alaa, et meillä ei ole läheskään kaikkea mitä meillä oli tuolla seinillä niin täällä seinillä. (Kalle & Emma 05 73-76)

A: Mut et nää on musta upeat nämä [makuuhuoneen] seinät jotka se [ystävä] maalasi tänne. Mut tää on vielä kesken, et täältä puuttuu vielä taulut ja täällä on väärät huonekalut, tai siis pitää vaihtaa niiden väri, toi ei sovi tom-

monen puu tänne yhtään, et pitää saada tummaa, tai joku muu systeemi.

HP: kuinka pitkällä sä itse arvioisit että teillä on sisustus kaikkiaan valmiina? Kuinka kauan te olette ylipäättään asuneet tässä?

A: 7,5 vuotta. Tota... no tässä on jokainen huone kesken. Mä sanoisin että meillä on jokainen huone kesken. (Asta 07 64-71)

HP: onko teillä täällä sitten paljon perittyä tavaraa?

A: no varsinaisesti (tauko) ne on niinku kulkeutunut eri reittejä ja sitten ne on otettu uusiokäyttöön. Esimerkiksi toi vitriini on mun äidin vanha kirjahylly jonka mä olen käsitellyt ton väriseksi. Et se on Lundiaa. Siihen on vaan ostettu ovet ja sit mä olen käsitellyt ne/sen ton värisiksi. Ja sit toi [mikä?] on jonkun mun siskon entisen poikaystävän, unohtunut tänne ja sit mä olen senkin vetänyt tommosella turkoosilla. (Asta 07 119-124)

A: Mut en mä ole semmonen et mä vaihtaisin (tauko) mut kyllä mä joskus mietin järjestyksen vaihtamista, mutta esim tää [olohuone] on sellainen tila että mä en osaa sisustaa tätä muulla tavoin. Et kyllä mä olen pyöritellyt ajatusta et jos sohva olisi näin (tauko) mut mä en taas halua jakaa sitä, et (tauko) silleen. Et meillä ei ole oikein sellaisia tiloja joissa kauheasti vaihtaisi. (Asta 07 242-246)

A: En mäkään ollut itse asiassa tullut ajatelleeksi miten paljon mulla on tätä tarinajuttua, että miten paljon esineisiin liittyy joku. Et mä olen näin hirveän nostalginen, en mä ollut ajatellut et mä olen nostalginen. Kyllä mä olen tiennyt että mä olen huono heittämään tavaroita veke, niinku toi maljakko, et kun se on kiva maljakko mistä mä tykkään ja se on vähän rikki mut kun mä pidän sitä niin päin sitä ei näy sitä lohjenutta kohtaa. (Asta 07 751-755)

HP: Teittekste sitte kovaa remonttia täällä? Isä: ei ei me olla tehty tässä, oikeestaan ei olla tehty muuta remonttia tähän ku toi siipi on

rakennettu ja sitte katto uusittu. Mutta se on semmosta pintaremonttia noissa [lasten] huoneissa ei niissä oo sillä tavalla tehty oikein että koska edelliset omistajat jotka oli neljä vuotta asunu tässä ne oli kuulemma koko ajan tehnyt remonttia sen koko ajan

HP: ja te sitte laitoitte vaan jotain tapettia?

I: tapettia seinälle ja siinä onkin melkein aina

Äiti: ja sitten ne parvet rakennettiin

I: niin no sillan rakennettiin

Ä: tässä sillan oli kahdessa huoneessa oli parvi että jäi leikkilaa ja oleskelutilaa lapsille mutta sitten on vaihdettu taas

I: mutta esimerkiksi justiin niinku nää (tauko) no on tossa vessassa tehty remonttia. Siellä se [yksi lapsista] pisti ne kaakelit lattialle pikkuvessassa ku meni toi lattialämpö ni sen jälkeen oli pakko laittaa ne uudestaan, uusia se homma. Mutta muuten täällä ei oo tehty oikeestaan mitään, tässä olkarissakaan oikeestaan mitään

Lapsi: (epäselvä: ~jotain pintaremonttia)

I: niin jotakin näitä ikkunapuutteta ja palkkia tossa on mutta hyvin hyvin vähän. Isompihan oli sitte tosiaan toi katon uusiminen. Siihen uusittiin kattomateriaali ja tehtiin räystästä tähän taloon (tauko) ja sitten on tosiaan tuo siipirakennus jossa on varattava takahuone ja mulla tämmönen askarteluhuone tehä puutöitä siellä (Perhe Ylinen 06: 15-36)

I: periaatteellisia ajatuksia mitä mulla on, että on kaksi sellasta vaalittavaa asiaa ni ne on luonto ja luovuus [naurh] mitä on. Ja lähinnä jos ajatellaan lastenkin kannalta ni antaa niiden tehä ja piirtää ja ährätä ja kannustaa siihen. Ei sanoa että mitä sä tommosia teet vaan nimenomaan että kato ku kiva (Perhe Ylinen 06: 203-206)

HP: Onks teillä täällä sitten, teillä itsellä vaihtunut paljon tavarat?

Ä ja I: Nauravat

Ä: Kootut teokset, kuule, nimimerkillä kootut teokset. (Perhe Ylinen 06: 479-481)

Ä: (Nauraa) Siis tosi muotoilua, tää on niin sekava tää meidän. Siis kaiken sekoitus. Sitä mä olen sanonutkin ettei täällä ole mitään muuta mitä ollaan itse ostettu kuin tämä ja toi ja [lapsen] ne hyllyt ku se tartti palkintokaappia että sai ne palkinnot ku se harrasti [lajia]. (Perhe Ylinen 06 629-632)

Confused care

S: joo, niin on. Maalaamistahan täällä, et aika niinku kaikki pinnat pitää pistää uusiksi.

HP: ei vaikuta siltä että olisi kauhea kiire

S: ei (nauraa) Sepä tässä onkin, että tää ei oo niin semmosessa kunnossa että tää talo olis mitenkään perusteiltaan kaatumassa. Vaan että tää on perusteiltaan ihan hyvä talo, mut pinnat on aika tämmösiä (Sanna & Kalevi 04 16-24)

[katsovat 2004 kuvia joissa nyt valkoiset paneelit vielä maalaamatta]

K: nää puupaneelit, tässä kuvassa vielä toi keltaisuus korostuu... siis välillä sitä oikein miettii, että me, jotka emme yhtään tykkää puupaneelista ollaan muutettu taloon jossa on puupaneelia näin hervottomasti

S: mutta mä tykkään kyllä näin, maalattuna se on ihan ok

K: siis tää on vielä tätä talouspaneelia, Sanna ei ymmärrä, mutta musta on

S: niin, sä haluisit helmipanelia

K: helmipaneelia tai sitten pyöristetyillä kulmil-la, simmosta kuin ennenvanhaan oli. (Sanna ja Kalevi 05 169-176)

S: nythän tää on vaan tämmönen et kun siis nää tavarat seilaa täällä ja sitten täytyy kattoo siinä vaiheessa kun noi seinät saa pois ja tän lattian auki, sen saa kuntoon ja seinät saa kuntoon ja katon saa kuntoon niin sitten tässä alkaa vasta miettimään että mihin nämä asettuu parhaiten, mutta tää nyt on (tauko)

HP: onko teillä arviota miten kauan tuohon menee

S: oi, tavoitteita oli, siis arvioita oli jossain vaiheessa että tän lattian voi tehdä silloin ainoastaan kun on lämpö päällä, että sitten ei liiku nää laudat, niin se piti olla jo viime talvena, mutta se ei ollut sitten alkuunkaan realistista [S raskaana ja paljon raskaudesta johtuvia vaivoja. Myös S:n yläkerrassa asuva äiti oli vaikeasti sairaana talvella] kun Kalevilla oli tiukkaa töissä niin se asettaa sellaisia tavoitteita jotka eivät (tauko) kestä. Että nyt luultavasti katotaan että varmaan se ajatus on että jos ensi talvena saisi. Siis me ajateltiin jo että sitten taas Kalevilla [töissä projekti] pitäisi saada tämän vuoden puolella loppuun, niin niille tulee kyllä ihan huima syksy. Siis oli vähän puhettakin Kalevin esimiehen kanssa että tiimiläiset olisivat siirtäneet kesälomiakin mutta [ei sitten siirretty]. Niin kyllä epäilen, että saa nyt nähdä että saadaanko sitten tehtyä. Kalevilla on niin paljon perfektionismia, siis sitä että kaiken pitää olla viimeisen päälle. Sit se on vähän silleen että se suunnittelee niin paljon että sitten se ei oikein pääse alkuun. Mutta sitten mä olen ottanut tämän sillä tapaa että kun meillä ei ole talo kuitenkaan kaatumassa mihinkään, et sit vain eletään [edetään?] tälleen että kymmenen vuoden päästä kun katsoo niin sitten on varmaan jo tapahtunut (naurh) sitten yhtä ja toista. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 17-35)

K: No tässä [revityt tapetit] näkyy näitä Sannan luonteen perusominaisuuksia (naurh), et se saa päähänsä jotain niin sitten se rupee heti tekemään ja sit vasta sen jälkeen saattaa tulla semmosia realiteetteja vastaan että jotka sitten aiheuttaa sen että sille ei sitten vähään aikaan tehdäkään mitään. Sit se on tämän näköstä. Sit se on tässä näin. Kivemman näköisen hän se olisi jos se ei olisi lähtenyt repimään niitä.

HP: mutta onhan siinä sekin puoli että kun sen ensin laittaa noin tylyyn kuntoon niin sitten se tulee hoidettua jossain vaiheessa

K: Jossain vaiheessa. Mutta täähän, meillähän ei ole tilantarvetta niin paljon, tää saa sillä lailla olla. Kaappeja me haluttaisiin tähän var-

masti tehdä, ja sitten jonkun vuoden päästä tästä tulee sitten ehkä [lapsen] leikkihuone tai katotaan nyt. Ehkä ei leikkihuone, koska tää on yläkerrassa, täällä ylhäällä ei olla muuten kuin nukkumamielessä. Et jossain vaiheessa tulee sitten lasten tai lapsenhuone tai, sitten me muutetaan tähän näin ja lapset saa ton isomman huoneen. Todennäköisesti niin päin. Toi palkki pitäisi olla poistettavissa. Rakennus-insinööri-kaveri oli sitä mieltä että sillä ei ole mitään virkaa. Mutta se pitää tarkistaa vielä että onko se tehty vaan tänne [epäselvää], onks se tarpeellinen. Sen takia pitää ottaa vähän tota kattoa auki ja katsoa miten toi kat-totuoli tuolla oikein on. Periaatteessa ei siinä vissiin tarvittaisi mitään. Koska se on tolleen keskellä tossa huonetta, ton parivuoteen sijoit-taminen tähän olisi xxxx [päänvaivaa?]. Täällä on ummehtunut ilmakin kun ovi on kiinni. Täällä ei ole raitisilmaventtiiliä tässä huoneessa ollenkaan.

HP: eiks se olisi makuuhuoneeksi sitten vähän hankala?

K: joo, olis, pitäisi avata, tässä on hormi. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 463-483)

M: silloin kun mä muutin tänne, tää oli sen ver-ran suttunen, että mä olin, et mä en voi kattoo tällasia mattoja hetkeekään, et mä rullasin ne samoin tein pois ja maalasin lattia. (Mervi 04 73-75)

M: mä en siedä näitä [muovimattoja]. Siis mä en siedä näitä niinku (tauko) mun silmissäni. Se on tosi iso efortti vuokra-asunnossa. Se johtui siitä et nää lattiat on niin hirveät, et jotain, mut nythän mä joudun sen kanssa elämään, koska mähän jouduin, tyyliin, et mut olis haastettu johonkin oikeuteen siitä että olen pilannut tän asunnon. Ja mä jouduin rullaamaan nää matot tänne takaisin. Et täällä on valkoiseksi maalattu betoni alla. Mut et se on just se (tauko) et kun tää asunto myytiin, et jos tätä asuntoa ei olisi myyty, niin ne [betonilattiat] olisi tässä vielä, mut asunto myytiin, niin mä olin tilanteessa, jossa mä olin niinku pakotettu rullaamaan nää

takaisin. Ja nää on ihan hirveät. (Mervi 05 285-292)

HP: sulla on aika paljon muuttunut täällä asiat

M: joo, niin on. Mut mikä on hassuinta, niin siis kun tää oli työhuoneena, niin sitten kun tehtiin täällä kaikenlaisia juttuja, siis näitä protoja mie-tittiin täällä, niin silloin tää oli niin hämmen-tävä paikka (naurh). Siis naurettavin asia mitä tapahtui oli, et kun mietittiin, että, joo, pitäisi nyt tää valaisin saada tonne seinälle, niin sitten mä vaan otin porakoneen ja ilman mitään [miettimistä] vaan pzzzzzzt [porasin lamp-pua varten reiän seinään], et ilman mitään miettimistä, että tää on mun hima! Ja mä vaan väänsin tohon, mut tää on mun työhuone! Et täältä just lähti kamaa ja tuli kamaa et mun suhtautuminen muuttui täydellisesti. Joka mua jälkeinpäin nauratti, ja mulle on jäänyt tänne, täällä on tapetteja ja vaikka mitä, et piti katsel-la vähän tapettimalleja, et mikähän tossa olis hyvä ja jotain (tauko) se oli vaan niiin hassua. (Mervi 05 74-82)

HP: sisustattekste paljon? Puhuttekste sisus-tuksesta?

S: eeeeei, ei oikeastaan sisusteta ollenkaan, ei. Siis kyllä siis tavallaan tärkeitä on tottakai se että lähiympäristö tai tää koti millainen se on fyysisesti ja myös visuaalisesti ja niin, mutta tota, mut se että se, niinkun kaikki oikeastaan aika luontevasti meillä menee oikeille paikoil-leen, et ei me niinku silleen koskaan oikeas-taan muutella järjestystä tai ruveta miettii, et pitäiskö muuttaa järjestystä et saatais vähän vaihtelua tähän (naurh). Ei, sellasta me ei tehdä koskaan. (Sakari & Elisa 05 362-368)

S: elämän mukana kulkeva, pieni esineistö, niin jossain määrin ollaan ehkä kyllästytty tavallaan sen esineistön (tauko) tai mä itse, puhun nyt omalla suulla, niin kyllästynyt tavallaan tän kaltaiseen esineistön esillä pitämiseen, vaikka niitä on ihan kiva tavallaan niinku (tauko) et niitä on, mutta niitä (tauko) ei niinku jaksa enää kulkea kirppiksillä kiertämässä sitä roi-

naa, et päinvastoin, et enemmänkin tullut ainakin mulle sellainen et haluaisi ehkä heittää enemmän, et luopua tavaroista kuin hankkia niitä lisää. Koska sit mullakin on nyt kaikki paikat alkaa olla täys kaikkea tavaraa mitä on jätelavoilta ja sukulaisilta ja muualta löytänyt ja saanut ja kerännyt sieltä ja täältä. Mulla on mun lapsuudenkodin varastot ja vintit on täynnä mun tavaraa, autotalli ja kaikki, sitten mun vanhempien tota kesämökki, siellä on mun kamaa ihan helvetisti, sitten täällä, molemmat varastokomerot, fillarikellari, kaikki (naurh) on täynnä mun tavaraa. Jopa Elisan mutsilla on mun tavaraa (naurh) mitä mä olen varastoinut sinne. Työhuoneella ja työhuoneen ullakolla hemmetisti tavaraa. Niistä on tullut vähän semmonen et no, et tavallaan sen materiaalin manageroimiseen menee enemmän aikaa kuin siihen et ehtii enää mitään tekemään

E: kun se tavara ei ole edes mitään semmosta et valmista tavaraa, vaan suurin osa on semmosta et

S: projektiluontoista

E: projektiluontoista, et romua, josta vois tulla jotain (Sakari & Elisa 05 257-274)

S: Niin on tullut sellainen että et voinks mä enää, et mä haluisin lisää, mä haluisin kolmannen veneen, tai neljännekin (naurh), mä haluisin myös moottoriveneen ja purjeveneen, niin tota, niin jotenkin tullut sit se, että mitä mä sitten teen noilla, kun mä en nytkään ehdi tavallaan enää tekemään mitään muuta kuin pitää niitä kunnossa. Se menee siihen se aika et mä käyn fiksaamassa niitä ja poistamassa niistä sadevettä ja tällasta. Et sitten vähän se että pitäiskö sittenkin alkaa luopua tästä ja keskittyä (naurh) johonkin olennaisempiin asioihin. (Sakari & Elisa 05 299-305)

I: kun täällä on aika paljon tavaraa, niin paljon että täällä ei voinut kunnolla siivota eikä tehdä mitään, sen remontin tekeminen on ollut mahdotonta. Nyt on tehty (tauko) nää tapetit on lähtenyt nyt irti mutta se johtuu siitä että täällä on huono ilmastointi. Kun käyttää suih-

kua paljon niin tulee höyryä ja noi ei ole kauhean vanhat. Mut et kun tää viime kerralla oli katkolla tää vuokra niin silloin täällä on tehty tämmöset perusjutut – hiottu lattiat ja niin ku (tauko) ja silloin tää on kyllä ihan niinku siedettävä (tauko) että jos olis semmonen asenne, että tää on niinku se kotipaikka, niin kyllähän tästä vois rakentaa semmosen, mut mä en ole sitä koskaan oikein tehnyt. (Ilmari 04 208-214)

I: kun tää on täynnä tavaraa, ei ole voinut tehdä mitään remonttiakaan. Ehkä mulla on ollut ajatus että mä tota, jos mä tulen vuoden kuluttua takas, mä meen tonne ylös, vuokrasopimus päättyy sillon ja sit tää vois tyhjentyy ja täällä vois tehdä remontin. Silloin vois ottaa tän taas vuokralle. Mut mä olen kyllä asunut tässä melkein 10 vuotta. (Ilmari 04 36-39)

I: et sitten näitä esineitä, jos mä tarviin, niin mä kuitenkin koko ajan tiedän että ne on tuolla, et jos mä sitten tarvitsisin, voin mennä alas ja käydä hakee. Et ne on tavallaan osa tätä asuntoa, kuitenkin vielä, nyt kun siellä ei ole vuokralaista. (tauko)

HP: ootsä aikeissa vuokrata sitä eteenpäin?

I: joo. Siis kesällähän mun piti olla kauhean energinen ja innostunut ja tyhjentää ja remontoida se vuokralle. Mutta se jäi niinku siihen, et kun tää pää kasaantui niin hitaasti niin, tota, se olis pitänyt tyhjentää ja sit siellä olis pitänyt tapetit vaihtaa ja vähän siivota sitä muutenkin ja sen jälkeen sen voisi laittaa vuokralle. Ja sit kun mä olin tulossa, mä olin miettimässä jo sitäkin, että pitäiskö mun ostaa uusi asunto, niin mä vähän mietin, että pitäiskö mun sitten myydä se, toi alakerta veke. Mutta tota (tauko) et mä jäin niinku mietiskelemään sitä. Kun ei ole sitten ole semmosta välitöntä tarvetta, niin ja on muita kiireitä niin paljon, että mä en niinku meinaa ehtiä semmosta siivoushommaa tehdä. Niin siks se on edelleen niinku puoliks varastona. (Ilmari 05 385-398)

I: Kun mä olen muuttanut tänne, ensinnäkin tää remontoitiin kokoaan. Tää oli ihan räjäh-

dyskunnossa, 20-luvulta, ei ollut tehty mitään, et mä jouduin miettiin (epäselvää), seinät on avattu ja jotain tämmöistä tehty (Ilmari 05 232-234)

I: Mulla on nimittäin yläkerrassa tietyllä tavalla aika niinku design se, siellä on jotain juttuja, se on ollu aika viimeistelty. Siellä on vähän esineitä ollut mutta mä olen valinnut (tauko) se on just niinku tän [alakerran asunnon] negaatio. Jokainen esine joka siellä on mä olen valinnut. Ja mä en halua että siellä on ylimääräisiä. (Ilmari 04 96-99)

I: yksi niistä harvoista asioista joita mä olen shoppaillut paljon eläessäni, on lamput. Joita mä en ole siis koskaan ostanut. Koska mä en koskaan löydä sellaisia lamppeja joita mä haluan. Mä olen etsinyt, siinä on niinku joku tämmönen, mä niinku tarviin, mä en niinku shoppaile silleen et olis kiva saada joku esine sinänsä, mutta valo on mun mielestä mielenkiintoinen juttu [...] ja mä etin huoneeseen todellakin pitkään lamppeja ja mä en nähnyt, mä en mistään löytänyt sellaista ja (tauko) mä jossain näin, mä olin jossain Italiassa tai jossain ja sit siellä oli lamppukauppa ja mä oli ihan sellai et vau, täällä olis niinku tosi hienoja lamppeja. Mutta eihän niitä voi tuoda jotain sellaisia missä on just jotain lasia paljon isompia jotain. Niin toi [kattokruunu] on ostettu Anttilasta Tennispalatsista, varmaan maksoi silloin joku 60 markkaa, mä luulen. Toi on niinku ihan tommonen. Mut se oli (tauko) Paitsi sitten, mulla on ollut tommonen tapa, että mä olen ruvennut rakentaa niitä. Tää on nyt sitten se minimalistinen. Tässä on alunperin ollut, mä olen vaihtanut kristallit näihin. (Ilmari 05 235-250)

I: En mäkään mitenkään designaa mun ympäristöä ollenkaan, että nää on aika tämmöisiä pieniä juttuja, ne niinku vilahtaa, että jotkut asiat on niinku hauskoja. Että siinä on semmonen huumorin (tauko) niinku materiaalilla leikkimisen juttu jossain mielessä. Mikä on

niinku ihan normaali tämmönen luovan prosessin (tauko) Sä niinku otat niitä materiaaleja ja sit sä leikit niillä ja sit jossain vaiheessa, et hei, nyt tää on kivan näköinen (naurh). (Ilmari 05 325-330)

Involved care

T: [Lapsuuden]jälkeen mä olen aina asunut keskustassa tai ainakin aivan sen välittömässä tuntumassa, Kalliossa tai tämmösissä. Mut siellä Hollannissa (tauko) ja itse asiassa mä en ole varmaan (tauko) mun olis ollut vaikea kuvitella muuttavani minnekään esim. Järvenpäähän, ellei olis ollut toi Hollannin kokemus, et ihmien voi asua omakotitalossakin ihan oikeesti (naurh). (Theo 04 38-42)

T: mä en ole ikinä koskaan rakentanut, niin nyt sai niinku luvan tehdä sitä mitä haluaa. Et jos sä lähdet vanhaa remppaamaan, niin sulla on aina semmonen fiilis et jääköhän tää mulle koskaan käyttöön vai teenks mä tätä jotakuta toista varten. (Theo 04 45-48)

T: Kyllä on ollut niinku mielettömän hyvä fiilis, kun jokaisen yksityiskohdan täällä tietää. (Theo 04 86-87)

T: siis eihän tässä ole ollut semmosta, siis niinku mä sanoin, et kun lähdettiin tätä tammiukuussa tekemään, et oltais mietitty et miltä tää näyttää kun tää on valmis, kuin siis se et tän pitäis näyttää siltä kuin tässä on eletty sata vuotta (Theo 04 280-282)

T: tää on ollut korostetusti lähtökohtana se, tää ei niinku näytä et tää ois tehty, et nyt tehdään niinku mallikotia. Vaan tehdään keittiö, joka näyttää, ja on sellainen ennen kaikkea, et täs on tarkoitus tehdä ruokaa.

HP: joo. Meinasin just kysyy et laitteksite paljon ruokaa?

T: joo. Et se on niinku ehdottomasti, et ei oo niinku mitään väliä, miltä se näyttää, kunhan

tää on semmonen paikka missä voi tehdä ruokaa. Et jos nyt taas käyttöä ajatellaan, et kun me ollaan maalla ku asuu ja loppuu sähkö niin pitää olla kaasua. Sitte että puuhella, sillä voi polttaa puuta, siinä voi tehdä leipää [epäselvää] ynnä muuta, sit siinä voi myöskin kaikki lämpö mikä täällä tuotetaan se otetaan talteen. Plus että kaasulla on parasta tehdä ruokaa. (Theo 04 122-134)

T: siis tietystihän tää koko talohan on niinku verkossa, atk-verkko, plus sit tässä on kaiuttimet joka huoneessa. Siis kaiutin, noi valmiit. Siis noihinkin tulee syöttö (tauko) et kuten esim kylpyhuoneessa oli kaiuttimet katossa, jos sä satuit huomaamaan (Theo 04 249-252)

T: noi listat mitä tänne tulee, tänne tulee 20 eri listatyyppiä, näihin seiiniin. Ja tota siihen on yks perustelu, et ne on erilaisii niinku just sitäkin symbolisoimassa, et ennen vanhaan tehtiin siitä materiaalista mitä oli käytettävissä. Että tässä ei tuu kaikki samalla (tauko) myöskin katot on erilaisia, et ei oo ollut listaa laittaa joka paikkaan samanlaista, ni sit täytyy laittaa erilaista. (Theo 04 273-277)

T: siis yks semmonen lähtökohta ku siis semmonen tietyllä tavalla kallis maku, niinku toi [allaskaappi], tollaset maksaa ihan hiton paljon jos semmosen ostat. Mutta mä kiertelin kunnes mä löysin semmoset jotka ensinnäkin tyydytti noin ulkonäköllisesti ja toiseksi missä sai ostaa näyte- siis noi on mallikappaleita.

HP: joo. joo. Et ne on sit jonkun verran edullisempia?

T: 75 prosenttia alennusta. Eikä se mua haittaa. (Theo 04 146-152)

T: siis niinku mä sanoin, siis yrittänyt koko ajan löytää, siis ei ostaa romiksesta mitään tavaraa (Theo 04 112-113)

T: Mua ei hirveesti kiinnosta se hakeminen vaan nimenomaan yrittää löytää uutta, joka lähtökohtaisesti on, kelpaa niin sanotusti

vanhaksi. Esim. Ikean kaapit jotka vaikka mä katoinkin niinku niin yritin löytää, niin Ikean kaapit nyt lähinnä on ne jotka edustaa vanhaa. Varsinkin vielä nyt kun laitettiin noi nupit tähän keskelle. (Theo 04 113-117)

T: [Hollannissa] oli sikäli upeeta et ihmiset kun ne heitti pois vanhoja kalusteita niin ne teki sen et ne jätti ne kadulle ja sitte siellä yöllä kiertämällä tehdä tosi hyviä löydöksiä. Tää [tuoli] ei oo sarjasta sitä mutta mulla on nyt tällä hetkellä, missähän (tauko) ne on hajasijoitettuna ne semmoset kolme ihan eri tyyppistä tuolia. Kaikki on löytynyt kadulta. Ja sit mä oon vaan pääillystännyt ne. Siis oikein semmosia vanhoja vanhoja. (Theo 04 165-169)

T: tässä kun ollaan ite raivattu tontti ja kaikki ja on saanut ite tehdä ja suunnitella kaikki (Theo 04 48-49)

T: runko on tullut pakettina ja sitten kaikki nää sisuskalut sitä mukaa hahmottunut kun ollaan tätä tehty. (Theo 04 88-89)

T: Siis piipunmuurauksen ja sitten kaikki sähköt, mä olin ihan koko ajan mukana. Kaikki vedet mä olen ollut ihan koko ajan mukana. Siis itse asiassa tässä ei ole mitään semmosta mitä mä en olisi ollut mukana tekemässä (Theo 04 104-106)

HP: sit (tauko) mistä sulla on tämä taito? Siis osaaminen?

T: ei oo taitoo, vaan kova usko itseensä ja tota sit mä veljen taloa olin rakentamassa viime kesänä niin huomasi sen, et niinku niin moni muukin asia niin (tauko) ne on ihmisen keksimiä asioita, niin ne pystyy itse tekemään. Tokihan joku tommonen piipun muuraaminen, niin siihen tarvitaan ammatilainen joka sen tekee mutta nyt kun mä olen nähnyt miten se tapahtuu niin kyllä mä uskon että mä teen tohon pihagrillin jossain vaiheessa (Theo 04 97-102)

T: ei ole millekään esineelle ollut sellaista itsestäänselvää paikkaa, että meillä on ollut tapana siirrellä lamppeja, tämmösiäkin, näitä kattokruunuja myöten, paikasta toiseen. Se on yks semmonen asia. Sen takia on vähän vaikea sanoa, että mikä on semmonen mikä ei ole löytänyt paikkaansa. Tässä on, vois sanoa että se tietty alkutilanne on vielä luomatta, mitä sitten lähdetään muuttamaan.

HP: tarkoitatko ihan konkreettisesti että te saatatte istua tässä ja miettitte että hetkinen, toi kattokruunu olisi parempi...

T: joo. Ja sit siirretään se ja katotaan onko se parempi jossain muualla, ja sitten voi olla että se palautuu takaisin tai sitten ei. (Theo 05 191-199)

T: Kun tässä on ollut niinkuin tavoitteena että tää näyttää vanhalta tuolla alhaalla, niin tästä tulee tämmönen oikea olohuone, että just kaikki sohvat ja semmoset missä voi löhöillä ja nukahtaa ja tota sitten audiovisuaalinen pelihelvetti tänne, tossa on kaikki [katossa] kaikki jubatsut sitä varten. (Theo 05 123-126)

R: mulla oli tämmönen poikamies-tyttöhuoneisto tuolla (tauko) saman kadun varrella, joka oli kiva, mutta kun meillä oli tätä taidetta, niin pakko. Se riitti kyllä, se olisi riittänyt hyvin kyllä kahdelle hengelle, mutta kun me edustetaan kuitenkin paljon, kun meillä on paljon kansainvälisiä vieraita ja tuota (tauko) et sit siirryttiin tänne. Että pakko saada taiteelle tilaa (naurh) (Rea 04 116-120)

R: Kun me lähdettiin tätä [ruokasalin] parketiaakin etsimään, me haluttiin jotain joka antaa taiteelle puheenvuoron. Nää huonekalut ovat isoisän ja isoäidin kodista, niin piti löytää myös näissä verhoissa semmoista materiaalia jotka toimisi niiden kanssa. Ja olisi tarpeeksi vahvaa ja mielummin dialogia kuin että kaikki samaan suuntaan. Et tää mun mielestä, et varsinkin kun mitä tulee muotoiluun, on hirveän tärkeää et muodon pitää herättää keskustelua. (Rea 04 62-68)

R: me hirveesti pantiin aikaa siihen, et löydettäisiin oikeat suihkut, oikeat ovenkahvat... ovenkahvat tulee Ranskasta kun Suomesta ei löydetty oikein kunnollisia kahvoja. Et nää on ranskalaista muotoilua ja niillä on satoja malleja jotka vaihtuu vuosien mittaen, ja niitä on satoina eri vaihtoehtoina, pronssina ja vaikka mitä. Et me katottiin eri sävyjä tästä. (Rea 04 180-185)

R: Tuolla on vielä yhdet verhot, joista mä en ole hirveän innostunut, mutta me ei olla keksitty mitään parempaakaan, on tuolla toimiston huoneet. Ne on vähän, ne ei ole tarpeeks lämpimät tai muuta tämmöstä, niistä puuttuu vähän lämpöä. (Rea 04 444-446)

R: siis tähän on koti, tästä ei ole koskaan ollut tarkoitus tehdä museota. Tai voi olla että jonain päivänä se on museo, mutta ollaan koitettu tehdä siitä että voi elää taiteen kanssa, et taide on osa elämää. Sitä ei kannata vierastaa tai hienostella, sen sijaan voi pitää hauskaa. (Rea 04 38-41)

H: tää menee kyllä ihan hissukseen ja aika, mut sit kuitenkin, ollaan menossa johonkin tiettyyn suuntaan ja tiedetään suurinpiirtein mikä se on ja kun meillä ei oikeastaa ole mikään kiire niin otetaan nää asiat vähän rauhallisemmin.

HP: onko teillä ajatusta siitä, miten kauan tähän suunnilleen menee? Onko vuosista vai

H: eeei niin pitkästä ajasta varmaankaan. Sanoisin että aikalaila siinä lokakuun lopussa tää voisi olla. (Hannele 05 12-17)

H: Mietittiin pitkään että et mikä täs olis. Täs oli laualattia alla mutta se oli niin huonossa kunnossa että sitä ei voinut käyttää. Sit tuolla olohuoneen puolella oli parketti ja samanlaista parkettia ei saanut ja parkettimies sanoi että keittiöön ei kannata laittaa parkettia ja oli siinä varmasti oikeassa, että kun vesivahinko tulee niin kaikki pitää repiä auki. Tää on nyt semmonen laatta jota käytetään (tauko) se on niinku kivistä, murskattua ja tätähän käytetään sai-

raaloissa ja siinä on niinku eriaisteisia tämmösiä että mitä kaikkea ne kestää mutta tää on ollut helppohoitoinen ja mun mielestä kiva ja hirveän hyvä värit oli, mistä voi valita ja se jotenkin niin tuntui vaan et se on, se sopii just tähän näin. (Hannele 04 149-157)

H: No tää sohva vois olla yks esimerkki, huonekalusta, joka on tota, jolla on historia. Se on mun miehen kodista ja siinä oli alkuperäinen kangas oli tummansininen aika karkea, ruma, vahva sininen. Hän otti siinä aina torkut silloin kun hän omassa kodissaan katseli telkkaria. No, sitten mua puhutteli nää muodot, mun mielestä se oli pieni ja siro ja aika kivan näköinen ja sitten siihen, kun hänen vanhempansa molemmat kuoli, niin jaettiin vähän näitä huonekaluja, niin sitten tää tuli meille. Sit mä päällystin sen tämmösellä kankaalla siinä vaiheessa [valkoisen alla oleva englantilaistyylinen kukkakangas], tämmönen vähän brittiläinen sisustus-boomi meneillään ja sitten kun se oli ohi niin tähän ommeltiin tää irtopäällinen. Ja se on kanssa semmonen, tää koko sohva seuraava aina paikasta toiseen, kyllä se aina löytää jonkun paikan sen takia kun se on niin pieni. Ja jotenkin hauskan näköinen. Ja sit nää tyynyt mä teetin, tai nää kankaat siihen mä en muista ompelinks mä kankaat itse, mulla oli ehkä joku ompelija joka teki ne, joo. Niin tää [sohva] on vaihtanut paikkaa meidän kodeissa yhdestä paikasta toiseen, mutta aina se on ollut mukana. Niin sitten aina vain riisuu tän valkoisen päällisen ja sitä ei tarvitse edes silittää vaan venyttää vaan sen tähän päälle, niin se on niinku (tauko) kauheen kätevä (naurh). Sisustuselementtinä. (Hannele 04 226-241)

HP: eli nyt kun sä katsot näitä [2004] valokuvia, niin näyttää siltä, että on paljon tavaraa?

H: (tauko) onhan tässä paljon enemmän tavaraa, joo. Jonkun mielestä tää on varmaan hirveän vähän, mutta (tauko) kyllä mä niinku pyrin siihen, että olisi toisiaan mahdollisimman vähän. Että se mikä on, oli kivaa, et sillä olis merkitys, tai sitten se olisi mukana jossain täm-

mösessä niinku mielialajutussa, että nyt tulee talvi ja vahvempia värejä ja lämpöä ja muuta ja sitten kun tulee kesä, niin sitten taas keventää ja on valoisampaa ja (tauko) semmosta, hm, mikä sietää päivänvalon. Että tää semmonen talvitunnelmahan on aina semmoinen että haluaa kääriytyä vällyihin ja värithän merkitsee silloin aika paljon. (Hannele 05 226-233)

HP: puhutsä sitten sisustukseen liittyvistä asioista kodin ulkopuolella?

O: joo, kyllä, kyllä puhun. Ja sit täällä, sehän on tavallaan osa mun työtäkin, ottaa niihin asioihin kantaa ja tehdä sen tyyppisiä. Ja sitten se on mulle mieluisa asia. Ja sitten on myös tullut sellainen tunne, että ymmärtäinkin jotakin niistä, ei paljoa, mutta jotakin, niin sekini edesauttaa sitä, että haluaa tehdä. Jos olis joku semmoinen asia, josta ei ymmärtäisi hölkäyksen pöläystä niin eihän sellaista olisi kiva tehdäkään. Mutta että mulle se on ollut sellainen mieluisa asia. (Olavi 05 571-577)

O: [B&O AV-system] kaikki toimii yhteen ja yhdellä kaukosäätimellä ja kaikissa huoneissa, keittiössä, missä vaan.

HP: teillä on vedetty kaiuttimet tänne?

O: niin, siis noi kaiutinpuihat, tai siis ne vaatii putkituksia. Silloin kun remontti aloitetaan niin täytyy vetää tonne seinien alaosaan putkitukset, jotta noi puihat voidaan vetää, koska toi langaton teknologia ei ole vielä niin kehittynyt että saisit ihan niiden avulla. (Olavi 04 57-62)

O: Niinku arkkitehdit sanoo, että tila on tärkeämpi kuin sisustus. Eli sä voit jo niinku tilan käytöllä sisustaa. Ei vaan että raahaat sen esineitä täyteen, siitä voi tulla aika rumakin sillon. Mutta mä olen itse ihan samaa mieltä, että tila on tärkeämpi kuin sisustus. (Olavi 05 558-561)

O: mä pyrin hankkimaan esineitä tai koriste-esineitä tai design-esineitä sen rakennuksen mukaan, rakennuksen historian mukaan. Koska toi laiva on ollut tossa ikkunan alla 50-luvulla, mä ajattelin että sehän [laivan pienoismalli]

kuuluu ilman muuta tänne (naurh). (Olavi 04 78-81)

L: Että tässä ei, kun tää on tän ajan asunto ja tää on vielä hitas-asunto, niin tää on tehty minimi sellaisilla jotenkin ratkaisilla. Että kaikki materiaalit mitä täällä oli ne alkuperäiset niin ne oli hirveän rumia, sellaisia kaikkia simpeleimpiä mahdollisia, kaikki komeron ovet ja lattiat ja jalkalistat. Kaikki oli vain, oli sen ajan kaikkein perus halvinta ja neutraaleinta ja (tauko) molemmilla oli sellanen tuntu, että me halutaan tänne jotain materiaalin tuntua. Ettei ole kaikki vaan sellaista neutraalia pintaa. Et ehkä sen takia päädyttiin näinkin tämmöseen tummaan ja dominoivaan lattiaan, et tuli joku sellanen niinku pinta. (Laura 04 360-366)

L: Meillä oli itseasiassa jossain vaiheessa aika paljonkin erilaisia väriajatuksia seinille mutta sit vaan alkoi tuntua siltä että ne ei vaan ole ihan tän asunnon juttu. Et mun mielestä me menttiin aika pitkälle tän asunnon ehdoilla, eikä silleen, että mä olen aina halunnut jonkun asian ja se toteutetaan nyt tänne, sopii se tai ei. (Laura 04 370-373)

J: kun me tähän taloon muutettiin, me tiedettiin, että vanha talo ja tää vaatii jatkuvaa semmosta pientä remontoimista. (Janne 05 596-597)

J: Ehkä puhe sitten loppujen lopuksi on niin, että se on että mä pohdin ehkä niitä asioita enemmän kun mun vaimo. Johtuen varmaan siis ihan mun omasta taustasta ja siitä että mä olen, on tiettyä harrastuneisuutta muotoilu kohtaan yleensäkin niin (tauko) Usein se menee siihen, että mä valmistelen, teen vähän niinkuin virkamies: mä teen esityksiä (naurh), et on tällanen vaihtoehto ja tällanen vaihtoehto ja tällanen vaihtoehto ja, mitä mikäkin maksaa ja, mitkä on hyvät puolet tossa ja huonot puolet siinä ja sit me keskustellaan niistä, et se on yleisin tapa. Mut sit joku, niinku ton taulun kanssa tehtiin, niin se oli oikeastaan se

et vaimo vain sanoi että mä tuon sen taulun tänne kun se kerran on mun, että ei siinä sitten mitään.

HP: että siinä oli vaimon vuoro tehdä aloite
J: joo. Toi pannaan tohon ja sanoi vielä, että 'tohon se ripustetaan' (naurh). Mä sain naulata naulan (naurh). Että (tauko) et joskus niinkin päin. Siihen keskusteluun tosiaan vielä että niinkun varmaan useimmiten, että kyllä me keskustellaan enemmän kuin tehdään (tauko) (naurh) et kyllä sitä keskustelua käydään niinkun aika paljonkin loppujen lopuksi siis tämösisistä asioista. (Janne 05 612-629)

J: Se [tuttu maalari] tuli sit kattoo mitäs täällä [saunassa] on saatu aikaiseksi. Jaa, ei ole näköjään enää kuin sinä ja veneenrakentajat kun käytätte näitä, just tollasii nauvoja

HP: aijaa, joo joo

J: et tää kuvastaa oikeastaan sitä niinkun mun asennoitumista näihin asioihin, että kun tehdään niin sit tehdään kunnolla. Et kyl noi on kaikki niinku ne on langan kanssa mitattu et saadaan suoraan ne kaikki naulat yksitellen. Kattoon joutui vielä tekee niin että, on niin heikko toi alusrakenne tuolla, että joutui poraamaan nauloille reiät.

HP: just joo.

J: meni siinä aikaa. (Janne 04 454-462)

J: Jos pitäisi niinkuin inspiroitua jostakin, niin kyllä mä sitten katon ihan tän talon oman aikakauden lehtiä ja kirjoja. Mä olen itseasiassa aika paljon ostellutkin kirjallisuutta joissa on 50-60-luvun modernismia. Eli tavallaan mä haluan varmistaa, et jos me tehdään täällä jotain muutoksia, niin ettei tehdä sillä tavalla pieleen, että ruvettais korjaamaan asioita niin että ne poikkeaa kovasti talon oman aikakauden ratkaisuista. (Janne 05 1039-1044)

J: tuossa on semmoinen erikoisuus tuossa lamputta että Artekin kuvastossa luki että sen saa myös kattoasennuksena, siis tuollaisena niin kuin matalana asennuksena. Siis sehän tulee normaalisti johdon päässä. Ja sit mä soitin

sinne, että otettaisiin tällainen kattoasennuksena. Ja sit ne ihmetteli siellä, että no ei me kyllä tällaista ole koskaan toimitettu. Sitten ne antoivat mulle sen valmistajan yhteystiedot ja mä soitin sinne ja selitin tilanteen että Artekin kuvastossa tarjotaan tätä kattoasennuksella, mutta he eivät ole koskaan sellaista nähneet eivätkä myyneet, että mites on? Ja siellä ne sanoivat, valmistaja, että no kun tommonen on kerran luvattu niin semmoinen tehdään. Ja sitten ne kehitti tohon tommosen kauluksen. Kun tämä on niin matala tämä huone niin se olisi vähän hassu laittaa semmoinen roikkuva juttu. (Janne 04 87-96)

J: mä satuin näkemään tossa krunikassa jossain näistä tämmöstä uudempaa antiikkia myyvässä liikkeessä ton pullon. Siinä on alunperin ollut tollanen punos tossa pullossa sillan kun niitä tehtiin. Ja tota (tauko) nehän on sitten ajan mittaan hajonnut ja niitä on aika vähän jäljellä sellaisia alkuperäisiä. Se pullo oli hirveessä hinnassa, se maksoi muistaakseni 200 euroa se pullo sen myyntihinta. Sitten, joo, mä tein mun isoäidilleni sellasen palveluksen, sillä on sellaisia tuoleja, joissa on tollasta punosta, tai mikä toi on toi rottinkipunosta. Ne oli kaikki vähän räjähtänyt ne tuolit, niin mä kuskasin ne tonne Vantaalle, siinä on semmonen, siellä on semmonen pariskunta, miehellä ikää 80 ja se vaimo on vähän nuorempi. Ne vielä tekee tätä tämmöstä rottinkityötä. Ne korjas ne tuolit ja sit mä satuin kysymään, että mitäköhän maksa, jos mä toisin tänne sellasen pullon, johon pitäis laittaa (naurh) tollanen ympärille. No se on 20 euroa. No sit mä ajattelin, et se on ihan hyvä diili (naurh). Ja sit mä sain ikään kuin alkuperäisen, toi pullohan on tietysti ihan uus. Mutta se pappi kietas siihen tollasen ympärille ja veti lakan päälle ja (naurh) siinä se on. Se ei ole ihan niinkuin alkuperäinen. Alkuperäinen oli pikkasen korkeammalla vähän se punos. Mutta se nyt on ihan sivuseikka. (Janne 05 354-369)

J: Tämä pöytä on Aallon pöytä. Tää on semmonen tarina: tää on mun isoäidin isän vanha työ-

pöytä. En tiedä miten se on hänelle päätynyt mutta se on aika vanha. Se on todennäköisesti 30-luvun Artekkiä, tuo pöytä. Sain sen (tauko) se oli mun isoäidin veljellä ja kun mun isoäidin veli kuoli, mä sain tuon pöydän vaikka se oli aika pahassa kunnossa. Mä olin ehkä jotain 15- tai 16-vuotias. Mä olen sen itse kunnostanut. Se ei nyt ole mitään ihan mahtavaa työtä mutta kyllä se nyt kelpaa. Se on kunnostettu niin kauan aikaa sitten, että se jo näyttää vanhalta. Se on vuonna 80, varmaan, 81 kunnostettu. Siihen on ajan kuluessa (tauko) asennettu lukot, ne ei kuulu alkuperäiseen. Ja tota tossa ei ollut noita vetimiä, vaan vain reiät ja mä laitoin siihen

HP: olitsä katsonut onks noi jotenkin tyylipuhtaat noi vetimet?

J: no ne on nyt niin tyylipuhtaat kuin on mahdollista. Tietysti olisi voinut metsästää enemmänkin. (Janne 04 19-31)

J: No tää Aallon tuoli, joka tässä oli aikaisemmin, kirjoituspöydän tuolina, se, niin, aktiivisessa käytössä. Se on hyvin aktiivisessa käytössä sen takia että me kasataan yleensä pyykki sen päälle, et kyllä se siinä mielessä on käytössä mut istuinkäytössä se ei ole. (Janne 05 493-496)

4 STORING DESIGN

Introduction

A: mulla ei ole mitään suhdetta mihinkään televisioon tai stereoihin tai tietokoneeseen. Musta ne on niinku, kunhan ne toimii ja sitte, ois tietysti kiva et ne olis kivan näkösiä, mutta harvemmin ne on, niinku kohtuuhintaset, kivan näkösiä, et kun mä ostin läppäriin niin se on aivan tolkkuttoman ruma ja paksu, mutta, niinku, kunhan toimii, niin se on ihan fine. (Anniina 04 365-369)

J: Toi Wirkkalan lehtivati on (tauko) mitäköhän sille kävi? Mä luulen et me oltiin reissussa ja me pantiin se piiloon. Ihan siltä varalta (naurh) et jos joku nyt sattuu (naurh) vaikka tulemaan sisään ja inventoimaan (naurh) meidän kamoja, niin toi me pantiin piiloon.

HP: ja nyt te ette enää löydä sitä?

J: kyllä mä tiedän missä se on, mutta se on vaan siis jäänyt

HP: (naurh) okei

J: mä en siis muistanutkaan sitä ennen kuin nyt kun näin.

HP: siinä oli tilalla nyt sit toinen

J: joo, se on joku semmonen puusepäntas, joka tekee tommosta lahjaesineitä. Se tuli niinku jotenkin niinku jonkinnäköisenä lahjana (tauko) siis vaimolleni.

HP: mut sulla otsa rypistyy...?

J: eee (tauko) en mä nyt siis (tauko) on se ihan, on se ihan silleen, on se ihan kiva, mut se on vähän silleen möhkäle. (Janne 05 263-276)

J: Nurmesniemen pannu on nyt vähän siirtynyt harvempaan käyttöön. Nää johtuu siis semmonen, siis sekään ei ole mikään semmonen tietoinen päätös, että nyt mä mietin että "tuo esine on ollut tuossa nyt riittävän kauan, nyt tulee joku toinen tilalle". Se ei vaan ole semmonen (tauko) se tän remontin yhteydessä siirtyi johonkin pahvilaatikkoon, ja sit kun saatiin keittiö toimimaan niin jostain syystä tää kirkas vesipannu vaan jäi tähän. Ja tilanne on jäänyt sellaseks. Niinkun usein käy, että ihminen ei jaksa koko ajan ajatella kaikkia mahdollisia asioita (naurh). Ja valtaosa asioista vain painuu taka-alalle ja unohtuu. (Janne 05 480-487)

Great designs

H: tää [sänky] on meidän hankkima sänky avioliiton ensimmäisinä vuosina, sen täytyy olla joskus 76 ja 80 välillä. Ja silloinhan Duxin sängyt oli semmoisia että ne oli nyt niin kauheen hyvät ja niitä kehuttiin ja oli oikeastaan, ehkä se oli niinku se ensimmäinen sänky, jossa

vedottiin tähän mukavuuteen ja et se on selälle hyvä, että siihen astihan kaikki nukku tämmösissä superloni-patjoilla ja kova alusta. Et se niinku edusti semmosta uutta sänkyajattelua. Ja tää design oli yks semmonen juttu tässä myös sitten ratkaisi sen että me otettiin tää. Se on ollut ehkä vähän hankala kun se on yks patja vaan, eli se on hirvittävän raskas. Mutta jostain kumman syystä tää on kestänyt kaikki nää vuodet ja edelleen se on meidän molempien mielestä kauheen mukava ja kyllä mä oon varmasti (tauko) siis kaikki nää vesisänkyvaiheet ja sitten nykyiset nää, miks niitä nyt kutsutaan, että saa sängyn kaikenmaailman vinkkeleihin ja katsoa televisiota, niin ne ei oo kiinnostanut mua missään vaiheessa, et mä oon aina pysynyt tässä uskollisesti. Ja nyt sitten viime kesänä me hankittiin runkopatjat meidän maallekin, mut ihan siihen vanhaan puukehykseen joka siellä on. Eli se patjan mukavuus on tärkein ja itse sänky voi olla mahdollisimman helppo ja päiväpeite pitää voida pestä kätevästi koneessa ja sen ei tarvitse olla niin kauhean hieno. Et mulla on muutamia joita mä sit vaihdan. Ja kyllä tää nyt varmasti säilyy meillä ihan haudataan asti. Että sänkyä en oo tarvinnut vaihtaa sen jälkeen kun tän hankki. Et siinä mielessä se oli ihan kiva juttu. (Hannele 04 243-260)

H: tää asiasto, joka me perittiin mun miehen kodista niin se on ollu aika paljon käytössä. Vaikka se ei oo niinku arkena mutta se on kuitenkin niin heti jos on joku jouluaatto tai syntymäpäiviä vietetään tai juhlapäiviä niin silloin mä katan aina sillä ja se on oikeastaan ainoa semmonen et on niinku paljon osia siihen mutta muuten mä kyllä miksaan kovasti näitä niinku uusia ja vanhoja asioita silloin kun mä katan pöydän (Hannele 04 268-272)

A: mä en suostunut ostamaan uutta puhelinta, vaikka se mun vanha puhelin oli rikki, kun ei ollut markkinoilla kivan näköisiä puhelimia. Kun puhelin on sellanen et kun se on koko ajan joutuu oleella sulla toisessa kädessä, niin se oli jotenkin mulle tärkeätä et mä haluan

hienon puhelimen. Niin sit ei ollut markkinoilla niin mä sit sanoin et no, okei, et en mä sit tarvii puhelinta. Mä toimin tän rikkinäisen kanssa, kyllä se nyt vähän toimi. Mut et sit jengi alkoi oleen oikeesti niin kypsänä, mua (naurh) ei saanut kiinni ja puhelut katkes koko aika ja ei kuulunu niin sit tota (tauko) niin sit mä sain ton lahjaks (naurh) nimittäin mä olin jotenkin bongannut, toi oli just jotenkin tullut markkinoille, musta toi oli tosi hieno. Mut tää nyt on tällanen Nokia-design (tauko) Niinku Nokian-puhelimeksi (tauko) tai ylipäätään puhelimeksi niin (tauko) se on sellanen ainut tollanen elektioninen juttu mikä on mulle tärkeä. (Anniina 04 371-380)

M: Tässä on mun mielestä aivan mahtava tuote. Mä hankin viime viikolla kaksin kappalein mutta tähän mä en ole vielä tehnyt mitään kun mä ajattelin antaa mun ystävälleni lahjaksi. Mä kävin suutarilla korjaamassa laukkuja ja mä näin tän ja mä olin ihan et minkä takia en ole koskaan aikaisemmin elämässäni tavannut tällaisia avaimia, nää on mahtavia. Mä halusin heti kaikki mun avaimet tällaisilla erilaisilla kuviolla. (Mervi 04 158-162)

R: Tommonenkin kori, mulla on ollut se vuosia mukana tommonen tämmönen hedelmäkori, kun ihmiset tajuaisivat et on tarkeeta et hedelmät saa tarpeeksi ilmaa. (Rea 04 266-268)

L: Tää sarja on semmonen mikä pitää esitellä ehdottomasti. Nää on Margrethe-kulhoja. Onks ne sulle tuttuja?

HP: ei.

L: ne on tällaisia Sigvard Bernadotten suunnittelemlia ja en muista mikä vuosi [1950]. Tanskan kuningattarella Margarethalla on tämmönen hopeinen (naurh). Ja tää on melamiinia tai jotain tämmöstä ja näitä tekee tanskalainen tämmönen Rosti-niminen firma. Ja näitä on tosiaan monia kokoja ja värejä. Ja tää on ihan älyttömän hyvä tää suunnittelu, kun tässä on tää tämmönen kumi, niin sitten kun vatkaa jotain nää pysyy pöydällä ihan hievahtamatta.

Ja sit tän mä ostin viime keväänä Tanskasta matkalta kun ne oli nyt tehnyt tämmösen rosterisen version, samasta, et tää on ihan uus niille. Niin tota...mut on tätäkin jo käytetty jo aika paljon. Mut nää on mun mielestä aivan älyttömän hienoja esineitä. (Laura 04 458-472)

J: No toi [olohuoneen tumma pyöreä pöytä] on semmonen, toi on, no, sekin on vajavainen kun lapset siitä rikkoi lasin, siinä kuuluisi olla lasi (tauko) tota kutsutaan laivapöydäksi. Se on hemmetin raskas ja painava pöytä ja toi on esim semmonen joka on mun vanhemmilta mä olen ottanut itselleni mukaan. Se on semmonen se on mun ollutkin, et se on ainoa minkä mä olen ottanut silleen, koska nekin on just semmosia et koira kun illalla tulee niin tylsistyneenä rupeaa kalvamaan jotain jalan kulmaa niin sit harmittaa (naurh) mut ei ne ole kyllä koskeneet kumpikaan koira.

HP: (tauko) mistä se sitten johtuu että sä olet tän ottanut mukaan, harrastatko sä meriasioita?

J: ei ei, kun se on ihan vaan käytännöllistä, se on kiva olla tossa, mä tykkään. Se on ihan vaan käytännöll (tauko) siinä on kiva pitää tavaraa (naurh) ja laskee kaukosäätimet ja illalla vaikka ottaa iltapala, et ihan vaan käytännön syistä.

HP: ja hyvin on toiminut?

J: joo on! Ainoa vaan kun meillä on sohvien välillä, että kuka vetää sen itseään lähimmäksi, saa kaikki tavarat sit viereen (naurh). (Jari 07 199-212)

J: [valaisin] oli vähän rikki, et se oli lähtenyt täältä irti ... sen mä oon jossain nyrkipajassa juottattanut kiinni, se tietysti vähän tummentui tuolla tavalla vähän ikävästi. Sit mä olen sen aikana purkanut ja putsannut ja maalannut tän jalustan uudestaan. Et jos puhutaan lempiesineistä, niin tää on nyt niin kun ehdottomasti sellainen ykkösesine.

HP: voiksä laittaa siihen valon?

J: joo. Se ei kauheasti valaise itse asiassa (naurh)

HP: se on hieno.

J: se on musta erittäin hieno. (Janne 04 120-128)

T: ja sohva on aivan fantastinen (naurh). Se on vielä kotimainen. Me käytiin just lauantaina oltiin kiertämässä, oltiin tuolla Vepsäläisessä ja toi on edelleenkin toi sama sohva on (tauko) se on HT-collectionin sohva, löytyy, ja näin, ja siihen on eri kokosia, löytyy 2-istuttava, noja-tuolia ja rahia ja tämmöstä näin (tauko) et siinä mielessä et se on ihan kiva et sitä pystyy jatka-maan sitte. (Tiina 04 126-129)

A: mulla on mun likkakaverin kanssa tommonen Yrjö-niminen alumiinivene, joka on sitä varten, että kun me pakataan koirat siihen ja sit me ajetaan jonnekin ulkoilemaan. Sen tosta vaan ottaa näppärästi ja sillä painelee. Alumiinivene, Silver, se on musta, eihän ne halpoja ole, nehän on helvetin kalliita, mutta se on käyttöominaisuuksiltaan niin loistava ja huoleton. Ei siinä ole, sitä ei ikinä pestä, siinä maalataan pohjaan myrkyt kun se on vedessä ja sen jälkeen sillä ajetaan vaan johonkin ja jos kolhii niin ei mitään väliä, kunhan ei moottoria kolhi. Mut se alumiini, se on ihanaa, se on aivan ihanaa. Niinku jotkut puhuu moottori-pyöristä vapauskoneinaan, se on meikäläisen vapauskone kun sillä menee tuolla tukka putkella. (Asta 07 720-729)

A: Nää on vähän jo huonossa kunnossa, koska mä oon pitänyt näitä niin kauheesti. Rizzon kengät, aivan ehdoton. Mä olen etsinyt monta vuotta neon-värisiä kenkiä, sellasia et niinku (tauko) ettei mitään niinku (tauko) sellasta hal-piskamaa, mitään muovikamaa, vaan et oikee-ta nahkaa, sellasta ihanan näköstä. Ja nyt mä sit löysin. Niitä mä on pitänyt nyt siis tähän asti kun tuli helteet. Nää on kyllä sen näkösetkin. (Anniina 04 218-222)

T: Tätä on varjeltu niinku mitä että se on niinku (tauko) jostain syystä kuuluu sarjaan niitä esi-neitä, joista ei missään nimessä haluaisi että ne menis rikki. Mutta toisaalta sillä (tauko) ei se

ole edes arvokas välttämättä, eikä sillä välttä-mättä ole edes tunnearvoa, mutta se on vaan esine josta haluaa että se pysyisi ehjänä. Se on aika kiva. (Theo 05 242-246)

O: Tästä esineestä [myrskylyhty] mä pidän aika paljon koska se luo sellaisen pehmeän valon, esimerkiksi illalla niin se on aika kiva. Öljylamp-pu.

HP: Tää on ollut käytössä?

O: se on ollut käytössä. Usein, joo, aina jos on ollut jotain, tulee tuttavias kylään tai syömään, on ihan kiva laittaa toi, eikä muita valoja. (Olavi 05 309-314)

I: No tää on hyvä elektroniikka-kolvi. Tän mä olen ite ostanut joskus. Mä olen tehnyt töitä opiskeluaikana, mä olen rakentanut synteti-saattorin ja tehnyt niinku ite joskus aikanaan elektroniikkajuttuja ja mä olin Nokialla kouluai-koina kesäharjoittelijana ja mä tein siellä töitä kolvilla ja niillä oli hyvät kolvit. Melkein yhtä hyvä kuin tää. Ja sit mä olen itse joskus ostanut tän itselleni aikanaan kun mä olen tehnyt niitä juttuja. (Ilmari 04 552-556)

HP: mikä sun mielestä on muotoiltua käyttö-esinettä, jos sä haluaisit sellasia mulle esitellä?

L: ihan joku yksittäinen esine?

HP: joo, ja mielellään useita esineitä tietysti

L: no tossa on ainakin yksi, teekannu [tonfisk] jota me käytetään ihan valtavasti.

HP: se on ollut hyvä käytössä?

L: on, tää on musta tosi hyvä. Ainoo tän hait-tapuoli on, että tää on tosi pieni. Et jos on use-ampi juoja niin sit se on vähän (tauko) siihen ei mahdu kauhean monta kupillista. Mut siinä on hirvee hyvä tää kaato. Nokka ja muut, et mun mielestä se on hirveän hyvin muotoiltu esine. Ja muutenkin hauskan näkönen. Et se on sellanen kyllä joka on paljon käytössä. (Laura 04 42-50)

K: No vähän semmonen, että esineiden täm-möinen filisarvo, niinku toi valkoinen TV, jolla on suuri filisiarvo, mutta se ei ole käytössä. Se

on itseasiassa vähän rikkikin, tai siinä on huono kuva. Mutta että siis sehän on ihan täysin turha esine siinä mielessä, mut se on kummin silleen, että sillä on kova filisarvo. (Kalle & Emma 05 514-517)

J: Jotain pientä on pystynyt hankkimaan. Ensimmäisestään valaisimia kyllä. En tiedä mikä nyt niissä on niin viehättävää (naruh) mutta (tauko) valaisimet on nyt kuitenkin sellainen että ne jotenkin eniten näistä sisustusesineistä kiehtoo. (Janne 04 152- 156)

H: sitten tää televisio on tämmönen uus hankinta ja keksintö josta mä oon todella kauheen iloinen koska täällä keittiössä on kuitenkin (tauko) vietetään aika paljon aikaa ja kun kokkaa ja lukee jotain lehtiä niin laittaa ton päälle et se on ollu hirveen hyvä hankinta. (Hannele 04 141-143)

To-do designs

T: no nää tuolit ei ole vielä löytänyt oikein paikkaansa. Kun pitäisi se ruokapöytä tähän saada. Mulla on niitä siis 2, toinen on tuolla yläkerrassa, ylimääräisenä heittotuolina. Ne nyt ei ole silleen hirveän käytännöllisiä tuoleja, mutta tietysti ne on upean näköiset esineet. Et tavallaan sääli niitä on laittaa johonkin vaan nurkkaan, puoliksi piiloon. (Tiina 05 169-173)

H: hm, onks mulla erityinen vaate (tauko) mä uusin näitä kyllä. Mä hävitän aina kaikki vanhat ja mulla ei ole mitään semmosta mikä on jäänyt. (tauko) No mulla on yks mekko jonka oon säilyttänyt, tällanen, joka on hankittu sillon, milloinkohan mulla oli (tauko) tää oli joskus 75 tai 76 tai jotain tämmöstä. Tää on tällanen Marimekko. Ja sit mä oon ajatellut et mä joskus käytän tätä, mut en mä ole koskaan käyttänyt. (Hannele 04 383-389)

I: Mä tarttin puhelimen Kaliforniaan ja ostin puhelimen. Sehän ei toimi Suomessa tällanen

amerikkalainen puhelin, mutta tarttin puhelinkoneen ja mä toin sen tänne kun ajattelin et mä saan sen kyllä toimimaan Suomessa, että ei sitä pois viitsi heittää, se on ihan hyvä puhelin (naurh).

HP: mutta et saanut sitä toimii täällä?

I: en mä ole yrittänytkään, ei mun ole tarvinnut, kun mulla on ollut puhelin tuolla. Täällä mulla ei ole puhelinta ollenkaan tällä hetkellä. Mut se on ollut ehjä ja melkein käyttämätön, siinä on tarratkin vielä päällä, se olis jotenkin kohtuutonta heittää se roskiin. (Ilmari 04 508-515)

O: tää puinen on, mä olen ostanut tän joskus Milanosta, ja sitte mä ihailin tätä puutyötä, kuin täydellinen se onkaan ja sillä lailla, mutta nyt se on vähän tämmönen pölyjen keräilijäosastoa. Mutta kun se löytää oikean paikan, niin sit se on kiva. Mutta sillä ei ole mitään funktiota. (Olavi 04 120-123)

HP: Sit tässä on tämmöinen matka- tai retkituoli.

O: joo, se on tota sama asia, että siitakin pitäisi päästä eroon. Elikkä se ei ole kiva minusta. Se on ton Philippe Starckin tuoli, joka joskus on tullut vahingossa jostain alennusmyynnistä ostettua mutta että mä mietin että heitänkö sen pois vai mitä teen sille. Siinä ei ole edes mukava istua. (Olavi 05 290-297)

HP: mikäs tää, onks tää valaisin? [musta pylväs]

O: on, mutta se on ihan väliaikaisesti tässä vaan. Se tuli tuolta yhdestä huoneistosta, niin kun josta on vuokralaiset vähän vaihtunut, niin otin sen tähän vähäksi aikaa vaan turvaan niin pitää vielä keksiä joku paikka sille. (Olavi 05 315-318)

H: pitää kauhean tarkkaan harkita että mitä todella haluaa, et ei vaan, et joo, tänne vaan, et ei se ollutkaan hyvä. Eikä se ole mikään mahdoton ajatus myydä pois jotain semmosta mistä nyt ei sitten nää tyttäretkään

välitä ollenkaan, et jotain tollasia Kaj Franckin kulhoja, toikin [kuvassa] taitaa olla joku Kaj Franckin kulho ja (tauko) Mulla on ne varmaan pakattuna jossain vielä, mä en oikein tarkkaan edes tiedä että missä ne on, mä en ole viitsinyt ottaa niitä esille kun ne on kerran laitettu pois (naurh). (Hannele 05 238-244)

L: No onhan ton väri sellainen ettei sitä (tauko) mutta silmä tottui niin että suorastaan pidän väristä nyt. Kun ajattelee yksinään, ihan hauska mutta ei välttämättä mun kämpässä kaunistava elementti.

HP: aiot verhoiluttaa sen? Minkä väriseksi?

L: joku tumma tai harmaa tai sininen. Kun eihän se ole sopivan värinen, hyvä tai kiva. Mutta käytännön tarpeet voitti. Yksinkertaisesti oli käyttöä tuolille. Siihen aikaan vaan haalin kamaa kämppääni. Ajattelin että voihan niitä heittää vekka kun voi ostaa muuta tilalle. Mutta tossa toi on. (Liisa 04 237-247)

K: Mut toi [viininpunainen radio] on tuolla hyllyssä, mut toiki on (tauko) kun toi on mun mielestä hieno esine ja sen vuoksihan mä olen sen ostanut, et mä joko ostan sen takia, et hieno esine, et kannattaa ottaa se nyt pois, ettei se mee roskiin tai muuta, mut nyt mulle on tullut vähän silleen, et tyhmäähän se on, että se seisoo tuolla hyllyssä, et sit sen vois ottaa mielummin käyttöön tai jos joku tarvii radiota niin suunnilleen antaa, et mä olen oppinut vähän luopumaan näistä kamoista. Mut et toi nyt suunnilleen venaa, et jos ois joskus vaikka oma, sanotaan et kesämökki, niin toi olis supermaailman kivoin radio sinne. (Kalle & Emma 05 243-249)

HP: Kuinka tarkkaan teillä on tiedossa miten huonekalut tullaan sijoittamaan? Mahtuuko tänne esimerkiksi kaikki teidän huonekalut?

T: Kyllä ne mahtuu. Mahtuu. Siellä on yläkerassa nimittäin vielä tilaa. Eli joo. Tietysti osa on sit semmosta niinku toi lipasto, et mä en tiedä löytyykö sille ikinä mitään paikkaa. Se on naarmuuntunut. En tiedä löytyykö energiaa laittaa

sitä kuntoon. (Theo 04 185-190)

K: mä just katoin tota levysoitinta, et kertoo niinku niin paljon et mä omistan 6 levysoitinta, joista ykskään ei toimi. Siis tää on tämmönen, siis tääkin on periaatteessa vähän korjauksen alla, mut teoriassa toimii. Siis tää toimii pattereilla. Siinä on niinku kansi vaan ja (tauko) mä olen joskus erikoistunut näihin patterilla toimiviin. Näit pitäis vähän vaan niinku fiksailla. (Kalle & Emma 04 430-435)

Distant designs

H: Iso Sarpanevan Marcel-maljakkoo meni rikki, mut sitä mä en nyt ole surru ollenkaan. (Hannele 05 69-70)

H: näkyyhän täällä [2004 valokuvissa] yksi Aalto-maljakkoo, itseasiassa toi. Että ne on saatu ja hankittu lähes 20 vuotta sitten, nykyisin ei tulisi mieleenkään enää ostaa Aalto-maljakkoa.

HP: mutta et ole kuitenkaan luopunut siitä, että sillä on oma käyttösä

H: eei. Se on niinku maljakko muiden joukossa. Ja sitäpaitsi ne on kolhiintunut tiskatessa ja (tauko) enkä mä sitäkään sure. Ei sillä ole niinku mitään merkitystä. Mutta jos tämä [Birger Kaipiainen taidelautanen] menisi rikki, niin sitten mä olisin kyllä vähän että (tauko) ei kai, et kyllä mä sitä yritän vaalia, kun tietää että se on vähän arvokkaampi. Mutta että se Marcel-maljakkoo, niin mä olin melkein iloinen kun se meni rikki, et huh, päästiin siitä eroon (naurh). Ei tarvinnut itse rikkoa sitä. (Hannele 05 543-551)

HP: ylipäätään kun te olette saanut lahjoja, niin oletteko te saanut jotain ihan huikean vastenmielisiä?

L: aaa (tauko) ollaan. Ollaan saatu (naurh). Meillä on itseasiassa sellanen todella sydämelinen posliinimaalausta harrastava [sukulainen] ja viimeisin lahja on tää [maalattu posliinimuna]. Ja tää on jotenkin, tää on laitettu tonne

sellai niinku unohtumaan (naurh). Ja tää on niinku niin kauhea. Kun se on vaan tommonen niinku koriste-esine. Tää jalusta ja kaikki. (Laura 04 406-412)

I: täällä on kaikkii juttuja, joihin mä en millään tavalla suostu ottamaan suhdetta. Niinku mä jäin kattoo sitä et esimerkiksi edellinen vuokralainen on jättänyt tämmösen punasen tulensurma-palopeitteen tohon ja mun tapa reagoida siihen on että mä en koskekaan siihen (naurh) mahdoton. Siinä on funktionaalinen design tiettenkin että se on pitänyt laittaa niin että se näkyy, et se on punanen. Ja sit siinä on ajatus että se on jossain lähellä ovea, valmiina, mut sit jos ajattelee, et ihmiset laittaa tollasia seinälle, heh heh. (Ilmari 04 53-58)

S: niin, toi telkkari ei todella ole uusi. Meillä oli kädenvääntöä kun Kalevihan oli ostanut ton silloin kun, suunnilleen vuosi aikaisemmin kun me oltiin tavattu, ja mullahan ei koskaan mitään telkkaria ollut, ja sitten me muutettiin [edelliseen asuntoon] niin siellä oli niin vähän tilaa että sitten musta toi rohjo oli semmoinen että sitten Kalevikaan ei ollut kauhean innostunut että sitten mietti että miksi hän on tommosen hankkinut. Mutta kun hän katsoo elokuvia, joita hän ei nytkään katsele, niin että tämmönen kotiteatterisysteemi. Mä olin ihan silleen et yöh, mutta nyt se on tuolla, ja mä nautin siitä ihan hirveästi että se tuolla niinkuin pois silmistä. Mä en missään nimessä haluaisi sellasiin tiloihin missä vietetään aikaa että siellä olisi telkkari (tauko) Sit mä olen nauttinut kovasti, siis meillä ei ole varmaan avattu, tai en mä tiedä mitä Kalevi on tehnyt, onks se avannut jossain vaiheessa sit (naurh) kun me ollaan oltu nukkumassa, niin, varmaan aina-kaan puoleentoista kuukauteen ei olla avattu telkkaria. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 129-146)

J: on täällä sitten tätä kaikkee kamaakin siunaantunut et vois olla vähemmän kamaa (tauko) Niin kuin esimerkiksi tuo kissojen kynsimä lkean sohva, jota tavallaan pidän myös desig-

nesineenä vaikka se on halvalla tuotettu jossa ei värit ei kestä kahta istumista pidempään, heh, ja näin, mutta sillä ei ole mitään väliä, että kissat saavat ihan rauhassa (tauko) Tuo sohva on alle 5 vuotta, ja se on nyt jo musta sen näköinen, että pitäiskö reklamoida vai ei, heh siis värit häviä ihan (tauko) no kissat siitä näkyy tykkäävän ja sit se toimii tollasena niinkun lasten ruokapöytänä välillä ja eikä oo niin välii tahroilla. (Janne 04 157-175)

H: Nää kirjahyllyt on joskus hankittu ja mä inhoon näitä Lundia-hyllyjä mut muuta ei oo vielä mut se nyt on semmonen projekti, et sit katsotaan että tulee kunnolliset kirjahyllyt ja saa paljon näistä papereista (tauko) se voi olla Muurame tai se voi olla joku Skannon Libri-systeemi, jolla sitten rakennetaan tämmönen kivempi kokonaisuus. (Hannele 04 104-108)

L: tossa tommosessa ihmeellisessä maalatussa munassa, niin et sit pitäis olla joku semmonen koriste-esinehylly, missä olis asioita, ja en mä oikein, ei me haluta perustaa sellasta hyllyä (naurh) Kyllähän toki jotain koriste-esineitä on täällä, mutta ei ehkä niin silleen suoranaisia. (Laura 04 420-423)

A: Mun oli pakko heittää ne pois, jotain semmosia kynttilänjalkoja, mitkä ei vaan niinku, sellaisille pitkille kynttilöille ja siinä oli jotain (tauko) nyt mä muistankin tarkkaan [kuvailee] se oli niinku niin ruma esine et (naurh) mun oli pakko heittää ne roskiin (naurh), mä en voinut ajatella että mä myisin ne jollekin, niinku kirpparilla, kun mä ajattelin (naurh) että kukaan ei ansaitse tällasia (Anniina 04 328-336)

H: niin, se on joku semmoinen esteettinen (tauko) tai käytännöllinen ratkaisu, että lähdetään hakemaan. Niin sitten (tauko) no välillähän se on niin helppoa, että menee Stockmannille tai menee Ikeaan ja tietää, että sen tavarahan saa sieltä, tyyliin uudet pyyhkeet tai kylpyhuoneen matto tai tällainen et silloinhan ei vaivaudu niin kauheasti. Mut sitten jos

on kysymys esimerkiksi valaisimista, lampuista niin silloinhan se juttu muuttuu heti. Et se [valaisin] on kauhean tärkeä elementti ja sitten (tauko) Siitä pitää maksaa vähän enemmän rahaa (tauko) ja silloin on jo vähän niinku tämän epävarmempi olo jo, et tällaset niinku valaisimet, matto tai uudet sohvat tai työpöytä tai ruokapöydän tuolit, niin nää vaatii kyllä aika paljon sellasta (tauko) että käy katsomassa ja tutkii. Ja sitten että menee johonkin kauppaan katsomaan, et, ah, täällä ei ole mitään et sen näköstä, et ihan tavallisia, tai että kaameen hintaisia, että en mä nyt tällaisia voi ostaa, että ei käy. Ja sitten niinku aivot rupee työskentelemään jotenkin tota omaa verkostoa, että niinku ei edes tietoisesti, et miettii ja mistä, mihin mä nyt ottaisin yhteyttä ja sitten tulee semmosia ajatuksenkulkua, että joo, no, mä voisin tuolta esimerkiksi katsoa sitä tai jos mä menisin tänne, tai jos mä soitan tälle, jos se nyt sitten tietäisi jonkun hyvän jutun joka liittyisi tähän näin. Niin sillä tavalla. Et se on semmosta aika aktiivista, heittää verkot sitten eri suuntiin ja (tauko) jossain sitten nappaa. Et välillä tulee ihan seinä vastaan, et tää ei toimi eikä tää toimi, eikä tästä tullut yhtään mitään, ja et aina yrittää löytää sitten jonkun ulospääsyn siitä, et saa sen asian ratkaistua ja pois mielestään. Siitä on kysymys. (Hannele 05 366-385)

5 USING DESIGN

Introduction

E: se oli sisustettu ihan silleen niinku tammöseen sisustuslehti-tyyliin, niinku Avotakka, niinku mikä on nyt in. Se oli aika huvittavaa. Mut sieltä puuttui kaikki semmoset persoonalliset, mukana kulkevat esineet, mitä meillä on kauheasti. (Kalle & Elisa 05 45-48)

T: Kyllä mä aina oon onnistunut siinä että siis koti ei saa olla niinku museo tai näyttelyhalli

tai (tauko) siis en mä väheksy ihmisiä, jotka haluaa pitää kodin hirveen siistinä ja kaikkee, en tietenkään. Meillä on kaikilla oikeus tehdä just niinku halutaan mutta tota mä ahdistuisin ihan hirveesti jos ois koti semmonen että on niinku museoesineitä jotka puhdistetaan joka päivä. (Theo 04 235-239)

Home as a hotel

T: [alakerran] olohuone on siis se jossa ei ole televisiota ja jossa voi istua ja olla viisas vieraiden kanssa. Ja sitten on se oikea olohuone tuolla ylhäällä. (Theo 05 223-224)

R: No sohvat, juu, me etsittiin sohvat, jotka sopis tähän huoneeseen, ja silloin nämä tuli vastaan. Me haluttiin et mahdollisimman monta voi istua yhdessä. Täällä jokaisella huoneella on oikeastaan oma roolinsa. Niillä on (tauko) Täällä [alakerran olohuone] aina aloitetaan ilta, se aina loppuu tuolla [alakerran kirjasto]. Välillä kun on pienemmässä porukassa, voidaan jatkaa tänne [videihuoneeseen]. (Rea 04 135-141)

HP: Tämä huone näyttää lastenhuoneen alulta. **S:** ei kun nyt se ei ole itse asiassa oikein mikään huone, että kun meillä oli lapsen kaste niin silloin tossa oli pitkä pöytä. Ja sitten ne pöydät on jäänyt tänne seilaamaan niinkuin toi mäntypöytä ja sitten meillä on ollut tossa, viime vaiheessa siirrettiin, tossa on ollut 120 senttinen sänky. Se on ollut vähän semmoinen niinkuin löhöilypaikka tossa takan edessä. Se oli ihan hauska mutta se sänky siirrettiin tohon viherhuoneeseen, että saatiin enemmän, että nyt siinä on kummassakin päässä tommoset sängyt. Et siihen saatiin istumapaikkoja sitä kastetta ajatellen. Mut sit se oli niin hauska että sitä ei ruvettu siirtämään nyt vielä takas, et tää jäi tämmöseks. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 9-17)

H: Mutta tällasena tää [keittiö] on mun mielestä toiminut todella hyvin, paitsi että tää niinku pyykkirumba niin se nyt on tässä ihmisten

ilmoilla koko ajan ja silmissä. Että mulle, kaks [lasta] tuo pyykkinsä tänne, kummallakaan ei ole tilaa pesukoneelle omissa kämpissään, niin ne tulee tänne. Mutta sittenhän ne tulee käymään ja (tauko) niin ne pesukoneet ja nämä me saatiin kyllä tähän mahtumaan, nää on hyvin hiljaisia kun ne on uusia kaappeja [ja koneita] niin nää on poissa, mutta sitten toi pyykin kuivaaminen niin se nyt on jatkuvasti on tätä näin tässä näin, ikävä kyllä (naurh) (Hannele 04 131-139)

L: joo (naurh). Mmm (tauko) tää lattia, lattiasta on nyt ehkä huomannut tiettyjä semmosia mmm tai niinku hyviä ja huonoja puolia. Et hyvät puolet on esim siinä että on niin kova tää puulaji et tähän ei jää todellakaan kauhean helposti mitään koloja, ei tuu vaikka tähän on pudonnut vaikka mitä. Se on hyvä. Mutta sitten on huomattu että esim tumma väri tekee yksinään sen että siinä näkyy tosi nopeasti kaikki lika, pölyt ja muut, on heti jälkiä, ne ei mitenkään sulaudu siihen (naurh). [...] ilmeisesti joskus sitten, ehkä viiden vuoden päästä, pitää harkita tai katsoa että jos se tarvitsee uuden öljymisen. Et meillähän on aika paljon näitä tällaisia öljyttäviä asioita täällä, tää keittiön taso pitää öljytä aina säännöllisesti.

HP: mitä se tarkoittaa, kerran vuodessa, useammin?

L: ei, useammin. Se on siis ehkä kerran kahdessa, kolmessa kuukaudessa. Ei se iso työ silleen oo, levittää öljyä, mutta et on se tietty, pitää siivota kaikki pois ja vähän hioa ja öljytä. Ja sit meillä on lisäksi kylpyhuoneessakin semmoinen öljyttävä taso, et (naurh) että pellavaöljypullon kanssa saa heilua. (Laura 05 167-190)

J: Et sanotaan, joku tommonen sveitsiläiskello niin (tauko) totta kai, jos lapset pitää jostakin, et esimerkiksi meidän [lapsilla] ja mulla ei ole niinkun tän tavaramaun suhteen kovinkaan paljon yhteistä. Et se mitä mä tänne tuon, niin [lasten] mielestä ne on kauheita ja sitten mitä ne taas haluaa, ne on mun mielestä kauheita. Tietysti on mun tehtäväni niinkun joustaa. Et

jos ne haluaa jotain, jos ne haluaa, niinkun tonne vanhemman [lapsen] huoneeseen on nyt tulossa semmonen (tauko) se on periaatteessa ihan siisti kaappi, mutta se on pikkasen semmonen niinku talonpoikaishenkinen, jota mä en niinkun vapaaehtoisesti (naurh) mitenkään ottaisi (naurh). Mut toisaalta, jos hän haluaa omaan huoneeseensa sellaisen ja viihtyy sen kanssa ja vaikka vie sen sitten mukanaankin kun muuttaa joskus pois niin hyvä näin. Ei se, se ei ole mikään ongelma. Mut sit taas niin kun nää niinkun nää niin sanotut yleiset tilat tässä huushollissa niin meidän [lapsilla] ei ole hirveästi sananvaltaa siinä, et mitä tänne tulee. (Janne 05 524-535)

T: sinne [tulevaan lastenhuoneeseen] tulee sit pinnasänky ja tämmösiä.

HP: no vauvan mukanahan tulee sitten tietysti kans aika paljon kaikkea tavaraa. Oletsa käynyt liikkeissä katsomassa

T: en. En. Enkä siis (tauko) vaikka mä en ole mitään käynyt katsomassa, mulla on kohta yksi hyllyllinen tuolla kaikennäköistä tavaraa ilmestynyt.

HP: tuttavilta ja sukulaisilta?

T: tuttavilta ja työpaikan kautta. Ja sit systeriltä on tullut pari pahvilaatikollista vaatteita ja (tauko) vaunut me ostettiin, kun ne piti tilata Saksasta, niin ne me ostettiin jo kun saatiin ne kuitenkin, ne on poistuvaa värikarttaa niin (tauko) mutta ne ei ole onneksi vielä. Siinä menee pari kuukautta ennen kuin ne saapuu. (Tiina 05 253-264)

L: Samoin me saatiin yhdet sateenvarjorattaat, semmoset pieneen menevät pikkurattaat, mutta sitten ne oli kerta kaikkiaan niin hirvittävän rumat ja kauheat, vähän sellaset kömpelöt ja jotenkin (tauko) pahannäköiset jo, niin sitten me heitettiin ne heti pois.

HP: joo. Hankittekste sit toiset tilalle?

L: ei. Et nää oli vaan sillai et ne tuotiin vähän niinku kysymättä meille. Ja sitten me (naurh) vaivihkaa vietiin ne roskikseen. Mikä oli sit ehkä toisaalta tylsä, kun olis voinut vaan kiel-

täytyä, et me ei oteta ollenkaan, mut joskus on vaikea sanoa kun joku tuo jotain kysymättä. (Laura 05 223-231)

J: nää on ihan hommattukin lasten juhliin ja kun on prinsessa-aiheinen lastenjuhla, [lapset] saa pistää nää päälle ja kun haluaa leikkiä prinsessaa, saa leikkiä prinsessaa. Näillä ei ole sen kummempaa tarkoitusta. (Jari 07 641-643)

Home as a museum

H: näitähän mulla on kamala määrä, ja nythän niitä on tullut lisää taas suomalaisia viilikuppeja ja

HP: mistä niitä tulee lisää?

H: no nyt tuli lisää sieltä mun äidin kodista, et nyt on niinku riisiposliinia ja tässä on näitä viilikuppeja. Ja sit mä oon, vaikka mä en itse tarvitse näitä niin oon nyt säilyttänyt ne mun lapsille että jossain vaiheessa sitten ne saa, kun heillä on sellaiset tilat et ne mahtuu. Et kyllä mä olisin valmis luovuttamaan jo aika paljon näistä tavaroista heille, mut heillä ei valitettavasti ole tilaa niille. Et mä vaan säilytän niitä täällä, et esimerkiksi nää Kilta-kupit mun miehen kodista. (Hannele 04 273-281)

H: lehdistötöilaisuuksissa annetaan joku (tauko) tai niinku se esine, esimerkiksi jos se on semmonen kohtuuhintainen, et esimerkiksi jos littala lanseeraa uudet pannut niin sit ne antaa pannun ja jos ne lanseeraa uusia tuikkukynttilöitä niin sit tulee tuikkukynttilä ja sit tulee tietysti jotain semmoista että mä en itse ehkä tarvitse sitä niin sit mä säästän sen siinä pakkauksessa ja sit mä laitan sen eteenpäin. Tai jos joku [lapsista] sanoo että nyt mä tarvitsen lahjan jollekin, että onko sulla jotain siellä kaapissa, niin sit katsoaan että onko siellä jotain sopivaa. Et ne on itseasiassa aika kivoja, et käyttökelpoisia ja hauskoja ja kauniita ja näin, mutta mä tavaltaan vähän niinku säästän niitä, että jos mä en itse oikein tarvitse, niin mä en rupea vaan sen takia purkamaan niitä pakkauksia ja käyt-

tämään niitä, et mä pidän niitä semmoisessa niinku lahjajemmassa. (Hannele 05 340-349)

I: Mä olen antanut vapaat kädet siinä mielessä että toi lamppu ja toi pöytä, mun vanhemmat on yksinkertaisesti tuonut ne tänne. Ja se on johtunut siitä että ne on tavallaan sponsoroinut (tauko) Ne on jo aika vanhoja, mut mun faijakin tykkää et se saa tehdä jotain hyödyllistä. Sit kun mä olen koko ajan jotenkin matkustanut niin se on ollut mulle tietysti hirveän hyvä et on Suomessa ollut joku ihminen joka voi hoitaa perusasioita. Mut täällä ei esimerkiksi ollut mitään lamppua ja ne oli sit Anttilasta käynyt hakemassa ton [paperilampun]. (Ilmari 04 227-233)

A: mulla oli aika paljon yhteen aikaan, meillä oli mummita ja mummulta, eli isän äidiltä ja äidin äidiltä, molemmat oli aika innokkaita posliinin keräilijöitä, lähinnä Arabian astioita, niin varsinkin mökillä ne oli, eli mummin astiat, ne oli vähän sellasessa huonossa käytössä että kukaan ei arvostanut niitä, niin mä vohkin ne joskus sitten, siitä on varmaan 10 vuotta, niin itselleni ja nyt mä sitten vein ne sinne takaisin, mä olin jotenkin kyllästynyt. Niitä oli kauheesti erilaista ja millään ei ollut pareja ja (tauko) mut se oli tosi kivan näkönen setti, siis tosi kiva. Mut nykyään mulla ei ole enää mitään niitä jäljellä. Et mehän kunnostettiin mökkiä niin sit ne jotenkin palas sinne juurillensa oikeaan paikkaan.

HP: et teillä on valkoista astiastoa

A: joo, ihan niinku ei mitään niinku (tauko) ei näillä niinku mitään merkitystä ole mulle, sillai, noilla. (Anniina 04 281- 291)

L: Esim. toi Xena-nukke on tarpeellinen mutta en raaski heittää sitä poiskaan.

HP: Tarpeellinen?

L: Ei ole tarpeellinen. Se on koriste-esine, ehkä. Sille on löytynyt paikka jossa se ei ole tiellä. Mutta mulla on muita saman sarjan nukkeja joilla en tee mitään. Sellaisia juttuja joita ei halua laittaa esille mutta ei heittää poiskaan, sellaiset on ärsyttäviä. Miksi niitä ei raaski heit-

tää pois? Joku on maksnaut niistä. Mä en ole maksanut niistä mutta joku on ja lähettänyt ne mulle Amerikasta asti. (Liisa 04 341-347)

T: [avomies] esimerkiksi saa lahjana niin hirveästi kaiken maailman kippoa, kuppia, vaasia ja näin, työnsä kautta ihan, kaiken maailman luottamustehtävistä. Toki, siellä on kyllä ihan makeitakin, että ne ehkä vielä vähän hakee paikkaa, mutta on niinku, kyllä siellä on semmosiakin jotka saa sitten sijan tänne näin.

HP: jääkö ne loput sitten varastoon, vai lentääkö ne roskiin?

T: en mä heitä roskiin. Sit ne menee jonnekin, sit ne menee kirpparille (naurh). Tietysti nyt vähän pitää aina katsoa, että ei nyt mitään jotain mitä on merkattu, jotain tämmöisiä uniikkikappaleita, sit ne vaan pitää jonnekin sinne varastoida ja sit ne vaan viedään mökille tai jonnekin. Tai sitten jopa, jos ei ole mitään, siis joku ihan fiksu esine, mut se ei vaan meille sovi, niin sit se laitetaan, ihan pokkana pistän kiertoon. Mut en mä mitään hirvityksiä laita kiertoon. Et kyllä sen täytyy olla meidän näköinen. Tai sanotaan että sen saajan näköinen. (Tiina 05 215-225)

T: mun tuttavat ei osta mitään, meille kummallekaan mitään, koska ne tietää et meille on hirveen vaikea mitään ostaa (Theo 04 209-210)

S: ehkä se johtuu siitä, että mä olen ainakin aina kerännyt sitä esineistöä (naurh) jo niinku omaehtoisesti, ottanut ehkä sitten sellaisia esineitä, jos se on ollut mahdollista, joita mä olen nimenomaan itse tavallaan halunnut, niin mä olen ottanut ne ennen kuin niitä on ruvettu työntämään (naurh) (tauko) Et tavaraa on jo tavallaan varastossa odottamassa vaan sitä, että milloin ne voi ottaa käyttöön tyyppisesti, ja ehkä kaikki on tiennyt sen että mä hypin tuolla jätelavoilla ja kerään tavaraa. (Sakari & Elisa 05 400-408)

Home as a gallery

J: meidän [lapset] sanoo, että kun meillä ei ole mitään sisustusta, eiks me vois sisustaa jotenkin ja sit me ollaan yritetty sanoa että, ainakin kysyä, että mitä sen pitäisi niinkun olla, mitä te tarkoittatte sillä, että meillä ei ole sisustusta, ja sitten on käynyt selville, että meillä ei ole niinkun sävy sävyyn tällasta niinkun sohvaa, matot, verhot tyyppiä. Ja että se merkitsee sisustuksen puuttumista. Tietysti sitten kun se käännetään aikuisten kielelle, se tarkoittaa siis sitä, että meillä ei ole semmosen niinkun (tauko) harkinnan merkkejä heidän näkökulmastaan. Ja tota (tauko) no joo, tietysti omalla tavallaan noi [lapset] on ihan oikeassa, et kun kamaa on meille ajautunut enemmän kuin, tai sanotaan, se ei ole niin suunnitelmallista sisustaminen ollenkaan, että ainoa todella suunniteltu asia tässä talossa on tämä keittiö. Et tää on ruuvinkantoja myöten mietitty et miten tää tehdään. Mutta tota (tauko) ja, joo, nää on kyllä ollut ihan tyytyväisiä, tässä on riittävästi sellaisia merkkejä, mitä ne pystyy lukemaan, et tässä heijastuu se, että se on suunniteltu. (Janne 05 583-595)

J: Yksi harrastus on, mä tykkään videokuvata, digitaalikameralla, ja sitten mulla on editointiohjelma tietokoneella ja mä editoin niitä. Muun muassa [perheprojektista] tehtiin video, kahdella kameralla kuvattiin ja ajettiin tietokoneelle ja editoitiin ja vedettiin taustamusiikit ja kaikki. Semmonen projekti tehtiin, muun muassa. Mä olin myös kuvaamassa sitä. [...]

HP: ... sulla on sitten tietysti videokamera ja **J:** on on.

HP: oletko sä siihen sitten jotenkin sijoittanut, onko semmosta tekniikkaa paljon?

J: ei (tauko) itse asiassa sekin on mulle häälahja (naurh). Mutsi ja faija. Oli kyllä siihen aikaan ja on kuulemma vieläkin yksi niitä parempia tollaisia digitaalikameroita, Sonyn kamera.

HP: seuraatko sä sitä alaa sitten

J: en muuten mutta käyn kuvaamassa paljon. Aina kun ollaan reissussa, kyllä se mulla muka-

na melkein aina on. On meillä kaikki häävideot ja systeemit hyllyssä. (Jari 07 232-249)

S: Ei kysymys ole mun mielestä pelkästään siitä, et onks ne fyysisesti, siis fyysisesti tila voi olla semmoinen, että ihminen pystyy hyvin liikkumaan ja muuta ja toimittaa niitä asioita, joita kotona tehdään, mutta silti siellä voi olla huono filis. Ja se ei välttämättä johdu niistä esineistä itsestään vaan se voi johtua siitä, että ne esineet on väärissä paikoissa, esimerkiksi. Et joku siinä energiatasolla, kentässä, aiheuttaa särön (naurh). Ehkä. (tauko) Eli mä en ehkä pystyisi esimerkiksi ottaa kotiin esimerkiksi, oikeastaan en ehkä mitään Ikea-esinettä, koska mä luulen, et vaikka se sinällään on hyvin suunniteltu esine, niin tota, se aiheuttaisi sen särön jotenkin tähän (naurh) juttuun.

HP: onks teille yritetty tuoda (tauko) onks teille ylipäätään yritetty tuoda semmoisia jotain esineitä tai asioita joita te ette ole halunnut?

S: hm. Me ollaan kyllä aika hyvin kieltäydytty kaikesta sellaisesta. Ja ilmoitettu hyvissä (tauko) ei toisaalta kukaan ole mitään tyrkyttänyt-kään, mutta myöskin osattu viestittää riittävän ajoissa että ei tietyn (tauko) sellasta ja sellasta haluta, eikä (tauko) suostuta ottamaan ja muuta. (Sakari & Elisa 05 374-387)

H: siis tähän kuva ei ole sisustusta. Mä en ole sisustanut tätä, vaan tää on ihan vaan tavarän säilytystä. (Hannele 05 537-538)

J: sit toi, mä en tiedä mikä tää on, tää kukkapöydän näköinen. Tää on kans Mariankadulta yhdestä vanhan tavarän liikkeestä. En tiedä yhtään kuka sen on suunnitellut. Siis se on joku 40-luvun kukkapöytä. Muistuttaa vähän Aaltomaljaa, heh, sellai kömpelöllä tavalla. Mut se on kyl niin hauska esine, et ehdottomasti haluisin sen. (Janne 04 413-416)

O: Sit noi valaisimet on kivoja esineitä. Noi mä löysin Tallinnasta. Ne on kylläkin italialaista, niitä on kolme. Mä otin niitä kolme varmuuden vuoksi. Niissä on aika hauska valo, ylöspäin. Sii-

nä on et katsoja ihmettelee, että mikäs ämpäri tää on, pömpeli. Se on niin kuin kukkaruukku tai jotain vastaavaa. (Olavi 04 159-162)

L: yksi esine mikä on aika huvittava, sitä silloin tällöin jopa käytetään, on tää kahvinkeitossysteemi. Se on niin tavattoman vaivalloinen. Kyllä se kahvi on ihan hyvää mitä siitä tulee. Tää on niin kamalan hankala ja herkkä ja sit tosi ohutta lasia [kokoaa keitintä puhuessaan] jos johonkin osuu niin se menee heti rikki. Et se on silti jotenkin aika hauska. Kyllä me nähdään aina silloin tällöin se vaiva että me keitetään sillä kahvia. Se on jotenkin niin hauska kattoo sitä systeemiä kun se porisee se vesi ja sitten se menee tonne kahviin ja nostaa pois ja sit se pikkuhiljaa painuu takas se kahvi. Se perustuu siihen että tää, jotenkin se veden paine pääsee, kun se kahvi on täällä ylhäällä, niin pääsee menemään tosta välistä, ilman että se kahvi alkaa tulla sitten alas. Ja sitten taas kun se vähän jäähtyy, se taas valuu alas päästämättä niitä kahvinpuruja. Se on jännä. Ja tulee hyvää kahvia. Tää on kyllä hauska esine mun mielestä kaikessa mahdolltomassa epäkäytännöllisyydessään. (Laura 04 433-444)

L: joskus me ollaan saatu Alessi-tavaroita, niitä sellaisia. Mä sain kerran muunmuassa pupun joka vedetään ylös, jossa on hammastikkuja. Hirveen huolellisesti niinku tehty, mut mä en ymmärrä sellaisia tavaroita (naurh). Niin sen pupun mä lahjoitin mieluusti eteenpäin. (Laura 04 416-419)

L: meillä on esimerkiksi pitkään ollaan ajateltu että ostetaan leivänpaahdin, mutta ei oikein löydy sellasta sopivaa kun ne on kaikki joko tän kokosia [isoja] tai sitten semmosia retrojuttuja, semmosia pyöreitä, vähän niinku pölynimurin näkösiä, en mä tiedä, jotenkin kauhean näkösiä suurin osa (naurh). Ja miks just leivänpaahtimissa pitää retroilla niin kauheesti? Semmonen simppele niinku laatikko-malli olis oikein hyvä. (Laura 04 568-572)

T: Ja sitten itseasiassa sisustuksessakin harmaa on hirveen hyvä väri. Nääharmaat hyllyköt on yli 20 vuotta vanhoja. Toi on Sopen vitriinisarja, sitä ei enää tommosena harmaana saa ja mulla on onneksi sitä varastossa näin korkea [näyttää], et sitä saa purettua ja näin. (Tiina 04 95-98)

J: mä rupesin kattoo niitä valmistajia ja ajattelin, et mä ainakin haluan sellasen valmistajan et mä pystyn juttelemaan sen ihmisen kanssa joka on niinkun yhden askeleen päässä niiden kaappien tekijöistä, et se ei ole semmonen ketju. Sit näin ton tamperelaisen Arttelipuumimisen firman ilmoituksen. Ja sit mä katoinkin ne tekee vanerista, näitä runkoja. Ja kun mä kuitenkin periaatteessa niin arvostan sitä että oli mikä tahansa esine kyseessä, että se on hyvin tehty. Ja mä ajattelin että vaneri on kuitenkin kestävämpi materiaali kuin lastulevy. Ja soitin sitten sinne ja kyl sieltä tuli yllättävän semmonen sekä hyvää palvelua että inhimillinen ote, et sä tiedät puhuvasi sen kaverin kanssa, joka vastaa tästä kaikesta. Ja se tyyppi on käynyt täällä pariin otteeseen, sit ollaan mietitty, kun ne tekee kuitenkin ihan silleen yksilöllisesti niitä kaappeja, että mitataan ja tehdään sen mukaan sitten. (Janne 04 328-337)

J: mun isoäitini muutti uuteen asuntoon ja siellä tehtiin remonttia ja vaihdettiin noi ikkunan kaikki näähelat. Ja sit mä ajattelin että mä en kyllä rupea kattelemaan siellä, mulla oli vähän ikään kuin niinkun valvontavastuu siitä remontista, mut mä en rupea kattelemaan täällä riskipääruuveja näkyvissä. Ja sit mä halusin ettiä niitä semmosia vanhoja, yks-uraisia kromattuja ruuveja. Ja niitä ei tahtonut enää rautakaupoissa olla niin mä lähdin sinne kierrätyskeskukseen kattoon. (Janne 04 406-411)

J: Toi on aikanaan ollut Ornon luettelossa toi lamppu, ja se oli kans just sellanen jota joutui kissojen ja koirien kanssa hakemaan. Sit kun siihen piti saada oma erillinen katkasija tonne, niin piti mennä oikeen sinne tehtaalle, ilmoittamaan, että kuulkaas, mä haluan tänne tällasen

katkasijan tässä näin ja kyllähän ne sitten teki sen ihan samaan hintaan. (Janne 04 434-438)

HP: no mutta jos aloitetaan tästä tarjoiluvau-
nusta? Esimerkiksi että olettekste itse hankkinut sen vai onks se tullut perintönä?

H: joo (tauko) joo. Se [tarjoiluvaunu] on kyl itse hankittu, mutta eihän siihen nyt varsinaisesti liity mitään jännää. Se vaihtaa paikkaa koko ajan. Jotenkin se aina löytää oman paikkansa. Se on (tauko) siin on nää pyörät ja (tauko) se on ollut meidän kodissa kyllä (tauko) millon me menttiin naimisiin 76, se on varmaan joskus 70-luvun lopulla hankittu, silloin kun ajatteli et joo, Artek on kauheen semmonen edistysellinen ja moderni ja muuta. Nythän Artekin tai näistä Aallon huonekaluista nyt ei mieti ihan samalla tavalla (Hannele 04 192-199)

E: se on mun mielestä kans jotenkin ihmeellistä kun ihmiset, sisustuslehdissä on usein jotain tämmösiä että sisusta vuorokauden eikon vuodenajan mukaan et keväällä jotain uusia juttuja, se on must jotenkin älytöntä. Mä en ymmärrä sitä yhtään. Toisaalta siinä on jotain ideaa, et jos ne on jossain niin sit taas vaihdetaan ne vanhat, et vaihtelua, mut jos siis oikeesti joka, niinku 4 kertaa vuodessa ostetaan uusia juttuja vanhan tilalle, ei siinä ole mitään järkeä. (Kalle & Emma 04 776-780)

O: ei se esine, et nehän on vaan esineitä, niitähän saa kaupasta lisää, mutta ettei niitä enää hanki, niin siihen joutuu näkemään vaivaa (Olavi 04 48-50)

A: Se [lahja] oli niinku niin ruma esine et (naurh) mun oli pakko heittää ne roskiin (naurh), mä en voinut ajatella että mä myisin ne jollekin, niinku kirpparilla, kun mä ajattelin (naurh) että kukaan ei ansaitse tällasia (naurh). Et kyllä mä, mä en ennen kehdannut heittää, musta se oli ihan hirveetä, et joku on antanut lahjaks ja sit et (tauko) mä säilöin ne kaikki. Mä vein ne mun mummulle varastoon tai sitten mun vanhemmille varastoon mut ne on kaikki joutuneet perkaamaan

varastojaan, ja käskee mun tehdä niille kamoille jotain, ja mulla on ihan hirveesti siellä, niin sit, nyt mä olen päättänyt, mä en enää sinne vie mitään enkä mä voi tännekään laittaa, et nyt mun on pakko laittaa pois, että (tauko) ei mulla ole mikään velvollisuus (naurh) pitää sellasta rojua. (Anniina 04 334-342)

6 DESIGN LIMBO

Chain reactions

HP: onko sulla sitten olemassa jokin selvä malli siitä, mikä on se lopputulos jonka sä haluat eli **T:** on.

HP: jotain tiettyä aikakautta tai

T: Ei. Siis täs on yks malli, joka kantaa (tauko) Must tää keittiö on toistaiseksi parhaiten onnistunut siinä. On okei, se on valmein. Siis siinä, että tää on ollut korostetusti lähtökohtana se, tää ei niinku näytä et tää ois tehty, et nyt tehdään niinku mallikotia. Vaan tehdään keittiö, joka näyttää, ja on sellainen ennen kaikkea, et täs on tarkoitus tehdä ruokaa.

HP: Laitattekste paljon ruokaa?

T: Joo. Et se on niinku ehdottomasti, et ei oo niinku mitään väliä, miltä se näyttää, kunhan tää on semmonen paikka missä voi tehdä ruokaa. (Theo 04 118-127)

T: onhan ne löytäneet paikkansa, mutta se problematiikka on se, että meillä on astiastoa ihan hirveästi ja varsinainen astiasto mitä varmaan (tauko) sekun on semmonen, vähän niinkuin kalusteiden sijoittelu ja lamppujen paikat talossa, niin vaihdellaan astiastoa ja nyt siellä tällä hetkellä on semmonen astiasto josta, jota ei ole koskaan ole tarkoitettukaan että se tulisi olemaan käytössä tuolla keittiössä ja sen takia se ei ole löytänyt järjestelmällisesti paikkaansa siellä

HP: onko se joku juhla-astiasto vai

T: ei vaan ihan vaan käyttöastiastoa mutta, toki kyllä myös juhla-astiastoa, mutta ne on semmosta niinku krääsäastiastoa, et se tulee löytämään paikkansa varmaan jostain roskiksesta tai sitten tuolta varastosta.

HP: onko tämä nyt remontin takia tällainen väliaikaisratkaisu?

T: joo, ja sit ei ole vielä päässyt kaikkia laatikoi-ta vielä avaamaan tuolla ylhäällä, ne on vain tarttunut käteen noin sopivasti. Et se on yks asia joka on selkeästi niinku henkisellä tasolla estänyt ton keittiön laittamisen siihen malliin, mukaanlukien tätä ripustinta, että siellä alkais oikeasti tavarat löytää paikkansa. (Theo 05 291-305)

S: mä just nauroin, että nää on hirmun kauniit sohvat silloin kun me elimme kahdestaan, ilman [koiraa], niin silloin ei tarvinnut mitään tällaisia [päälisiä], et mä oon nauranut että sitten joskus kuuskymppisinä me voidaan ottaa nää pois, paitsi jos meillä on silloinkin koira niin ei sittenkään. (Sanna & Kalevi 05 58-61)

HP: Vauva ei (tauko) kävele vielä, ei?

L: ei, mutta se on semmonen, et se nousee pystyyn jo. Et sen takia tietyllä lailla, no, (naurh) varmaan vielä enenevässä määrin jossain vaiheessa pitää ehkä siirtää vähän tavaroita. Ja sitten kun hän oppii aukaisemaan kaappeja niin täytyy kaappien sisältöjä vähän uudelleen arvioida (naurh). Et kyllä hän on silleen hasardissa iässä. Mut sehän on ihan et tyhjentää esim ton hyllyn tosta kirjahyllystä et sit se on jotenkin hänen mielestään tosi kiinnostavaa et ne kirjat otetaan pois ja (naurh) (Laura 05 159-165)

O: Se [ilmankostutin] on ton parketin takia pakko olla. Ja sit se tietysti on terveellisempää ilmaa, ilmanvaihto, koneellinen, se kuivaa ilmaa. Että sähkölaskut on kyllä hirttäviä kun on noin paljon noita vempelitä, että (tauko) mutta että talvella varsinkin sillä on merkitystä, kun on noi patterit päällä, niin (tauko) parketti ei nimittäin säily hengissä muuten, ellei tota

tee (tauko) tommoset laminaattiparketit, lauta-parketit, ne voi vielä jotenkuten pärjätä, mutta tollanen kokopuuparketit, se rupeaa repeilemään. (Olavi 05 328-333)

HP: mitä tälle tuolille sitten tapahtui, mikä oli aikaisemmin työtuolina?

J: siinä toi niinikangaspäälinen hajos ja mä otin sit irti sen päälisen ja maalasin sen, siellähän on alla siis semmonen vaneri, maalasin sen mustaksi ja kiikutin tonne makuuhuoneeseen ja nyt siinä on valtava pyykkivuori päällä (naurh). Ja se olis itseasiassa paljon parempi työtuoli, että (tauko) mut se on sitten tän kaman kanssa aina vähän silleen, että kun sitä kertyy niin sitä on yhä vaikeampi sijoitella, ei ole tilaa. Ja tässä on osittain semmonen ongelma ollut, että kun me haluttiin tää peikonlehti, mikä tässä työhuone-kuvassa näkyy, tossa kuvan yläkulmassa, me haluttiin se siirtää johonkin, et se ei ois tän kirjahyllyn tiellä, me siirrettiin se tänne tuolin paikalle ja sit niinku lähtee semmonen ketjureaktio, että tämä, tästä tuli nyt sitten ainakin toistaiseksi työtuoli et se on, varsinkin jos tossa päätteellä tekee jotain pidempään, niin se on erittäin ikävää. (Janne 05 311-321)

O: elämän tarkoitus ei ole hoitaa parkettia vaan on muita aktiviteetteja. (Olavi 05 336)

Waiting for decision

I: Mut kyllä, voin sanoa, on vielä suurin osa kamoista mulla on vieläkin tuolla jossain alhaalla. Kun mulla on ollut sellainen kysymys kans, että mä en haluaisi tuoda tänne sellasta ylimääräistä. Ja samalla mä mietin että mitä mä niinku tarviin. Ja sitten ihan konkreettisia ongelmia tässä on että multa puuttuu kaappi-tilaa ja mä en saa millään mahtuu, esimerkiksi mulla on lautasia ja kaikkia keittiökamoja paljon enemmän kuin mitä mä nyt saan mahtumaan. Osittain siksi kun mä läksin, kun mä vuokrasin tän viimeksi, niin sitten mulla oli vuokralaiset jotka halus välttämättä astianpe-

sukoneen, ja jota mä en ole käyttänyt koskaan kertaakaan eläessäni, mutta se on kuitenkin tossa. Ja se vie yhden kokonaisen kaapin jossa mulla on ollut kaikkia lusikoita ja haarukoita. Ja mietin sitäkin että olisinko mä saanut jonkun yläkaapin tonne ja (tauko) Tämmösiä kysymyksiä mä olen miettinyt, että mihin mä saisin kaappeja. Ja sit on just käynyt silleen et on käynyt ilmi että eihän tollasia kaappeja enää saa, niitä ei valmisteta. Se on joku Puustellin nerokas idea, että niillä on tämmönen, niillä on jotkut mallit, joita ne pitää just sen verran että ihmiset ehtii ostaa niitä just vähän ja sit ne laittaa koko malliston uusiksi (naurh) (Ilmari 05 153-166)

HP: oletsa ollut koskaan kirpputorilla pitämässä pöytää?

I: en ole. Se on kans, siinä on kans oma työnsä ja pitäis olla vähän... mut olis varmaan helppo yllyttää sellaiseen kaapin siivoukseen, mutta en mä sitä ehkä ite tuu tehneeksi kuitenkaan (tauko) Mulla on just toi alakerta, siinä mulla oli mielessä, että kun mun pitäisi tyhjentää se niin yksi tapa olisi tyhjentää se (tauko) siis se ongelma on siinä, että mä en saa tänne ylös, täällä ei ole tavallaan imua niille kamoille, jotka on siellä alhaalla. Ja samoin sen kellarin kanssa, et mä voisin sieltä kans kirpputorille heittää kaikenlaista.

HP: mut siis että roskiin ei voi laittaa?

I: nooo ei joo niinku hyvää tavaraa. Eihän siinä oo sinänsä mitään järkeä. (Ilmari 05 776-784)

I: Mulla on todellakin hidas tää prosessi verrattuna sit siihen, että tässä ei tätä ulkoista pakkoa ole paljon mitään. Tää on niinku esineiden gourmet-napsimista, että katellaan että oisko toi vai oisko tää vai (tauko) se on niinku aika minimalistista että siinä esineet ilmestyy tänne silloin kun niiden hetki on. Se on jotenkin tosiaan ihan eri dynamiikka sitten. Paitsi että sitten tapahtuu myös näin, että okei, sit yhtenä päivänä mä rupean vuokraamaan tota alakertaa, se on pakko tyhjentää, niin sit siinä menee yksi viikonloppu, ennen kuin mä olen kaikki

kamat kantanut sieltä (naurh) jonnekin. (Ilmari 05 432-440)

S: mä revin täältä heti ensimmäisenä aamuna muovimattoa pois. Täällä on laudat alla, tänkin alla. Ja sitten mä revin seinää auki. Et saa nyt nähdä sitten miten tää laitetaan mutta [...] tästä tulee (tauko) toi oli niin järkyttävä toi seinä, se oli siis tommosta, mutta näitä pikku kädenjälkiä oli siis kokonaan tää toi seinä täynnä. Mä ajattelin että mä en jaksa enää katsoa sitä ja nyhdin ton pois. (Sanna & Kalevi 04 6-10)

HP: luuletsä sitten, että jos sä ostaisit sen oman asunnon, että siellä olisi jotenkin eri meininki?

M: joo! Ihan ilman muuta ja se liittyy siihen. Ilman muuta, tää kaikki liittyy, siis väliaikaisuus liittyy vuokra-asuntoon ja siihen (tauko) siis ihan selvästi. Jos olis oma, totta kai sä teet sen mieleiseksi ja se on jollain tapaa pysyvämpää ja sellasta (Mervi 05 269-272)

I: Ja sit toinen oli se, että mä olen kuitenkin taas ostanut tässä viime vuosien aikana taas jonkun uuden kenkäparin ja jotain vaatteita, et mulla ei ole vaatekaappia. Ja sit joku oli suositellut mulle, että kannattaa ostaa uus asunto, kun tulee takaisin Suomeen, että aloittaa elämän uudestaan. Ja ne oli vaan niin kalliita, enkä nähnyt mitään kivaa ja mä ajattelin, että en mä nyt tähän hätäkkään rupea mitään asuntoja ostamaan. Ja sen sijaan mä menin Ikeaan. Niinku ratkasin oikeastaan tän asunto-ongelman ostamalla Ikeasta kirjahyllyn ja vaatekaapin. (Ilmari 05 14-20)

I: Tosta puhelimesta mä voisin luopua ilman mitään ongelmaa, se on vaan se, et kenelle siitä olis mitään hyötyä. Et siis ihan roskeen heittäminen ei ole oikein kiva ajatus. (Ilmari 05 636-637)



Aalto-DD 3/2013



Dwelling with Design offers a throughout look at the domestic meanings of design. The research is based on studying households in and around Helsinki, in order to find out what role, if any, design plays in the domestication of a product. The picture emerging from the research is quite different from design's public and professional image represented for example in the interior decoration magazines, where designed qualities such as usability, reliability, interesting branding and aesthetic coherence are usually held to be signs of a successful design. In the everyday of homes, however, people love their ugly and broken, anonymous and odd looking products. For a user, a home is rarely a space to be furnished with design. Instead, home is a dwelling place and design derives its significance from the household's dwelling practices. The book explores design's role in the dwelling practices by which home is curated as a place for physical, social and spiritual recreation. Designed properties of a product play an important role but the key properties which make the product great are usually such that cannot be designed without knowing intimately home's practices, that is, what constitutes recreation in a particular household. Home's best products are acquired to fit with the ecology of practices and those that will not fit, tend to turn clutter.

The book is for readers interested in the consumption of design. Digital version is available in the publisher's website.



9 789526 049298



ISBN 978-952-60-4929-8
ISBN 978-952-60-4930-4 (pdf)
ISSN-L 1799-4934
ISSN 1799-4934
ISSN 1799-4942 (pdf)

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