

## ORDINARY MAN'S EVERYDAY PLACES

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### INTRODUCTION

Notions<sup>1</sup> of space and place with their various aspects as well as people-place relationships have been targets of intensive theoretical and empirical interest in many fields of research, e.g., architecture and planning, art and literature, cultural anthropology, cultural history, environmental psychology, human geography, philosophy, and sociology. Accordingly various place-related terms have been defined in numerous ways and given different, often overlapping, meanings. Therefore the relations between those concepts are unclear or incompatible<sup>2</sup>. Tuan has written: “Place can acquire deep meaning for the adult through the steady accretion of sentiment over the years”<sup>3</sup> while Chow and Healey have said that our relationships to places evolve both through space and time<sup>4</sup>. However, the time dimension in person-place relationships has mostly been

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<sup>1</sup> This article is partly based on a paper given at the American Society for Environmental History 2008 Annual Meeting *Agents of Change: People, Climate and Changes through Time* in Boise, Idaho, March 12–15, 2008. I have also discussed individual places in an essay *Tavallisen ihmisen paikat*, [in] “Ethnology in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Transnational Reflections of Past, Present and Future”, eds. J. Lehtonen & S. Tenkanen, Turku 2010, pp 123–136.

<sup>2</sup> P.S. Jorgensen & R.C. Stedman, *Sense of place as an attitude: Lakeshore owners attitudes toward their properties*, [in] “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 21 (2001) pp 233–235; C.H. Pretty et al., *Sense of place amongst adolescents and adults in two rural Australian towns: The discriminating features of place attachment, sense of community and place dependence in relation to place identity*, [in] “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 23 (2003) p 274; M. Lewicka, *Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years?*, [in] “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 31 (2011) pp 207, 223.

<sup>3</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and Place: A Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis 2007, p 33.

<sup>4</sup> K. Chow & M. Healey, *Place attachment and place identity: first year undergraduates making the transition from home to university*. “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 2008, Vol. 28, p 370.

omitted and the individual bonds with place and their development have been totally neglected.

In this essay, I want to make a contribution to place research as a cultural historian and manifest the importance of time dimension and individual perspective in place relationships. Applying a life cycle approach I examine an ordinary individual's everyday places and their changes over his life span. My case is a male Finnish worker from the 20<sup>th</sup> century and I want to know about this common man's everyday places and their meanings, about the ways he created his places and with whom. I am also interested in the changes of his place relationships during his life course. As my main source material I use interviews conducted in 1985–1987. I also utilize my long-time observations as well as a few environmental paintings he had made over the years. My point of departure is that my subject made his places in various activities with different people at different stages of life. Illustrating his places with many citations from his interviews I discuss the ways he created his everyday places and classify them into various categories, which can be applied to anybody's places. These categories might provide a basis for developing a deeper and more versatile analysis of human-place relationships.

#### PLACE AND OTHER VITAL CONCEPTS

In my research I have drawn from ideas of several fields of research, especially environmental psychology and geography. I understand that man's environment is not a homogenous space but certain locations in it become meaningful and significant when they get attributed with special meanings and values. In other words, they become places for the person<sup>5</sup>. Tuan expresses the same by saying: "What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place when we get to know it better and endow it with value"<sup>6</sup>. Although Stedman demonstrates that the physical landscape characteristics matter in human-place bonds,<sup>7</sup> simply physical places, as geographic sites, have no meaning or significance. They only

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. P.T. Karjalainen, *Paikka ja maisema elettyinä ja esitettyinä*, [in] "Kotiseutu", 1986, Vol. 3, p 114; S.M. Low & I. Altman, *Place Attachment: A conceptual inquiry*, [in] "Place Attachment", eds. I. Altman & S.M. Low, New York 1992, p 6; A. Stenros, *Paikka ja identiteetti*, [in] "Ympäristö – taide – identiteetti", ed. Liisa Knuuti, Espoo 1997, pp 17–19; T. Cresswell, *Place: a short introduction*, Oxford 2004, pp 7, 10; Y-F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* pp 6, 136.

<sup>6</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* p 6.

<sup>7</sup> R.C. Stedman, *Is It Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place*, "Society & Natural Resources" 2003, Vol. 16, p 682.

get their meaning through people who appreciate them through the senses and movement<sup>8</sup>. Thus meanings are not inherent in the nature of things; they are socially constructed<sup>9</sup>. Places do not have a single meaning for all people, not even for all members of a community or group. Places are always subjective and experiential. They are places for somebody, and they have different meanings for different people since individuals experience places in various ways<sup>10</sup>.

During a lifetime, one's places change, both physically and experientially, and therefore acquire new meanings. Thus a place is more than a mere geographic site with definitive physical characteristics. As Stokowski has written, places are also fluid, changeable, dynamic contexts of social interaction and memory<sup>11</sup>. Berdoulay has said that the idea of place implies a meaningful portion of geographical space and usually there is an emotional link between people and place.<sup>12</sup> Creswell has expressed the same idea by suggesting that places are how we make the world meaningful and the way we experience the world<sup>13</sup>.

The bond, that Low & Altman have called "place attachment", Tuan "topophilia" and Agnew "sense of place", is always present in some form in our lives<sup>14</sup>. Seamon has written about "rootedness" suggesting that body is its foundation and it is established through physical action and requires time to develop. Thus attachment for place arises from being and living in a place<sup>15</sup>. As Rollero and De Piccoli have put it, place attachment is a multifaceted and complex pheno-

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<sup>8</sup> K.C. Ryden, *Mapping the invisible landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place*, Iowa City 1993, p 38.

<sup>9</sup> T. Greider & L. Garkovich, *Landscapes: The social construction of nature and the environment*, "Rural Sociology" 1994, Vol. 59, 1, p 2.

<sup>10</sup> A. Stenos, *Paikka ja identiteetti...* p 20; P. Gustafson, *Meaning of Place: Everyday experience and theoretical conceptualizations*, [in] "Journal of Environmental Psychology" 2001, Vol. 21, pp 6, 8; P.A. Stokowski, *Languages of Place and Discourses of Power: Constructing New Senses of Place*, [in] "Journal of Leisure Research" 2002, Vol. 34, 4, p 369; B. Bender, *Place and landscape*, [in] "Handbook of Material Culture", eds. C. Tilley et al., London 2006, pp 303, 308; J.E. Malpas, *Place and Experience: A Philosophical Topography*, Cambridge 2007 (1999), 29, \*.

<sup>11</sup> P.A. Stokowski, *Languages of Place...* p 369.

<sup>12</sup> V. Berdoulay, *Place, meaning, and discourse in French language geography*, [in] "The Power of Place: Bringing together geographical and sociological imaginations", eds. J.A. Agnew & J.S. Duncan, Boston, 1989, p 125.

<sup>13</sup> T. Creswell, *Place: a short introduction...* pp 7, 12.

<sup>14</sup> M. Lewicka, *Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: Restoring forgotten city past*, [in] "Journal of Environmental Psychology" 28, 2008, p 211. S.M. Low & I. Altman, *Place Attachment...*; Y-F. Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values*, New York 1990; J.A. Agnew, *Place and Politics: The Geographical Mediation State and Society*, Boston 1987.

<sup>15</sup> D. Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld: Movement, Rest and Encounter*, London 1979, pp 79, 80, 86, 142.

menon that incorporates different aspects of people-place bonding and involves the interplay of affects and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviours and actions in reference to a place. Thus it has emotional, cognitive and bodily dimensions<sup>16</sup>.

Place attachment, I argue, does not have to be based on positive feelings only but the feelings linked with a place can be negative or ambivalent and still the person remains attached to and dependent on it. Seamon has suggested the same, reminding that negative feelings, including anxiety and annoyance, most commonly arise when places are changed in some ways<sup>17</sup>. Feminist scholars have pointed out that, e.g., home generally regarded as the primary target of positive place attachment, can be an ambivalent and a troublesome place as well<sup>18</sup>.

In several studies place attachment has been related to place identity in various ways. Along with Rollero and De Piccoli I consider place attachment and place identity linked but different dimensions of individual environmental relationship; place attachment is an emotional dimension and place identity is a cognitive dimension of the person-place bond<sup>19</sup>. Using the term sense of place, Stokowski has said that it is an individual ability to develop feelings of attachment to particular settings based on a combination of use, attentiveness, and emotion; thus it has emotional, cognitive and behavioural component<sup>20</sup>. Concerning the development of an affective link with place, the influence of social bonds has been verified in several studies, and place attachment has also been

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<sup>16</sup> C. Rollero & N. De Piccoli, *Place attachment, identification and environmental perception: An empirical study*. "Journal of Environmental Psychology" 2010, Vol. 30, p 198. Cf. B. Hernández et al., *Place attachment and place identity in natives and non-natives*, "Journal of Environmental Psychology" 2007, Vol. 27, 310–319; I. Altman & S. Low, *Place attachment...* p 1–12.

<sup>17</sup> D. Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld...* p 76.

<sup>18</sup> I.M. Young, *Intersecting Violence: Dilemma in Gender, Political Philosophy, and Policy*, Princeton 1997, pp 134–136; L. Goldsack, *Feminist Perspectives and Domestic Violence*, Harlow 1999; B.M. González, *Topophilia and Topophobia: The Home as an Evocative Place of Contradictory Emotions*, [in] "Space and Culture" 2005, Vol. 8, 193–213; M. Ruckenstein, *Dynamic Domestic Space: Violence and the Art of Home-Making*, [in] "Homes in Transformation: Dwelling, Moving, Belonging", eds. H. Johansson & K. Saarikangas, Helsinki 2009, pp 239–258.

<sup>19</sup> C. Rollero & N. De Piccoli, *Place attachment...* p 198; cf. K. Chow & M. Healey, *Place attachment and place identity...* p 363.

<sup>20</sup> P.A. Stokowski, *Languages of Place...* pp 369, 370.

shown to be a strong positive predictor of neighbourhood ties<sup>21</sup>. Place identity, however, seems to require more time to develop<sup>22</sup>.

The common man typically creates places unselfconsciously, as Relph has written<sup>23</sup>. The process of place making happens in various activities within a particular cultural, societal and natural surrounding at different times and with different people<sup>24</sup>. According to Stokowski, people actively create meaningful places through conversation and interaction with others. The reality of place emerges and is confirmed in the common symbolic languages and discourses<sup>25</sup>. As Ryden has put it: “Unlike simple geographical locations, which exist objectively, places do not exist until they are verbalized, first in thought and memory and then through the spoken or written word. Only when they have coalesced in the mind, and then achieved narrative expression, can places have anything more than an idiosyncratic, private existence”<sup>26</sup>.

Among others Tuan has written about the importance of all the senses in making places and how the “feel” of a place is “made up of experience, mostly fleeting and undramatic, repeated day after day and over the span of years. It is a unique blend of sights, sounds, and smells, a unique harmony of natural and artificial rhythms”. He has also vividly stressed the essentiality of movement in the process: “The feel of a place is registered in one’s muscles and bones.”<sup>27</sup> Johnson has suggested that movement is one of the principal ways by which we learn the meaning of things and acquire our ever-growing sense of what our world is like<sup>28</sup>. Seamon has written that the sense of place is created through “time-space routines” and “body-ballet”, i.e., a set of automatized everyday activities performed in the place<sup>29</sup>. Lewicka, however, has said that body-ballet

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<sup>21</sup> C. Rollero & N. De Piccoli, *Place attachment...* p 199; M. Lewicka, *Ways to make people active: the role of place attachment, cultural capital, and neighbourhood ties*. “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 2005, Vol 25, 381–395; M. Lewicka, *What makes neighbourhood different from home and city? Effects of place scale on place attachment*. “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 2010, Vol. 30, 35–51; G. Pretty et al., *Sense of place...* p 283.

<sup>22</sup> C. Rollero & N. De Piccoli, *Place attachment...* p. 203.

<sup>23</sup> E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, London 1976, p 68; cf. D. Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld...* p 153; M.C. Hidalgo & B. Hernández, *Place attachment...* p 276.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. T. Creswell, *Place...* p 37 and P. Siim, *Paikkasuhteet maahanmuuttajien kertomuksissa*, [in] “Paikka; Eletty, kuviteltu, kerrottu”, eds. S. Knuutila, P. Laaksonen & U. Piela, Helsinki 2006, p 97.

<sup>25</sup> P.A. Stokowski, *Languages of Place...* p 372.

<sup>26</sup> K.C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape...* p 241.

<sup>27</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* pp 183–184; cf. Y. -E. Tuan, *Topophilia...* pp 10–11; K.C. Ryden, *Mapping the invisible landscape...* p 38.

<sup>28</sup> M. Johnson, *Motor Cognition: What Actions Tell of the Self*, Oxford 2006, p. 21.

<sup>29</sup> D. Seamon, *Body-subject, time-space routines, and place-ballets*, [in] “The Human

is probably not the only mechanism through which sense of place and place attachment develop, but it may be the essential part of this process. Thus the places have physical, functional, psychological, and social aspects. In addition, as Tuan has written, places exist at different scales, from one's favourite armchair to the whole earth. According to Lewicka Tuan's book *Space and Place* is a beautiful account of how the human body structures space, and transforms it into place, and provides a conceptual tool for spatial orientation<sup>30</sup>. The whole area within which human beings move and act during their lifetime can, in Malmbergs words, be called their "territory"<sup>31</sup> or activity space, which, too, can be of different sizes.

Tuan has written that place is an organized world of meaning, essentially a static concept and warned about considering the world a process, constantly changing, because that would prevent us from developing any sense of place<sup>32</sup>. I believe that with static he does not mean totally invariable, as the physical places with their meanings and individual place bonds are continuously changing and developing. Although a place can be considered process, to remain a place, it must retain enough stability or permanence to help a person to identify its continuity<sup>33</sup>.

As meaningful parts in one's environment, places are essential elements of the lifelong environmental relationship. Therefore, we should analyse not only the places and their collective meanings at a certain point of time but also the rich variety of individual place experiences. Even in such investigations, however, it is not enough to study prominent and famous individuals' places and environmental relationships; we have to analyse ordinary people's everyday places and lifelong place making processes as well<sup>34</sup>. This kind of analysis might help us to understand human-environment bonds and the nature of places in general in a more profound way. As Seamon has suggested, everyday environ-

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Experience of Space and Place", eds. A. Buttimer & D. Seamon, New York 1980, pp 163.

<sup>30</sup> M. Lewicka, *Place attachment...* p 225; Y-F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* pp 149, 182; cf. M.C. Hidalgo & B. Hernández, *Place attachment...* p. 274, 275; Hernández et al., *Place attachment ...* p 275; M. Lewicka, *What makes neighbourhood different...* p 36.

<sup>31</sup> T. Malmberg, *Human Territoriality: Survey of behavioural territories in man with preliminary analysis and discussion of meaning*, The Hague 1980, p 6.

<sup>32</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* p 179.

<sup>33</sup> P. Gustafson, *Meaning of Place...* p 6; Y-F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* pp 140.

<sup>34</sup> Already in the 1990<sup>s</sup>, I strongly argued for researching ordinary individuals' environmental relationships in an essay *Yksilö ympäristöhistoriaan*, [in] "Monta tietä menneisyyteen", eds. L. Rossi & H. Koivisto, Turku 1995, 167–194. Later, I suggested ways to study the lifelong environmental relationship of a common person in L. Rossi, *Yksilöllä on väliä ympäristön kannalta – Miten voisi tutkia yksilön elinikäistä ympäristösuhdetta*, [in] "Elore", 2010, Vol 17, 2. [[http://www.elore.fi/arkisto/2\\_10/rossi\\_2\\_2010.pdf](http://www.elore.fi/arkisto/2_10/rossi_2_2010.pdf)]

mental experience is the sum total of a person's first hand involvements with the geographical world in which one typically lives<sup>35</sup>.

#### THE MAN, RESEARCH MATERIALS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Living in Finland, I have chosen a Finnish worker, Frans Lind (1903–1988)<sup>36</sup> as my subject whose places and place relationships I examine. He spent his whole life in a small industrial town, Varkaus, in the Eastern Finnish lake country, some three hundred kilometres northeast of the capital, Helsinki. The seasons there are quite distinctive but never extreme: summers moderately warm and green and winters moderately cold and snowy. Lind began his working career at the age of 13 in 1916, right after finishing the elementary school and worked for the same employer, A. Ahlstrom Company, for more than fifty years till 1968. Because of his vocation as a painter in a big industry he can be called an ordinary man, but he was also a not-so-ordinary worker: in his leisure time he was an amateur artist who depicted his environment. He painted landscapes, cityscapes,

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<sup>35</sup> A. Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld...* pp 15–16.

<sup>36</sup> Frans Lind was born in 1903 in Varkaus, Eastern Finland, as the youngest one of six children. His father was a model carpenter at the shipyard of A. Ahlstrom Company. In 1916, after finishing school at the age of 13 he started a painter's career at the same company, where his four elder brothers had also been employed. He worked for the firm till his retirement in 1968. Since his childhood he wandered in nature, especially on lakes, for both fun and necessity. In his youth he took an interest in sports and acting in the workers association. He also drew and painted pictures of the local landscapes. At the age of 22 he got married and had five children 1925–1943. First he lived in company dwellings with his parents and siblings and later with own family. He had a house built in 1935. All his abodes were situated near water, and his house stood immediately by a cove of Lake Haukivesi. Like many workers, Lind bought a small island farm for a summer place in 1957 where he first spent all vacations and after his retirement in 1968, five-six months a year. After his wife's death in 1979 he lived alone in his house till his death in 1988.

In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Varkaus was a small industrial centre with 2 500 inhabitants surrounded by forests and waters. Workers and their families made up one third of the population in 1900 and since 1920 they formed at least one half, at times more than two-thirds. By 1920 the number of people doubled and by the 1940<sup>s</sup> more than quadrupled to 11 500. After the Second World War in 1960 the number was about 22 000 and it went up to 24 700 by 1980 but then it began to go down with shrinking industrial production.

In Varkaus, people got around by foot and horse as well as by rowing boats and steamships. Regular railway connections were created in 1914 and bus connections in the 1920<sup>s</sup>. Good roads were established in the 1950<sup>s</sup>. Simultaneously, boat traffic faded out. As the crow flies, the distances were short, but by land several kilometres. People often rowed from one place to another until the 1960<sup>s</sup>. Like many other workers, Lind went to work by rowboat, foot or bike. He never acquired a car, not even a moped as many other workers did since the 1950<sup>s</sup>. To his summer cottage Lind travelled by motorboat or by bus and boat.

and floral arrangements, the oldest existent ones dating back to the 1920<sup>s</sup> and the last ones to the 1970<sup>s</sup>. The environmental paintings make his place bonds particularly interesting.

Oral history is my main source: in twenty-six interview sessions 1985–87 we discussed various aspects of his life as a worker and frequently touched the issue of places. Here I use twenty interviews and quote them copiously to illustrate his places, place making and place-bond<sup>37</sup>. Furthermore, I use my own personal observations. During my early years I had a good opportunity to observe Lind in his daily pursuits, because I lived in the same neighbourhood and had frequent contacts with his family; later I met him during my visits to Varkaus. I gained further information through his paintings depicting certain places he spoke about in the interviews. Thus I can combine both verbal and pictorial measures in studying his place-relationships<sup>38</sup>.

While investigating the everyday places that Lind, as a common man, created, experienced and maintained in his daily life from his early childhood until the last months of his life I try to answer these questions: What kind of places did he stay in, visit or use at different phases of his life cycle? What did he do in those places and what kind of meanings did the places have? How and with whom did he make his places and how did he experience them? How did the places change in reality and in his mind? On the basis of the empirical material, I created place categories or place typology that not only organizes Lind's places but also is applicable to any person's places. These categories might provide tools for a deeper analysis of human-place bonds. So far, scholars in different fields have mostly paid attention to collective places, not to a common man's modest everyday places, neither the ways he makes them, nor their meanings for an individual during his life course.

#### FROM MATERIAL

#### AND EXPERIENCED PLACES TO REMEMBERED AND NARRATED PLACES

The environment exists as a physical reality regardless of humans, but individuals perceive and experience their surroundings as embodied beings in their own ways. Thus an individual's places are first of all *material* or *physical*. As Low and Altman have written, they can also be called visible or sensual, that

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<sup>37</sup> I have recorded and transcribed the interviews and the transcripts are kept in my personal collection.

<sup>38</sup> M. Lewicka, *Place attachment...* p 221.



is, they can be sensed and perceived, and when this happens they become *experienced*<sup>39</sup>. Low has also spoken about “embodied spaces”<sup>40</sup> meaning that a person always exists somewhere in her or his body. Furthermore, places become *abstract, invisible* and *mental* when a person preserves their images in the mind. In the interviews, the material places Lind had experienced during his lifetime were realized as both *remembered* and *narrated*. Unfortunately, he had not produced any written texts by which he could have made his places written as well like countless literary persons have done. Remembering always takes place here and now and the memories of the past places are coloured by the present<sup>41</sup>.

The mental images of places are usually created through all the senses: visual, aural, olfactory, gustatory, tactile, and kinaesthetic<sup>42</sup>. Although moving about in various activities was essential in his place making, it was vision that seemed to dominate Lind’s perceptual processes and he also remembered everything mainly through vision. Apparently he could see the meaningful places very clearly in his mind with their details. When I asked, if he remembered places and events as mental pictures he answered: “Yes, yes, all the places are so accurately in my mind. It is like somebody had drawn them in front of me. I remember everything so precisely that I could say exactly where each house stood” (14 Jul 1986)<sup>43</sup>.

Among the places about which Lind narrated there were those he used at the time of the interviews and those he had only visited in the past. Thus his remembered and narrated places can be divided into *contemporary* or *current* and *past* or *gone*. Furthermore, every place is contemporary at a certain time. All the contemporary places as well as those past places, which are still to be found, are *existent* but those not surviving are *lost*. In Lind’s environment certain places had been demolished or otherwise destroyed, and, naturally, he could not visit them any more. But there were also physical place still to be found, which he deliberately did not visit any more. Them I call *abandoned* or even *avoided*. The

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<sup>39</sup> Cf. S.M. Low & I. Altman, *Place Attachment...* p 5; P.T. Karjalainen, *The Significance of Place: an introduction* [in] “Place and Embodiment, Proceedings I, XIII International Congress of Aesthetics, Helsinki, August 1–5 1995”, eds. P.T. Karjalainen & P. von Bonsdorff, Helsinki, 1997, p 11; P. Gustafson, *Meaning of Place...* p 12.

<sup>40</sup> S.M. Low, *Anthropological Theories of Body, Space and Culture*, “Space & Culture” 2003, Vol. 6, pp 9–18.

<sup>41</sup> P. Siim, *Paikkasuhteet...* p 94. Place memories are comparable with all other memories, since the time of recalling, here and now, has an effect on all reminiscences. See L. Rossi, *Muisti, muistot ja muistitietohistoria*, [in] “Tulkinnan polkuja: Kulttuurihistorian tutkimusmenetelmiä”, eds. A. Nivala & R. Mähkä, Turku 2012, 49–81. \*

<sup>42</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and place...* p 8–18.

<sup>43</sup> I only refer to the interviews by giving the date of the interviews.

places, he had visited frequently or used continuously, I call *active*, and those he did not visit, I call *passive*. Yet, in his memories he could be in any of his places and thus make them active. - Theoretically, we can also speak about *forgotten* places, but in reality place does not exist for a person, if one forgotten it. If Lind had some forgotten places I cannot know.

During the interviews in the 1980<sup>s</sup>, many of Lind's remembered and narrated places still existed materially, but others had totally disappeared a long time ago; they were gone and lost. However, many of the places he remembered and described were simply past and passive since he never visited them. Certain places were lost because of demolition. Lind experienced as lost even the remodelled buildings. Besides, he had consciously abandoned a few of his places with strong emotional associations and did not visit them any more. Of course, none of his places existing still in the 1980<sup>s</sup> were exactly the same they had been in his youth or manhood, because both natural and man-made elements in environment change without anybody altering them on purpose: trees and bushes grown or rot away; shorelines shift; buildings rot. There are planned changes as well: trees felled, streets straightened; houses re-painted and their parts rebuilt. Still, Lind felt places were the same because they had saved, for him, their essential characteristics. As Stedman has written, the physical landscape may change to so much that preferred meanings become weak or are maintained only through active effort. He suggests that these efforts are limited to those who have a long-term presence in the landscape<sup>44</sup>. The comment also fits Lind.

An interesting example of Lind's lost physical places was the local wooden church from 1862, which had stood in the middle of the town and had also been used as school in his youth. In many interviews he described the building and activities in it thus helping us to understand how the church-school building became his place, which was past but active in his memories and loaded with different meanings:

“[I]n the morning on Christmas Day we went to church. It was full of people. From the surrounding areas people came with horse. [LR<sup>45</sup>: Was the church decorated?] In the church stood a Christmas tree with candles. There were candles on the walls and on the altar rail. That made the church very festive. [LR: Wasn't it rather modest?] In other ways it was quite modest, very simple. There were only wooden benches. Since the church also served as a school the

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<sup>44</sup> R.C. Stedman, *Is It Really Just a Social Construction? The Contribution of the Physical Environment to Sense of Place*, “Society & Natural Resources” 2003, Vol. 16, p 683.

<sup>45</sup> LR = Leena Rossi.

benches were there all the time, straight benches only” (23 Dec 1985). “I went to school in the old church and clubhouse. It was the factory’s school. [...] Caselius was the minister and headmaster. There was a curtain in the middle of the church. It was pulled aside during the service” (9 Jan 1986).

Very willingly Lind disclosed his mischief at school: “A small wing had been built behind the back wall of the church. It served as the teachers’ room. Matti Karttunen, the teacher, always kept his winter boots in the church. Once I nailed them to the floor, those boots. [LR: Didn’t he get mad?] Yes, he got mad, but he did not hit. He did not hit. He lifted me up to the wall. He used to grab a boy under the chin and lift him up and box his ears. But he did not hit me [raising his voice] then. There were so many other causes, since I caught crayfish for him. [...] He must have remembered that it is better not to hit one’s crayfish catcher. [Laughed.] He said: ‘Keep in mind that this is the last time!’ I said: ‘I will try.’ [Laughed.] Yes, and that was that” (7 Sept 1986).

In the same interview he recalled another incident: “Many times when the teacher was not yet in the class I clowned around. Once I climbed to the pulpit. The minister, it was Kivioja at that time. [...] I was in the pulpit, in the barrel, and preached and joked a little. He looked through the window from sacristy. There was a round window in the door. He saw me. Then he took me there to the priest’s side. He had a strap and I felt that he would have liked to give me a good trashing, but he did not hit me” (7 Sept 1986). The two episodes witness the fact that in the 1910s physical punishment was still common at school and teachers readily used it.<sup>46</sup>

Colourful memories about the school-church prove that it was an important place for Lind and he was attached to it, though the events had been not only funny and exciting but also unpleasant. Seamon and Ruckenstein, e.g., have suggested that meaningful places can be ambivalent: they bring back both pleasant and unpleasant memories<sup>47</sup>. Later the building was to have even more ambivalence: After conquering Varkaus during the Finnish civil war in 1918 the Whites (the winners) arrested the Reds (the losers) and held them in the church to wait for a hearing. Three of Lind’s brothers, Kalle, Anton and Valdemar, were among the numerous prisoners and Kalle, the eldest one, was shot with several others behind the woodpiles without a proper trial (12 Sept 1985,). The locals still call the shooting incident “Huruslahden arpajaiset” (the Huruslahti lottery).

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<sup>46</sup> Since 1914 corporal punishment was forbidden in Finnish schools but it was used long after that.

<sup>47</sup> D. Seamon, *A Geography of the Lifeworld...* pp 75–76; M. Ruckenstein, *Dynamic Domestic Space...* pp 239–258.

Because of the wartime events the old church-school got a tragic connotation not only for Lind but also for many of the inhabitants of Varkaus. A new school was built in 1924 for the growing number of children, but the old building served as a church until 1939 when a new stone church was erected. Then the old one was turned to a sports hall<sup>48</sup>. A new church was indeed needed. Lind recalled how his mother had stated after the war that she would only go to church when a new one was built. Many others probably felt the same way. Lind did not however express his personal opinion. When the old church was demolished in the 1960<sup>s</sup>, it was announced in public that it was badly decayed and prevented land development in the centre of the town. I am tempted to think that behind the politicians' eagerness to demolish the building was a wish to obliterate the conspicuous reminder of the civil war. Naturally, it was impossible to wipe out people's memories.

Two other lost places were also building from the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lind saw them almost every day since his childhood. One was an old pharmacy he often visited while running errands for the adults. The other one was the factory director's residence, the Villa that he, as a skilful and trusted painter, had refurbished several times and where he also had met his wife-to-be. He even painted a picture of the building in the 1930<sup>s</sup>. He had also made a picture of the pharmacy but it had disappeared (8 Sept 1985; 10 Jan 1986; 14 Jul 1986). In several interviews, quite spontaneously, Lind described the two houses and emphatically presented his thoughts about their destruction:

"They spoiled it; they destroyed the old Villa completely. It was such a beautiful building. They built a second floor on top of it and entirely destroyed the tower. Yes. They caused a terrible amount of damage. Nobody could appreciate it at that time. They did the same to the old pharmacy. It was a beautiful building, too. It was a tremendously beautiful building. It, too, had a tower at one end. Nobody could appreciate these, nationally, very valuable buildings; they destroyed them. There were no other buildings [in Varkaus] as beautiful and precious as the Villa and the old Stenberg's pharmacy" (8 Sept 1985). In Lind's voice I could hear nostalgia, longing for something lost. Tuan has said that nostalgia for an idyllic past waxes strong when a people perceive that changes are occurring too rapidly, spinning out of control<sup>49</sup>. The changes might have been too rapid for Lind.

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<sup>48</sup> H. Soikkanen, *Varkauden historia*, Varkaus 1963, pp 549, 552, 701, 727; H. Itkonen, *Varkautelaisten vuosisata*, Helsinki 2004, p 182.

<sup>49</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and Place...* p 186.

In later interviews, Lind described the decorative details: “All the clapboards on top and on sides of the windows were decorated. There were carvings, too. Not so many but some. There were grooves and bulges, round bulges. When the Villa was made taller all the decorations were taken off. [LR: You have painted a picture of the Villa, haven't you?] In the painting I made of old Villa you cannot see those details so clearly but you can see the tower” (10 Jan 1986). “The old pharmacy [...] was a beautiful building, that old pharmacy. It would have been worth while to save it. But at that time nobody appreciated it. Now they would. [...] There were decorations under all the eaves and around the windows and the whole veranda” (14 Jul 1986).

Lind explicitly regretted the fate of these buildings since he had found them beautiful and historically valuable. Besides, he had personal connections with them. He might have understood that the reason for the changes was modernization but he did not accept them. In his words, I also sensed his respect for the original skilful carpenter's work. Interestingly, he did not explicate his regret about the loss of any other places, which had disappeared at some point. For instance, when speaking about the sports field where he had frequently exercised and competed in his youth, he calmly stated that nowadays a street runs over the place (18 Sept 1985).

During the interviews, the summer cottage Lind had bought in 1957 still existed, but it was also a lost and an abandoned or avoided place. While he was employed he had stayed there summer weekends and vacations, relaxing, bathing, fishing, picking berries and mushrooms or gardening and renovating the buildings. After retiring in 1968 he and his wife had lived in the place for five to six months every year: in spring after the ice broke they moved to the island and in fall when the lake began to freeze they returned to the town house. After his wife's death in 1979 his visits became less frequent and in his last three years he did not go there at all. He refused to go even if his children offered to take him there. Lind's words in 1985 illustrate the change in his place relationship very convincingly:

“Last summer I visited the cottage once. I don't want to go. Why should I go there? To sit only!” (13 Sept 1985). Next year he stated: “I don't want to go to the island any more. I only become sad [there]” (17 Jul 1986). As Seamon has written, negative feelings are aroused especially by changes in the place<sup>50</sup>. Concerning Lind's summer place a big change was caused by his wife's death, not in the physical setting but in the social and psychological place-band, and therefore the place became unattractive.

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<sup>50</sup> D. Seamon, *Geography of the Lifeworld...* pp 75–76.

OBLIGATORY – OPTIONAL;  
LONG-TERM – SHORT-TERM – ONCE-IN-A-LIFE-TIME PLACES

In addition to the previous categories, all of Lind's places can be divided into two more types: *obligatory* and *optional* places; they can be called *compulsory* or *involuntary* and *voluntary*, respectively. The former were places where he had to spend more or less time and do certain things and could not stay away from. Home, school and work places were obligatory for him, as they are for most of us: military service can be also counted as an obligatory place but he did not speak much about it. For certain people even prison or hospital is a compulsory place. Most of Lind's places were, however, optional; he did not have to enter them if he did not want to. They were tied with leisure and his pastime and could be found either in nature or in the cultural milieu, while the obligatory places, home, school and work were situated in the built environment. In general, people have many kinds of voluntary places and their qualities and numbers vary depending on the person and one's possibilities to move around and get engaged with places.

On the basis of continuance, Lind's places can be further divided into *long-term* or *long lasting* and *short-term* or *temporary* places. Some of his places were used only for a shorter period, others were for a long time, but none were *life-long*. Those places he visited only once were *once-in-a-lifetime* places if they were so important that he saved them in his memories. Of course, Lind could make any of his places long lasting in his mind. In a country with distinctive seasons like Finland, many temporary places are *seasonal*, used only at certain times of year.

During his lifetime Lind lived in about a dozen dwellings, the earlier ones provided by the employer<sup>51</sup>. Of course, all the homes were obligatory places, but most of them were also temporary. Only two abodes in his life were used for a long-time: he spent his first ten years in his birthplace and in the family home (built in 1935) he lived for half a century, first with his family and in the end mostly alone. Often and willingly he told about these places and many pleasant and delightful memories were linked with them. The childhood home, however, even produced unpleasant memories. For instance, Lind told how the children were not allowed to eat at the same table with adults and he mentioned father's religious fanaticism and harshness many times (12 Aug, 3 and 13 Sept 1985; 11 and 12 Jan, 28 Mar and 7 Sept 1986)<sup>52</sup>. But he also told: "Mother, many times

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<sup>51</sup> Industrial employers commonly provided their employees with dwellings. Talve, *Finnish Folk Culture*, Helsinki 1997, p 291.

<sup>52</sup> Law did not totally forbid corporal punishment until 1984.

she saved the child [Frans] from fathers knees” (28 Mar 1986). Lind’s ambivalent memories of home are consistent with the ideas feminist scholars have expressed<sup>53</sup>.

Lind proudly talked about his own house, that he could easily pay for, because he began to save eagerly when he got married. He gave up all other pastimes. “My only target was to get a home of my own. Therefore I worked hard, night and day. I did a lot of extra work” (12 Jan 1986). His frugal mother had also saved part of his wages when he earned well in special painting projects. (28 Mar 1986.) Still he called it his house cottage as the workers in Varkaus used to do. In numerous interviews he mentioned the building and the work done on the lot:

“[The site] was rather expensive because it was field, Kukkulapelto [Hillfield]. It was used as a pasture. [LR: Who built the house?] I made a building contract. I did not build myself but I painted everything and decorated the interior. [LR: You needed an outhouse too...] In the beginning there was a woodshed, pigsty and privy on the edge of the lot (12 Aug 1985). [LR: Here you had the yard and garden...] When this house was ready there was a lot to do in the yard. One had to work since we had this cultivation, potatoes and else” (12 Jan 1986). As Lewicka has pointed out ownership status increases a sense of control over the living area. Effort, time and money invested in buying and decorating the dwelling enhances attachment to it<sup>54</sup>. In Lind’s life, his own home must have been the most important place, but during his last years it seems to have gained in importance, which can be heard in his spontaneous words: “It feels good to be here at home. I don’t want to leave my home for any place” (17 Jul 1986).

Place researchers have written much about homes. Interestingly, Lind’s memories prove that homes can be the focus for very strong sentimental and emotional attachment, as Relph has asserted: “there is for virtually everyone a deep association with and consciousness of places where we are born and grew up, where we live now, where we have had particularly moving experiences. This association seems to constitute a vital source of both individual and cultural identity and security”<sup>55</sup>. Moore has suggested that home possesses rich social, cultural and historical significance and holds numerous psychological meanings, which are of profound importance for people in shaping their identities<sup>56</sup>. Accord-

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<sup>53</sup> Cf. R. Gilroy & R. Woods (eds.), *Housing Women*, London 1994; L. Goldsack, *Feminist Perspectives...*; B.M. González, *Topophilia and Topophobia...*

<sup>54</sup> M. Lewicka, *Place attachment...* p 225.

<sup>55</sup> E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness*, p 43.

<sup>56</sup> J. Moore, *Placing home in context*, [in] “Journal of Environmental Psychology” 2000, Vol. 20, pp 207–217.

ding to Chow and Healey home is a private space, to which people have come attached as it is shared by loved ones, contains fond memories and evokes feelings of warmth and security<sup>57</sup>. Yet, as several scholars have suggested<sup>58</sup> and Lind himself has recollected about his first home, home can carry a strong ambivalence.

Lind's employment at the Ahlstrom Company lasted for more than fifty years, but he had many work sites since his painting tasks took him to numerous buildings within the factory grounds and in the workers' dwellings. Work in general was an obligatory and long lasting place for him but all different sites were more or less temporary. Most often, and with pleasure Lind narrated about the shipyard, where he started his career, describing not only his tasks and colleagues but also the material surroundings with all structural and technical elements in detail. He had been keen observer, he had sharp memory, and the place had been meaningful for him.

"The building where ships were made in winter was called *sööli* (< skjul, Swedish); where the framework of the boats were put together. They did not have to do it under the open sky. It had glass walls, walls with small square panes. Above the roof were glass domes, little higher than the roof with windows on the sides" (8 Sept 1985). "At the docks [the workshop] was a rather big hall. In one end there were the sheet-iron worker's shops, but the other end was for the painters. Furthermore there was a private residential house that was used as a painter's shop. It was warm, but the big building was warm, too. It had heating pipes. They ran around the room [LR: Where did the heat come from?] Steam heating was supplied by a steam boiler. It stood next to the joiner's shop in Pirtinniemi. It was like a steamer's boiler, big boiler. Steam went around, it heated the joiner's shops and both shops next to the Pirtinvirta River" (10 Jan 1986)<sup>59</sup>.

Lind also seemed to enjoy relating the special projects he had participated in; workers appreciated them because of higher pay. Naturally, employer could not force men to work in the most dangerous spots and those places were voluntary. Pride and courage resonated in Lind's words when he enthusiastically described the most challenging work sites, for example, the two water towers of paper mill and the mechanical pulpwood mill across the Huruskoski River:

"There in the paper mill's towers I painted. Nobody else wanted to. I painted the roof parts of both towers. [LR: How old were you then?] I was already 17–18

<sup>57</sup> K. Chow & M. Healey, *Place attachment and place identity...* p 362.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. L. Goldsack, *Feminist perspectives...*; M. Ruckenstein, *Dynamic Domestic Space...* pp 239–258.

<sup>59</sup> See also L. Rossi, *Maalarina Pirtinniemen varvilla Varkaudessa 1910- ja 1920-luvuilla*, [in] "Tekniikan vaiheita" 2011, Vol. 29, 2, pp 5–19.



years old. The outsides were painted in a cradle. It was lowered through a hatch and moved around with ropes. [LR: Were you afraid?] It was not frightening at all. There were men who tied the ropes, raised and lowered the cradle when needed. [LR: Were there any safety equipment?] There were no safety equipment, no harness or anything. [LR: You did not seem to be afraid.] At that time I was not frightened of high places. My head did not prevent me from climbing anywhere. Not everybody could. It did not do anything to me. [LR: Was such work better paid?] You got a better pay in such works. They did not count the hours. Usually a piecework contract was made. [...] There above the Factory River when I had to whitewash the outer walls, I hesitated a little: if the ropes break, I would be there in the river and then I'd float away. [LR: What did you do there?] We whitewashed the outer walls of the mechanical pulpwood factory across the river. [LR: They always seemed to put you in bad places.] I was always in the worst places. But I got a better pay, too" (23 Dec 1985).

Most of the places where Lind worked were obligatory: he could not refuse to go there. However, the particularly dangerous and high places were optional: he could choose if he wanted work there. Evidently, danger and good earnings made these places attractive and memorable. He did not probably value every ordinary, obligatory project, like painting the worker's dwellings, which did not have any challenges or fascination of danger either, but he obviously appreciated the possibilities to paint and paper the factory director's residence, the Villa. There the quality of work had to be superb and only the most trusted painters were allowed to enter the building – and he was one of them. So it was the prestige of the task that attracted him.

All the places where Lind spent his leisure time were voluntary. Some of them were natural places, others were in a man-made environment. Since his childhood "the waters" or "the islands"<sup>60</sup> were important. Lind's Father used to take all five sons by rowboat (with sails) to certain islands 15–20 kilometres southeast of Varkaus, where he had some acquaintances, local farmers who shared his religious interests. On the voyage and at the destination father and sons spent time fishing, which was a common pastime and often even a necessity for workers at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and even later.<sup>61</sup> Thus for Frans and his brothers "the islands" were not a single or restricted site but a larger area defined by the activities, rowing, sailing, fishing and bathing in the water, as well as picking berries and mushrooms and cutting twigs from birch trees for

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<sup>60</sup> Earlier I have discussed Lind's relationship with islands and waters in L. Rossi, *One Man's Waters*, [in] "Ethnologia Fennica", 2007, pp 36–53.

<sup>61</sup> I. Talve, *Finish Folk Culture...* pp 293–294.

bath whisks in the woods. (13 Aug and 12 Sept 1985; 10 Sept 1986.) The routes back and forth seemed to be essential parts of this natural place as well.

The childhood voyages must have been very rewarding since even later Lind sought his way to the islands. As a family man he took his wife and children first to various islands and since 1957 to “the island”, a former farmstead. He also shared it with his grandchildren. For him and his family the island was not only a place for recreation but also an economically important place: every visit meant more food on the table. Together with his family he began to till the neglected fields and grow herbs, vegetables, potatoes, tomatoes, strawberries, currant bushes and apple trees. They also utilised the natural products from neighbouring islands. But in his last years Lind deliberately turned this long-time voluntary and seasonal place into an abandoned place he did not visit any more (13 Sept 1985; 17 Jul 1986).

In addition to the islands, the woods and bogs near Varkaus were natural places Lind visited seasonally in summer and autumn. They were also long-term places, since he first went there as a child with his parents and siblings. Later he often cycled or walked some ten kilometres to get to the best forest berries with his wife and/or children. I remember him carrying home buckets full of blackberries, cloudberries, cowberries or cranberries – whichever happened to be in season. The Finnish public right-of-access guarantees the access to state or even private forests provided one does not cause any damage on the property. Picking berries and mushrooms has been an essential part of the Finnish way of life and it still is a common leisure activity: till the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was a rewarding necessity for working families.<sup>62</sup> Lind was already in his late 70<sup>s</sup> when he stopped going to the woods and bogs, which then became past places for him.

Lake Haukivesi in Varkaus, only called “the lake” by the locals, was a large and variable area, where Lind spent his leisure time, particularly in his childhood with his brothers and peers. It was more the activities than the exact location that defined the lake, which in winter while frozen was called “the ice”. In the water he bathed and fished in summer, but he also had to help, first his mother and later his wife, to do the laundry on the lake shore. In winter he skated and skied with the other boys at almost on the same spots (12 Jan, 29 Marc 1986; 13 Sept 1987). In the late 1920<sup>s</sup> the lake and ice, which in his childhood had mostly meant fun and joy, acquired a note of sadness and fright because of two accidents. Once his eldest daughter and son fell into a hole in the ice and another time the same daughter fell from a jetty in summer. He talked about these accidents, when I asked him about the dangers of the water, always close at hand in Varkaus:

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<sup>62</sup> Ibid. p 294.

“Once Anja [daughter] pushed the kick sled – they were two [children] together – so she pushed themselves into a hole in the ice. I do not know if she saw how she pushed. She too fell into the hole. It was a big hole, a laundry hole. The sled and all [fell] into the hole. But then a man happened to come from the centre of Varkaus across the ice, so it was he who pulled them up. I was not at home then, but Lyyli [ his wife] rushed to the place. She saw it through the window” (28 March 1986). Without a pause Lind continued:

“We began to look around and Lyyli wondered where Anja had disappeared. Well, I also ran out. She already lay on the bottom there at the end of the jetty. The water was not very deep but she had been in the water long enough to drown and she had inhaled some water but not enough to die, so I quickly jumped into water and pulled her up. I put her on her stomach and the water came out” (28 March 1986). Lind had probably gone over the details of the events so many times that he did not get overtly emotional any more or perhaps he had learned to recite in neutral lines. Still, I could sense a lot of feelings behind his laconic narration linked with the place.

In his youth, at the age of 16 or 17, Lind made himself new optional places in the cultural environment when he joined the workers association after its reorganization in 1919. One of his brothers, Anton was already very active there. The places were temporary, lasting only for a few years. First, he took part in sports and athletics at the local workers' sports club, Tarmo: in winter he did gymnastics and wrestling in the people's hall, in summer he practiced track and field in the sports field. When he subsequently joined the worker's theatre he gave up all exercise except wrestling. The theatre group had rehearsals and performances at the people's hall and other venues in town. In addition to acting he also painted coulisses (9 Jan, 17 Jul, 10 Sept and 27 Nov 1986).

Neither the physical sites nor the activities were so essential for Lind as companionship: “There are many other delights but acting. It is so intimate. One gets drawn into the social life. That might have been the biggest motive. We were like a separate gang. Company attracts. It is more important than the activity” (17 Jul 1986). Also Kyle and Chick have demonstrated that the relationships people shared with significant family and friends in familiar and intimate setting were the most important element of leisure experience. Activities with a variety of associated behaviours are relevant but the most important element of the experience is the relationship with people.<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, when Lind got married at the age of 22 he gave up both acting and wrestling at the

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<sup>63</sup> G. Kyle & G. Chick, *The Social Nature of Leisure Involvement*, “Journal of Leisure Research” 2002, Vol. 34, pp 442–443.

workers' association. (12 Jan 1986). He did not consider it proper for a married man to keep on doing such activities. Thus he deliberately made the sport facilities and stage abandoned places. New leisure activities in other familiar and intimate settings became more important.

At least in our restless time, most of peoples' places are short-term or temporary, not used continuously for the entire lifetimes. Although his pace of life was less hectic most of Lind's places were also temporary: some he occupied at different stages of life, childhood, youth, manhood, or old age, others were occupied seasonally for a number of years or for most of his life. The islands were a good example of places that kept its currency almost though his life. Even the places physically destroyed and lost, remained, however, very vibrant and active in his memory.

Modern people, who travel a lot, visit many places only once. Those places may, however, make such powerful impressions that they remain permanently in the visitor's memory as once-in-a-lifetime places. Lind did not travel much on leisure but during his work life he had to go to several towns on commission. Yet in the interviews he only mentioned them in passing: they did not seem to be important. In Varkaus there was one place he enthusiastically told about on two occasions, a tall factory chimney, the second one erected in Varkaus, which he made his place by climbing to the top of it at the age of 15 or 16 years. At that time the brick chimney was still new and clean he remembered its height to have been about seventy metres (23 Dec 1985). Although Lind climbed the pipe alone, peers contributed to the making of place:

"It was Lasse Åberg who started it. He said: 'You don't dare to climb to the top of that chimney.' I said: 'How much will you pay?' That's how it began. We agreed that I have to wave on the top so that others will see. The most terrible is that it sways ... [LR: How did you get down?] Getting down was not easy in any way. One had to rely on the hands and arms only. One could not help with legs. It helped a little if one could get the feet to the rungs. One had to stretch out one's legs. It pulled the legs off [from the rungs]. That was the worst of all. I thought indeed that no money would make me do it a second time" (23 Dec 1985). In addition to the strenuous physical performance demanded by the daring deed, emotions like fear, pride, relief and satisfaction added to the meaning of this place. Lind's decision to stay away from the stack forever meant that it would remain his once-in-a-lifetime place; of course, it would have been impossible to repeat the climbing act since the chimney soon became sooty. In the interviews, he did not tell what kind of feelings he later felt while seeing the stack almost daily in the middle of the town, but I would guess that they were ambivalent if he really began to re-reflect the incident.

## SMALL AND LARGE PLACES

Lind's places can also be classified according to their size. As Tuan has said, places exist in different scales, and if a favourite armchair is at the one extreme on the scale, the whole earth is at the other extreme<sup>64</sup>. On Tuan's scale, although their sizes varied little, all the Lind's places belonged to the smaller end and they were found in his hometown, "the waters" or "the islands" and "the woods" excluded. In Varkaus his places were in the cultural milieu and they had more or less exact borders. His places in nature, however, stretched outside the town and were larger with undefined borders. All the places were situated in Finland in his home country. Tuan sees homeland as an important type of place at the medium scale<sup>65</sup>.

In the interviews we did not speak about the whole world, but once I asked Lind if he had ever travelled abroad. He answered: "No, I have never been abroad." [LR: Have you ever wanted?] "No, I have never really wanted, no. [LR: "Not even as a young man?]" "No, not even then," he firmly answered. (28 Mar 1986.) Another time I asked Lind about Finland, what kind of a country it was to live in? I expected him to say something about Finland's independence and about the wars against the Soviet Union, although he, unlike many other men of his age, had not been on the frontier. But without any experience of living abroad, he firmly replied: "This is one of the best countries if you compare it with any other country in the world. Well, Nordic countries you can compare. Homeland is always homeland. Finland is Finland. I would not replace her" (17 Jul 1986). Thus Lind expressed his attachment to his homeland, which is, as Tuan has expressed, a common human emotion and a worldwide phenomenon<sup>66</sup>.

This was a good moment to continue talking about other geographic places and I asked if he would replace Varkaus? Immediately he answered: "No, I would not replace that either. I have been elsewhere enough so that I would never change it either. I think that there is no place as good as this anywhere else." [LR: What makes it good?] "The whole familiar environment. In the old days we were like one family. All knew each other. But not nowadays any more. But anyway, it is my own town. There is no place like that anywhere else," he unhesitatingly answered (17 Jul 1986). Thus he expressed his attachment to the environment with its physical, social and psychological dimensions stressing

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<sup>64</sup> Y. -F. Tuan, *Space and Place...*, p 149.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, pp 154, 158.

especially the familiarity and continuance of the material place, which C.C. Marcus has also perceived to be important in environmental memories<sup>67</sup>.

#### MAKING PLACES AS AN INSIDER OR AN OUTSIDER

In the analysis of personal places and of making places two more terms are often used: concepts *insider* and *outsider* frequently appear in literature. Words *native*, *inhabitant* or *dweller* and *foreigner*, *tourist* or *visitor*, are respectively used<sup>68</sup>. Native and visitor focus on different aspects of the environment. As Tuan suggests, inhabitant's everyday place relation is involved, unself-conscious and non-reflective: it is derived from his immersion in the totality of his environment. He can only express it with difficulty and indirectly through behaviour, local tradition, lore and myth. On the other hand, visitor has a detached, more or less conscious relation with the environment. His view is an outsider's view and the place contains something new to him. His evaluation is essentially aesthetic. Something unexceptional, however, can make the native look at his environment with visitor's eyes<sup>69</sup>.

Of course, Lind experienced his places as a native or insider quite unself-consciously while he engaged with his surroundings in material and practical ways that gave meaning to the places. However, he might have partly adopted an outsider's view when he talked about his places to other people in everyday situations. He must have become even more aware of the places when discussed them in the interviews as making them into narratives. He must also have been quite aware of the places while depicting private houses, public buildings, streetscapes, and natural landscapes in Varkaus and its surroundings. He did not paint any imaginary sights but tried to depict reality and he had personal links with all the places he painted. While painting, he had to take an outsider's point of view, but simultaneously he could maintain an insider's status as well. In the

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<sup>67</sup> C.C. Marcus, *Environmental Memories*, [in] "Place Attachment", eds. I. Altman & S.M. Low, New York 1992, p 88.

<sup>68</sup> Y-F, Tuan, *Topophilia...*; E. Relph, *Place and Placelessness...*; T. Kilian, *Public and Private, Power and Space*, [in] "Philosophy and Geography II: The Production of Public Space", eds. A. Light and J.M. Smith, Lanham, Boulder, New York, Oxford 1998; P.T. Karjalainen, *Paikka ja maisema...*; P.T. Karjalainen, *Topobiografien paikan tulkinta*, [in] "Paikka: Eletty, kuviteltu, kerrottu", eds. S. Knuutila, P. Laaksonen & U. Piela, Helsinki 2006.

<sup>69</sup> Y-F. Tuan, *Topophilia...* pp 63, 64; cf. T. Kilian, *Public and Private...* p 129 and P.T. Karjalainen, *Topobiografien paikan tulkinta...* p 84.

interviews, he certainly became self-conscious about his environs and looked at things intentionally and reflexively, that is, as an outsider.

When Lind painted a picture of his house or summer cottage he proved and reinforced the significance of those places to himself. He made the same with the picture of the Villa, the residence of the factory director which he had many bonds with. By depicting his neighbours' houses he also showed how he appreciated their more or less modest dwellings. Supposedly, he also strengthened the neighbours' ideas about the worth of their homes. To all these places Lind had material and social connections: he had refurbished many of the houses he depicted. Besides, he had met the residents frequently<sup>70</sup>. Public buildings Lind had depicted are an intriguing part of his place relationships. For instance, in the 1950<sup>s</sup> he had painted the 54 meters high rise apartment block, which was the tallest residential building in Scandinavia at that time. The huge tower dominating his picture was not, however, the main subject but he particularly wanted to depict the tiny workers' cottages in its shadow; for he had known the owners personally<sup>71</sup>. The streetscapes were also loaded with memories: by the streets there were, e.g., his teacher's bookstore, the workers' houses and his earlier dwellings<sup>72</sup>.

The natural places Lind made landscapes of were located in the vicinity of Varkaus where he had roamed around since his childhood. There was a patch of water in almost all of them either in the form of lake, pond, cove, river or brook. He often made sketches on his fishing or berry picking expeditions. Interestingly, he never made pictures for art shows or sold them but kept them at home or gave them as presents to his relatives and friends<sup>73</sup>. In a sense, by narrating and painting certain places Lind captured them verbally or visually.

Since a person creates, occupies, maintains, and recreates places throughout one's life in various activities and with different people. Lind's places mostly got their meanings together with other family members, relatives, neighbours, peers and work mates, but in certain cases even outsiders contributed to the meanings of a place, for instance, the Whites (victors of the civil war). Thus people, activities and events had an effect on the emotions linked with his places.

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<sup>70</sup> See also L. Rossi, *Sunnuntaimaalarin maisemat – Kultuurihistorioitsija tavallisen ihmisen ympäristökokemusten jäljillä*, [in] "Tilan kokemisen kulttuurihistoriaa", ed. R. Laitinen, Turku, 2004.

<sup>71</sup> L. Rossi, *Oral History and Individual Environmental Experiences, Cambridge*, [in] "Thinking Through the Environment: Green Approaches to Global History", ed T. Myllyntaus, Cambridge 2011, p 150.

<sup>72</sup> L. Rossi, *Oral History...* pp 143, 147, 150.

<sup>73</sup> L. Rossi, *Sunnuntaimaalarin maisemat...* p 247.

All of Lind's places I have described above served certain purposes and he did various things in them, which were not necessarily determined by the primary function of the place. At home, he rested, ate, slept and worked in the house and garden with other family members. At school, he not only studied but where he also fooled around with his schoolmates. In his work places, he painted ships, buildings and rooms with his colleagues. In the islands he rowed, fished, swam, and relaxed with his father and brothers. In the workers' theatre he acted on stage and painted set designs with other young people. Actually, he shared most of his places physically as well as mentally with other people: and I suggest that even the factory chimney, he climbed up, was shared with peers because it was they who provoked him into it. Lind did not seem to have any exclusive places in which he did not allow anybody else to enter – if we do not count the privy. He often used to go alone to the nature for fish, berries or mushrooms or to paint but he did not and could not prevent others from coming with him.

Different places were active and important at different stages of Lind's life. In his childhood, home and school were his obligatory places, the lake and the islands his voluntary ones. In his youth, home and the islands continued to be significant but the school became only a remembered place. However, there were new places, too, that he shared mostly with his peers and work mates: shipyard and other work places, sports places, and workers' theatre at the people's house. Getting married meant abandoning these places but it also made his home and the islands more important. In manhood, the workplaces kept their importance as obligatory places, but the house of his own and the summer cottage were almost certainly the most significant places, the first being an obligatory one and the second a voluntary one.

In addition to other activities, painting pictures was an activity by which Lind made and maintained his places visually and aesthetically. Although the hobby forced him to look at his environment self-consciously it could not free him from his insider's status. Through his house portraits, landscapes, and cityscapes he represented places as well as place experiences<sup>74</sup>. He strengthened their meanings for himself and for others as well as his place-bond. On the other hand, the pictures helped to keep in memory even past places that had been destroyed.

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<sup>74</sup> L. Rossi, *Sunnuntaimaa- ja maisemat...* pp 248–262.



## THE LAST PLACE

All the place categories discussed above are valid in anybody's life although they are based on, Frans Lind's experiences throughout his life in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the life of an ordinary Finnish man. Naturally, different individuals have different places and depending on the person new place categories could be found. First, everybody's places exist materially and they are experienced through different senses; then, they become remembered and narrated in spoken and/or written words. In Lind's case certain places became depicted as well. When places are used they are current or contemporary and active; when they are not used they become past and passive. Often places disappear from a person's life and are lost if they are destroyed or abandoned or avoided. Places are obligatory or voluntary as well as long-term or short-term or once-in-a-lifetime places.

Had I thought of asking him explicitly about the significance of his places, Lind might have seen them in another way and suggested categories different from mine. Of course, other researchers could have found other places in the original interview material and also interpreted them in other ways. It is important to notice that most place categories overlap; they do not exclude each other. They are also tentative and would definitely benefit from further elaborations and specifications; for instance, religious, spiritual or mythical places are missing. Even the church did not appear as a religious place in Lind's interviews.

Thinking about Lind's life cycle, I want to add one final place category, which he touched on in an interview: his grave. I would not say that it was for him a religious place, since religion did not have much importance in his life: "Religion restricts and reassures, but it has not restricted or reassured me" (17 Jul 1986). I would rather call his grave his *last* place. It would be natural to consider it a *sacred* place because it is situated in an official, consecrated cemetery, but I do not know if Lind considered it such. While still living Lind knew where his last place was situated; he had known it since 1979 when he had bought a double gravesite for his wife and himself in one of the Lutheran cemeteries in Varkaus. He described the place when he talked about his wife's death and funeral. His words were few but full of attachment to and pride of the place. Calmly he said: "Lyyli is buried in the Kankku cemetery. Then I bought a double grave. There I have a place and a stone, too. I got a place next to the spruce hedge, not far from the gate to the right" (13 Sept 1985). Indeed, it sounded like a good place of rest without any hint of the ambivalence that most of his earlier places had.